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Shelley MacLaren

“Or guarda tu ...desta donna la forma”: Francesco da Barberino’s Poetic and Pictorial Invention

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ABSTRACT

The Tuscan lawyer and poet Francesco da Barberino (1264-1348) designed novel personifications. His designs appeared on palace walls, in his book of hours, in manuscripts of his didactic poetry, and on a tomb. In his conduct book the *Documenti d'Amore*, Francesco drew attention to his invention of the images, and emphasized their utility for his reader/viewer. Products of Francesco's imagination, the images were to prompt meditation, understanding and memory. Francesco's design and use of images provides important evidence of late medieval visuality.

The first chapter examines Francesco's stake in his designs. His invention of personifications was closely allied with his activity as a writer. Both activities involved giving specific material form to abstract ideas. Personifications were evident fictions that could be claimed by their inventor. Positioning himself carefully in relation to authority, Francesco laid claim to the forms he invented, and to the role of mediator. The chapter also discusses the function and reception of monumental personifications.

The second chapter examines the images in Francesco's book of hours, or *officiolum*. The design and placement of the images represent Francesco's response to the devotional contents of books of hours. Once executed, his designs prompted meditation and a particular experience of the manuscript. Francesco's self-consciousness about his activity as an inventor is evident in the manuscript's images.

The third chapter turns to the *Documenti d'Amore*. Drawing on the material presence of the images, and on the commensurability of pictorial personifications to real bodies, Francesco taught his reader to see and interpret images and the world, and to shape his behaviour accordingly. Francesco's forcible reinterpretation of the governing figure of Amor, turning carnal love into divine, demonstrates responsible poetic and pictorial invention and thematizes the reader's responsibility for appropriate interpretation. The chapter concludes with a consideration of the images of the *Reggimento e costumi di donna*.

The concluding chapter addresses the tomb of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi, sculpted by Tino di Camaino. Francesco adapted his preexisting allegory of Death to commemorate the bishop. Comparison of the different versions highlights Francesco's representation of his claim to the mediating role of poet and designer.

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INTRODUCTION

In the course of visiting Florence's duomo, those who pause before the tomb of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi are struck by an arresting scene on its base (fig. 90). In the central spandrel a creature clad in fur, with paws for feet and multiple faces, stands on the back of a dragon and fires arrows out to all sides (fig. 91). The monster faces front and looks out at the viewer, thereby including the viewer in the threat posed by its arrows. Other victims of those arrows appear in the flanking spandrels (fig. 92, 93). This monstrous figure is a personification of Mors, or Death. Death's appearance here was not its first manifestation in this guise. The figure had been depicted in a very similar manner on at least two previous occasions, in a book of hours and within the extensive commentary to a conduct book (figs. 76, 4). Death's victims are rendered more clearly in the manuscripts than on the tomb. They include a tiny scholar who offers comfort to his fellows, reassuring them of Christ's promise of Eternal Life. That tiny scholar represents the man responsible for the design of the personification as it appeared in the book of hours, in the conduct book, and on the tomb, Francesco da Barberino.

Francesco di Neri da Ranuccio (1264-1348), or Francesco da Barberino, was born in Barberino val d'Elsa, a community close to Florence, in 1264. Francesco was a "scholar of both laws" by profession, and also a poet.[1] Most importantly for art historians

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[1] The opening rubric of the *Documenti d'Amore* describes Francesco as *utriusque iuris scolarem*. *I Documenti d'Amore di Francesco da Barberino secondo I manoscritti originale*, Francesco Egidi ed., vols. 1- 4 (Roma: Presso la Società, 1905-1922), 1:3. Hereafter I will refer to this edition by the editor's name and the volume and page number.

he occupied himself with designing images of personifications over the course of twenty-odd years. Personification was a ubiquitous rhetorical and poetic device in the late middle ages, and the images Francesco designed were extensions of his poetic activity. However, Francesco's use of personifications was distinctive. He was not content to invent in words alone, or simply to describe his personifications in poetry. Instead he had those personifications represented in pictures and sculpture, and repeatedly drew attention to their forms. As we know from the surviving materials and the information recorded by Francesco in his writings, these personifications adorned his book of hours, accompanied his didactic poetry, decorated palace walls, and embellished a tomb. Although Francesco's invention of pictorial personifications was closely allied with his activity as a writer, the evidence also suggests that these images must have performed functions that could not be achieved by text, and that they had a distinct value for Francesco.

In fact, Francesco was very self-conscious about his activity as a writer and as an inventor of personifications. He drew attention to his own role in the invention of both poetry and images, casting himself as a mediator between his audience and abstract truths. Because of this self-consciousness, Francesco's invention of images provides crucial evidence for thinking about the role of the author and the relationship between poetic and pictorial invention in late medieval Italy. Used in diverse contexts, furthermore, Francesco's personifications offer important evidence for weighing the relationship between invention on the one hand and context and audience on the other. Having a distinct value for their inventor, these images functioned in diverse ways for other viewers. In Francesco's conduct book, the *Documenti d'Amore*, the images fulfilled

didactic purposes, in his book of hours they had a role in prompting personal devotion, in monumental contexts they acted to characterize people other than Francesco.

Francesco invented his personifications at a time when the rhetorical device of personification was becoming more important in late medieval Italy's visual realm. We know from his own comments, and from the visual evidence, that Francesco was influenced by the example set by Giotto's virtues and vices in Padua. The genre of monumental personifications soon matured in Italy, especially in political allegories like the *Allegory of Good Government* in the Sala dei Nove of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena (1338-40). Since Francesco stands very near the beginning of this tradition, understanding his invention and use of images will provide conclusions more generally useful for understanding the related body of images created in fourteenth century Italy.

Evidence for Francesco's life and image-making survives in many forms. It comes from the documents he notarized, and from the illuminated manuscripts and other art works in which he was involved. Much of the information we have concerning Francesco's activities comes from the accounts he wrote as part of the extensive commentary to his moral didactic poem, the *Documenti d'Amore*.

The picture of Francesco's life and works that emerges from the evidence is reasonably coherent. After receiving his notarial training in Bologna, Francesco worked in Florence as a notary for the episcopal court between 1297 and 1304. He had already begun his poetic and image-making activities at this time. As will become apparent over the course of this dissertation, Francesco frequently returned to previous inventions, adapting them for new purposes. Knowledge of his earliest projects is essential to properly understanding his later activities. According to his own testimony, Francesco

began work on the *Documenti d'Amore* sixteen years prior to its completion in about 1315. He therefore began to gather material for the poem during these early years in Florence, in the late 1290s.[2] In the *Documenti*, he states that he had had depicted in Florence "war between Courtliness and Avarice and followers and Probity and Cowardice and followers."[3] He also mentions his depiction of a personification of Hypocrisy, in an unknown location.[4] As recorded in the *Cronica Martiana*, Francesco publicly presented (at some point between 1297 and 1304) an allegory of Love on horseback with a falcon's claws, with accompanying explanatory text.[5] This public presentation may have been a fresco, or may have been a more ephemeral work, for instance, a festival decoration.[6] In the *Documenti* Francesco reports a poetic exchange with the poet Feo d'Amiero that also took place in this period. In this exchange, Francesco was posed twenty-three questions on Love. In response to one of those

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[2] This may mean however that the commentary "represents the fruits of a long period of education" instead. A.J. Minnis, "Amor and Auctoritas in the Self-Commentary of Dante and Francesco da Barberino," *Poetica*, 32 (1990): 39.

[3] "Istius quidem probitatis et audacie ac curialitatis de qua dictum est supra si formas pictas queris vide florentie ubi bellum inter curialitatem et avaritiam et sequaces et probitatem et codardiam et sequaces in figuris representavi et dicta vulgaria que sunt ibi . cum novitatibus aliis circumspictis." Egidi, 1: 24, 25.

[4] "Unde nota quod qui aliud sunt intus quam foris lupi dicuntur . qua similitudine ego semel pingens ypocrisim feci sub pedibus eius poni lupum . et ipsam cum aperta bursa multis pauperibus coram se existentibus publice elemosinas conferentem . vestem autem bisiam habebat …." Egidi, 3: 136.

[5] "In questo tempo si trovò per. Mess. Francesco da Barberino la vana forma d'andare a cavallo con le figure da piedi e con le parole che provano la forma; infra l'altre novità co' li piedi del Falcone." Quoted in Eric Jacobsen, "Francesco da Barberino: Man of Law and Servant of Love," part 1, *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 15 (1986): 88, 89. This is the first part of a two part article. The second part was published in *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 16 (1987). Eva Frojmovič identified this chronicle text, which had been cited at second hand and unidentified since 1764, as the Cronica Martiniana in the State Archive of Lucca, O. 40. The passage about Francesco's invention appears attached to the events of 1293, but Frojmovič argued that the piecemeal character of the chronicle, and the documentation of Francesco in Bologna in 1293, and only in Florence after 1296/97 suggests that the invention could have taken place later. Eva Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus zu den 'Documenti d'Amore' des Francesco da Barberino" (Ph.D. diss., Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität, Munich, 1994), 91-93.

[6] Jacobsen proposed that since it was listed as among public events, the representation was likely a fresco or a painted panel or cloth "for professional use." Jacobsen, 1: 89. Frojmovič objected that such a subject would be inappropriate to a "public" monumental fresco, and that it was more likely a festival decoration. Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 91-93.

questions he described Love and his court.[7] Finally, and also in a passage of the commentary to the *Documenti*, Francesco mentions having written a *Flores Novellarum* (a collection of stories) but does not associate any images with the work.[8]

After 1303, Francesco left Florence. On the basis of later evidence of his Ghibelline sympathies, it has been proposed that he may have left the Guelph city for political reasons, but this supposition cannot be proven. He may have left simply as part of his episcopal work.[9] In any case, we know that he then spent time in the Veneto, both in Treviso and at the *Studium* in Padua. Francesco is recorded as having been in Treviso in 1308.[10] By his own testimony, in Treviso he designed personifications of Misericordia, Justitia and Conscientia for a fresco in the bishop's palace.[11] After inventing the imagery for the Trevisan palace, Francesco had a book of hours made for himself in Padua, incorporating some of his own designs. Francesco reports having shown the manuscript, and specifically its images, to others in the city. Those others included Baldo da Passignano, who, by Francesco's account, wanted to copy Francesco's Spes for the frontispiece of his own treatise.[12]

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[7] "Et respondeas quod olim Juveni michi amor paravit xxiij. amoris questionibus respondere inter quas una quomodo habebatur ubi erat amoris curia et qualiter facta erat unde tunc per gradus et officia querente feo de Ameriis et informante amore curiam descripsi que quasi per omnia licet tunc picta non fuerit cum predicta concordat." Egidi 3: 345, 346.

[8] Francesco does say in the *Documenti* that his image of Laus, or Renown, was first depicted at the end of a volume of *diversas ystorias*, ("disparate stories"). Egidi 3: 421.

[9] Guimbard proposed "La thèse … d'un Francesco da Barberino devenu, dans le cadre du service épiscopal, de fonctionnaire diocésain serviteur officieux des intérets de la commune,…." Guimbard also emphasized Florence's "crise de legitimité" and of identity in the period. Catherine Guimbard, "Recherches sur la vie publique de Francesco da Barberino," *Revue des Études Italiennes* 28 (1982): 12, 14, 17.

[10] Published by Guimbard, among others. Archivio di Stato Treviso: *Archivio Notarile*, b. 14, Pietro da Campo; 6 fèvrier 1308.

[11] "ut tamen non crederes quod michi apropriem aliena, nota quod eam dudum primitus pingi feci modo simili in episcopali palatio trevisino ad discum ubi ius redditur. Sed a dextris eius est misericordia et a sinistris conscientia quas etiam ibi retrahi primo feci . et iustitia est in medio ad modum signorum inferius adductorum." Egidi 3: 287.

[12] Francesco emphasizes that Baldo wanted to copy the image, but there was problem with the execution of the picture. "et hec quidem dum essem in studio paduano ubi cum moram traheret nobilissimus et morosus vir dominus comes Baldus de Pasignano quem hactenus apud Regem Ungarie sollicitudo et virtutes eius

Francesco's book of hours was long presumed lost, but was rediscovered in 2003 when a private collector brought the manuscript into Christie's for auction. Its extant images turned out to be just as described in the *Documenti*, indicating that Francesco was a reasonably trustworthy witness.

Between 1309 and 1313, when he was in his late forties, Francesco traveled in Provence and France. In the *Documenti*, he tells us that the journey was only supposed to last a couple of months, but instead lasted four years.[13] According to his account, he did not bring with him the moral didactic poem for women known as *Il Reggimento e costumi di donna,* which he had already begun, but instead continued work on the *Documenti*. This work including designing the images.[14] Also referring to the *Documenti* he tells his reader that he had copied and recopied each part of the treatise no less than four times during his trip.[15]

While in France and Provence, Francesco undoubtedly showed his book of hours and manuscripts of the *Documenti* to others, just as he had done with his book of hours in

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plurimum sublevarunt, et super multis novitatibus librum quendam ex proprio compilasset per cuius tenorem magna spes gentibus preparatur pigritia tollitur et probitas imperatur sua curialitate cum librum ipsum librum spei vocaret hanc spem eodem modo in libri principio figurari (5) mandavit . que licet forte ob defectum pictorum aliter in aliquibus picta extiterit tamen ipse hanc haberi voluit pro sic picta." Egidi's note 5 comments that in the manuscript 'figurari' is spelled 'figuari' without abbreviation mark. Egidi, 3: 10.

[13] "cum credens nuper per duos menses in provincie partibus regnique francorum trahere moram me pro illo tempore paravissem Supervenerunt nove cause que per annos .iiij^{er}. et tres menses me necessario compulerunt trahere ibi moram." Egidi 3: 93, 94.

[14] "loquitur de quodam libro quem ad mandatum cuiusdam domine de dominarum moribus et ipsarum quibuscuncque observantiis necessitatibus et utilitatibus compilavi . sed nondum omnibus patefeci . ex eo quia studium meum ipsius rescriptionem et expeditionem totalem, tempore aliquo retardavit . sed posses tu dicere . cur eo tempore quo vacasti presentibus non vacasti ceptorum perfectioni || quod laudabilius videbatur, Respondeo quia in comitatu Provincie ac comtitatu Venesis, pro arduissimis negotiis necessario vacans et melanconia magna oppressus et quaternos interlineatos illius operis hic non habens hec michi ab amore iniuncta proposui fini dare." Egidi 1: 33, 34.

[15] "…bene possum de hiis aperta sic facie respondere. cum non sit lictera in hoc libro nec figura que ante alicuius transcriptum per me ad minus non fuerit tracta quater . non obstat quod amor promulgaverit et scribi proprie debuerint vice prima nam licet tunc scriberem postea venientibus ad partes suas singulis dominabus ego ab eis que melius collegerant et sciebant corrigendo rescripsi et rescripta iterum et iterato correxi . et hic porrigo pro correctis ut est hominis in hoc posse." Francesco Egidi, "Le miniature dei codici Barberiniani dei *Documenti d'amore," L'Arte* V (1902): 2.

Padua. This sharing of his work and possessions may account for the frescoed image of Death in Notre-Dame des Doms in Avignon, which is closely related to Francesco's design for the figure. Marie-Claude Léonelli has speculated that the patron of the fresco may have seen the version represented in Francesco's book of hours during the author's stay in Avignon (fig. 76).[16] Evidence of Francesco's display of his manuscripts to others has also been noted by Charles Sterling, who proposed that the French miniaturist Jean Pucelle was influenced both by Francesco's designs and by the commentary explanations of his images in the *Documenti*, perhaps via a meeting in Paris in 1311 or1312.[17]

The first evidence of Francesco's Ghibelline sympathies stems from 1311, when he wrote a letter to the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VII requesting that the emperor come to Italy.[18] In a document of May 30, 1313, the emperor summoned Francesco and other Florentines living in Venice to join him at Pisa. Shortly after Henry died in August of that same year, Francesco returned to Florence, authorized by a papal bull of March 29th, 1313 to apply for status as a doctor of both canon and civil law. He achieved this title by November 1317. It was during this period that he completed the two works for which he is best known.

Francesco finished the *Documenti d'Amore* soon after his return to Italy, circa 1314-1315. This was followed by the completion of *Il Reggimento e costumi di donna,* in

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[16] Marie-Claude Léonelli, "Une allégorie de la mort a Notre-Dame des Doms," in *Hommage à Robert Saint-Jean: art et histoire dans le Midi languedocien et rhodanien (Xe-XIXe siècles),* edited by Guy Romestan (Montpellier: Société archéologique de Montpellier, 1993): 160-161.

[17] Pucelle also visited Florence, after the installation of the tomb of Bishop Antonio d'Orso in 1321. Charles Sterling proposed Francesco's influence on several aspects of Pucelle's work. He suggested a connection between the "'atlantes' drolatiques" of the Hours de Jeanne d'Evreux, and the caryatids (sometimes) associated with the tomb of Antonio d'Orso, designed by Francesco. He suggested a similar connection between the personification of the Vierge-Église and Francesco's Hope. Sterling also proposed that the moralized calendar of the Belleville Breviary may have been modeled on that in Francesco's book of hours, and that the explanatory *Exposition* of the Belleville Breviary could have been modeled on the commentary to the *Documenti*. Charles Sterling, "Jean Pucelle et son atelier," *La peinture médiévale à Paris 1300-1500* (Paris: Fondation Wildenstein, 1987): 71-86.

[18] Biblioteca di Vienna, Ms. Latino n. 3530. I have not seen this document.

1318-1320. Both treatises were the result of several years of work, and each work contains references to the other, indicating their concurrent composition. Both belong to a long tradition of didactic moral-allegorical poetry that includes the writings of Prudentius, Boethius, Alain de Lille, and, closer to home for Francesco, of the Florentine notary Brunetto Latini.

The *Documenti d'Amore* is the more elaborate of Francesco's two conduct books. It has a complex structure, consisting of images, Italian poetry, Latin translation of the poetry and an exhaustive Latin commentary. Two illuminated manuscripts of the *Documenti* survive, both in the Vatican library: Ms. Barb. Lat. 4076 (figs. 1-26) and Ms. Barb. Lat. 4077 (figs. 27-43). In both examples, the frontispiece of the treatise is governed by a personification of Amor (figs. 1, 27). Individual personifications open and govern each of the twelve subsections, and others punctuate the commentary. *Il Reggimento e Costumi di Donna* is much simpler in its organization. Francesco deliberately used straightforward language and syntax in the work, which was purportedly intended for a female audience, and it was not accompanied by a commentary.[19] A single fourteenth century manuscript of the *Reggimento* survives: Barb. Lat. 4001.[20] Generally speaking, each of its subsections is addressed to a woman of different status or employment. These subsections, like those of the *Documenti*, are governed by personifications, many of them the same virtues that appear in the

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[19] In the Proemio, Eloquence is told to use straightforward language so that every woman might understand the treatise. "Non vo' che sia lo tuo parlare oscuro, acciò ch'aver è a mente con ogni donna possa dimorare; né parlerai rimato, acciò che non ti parta, per forza di rima, dal proprio intendimento;…." Francesco da Barberino, *Il Reggimento e costumi di donna*, ed. Giuseppe E. Sansone, 2nd ed. (Roma: Zauli Editore, 1995), 5. Henceforth referred to as Sansone. While it is simpler in organization, Francesco's claims about his target audience have been questioned. Furthermore, the frame story involves a mystery lady whose identity the reader is to guess, also belying Francesco's claims about simplicity.

[20] Giuseppe Sansone presumed the manuscript to date close to the mid-fourteenth century. Sansone, XV.

Documenti. Though no illuminated version of *Il Reggimento* survives, the extant fourteenth century manuscript includes space on its pages for images.[21]

After his return to Florence, Francesco was active in guild and communal life in the city. Surviving documents record Francesco's involvement in the Florentine *Arte delle Giudici e Notai*, and his service on various government councils, for instance, the Council of One Hundred, and the Collegio dei Buonuomini.[22] Francesco worked for Bishop Antonio degli Orsi, and was one of the executors of the bishop's estate. That role included responsibility for the design and commission of the bishop's tomb (1321-23), which was carved by Tino di Camaino and located in Florence's *duomo*, Santa Maria del Fiore (fig. 90). The tomb, which will be the focus of my conclusion, has not survived intact, but Francesco's design for Mors has a prominent place on its base (fig. 91).[23]

Francesco lived in Florence until his death in 1348, and is buried in Santa Croce.[24] His memory is duly recorded in the testimony of two of the city's more illustrious

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[21] Sansone, XV, XVI.

[22] Guimbard, "Recherches sur la vie publique…," 20, 21.

[23] In 1903, Giovanni Poggi was the first to note the connection between the imagery on the tomb and Francesco's treatment and discussion of *Mors* in the *Documenti*. He used Francesco's explanation of the image to elucidate the tomb. Giovanni Poggi, "In Santa Maria del Fiore (di alcuni recenti lavori)," *Rassegna Nazionale* 131 (1903): 667. See also W. Valentiner, *Tino di Camaino: A Sienese Sculptor of the 14th Century* (Paris: Pegasus Press, 1935): 62-71 and Gert Kreytenberg, "Tino di Camaino's Gräbmaler in Florenz," *Städel-Jahrbuch* 7 (1979): 40.

[24] There are accounts of Francesco's life in various encyclopedias of Italian literature, that in the *Dizionario Critico delle Letteratura Italiana*, is especially complete. *Dizionario Critico delle Letteratura Italiana*, ed. Vittore Branca, 2nd ed. (Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1986): 281-285. Pio Pecchiai investigated the connections between the Barberini and Francesco's line, and provided a biography which discusses some of the documents relevant to his life. See Pio Pecchiai, "Il Ramo di Francesco da Barberino, poeta e giurisperito," in *I Barberini* (Roma: Biblioteca d'arte editrice, 1959), 29-67. See also Carlo Celso Calzolai, *Messer Francesco da Barberino nel VII Centenario della Nascita* (Firenze: Editrice ICAT, 1964). Also on the occasion of the anniversary of Francesco's birth, Francesco Mazzoni wrote "Per Francesco da Barberino," *Miscellanea Storica della Valdelsa* 70 (September-December 1964): 173-198, an essay summing up his life and offering assessment of his literary works. See also Guimbard, "Recherches sur la vie publique…." Guimbard was concerned with Francesco's engagement with the political life of the commune, arguing that his conduct books were "porteurs d'une morale circonstantielle, taillée à la mesure d'un monde politique donné…." Guimbard, "Recherches sur la vie publique…," 5. She provides an account of his professional life, and his service. Antoine Thomas's treatment is still fundamental. See his *Francesco da Barberino et la littérature provençale en Italie au moyen âge* (Paris: E. Thorin, 1883).

writers. Giovanni Boccaccio and Filippo Villani have both preserved for us a sense of how Francesco's near contemporaries evaluated his poetry.[25] For his part, Boccaccio mentioned Francesco twice in the *Genealogie deorum gentilium*, first, during his discussion of Cupid as the son of Mars, for Francesco's description of the figure of Love. Boccaccio also memorialized Francesco, the man, within his defense of poetry. There, in the fourteenth book of the *Genealogie deorum*, Francesco is ranked amongst worthy poets for his "honestate morum et spectabili vita" ("his honorable habits and admirable life).[26] Boccaccio also reputedly wrote Francesco's epitaph, which is still visible in Santa Croce.

Writing a little later, circa 1381-82, Filippo Villani placed Francesco among the "Semipoetae" in his *Liber de origine civitatis Florentiae et eiusdem famosis civibus*, Villani explained that Francesco deserved this title "not because he had composed verses, but because he understood well the fictions of the poets." He also praised Francesco's efforts to study and teach (however unsuccessfully) *buoni costumi*, good morals or customs.[27] While Francesco may not have gained renown for the quality of his poetry, the posthumous record suggests that he was respected both for his knowledge and invention of "poetic fictions" and for his morals and didactic intentions.

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[25] Geri d'Arezzo composed a dialogue between himself and Love in circa 1315 on the occasion of the return of one of Francesco's manuscripts of the *Documenti*. See Jacobsen, 1: 89 for the evidence this dialogue presents regarding Francesco's composition.

[26] Giovanni Boccaccio, *Genealogie deorum gentilium*, ed. Vincenzo Romano, 2 vols. (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1951): 451, 761. See Jacobsen's discussion. He suggests that Boccaccio may be describing an earlier version of Francesco's Amor, and argues that Boccaccio may not have known a complete version of the *Documenti*. Jacobsen 1: 91, 92.

[27] "non pero che facesse versi, ma che intendeva bene le finzioni de'poeti." Filippo Villani, *Le Vite d'Uomini Illustri Fiorentini* (Firenze: Sansone Coen Tipografico-Editore, 1847), 38-41. As also noted by Hans Belting in his discussion of allegory. Hans Belting, "The New Role of Narrative in Public Painting of the Trecento: Historia and Allegory," *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler and Marianna Shreve Simpson, Studies in the History of Art, vol. 16 (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1985): 156.

As the record shows, Francesco was concerned with designing images for a considerable part of his lifetime. His documented image-making occurred between circa 1300 and circa 1323, when he was between his late thirties and his early sixties. Throughout this time he was specifically occupied with depicting personifications of abstract concepts. As we have seen, his personifications not only adorned his book of hours and the two conduct books he composed, they also appeared in monumental settings. Intriguingly, and contrary to the expectations of a strictly contextualizing art history, his images were not necessarily or narrowly specific to context or location. They took on lives of their own, reappearing in different locations, like actors in different plays, even many years after their first appearances. Their life-span alone indicates that Francesco's inventions were both rhetorically effective and adaptable to new circumstances.

Francesco's personification of Amor, for example, was first presented in public form sometime between 1297 and 1304, and reappeared to be extensively glossed in the *Documenti d'Amore* (figs. 1, 24, 27, 43). Spes was first formulated for Francesco's book of hours (fig. 87), and later appeared in both the *Reggimento* and the *Documenti* (figs. 13, 34). Justitia also appeared in multiple places, first in the bishop's palace in Treviso, then in the book of hours, and in the *Documenti* (figs. 17, 37). Francesco's series of Hours of the Day/Ages of Man appeared first in his book of hours, but was also included in the commentary of the *Documenti* (figs. 51, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 15). Misericordia appeared in the fresco cycle in the bishop's palace in Treviso and in Francesco's book of hours (fig. 75). Conscientia appeared in the Trevisan fresco cycle, in an unknown location in the book of hours, and in the commentary to the *Documenti d'Amore* (fig. 19). Mors

appeared in the book of hours, in the *Documenti*, and on the tomb of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi (figs. 76, 4, 90, 91). Innocentia (figs. 18, 38) appeared in both conduct books, as did Patientia (figs. 12, 33), Constantia (figs. 9, 30), Prudentia (figs. 14, 35), Industria (figs. 8, 29) and Eloquentia (fig. 1, 27).

Some of Francesco's inventions also seem to have been adopted by others for use in different contexts. As described above, Baldo da Passignano borrowed Francesco's Spes for his own manuscript. A personification of Mors similar to Francesco's appeared in Notre-Dame des Doms. Francesco's figures combining the hours of the day and the ages of man may further have served as a model for an early fifteenth century fresco cycle in the Palazzo Trinci in Foligno.[28] Any study of the purpose of Francesco's inventions and of his stake in those inventions must account for their adaptability, and for their use and reuse in these diverse contexts.

Fortunately, in the pages of the *Documenti d'Amore*, Francesco gives his readers a great deal of information about his design and use of the images. In combination with the discovery of a second manuscript of the *Documenti*, Ms. Barb. Lat. 4077, this information encouraged discussion of the basic question of the extent of Francesco's involvement in the execution of the images. In 1902 Francesco Egidi was the first to publish all of the illuminations of the *Documenti d'Amore*.[29] Egidi also extracted many of Francesco's statements about his involvement in the design of his images from the

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[28] Elizabeth Sears briefly discussed Francesco's combined depiction of the hours and the ages in the *Documenti* and his book of hours, and observed the similarity of Francesco's invention to the imagery of an early fifteenth century monumental cycle from the Palazzo Trinci in Foligno. She proposed that the iconography of the fresco cycle was derived from a manuscript source, possibly one of Francesco's own manuscripts. Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 104-107.

[29] The first to discuss the miniatures, and to draw attention to Francesco's involvement in their design, was Oreste Antognoni, in a brief article, "Le Glosse ai «Documenti d'Amore» di M. Francesco da Barberino e un breve trattatto di ritmica italiana," *Giornale di filologia romanza* 4 (1882): 78 ff.

commentary. Pointing to the passage where Francesco states that he had treated the words and images of the conduct book no less than four times, Egidi argued that there must have been multiple copies of the poem made in Provence, containing figures drawn by Francesco himself.[30] For Egidi, Ms. Barb. Lat. 4077 was one of these copies, and Ms. Barb. Lat. 4076, and the bulk of the commentary, were created after Francesco's return to Italy.

Egidi's ascription of the miniatures of Ms. Barb. Lat. 4077 to Francesco himself was long maintained by subsequent scholars. In their 1968 catalogue of early Italian drawings, Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt accepted Egidi's analysis and discussed the illumination of Ms. Barb. Lat. 4077 as an example of amateur draughtsmanship, citing as comparable examples Dante's reports of drawing in the *Vita Nuova* and Petrarch and Boccaccio's surviving sketches.[31] This assessment was effectively overturned in 1971 by Otto Pächt. Pächt argued that, contrary to betraying an amateur's style, which would not resemble any accomplished artistic style of the time, the illustrations of Ms. Barb. Lat. 4077 recalled the temporally and regionally specific appearance of images seen in the legal books and Bibles produced in Bologna circa 1300.[32] Pächt's assessment of the miniatures, as works of a professional illuminator in the area around Bologna, was seconded by L. Bellosi in 1978.[33]

It is now clear that while Francesco designed the images, the extant examples of those designs were executed by professional artists. Although it is certainly significant

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[30] Passage cited in note 15. Egidi, "Le miniature," 2.
[31] Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt, *Corpus der Italienischen Zeichnungen 1300-1450* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1968), part 1, vol. 1: 33.
[32] Otto Pächt, "Der Weg von der Zeichnerischen Buchillustration zur eigenstandigen Zeichnung," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 24 (1971): 178-184.
[33] Luciano Bellosi, "Introduzione," in *I Disegni antichi degli Uffizi. I tempi di ghiberti*, Fiora Bellini (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1978), XIII n.7.

that Francesco was acting as both poet and designer, to look for evidence of his "hand" is to misplace the locus of his artistic activity. In this sense, Degenhart and Schmitt's focus was appropriate. As their comparisons make clear, they were primarily interested in the drawings of Ms. Barb. Lat. 4077 as the product of an "author," suggesting that the images were not interesting for their form or style, but as records of Francesco's ideas and iconographic innovations.[34] Degenhart and Schmitt were, however, only partly right in their emphasis. As I hope to show, the importance of the form given to the images should not be underestimated. Although the style of the illustrations is surely not Francesco's own, the act of lending material form to abstract concepts was at the very heart of his project, both as a poet and as a designer of images.

Francesco's manipulation of iconography has also been the subject of discussion, most famously in Erwin Panofsky's essay "Blind Cupid," in *Studies in Iconology* (1939). Panofsky included Francesco's Amor in his study of the transformation of the image of Cupid over time. As is evident from the title of his essay, Panofsky was specifically interested in the attribute of blindness. Panofsky proposed that a negatively charged precedent, with the attributes of blindfold, string of hearts, horse, and taloned feet, could be read backwards from Francesco's figure in the *Documenti* (figs. 1, 24, 27, 43). Francesco's description was indeed closely modeled on preceding versions. The most significant change he made to the preceding versions was to endow his new version of Love with sight.[35] By removing Love's blindfold, Francesco "deliberately inverted" the meaning of the original. Panofsky used Francesco's modification of the iconography to suggest that:

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[34] Degenhart and Schmitt, part 1, vol. 1: 35.
[35] Egidi, 3: 409 ff.

> [I]n the fourteenth century the blindness of Cupid had so precise a significance that his image could be changed from a personification of Divine Love to a personification of illicit Sensuality, and vice versa, by simply adding, or removing, the bandage.[36]

Panofsky's interest in Francesco's Amor was primarily directed toward establishing the existence of the negatively charged precursor, and to establishing the significance of the attribute of the blindfold. Panofsky did not address either the significance of Francesco's emphasis on the process of invention and representation, or the motivation for Francesco's "deliberate inversion." Nor, finally, did he deal with the fact that Francesco's Amor, with his falcon's claws, still strikes the viewer as a "dangerous" figure.[37]

In order to understand this image and Francesco's stake in its manipulation it is necessary to consider its local context. In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the personification of Love was central to discussions about the proper ends and means of poetry. Poets self-consciously used, referred to, and even ostentatiously discarded the figure of Love as they sought to define what poetry should be. Francesco's

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[36] Erwin Panofsky, "Blind Cupid," *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*, Icon Editions (Boulder: Westview Press, 1967): 116, 121. A brief discussion of the iconography of Francesco's Amor figure also appears in R. Freyhan's 1948 article, "The Evolution of the Caritas Figure in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries." Images of Caritas took on the attributes of secular love, specifically the flame, in the second half of the thirteenth century in Italy, in Freyhan's view in association with the *dolce stil nuovo,* which attempted to reconcile the two. Freyhan suggested that Francesco's conception of Amor was closely related to Caritas, and postulated that the reason he was unable to find a French illuminator able to illustrate his ideas was that "the French were unable to create pictorial allegories combining courtly love with religious feeling…." R. Freyhan, "The Evolution of the Caritas Figure in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 11 (1948): 77, 78.

[37] See Svetlana Alpers's discussion of Panofsky's use of the example of a man removing his hat as an illustration of iconography as an interpretive model. Svetlana Alpers, "Interpretation without Representation, or, the Viewing of *Las Meninas*," *Representations* 1 (February 1983): 30-42. Freyhan for instance stated that without the accompanying interpretation, the iconography of Francesco's figure suggests an overwhelmingly negative, even demonic meaning. Francesco's explanation of the claws seemed forced and "post-factum," explaining a preexisting type. Freyhan, 77, 78.

manipulation of the figure of Amor in the *Documenti* must be understood as a self-conscious gesture that was a comment on his own poetic activity.

There are several reasons, related to this context, why Francesco should have made changes to the figure of Amor. In part, he seems to have done so for the sake of novelty.[38] Francesco's pursuit of novelty in his subject matter as well as his forms has been the subject of comment in more recent discussions. Valeria Nardi, for example, emphasized Francesco's "will to resemanticize" the traditional concepts embodied by his personifications. She argued that the images of the *Documenti* were intended to help the reader understand Francesco's abstract concepts, but that Francesco sometimes *failed* in this use of the images, because the connection to the traditions through which the images would be legible was "compromised" by Francesco's desire to be different.[39]

I would suggest instead that the difficulty of the images should not be understood as a failure. Francesco's unusual treatment of his personifications, and his statements regarding his deliberate innovation, foreground his manipulation of iconography. The result is that the reader/viewer's attention is drawn to the processes of invention, representation and interpretation, and to the status of the image as a malleable fiction. Novelty was thus important for Francesco because it drew attention to his own activity as an inventor.

Francesco's personifications, especially as they appear alongside extensive description and explanation in the *Documenti d'Amore*, raise the question of how we are

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[38] Some of Francesco's other personifications were more radically new forms. His invention of a form with which to represent *Virtu in genere* was unprecedented (fig. 3). Egidi, 1: 66. In 1953, Theodore Mommsen noted Francesco's own comments on the audacity of his effort to represent the concept, and drew attention to Francesco's deliberate pursuit of novelty. Theodore Mommsen, "Petrarch and the Story of the Choice of Hercules," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16 (1953): 179-182.

[39] Valeria Nardi, "Le illustrazioni dei Documenti d'Amore," *Ricerche di storia dell'arte* 49 (1993): 79.

to understand the relationship between word and image in Francesco's works. The foundation for study of the role of Francesco's images in relation to his texts is Daniela Goldin's article "Testo e immagine nei *Documenti d'amore* di Francesco da Barberino," of 1980. Subsequent discussions have relied on Goldin's explanation. Citing Gregory the Great, Goldin argued that in the Middle Ages text and image were considered to be equally effective, and to fulfill the same didactic function, where images, just as texts, were to "narrate, describe, signify." Closely connecting text and image, she described the structure of Francesco's treatise as a circular one, where the text interpreted the miniatures, but the miniatures were "the synthesis and exegesis" of the text.[40] Goldin suggested that while Francesco set up a hierarchy of readers - *licterati*, *iuvenes*, *inlicterati*, and finally *ydioti* - the pictures were not employed as the lowest form of communication.[41] Rather the pictures communicated that which the vernacular text could not, and in cases even more effectively than the Latin.[42] While Goldin's stated purpose was to examine the images in the context of the *Documenti*, she did not consider the images with regard to the specific function of that conduct book. Goldin's analysis was also restricted to the role of the images in the *Documenti*, and did not consider the images as they migrated between different contexts, and among different kinds of accompanying texts. She therefore never arrived at one of the central issues pertaining to Francesco's personifications, namely that his designs could not have functioned the same way in each instance, nor could they have been a seamless fit.

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[40] Daniela Goldin, "Testo e immagine nei *Documenti d'Amore* di Francesco da Barberino," *Quaderni d'italianistica* 1, no. 2 (1980): 126, 127.
[41] "*Inspicite etc*. modo convertit se ad formam . predicens quod absque figuris lectura sola plene res hec intelligi non valeret . Sed hoc est verum . Respondes ita quo ad novitios . quo autem ad alios id scriptura operatur quod pictura ydiotis." Egidi, 3: 7.
[42] Goldin, 133, 134, 135.

Eva Frojmovič's dissertation "Der Illustrationszyklus zu den 'Documenti d'Amore' des Francesco da Barberino" of 1994 has been the most comprehensive treatment of Francesco's imagery to date. Frojmovič's focus, like Goldin's, was on the images of the *Documenti d'Amore*. She declared three aims to her dissertation. The first of these was to study Francesco's method in developing *Demonstrationsbilder*, which she proposed were developed from the *accessus* question *Quae forma*, and from the "concept of figurative speech in Rhetoric and Exegesis." Her second focus was on the Aristotelian influence in the *Documenti*, particularly the impact of the *Nichomachean Ethics* on Francesco's conception of the virtues as revealed in his emphasis on virtue in action, and on virtue as the mean between extremes.[43] Frojmovič suggested that while Francesco was not alone in his adoption of the Aristotelian concept of *medietas*, he was unique in trying to create a corresponding iconography.[44] Her third focus was on the influence that Giotto's images, especially the Arena Chapel cycle of virtues, had on Francesco's iconography especially in the *Documenti*. She argued, for instance, that Hope's wings, which appear to be unmotivated in the *Documenti* (figs. 13, 34), could have been borrowed from Giotto's figure of *Hope* in the Arena chapel (fig. 105). For a large portion of her dissertation, Frojmovič proceeded in order through each of the images that appear in the *Documenti*. In each case she analyzed the accompanying description and commentary in order to understand Francesco's conception of these virtues, and to discern how his definitions might relate to established traditions of the virtues, especially the virtues associated with Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics*. Wherever applicable,

[43] Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 96.
[44] Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 102.

Frojmovič also discussed Francesco's visual precedents, and described how he altered his models through the process of rhetorical *amplificatio*.

As outlined above, previous treatments of Francesco's images have been largely restricted to the *Documenti d'Amore.* They have also treated Francesco's inventions as specifically motivated, driven by the concepts he explains in the accompanying text in the *Documenti*. An iconographic method, examining Francesco's commentary and sources for explanations of the images, is useful, but does not adequately account for how these images migrated so readily among various contexts. Nor can it explain how they functioned with different *kinds* of accompanying texts. Any insistence on the necessity of the accompanying texts also seems misplaced, since some of these images appeared in contexts outside the *Documenti*, without accompanying explanations. In the case of Spes, Frojmovič denied that this was an effective possibility, asserting: "Ein solches Bild kann…nur in der Zwie-sprache mit dem Traktattext existieren," ("Such an image can exist…only in dialogue with the text of the treatise.")[45] In itself, a search for sources for Francesco's images is, likewise, misleading. In the end, it does not greatly matter whence Francesco specifically derived his iconography, nor does it matter how "original" Francesco's images might have been. The important thing was Francesco's modification of previous inventions, his consistent adaptation and "making new."[46]

In this dissertation, therefore, I will examine Francesco's stake in formulating these novel personifications, and the roles they fulfilled as deployed in various contexts. While agreeing with Frojmovič that Giotto's virtues and vices in the Arena Chapel were

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[45] Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 131.
[46] Francesco refers to his adaptation of the figure of Amor as motivated by his desire not simply "per mutare maper far novo in altro interpretare," that is, not simply for change, but to "make new in another interpretation." Egidi, 3: 409.

an important influence on Francesco's inventions, I will suggest that what mattered to Francesco was not Giotto's iconography, but the emphatic material quality of his personifications. The emphatic materiality of Francesco's inventions is especially intriguing when it is seen against the backdrop of a historiographic tradition that has posited a close relationship between text and image in the Middle Ages.

Emile Mâle once characterized all medieval art as "a veritable hieroglyphic in which art and writing blend, showing the same spirit of order and abstraction that there is in heraldic art with its alphabet, rules and symbolism."[47] While this generalization can certainly be challenged, Mâle's description seems particularly apt for abstract personifications, which are differentiated from one another by coded attributes and decipherable according to those attributes. We recognize Justice because of her balance, Fortitude because of her column, and so on. While arguing for other sorts of innovation, students of the monumental imagery of fourteenth-century Italy have tended to follow this characterization where pictorial personifications are concerned. So, for example, as part of an overall argument that privileged word over image, Randolph Starn and Loren Partridge equated the personifications represented in the Sala dei Nove in Siena with their names, suggesting that the "labeled personifications,…, are the images least necessary as images to the meanings assigned to them."[48] Scholars such as Daniele Goldin and Hans Belting have also described a certain equivalence of word and image in the late middle ages, observing that both forms were considered as signs that fulfilled essentially similar

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[47] Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France, XIII Century; A Study in Mediaeval Iconography and its Sources of Inspiration,* trans. Dora Nussey, 3rd ed. (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1913), 2.
[48] Randolph Starn and Loren Partridge, "The Republican Regime of the Sala dei Nove in Siena, 1338-1340," *Arts of Power: Three Halls of State in Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 50.

functions by pointing to the absent signified.[49] For contemporary viewers, without their names personifications may seem meaningless. Alternatively, once we have their names, their significance may seem to be exhausted. Francesco's practice brings such assumptions into question.

Throughout the *Documenti d'Amore* Francesco emphasizes the importance of looking at the images of the personifications, even though those virtues are described in the poetry and commentary. Evidently the images fulfilled some function beyond that which was accomplished by the name or textual description of the virtue. Even granted that Francesco's personifications were closely bound with text, as they certainly were, we must still question the specific role of the *image* of the abstraction, of the *appearance* of these figures.

At the most general level, the question may be answered with reference to the didactic function of images. Following Gregory the Great's famous dictum to the effect that "what writing does for the literate, a picture does for the illiterate looking at it," the didactic utility of images was often asserted, especially for those unable to read.[50] Less often was this utility explained in specific terms. We are left to wonder how it worked, and for whom, and whether only particular kinds of images were didactically useful.

These questions are well worth exploring in Francesco's case, not least because the usefulness of pictorial images was demonstrably a central concern in both his use of

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[49] For instance, see Goldin, 126, and Hans Belting, "Das Bild als Text: Wandmalerei und Literatur im Zeitalter Dantes," *Malerei und Stadtkultur in der Dantezeit: Die Argumentation der Bilder*, ed. Hans Belting and Dieter Blume (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1989), 29.

[50] Gregory's statement cited from Lawrence G. Duggan, "Was art really the 'book of the illiterate'?" *Word & Image*, 5 no. 3 (July - September 1989): 227. Latin text, "Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc idiotis praestat pictura cernentibus, quia in ipsa ignorantes uident quod debeant, in ipsa legunt qui litteras nesciunt; unde praecipue gentibus pro lectione pictura est …" printed in *S. Gregorii Magni registrum epistularum*, ed. Dag Ludvig Norberg, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 140 A (Turnholti: Brepols, 1982), 2: 768, 873-876.

images and his discussion of those images. As did many others, Francesco echoed Gregory's statement, but he also asserted that images were useful for everyone, not just the illiterate.[51] He also applied the statement to a different kind of image. Whereas Gregory was speaking of narrative images of biblical history, Francesco was speaking of his own novel personifications, images that were decidedly not endowed with the authority of biblical narrative. Taking these differences into account, how might we understand the didactic utility of his images?

Francesco's formulation and use of pictorial personifications was bound up with the concerns of late medieval visuality: a set of ideas prevalent in the period about vision, about the reception and storage of visual sensory data, and about mental images and imagination. Late medieval visuality had important implications for the period's visual arts and literature.[52] Concern with optics and vision in the late Middle Ages was

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[51] In the commentary to the *Documenti* Francesco refers back to a statement made in the poetry about the importance of looking at the images for understanding. He writes, "Then he turns to her form, stating that without the figures, reading alone cannot understand this matter fully…You may answer, that is true of beginners, but as for others, writing has the same function as picture for illiterates (*ydiotis*)." Translation from Jacobsen 2: 93, with reference to Egidi, 3:7. In her essay "Scrittura e figura negli 'exempla' Hamiltoniani," Goldin closes her introductory discussion of Gregory's statement by dismissing the difference between monumental biblical images and images included alongside written texts. As evidence, she briefly cites two of Francesco's statements about the utility of images for *ydiotis* in the *Documenti*. See Daniela Goldin, "Scrittura e figura negli 'exempla' Hamiltoniani," in *Medioevo e Rinascimento veneto con altri studi in onore di Lino Lazzarini*, I (Padova: Antenori, 1979), 15.

[52] Scholars have addressed increasing attention to this cognitive model with specific reference to art and literature. Some of the most intriguing work has been done by historians specifically concerned with memory. In her seminal study of the arts of memory, Frances Yates proposed a connection between the appearance of Giotto's innovative virtues and vices in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua and the rules for making effective memory images. She qualified her suggestion however, observing that the arts of memory dictated that effective memory images were mental ones, invented by a particular individual for the purposes of prompting his own memory, not deployed rhetorically to prompt the memories of others. Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), 81, 92. In her invaluable study of medieval culture as fundamentally mnemonic, Mary Carruthers demonstrated the importance of sensory data to stimulating memory. She emphasized the common mnemonic function of pictures and of the appearance of the written words on the manuscript page, "images" of another kind. Both had the function of prompting recall. Her conclusions caution against distinguishing too strongly between text and image. Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), especially chapter seven, "Memory and the Book." Despite these equivocal findings, the proposed connection between effective memory images and art has often been cited in the scholarship touching on late medieval visuality and on pictorial personifications, and is crucial to the notion of the didactic efficacy

inherently intertwined with concerns about access to knowledge.[53] The crux of the problem was the question of how humans, bound to material bodies and living in the world, conceive of and think about abstract concepts. Aristotle had asserted that the mind thought by means of sensible forms, or images; "…the soul never thinks without an image."[54] Knowledge must be mediated through the senses and the body. Discussing this assertion, Aquinas stated: "[T]he intellect, in fact, rises to the limited knowledge it has of invisible things by way of the nature of visible things." He also asserted the importance of analogy, stating:

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of images in the period. Art historians such as Cynthia Hahn and Michael Camille have explored the idea of late medieval visuality in relation to art objects. See their essays, "Before the Gaze: The Internal Senses and Late Medieval Practices of Seeing," and "Visio Dei: Changes in Medieval Visuality," in the volume *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*, ed. Robert S. Nelson (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000), 169-223. Late medieval visuality does not encompass only material images, but also poetic images. Much of the scholarship on the subject has been written by literary scholars such as V.A. Kolve and Sylvia Huot. See V.A. Kolve, *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative: The First Five Canterbury Tales* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), especially the first two chapters. Huot has emphasized the concept of the visual imagination, and its importance both for the composition and reception of late medieval literature, especially allegorical literature and poetry. Sylvia Huot, "Visualization and Memory: The Illustration of Troubadour Lyric in a Thirteenth Century Manuscript," *Gesta* 31, no. 1 (1992): 3-14. In his discussion of the application of medieval understanding of *imaginatio* to courtly love poetry, Douglas Kelly wrote that Imagination, in the writings of poets like Alain de Lille, was "explicitly the making of poetic picturae." Douglas Kelly, *Medieval Imagination: Rhetoric and the Poetry of Courtly Love* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), 30. While emphasizing imagination and the literary image over vision and pictorial images, Robert Langford Montgomery founded his study of didactic literary theory on the cognitive model described above and provided one of the most thorough and useful descriptions of a theoretical model for audience response derived from faculty psychology and Augustinian understanding of the 'instrumental' use of fictional images, that is intended to explain how the "fictional image" (in his study a literary one) could serve didactic purposes. Montgomery's study is not restricted to late medieval concerns, but his model is nonetheless useful. His earliest case study is Dante, and he asserts that the outlines of a didactic literary theory combining Aristotelian and Scholastic faculty psychology with Augustine's "concept of the 'instrumental' use of fictional images is evident in the *Purgatorio*. Robert Langford Montgomery, *The Reader's Eye: Studies in Didactic Literary Theory from Dante to Tasso* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 50. Giuseppe Mazzotta has also studied Dante's theorization of the crucial place of vision and especially of the poetic imagination in accessing knowledge, despite its dangers. Giuseppe Mazzotta, *Dante's Vision and the Circle of Knowledge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

[53] David Lindbergh's *Theories of Vision from Al-Kindi to Kepler* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1976) provides an essential survey of, as its title states, theories of vision. Lindbergh does not address cognition. Katherine Tachau's *Vision and Certitude in the Age of Ockham: Optics, Epistemology and the Foundations of Semantics* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988) gives an extremely detailed account of shifts in theories about vision and cognition, but is largely concerned with events postdating Francesco's invention of images.

[54] Aristotle De Anima III, 3.427a17, here cited from Thomas Aquinas *Summa Theologiae* (trans. Paul T. Durbin *Summa Theologiae* [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968]) Ia. 84.7.

> we know incorporeal realities, which have no sense images, by analogy with sensible bodies which do have images, just as we understand truth in the abstract by consideration of things in which we see truth. Furthermore, we cannot, ..., know other incorporeal substances except negatively and by analogy with corporeal realities."[55]

The faculty model of psychology, as described in the Aristotelian tradition (and based on *De anima*) posited that information entered the mind through the senses, by way of the power of the *sensus communis*. The sensory data then passed through to the *imaginatio*, which had the power to preserve the image of the things seen and sensed. The imaginative or cogitative power had a higher function. It employed stored sensory images, but had the capacity to represent and recombine these stored images. It was this power that produced both dream images and poetic and artistic fictions. The penultimate power was the estimative power, which had the power of judgement, for instance the ability to assess the *intentio* of the thing perceived, and to cue the viewer's reaction. The final power was that of the memory, where the information was stored.[56] This cognitive model had an important affective component, determined by the the viewed image's *intentio*.[57] In the late middle ages, with respect to audience reception of fictional images (whether textual or visual), this psychological model was combined with an Augustinian emphasis on an active reception on the part of the viewer who must assess and choose the

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[55] Thomas Aquinas *Summa Theologiae* Ia. 84.7.

[56] The number of faculties varies from three to five, but their essential functions and division into three parts of the brain – forward, middle, and back – remain basically the same. Avicenna's order and number of faculties was the most frequently repeated. There are many useful descriptions of this model. See for instance Michael Camille's discussion of a diagram of the internal senses according to Avicenna as represented in Cambridge University Library MS G.g.I.I, fol. 490v of ca. 1310. Camille, "Before the Gaze," 197-223.

[57] Camille, "Before the Gaze," 214, 215. He is here drawing on Mary Carruthers's work on memory.

object of his gaze, putting it to moral ends.[58] This cognitive model must inform our understanding of late medieval poetic and artistic composition and their aims. It also must inform how we understand the reception of images, and their affective, didactic, and mnemonic functions in the period.

The ubiquitous personifications of the middle ages were rhetorical figures of speech, fictional creations of the imagination of the poet. They were a method of *amplificatio*, intended to dilate, expand upon and emphasize the material under discussion. Once given pictorial form, personifications embodied abstract concepts to didactic ends, appealing to the eye of the viewer. Personification was, thus, one of the manifestations of late medieval visuality. It was a compositional device, by means of which the poet could instigate and structure a poem, and then in turn to appeal to the senses of the reader or viewer. In her study of Nichole Oresme's vernacular translation and illustration of Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics*, Claire Sherman Richter associated the images formulated by Oresme with vernacular language, observing that:

> [I]n many cases the pictorial representation translates abstract ideas or terms borrowed from Latin into familiar visual modes. Such visual language includes personifications and allegorical figures arranged in coherent structure and clothed in contemporary dress. A preference for concrete visual imagery

[58] See Montgomery, 29-50. Hahn characterized the model late medieval viewer as "a receptive and active soul cleansed and trained," and described the model of vision in which such a viewer was implicated as Augustinian. As part of her definition of late medieval visuality, she stated that "[r]ather than a momentary glance, the informed and disciplined eye lingers on the image and allows its visible details to arouse feeling." She makes this statement with reference to Bonaventure and Aquinas. Hahn, "Visio Dei," 169, 183. Camille also emphasized the active agency of the viewer. Camille, "Before the Gaze," 205.

> may correspond to the mental habits of readers accustomed to similar use of language in the vernacular.[59]

The effect of personification might have been to appeal to the reader in the concrete and immediate terms that Richter associated with the vernacular. However, the use of the device had a long history in literature written in Latin. In the *Vita Nuova*, Dante explicitly identified his personification of Love with the license granted to Latin poets, arguing that the same license ought to be granted to poets in the vernacular.[60]

Whether it was derived from vernacular culture or the study of Latin poetry, the device of personification evoked the experiential nature of oral culture.[61] Personification presented a speaker who appealed to both the eye and the ear. The combination of a text that evoked the spoken word and the personification that evoked a speaker in some sense mimicked an experience, an encounter with a person in the world. Part of the value of personifications resided in their bodily form, a form that addressed the senses and body of the viewer. They were therefore particularly useful in answering the demands of the cognitive model outlined above.

Francesco's use of images of personifications provides crucial evidence about late medieval visuality, and the didactic and affective power of fictional images. Throughout this dissertation I will explore various topics that fall under the umbrella of late medieval visuality. These topics include the relation between mental and material images, the

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[59] Claire Sherman Richter, *Imaging Aristotle: Verbal and Visual Representation in Fourteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 41.
[60] *Dante's 'Vita Nuova'*, trans. Mark Musa (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), 54-56.
[61] In his fundamental treatment of orality, Walter J. Ong argued that "Manuscript culture in the west remained always marginally oral," and pointed to the survival of orality in the context of "Learned Latin," due to the importance of rhetoric. My conclusions about the impact of this experientiality on the form of the manuscript are very different. Ong argues that pre-printing, and even into the history of print, the appearance of the word on the page was unimportant, intended for listeners. Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York: Methuen, 1982), 9, 112-115, 119, 121.

relation between poetic and pictorial invention, the role of images in representing and prompting meditation, and the didactic value of material images.

The argument presented in this dissertation is shaped by the fact that Francesco's personifications were not specific to particular contexts. They appeared in settings with diverse claims to authority and different implied audiences. The repeat appearances of Francesco's personifications, with and without explanatory text, imply that the designs had a certain independence and malleability. This malleability has been noted by other scholars, but its implications have not yet been explored.[62]

The fact that Francesco's personifications were not always a seamless fit poses a challenge for understanding their reception and contextual function. The evident seams in some cases appear to indicate a haphazard inclusion of the images, suggesting that the personifications were sometimes repeated simply because Francesco liked them.[63] As we shall see, delight was part of the function of these images, and inclusion for such a reason was entirely reasonable. This does not mean that Francesco's personifications were not meaningful or significant when they appeared "out of context," but rather that their meaning was flexible, and that the beholder had a share of interpretive responsibility.

In this dissertation I will endeavor to account for the flexibility and reuse of Francesco's personifications. On the one hand, the images under discussion in this dissertation had in common their inventor and the value he attached to images, especially the value of their material, visible presence. Beyond having them called to mind by a name, the experience of seeing the virtues as part of a physical encounter was important. On the other hand, these images had a specific function and value in relation to the

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[62] Jacobsen, 2: 92-97.

[63] For instance, in conversation Kay Sutton suggested that Francesco repeated his images of the Hours/Ages in the *Documenti* out of pride in his inventions rather than their appropriateness to the context.

distinct contexts in which they appeared. This dual focus, on the claims of the inventor and on contextual function, informs the dissertation as a whole. It also shapes each of the chapters.

The repeat appearances of Francesco's personifications imply that they had a particular value for their inventor, aside from specific contextual functionality. In this first chapter I will define the authorial/authoritative import of Francesco's images. This chapter is intended to establish a common foundation to which I will return over the course of the following chapters. In the commentary to the *Documenti*, Francesco frequently described the past appearances of his personifications, precisely so that his reader would know that they were indeed his own inventions, and not stolen from someone else ("ut tamen non crederes quod michi apropriem aliena").[64] Such determined claims to ownership establish that Francesco had a stake in the invention of these images, regardless of context.

It is clear that the material images were important in part because Francesco's job as a poet and inventor of images was to give material form to abstract ideas. Pictorial personifications were useful mediators between abstract ideas and the contingent world, and were invested with a certain degree of license because of their fictional status.[65] Most importantly in relation to Francesco's claims of ownership, the fictional status of personifications meant that these figures were formulated by a particular writer/inventor and could be claimed by that inventor.

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[64] Egidi 3: 287.

[65] John Kenneth Hyde provides a succinct introduction to the expansion of rhetoric and its application to practical purposes in communal Italy. He highlights Boncompagno da Signa and Brunetto Latini. John Kenneth Hyde, *Society and Politics in Medieval Italy* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), 86-93.

For this reason, images of personifications were employed by various political figures and corporations in the first half of the fourteenth century to make claims to higher authority and ideals. This function certainly attached to some of Francesco's personifications, especially those that appeared in monumental contexts. Accordingly, part of this first chapter will also address the function of Francesco's designs in monumental settings. Adorning palace walls, Francesco's personifications proclaimed the virtues of the people who occupied the space. This function is relatively straightforward, but studying this function in relation to the invention and reception of images of personifications reveals that the association between real people and fictional personifications was regulated by certain aesthetic imperatives.

Having defined Francesco's stake in his pictorial inventions in the first chapter, I turn in my second chapter to Francesco's deployment of his images in the context of his book of hours. I will examine how these images made the book Francesco's own, and how they prompted the meditative, dilatory reading appropriate to a book of hours. In keeping with Sylvia Huot's description of a late medieval visual imagination that responds to poetry with images, I argue that Francesco's images, in this instance, represented his response to the prayers and authoritative images found in a book of hours. Once represented, his images shaped future response and a particular devotional experience. The chapter will also demonstrate that Francesco's self-consciousness about his own activity as an inventor of poetic and pictorial fictions also informed the images planned for this devotional manuscript.

My third chapter will be devoted primarily to the *Documenti d'Amore*. In this chapter I will first examine the specific utility of images in a conduct book. Francesco

used personifications to teach the reader how to understand the world around them properly. Drawing on their material presence, and on the commensurability of pictorial personifications to bodies in the word, Francesco taught his reader to see and evaluate images, to see and interpret the world, and to shape their own behaviour accordingly. This conduct book was governed by Amor, a personification central to poetic debates of the time about the proper ends and means of poetry. Referring to these debates, I argue that Francesco's manipulation of the appearance and meaning of Amor in the *Documenti* must have been a self-conscious move. I will argue that Francesco's reinterpretation of the personification served to comment on his own practice as a poetic and pictorial inventor. It also had implications for the lessons his readers were to learn from the conduct book, as it thematized the reader's responsibility for interpreting appropriately.

I argue in this chapter that Francesco deliberately employed the visual and somatic address made by pictorial personifications to engage his readers. Further attesting to his conscious manipulation of this address are the designs planned to accompany his other conduct book: *Il Reggimento e costumi di donna*. As in the *Documenti*, images were planned to punctuate the *Reggimento*. Many of the personifications appearing in those images were the same as those in the *Documenti*, but the compositions had one important difference. Rather than addressing the reader/viewer directly, these personifications interacted with a third person: a fictional woman representing the social status under discussion in each section. In this case, the reader was called upon neither to interpret the personifications directly, nor to understand them as specifically relevant to to himself. My third chapter will, therefore, conclude with a consideration of how and why

Francesco deliberately altered the address made by his designs, and what that alteration might have to do with the structure and function of the *Reggimento*.

In my concluding chapter I will address the tomb of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi the only one of Francesco's monumental projects to have survived. Like all of the works he designed, this one was executed by a professional artist, in this case, the sculptor Tino di Camaino. The tomb is an important example of how Francesco adapted one of his own designs, in this case his allegory of Death and the promise of Eternal Life, to commemorate another person. It is an especially appropriate monument with which to conclude because comparison of the different versions of the allegory will bring to light hitherto unnoticed and meaningful aspects of the design of the allegory that represent Francesco's self-conscious claim to the mediating role of poet and designer.

CHAPTER ONE

POETIC AND PICTORIAL INVENTION AND THE NEGOTIATION OF AUTHORITY

Francesco's personifications are closely related to monumental political allegories of the first half of the fourteenth century, like the well-known *Allegory of Good and Bad Government* in the Sala dei Nove of Siena's Palazzo Pubblico, of 1338-1340 (figs. 99, 100). Personifications were employed in such didactic political images to associate the corporate body or ruler with a set of abstract ideals, and to make visible and specific their connection to those ideals. This was a means of establishing legitimacy by visually claiming a connection to abstract authority. Pictorial personifications had an important role to play in negotiating the gap between abstract ideals and the contingent world. Francesco's images were no exception, performing this mediating function in a palace in Florence and the bishop's palace in Treviso. Francesco tells us in the *Documenti d'Amore* that he had designed an image for the bishop's palace in Treviso that represented Justitia flanked by Misericordia and Conscientia, with inscriptions below them as if they were speaking.[66] This design was executed before his book of hours, and before his two conduct books. It is one of the earliest examples of his inventions for which we have any evidence. In the context of the bishop's hall, these virtues would have served as attributes

[66] "ut tamen non crederes quod michi apropriem aliena, nota quod eam dudum primitus pingi feci modo simili in episcopali palatio trevisino ad discum ubi ius redditur . Sed a dextris eius est misericordia et a sinistris conscientia quas etiam ibi retrahi primo feci . et iustitia est in medio ad modum signorum inferius adductorum." The extensive passage describes the other locations where the figures could be found, and the inscriptions that accompanied them. Egidi, 3: 287.

of the bishop, embodying his virtues, and characterizing his judgments and actions as just and merciful. Their accompanying inscriptions admonished those appearing before the bishop.

Although performing this specific function in the bishop's palace, Francesco's designs also migrated to other contexts where they functioned differently. This migration indicates that the images were invested with a certain self-contained quality and weight, apart from their functions in particular contexts. Personifications were poetic fictions, the product of their inventor. It was precisely Francesco's knowledge of poetic fictions that earned him his place among Filippo Villani's *Semipoetae*. Francesco was writing his conduct books and participating in poetic exchanges in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, at a time when poets were beginning actively to negotiate their status as writers and as "authors," and the transmission of their words in manuscripts. While Francesco's personifications existed and functioned separately from his texts, his stake in the images is also intertwined with his activity as a writer, and can better be understood in relation to his writing and his "authorial" concerns. The invention of personifications was a matter of poetic license, as was the representation of their appearance. Where Francesco could not claim contents, he could claim the form given to those contents, in both images and words. Francesco was highly self-conscious about his pictorial inventions. This chapter will characterize Francesco's image-making, and will define his stake in these images of personifications.

Francesco's attention to the invention of the forms of his personifications is remarkable. In the commentary to the *Documenti*, Francesco repeatedly calls attention to his design of the images that open each of the chapters. He speaks of making these

images with phrases like “I make a thing for myself…,” and “I had painted.” He tells the reader that it was out of necessity that he had designed the images for the *Documenti*, because he had found that the painters of Provence could not properly understand what he wanted.[67] Emphasizing his own inventiveness, he tells the reader about his decision to attempt to depict the figure of Virtu in genere (fig. 3) for the sake of clarity and enjoyment, despite being told that such an undertaking was impossible.[68] This last comment makes clear Francesco’s pride in his invention of these personifications. In those cases where one of the *Documenti*’s personifications had first been depicted elsewhere, Francesco is careful to describe where the image had appeared and what it had looked like. He also explains why he provides these histories, “This indeed I say to you so that in nothing you might believe that I appropriate for myself a work that belongs to another person.”[69] All of these statements draw attention to Francesco’s deliberate invention of the figures, and emphatically claim them as his own. His statements are not like the self-aggrandizing inscriptions artists made at the time.[70] Instead, Francesco’s

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[67] “De secundo sic dicas quod et si non pictorem designatorem tamen figurarum ipsarum me fecit necessitas amoris gratia informante . cum nemo pictorum illarum partium ubi extitit liber (2) fundatus me intelligeret iusto modo.” Note 2 states “Segue nel ms. ‘pictus’ cancellato.” Egidi, 3: 351.

[68] “Representanda videtur in genere forma quedam virtutis ut eiusdem medullas clarius videamus…. Nec obmicto quamvis aliqui dixerint quod licet possibile sit representare in figuris virtutes in specie tamen in genere figurare virtutem impossibile videbatur quin ad istam generalitatem figurandam procedam non in contentum illorum sed ad quandam qualem (1) novitatis effigiem inducendam in amoris honorem servorumque suorum gaudium aliquale.” Note 1 states that ‘qualem’ is repeated in the manuscript. Egidi, 1: 65, 66. See Mommsen for a discussion of the novelty of this figure in relation to the historical context.

[69] “hec quidem dico tibi ut in nullo crederes quod michi apropriem opera aliena.” Egidi, 3: 10. This instance is with reference to the figure of Hope. He makes very similar statements with reference to Justice (Egidi, 3: 287) and Laus (Egidi 3: 419).

[70] These statements are not like artists’ inscriptions. On the pulpit for the baptistry at Pisa, Nicola Pisano inscribed “ANNO MILLENO BIS CENTUM BISQUE TRICENO HOC OPUS INSINGNE SCULPSIT NICOLA PISANUS LAUDETUR DINGNE TAM BENE DOCTA MANUS” which John Pope Hennessy translated as “In the year 1260 Nicola Pisano carved this noble work. May so greatly gifted a hand be praised as it deserves.” John Pope Hennessy, *Italian Gothic Sculpture* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1986), 229. On his pulpit for S. Andrea in Pistoia, Giovanni Pisano inscribed (after the names of the donor and “financial supervisors”) “Giovanni carved it, who performed no empty work. The son of Nicola, and blessed with higher skill, Pisa gave him birth, endowed with mastery greater than any seen before.” John White, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1250-1400,* 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 122. Giovanni’s pulpit

statements establish a kind of ownership. Further supporting this impression is the statement he makes in the commentary in response to the question "why the painter is here preferred to the writer…." He responds, "because the picture draws to itself the panel… For it would be ridiculous for a picture by Cimabue or Giotto to cede before the possession of a paltry panel…."[71] As Eric Jacobsen has argued, this statement is a reshaping of a passage in the *Corpus iuris civilis*. The passage debates the question of ownership, balancing the claims of he who had done the work versus he who owned the material, for instance when a crop was sown on someone else's land, or a work written on someone else's parchment. While in these cases the ownership would go to the owner of the land or of the parchment, the matter is different when it comes to images.

> If someone has painted on another's *panel* (tabula) some think the *panel* must cede to the picture; others believe the picture, whatever its quality, must cede to the panel. But we think it is better that the panel should cede to the picture: for it would be ridiculous for a picture by Apelles or Parrhasius to cede to the possession of a paltry panel.[72]

As Jacobsen indicated, the passage does not mean that Francesco thought pictures to be more important than writing. However, the passage does imply that Francesco considered

at Pisa includes the inscription "I praise the true God, the creator of all excellent things, who has permitted a man to form figures of such purity. In the year of our Lord thirteen hundred and eleven the hands of Giovanni, son of the late Nicola, by their own art alone, carved this work, … He is a Pisan by birth, like that Giovanni who is endowed above all others with command of the pure art of sculpture, sculpting splendid things in stone, wood and gold. He would not know how to carve base or ugly things even if he wished to do so. There are many sculptors, but to Giovanni remain the honours of praise. He has made noble sculptures and diverse figures. Let any of you who wonders at them test them with the proper rules. Christ have mercy on the man to whom such gifts were given. Amen." Translation from Pope Hennessy, 236.

[71] Egidi, 1: 94, translation from Jacobsen 1: 97.

[72] *Corpus iuris civilis, Institutiones* II.1.34. Translated by Jacobsen, 1: 97. Jacobsen is here pointing to the passage as the source for Francesco's statement and cautioning about reading Francesco at face value. Egidi, 1: 94.

his invented images to have some kind of legal status as property, or even as claims upon property. It follows that his images belonged to him in some sense.

The distinction raised in the case may also be characterized as corresponding to a difference between form and matter, where the given form is valued over the material support. This distinction has bearing on Francesco's role in producing these images. He acted as designer and inventor of these images, but did not execute or produce them himself.[73] He tells us in the commentary that *disegno* is appropriate for noble men to know, so that they might more easily explain their *intentiones* to painters.[74] Francesco also gives instructions in the Latin commentary to "you who paint," or "to you who will have painted." He tells "you who paint" that Gloria (figs. 16, 36) must be represented as beautiful, and that no noxious animals must be represented in her garden. He gives similar instructions regarding Discretio. He says "tibi qui pingi feceris," ("to you who will have painted"), that Discretio's daughters, inferior virtues, ought to be represented as a group of old and young women, with no men amongst them (figs. 11, 32).[75] With reference to how important the images are for understanding the book, he exhorts "you who transcribe the book" not to disdain to *reportare*, ("to bear away" or "report"), the

[73] He may have provided initial sketches of some kind. His statement that he had designed the *Documenti* images himself because he could not find a painter in Provence who understood him properly indicates some ability to produce his designs himself. Nonetheless, none of the extant examples were executed by Francesco. The relevant passage is cited in note 67.

[74] "Hoc nedum in pictura sed in cuiuslibet rei fabrica magna pars primitus designare ac licet nobilibus propter colorum fastidia non videatur ars convenire pingendi attamen designandi nulli etiam principi videtur incongrua per quam pingentibus intentiones suas facilius porrigunt et novitates emergentes que ad divisandum pertinent habilius speculantur." Egidi, "Le miniature," 3, 5.

[75] "Sed quero a te hic nunquid sit necessarium pro ordine libri has inferiores virtutes pingere ut hic eas primitus designasti . Respondeo non . sufficit enim (1) tibi qui pingi feceris hic ordinare Senes Iuvenes puellas et similes mulieres in actu quo velis dum tamen honesto et ut hic nullum virum immisceas inter eas." The note specifies that "enim" was added above. Egidi, 2: 350.

figures.[76] While he exerted a great deal of control over the appearance of his images, providing designs and descriptions, Francesco also acknowledged the fact that he would not always have immediate control over their making. The value of these images for him lay in the forms he had designed, not in the particular manifestation.

Francesco's personifications were consistently novel. In part this novelty was a matter of content. Neither of the sets of virtues he presented in the *Documenti* and in the *Reggimento e Costumi di Donna* consisted of a preexistent group. This fact is not particularly surprising. Sets of virtues and discussions of their qualities were ubiquitous in the late Middle Ages in both literature and the visual arts. These sets were malleable, and were not restricted to the now-familiar seven theological and cardinal virtues. They were adjusted according to context and need, to include personifications of the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, or subsidiary aspects of particular virtues. In the visual arts, monumental sets in influential locations have often surprised art historians with their seeming lack of program. Emile Mâle was baffled by the set of virtues in the French cathedral cycles,[77] and Guido Tigler commented on the *totale disordine* of the seventeen virtues and beatitudes in the archivolt of the central portal at San Marco.[78] In her study of Giotto's vices and virtues in the Arena Chapel, Selma Pfeiffenberger stated that she could

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[76] "et licet posset dici tamen visa figura (3) clarior tibi erit lictere intellectus . unde (4) non despicias tu qui librum transcribis reportare figuras." Note 3 adds that the spelling in the manuscript was "vigura" and note 4 indicates that a cancelled "de" followed "unde." Egidi, 3: 317.

[77] Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, trans Dora Nussey, (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1958), 109-129. While Mâle was baffled by the apparent lack of programme and seeming lack of the cardinal virtues, Rosemund Tuve argued instead that the virtues that appeared there would have been easily recognizable as well-known aspects of the cardinal virtues, complemented by some of the virtues nourished by the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Rosemond Tuve, "Notes on the Virtues and Vices" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 26 (1963): 264- 303 and 27 (1964): 42ff. Tuve stressed the "ancientness and tough durability of these woven complexes of ideas and these relationships between virtues." In her words, there is "nothing singular or fanciful or haphazard about them." Tuve, 293. She made these comments with specific reference to Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Allegory of Good Government* in the Sala dei Nove, Siena.

[78] Guido Tigler, *Il portale maggiore di San Marco a Venezia: aspetti iconografici e stilistici dei rilievi duecenteschi* (Venezia: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1995), 244.

not discern any particular adherence to an established program of the virtues and vices in Italian art prior to 1310.[79] Sets of virtues and vices were very flexible.

Francesco's consistent and deliberate transformation of established iconography was the more important cause of the novelty of his personifications. In some cases Francesco's transformations were a matter of adding figures or attributes, through the rhetorical process of *amplificatio*.[80] Often the modifications were of the sort that Hans Belting has described under the more general term "narrative," which he proposed became a feature of pictorial allegory in the early fourteenth century.[81] Constantia (figs. 9, 30), Patientia (figs. 12, 33), Industria (figs. 8, 29), Spes (figs. 13, 34, 87), Innocentia (figs. 18, 38) and Discretio (figs. 11, 32) all engage in actions, or interact with other personifications, in ways that help to characterize them.

Indisputably, the novel forms of the virtues have to do with Francesco's particular subject matter, as has been argued in previous discussions of Francesco's images.[82] Francesco removed Amor's blindfold in order to give the figure a more positive charge.[83] However, in some cases it is evident that Francesco was not altering iconography only to fit his subject. His personification of Justitia provides a good example. Francesco's Justitia (figs. 17, 37), certainly a well-worn virtue, does not carry a balance but a *statera*, a steelyard. She emits rays, and, according to Francesco's description in the *Documenti,*

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[79]Selma Pfeiffenberger, "The iconology of Giotto's virtues and vices at Padua" (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1966), chapter 4, part 3, 1. She did observe a distinct trend to the set of cardinal and theological virtues, integrated into larger cycles.

[80] This is the term Frojmovič uses to describe the transformation. For instance, in her discussion of Mors. Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 105.

[81] See Belting, "The New Role of Narrative," 151-168.

[82] Valeria Nardi argued that Francesco's "resemanticization" of the concepts of the virtues and Love is demonstrated in the allegorical figures. Nardi, 78.

[83] Erwin Panofsky, "Blind Cupid," 95-128.

is specifically seated on a marble bench.[84] Frojmovič argued that despite his claims of invention, Francesco may have borrowed the iconography of his figure of Justitia from the allegory of Justice in the Marketplace depicted in the Palazzo della Ragione in Padua (fig. 123). While the steelyard would make sense in relation to the inscription below the figure in the Palazzo della Ragione - "And I, the mistress, temper the actions of men by means of reason / I stop crimes involving weight and measure" - the attribute does not correspond with Francesco's references in the commentary of the *Documenti d'Amore* to equality, which would be better served with the attribute of a scale.[85] The disjunction however, does not simply indicate that Francesco was drawing upon another iconographic source. Far more important is the final effect of the unfamiliar iconography. In combination with his other changes to Justitia, such as the addition of encircling rays, Francesco's use of the less familiar attribute of a steelyard was part of an overall strategy of reinvention and defamiliarization of his images, beyond the requirements of new conceptual content.

Francesco's transformation of previous images was intended to be recognized as such, at least in some cases. Often the form of the original image is easily recognizable. This is the case, for instance, with his modification of Justitia. This is also true of his representation of Natura naturans, Natura naturata, which is derived from a Wheel of Fortune. In Francesco's version a figure of Christ controls the female personification's turning of the wheel (fig. 7). Christ is identified as Natura naturans, and the female

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[84] "Questa e Justitia mandata damore / per punir chi mal guarda tantonore / Etate a di .xx. anni in veste canda / tutta dintorno ase piu raggi manda / Equesta etate allei ben si conviene / come ti dicon qui le chiose bene (1) / La veste ey raggi dicon come splende / ciascun signor chaffar iustitia (1) attende / In su nun marmo siede adenotare / che nel luom giusto (1) fermeça dea stare / …." Note 1 on page 284 comments that the previous two lines are not present in Ms. Barb. Lat. 4077. Note 1 on page 285 reports the alternate line "cha far iusta" in Ms. Barb. Lat. 4077. Note 1 on page 286 reports that in Ms. Barb. Lat. 4077 "iusto" appears instead of "giusto." Egidi, 3: 283-287.

[85] Frojmovič, "Giotto's Allegories of Justice," 35-37.

personification is identified as Natura naturata, rather than as Fortune. The recognizability of the transformations does not simply mean that Francesco's sources are showing. It also suggests that the transformation itself was to be recognized, and that it was significant in some way.

The most evident result of these transformations was to create deliberately novel images. But, why would Francesco have deliberately pursued novelty, beyond the demands of his subject matter? At the simplest level, novelty was associated with delight and pleasure. The connection is well documented. In his *New Poetics* (circa 1210), Geoffrey of Vinsauf urged the writer to have his choice of word "build a pleasing abode on another's site; let it be there a novel guest and give pleasure by reason of its novelty."[86] Francesco's attention to the pleasure of his viewers is evident in various comments he makes in the *Documenti*. For instance, he justifies his representation of the novel figure of Virtu in genere on the grounds that the image will allow for better understanding, and also because it would bring enjoyment to Love's servants.[87] He also tells the reader to look at the images of the Hours of the Day/Ages of Man, which he combined so that they might be more beautiful (fig. 15, 51, 54-58).[88] It is clear that his images were intended to give pleasure to the viewer, with or without iconographic explanation.

Novelty was also associated with ownership. Horace used legal language to describe the difficulty of and the merit of treating common material in a new way: "In

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[86] Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *The New Poetics*, trans. Jane Baltzell Kopp, in James J. Murphy, *Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 61.
[87] See passage cited in note 68.
[88] "figuras vide etiam ut tibi pulcrior appareat hic tractatus quod insimul cum horis representantur etates...." Egidi 3: 138.

ground open to all you will win private rights."[89] This association is suggested in one of the stories Boccaccio included in the *Decameron*. In the eighth story of the first day, the notorious miser Messer Ermino de'Grimaldi wants a novel image to adorn his new house. He asks the courtier Guiglielmo Borsiere whether he might be able to suggest "something never before seen" that he could have painted in the main hall. In Messer Ermino's view, a novel image would be appropriate adornment for his house, to be specific to him, to belong to him. The story establishes that novelty was indeed a matter of ownership. The association is relevant to Francesco's repeated claims that he had not stolen anyone else's work. The unusual iconography of Francesco's designs is what allowed him to claim them as his own property. Their novelty made them specific to Francesco.

However, the rest of Boccaccio's story also establishes the equivocal value of such novelty. In response to the miser's request, Guiglielmo responds that he cannot suggest a topic absolutely never seen before, except something trivial like a fit of sneezing. Instead he offers to propose a subject that Messer Ermino de'Grimaldi himself had obviously never seen, and suggests that the miser: "Have 'Generosity' painted there." The implication is that had Messer Ermino ever seen such an image, he would be acting accordingly. Shamed, the miser immediately changes his ways, and promises to have the virtue painted there so that no one would think that he had not seen and known her.[90]

Boccaccio's tale establishes the idea that novelty has little value in and of itself. Something never before seen by anyone is almost impossible to represent, and probably

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[89] Horace, "The Art of Poetry,' *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, trans. by H. R. Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library (1929; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970) 461. For discussion of this passage as used by Matthew of Vendôme and Geoffrey of Vinsauf with reference to invention, see Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) especially Chapter 6.

[90] Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron,* trans. Mark Musa and Peter Bondanella (New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1982), 52-54.

not particularly important in the end. There is no useful content in the image of a sneeze, though it might be represented in a novel guise. Francesco's novel personifications however, embodied just the kind of virtue, just the kind of proper behavior, evoked by the personification of Generosity named by Guglielmo. Their novel forms cloaked useful information.

Novelty was also associated with memory, because it signalled something missing. A novel item is something a viewer does not recognize, something not already stored in the memory. At one point in the commentary, Francesco discusses the possibility of comparing past and present. He cites Ecclesiastes, saying that there is nothing new under the sun, and that we have merely lost the records and memories of past events. At the conclusion of this discussion, the reader asks whether the virtue Constantia related a *novum* – a tale, or incident, a new thing - to her students. The answer is yes, and the reader asks to hear it in order to bring it to their memory.[91] The relevant biblical passage reads: "Nothing under the sun is new, neither is any man able to say: Behold this is new: for it hath already gone before in the ages that were before us. There is no remembrance of former things: nor indeed of those things which hereafter are to come, …."[92] The passage from Ecclesiastes also tells us that novelty is relative. Events and things of our own age only seem new because we have not yet experienced them, but others have in times before us. Things that seem new are not so, their previous

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[91] "nil sub sole novum nec valet quisque dicere hoc recens est . quid est quod fuit ipsum quod futurum est quid est quod factum est ipsum quod faciendum est ecclesiasten primo capitulo Iam enim precessit in seculis que fuerunt ante nos Sed nec eorum quidem que postea futura sunt erit recordatio apud eos qui futuri sunt . in novissimo, ut ibi dicitur licet hic iste auctoritates ordine transponantur vide ibi si vis . Sed quero ate postquam pars (1) ista totaliter est glosata nunquid hec domina novum aliquod ista sua lectura completa coram scolaribus recitavit . Respondetur quod sic peto ergo illud ad memoriam hic referri , placet ." The note states "Segue 'e' cancellata ed espunta." Egidi, 2: 342.
[92] Eccles. 1.10 - 11 DV.

occurrence has merely been forgotten. By a reversal of terms, new things are to be remembered.

Similarly, although the actual image of Generosity is unnecessary in the end, Boccaccio's story still makes clear the didactic force of novel allegorical imagery. Generosity was new for the miser, if not for others. The image and the ideas it represents can be novel to a particular audience.

Boccaccio's story helps establish the value and associations of novelty. Novelty is relative, as is its value. It is nonetheless associated with delight, memory and ownership. Also underlying Boccaccio's story is a commonplace assumption about the didactic efficacy of imagery, which was widely shared by his contemporaries. The Florentine Domenico Lenzi, for instance, included images in his *Specchio umano*, written between 1320 and 1335, because "sometimes it happens that someone, who understands something with the help of a picture, does not know how to read…."[93] The introduction to the *Image du monde*, an account of the natural world produced in France in the thirteenth century, tells the reader to pay attention to the astronomical diagrams, because without these, "the book could not easily be understood."[94] Francesco had a similar belief in the didactic efficacy of images. The majority of his images were personifications of virtues, appearing to govern the different sections of his conduct books, and intended to be specifically useful to his audience in some way. For instance, referring to the

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[93] "Ma perciò che talora aviene che chi sa cognoscere per sé con fighura non sa forse leggere…." Cited from Susanna Partsch, *Profane Buchmalerei der burgerlichen Gesellschaft im spätmittelalterlichen Florenz: Der Specchio Umano des Getreidehändlers Domenico Lenzi* (Worms: Werner, 1981), 105 n.1.

[94] Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987), 14. In his description of the *Image du Monde*, Charles V. Langlois stated that "L'*Image* a été écrite en effet pour être illustrée…." According to his description there are twenty-eight miniatures in the first part, and nine each in the second and third parts. He was working primarily from Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 25343. Langlois also observed that "Les figures sont souvent annoncées dans le texte, …, même quand elles n'ont pas été exécutées." Charles V. Langlois, *La vie en France au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1927), 154 n. 2 and 164 n. 1.

personification of Hope, Francesco exhorts the reader to "Look carefully at her image because reading alone is not enough to work out the intention." Speaking as commentator, he continues in the gloss to say: "Then he turns to her form, stating that without the figures, reading alone cannot understand this matter fully…You may answer, that is true of beginners, but as for others, writing has the same function as picture for illiterates (*ydiotis*)."[95] Although he maintains the utility of the images for *all* audiences, Francesco here echoes the dictum of Pope Gregory the Great (540-604), that pictures serve to educate.[96] The context however is different. Gregory the Great was referring to monumental images in churches, representing biblical narratives and figures, not allegorical inventions and personifications belonging to a particular poet and accompanying secular poetry. By allying himself with Gregory's dictum, Francesco was to some extent navigating this distinction. Despite the differences between the kinds of images and their relationship to an "author" and to divine "authority," Francesco claimed an important didactic role for his images.

As the examples cited above indicate, to some extent the didactic utility of images was a commonplace. Nonetheless, the distinction between biblical representations and other kinds of representations was important in the period, and navigating that distinction significant. This is perhaps most evident in the writing of Dante, Francesco's contemporary. In the *Convivio* Dante famously distinguished between the allegory of the

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[95] Egidi, 3: 4, 7, translation from Jacobsen, 2: 93. Nonetheless, Francesco seems to be making the claim that images within his text are important for its understanding, beyond the Gregorian commonplace that pictures would allow illiterates to understand as well.

[96] Gregory the Great's statement is frequently cited to introduce discussions of the didactic efficacy of images. For a discussion of the original context of the statement see Celia M. Chazelle, "Pictures, books and the illiterate: Pope Gregorian I's letters to Serenus of Marseilles," *Word & Image* 6 (1990): 138-153. For a historian's survey see Lawrence G. Duggan, "Was art really the 'book of the illiterate'?" *Word & Image* 5, 3 (July-September 1989): 227-251. For a brief discussion of Gregory and his dictum in pictures, see Michael Camille, "The Gregorian Definition Revisited: Writing and the Medieval Image," *Cahiers du Léopard d'Or* 5 (1996): 89-107.

poets ("bella menzogna") and the allegory of the theologians. In the letter to Cangrande della Scala he did away with the distinction, and explained how to interpret the *Divine Comedy* according to the four levels of interpretation normally assigned to Scripture. The move effectively equated his poetry with Scripture and cast him, a poet, as a theologian. As Marcia Colish has explained, in the *Convivio* Dante adhered to a view of poetry that saw the ends of poetry as didactic ones, but understood its poetic means as ornamental, as beautiful lies.[97] By contrast, in the *Commedia*, the literal level was "true" in a way that it was not in the *Convivio*, and could be interpreted accordingly. The device of personification is important to understanding the distinction between the two works and their claims to authority. In the *Convivio* Dante interacts with and addresses a personification of Philosophy, albeit one that had evolved out of a "real" woman from the *Vita Nuova*. In the *Commedia*, the people with whom he interacts are historical, real individuals, at the same time as they and their actions and conditions are to be interpreted at the allegorical, moral and anagogical levels.

The device of personification necessarily signaled fiction, and could not aspire to theology. Francesco, of course, was no Dante, and did not have the same ambitious aims. His poetry was devoted to existence in this world, and he ubiquitously employed the

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[97] The four levels of biblical exegesis are the literal, the allegorical, the moral and the anagogical. In the *Convivio* Dante explains that the allegorical sense "is the one that is hidden beneath the cloak of these fables, and is a truth hidden beneath a beautiful fiction." As an example he interprets Ovid's myth of Orpheus as concealing a truth about wise men and the power of their speech. He qualifies this explanation by saying, "Indeed the theologians take this sense otherwise than do the poets; but since it is my intention here to follow the method of the poets I shall take the allegorical sense according to the usage of the poets." In his explanation of the four levels in his letter to Cangrande, he uses a biblical example from the Psalms, "When Israel went out of Egypt, …," and interprets it allegorically as signifying redemption. His examples in themselves establish the difference. I have drawn the translation of the lines of the *Convivio* from *Dante's Il Convivio (The Banquet)*, trans. by Richard H. Lansing, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, 65, series B (New York: Garland, 1990), 40, 41. For the distinction between Dante's poetics in the *Convivio* and the *Commedia*, see Marcia Colish's discussion of the evolution of Dante's poetics, in her chapter "Dante: Poet of Rectitude," in *The Mirror of Language: A Study in the Medieval Theory of Knowledge,* rev. ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 152-220.

poetic device of personification to serve his didactic ends. Nonetheless, Francesco was self-conscious about his activity as a poet and designer of images, and convinced of the didactic utility of his images and poetry. He repeatedly cast himself and his poetic fictions as mediators, standing between his audience and divine truth, and communicating that truth in some way, through means (personifications) that declared their fictive status. The *Documenti* was governed by personifications. Francesco still claimed that his inspiration came from Divine Love, and that his conduct book was intended to help people live in concord on this earth, something pleasing to God.[98] As will be discussed in the next chapter, Francesco included his own pictorial inventions alongside biblical narratives and devotional images in his book of hours. His pictorial inventions are there juxtaposed with biblical images, and amplify and comment upon those images. As the reader/viewer experienced the manuscript, Francesco's inventions mediated his experience of the "authoritative" images and of prayer, guiding that prayer in particular ways. As mediators his images attached to and extended from sacred authority.

Francesco's design for Mors clearly represents the poet's mediating role (figs. 4, 76, 92). In this design, monstrous Death threatens everyone. However, a scholar (Francesco) offers hope to his fellows, communicating to them Christ's promise of Eternal Life, personified above. Though he used evidently fictive means, the "beautiful lie" of personification, Francesco also clearly thought of his fictions as having a crucial mediating role, even to the point of communicating salvific truths.

[98] "Nota per istam gobulam et sequentem quod quamvis amor iste divinus non exigat quod homines servent certos mores in quibus si excedimus quo ad deum non committimus peccatum, delectatur tamen quod omnes servi eius moraliter vivant et si non propter se adminus ut non displiceat quis aliis ex orrore malorum morum nam si unanimitas placet deo et ex (1) hiis homines alter alterius conservationem cesset unanimitas leditur et per consequens amor iste offenditur." The note explains that at this point in the manuscript a second, cancelled, "ex" was written. Egidi, 1: 80.

Francesco's evidently fictional images claimed some relationship to sacred authority and truths. At the same time, his fictional images were devoted to communicating lessons about life in this world, and could be emphatically claimed by their inventor. Francesco was not alone in negotiating the difference between narrative biblical images and secular images of quite different authority. The clearest example can be found in the mid-fourteenth century, in Cola di Rienzo's manipulation and use of allegorical imagery to political ends.[99] He "admonished the rulers and the people" with an image he had painted on the Palace of the Campidoglio. The image is described in an anonymous contemporary biography:

> On the outer wall above the chamber he had a picture painted of a tremendous sea, with horrible waves, storming violently. In its midst a ship was foundering, without rudder or sail. In the endangered ship was a widow woman, dressed in black, bound in a belt of mourning, her gown ripped from her breast, her hair torn, as if she would weep. She was kneeling, her hands piously crossed over her breast, as if praying to be saved from her danger. The inscription said, "This is Rome."

Four surrounding sunken ships represented the cities of Babylon, Carthage, Troy and Jerusalem. The accompanying inscription read, "Because of injustice these cities were endangered and fell." Other bereft personifications represented Italy and the four cardinal virtues, while an assortment of animals represent threats to Rome – "powerful

[99] For discussion see Belting, "Das Bild als Text," 25-28.

barons," "bad councillors," robbers and murderers, and "false officials."[100] According to the author of Cola's life, Cola also had an image painted at Sant'Angelo in Pescheria:

> In the left-hand corner of the picture was a brightly burning fire, with smoke and flames going up to heaven. In this fire were many plebeians and rulers, …in this same fire was an aged woman: two parts of her body were burnt and blackened, while the third part remained unharmed. In the right-hand corner was a church, out of which an armed angel, dressed in white, was coming; …; with his left hand he was taking the aged woman by the hand, as if to free her from danger. At the top of the bell tower of the church St. Peter and St. Paul were standing, …, and they were saying: Angel, angel, help our hostess.

Both of these images drew upon the authority of monumental religious images. The first depended upon Giotto's mosaic of the *Navicella* in the atrium of St. Peter's, itself an allegory of the Roman Church supported by Christ, represented by Christ's support of Peter on the water outside the ship. [101] The second of Cola's images drew on representations of Christ's *Descent into Limbo*. Both translated narrative images into allegorical terms, with personifications as actors. The plotlines of the biblical precedents first helped make the allegories legible. The biblical precedents were also likely intended to lend authority and weight to Cola di Rienzo's claims. Distinguishing the images from biblical episodes, the allegorical personifications freed the images from specific reference

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[100] *The Life of Cola di Rienzo*, trans. John Wright (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1975), 33-35.

[101] As Hans Belting argued, although the *Navicella* at first appears to be simply an *historia*, a representation of a biblical event, its isolation, removed from the rest of the narrative sequence, and monumentality, ensured that it would be read metaphorically, "its true message being St. Peter's salvation, which, following the exile of the Roman Church in Avignon, would only be understood in political terms." Belting, "The New Role of Narrative," 155.

to historical truth. Their new flexibility was noted by the anonymous biographer, who recorded audience reaction to the images:

> The people poured into Sant'Angelo and looked at these pictures; many said they were meaningless and laughed at them. Others said, "It will take more than pictures to reform the government of Rome." Others said, "This is a great thing, and it has great significance."

This description may simply have been conventional, intended to demonstrate that the images elicited a range of responses. Nonetheless, the final reaction suggests that for some viewers, the appropriation of biblical imagery and authority was successful. However, the first reaction, that the images were meaningless and even funny, seems specific to the allegorical image, an unlikely reaction to a biblical image. It indicates that Cola's appropriation was not entirely successful, that his images could seem empty of meaning.

Cola di Rienzo's images were particularly elaborate examples of the manipulation of allegory to political ends, a development that began at the opening of the century with Giotto's political allegories in Florence and Padua, and with Francesco's own preoccupation with formulating his novel personifications. In the fourteenth century, novel public images employing personifications were formulated to define and represent the authority of rulers, corporate groups and governments. These pictorial allegories had to be novel, in order to communicate new and/or place-specific concepts, but they also had to be comprehensible and accessible to their public.[102] Examples include Giotto's

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[102] See Wieruszowski for a description, if an idealistic one, of the impetus the development of the Italian communes had on art and architecture. "For subjects of a moral and didactic nature apt to support the commune in its task of educating good citizens and counsellors, the artists could rely on a symbolic

paintings in the Palazzo della Ragione of circa 1309, the Tomb of Lord-Bishop Guido Tarlati of circa 1329-32, the fresco of Brutus as a Good Judge in the Palazzo of the Arte della Lana after 1332, the Allegory of Good Government in the Sala dei Nove of the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena of 1337-40, and Cola di Rienzo's revolutionary images in Rome of circa 1347. [103] Examples in religious contexts include the allegories of the Franciscan rule in the vault of the Lower Church of Assisi, painted sometime in the 1320s and 1330s, and Andrea Bonaiuti's frescos in the chapter-house of Santa Maria Novella in Florence of 1366-68.

Giotto's Commune rubato was the first permutation in a series that demonstrates the profound mutability of personifications and allegories.[104] Vasari described Giotto's image in the Bargello, which he titled Il Commune rubato dai molti, as a personification

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language long since developed in the decorative art of the Church. Personification of abstract ideas, virtues and vices, Church and Synagogue, arts and sciences, etc., as female figures with their appropriate symbols had by no means lost the popularity they had enjoyed for centuries, but they were now susceptible to changes in accordance with the new tendencies of the age. The vices and virtues especially could assume new forms when correlated to the idea of public welfare." H. Wieruszowski, "Art and the Commune in the Time of Dante," *Speculum* 19 (1944) reprinted in *Politics and Culture in Medieval Spain and Italy* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e di letteratura, 1971): 488. Hans Belting described the transformation of allegorical images in the period with the use of narrative within the allegory to make an argument or provide an exemplum. Belting, "The New Role of Narrative…." See also Marvin B. Becker, "Dante and His Literary Contemporaries as Political Men," *Speculum* 41 4 (Oct. 1966): 665-680, "What I want to suggest is that the very ideal of the Florentine ruling orders is the stuff of Tuscan literature and art as expressed by painters from Cimabue through Giotto, and by writers from Latini through the young Boccaccio." Becker 668, 669.
[103] Frojmovič dates the paintings in the Palazzo della Ragione to circa 1306-1309. This is important because this date would allow Francesco to have seen them before his travels to Provence and France. Norman however states that most scholars accept a date of circa 1309-13. Diana Norman, "Civic Patronage of Art," *Siena, Florence and Padua: Art, Society and Religion 1280-1400*, vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 141.
[104] For discussion of the *Comune rubato,* see S. Morpurgo, "Un affresco perduto di Giotto nel Palazzo del Podestà," (Firenze: Tip. G. Carnesecchi e figli, 1897). Morpurgo was the first to connect the sonnets to the image. Derivative images (besides Francesco's) likely included the *Comune pelato* on the Tarlati tomb, and one in the Palazzo della Ragione in Padua, also only preserved in its epigraph. See Morpurgo for the text of the inscription. Monica Donato, followed by Eva Frojmovič, associated the much-repainted image long called the "Comune in signoria" with the Comune rubato composition. See M. M. Donato, "Un ciclo pittorico ad Asciano (Siena): palazzo pubblico e l'iconografia politica alla fine del medioevo," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, ser. 3, xviii. 3 (1988): 1105-272 and Eva Frojmovič, "Giotto's Allegories of Justice," 24-47. Julius von Schlosser, "Giusto's Fresken in Padua und die Vorläufer der Stanza della Segnatura," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 17 (1896): 80.

of the commune as a judge with a scepter, attended by the four cardinal virtues. Together the title given by Vasari, the descriptive sonnets composed by Antonio Pucci, and the derivative images, imply that Giotto's image showed a male personification of the Commune under attack by subsidiary figures.[105] Another version, in the Sala della Ragione in Padua, had a female personification at its center (fig. 124). The allegory is much overpainted, and figures that now appear to honor the central figure originally attacked her.[106] For the tomb of Lord-Bishop Guido Tarlati of Arezzo, sculpted by Agostino di Giovanni and Agnolo Ventura circa 1330, the allegory was transformed. There the initial relief panel shows the Comune pelato, the personified commune attacked by figures that tear at his hem and shoes and staff (fig. 125, 126). The second panel shows the personification protected from such attacks by the strong rule of the bishop, now enthroned beside him (fig. 127). A visual argument presenting an allegory in favor of communal government was transformed into an argument in favor of the Bishop's *signoria* over the city. Such allegorical images were easily transformed according to context. At root the basic schema of a central, enthroned figure attacked by surrounding figures derived from representations of the Mocking of Christ. In all of its allegorical guises the schema would recall the injustice of the episode from the Passion. Those guises however, were deployed in the service of very different ends.[107]

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[105] Morpurgo associated the sonnets with the design and published the texts. The sonnets describe the damage done to the personification of the commune, and promise that Justice will avenge the damage. Morpurgo, 8-10.

[106] See Frojmovič, "Giotto's Allegories of Justice…," 24-47 and Donato, "Un ciclo pittorico ad Asciano (Siena)" 1105-272.

[107] The schema can also be found in legal manuscripts. There it represents the competing interests that seek to influence the judge. Francesco would not have had to look far for the basic composition of his Constantia, further suggesting that to look for specific sources for his imagery is not a particularly fruitful line of inquiry. For an example see fig. 142.

Focusing on the normative and didactic role of wall painting, and the comparable didactic functions of painting and literature, Hans Belting attempted to define the genre of monumental personifications in his essay, "Das Bild als Text: Wandmalerei und Literatur im Zeitalter Dantes." According to Belting, painted allegory had a new public and political role in the Trecento, as it was used in public locations to appeal to a large audience to affirm communal values.[108] Image and text were closely bound.[109] Even so, for Belting image and text did have somewhat differentiated functions in attaining their common goal. Images on the one hand could provide "immediate, clear evidence," while inscriptions could both "broaden and make more precise" the message of an image.[110] Belting was concerned with defining the "language" of monumental painted allegory. In a related article, he described how narrative connections were employed within allegory to make an argument, and how a specific narrative could be made into a general lesson through allegorical means.[111] More elaborate compositions, bound together by narrative means, Belting described as "*Bildtext*" ("text-pictures"), pictures comparable to written arguments in structure. He defined the individual personifications composing the narrative as "*Bildbegriffe*," ("concept-pictures.")[112]

Francesco was deeply implicated in the early development of this genre. According to his own testimony, he designed personifications for monumental contexts. These included the personifications of Justice, Mercy and Conscience for the bishop's palace in Treviso, and a representation in Florence of a "war between Courtliness and

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[108] Belting, "New Role," 155.
[109] Belting, *Das Bild*, 29.
[110] Belting, *Das Bild*, 36. "Die Texte suchten in den Bildern eine Evidenz von unmittlebar anschaulicher Art. Die Bilder wiederum erweiterten und präzisierten mit Hilfe von Inschriften ihre Aussage."
[111] Belting, "New Role," 158.
[112] Belting, *Das Bild*, 45.

Avarice and followers and Probity and Cowardice and followers….”[113] The description of the Florentine fresco suggests a specific and well-developed allegory, with concepts linked by narrative means, if only in the well-worn pattern of Prudentius' battle between the virtues and vices. Both of these frescoes would have served similar functions. Part of their function would have been that described by Belting, namely the improvement of public morals, and the instruction of their viewers. More importantly, the representation of virtues on the walls would have served to associate the principal inhabitants of the space with those virtues. The assumption of such an association is evident in Boccaccio's story about the miser. Part of the joke of painting Generosity to adorn the palace of Ermino Grimaldi would have been the marked disparity between the representation and the person the image was supposed to characterize. Matching form and content was a matter of aesthetic decorum, and in the story the threatened disparity shamed the miser into better behavior. Francesco's battle between Courtliness and Avarice and Probity and Cowardice would have been appropriate to a courtly setting, to a wall in a *sala* in a palace whose inhabitants could legitimately claim, or at least aspire to, the virtues of Courtliness and Probity, and who would want to advertise such virtues to their visitors.[114]

Likewise, Francesco's design for the bishop's palace in Treviso, representing Mercy, Justice and Conscience, would have been appropriate for the hall, the most public space of the bishop's palace. Generally speaking the episcopal hall was an administrative space used for various purposes related to the see. It was used for such things as receiving petitioners, for making ecclesiastical appointments, for dealing with property. It was also

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[113] "Istius quidem probitatis et audacie ac curialitatis de qua dictum est supra si formas pictas queries vide florentie ubi bellum inter curialitatem et avaritiam et sequaces et probitatem et codardiam et sequaces in figuris representavi et dicta vulgaria que sunt ibi . cum novitatibus aliis circumspictis." Egidi, 1: 24, 25.
[114] Unfortunately, it is not possible to further specify the location of this image at this time.

a space for settling certain types of disputes.[115] Francesco tells his reader that the virtues were represented in the palace “ad discum ubi ius redditur,” (“at the *discum* where justice is rendered.”)[116] Bishops could hold a broader right to administer justice, a prerogative represented and reinforced in the decoration of their halls. Maureen Miller has explained how the bishop of Bergamo, count of the city since the tenth century, had the right to administer criminal and civil justice. The space of his hall, where this activity occurred, was framed by religious images, including the Annunciation, scenes from the Passion, and, most strikingly, a Last Judgment, which would have appeared immediately behind the presiding bishop. The frescos thus equated the bishop with Christ as judge, and presented an argument for the legitimacy and priority of his judgment.[117] Francesco’s personifications served a similar purpose, equating the justice administered by a particular bishop with abstract virtues and sacred authority.

The general appearance of Francesco’s virtues for the Trevisan palace is preserved in Francesco’s book of hours and the *Documenti*. Mercy appears in his book of hours to open the Office of the Dead (fig. 75) and Conscience appears in the commentary to the *Documenti* (fig. 19). Justice governs a subsection of the *Documenti*, and Francesco describes the overall organization of the Trevisan fresco in the commentary to this

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[115] On bishop’s palaces generally, and on the relationship of palaces to the changing role of the bishop with the increasing power of the communes, see Maureen C. Miller, *The Bishop’s Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2000). Miller provides an interesting discussion of the function and design of bishop’s palaces, exploring, for instance, the long, narrow proportions of bishop’s halls in comparison to communal examples, a difference which she argues would have evoked the proportions and spatial relationships of a cathedral nave, and that was appropriate to a “more hierarchical conception of power.” She also describes the decoration of bishop’s palaces, noting the prevalence of religious images, in distinction to such things as the battles that adorned communal palaces, that would bolster the bishop’s specific religious claims to authority, and frame the events and actions taking place within the palace in a religious context. She does note that virtues and vices were popular choices for the adornment of both episcopal and lay palaces. Miller, 170-215.
[116] Egidi, 3: 287.
[117] Miller, 189-200. The frescos are dated to the second or third decade of the thirteenth century. Miller argues that they were painted in response to challenges to the bishop’s authority.

section, representing it in a tiny diagram of three aligned triangles (fig. 17, 37). Francesco also there reports that all three had accompanying inscriptions, “as if they were speaking.” The inscription below Mercy stated “Ite et amplius nolite peccare,” (“Go and sin no more”). Justice was accompanied by the phrase, “Ego quidem et si morte preoccupata fuero in refrigerio ero,” (“even if death has been anticipated, I will be in consolation.”) Conscience’s inscription read, “Pura sum et simplex dum nichil ago nisi quod palam possum,” (“I am pure and simple provided that I do nothing except that which I can do openly.”)[118] The virtues embodied by the personifications were associated with the bishop, serving as his attributes, and as representations of his own virtues. The images and their accompanying speeches also evoked sacred authority. In the book of hours Mercy is represented wearing a blue cloak, and would presumably have been depicted wearing a similar garment in the bishop’s hall,. Her blue cloak would have evoked the Virgin. The command she uttered, “Go and sin no more,” would have implied that the judgments passed by the bishop were not with regards to disagreement or conflict in the world, but to sin. Justice’s phrase too would have evoked not judgment in this world, but the Last Judgment, after death. The personifications and accompanying inscriptions clearly associated the bishop with sacred authority, representing the grounds on which he was able to pass judgment on visitors to the palace. These virtues then, acted in very similar fashion to the later communal example of the *Allegory of Good Government* in the Sala dei Nove in the communal palace of Siena, embodying the virtues informing the government and claiming abstract ideals as their foundation.

Francesco’s novel inventions were not, however, simply the public face of institutions or offices. Though they may have acted as such in monumental contexts,

[118] Egidi, 3: 287.

Francesco's inventions also appeared in manuscripts, including in his book of hours and conduct books. In the *Documenti*, Francesco emphatically and explicitly claims the personifications as his own. In his book of hours, the idiosyncratic images mark the manuscript as a whole as Francesco's. It seems that the identity of Francesco's personifications as *his* inventions coexisted with their public function. Their import cannot therefore be fully explained by that public, didactic function.

The best-known examples of monumental political allegory are the *Allegory of Good Government*, and its opposite, *The Allegory of Bad Government*, in the Sala dei Nove of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, (figs. 99-100). Accented in the right way, the scholarship on these frescos provides insight into Francesco's use of images. Randolph Starn and Loren Partridge convincingly argued that such allegorical images acted as a means for republican communes to legitimate their political identity and negotiate their own political authority. These allegories presented the viewer with images of the virtues that theoretically informed the government, and with the embodied Commune/Common Good that could stand outside or beyond factional interests. In these frescos the abstract virtues were made specific to Siena with particular details. For instance, the Commune/Common Good wears a black and white garment representing the city's colors (fig. 100). Where Belting argued the common didactic function of image and text, Starn and Partridge laid particular emphasis on the crucial role of writing in the frescos, and emphasized the contrast between the roles of the writing and the imagery. While the imagery was "seductive," for them writing had the more privileged role.[119] Both instrument and representative of power, writing was important to the constitution and representation of a republic. Latin was used in the room to label the virtues and vices, and

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[119] Starn and Partridge, 29.

to link the frescoes "to the most authoritative traditions of reading and writing on ethics and politics,"[120] while the Italian poetry was familiar, accessible and immediate.[121] In their treatment of the room Starn and Partridge emphasized standard hierarchies, stating: "Word before image, reason before imagination, truth before the *figura* representing it: these were standard hierarchical arrangements spelled out in medieval theology, psychological theory, and aesthetics."[122] With regard to the personifications, Starn and Partridge wrote:

> The labeled personifications, …, are the images least necessary as images to the meanings assigned to them. ... Their pictorial attributes are strictly coded – the scale and sword of Justice, the olive crown and branch of Peace, the cross of Faith, the fire of Charity...The inventive touches are prevented from seeming new or original in any case: a written label "ages" the images instantly….[123]

While they were not mistaken in their general assessment of the personifications, Starn and Partridge underestimated the importance of the embodiment of the virtues in images, and of the "inventive touches."

Belting too was not concerned with the particular role of the images of the personifications in the Sala dei Nove. When he mentioned the place of art, it was with regard to increased naturalism, as in the Sienese landscape of the *Effects of Good Government in the City and Countryside* on another wall in the room (figs. 101, 102).[124]

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[120] Starn and Partridge, 38.
[121] Starn and Partridge, 33.
[122] Starn and Partridge, 36.
[123] Starn and Partridge, 50.
[124] Belting, *Das Bild*, 23.

In this he was following up on Helene Wieruszowski's argument that communal needs provided an impetus to changes in style:

> Didactic and political subjects required an especially clear and distinct language in order that the lessons taught should be fully understood by the citizens. The task demanded qualities of observation and imitation; allegory was to be placed in the natural environment of the observer, and hence the depicting of the city with its characteristic architectural features and representative buildings….[125]

Both Belting and Wierusszowski conceived of the specific role of images as that of naturalism, of imitation of the world. Neither however inquired as to the specific role the pictures of the personifications played.

If we accept that the texts did indeed carry the weight of authority as Starn and Partridge argued, then the pictures of personifications may have had the opposite role, and played their part precisely as imaginative fiction. This is to say that the status of these images as a veil, as a malleable fiction, was part of their value. Writing may indeed have had a greater authority, fixing facts and identities, but this also implies that images had greater freedom for novelty, for the expression of the particular and specific over the abstract and authoritative, and for the negotiation of contingent authority. As Starn and Partidge indicated, "The truths of reason, …, were held to be beyond understanding without the figurative representations that, as representations, also partly obscured the rational order."[126] Ambrogio Lorenzetti's prominent signature in the center of the wall immediately below the virtues ideally governing Siena, further proclaimed the fictive

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[125] Wieruszowski, 497.
[126] Starn and Partridge, 37.

status of the personifications: "Ambrogio Lorenzetti of Siena here painted both…."[127] The Latin labels point to the authoritative identities of these virtues, but it is in the fiction of images, painted and even witnessed by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, that they are embodied. It was in pictures that the principles and virtues were brought before the eyes of Siena, and in pictures that those virtues were made specific to the city.[128] Their status as contingent fictions may have been precisely what allowed for Ambrogio Lorenzetti's prominent signature, and what allowed for the specific application of these virtues to Siena.

Pictorial personifications then may have had a particular valence precisely as inventions, as fiction. Further evidence of their self-proclaiming fictional status can be found in an earlier, seminal example, Giotto's virtues and vices in the Arena chapel, completed circa 1305 (figs. 104-121). Though not political in context, these personifications are closely related to the genre of monumental political allegory, and stand at the beginning of the tradition. They provided potent examples of personifications as the embodiment of particular qualities. These personifications were important models for Francesco. In the commentary to the *Documenti*, Francesco specifically admires how Giotto depicted one of Envy's qualities in paint, how she is consumed inside and out (fig. 113).[129] The personifications in the Arena chapel appear along the base of the North and

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[127] "Ambrosius Laurentii deSenis hic pinxit utrinque …." The inscription is incomplete due to the doorway punched through the wall. Belting commented that the signature has a notarial character, making the image like a legal document. Belting, *Das Bild*, 38.

[128] Starn and Partridge conclude their essay by writing, Lorenzetti represented the republican polity both as a transcendent "figure of mind" and as a utilitarian "alliance." Keyed to writing and symbolic forms, his Siena was a republic of principles; displayed in circumstantial images, it was a republic of interests." Starn and Partridge, 58.

[129] "invidia comburitur intus et extra hanc padue in arena optime pinsit Giottus." Egidi, 2: 165. *Invidia's* tituli from the Arena chapel does not survive in full, so it is impossible to check whether or not Francesco's description resembled in any way the tituli provided. What remains reads "PATET HIC INVIDIAE CECAE/…."

South walls of the chapel, accompanied by descriptive *tituli*, with the virtues arranged on one side and the vices on the other. The virtues represented are the seven theological and cardinal virtues: Spes, Karitas, Fides, Iusticia, Temperantia, Fortitudo and Prudentia (figs. 105-111). They are opposed by vices: Desperatio, Invidia, Infidelitas, Iniustitia, Ira, Inconstantia, and Stultitia (figs. 112-118). These personifications were rendered as fictive sculpture, as if to adorn a stone dado at the base of the chapel wall. The biblical scenes above, representing scenes from the lives of Christ and Mary, were depicted as dramas occurring within illusionistically convincing spaces (figs. 104, 119). I believe that the personifications were rendered as sculpture not only because of their location at the level of a dado. The difference may have been a significant one, due to a decorum matching style to subject matter. The biblical images, with the authority of Scripture, were understood to be literally "true," and were accordingly presented as dramas enacted by real people. In contrast, the personifications were rendered as sculpture, as manmade objects, because, unlike the biblical scenes above, they represented fictions, invented by man, though their appearances cloaked abstract truths. Indeed, their fictitious status is doubly apparent, since the relief sculpture is itself an illusion, created by paint.[130] The possibility that there is a complex decorum of representation at work in the frescos of the Arena chapel is also signaled by the angels at the top of the scene of the Last Judgment who peel back the heavens to reveal a glimpse of gold and gems (fig. 120, 121). Their action points to something about to be revealed, but that is not represented, namely final salvation and heavenly Jerusalem. these are things that would have been considered not

[130] In response to the questions of why the area of the virtues and vices was so different from the upper zone representing the Lives of Mary and Christ, Johannes Tripps proposed that the fictive relief sculpture of the vices and virtues was intended to evoke the outer wall of Paradise, of Heavenly Jerusalem, in similar fashion to how the Garden of Love in the Roman de la Rose was enclosed by a sculpted wall. Johannes Tripps, "Giotto an der Mauer des Paradieses," *Bruckmann's Pantheon,* 51 (1993): 188-196.

fully comprehensible on earth, and according to the decorum I have described, not possible to represent.[131] In contrast, the forms of the personifications, formulated by artists and poets, cloak abstract truths that can be enacted and embodied on this earth.

The fictive status of these personifications was made evident, but would not have detracted from the meaningfulness of the images. What Francesco admired was Giotto's ability to effectively represent in paint one of the vice's abstract qualities, that is how the envious person is "consumed inside and out" ("comburitur intus et extra").[132] As Rosemond Tuve wrote about personifications of the vices and virtues, "Form makes as much difference here as in any other kind of image. But it is not naturalistically convincing form,… Suitability lies in the inner metaphorical relation which we are made to 'conceive', through what we 'see';…."[133] With reference to thirteenth and fourteenth century virtues and vices, art historians have repeatedly commented that artists began to "embody" the qualities of the virtues. Pfeiffenberger argued, for example, that "Giotto's personifications may be identified without recourse to their *tituli*, because their gestures and postures render their figures the embodiment of the subjects they personify."[134] Similarly, with reference to one of the virtues on Nicola Pisano's pulpit for the Baptistry at Pisa of 1260 (fig. 128), Moskowitz stated that "Instead of suggesting the spiritual attributes of Fortitude by means of symbolic accoutrements, as was traditional, here

[131] Julia Kristeva points to the performance of a failure of representation in the Arena chapel in the representation of both heaven and hell. "Abruptly, the scroll tears, coiling in upon itself from both sides near the top of the back wall facing the altar, revealing the gates of heaven and exposing the narrative as nothing but a thin layer of color." Julia Kristeva, "Giotto's Joy," *Calligram: Essays in New Art History from France,* ed. Norman Bryson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 29. She implies that the whole fresco is revealed to be a fiction by the peeling back of the heavens, where I argue that it demonstrates a definition of representation that accounts for the painter's ability to adequately describe different realities, and that establishes a decorum of different kinds of representation for those different levels of reality.
[132] Egidi, 2: 165.
[133] Tuve, 295.
[134] Pfeiffenberger, 4: 2.9.

Nicola chose to convey those attributes by means of the figure's physical characteristics, selecting an antique Hercules for his model."[135] We might also add to the list other examples, such as Giovanni Pisano's virtues on the base of the pulpit of Pisa, whose qualities are embodied by means of clearly distinguished ages, beyond particular attributes (fig. 129). These are not the virtues from thirteenth-century French cathedrals, identified primarily by emblems on shields.[136] Instead, the qualities of these virtues and vices are embodied and enacted. Abstract qualities were translated into sensible forms, actions and attributes. Pictorial and sculptural personifications as they developed in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were less and less like equivalents to their names. They became more and more material, representing the core ideas of a concept in visible form. In some ways this development tallies nicely with an art historical narrative of stylistic development towards increased mass, volume and naturalism. However, in the case of these personifications, fictional *colores rhetorici*, this change in style ought to be seen as deliberately meaningful. Rather than simply a matter of stylistic development, this increasing materiality may have resulted from a desire for didactic efficacy. This materiality may have been be crucial to the value of these personifications as *figura*. Rather than understanding this change as a matter of the internal development of art towards an increased naturalism or interest in citation of the antique, we might better understand it in terms of appropriate invention, making the outer form, the poetic veil, appropriate to the concept expressed. As discussed in the introduction, the expression of

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[135] Anita Fiderer Moskowitz, *Italian Gothic Sculpture 1250-1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 30.

[136] I am here echoing Mâle's description, "The figures of the Virtues seated on their thrones in French thirteenth-century cathedrals had no other attribute than a shield bearing an emblem." He continues, "Nothing could be more simple or more noble." Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Late Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 285.

an abstract concept in material form was necessary to didactic efficacy. As Thomas Aquinas argued, "corporeal similitudes" were necessary to fix "simple and spiritual intentions" in the mind, because "human cognition is stronger in regard to sensibilia," or sensible things.[137]

The link suggested by faculty psychology's cognitive model between pictures in the world and mental images has been the subject of previous discussion. Frances Yates's seminal study, *The Art of Memory*, provided the foundation for subsequent comments. Yates suggested that the visual arts of the fourteenth century, especially representations of the virtues and vices, must be considered in relation to the art of memory as it was understood in the Middle Ages.[138] Though she cautioned that the images of the art of memory were specifically mental images, she also suggested that the rules for making effective memory images may well have "found their way" into art, as for example in Giotto's virtues and vices in the Arena chapel or in the Sala dei Nove in Siena.[139] Belting seconded this suggestion in his study of the public and moral function of monumental allegory.[140] Frojmovič too cited the *imagines agentes* of the arts of memory as a possible motivating factor for Francesco's active virtues, but did not expand on the point.[141]

It seems indisputable that Francesco intended his personifications to be memorable, and it is more than likely that a scholar steeped in rhetoric was influenced by the precepts for formulating effective memory images when inventing his

[137] Often cited with reference to the didactic efficacy of images. See for instance, Yates 74.
[138] Yates, 57. Carruthers greatly expanded Yates' work on memory, but her work deals less directly with representations of the virtues and vices than does Yates'.
[139] Yates, 81, 92.
[140] Belting, *Das Bild*, 56.
[141] Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 193.

personifications. Francesco's emphasis on his own novel inventions is in keeping with the memory precept that the most effective memory images are ones invented for oneself. The emphasis on memory however, accentuates only one side of the equation. If the most effective images were ones' own, then Francesco's images could not have been effective for others viewing them, a demonstrable concern for the author, who repeatedly tells his reader to look at the images for better understanding. Furthermore, memory images were immaterial, in contradistinction to those associated with Francesco's practice. When dealing with Francesco, the imaginative or cognitive faculty ought to be emphasized instead of memory, for that faculty governed the recombination of stored sensory data, and its expression in new forms.

Francesco explains in the commentary to the *Documenti* that, figuratively speaking, he was *accese* (inflamed) to call Love's servants to the fortress and to write the conduct book, "per ymaginationem collatam in mentem meam licet indignam...," ("through the image placed in my unworthy mind.")[142] The faculty or power of *imaginatio* was the part of the mind that retained the forms of visible things perceived in the world. It also controlled the projection of images back into the world, including poetic and artistic images.[143] Imagination allowed for the representation of abstractions, and the poet was to invent images appropriate to the abstractions understood through reason. Imagination could either be false, representing nothing, or true.[144]

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[142] Glossing the word *accendidit*, Francesco writes "dic per ymaginationem collatam in mentem meam licet indignam et methaphorice loquitur prohemium istud." Egidi, 1: 21.

[143] In his discussion of the application of medieval understanding of *imaginatio* to courtly love poetry, Kelly described *imaginatio* as "govern[ing] the invention, retention, and expression of Images in the mind; it also designates the artist's Image, projected as it were into matter." Kelly, xii.

[144] Kelly, 33, 34.

Francesco, a poet well-schooled in rhetoric as a notary and doctor of canon and civil law, would have understood his personifications to be figures of speech. Personification, or prosopopeia, was one of the devices of amplification. In the early thirteenth century, Geoffrey of Vinsauf defined it in his *New Poetics*, saying "Come, Prosopopeia, fifth helpmeet in extending the journey. To a thing which has no power of speech, give the power lawfully to speak, and let license endow it with tongue."[145] Personification was a matter of poetic license. In book XXV of the *Vita Nuova*, Dante digresses apologetically on the subject of his description of his visions of the figure of Love:

> At this point it may be that someone worthy of having every doubt cleared up could be puzzled at my speaking of Love as if it were a thing in itself, as if it were not only an intellectual substance, but also a bodily substance. This is patently false, for Love does not exist in itself as a substance, but is an accident in a substance…. Since, in Latin, greater license is conceded to the poet than to the prose writer, and since these Italian writers are simply poets writing in the vernacular, we can conclude that it is fitting and reasonable that greater license be granted to them than to other writers in the vernacular; therefore, if any image or coloring of words is conceded to the Latin poet, it should be conceded to the Italian poet.

Dante defends his use of the personification on the grounds that whatever devices were conceded to the Latin poet should also be conceded to the poet writing in the vernacular.

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[145] Geoffrey of Vinsauf, "The New Poetics," in *Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts,* ed. James J. Murphy, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 50.

He qualifies this poetic license by saying that this use of personification ("unreal things" that are represented as speaking "as if it were a substance and human") may not be used without reason. It must rather be used "with a motive that can later be explained in prose." According to Dante the poet must be able to explain the true meaning behind his inventions. As he explains, the poet's figures must clothe substance. "For, if any one should dress his poem in images and rhetorical coloring and then, being asked to strip his poem of such dress in order to reveal its true meaning, would not be able to do so – this would be a veritable cause for shame."[146] Properly employed, *imaginatio* produces specifically motivated "images" that veil a "true meaning." Stripping away the veil to reveal a naked body or truth would not be the cause of shame, instead shame would lie in having created false images, lies, that when stripped away reveal that they covered absolutely nothing.

Derived from rhetoric and poetry, personifications had a close relationship to text, but they did not serve as labels in the sense implied by Starn and Partridge's characterization of the Sala dei Nove figures. Personifications of the period ought rather

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[146] *Dante's 'Vita Nuova,'* 54-56. Citing Dante, C.S. Lewis noted the roots of medieval personifications in Latin rhetoric and poetry, but emphasized other motivations, famously writing, "The root of this need as we have seen is twofold; on the one hand, the gods sink into personifications; on the other, a widespread moral revolution forces men to personify their passions." C.S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), 63. Ernst Curtius' treatment of personification also traces the origins of personification to late Antiquity, and links medieval personifications to Roman rhetoric. In his discussion of "personal metaphor," he emphasized personification as a means of representing relationships between abstract concepts. Ernst Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* trans. Willard R. Trask, Bollingen Series XXXVI (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), 131, 132. Ernst H. Gombrich has also addressed the topic of personification, with an emphasis on the "vitality" of personifications. "Artistic characterization differs from rational definition in that it creates symbols rather than signs. What I mean is that the artistic personification is inexhaustible to rational analysis. It is to this that it owes what might be called its vitality or simply its vividness. While we are under its spell we are unlikely to ask whether such a creature really exists or is merely a figment of the artist's imagination. And thus the arts of poetry, of painting and sculpture, of drama and even rhetoric aided by tradition can continue the functions of mythopoetic thought. Potentially personifications can always come to life again." Ernst H. Gombrich, "Personification," *Classical Influences on European Culture, AD 500-1500*: *Proceedings of an International Conference held at King's College, Cambridge, April 1969,* ed. R.R. Bolgar, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 254, 255.

to be understood and assessed as fully-developed poetic fictions. As poetic fictions, they were malleable and contingent. They could be made specific to a person or a corporate body, while embodying the authority of an abstract concept. The city of Siena aligned itself with the Common Good and its associated virtues by means of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's personifications. These personifications embodied greater authority beyond factional interests. Although the "authority" and ideals claimed may have been located beyond the city, the forms of those virtues (and of the vices to be opposed) were fashioned to be specific to Siena. The Common Good wears Siena's colors, as does Discord. The bodies and garments of those personifications were the product of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's brush, and the artist laid claim to those bodies with his signature. The form given to the figures was a means of mediating between the abstract and the specific. Cola di Rienzo's transformation of biblical images into allegories animated by personifications *fictionalized* those images, and claimed them for his own political project, while associating that project with abstract truths. The authority of abstract concepts was mediated through the garb of poetic and pictorial fictions. In similar fashion, Francesco's novel personifications could be claimed by their designer, as the product of his invention, while serving a didactic moralizing function, teaching the reader/viewer about the abstract virtues to which they should aspire. By means of Francesco's invented forms, the embodied virtues were presented to him and his readers/viewers. Such poetic fictions served the interests of both political and personal authority. As these examples demonstrate, the formulation and description of personifications was a matter of poetic license. That license was, of course, limited by the

demands of decorum, but was still an activity that could be specifically claimed by the poet/designer as his own.

Francesco was a poet, writing in the vernacular in an age of great experimentation, both with the making of books and with the concepts of authority and authorship. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries saw a new self-consciousness about poetic identity. This poetic identity was beginning to be preserved and represented in manuscripts, for instance with the emergence of anthologies devoted to single authors.[147] Francesco's own poetic activity and involvement in the production of manuscripts was self-conscious. A number of scholars have addressed his involvement in manuscript production, especially the possibility that the manuscripts of the *Documenti* are at least partially autograph. Arguing that notarial practice was fundamental to changes in how books were written and produced, Armando Petrucci in particular has emphasized Francesco's role in producing his own books. As notaries produced multiple stages of documents (notes, *minute* or *imbreviatura*, *instrumentum publicum*), writers began to be involved in the autograph production of their work at all stages. Like the notary, the writer began to develop his work in several stages, each in turn preserved. Petrucci drew attention to Francesco's participation and supervision of the production of the *Documenti*, and the evidence of his reworking of the book.[148] He concluded that Barb. Lat. 4076 was

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[147] For the French development, see Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987). See also Thomas Stillinger, *The Song of Troilus: Lyric Authority in the Medieval Book* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992).

[148] Specifically Francesco's statement that "non sit in hoc libro littera nec figura, que, ante alicuius transcriptum, per me ad minus non fuerit tract quater" ("there is not in this book a letter or figure that was not traced at least four times by me before anyone else's transcription"). Translation Petrucci's, of Latin from Egidi, "Le miniature," 2. Petrucci, "Minute, Autograph, Author's Book," *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy,* ed. and trans. Charles M. Radding (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 158.

"an 'author's book' … intended to receive a definitive redaction of the text."[149] Francesco was deeply concerned with controlling the manufacture and layout of his own books.

Images too had an important role to play with respect to a writer's control over the transmission of his books, and with respect to their claims to "authority." Like Petrucci, H. Wayne Storey has emphasized Francesco's involvement in the production of manuscripts of the *Documenti*. In his view, early Italian poets, prior to Petrarch, developed a "visual poetics." By means of attention to the appearance of their text within manuscripts, these poets attempted to control the publication and transmission of their poems. Different strategies included the "difficult poetics" of individual poems, the *tenzone*, and the single author song book.[150] Especially relevant is Storey's examination of Guittone d'Arezzo's *Trattato d'Amore*, dating between 1285-1294, in which the poet moralized an illumination of the figure of Love to cure the addressee of the series of poems. In Storey's view, Guittone d'Arezzo's move in structuring his poetry around a material image on the manuscript page was a particular poetic strategy. By means of this strategy, a poet could control the dissemination of his poems. By attaching them to a single image, the poet ensured the reproduction of the poems together as a set, and so initiated the format of the coherent poetry book. This strategy also meant that scribes

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[149] Armando Petrucci, "Minute, Autograph, Author's Book," esp.158-161. See also his essay "Minima barberina: Note sugli autografi dei *Documenti d'Amore,*" in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Aurelio Roncaglia: a cinquant'anni dalla sua laurea* (Modena: Mucchi, 1989), 1005-1009. Olivia Holmes cites Petrucci on the subject of Francesco, but does not include him in her study because he does not meet her criteria of organizing the book "autobiographically," around the person and construction of the author. *Assembling the Lyric Self: Authorship from Troubadour Song to Italian Poetry Book* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 20. Paola Supino Martini argued in 1996 that the hand identified by Egidi as Francesco's in both Barb. Lat. 4077 and 4076 was not that of the author, but rather that of a professional copyist. See "Per la tradizione manoscritta dei "Documenti d'Amore" di Francesco da Barberino" *Studi medievali* 37 (1996): 945-954.

[150] Storey, *Transcription and Visual Poetics in the Early Italian Lyric* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1993). xxi-xxv.

were more closely tied to the "material presentation of the original…."[151] The *Documenti d'Amore* was structured around images, and Francesco may have been employing such a strategy. Each subsection opened with an image that was described and explained in the subsequent poetry. The *Documenti* followed the model of Guittone d'Arezzo's *Trattatto*, and stands among the early experiments in the formulation of a coherent, transmittable poetry book.[152] It has long been established that images could have a role to play in terms of guiding the reader by organizing the material of the book, but Storey assigned images a role in establishing the coherence of a text, for the writer. Images could in this case be a means for authors to control the dissemination and appearance of their work. If this is true then Francesco's personifications gave body to his texts in more than one sense.

On the other hand, images could also represent a displacement of authority outside the poetic text. Excluding images required the self-sufficiency of the poetic text. With images excluded, "authority" had to come from the words alone. Giving an example of a radical claim to such self-sufficiency, Thomas Stillinger, for instance, proposed that Boccaccio, in contradistinction to the description-laden tradition of writing about Troy, excluded *ekphrastic* images from his *Filostrato* as a means to claim authority, a kind of "self-declaring illustriousness." Had the ekphrastic images been present, they would have located the "authority" and "origin" of the poem in Troy rather than in Boccaccio's text.[153] Stillinger's argument on this point shuttles between political and personal authority. In contrast to a city tracing its origins to Troy to claim ancient roots and

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[151] Storey, *Transcription and Visual Poetics*, 45, 46.

[152] Storey, *Transcription and Visual Poetics*, 182, 183. Storey also however made some mistakes in describing Francesco's work, stating for instance that, "In the case of the *Reggimento*, Francesco had to return from Provence to Italy because he could not find an illustrator good enough to carry out his *disegni*." The statement both places undue emphasis on the illustrations as a motive for Francesco's journey, and misapplies a statement about the illuminations of *I Documenti* to those of *Il Reggimento*.

[153] Stillinger, 132-158.

authority, a writer attempting to be his own "author" must exclude such references. Similarly, Marcello Ciccuto has described Guido Guinizelli and Guido Cavalcanti's emphasis on the auto-referentiality and self-sufficiency of the poetic text, in opposition to Guittone d'Arezzo's use of an image in the *Trattatto d'Amore*.[154] These discussions raise the question of what "authorial/authoritative" role the images played for Francesco.

By way of answering this question, let us first have a look at Saint Bonaventure's four-part definition of the different ways of making a book, from words alone:

> For someone writes the words of others, adding or changing nothing, and he is simply called the scribe. Someone else writes the words of others, adding, but not of his own, and he is called the compiler. Someone else writes both the words of others and his own, but with those of others as the principal part and his own annexed for the purpose of clarifying them, and he is called the commentator, not the author. Someone else writes both his own words and those of others annexed for the purpose of confirmation, and such must be called the author.[155]

Francesco played with these roles. First of all, in the case of the *Documenti d'Amore* he was audacious enough to gloss his own poetic text. By doing so, he gave his own poetry

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[154] In the third part of his article Ciccuto discusses the early appearance and role of images in books of Italian vernacular poetry, following the tradition of the Provencal canzonieri. He is interested in the changing relationship between image and text in these books, and the "emancipation" of the image from the text. Ciccuto, "Guinizelli e Guittone, Barberino e Petrarca: le origine del libro volgare illustrato." In *Icone della parola. Immagine e scrittura nella letteratura delle origini*, 13-52 (Modena: Mucchi, 1995), 42. An abbreviated version of the argument appears in *Rivista di storia della miniatura* Bd 1-2. (1996-1997): 77-87. In his discussion of Guittone d'Arezzo's *Trattato d'amore,* Storey suggested that there may have been a "now all but lost tradition of poets illustrating their own songbooks." Storey brings in the *Documenti d'Amore* as a later example, and suggests that Francesco's combination of poetry and image was evidence of a tradition that "integrated text and authorial illustration." For Storey, this tradition was opposed and even eliminated by manuscript illustrators and compilers. Storey, "The Missing Picture," 67. Both scholars commented upon Francesco's images in relation to authorial control over their books, but did not consider the images as extensions and even metaphors of Francesco's work as a writer.

[155] Cited from Stillinger, 1. Stillinger provides an exploration of different formal strategies employed by Dante, Boccaccio and Chaucer in experiments with the construction of vernacular *auctoritas*.

authoritative status, implying that it was important enough to merit such a commentary.[156] He also thematized and fictionalized his own role in the production of the book.

In the allegorical frame of the *Documenti*, Francesco does not present himself as the "author" of the book, but as its scribe.[157] This is relatively unsurprising given the nascent status of authorship in the period. The frame story establishes that Francesco was called to Amor's castle. There he was given the task of recording in written form Love's lessons, orally communicated to him by Eloquence, so that these lessons might be sent to those who could not come to the "*alto parlamento*" called by Amor.[158] The frame story offers a performance of the making of a book, where the orally delivered lecture inspired by Love is transformed into a concrete object.

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[156] See Jacobsen for a discussion of the significance of a commentary on poetry, and auto-commentary at that. Jacobsen 1: 95-98. Also see Stillinger for a discussion of Dante's maneuver in the *Convivio* of placing vernacular poetry at the center of the textual hierarchy and commenting upon it, thus conferring authority upon that poetry. Stillinger, 38, 39. Francesco's *Documenti* is not lyric poetry, and instead is modeled upon didactic models of schoolbooks, like law textbooks. The implications of the hierarchy remain the same. See also Minnis, "*Amor* and *Auctoritas*". At least in his references to Francesco in his *Magister amoris: The Roman de la Rose and Vernacular Hermeneutics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 278, 295, Minnis does not address the images and the relation they have to *auctoritas*, merely citing Goldin and stating that the images have an important part in the mise-en-page. Minnis comments that "There is no sense of distance between Barberino's text and gloss, but rather total collusion and cross-reference, the 'reverent interpretation' of the exegesis being demanded by the vernacular poem. … Here no distance remains between the poet's I-*persona* and 'the supposed anonymous scholar who lives in his margins.'" Minnis, *Magister amoris*, 279.

[157] In the commentary, Francesco also refers to himself as the "collectorem" of the work. "*Demum me etc.* dic me scilicet Franciscum huius operis collectorem." Egidi, 1: 21. There has been some very interesting work done on the role of the scribe in the transition from oral to written transmission of poetry. In discussing this transition in French literature, Sylvia Huot suggested that the "scribe responsible for the production of the book played a role that combined aspects of editor and performer….." Huot, *From Song to Book*, 92. Beginning from the description of writerly activity outlined by St. Bonaventure, cited above, Stillinger developed a description of the hierarchy of "authority" represented on the medieval manuscript page by different kinds of writing, and the different positions accorded to that writing in the page layout. Stillinger was particularly interested in how vernacular authors laid claim to the authority previously reserved for Scripture. Regarding the role of the scribe in relation to the hierarchy of the page, Stillinger asked whether there was a "place for the 'scriptor' on the page?" The answer was that "the work of the scribe is immanent in the materiality of the manuscript: it is visible in all the writing …." Stillinger, 33. For study of the development of a "writerly poetics" in relation to this shift, see Storey's, *Transcription and Visual Poetics*

[158] The opening rubric states, "Incipit liber documentorum amoris per Franciscum de Barberino utriusque iuris scolarem ab eiusdem amoris ore proferentis per eloquentiam collectorum."

Francesco's transformation of the oral lessons into an object, a book, is also represented in the frontispiece. Love stands on horseback above his castle, which is inhabited by several personifications, most of which are represented as sleeping. Love is flanked by the personifications Curialitas and Eloquentia, who stand on towers. Below the sleeping personifications scholars and scribes write down the offered lessons. Francesco is among them, at the far right, writing with two pens. One pen is for the Italian poetry, and one for the Latin translation.[159] Significantly, Francesco is but one of the scribes in the frontispiece to write down the lessons. He is by implication transforming common material. He tells the reader in the commentary that these scholars are men from various nations and with various languages.[160] In the opening initial of the *Documenti*, just below the row of scribes, Francesco holds out a book as if to the reader. This pictured book is immediately adjacent to the *incipit* that describes how Francesco collected the teachings of Love, delivered by Eloquence, into this very book.[161] Although many writers are depicted recording Love's lessons, it is the specific book, the specific material text, written by Francesco that the reader/viewer encounters. The book as a material object is presented to the reader multiple times in the *Documenti*. Among the ranks of scholars, Francesco hurries to write down Love's lessons on a scroll. By implication the words on the scroll are then transformed into the pictured book presented

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[159] Francesco includes in the commentary a narrative of how with Amor's help he came to be writing with two pens for the two languages. "Amor enim coram se diversarum gentium nationibus constitutis et varias linguas habentibus ex miraculo per eloquentiam adeo loquebatur, ut omnes in ydeomate suo intelligerent (3) clare, tam in latino quam vulgari eorum . Ego tunc audiens quod poteram et vulgare rimatum et latinum prosaicum vel metricum summere in ipso principio, sed non poteram omnia simul ego solus colligere, voce altissima supplicavi, ut ipse amor per viam aliquam michi gratiam concedere dignaretur ut vulgare rimatum et prosaicum reportare valerem . Et ecce subito vox quedam dum adhuc non cepisset documenta proferre in auribus meis insonuit, dicens tolle pennas duas et scribe secure dum tamen teneas unam altam et reliquam depressam...." Note 3 explains that "Il cod. ha propriamente: 'intelligererent." Egidi, 1: 35.

[160] As in previous footnote. "Amor enim coram se diversarum gentium nationibus constitutis et varias linguas habentibus...." Egidi, 1: 35.

[161] "Incipit liber documentorum amoris per Francesciscum da Barberino utriusque iuris scolarem ab eiusdem amoris ore proferentis per eloquentiam collectorum." Egidi, 1: 1.

by Francesco in the initial. The book as a specific object is also represented near the end of the conduct book. As the reader/viewer comes to the end of their reading, the text of the *Documenti* proper closes with an image of Amor shutting the book, and a knight placed there to guard that book. Experience of Francesco's book is repeatedly emphasized as an immediate physical experience.

Though no image representing the arrangement has survived, Francesco similarly cast his role in writing the *Reggimento e costumi di donna*. According to the frame story, various virtues conceive of a plan to create a conduct book for women, but while they have the knowledge to "inform" the work, none of them know how to write such a thing down so that it might be understood by human intellect.[162] Francesco is called in to perform the job of putting their inspiration down in material form, of making it into a book, and of making the lessons of these abstract virtues communicable.

In his performed role as scribe, Francesco's job was not to originate these teachings but to give them a concrete form. Bonaventure's description of the function of the scribe is echoed in a statement Francesco makes about his adaptation of the figure of Love, "Now I do not change these his features nor do I give nor do I take away…."[163] He makes a similar statement with reference to the figure of Natura naturans/Natura naturata, which is a version of a Wheel of Fortune. Francesco claims that he represents it "non tollendo vel minuendo de aliquorum gestibus seu dictis" ("not removing or diminishing

[162] "Ma quinci manca una sì fatta cosa: tu sai che la Eloquenza, Industria e tutte l'altre lo cui savere è bisogno in questa ovra, posson ben informare, ma non è alcuna che sapia di loro scrivere in libro sì che si legesse per umano intelletto…." Sansone, 1.
[163] He does continue the statement to say that he wanted to figure "una mia cosa" and keep it only for himself. "Or io non muto este facteçe sue ne do ne tolgo ma vo figurare una mia cosa e sol per me la tegno." Egidi, 3: 410.

actions or words") except for the alteration required to make it reveal divine truth.[164] In a disavowal of authorship that was likely known to Francesco, Vincent of Beauvais wrote about his own role as compiler, "Nam ex meo pauca, vel quasi nulla addidi. Ipsorum igitur est auctoritate, nostrum autem sola partium ordinatione" ("For I added few words or almost none of my own. Therefore [the words are] from their authority, of our part in the arrangement alone.")[165] Both writers claim minimal interference with their material, and instead claim the role of arranging that material into a particular form.

The role of the compiler and scribe had certain advantages. In his seminal treatment of the impact of scholastic thought on the organizational apparatus of manuscripts in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, M.B. Parkes commented on the associated impact on vernacular literature. He observed that in the *Canterbury Tales* Chaucer claimed the role of compiler in the prologue, and assigned the responsibility for the individual stories to separate pilgrims. The assignment of responsibility for authorship elsewhere meant that Chaucer was merely writing down someone else's words, and was not responsible for the content of those words. The pictures of the pilgrims in the Ellesmere manuscript were for Parkes the "final touch" for the *ordinatio* of the manuscript.[166]

[164] "Quia vero res est ista multum notabilis, huius fortune rotam sumpta fortuna ut dico tibi superius, et ipsius fortune quandam figuram, cum figuris aliis quas videbis , ut secundum veram intentionem stare possit, tibi non tollendo vel minuendo de (7) aliquorum gestibus seu dictis, nisi in quantum divina veritas detrahat, represento." Note 7 explains "'de' aggiunto sopra." Egidi, 1: 290, 291.
[165] Maria Prandi has demonstrated that Vincent of Beauvais was one of Francesco's most important sources. Maria Prandi, "Vincenzo di Beauvais e Francesco da Barberino," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 19 (1976): 133-161. Phrase cited by M.B. Parkes, "The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book," *Medieval Learning and Literature. Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 128. Translation mine.
[166] Parkes, 130-134.

Francesco too claimed to be collecting the words of others, ordering his conduct books according to different virtues. Fictive characters or personifications, and the embodiment of those fictions in images, were a means of organizing the text. They were also a means of placing "authority" and responsibility for the text elsewhere. In Francesco's case, this move sets up the general validity or truth of the *documenti*, coming as they do from Amor and from the virtues. The lessons about conduct must be valid because they derive from Divine Love and ideal virtues.

The placement of Francesco's personifications on the page also has significant implications for the "authority" of Francesco's personifications. The personifications of the *Documenti* were placed centrally on the page. The Italian poetry arranged below the image describes and refers back to the image. The Latin translation flanks the Italian poetry. The Latin commentary surrounds both the image and the poetry. In terms of late medieval mise-en-page, the pictorial personifications were given the position of greatest authority on the page. This is perfectly sensible given that they represent the outside authority from which the lessons derive. However, the move also assigned Francesco's inventions pride of place. Authority comes from these abstract virtues, but is mediated via Francesco's invented, novel forms. Francesco's personifications then, might be said to play a double authorial/authoritative role. They first accomplish the task of establishing abstract authority for the lessons, by displacing responsibility for the contents of the book away from Francesco. In their particular forms however, they also carry a charge as the product of Francesco's invention. These outside authorities are mediated by particular forms invented by Francesco. He has an important role to play as mediator.

Francesco did not claim to be an "author" or creator. All four ways of making a book defined by Bonaventure included *aliena*, the things belonging to others, since for Bonaventure, the only original, true author or creator was God.[167] Francesco's view of the hierarchy of creations was similar to Bonaventure's. In a commentary passage discussing the elements, Francesco reviewed the different kinds of creation. God's creation made elements and souls out of nothing, resuscitated the dead, and allowed a virgin to give birth. The work of nature is to make things out of similar things, such as men from men and cattle from cattle. The work of the artificer is to make things "contra indigentias naturales," as when a man makes clothes or a house against the weather. Francesco's examples here are both covers of a kind, *integumenta*, metaphorically comparable to the cloaking forms of his personifications.[168] In Francesco's view the creations of men and nature were not worthy to ascend to comparison with those of the Creator.[169] In keeping with this hierarchy Francesco did not claim originality or authorship, but he could and did claim novelty in the specific, novel forms given to the words and pictures of the *Documenti*.

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[167] As emphasized by Stillinger, 1.

[168] In his discussion of the works of nature in the same passage, Francesco comments admiringly on Alain de Lille's personification of Nature and representation of her effects.

[169] He concludes however, that God's works might "condescend" to be compared to the works of nature and man. "Sed obicitur creator qui solo dicto creavit omnia et qui novit omnia ante quam fiant, quare illud composuit ex .iiij[or]. elementis quod diu prenoverat permansurum . Ad hoc respondeas quod opera creatoris videmus causas tamen penitus ingnoramus . tamen aliqui sic dixerunt quod omne opus vel est creatoris vel nature vel artificis . opus creatoris elementorum et animarum ex nichilo creatio . mortuorum resuscitatio partus virginis et similia . opus vero nature quod homines ex hominibus componuntur ex bovibus boves . et sic de aliis . nam natura est vis quedam rebus insita similia de similibus operans . licet dicat tullius . difficile esse diffinire naturam . circa hanc naturam eiusque effectum metaphorice mirabilia scribit alanus in de plantu nature miroque modo ornat eandem . opus autem artificis est quod contra indigentias naturales homo componit ut vestem contra frigus et contra aeris intemperiem domum . Sed quando aliquid operatur natura rudis quiddem et commixtum primitus operatur deinde paulatim format et dividit operatur etenim prius mixtim de inde quod ex eo est feculentum et grave ad infimum || trahit locum . quod leve ad suppremum quod mediocre ad medium . In lacte similiter mixtum creat .iiij[or]. substantias quas homo postea artificio separat adiuvante natura . Et igitur quia natura et artifex ad comparationem creatoris adscendere non valebant, ad illorum comparationem dignari potuit condescendere creator . …" Egidi, 3: 389, 390.

Francesco's role as it is presented in the frame story of the *Documenti*, and in the *Reggimento*, was to give material shape and form to the contents of the book, provided by an abstract, authoritative source. Francesco emphatically claimed that his images were *not* the things of others in the commentary to the *Documenti*. Francesco was not alone in claiming this position. Stillinger reminds us that though the medieval writer "often disavowed originality" with regard to "narrative material or philosophical wisdom; assertions of originality in style, mode, or structure are not at all uncommon."[170] The frame stories of the *Documenti* and the *Reggimento* present Francesco's role in giving form to the lessons by writing them down in words on a page. Though his invention of the images was not part of the frame story, Francesco also made the book manifest and concrete by formulating the images. The images of the personifications, consistently novel and claimed as his own in the commentary, could be Francesco's, as could be the form given to the words in his role as scribe. The novel images then, underline his role as the maker and designer of the book, if not as its "author." The parallel is further reinforced by the shift Frojmovič observed in Francesco's answers to the accessus question *quae forma*. Francesco answered this question as if the words *quae forma* or "what form" applied to the appearance of the images. His reading of the phrase in this way deliberately shifted the interpretation of the question. In the Aristotelian prologue this question was normally the point at which the form of the text was explained, either the *forma tractandi*, the writer's method of proceeding, or the *forma tractatus*, the arrangement of the work.[171] With this substitution in the commentary, Francesco equated image and text. He substituted his designs in place of words. With this substitution, the

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[170] Stillinger, 23.
[171] For a discussion of the academic prologues, see A. J. Minnis, "Academic Prologues to 'Auctores,' *Medieval Theory of Authorship* (Aldershot: Wildwood House, 1988).

pictures he designed assumed the place of the writer's text and stood in for that text. By extension the claims Francesco made about his images, especially his claims of ownership, applied also to the words of the conduct book.

The equation of word and image is suggested in other late medieval examples. Discussing the role of images in early vernacular books, and specifically in Richard de Fournival's late thirteenth century *Bestiary of Love*, Marcello Ciccuto wrote, "Writing and figure appear to be the products of the same act, …; they are contemporaneously and analogously palpable, having a common function and space before the eyes of the viewer-reader."[172] The equation of writing and image as material products may also be seen in the early trecento manuscript, Strozzi 146, the only illustrated manuscript of Brunetto Latini's *Tesoretto*.[173] It is illuminated with ink drawings at the base of the pages. In the introductory text, Latini refers to "This writing that I show you in letters of ink."[174] This statement is followed by an inkblot. Both text and image are presented to the reader in the same medium.[175] Furthermore, the statement draws attention to the role of the

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[172] "Scrittura e figura appaiono prodotti da uno stesso atto, quello appunto della lettura; sono contemporaneamente e analogamente palpabili, avendo comune funzione e spazio sotto gli occhi dell'osservatore-lettore." Ciccuto, 42.

[173] The manuscript is in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana in Florence.

[174] Brunetto Latini, *Il Tesoretto,* ed. and trans. Julia Bolton Holloway, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, vol. 2 Series A (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1981), 7, line 82.

[175] Holloway drew attention to the inkblot in her edition of the *Tesoretto*, but did not discuss its potential significance. Maria Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto has also commented on the implications of the "common graphic medium," and the possibility that the common medium was wielded by one person, scribe and miniaturist in one. see her "Il codice miniato: rapporto fra testo e immagini e conseguenze di un medesimo medium grafico," *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 5, n.s. 11 (1991): 171-179. Moleta proposed that miniaturist and scribe were one and the same for Ms. Banco Rari 217, the illuminated canzoniere dating to the early fourteenth century. His argument is not a matter of medium, instead he argues that the hierarchy of decoration assigned to the different kinds of poem, "from full-foliate decoration through half-foliate/half-figure, to full-figure illumination seems to me a natural continuation of this scribe's art, …." He suggests that the poems chosen for the compilation were chosen on the basis of their pictorial qualities. Moleta seems to waffle in his assessment of the quality of the connection between image and text. While he argues an insightful illustration of some of the poems, on the whole he suggests that the images were only to illustrate the opening lines, at times becoming inappropriate later in the poem, at times simply repetitive scenes of lovers. See Vincent Moleta "the Illuminated 'Canzoniere', Ms. Banco Rari 217" *La Bibliofilia* 78

narrator, Brunetto, as very similar to Francesco's. Like Francesco, Brunetto's role was to materialize his writing for the reader to see. In Francesco's works text and image have similar functions in giving form to abstract ideas. The equation is especially striking in Francesco's case, and deeply significant in its implications for his stake in these pictorial inventions. The image of the book made material and presented to the viewer stands for Francesco's activity in writing that book.

Though he was not pursuing textual self-sufficiency and "authority" as Cavalcanti or Boccaccio did, Francesco was not naïve in making his books, and certainly not in the use he made of images within the book. He used images to represent abstract ideas and authoritative material. Although he could not claim to have originated the subjects under discussion, the form given the images representing outside authority was firmly in his control. Francesco proclaimed his ownership of these images. In some cases he invented new forms, in others he slightly altered existing forms, and in others still he provided new interpretations. Francesco made claims about the images that he did not about the texts he had written. Francesco's pictorial inventions gave form to abstract concepts, just as he gave form to Amor's teachings by writing them down and structuring them in a book. He laid claim to forms where he could not lay claim to the contents of the text, claiming the appearance of the words on the page and the bodies of his personifications. Francesco had an important stake in these pictorial personifications in part because they "figured" his activity in having written down the lessons of the *Documenti.* The novel images were the locus where Francesco could proclaim his achievement as a writer and inventor of images.

(1976): 1-36. These scholars are interested in an actual identity between scribe and illuminator, not a conceptual one.

CHAPTER TWO

THE BOOK OF HOURS: THE MEDIATION OF DEVOTIONAL EXPERIENCE AND POETIC CONVERSION

In the *Documenti d'Amore*, Francesco frequently refers to his *officiolum*. From these references, embedded in the histories of his pictorial inventions, it was long known that Francesco's *officiolum* included several of his pictorial inventions: Spes, Mors, Laus, the Hours of the Day/Ages of Man, Misericordia, Pigritia, Conscientia, and a Last Judgment that included Justice and Truth. From his comments in the *Documenti* it was also known that he had had the book made while he was in Padua, therefore sometime between 1304 and 1309.[176]

Scholars long believed this *officiolum*, or book of hours, to be lost. The manuscript resurfaced in 2003 when it was brought into Christie's Rome. It was sold at auction on December 5th to an anonymous private collector.[177] The beautifully decorated manuscript survives in a relatively complete state, with many of its images appearing just

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[176] "Istam spem primo loco ego figuravi (4) in quodam tractatu cuiusdam ystorie que ponitur ad finem officioli mei ita per omnia salvo quod inter figuras sperantes quedam figura est que spem alloquitur in hec verba . defecit anima mea et quasi factus sum michimet ipsi displicens tu sola vita mee subfragium contulisti . et hec quidem dum essem in studio paduano ubi cum moram traheret nobilissimus et morosus vir dominus comes Baldus de Pasignano quem hactenus apud Regem Ungarie sollicitudo…." Note 4 specifies that "Segue 'secundo' cancellato." Egidi 3: 10. In the *Documenti*, Francesco describes how he had first had *Mercy* painted in the bishop's palace in Treviso. The appearance therefore of *Misericordia* in the manuscript indicates that Francesco's book of hours postdated his design of the Trevisan frescoes. Francesco was recorded in Treviso in 1308, and so the book of hours can potentially be more narrowly dated to between 1308 and 1309. It is of course possible that he was in Treviso more than once.

[177] Kay Sutton, Head of the Manuscript Division at Christie's, published the first extensive discussion of the manuscript. See her "The Lost 'Officiolum' of Francesco da Barberino rediscovered," *Burlington Magazine* 147 (March 2005): 152-164. Prior to that Ulrike Bauer-Eberhardt did publish a brief article about the discovery and sale of the manuscript. See her "'Lasciate ogni speranza...': Stundenbuch des Francesco da Barberino in Rom versteigert," *Kunstchronik* 57 6 (2004): 275-279.

as Francesco had described them in the *Documenti*.[178] The manuscript is elaborately illuminated, with both images of biblical subjects and images of Francesco's own devising. The miniatures, Bolognese in style, were executed by two artists.[179]

In the first chapter I argued that personifications had a particular status as fictions and as the creation of a particular poet, and that this was part of their value. As fictions, pictorial personifications represented abstract ideas and authority to a specific audience, to whom their given fictional form was specifically relevant. Francesco, as a poet and inventor of pictorial personifications, was self-conscious about the status and role of his inventions. In keeping with this self-consciousness he carefully positioned himself and his fictions in relation to higher authority, claiming the didactic utility of his images, and their crucial mediating role. His frequent references to the utility of his images in the *Documenti d'Amore* indicate that he considered images to be invaluable aids to understanding. He assigned them an important cognitive role. The fictional status of Francesco's images also allowed the form of these personifications to be claimed by their inventor. For Francesco da Barberino, novel images were associated with ownership.

These same concerns are evident in Francesco's personal prayer book. A book of hours, however, was a far different context for novel inventions than was a monumental, fresco cycle in a palace, or a conduct book intended for personal use. Books of hours had an important sacred purpose, intended to aid their owners perform their devotions throughout the day, every day. The format of books of hours developed in northern

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[178] In addition to the calendar pages, vespers of the Office of the Dead, the Litany and the Gospel of St. John are all incomplete. Most importantly for my purposes, some of the images mentioned by Francesco in the *Documenti* as having appeared in the book are no longer extant, specifically Pigritiam, Conscientia, and most regrettably, the Last Judgment with Justice and Truth. The images now missing, (mentioned in the *Documenti*) were clearly part of missing pages of the Calendar and Office of the Dead.
[179] Sutton, 158-160. Sutton points out that the early fourteenth century saw the diffusion of Bolognese illumination style in Padua, as evident in the cathedral Antiphonaries by the Master of Gherarduccio/Master of the Paduan Antiphonaries.

Europe around the mid-thirteenth century, as patrons began to commission manuscripts containing the Hours of the Virgin separate from the Psalter.[180] The genre arose due to lay desire to participate more directly in sacred life by imitating the clergy's recitation of the Divine Office.[181] In keeping with the clerical model, the prayers contained in books of hours were ideally to be recited over the course of the day at the various liturgical hours. Matins and Lauds would be said at dawn, Prime at six A.M., Terce at nine A.M., Sext at noon, None at three P.M., Vespers at sunset and Compline in the evening. However, part of the appeal of these manuscripts was the flexibility with which they could be used, and most commonly people seem to have used their books of hours at home in the morning or in church.[182] One of the key features of these manuscripts was their portability. They were small in size, and could be taken to Mass. With a few variations dependent on the day of the week and the season, the devout user of a book of hours would repeat the same series of prayers, psalms and lessons each day.

Images were an important part of most books of hours, and a reason for the appeal and popularity of the genre.[183] The images in a book of hours performed a variety of functions, from marking the subsections of the manuscript to encouraging meditation.[184] Generally speaking, the images were familiar biblical scenes. While there could be some variety, especially on the margins of the page, each section of the book of hours was normally illuminated with images drawn from a standard set of subjects. The Hours of the Virgin was illuminated with scenes from the Infancy of Christ and the Hours of the

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[180] Claire Donovan cites the de Brailes hours, executed in Oxford in 1240 by William de Brailes as the first book of hours. Claire Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 9, 23.
[181] Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York: George Braziller in association with the Walters Art Gallery, 1988), 27.
[182] Wieck, *Time Sanctified,* 28.
[183] Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 28.
[184] Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 28.

Cross with scenes from the Passion. The narrative series paralleled and marked the sequence of hours as they were recited through the day.

Despite the fairly standard set of images and texts, these manuscripts were frequently personalized objects, bearing the stamp of their owners in the coats-of-arms and portraits painted on their pages, as well as in the variety of accessory prayers that might be included at an owner's request.[185] Other marks of ownership might include such things as emblems, initials, and mottoes.[186] These marks of ownership were not just signs of possession. They were more importantly a way to tailor a book of hours for a particular patron's spiritual needs. Claire Donovan has described how William de Brailes designed the earliest extant book of hours to be specific to his female patron's spiritual needs. The manuscript's decoration established and marked "moments of personal prayer" with devotional images, or with images of the patron praying to the Virgin.[187]

Francesco's book of hours is exceptional in several ways. Extant books of hours datable before 1310 are rare, and Italian examples even rarer. Known Italian books of hours have consistently been characterized as having minimal decoration compared to examples from elsewhere, with that decoration usually restricted to the initial pages of each section.[188] In keeping with Francesco's interest in images, his book of hours is a

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[185] Reginald Gregoire suggested that there was no "uniformity" to their contents, because "sono sempre iniziative personali, individuali, realizzate per esplicita committenza: I libri d'ore sono il frutto splendido di un mecenatismo intelligente." Reginald Gregoire, "Liturgia del Tempo," *Pregare nel Segreto: Libri d'Ore e testi di spiritualità nella tradizione cristiana*, ed. G. Cavallo (Rome: Edizioni de Luca, 1994), 19. Francisco M. Gimeno Blay compared the presence of patron's arms to an ex-libris mark, noting too the involvement of the patron in the choice of texts, for instance in the inclusion of namesake saints. Francisco M. Gimeno Blay, "Commitenza e uso dei Libri d'Ore nel basso medioevo" in *Pregare nel Segreto*, 24.
[186] Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 17.
[187] Donovan, 99.
[188] Giovanni Morello, *Libri d'Ore della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (Zurich: Belser Verlag, 1988), 14. He characterizes these pages as having a historiated initial and marginal decoration. "Solo gli esemplari piu lussuosi presentano delle miniature tabellari, generalmente nel foglio che precede l'incipit." Christopher de Hamel cited a Perugian example from ca. 1375 as one of the earliest Italian examples, and observed that Italian books of hours were generally "without elaborate decoration." Christopher de Hamel, *A History of*

richly decorated manuscript - with gilt and rubricated letters on even its plainest pages - and is extensively illuminated. It is probable that Francesco encountered an early Northern example of the genre in Padua and used it as a model for his own prayer book. Indeed, the patterned backgrounds of many of the images are reminiscent of French examples. Despite the evidence of the existence of a model, it is also evident that Francesco was closely involved in designing the image program of his book of hours. Even the choice to repeat a design element is significant, and I will treat even the inclusion and placement of relatively traditional images in the manuscript as the result of conscious decision on Francesco's part.

Although Francesco's book of hours represents an early stage in the development of the genre, its contents are substantially those that were to become standard by the late fourteenth century.[189] The surviving sections of Francesco's prayer book include the

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Illuminated Manuscripts (Boston: David R. Godine, 1986), 168, 169. Janet Backhouse's assessment was similar, and she noted the rarity of early Italian examples with "noteworthy decoration." She mentioned two examples of fourteenth century Italian books of hours in the British Library, Add Ms. 15265, probably from Treviso, and a late fourteenth cent. Bolognese example, Add. Ms. 34247. With reference to Add. Ms. 34247, she commented on the relatively unusual inclusion of representations of events from apocryphal sources, in this case, the Virgin's *Entry into the Temple*. The manuscript must contain nothing as unusual as Francesco's *officiolum*. Janet Backhouse, *Books of Hours* (London: British Library, 1985), 31. Similarly, Giovanni Morello observed that "il Libro d'Ore italiano presenta un apparato decorativo assai sobrio che, nella maggiore parte dei casi, interessa solo i fogli d'"incipit" delle singole partizioni." Morello "Immagini dai Libri d'Ore," *Pregare nel segreto*, 33. In the catalogue entry on one of two fourteenth century examples included in the exhibition, Morello comments that of the more than three hundred books of hours in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, only nine date to the fourteenth century. Among the two hundred catalogued in the Vatican library, about twenty date from the fourteenth century, and four from the late duecento/early trecento. Morello, "Immagini dai Libri d'Ore," 49. In his catalogue, *Libri d'Ore della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Chig. C IV 113, in Beneventan script and without figurative decoration, is dated to the thirteenth century. Chig. D IV 52, likewise without figural decoration, dates to the fourteenth century. Vat. Lat. 4363, dated to the thirteenth/fourteenth century, contains the office of the Virgin and Penitential Psalms inserted within a larger manuscript. The Office opens with a historiated initial of the Annunciation. Capponi 198, written in Italian, without figural decoration, dates before 1323. Morello assigned it to a Benedictine Florentine origin. Giovanni Morello, *Libri d'Ore della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (Zurich: Belser Verlag 1988), 35, 38, 44, 52.

[189] Roger Wieck stated that by the late fourteenth century, a book of hours would contain a combination of the Calendar, Gospel Lessons, Hours of the Virgin, Hours of the Cross, Hours of the Holy Spirit, two prayers to the Virgin called the "Obsecro te" and "O intemerata," the Penitential Psalms and Litany, the Office of the Dead, and a group of about twelve Suffrages. Roger S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: George Braziller Inc., 1997), 10. The fact that the

calendar pages for March, April, September and October (fols. 1-2), the Hours of the Virgin (fols. 3-78 verso), the Hours of the Cross (fols. 79-115), the Office of the Dead (fols. 117-156 verso), seven Penitential Psalms (fols. 157v-164 verso; and misplaced fols. 33-37 verso), the opening of the Litany (fol. 38 verso), and the opening of the Gospel of St. John (fol. 173 verso).

Many of the images marking the hours of Francesco's manuscript are typical biblical scenes of the Life of the Virgin and Christ's Infancy and Passion. These scenes may well have been present in the exemplar that inspired Francesco's *officiolum*. Even if this was so, there is evidence that Francesco actively intervened in the program. In at least one instance Francesco modified the iconography of a preexisting devotional scene. His later description of the Last Judgment that once appeared in the Office of the Dead indicates that his own pictorial personifications were included in the composition. For instance, Francesco tells us that his Justice, glowing with rays, appeared in the scene, depicted so that she did not direct her rays towards Christ.[190] The most unusual part of Francesco's book of hours is the extensive allegorical narrative, presented in written and pictorial form, at the end of the manuscript (fols. 166-172 verso). The allegory arises out of the Marian prayer Salve Regina, and an accompanying versicle and response, "Dignare me laudare te. Da mihi virtutem contra hostes tuos," ("Vouchsafe me to praise thee. Give me strength against thy enemies"). This allegory depicts the struggles of a scholar, who represents Francesco, at least in part. Generally speaking the allegory depicts a story of

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manuscript does exhibit the contents, and, in many ways, illustrative program, typical of later books of hours suggests that the forms of the book of hours were established early in the history of the genre.

[190] "Et iustitia in fine iuxta magestatem divinam ubi presentatur finale iudicium et est ibi adextris non tamen radios dirigit versus christum a sinistris autem eius est veritas cuius diffinitiones (1) habes infra proximo documento in glosa et rationes figure." Note 1 states "Nel ms. 'diffinitiones' e segue 'et figuaram' cancellato." Egidi, 3: 287.

conversion and salvation. Rather than merely including an extra prayer to mark his devotional interests, Francesco used that prayer to launch a semi-biographical allegorical lesson.

Elsewhere in the manuscript Francesco inserted his own designs alongside the more authoritative biblical images. These inserted images included some devised for other contexts. His interpolations were self-consciously made to correspond to the more standard aspects of the prayer book's program. This self-consciousness is made clear in his description in the *Documenti* of his invention and placement in the *officiolum* of the Hours of the Day/Ages of Man. Francesco explains that these inventions were distributed throughout the Hours of the Virgin so as to resonate with the life of the Virgin. Most of the hours in this section of the manuscript are adorned with an image of a female personification who inhabits a small planet. As the hours progress, the personification ages, and the sun and moon move around her planet. The sequence of the Hours/Ages is completed in tandem with the image of the Virgin's death. In the hour of Vespers, beside an image of the Dormition of the Virgin, the tiny personification Decrepita etas lays deceased on a barren planet, after sunset. Francesco's Decrepita etas was planned specifically to accompany the Dormition of the Virgin. Juxtaposed with the biblical and devotional images, Francesco's designs acted, in part, as amplification of those images. Juxtaposed with the Dormition of the Virgin, Decrepita etas prompts the reader/viewer to dwell on the ideas of death and of the completion of cycles. The reader/viewer is also prompted to equate the course of a day with a person's life, and those two cycles to the exemplary life of the Virgin. As deployed within his prayer book, Francesco's images have some relationship to marginal images in their function as commentary. However

they are far different things. They do not partake of the humor or inverting strategies of *marginalia*.[191] Even when paired with a devotional or biblical image, Francesco's designs are accorded a significant place according to the hierarchy of mise-en-page, large and centrally placed on their pages. Francesco's inventions were not relegated to the margins.

The inclusion of Francesco's designs in the *officiolum* was in part a response to the very nature of books of hours. These manuscripts were highly personal objects, owned by specific people, and adorned and shaped according to individual needs. The image programs of books of hours frequently served to personalize these manuscripts for their owners. The pictures in Francesco's book of hours likewise personalized his manuscript, but in a manner distinct from the donor portraits and coats of arms found in other books of hours. It was not simply a matter of the inclusion of portraits of the patron, though these do appear. Instead, the book is marked as Francesco's by the inclusion of his personifications and allegorical inventions alongside the biblical images. As was established in the previous chapter, Francesco conceived of his novel images as a kind of property. In the case of his book of hours, Francesco's inventions claimed the manuscript as his own, and mapped out his personal, daily devotional experience.

Although Francesco's images were his own in some way, they were also expressly fashioned for an audience, to be didactically useful and significant to other viewers. This might at first be surprising, since the spread of books of hours was intertwined with the spread of literacy and with a more private devotional experience. Paul Saenger, for instance, linked the proliferation of books of hours with the

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[191] For discussion of the ironic commentaries of marginalia, see Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992.)

transformation to silent reading, suggesting that the introduction of word separation eventually allowed for "the entirely private fusion of the previously public acts of reading and prayer."[192] This assessment, however, characterizes the long view. Francesco's book of hours was made at a time when silent prayer would still have been unusual.[193]

Although they were personal objects, used for private devotion, books of hours were also objects for display. In its bluntest manifestation, the display of a book of hours could be a claim of social status or wealth. Later in the history of books of hours, satirical broadsides mocked the "social pretensions of the urban middle class…carrying about richly adorned books of hours."[194] The display of books of hours however was not simply a matter of vanity or conspicuous consumption. John Harthan has asserted that since piety was an aspect of "self-expression" in the Middle Ages, display necessarily accompanied piety.[195] Francesco was familiar with such display. In his *Documenti d'Amore,* for example, he addressed the question of how to conduct oneself in church. He adjures his reader to go often to church, and to pay attention when there. According to Francesco the reader ought not make a show of praying too loudly or present a false appearance, but ought to pray with *bassa voce*, because God sees our hearts.[196] While the passage does not address the use of one's books of hours during Mass, it does illustrate Francesco's understanding of the commingling of display and piety. The point we may take from this

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[192] Paul Saenger, "Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages," *Scrittura e civiltà* 9 (1985): 240.

[193] Saenger, 243. Saenger states that prior to 1300, "truly silent prayer was unknown" in the liturgy of the Western Church, and only later was completely silent prayer, "within the heart," a possibility.

[194] Lawrence R. Poos, "Social History and the Book of Hours" in Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 34.

[195] John Harthan, *Books of Hours and their Owners* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 32.

[196] "Conviensi achi ben vive / spesse fiate in chiesa ritrovarsi / e per questo acconciarsi / a tutto cio che si conviene alloco / Onde neente o poco / parla se caso di cio non tastringe / e saggio e quel che pinge / aquel per che ve tutta sua intentione / Echi gliocchi non pone / in questo tempo a vanitate alcuna / elodo chi comuna / maniera tien di segni edorationi / Ne paia che sermoni / collalta voce voglia far pregando / e solo ymagynando / con bassa voce farai tua preghera / Che questa e cosa vera / che solo al cor lo nostro sir riguarda / onde per dio ti guarda / di far amessa falsa vista spessa." Egidi, 1: 140-147.

example is that for the late medieval writer of two conduct books, personal devotion and public expression would not have been separable.

Francesco was a rhetorician, concerned with audience. He did not merely display his book of hours on his person as an expression of his piety. In the *Documenti* he specifically tells his readers that he showed his *officiolum* to others. He relates how he had shown his book of hours to Baldo da Passignano, who wanted to copy one of its figures, Spes, for the frontispiece to his own book.[197] Although Baldo's book has not survived, other evidence has been found for the copying of inventions from Francesco's book of hours. The patron of the Death frescoed in Notre-Dame des Doms in Avignon may have seen the version represented in the book of hours during Francesco's stay in that city.[198] It seems that Francesco shared the inventions of his book of hours with certain peers, in a similar manner as he would have shared and circulated his poetry. At the very least we know that he later reused inventions first devised for the book of hours in other contexts. This reuse alone demonstrates that he conceived his inventions to be shown to others. This does not mean that the program was any less pious or useful for personal devotion. It does mean that the manuscript also functioned in ways analogous to a poetic text, and with certain similar concerns about circulation and audience. Francesco's inventions for his book of hours cannot therefore be understood as idiosyncratic, or only personally relevant. They must also have functioned as more

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[197] Francesco emphasizes that Baldo wanted to copy the image, but there was problem with the execution of the picture. "et hec quidem dum essem in studio paduano ubi cum moram traheret nobilissimus et morosus vir dominus comes Baldus de Pasignano quem hactenus apud Regem Ungarie sollicitudo et virtutes eius plurimum sublevarunt, et super multis novitatibus librum quendam ex proprio compilasset per cuius tenorem magna spes gentibus preparatur pigritia tollitur et probitas imperatur sua curialitate cum librum ipsum librum spei vocaret hanc spem eodem modo in libri principio figurari (5) mandavit . que licet forte ob defectum pictorum aliter in aliquibus picta extiterit tamen ipse hanc haberi voluit pro sic picta." Egidi's note 5 comments that in the manuscript 'figurari' is spelled 'figuari' without abbreviation mark.
Egidi, 3: 10.
[198] Léonelli, 160-161.

generally relevant contemplative cues.[199] In the book of hours, Francesco's poetic and devotional concerns were intertwined.

Francesco's intervention in the pictorial program of his book of hours is easily recognizable. For the most part, the images he added were the fictional personifications discussed in the first chapter as representative of his poetic activity. The connection between meditative, devotional practice and rhetorical practice has been described by Carruthers in relation to a monastic context. Monastic meditation emphasized invention, the creation of mental images and the "instrumentality" of art.[200] Figures of speech were specifically useful for meditative practice as starting points.[201] Francesco of course was not a monk. He was a member of the vernacular urban community that Carruthers specifically defined as distinct from the monastic community.[202] He was occupied not just with formulating meditational images for his own use, but with creating material images for the use of others. There are, however, connections to be drawn between Francesco's practice and the monastic models Carruthers described. Francesco was certainly well trained in rhetoric, and in his use of the device of *Bildeinsatz* in his conduct books, drew upon models specific to Carruthers' discussion, Alain de Lille's *Complaint of Nature*, and Martianus Capellus' *The Wedding of Mercury and Philology*. These compositions launch from visions of personifications that prompt and summarize the associations and content to follow. Carruthers established that meditation and poetic

[199] In emphasizing Francesco's concern with audience I am countering the emphasis in the previous scholarship on Francesco's obscurity. For instance, in relation to the final allegorical sequence, Sutton argues that Francesco intended to be obscure, and points to his statement at the end of the *Documenti*, "it is not nor ever was my intention that the proper intention of the figures themselves should be known to all Tuscans, but only to some friends ,…." Sutton, 163. Even if Francesco's audience was limited to "some friends," his inventions were still rhetorically conceived for an audience.
[200] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 2, 3.
[201] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 4.
[202] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 5.

composition were deeply similar activities. Both could begin by imagining a vision, for instance, a mental image of a personification, that could then be used to initiate further thought or discourse. In contrast to his literary and monastic predecessors, Francesco represented his personifications in pictorial, material form. This materialization was in keeping with his poetic practice and audience. He was a writer composing largely in the vernacular for a lay audience at a time when poets were asserting their control over the material form and transmission of their manuscripts, and at a time when the importance of the evidence of the senses was emphasized.

In my first chapter I described how Francesco negotiated his own relationship as a poet and inventor in relation to abstract "authority," positioning his poetic and pictorial inventions as crucial mediating representations. A similar mediating function and connection to authority is evident in Francesco's *officiolum*. In the book of hours, Francesco's positioning of his inventions in relation to divine authority is explicit, as the images he designed are often paired with biblical images, serving to comment upon and amplify those images, as described above with reference to the Dormition of the Virgin and Decrepita etas. Francesco's inventions appear alongside devotional images with standardized iconography. Francesco's fictional inventions had a very different authoritative status than the devotional images. They acted as a kind of frame for those devotional images, and for the prayer book as a whole.

The frame established by Francesco's interpolated images causes a variety of effects for the reader/viewer. In some cases the added images serve to disrupt narrative time in the sequence of images, ensuring that the biblical images are not read simply at the literal, narrative level. In some instances the subsidiary images are not evidently

"inventions," but still prompt interaction with associated devotional images. For instance, the images of a scholar seated among his books, a woman reading, and knights do not show any signs of being invented fictions, and do not seem to represent personifications (figs. 48, 50, 70). Nonetheless, their presence frames the nearby devotional images, and shifts how these are read. The figures ensure that the devotional image is not presented to the viewer as a first-hand, unmediated experience, but as a mental and/or material image viewed by the occupant(s) of the frame. Those occupants then cue the reader/viewer's own reaction. In some cases, Francesco's inventions and transformations represent a kind of commentary on those authoritative images, and structure a dialogue with that authority. Francesco's images represent in pictorial form a meditative reaction to the contents of the book of hours, lending insight into his invention. At the stage of reception, they prompt further meditation. Attributing a meditative purpose to the images of a book of hours is a commonplace in the literature on the subject. Roger Wieck, for instance, stated that the images in books of hours were "versions of the subjects people saw at church," and, illustrating certain texts, provided "themes upon which to meditate…."[203] It is a very reasonable assertion, but rarely supported in any detail. Francesco's *officiolum* provides ample evidence for such a practice. The images in Francesco's book of hours are clearly planned to encourage a meditative, cyclical reading by setting up parallels and echoes within the manuscript, and by visually commenting upon the authoritative images. They thus give the reader visual material upon which to meditate.

The added images were an effective way for Francesco to assert and shape his participation in the devotional life represented in the manuscript by circumscribing its devotional contents within a particularized, mediating frame. Huot has described certain

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[203] Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 20, 22.

marginal images accompanying secular poetry as evidence of a late medieval "visual imagination" that responded to poems by fashioning images.[204] The images Francesco designed for his book of hours similarly represent the response of his visual imagination to the prayers and authoritative sacred images contained in the manuscript. The image program of Francesco's *officiolum* materialized his meditations and represented his visual imagination. In turn, those images prompted further meditative contemplation. The images mediated his experience of the manuscript and his experience of daily prayer, thus truly making the book his own. By contributing his own inventive images to the book, and by affecting the placement of the images, Francesco shaped the contemplative cues of the book of hours according to his own interests. By amplifying core scenes, and by prompting cyclical readings of the pictures, the pictorial program of Francesco's book of hours prompted the reader/viewer to dwell upon particular scenes, to consider certain meaningful connections, and to meditate in distinct ways upon the devotional contents of the book of hours.

The core premise of this chapter is that the images were essential to the experience of this manuscript, and that their appearance and juxtaposition with other images were intended to be contemplated for their significance. The remainder of this chapter is therefore devoted to the consideration of how the formal qualities and placement of these images might generate meaningful connections and a particular devotional experience. What follows is therefore not merely a formal exercise. It is meant to participate, to some extent at least, in the experience of Francesco's book of hours as structured by its visual cues.

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[204] Huot, "Visualization and Memory," 3-14.

As in other books of hours, the first section of Francesco's *officiolum* consisted of a calendar, marking the feast days of the twelve months. The typical adornment for a calendar page was the appropriate sign of the zodiac and/or a labor of the month.[205] The four surviving pages of Francesco's calendar are illuminated at their bases with paired roundels, one of which on each page represents a standard sign of the zodiac. The other however, gives evidence of Francesco's intervention, and represents the personification of a vice. Tristitia is paired with Aries, a ram, for March (fig. 44). Vanitas and Laetitia are paired with Taurus, a bull, for April (fig. 45, left). Gula appears alongside Bilancia for September (fig. 45, right). Ebrietas is paired with Scorpio for October (fig. 46). As Francesco tells us, Pigritia adorned January, but is now missing.[206] These vices are not novel in appearance and similar examples exist elsewhere.[207] However, their location in the calendar pages is unusual. [208]

It is possible that there was some fundamental connection understood between these vices and the times of the year they accompany. The signs of the zodiac were believed to have an effect on personality and even over different parts of the body.[209] In later printed books of hours, images illustrating the effect of the zodiac or the planets on

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[205] Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 23.

[206] "Istam pigritiam in officioli cuiusdam calendario ad mensem Ianuraij adaptavi et figuravi." Egidi, 1: 269.

[207] Adolf Katzenellenbogen, for instance, described a late eleventh century manuscript of the *Conflictus virtutum et vitiorum* (Paris BN Ms. lat 2077) illuminated in Moissac that included images of *Tristitia* and *Gula* with iconography very similar to that of the vices in Francesco's calendar pages. He also cited an image of *Ebrietas* with a vessel in a window of the choir apse of Lyons cathedral, ca. 1220. Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art*, Studies of the Warburg Institute (London: Warburg Institute, 1939), 12 and 83 n.1.

[208] Because of the coincidence of numbers, in later books of hours occasionally the seven penitential psalms would be associated with the seven vices for which they were meant to atone, in prayer or even more occasionally in images. The examples given by Roger Wieck, however, date to the fifteenth century. Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 99.

[209] Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 46.

different parts of the body were sometimes included in the calendar pages.[210] The pairing of the roundels in Francesco's book of hours suggests a similar link. Perhaps the vices represented were thought to be particularly prevalent at particular times of the year, or prompted by the governance of certain zodiacal signs. In the case of the pair of Libra and Gula, the pairing seems governed by the opposition between balance and excess. Most importantly, and most clearly in keeping with Francesco's poetic interests, these figures have been metonymically abstracted. They are not exempla of seasonal activity but personifications. The difference implies a value judgment, and accordingly represents the intervention of a commentator, Francesco, whose juxtaposition of "vicious" activities with zodiacal signs and times of the year created something new out of the commonplaces of both the zodiac and the vices. The reader/viewer's response to the calendar page is thus conditioned by the admonitory image. Instead of exemplifying the season, the substitution of a vice for a labor of the month rhetorically activates a moral lesson, and the reader/viewer's emotional response to the month/image. As explained in my introduction, in the terms of faculty psychology, every mental image is made up of its form and its *intentio*. The *intentio* is the reaction or emotion assigned to that form. The image of a puppy has an appealing *intentio*, while the image of a wolf has the *intentio* of causing the beholder to flee. These vices then have a negative *intentio*, and so affect the viewer's reaction and behavior. The virtue that governs the first section of the *Documenti d'Amore*, Docilitas, was assigned the function of teaching the reader to flee the vices.[211] The opening pages of his book of hours performed the same function for Francesco. As Francesco opened his book of hours to consult his calendar, he was warned what vice to

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[210] See examples in Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 36, 37.

[211] "Epongan cura lordin e tractati / [che] doçi parti sono / in questo suo bel trono. / la prima che noviçi / doce schivar li viçi / …." Egidi, 1: 8.

flee during that month. Even in the opening folios of the manuscript, on pages not intended to spur devotion, personifications cue a particular response from the reader/viewer.

The next section of the manuscript consisted of lessons from the Gospel. As it is currently bound, the first page of the Gospel of John appears on the verso of the final folio in the manuscript.[212] There is no evidence to suggest that these Gospel lessons were illuminated.

The central purpose of any book of hours was to guide the recitation of the prayers of the Hours of the Virgin. The Hours of the Virgin is the next section in Francesco's book of hours. By the late fourteenth century, these hours were typically accompanied by illuminations of Christ's Infancy, or of the Passion. An Infancy cycle would illuminate Matins with the Annunciation, Lauds with the Visitation, Prime with the Nativity, Terce with the Annunciation to the Shepherds, Sext with the Adoration of the Magi, None with the Presentation, Vespers with the Flight into Egypt or the Massacre of the Innocents, Compline with the Coronation of the Virgin or one of the two preceding scenes.[213] Francesco's Hours of the Virgin has a particularly rich cycle of images. Each hour has an ensemble of two or three images. The hours of the Virgin in Francesco's manuscript include many scenes from Christ's Infancy and from the life of the Virgin. Significantly, the scenes are reordered. The image that opens these hours is the Coronation of the Virgin, a scene that would more typically appear at the end of the sequence of hours. The pictorial program of Francesco's Hours of the Virgin also includes devotional images, not part of the narrative sequence of the Infancy or of the life

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[212] The recto is blank.
[213] Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 23.

of the Virgin. While the biblical narrative is communicated to the reader/viewer by many of the images, the disruption of the sequence and the added devotional images ensure that it is not simply read at a literal, narrative level.

Most importantly, Francesco's own inventions are interspersed within the set of biblical scenes. Some of the additional images intervene in the narrative sequence by prefiguring future incidents in the narrative, by recalling previous images, or by evoking a collapsed "mini-narrative" in the space of one or two folios. Some of the additional images cue particular associations. Others amplify certain themes, prompting the reader/viewer to pause and consider, and to meditate, upon that theme. Some of the added illuminations, including a portrait of the poet and his own novel inventions, claim the manuscript for Francesco. The choice, design and placement of the images have a particular effect. The additional images of Francesco's own design, and the decisions made about the placement of the images overall, represent in material form Francesco's engagement with the authoritative texts and biblical images of a book of hours. Once executed, the images mediated his further experience of daily prayer.

The unusual character of Francesco's pictorial cycle is first signaled in the Hours of the Virgin by the fact that Matins opens with the Coronation of the Virgin (fig. 47). The illumination was clearly designed with a great deal of attention. This care is evident in the fact that the composition is reversed from its appearance in monumental Italian precedents like the mosaic at Santa Maria Maggiore, where the Virgin appears in the logical position of honor to Christ's right. In the Coronation of the Virgin in the *officiolum*, the Virgin is seated to Christ's left. The reversal makes Mary the focus of the gaze of King David, whose bust-length portrait is contained in the opening initial below.

Contained in the initial, David faces right. As the reader reads from left to right he also follows David's gaze to Mary. Mary is the focus of devotion in the Hours of the Virgin, and the reorientation appropriately cues that focus. David looks upwards towards the Coronation, gesturing towards his mouth. With this gesture he enacts the exhortation of the attending versicle and response "Thou O Lord wilt open my lips," "And my mouth shall declare thy praise."[214] David gives corporeal form to the lines that appear on the page, and would have acted as a point of identification for Francesco, who recited these very words while looking at the page. The identification with King David, author of the psalms, would have been especially appropriate for Francesco, a writer self-conscious about his own poetic activity. Other initials in the manuscript are similarly performative, if not as immediately appropriate to Francesco as a point for identification. The initial beginning Prime, for example, contains the profile of a woman who holds up her arm in front of her face, again enacting the exhortation, "Incline unto my aid O God" (fig. 50).

The Coronation of the Virgin does not specifically illustrate any particular portion of the text of Matins. Nonetheless, the choice of the Coronation of the Virgin is generally appropriate. It can be understood, for instance, in relation to the invitatory "Hail Mary, full of grace: our Lord is with thee. For God is a great Lord, and a great King …." The image's pairing of Mary and Christ, and the representation of mother and child with regal attributes resonates with the phrase. The image might also be said to interpret certain phrases of the hour's prayers. For instance, alongside this same phrase, which repeats

[214] "Domine labia d mea ap[er]ies." Book of Hours, folio 3, Private collection. English translation from "The Office of Our Blessed Lady at Matins," available from http://medievalist.net/hourstxt/bvm1mata.htm, in Glenn Gunhouse, *A Hypertext Book of Hours*, document overall acessible at http://medievalist.net/hrstxt/home.htm. I have consulted this document multiple times, so no date of access will be listed. Gunhouse drew his texts from *The Primer, or Office of the Blessed Virgin Marie, in Latin and English* (Antwerp: Arnold Conings, 1599), available in facsimile as *The Primer… in Latin and English, 1599,* English Recusant Literature, 1558-1640, selected and edited by D.M. Rogers, vol. 262 (Ilkley, Yorkshire, and London: The Scolar Press, 1975).

Gabriel's words to Mary at the Annunciation, the image would seem to have a doubled meaning. Instead of being with her in the womb, Christ is with Mary in the mandorla representing heaven. The image prompted certain associations for Francesco as he performed his devotions. In the case just described, the image associates Mary's pregnancy with her coronation in heaven.

Most importantly, placed here at the beginning of the Hours of the Virgin, the Coronation of the Virgin disrupts the narrative sequence of images and of the life of the Virgin, placing the end at the beginning. In other books of hours, the narrative sequence is preserved. In those examples, the sequence of the images marks and parallels progression through the day and through the series of hours. When the Coronation of the Virgin appears in these narratively ordered examples, it marks Compline, the end of the cycle. Rather than acting as a temporal marker of narrative sequence, the image of the Coronation of the Virgin in Francesco's book of hours prompts contemplation. Pictorially, Francesco would have begun his daily prayers by meditating upon the complete and perfect end of the Virgin's life, and on her glory.

The next image in the manuscript, on the verso of the page depicting the Coronation of the Virgin, has much more down to earth subject matter. The miniature, at the base of the page, depicts a scholar humbly seated on the ground, reading and surrounded by books (fig. 48). The figure must be a portrait of Francesco. Books of hours were commonly personalized with portraits of their owners, and he later had himself represented in the *Documenti d'Amore* in the same guise. Even if the scholar figure represents Francesco, the image is also transformed into a generalized lesson by means of the phrase "Vani sunt in quibus non subest scientia dei," written in golden letters on a

black background. The phrase is prominently placed, and the scholar appears to look towards it rather than to the book in his lap. The translation of the line may be, "they are vain in whom there is no knowledge of the lord."[215] Given the books surrounding the scholar on the ground, closed except for the one in his lap, the phrase may also translate as "they are vain in *which* there is no knowledge of the lord," with reference to the *libri* surrounding the scholar. In either case, the basic message is clear: study ought to lead to god. The second interpretation, reading the phrase as referring to "libri," has the benefit of referring specifically to the image. If the books piled on the ground do not lead to God, they are not worthy of the scholar's attention. This translation also privileges the book of hours as an object for contemplation and study. Francesco, opening his book of hours and beginning his daily prayers, is mirrored in the tiny scholar. The scholar is at once Francesco and an "everyman"' scholar. Humbly seated on the ground, his confinement to this world is made evident, as is the distinction between his reality and that of the heavenly realm depicted on the previous page.[216] To achieve "knowledge of God," the scholar makes use of books, material objects. The book of hours he opens is anything but vain or empty. The statement, directed at a scholar and poet already occupied with producing his own books and personifications, is a pointed reminder, and a reinforcement of the value of the book of hours itself, which Francesco had a hand in producing.[217] The personifications Francesco inserted into the book of hours, his poetic inventions, are to lead the reader/viewer to God.

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[215] This is the translation reported by Sutton. Sutton, 157.

[216] The sky behind the scholar is golden, perhaps signifying a heavenly realm. Even so, that realm would be associated with the scholar's head and the knowledge of god for which he strives. He remains seated on the ground and physically attached to this world.

[217] The injunction may extend to Francesco's inventions. As described in the previous chapter, in the *Vita Nuova* Dante allowed the use of figures such as Love only so long as they cloaked a true meaning. If they were empty lies, they were shameful. *Dante's "Vita Nuova*," 54-56.

The text on the facing page is from Psalm 94, but the first section is missing. The amount missing would fill only about one page, so there was probably another illumination present, most likely facing the scholar. By following the corresponding sequence in the *Documenti*, we may surmise here that the image here would have been Francesco's first allegorical image of the time of the day, Nox.[218] Given the inscription, the lifted head of the scholar, and the significance in most other examples in the manuscript of relationships between images across the page break, it seems probable that the image was not just that of Nox. The other examples of the Hours of the Day/Ages of Man were all juxtaposed with properly devotional images, even if these sometimes appear on the verso. It is more than likely that a devotional image of Christ appeared on the page, along with the image of Nox, embodying the *scientia dei* to which the scholar is summoned.[219]

More than a simple donor portrait, the image evokes extensive biographical detail and commentary. The setting amongst the books and the inscription also make the scene a moral lesson. The inscription admonishes the scholar/Francesco to follow only those studies that lead to God, and he appropriately looks beyond his book. With this image, Francesco was literally inserted into his book of hours. The image of the tiny scholar stands between the reader/viewer and the core material of the book of hours, the properly devotional prayers and images. It provides a model for the reader/viewer, Francesco,

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[218] Sutton, 157. In the commentary to the versions in the *Documenti*, Francesco explained that this first image was the only one of the sequence not to combine the Ages of Man with the Hours. "et actente quod in matutino non presentatur etas sed nox…." Egidi, 3: 138, 139. Judging from the version represented in the *Documenti*, and from the rest of the sequence as it appears in the book of hours, Nox would have been a circular image with a small planet at the center, and showing the position of the moon and sun in the sky. Given that it did not represent an Age, the image may not have included a personification inhabiting the planet, since that figure embodies the qualities of age in the other Hours/Ages. The version in the *Documenti* does however include a personification.

[219] Then again, perhaps the associated devotional image was simply the Coronation of the Virgin on the previous page.

performing his own interaction with the core material. The image frames and directs that interaction. The insertion of the image directs the experience of the book of hours in particular ways. With the insertion of a model and lesson specifically relevant to Francesco, the devotional experience of the manuscript is framed as his.

Matins closes on folio 10 verso with the image of an angel playing a drum (fig. 49). Picking up on the theme of the phrase accompanying the scholar, the angel is accompanied by a phrase that adjures the reader/viewer to avoid vanity.[220] As is the case throughout the book of hours, the illuminations function across the page break. In this instance, Lauds opens on the facing page with two angels seated and playing musical instruments, playing along with the angel on the preceding page. Christ appears in the sky above them (fig. 49). The image does not illustrate a particular narrative moment, such as the images of the Visitation or the Betrayal that more frequently accompanied Lauds.

The musician angels, though not directly illustrative of the text, pick up on themes present in Lauds, for instance in the antiphon, "Mary is assumpted into heaven: the Angels do rejoice, they lauding do bless our Lord."[221] The musician angels are also relevant to phrases within two of the psalms recited during the hour. Psalm 148 adjures, "Praise ye him all his angels …," and Psalm 150 "Praise ye him in the sound of trumpet: praise ye him on psaltery and harp. Praise ye him on timbrel, and dance: praise ye him on

[220] The phrase is "Nichil vanitatis sit moie tuo." Alternatively it may be "Nichil vanitatis sit inoie tuo." There is an abbreviation mark over the "i." I have so far been unable to satisfactorily decipher the penultimate word. The phrase appears to begin, "Let nothing of falsehood/vainglory be in your ?" In terms of unpacking the abbreviation the best fit I have found for "moie" is "modie", the ablative form of the neuter form "modius, -ium." A "modius" refers to a unit of land measurement, so the phrase may then translate as "Let nothing of vainglory be in your plot." This is obviously not a particularly convincing translation. If the penultimate word is instead "inoie," the phrase may perhaps be translated as "Let nothing of vainglory be in your name." My thanks to Dr. Steve White for this second suggestion. Book of Hours, fol. 10 verso.

[221] "Assumpta est maria in caelum. gaudent angeli laudantes benedicunt dominum." Book of Hours, fol. 12. English translation from Gunhouse, "The Office of Our Blessed Lady At Lauds,"*A Hypertext Book of Hours*, available from http://medievalist.net/hourstxt/ bvm1laua.htm.

strings and organs. Praise ye him on well sounding cymbals,…"[222] The angels playing instruments are generically and thematically apropriate to the text, without illustrating a particular line. As at Matins, the figure of King David in the opening initial can be understood to be addressing Christ, with the exhortation that opens the hour, "Deus in adiutorium meum intende. Domine ad adiuvandum me festina," ("Incline unto my aid O God. O Lord make haste to help me"). By means of the consonance between the images of the musician angels, the close of Matins is effectively run into the beginning of Lauds. The visual connection suggests that Francesco intended to read Lauds in immediate succession to Matins. Reading the two together was the intended way for the layperson to begin the sequence of the day's prayers.[223] The visual cues encourage certain behavior and a particular experience of the manuscript.

Lauds closes on folio 31 verso with an image of another reader under an archway, echoing the earlier image of the scholar. Here a woman clothed in blue is seated at a lectern. She holds open her book, but looks upwards across the page to the scene opening Prime, a devotional image of St. Anne, Mary and Christ (fig. 50). The woman points across her book to the inscription in front of her, which explains that the reader/viewer ought to praise the speaker.[224] The woman does not appear to speak, but to be reading the phrase from her book.

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[222] Psalm 148 begins on folio 16 verso in Francesco's Book of Hours, and Psalm 150 begins on folio 18 verso. From Psalm 148 "Laudate eum omnes angeli eius:…" and from Psalm 150 "Laudate eum in sono tubae: laudate eum in psalterio et cithara. / Laudate eum in tympano et choro: laudate eum in cordis, et organo. / Laudate eum in cymbalis bene sonantibus, …" Latin transcription and English from Gunhouse, "The Office of Our Blessed Lady At Lauds," *A Hypertext Book of Hours*, http://medievalist.net/hourstxt/bvm1laua.htm

[223] Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 28.

[224] "in luce *suresite* laudare me." Book of Hours, folio 31 verso. I have been unable to adequately decipher the third word in the phrase. It is either an imperative command to the second person plural to praise the speaker, or refers to the speaker's action in the past affecting the second person singular reader, in order that they might praise the speaker.

The image of the woman reading frames the properly devotional image of Anne, Mary and Christ. This frame functions on multiple levels. By embracing the devotional contents within a specific interpretive and associative frame, those contents were made into a particularized experience for Francesco. The woman in blue acts as a cue, directing the reader/viewer's attention to the image.

The woman reading looks up from her reading to contemplate the image of the Holy Family, as if it is a vision conjured by that which she reads.[225] In so doing, she acts as a model for the reader, who likewise is to meditate upon what he reads and sees in his manuscript. On the facing page, below the main image, is a roundel that contains a seraph, which shoots a flaming arrow towards the woman in blue. Most generally, the seraph's flaming arrow represents the love that enflames this reader's heart as she contemplates the Holy Family, demonstrating how the reader/viewer of the book of hours should respond to his reading and meditation. This interpretation, which suggests that the image was meant to guide the reader/viewer's behavior and to encourage an emotional reaction, may be considered a moral one.

The woman in blue is also more richly significant. The woman's blue clothing and reading evoke the Virgin Mary. The interaction between the seated woman and the seraph accordingly may allegorically figure the Annunciation. The interaction does not replace the biblical event in the book of hours, which is depicted at Terce, but rather prefigures it. As a figure of Mary at the Annunciation, the woman/Mary's contemplation of the genealogy represented by Anne, Mary and Christ becomes a moment of realization and prophecy, as Mary envisions her role in Christ's birth. Neither image is illustrative of

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[225] Based on comparable images where a reader looks up from an open book to contemplate some kind of devotional image, Blay suggested that books of hours, were not read, but acted as "stimolo alla meditazione interiore,…" Blay, 26, 27. The suggestion oversimplifies both the process of reading and of meditation.

a moment in sacred history. The woman in blue and the seraph are an image a step removed from an Annunciation, and represent Francesco's translation of that event. They prompt interpretation and meditation on the part of the viewer by means of their evocation of authoritative images of the Annunciation, and by cueing interaction with the properly devotional image.

The following page depicts Infantia, the first extant image from the sequence of Hours/Ages that Francesco formulated for his book of hours (fig. 51). Here, a young woman brushing her hair stands on the green earth and looks to the rising sun, indicating that the time is dawn and the day is just beginning. Her actions, like those of the woman at each hour to follow, represent the "quality" of the time of day and of life represented.[226] In keeping with the late medieval habit of thinking in parabolic terms, the Ages of Man were frequently tied to the times of the day, and Francesco's imagery is no exception. However, in contrast with other examples of depictions of the Ages of Man, Francesco's Hours/Ages were female.[227] Francesco most likely changed the gender of the personification in order to better accord with the life of the Virgin, and indicates as much in the commentary to the *Documenti d'Amore*. At the point in the commentary where he represents these figures (fig. 15), Francesco tells the reader that he had previously presented the Hours of the Day in his *officiolum*, combined with the Ages. He also explains that the Hours/Ages were planned so as to resonate with the life of the Virgin, so that as the Virgin dies, at the hour of Compline, the hours and ages were likewise

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[226] Sears, 104-107.
[227] Sears suggested that one of Francesco's manuscript representations of the subject informed the fresco decoration of the early fifteenth century "Camera delle stelle" of the Palazzo Trinci in Foligno, which has a closely related cycle, with some of the female figures changed to men, and *Matutinas/Nox* transferred to the end of the sequence. Sears, 107. The appearance of *Matutinas/Nox*, even if transferred to the end of the series, would argue that the *Documenti* was the source, since Matins in the book of hours is not adorned by an allegory of age.

completed. All three sequences, life of the Virgin, hours of the day, ages of man, were planned to follow the same temporal pattern. Where the life of the Virgin is a specific example of the passage of time, the Hours and Ages represent the generalized pattern. Francesco tells the reader that the Ages and Hours were combined so as to be “pulcrior,” more beautiful.[228] In Francesco’s eyes the figural pairing, the multiplication of parabolic readings, was a source of beauty. The statement is an intriguing one, but rather general. It is not clear whether it is the appropriateness of the parallels that made the combination “beautiful,” or simply the multiplication of the levels of meaning. Francesco’s attention to rationalizing the attributes of his figures in the *Documenti* indicates that the appropriateness of the pairing was deeply significant.[229] It is also evident however that, as is the case here, pairing an allegorical representation with a literal one was fundamental to Francesco’s process of pictorial invention.[230] This process created figural pairings and multiplied the levels of meaning. The aesthetic effect likely attached to both characteristics. Most importantly, this beauty served a devotional function, prompting the reader/viewer to look, *vide*, and to contemplate the connections between the images he sees.

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[228] “Sed ante quam ad alia veniamus quero ate posito quod vellemus oras istas in aliquo libro figurare nunquid possemus et dicas quod sic quia tamen non occurrit necessitas nisi de matutina . prima . tertia . vj[a] . nona . vespera et completorium . igitur de aliis presentialiter non laboro de istis vero tibi formas ut in quodam officiolo meo feci actenus presentari vide eas hic sunt et per simile posses de oris singulis sole in suis locis posito componere || figuras vide etiam ut tibi pulcrior appareat hic tractatus quod insimul cum horis representantur etates ita etiam per se in ipso officiolo presentabantur ystorie ut in completorio decesserit virgo beata et complete sint etates et completus sit dies . et actente quod in matutino non presentatur etas sed nox in prima autem etas incipit ut aurora de qua hic mentio adhibetur ….” Egidi, 3: 137.

[229] However, as will be discussed more extensively in the next chapter, the appropriate fit of a figure was also governed by interpretation, and was accordingly flexible.

[230] Here the Life of the Virgin is paired with the temporal sequences of the Hours of the Day/Ages of Man. The woman in blue is meaningful at the literal, moral and allegorical levels. In the *Reggimento,* women representing particular social states were paired with appropriate virtues.

As with Francesco's other interpolations, the figure of Infantia/Dawn frames the devotional material. As a personification of Francesco's own devising, it clearly represents Francesco's own claims upon the book of hours. By materializing a mental image formulated in response to the devotional images and prayers of the book of hours, it also represents his contemplation and meditation upon those materials. Reflecting its rhetorical function, the personification serves as amplification, providing emphasis and causing the reader/viewer to dwell upon the moment. It also prompts further contemplation, by the pictorial establishment of parallels between ages of men, times of the day, age of the earth.

Appearing as the first in a series that will lay out a sequence of ages, the figure of Infantia/Dawn also initiates a pictorial narrative sequence that has largely been missing up to this point in the book of hours. Infantia, represented as a maiden with unbound hair, reinflects the devotional image of Anne, Mary and the Christ Child on the recto, so as to point to the beginning of the Virgin's life. The temporal sequence is deliberately collapsed. The image of St. Anne, her daughter Mary, and Mary's child, Christ, represents an image of generations, and of temporal progression in a life – child, parent, grandparent. The preceding image of the veiled woman contemplating this devotional image evoked Mary at the time of the Annunciation. The addition of Infantia on the following page, an earlier stage of life than the other two images, also makes the group of three images into a compressed life cycle, while ensuring that that the three images not simply be read in sequence. Instead, it serves to make the reader contemplate the group of images cyclically, to turn them over in the mind.

At the base of the final page of Prime, Joseph appears seated on the ground outside a tower, with his head and arms resting on his knees. He is to be read in association with the facing page, where the Annunciation appears to open the prayers for the hour of Terce. Joseph was not present at the Annunciation as described in Luke 1. 26-38, and his exclusion from the event is literally represented in the composition (fig. 53).[231] As is appropriate to the story, both the page break and his turned back reinforce his separation from the events on the opposing page. However, Joseph also echoes the seated scholar and woman reading that closed the two previous hours, and may be another cue to the behavior of the reader. The scholar reads only those books that will lead to God, the woman looks up from her book to the facing page and is enflamed with love, and Joseph turns away from the facing page, as if to meditate inwardly. Joseph's presence here reframes the Annunciation. It is not simply the representation of a historical moment as if it were taking place before the reader/viewer's eyes. Instead it is framed as a mental image of past events, as Joseph contemplates an event at which he was not present.[232] In this sense Joseph too may be a model for the reader.

With the representation of the Annunciation, the narrative sequence of the Infancy and Marian cycle thus begins at Terce, rather than at Matins. Mary is seated within an architectural framework, simultaneously a tower and a throne, that establishes her enclosure. She looks up from her book as Gabriel swoops down from above, outside the tower (fig. 53). Windows pierce the tower, allowing their gazes to connect. A bearded man looks up in prayer from the initial below, again enacting the opening versicle of the hour. Pueritia, the next in the series of Hours/Ages, appears on the verso of this folio (fig.

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[231] Joseph is mentioned in the passage, as the man to whom Mary was engaged.
[232] Likewise, the angel offering praise in music may also offer a model to the reader, but one less immediately relevant to the activity of private prayer from the *officiolum*.

54, left). In this illumination the sun has climbed higher in the sky to indicate the passage of time, and the young woman now places a garland upon her head. Here the personification parallels Mary's stage of life in general terms. At the base of the facing page are two roundels (fig. 54, right). The left holds a bearded man who clasps his hands and raises them in entreaty above his head. On the right an archer draws his bow. He points his arrow, which penetrates the surrounding frame, towards the chest of the figure on the left, implying a narrative that connects the two figures, despite their separation. The figure on the left, threatened by the sharp arrows of the figure on the right, raises his hands in prayer. Like the initials of the hours, these roundels are specifically related to the words on the page, in this case of Psalm 119,

> When I was in tribulation I cried to our Lord: and he heard me. O Lord deliver my soul from unjust lips: and from a deceitful tongue. What may be given to thee, or what may be added unto thee: to a deceitful tongue? The sharp arrows of the mighty: with coals of desolation….[233]

The roundels are not specifically illustrative, for they collapse the structure of the Psalm. Where the psalm states that the deceitful tongue which injured the utterer of the prayer will be given the arrows, the image implies that speaker of the psalm is threatened, that the speaker might have the false tongue. The image evokes the psalm without being specifically illustrative, and provides and prompts its reinterpretation.

Continuing the cycle, Sext begins on folio 48 verso with an image of the Nativity (fig. 55, left). Here, the Virgin, flanked by angels, reclines at the center as Christ is

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[233] Book of Hours, folio 45. "Ad Dominum cum tribularet, clamavi: et exaudivit me. Domine libera animam meam a labiis inquis: et a lingua dolosa. Quid detur tibi, aut quid apponatur tibi: ad linguam dolosam? Sagittae potentis acutae: cum carbonibus desolatoriis." Latin transcription and English translation from Gunhouse, "The Office of Our Blessed Lady At Terce," *A Hypertext Book of Hours*, available from http://medievalist.net/hrstxt/bvm1ter.htm.

bathed below. Joseph sits off to one side, and the ox and ass look on. The bas-de-page miniature depicts the Annunciation to the Shepherds. The allegorical sequence continues on the facing page with a depiction of Adolescentia (fig. 55, right). The young girl, making a garland, looks up across the page break towards the Nativity. At this point the allegorical sequence is one step behind the Infancy narrative. The personification of Adolescentia does not seem to be specifically significant to the episode, but instead acts as a kind of place marker in the allegorical sequence, and another figure demonstrating proper attention to the devotional sequence. Her red dress with gold trim and her seated posture mirror those of one of the female attendants who bathe Christ, formally connecting the images. As with Infantia/Dawn, Adolescentia amplifies the scene with which it is associated, and prompts the reader/viewer to contemplate the association. The association and amplification of the scene with a stage in the life of a female personification serves to cast the Nativity specifically in relation to the life of the Virgin, rather than in relation to the Infancy. The pairing also prompts the reader/viewer to think beyond the narrative scene.

None opens on folio 52 verso with the Adoration of the Magi (fig. 56, left). The three kings, their camels behind them, approach the enthroned Madonna and Child to offer their gifts. A bust of Christ appears in the initial below, in the position where a little portrait bust has, up to this point, enacted the beseeching opening line. Instead of giving a body to the voice of the prayer, the face of Christ serves to compress narrative time on the page. The future adult appears immediately below the Child. In the roundel below that is a boy riding a camel, with his whip held high. In this case, the camel seems to have strayed from the train of the magi, rather than to be relevant to any of the accompanying

psalms. The boy on his moving camel suggests a journey. The juxtaposition of the roundel with the Adoration of the Magi and the presence of the camel obviously evoke the Journey of the Magi. The boy, slightly older than the infant Christ, might also function to evoke different ages in the same way that the group of Infantia, the woman in blue, and Anne, Mary and Christ did. Alongside the infant Christ Child of the Adoration scene, and the adult face of Christ in the roundel, this boy acts as a marker of an intermediate stage. The journey he evokes might be read as one of time and of aging, of Christ's journey from infant to adult. Finally, the boy whipping his camel might also provide a humorous comment on the word "festina" and the exhortation to the Lord to "make haste to help me" that appears adjacent to the figure.

The allegorical sequence of the Ages/Hours continues on the facing page with the depiction of Juventus (fig. 56, right), which shows the personification with her arms open in embrace to a small child. In this instance the allegorical sequence is again more tightly tied to the moment represented in the devotional narrative, as both Mary and Juventus tend and adore small children. Here again the amplification prompts the reader/viewer to read the scene in relation to the Life of the Virgin.

After the close of None, at the base of the folio, is a relatively small image of the Presentation in the Temple (fig. 57, left). The bas-de-page image opens Vespers, the text of which begins on the facing page. Senectus also appears on the facing page (fig. 57, right). The personification's hair is now veiled and she carries a crutch and a staff. She gazes across to the scene of the Presentation in the Temple. How Francesco's images may cue catenas of memory or meditation even with regard to small details may be seen in the visual association made between the personification of Senectus and Anna, the

prophetess. Among the figures in the Presentation scene, Anna is physically closest to the personification. Her actions also serve to associate her with Senectus. Although keeping her gaze on Christ, Anna turns her head and body towards the personification. Her arm breaks the frame, and the scroll she holds unfurls towards Senectus on the facing page. The reader/viewer is prompted by these visual cues to connect the biblical character and the personification. This connection is meaningful. As described in Luke 2: 36-38, Anna's chief characteristic is her advanced age.[234] The visual association of Anna and Senectus characterizes the prophetess and calls to mind the biblical passage. It also enriches the personification of old age, by presenting Anna as an *exemplum* of that state. Furthermore, the scroll that unfurls outside the frame recalls Anna's subsequent speaking of Christ, after having seen him in the Temple. This scroll thus acts as a cue to the theme established earlier in the manuscript by the image of the scholar. It is another reference to words used to their proper end – to convey knowledge of God.

On folio 64 verso, Vespers closes and the first versicle and response are given for Compline. The Dormition of the Virgin appears at the bottom of the page to mark the transition (fig. 58, left). As is standard for the iconography of the scene, the Virgin is laid out in the foreground, with Christ behind holding her swaddled soul. The apostles all gather around. The image is explicitly drawn from the events of the life of the Virgin. On the facing page is the final allegorical Hour/Age, Decrepita etas (fig. 58, right). The sun has set, and the woman lies on the ground with her arms askew. Although her eyes appear to be open, the implication is that she has died. The image adds yet another layer to the

[234] "And there was one Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser. She was far advanced in years, and had lived with her husband seven years from her virginity. And she was a widow until four score and four years: who departed not from the temple, by fastings and prayers serving night and day. Now she, at the same hour, coming in, confessed to the Lord: and spoke of him to all that looked for the redemption of Israel." Luke 2.36-38 DV.

life of the Virgin, making it, in Francesco's terms, "more beautiful." The coincidence of the different sequences was key to Francesco's invention. It was arguably both a matter for pride in his inventive achievement, and evidence of the validity of the invention.

Francesco would have recited the prayers and psalms of his book of hours aloud. Praying from a book of hours was an active sensory experience, involving the devotee's eyes, mouth and ears. In addition to the images of readers, Francesco's book of hours contains five images of speakers and their audience. Two such images were interpolated at this section of the book of hours. Limbo is depicted on folio 69 to mark a variation in the prayers to be said at different times of the year. It is represented as a sphere. Inside the sphere figures of various ages sit in a ring around a central flame (fig. 59). An angel swoops down outside, addressing the inhabitants. He states that those who did good things should rejoice, because their reward approaches.[235] An image of Christ preaching, counting off points on his hand, appears on the following page (fig. 60). The inscription, his sermon, states, "Behold it is the time for mercy, those who did good things will enter into eternal life."[236] The texts written beside the angel and Christ are clearly phrased as if spoken by those figures. By reading those texts aloud, the reader/viewer hears the words and becomes one of the listening audience depicted in the scenes. As is the case in the rest of the book of hours, the message is a hopeful one.

The Hours of the Virgin closes with a personification that is one of Francesco's most striking interventions into the illustrative program of the book of hours (fig. 61). The image is occupied by a tree on the right side and a mandorla on the left, and represents a sequence that unfolds counterclockwise from the base of the tree to the

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[235] "letemini qui bona egistis q[uia] meritu[m] app[ropin]quat." Book of Hours, fol. 69.
[236] "ecce t[em]p[u]s mi[sericordia]e [et] q[ui] bona egeru[n]t introibu[n]t in vita[m] etternam." Book of Hours, fol. 69 verso.

mandorla. A quarter of a woman appears grasping the base of a tree trunk. A full figure of the same woman appears in the branches of the tree, reaching out to grasp the ray of a mandorla, within which the same woman, now larger and veiled, is enthroned. The figure is nowhere identified by name in the book of hours, but is recognizable as a precursor of the image that later appeared in the *Documenti* identified as Laus (fig. 26). Francesco wrote in *Documenti*'s commentary that the figure's appearance there was the third appearance of the figure, and "not unworthily."[237] The inscription at the base is also substantially the same in the book of hours and in the conduct book. It describes the action taking place in the image, from an imperfect beginning to an unstable middle to accomplished and eternal state.[238] No other explanation is given. Without an identifying name or other explanation, the image nonetheless clearly establishes a progression from an imperfect to a perfect state. The personification itself emphasizes the process of becoming, both with the sequential appearances of the figure, and with the circular movement of the composition.

The adaptability of Laus for use in different contexts indicates the basic flexibility of Francesco's personifications. Rhetorical understanding of Francesco's inventions also helps explain their reuse in diverse contexts. Their iconographic meaning was not fixed. They could be filled up with new content, or reinflected according to different contexts and associations. Francesco reportedly first placed Laus at the end of a volume of stories he had written, in which context the figure likely evoked poetic accomplishment. In the

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[237] "Sed ne inveniens has figuras alibi crederes me michi appropriare alienum notandum est quod iam diu post diversas ystorias super quodam meo fasciculo (1) veteri a me tractas in fine eius has figuras apponi feci et hec ibi primo fuerunt subsequenter in fine officioli mei cuiusdam et hic tertio non indigne ." Note 1 explains that "fasciculo" is "Parola d'incerta lettura; par si debba leggere 'ff' ma questa abbreviazione non ha riscontro in tutto il codice. Le ipotesi possibili sono 'fasciculo' o 'folio.'" Egidi, 3: 420, 421.

[238] "a radice p[r]ove[n]iens inp[er]fetta forma[m]截tituba[n]s int[e]r ramos assu[m]psi qua[m] et aucta[m] infi[r]mita[s] perhen[ni]t [con]stituit." Book of Hours, fol. 78 verso.

Documenti, Laus was placed at the end of the manuscript, and referred to the completion of the conduct book and of good deeds.[239] Placed in the book of hours to close the Hours of the Virgin, it would seem to be applicable to the life of the Virgin, to spiritual completion, the recitation of the hours over the course of the day, and the completion of that day. Laus appears at the point in the book of hours at which the Coronation of the Virgin would usually appear, as the culmination and perfect end of the Virgin's life. The Coronation of the Virgin was displaced from its usual location at Compline by another image of a woman enthroned in a mandorla. The Hours of the Virgin thus opens and closes with images that echo one another, however faintly, and that evoke a moment of perfected completion beyond time. The text that appears immediately prior to the image is that of the antiphon Regina Coeli, perhaps further reinforcing the connection.[240]

Sequential time was deliberately disrupted in Francesco's series of images for the Hours of the Virgin, with the effect of prompting a cyclical or meditative reading. In the images associated with the hours of the Virgin, the sequence of the Virgin's life is delayed, and the series begins with her Coronation, a displacement that emphasizes the circularity and repetition of time, and that ensures that the reader/viewer begin their daily prayers with "the end" in sight. The most striking and significant elements of the pictorial program of Francesco's Hours of the Virgin the personifications he designed and juxtaposed with authoritative sacred images. The juxtaposition ensures that the narrative scenes were not simply read literally. The presence of evident fictions and allegorical

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[239] "Iste finalis tractatus licet sit taliter positus a remotis non solum facit et pertinet ad glosas propter quas hic subiungitur sed posset etiam pertinere ac statui tam ad testum in fine quam ad glosas in fine pro eo quoniam in fine cuiusque operis quod laudabile est laus omnis ponitur pro constanti." Egidi III 419. "Et arbor representat factum quod quis bene facit et media figura que oritur cum arbore representat laudem que oritur cum bono facto sed imperfecta est …ultima representat laudem perhennem post factum bonum completum...." Egidi, 3: 420.

[240] Admittedly, it was only to be recited at certain times of the year. The connection does not depend on the text, but it provides a nice coincidence.

images alongside the devotional and narrative images spurs the reader/viewer to contemplate the allegorical and moral significance of the biblical images. Laus echoes the Coronation of the Virgin and abstracts the cycle of the Virgin's life, drawing out a general lesson about progression and completion. The Hours/Ages echo the life of the Virgin. These added images act in part as does Laus, to provide and call for allegorical reading. They also emphasize the scenes of the Nativity, the Presentation in the Temple, and the Adoration of the Magi as events in the life of the Virgin. These personifications parallel and echo the sacred images. In so doing they act rhetorically as *amplificatio*, encouraging the reader/viewer to dwell upon the images. The images materialize Francesco's imaginative response to and meditation upon the core devotional images and prayers. Francesco's piety and his poetic/pictorial inventions were intertwined. His pictorial inventions were a form of meditational composition, and prompted further contemplation. The admonishing image of the scholar close to the beginning of the manuscript adjures that the only worthwhile manuscript is that which leads to God. By extension, this is also true of all writing, poetry and poetic invention. The image of the scholar cues the proper relationship of the reader to the manuscript, which is full of poetic inventions that lead to God.

The next section of Francesco's *officiolum* consists of the Office of the Cross, specifically the longer version sometimes called the Office of the Passion. The hours of this office would be recited following those dedicated to the Virgin.[241] In most books of hours, the section of the Hours of the Cross is illustrated with a single image of the Crucifixion, or occasionally another scene from the Passion. In some cases it might be illuminated with a Passion cycle. The illuminations of the longer Hours of the Passion

[241] Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 89.

follow the same pattern, either a single Crucifixion, or a Passion cycle.[242] The Passion cycle usually consists of seven images, one for each of the hours.[243] These are most often the Betrayal at Matins, Christ before Pilate at Prime, the Flagellation at Terce, Christ Carrying the Cross at Sext, the Crucifixion at None, the Deposition at Vespers and the Entombment at Compline. This set can vary somewhat, for instance Prime might alternatively be illustrated with Christ Mocked or the Flagellation. The extended Passion program relates specifically to the words spoken during the hymn associated with each hour in the Hours of the Cross. The typical hymn for Matins, for instance, usually illuminated with the Betrayal, includes the lines, "His known disciples left him for to follow more: Sold and betrayed to the Jews they did afflict him sore."[244]

Francesco's manuscript is a very early example of the genre and it may be misleading to compare it to programs that became typical later. Nonetheless, it is remarkable, even amongst those with Passion cycles, for the extent of its pictorial program. Francesco's Office of the Passion is illustrated with nineteen images, more than twice the usual number of images. Despite the added scenes, the images on the whole largely follow the pattern described above: the Betrayal closes Matins, Christ before Pilate closes Prime, and so on. The exception to the pattern appears at Compline. There, in place of the Entombment, are three scenes from Christ's Resurrection: the Descent into Limbo, Noli me tangere, and the Assumption. As presaged by the "speaking" images of the angel addressing the inhabitants of Limbo and the image of Christ preaching, in which the listeners are encouraged to expect salvation, the pictorial program

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[242] Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 90, 91.

[243] Lauds is normally excluded in the Hours of the Cross.

[244] "A notis discipulis cito derelictus: A Iudaeis traditus, venditus, et afflictus." Gunhouse, "The Office of the Holy Cross," *A Hypertext Book of Hours*, http://medievalist.net/hourstxt/crossmat.htm.

accompanying the Office of the Passion encourages contemplation of the promise of salvation and eternal life. The expanded program was also planned so that the conclusion of the sequence would be more dense with images. Most of the divisions between sections are marked by two images. Where a section does not close with an image, the image has been shifted forward, and two images open the subsequent hours. This is the case with both None and Vespers. Compline opens with a single image, but Vespers closes with two. Compline effectively opens with three images, and closes with three. As the reader moves through the hours, those hours are given increasing pictorial amplification and framing, and a kind of climactic accumulation. This accumulation means that Compline is relatively dense with the scenes of Christ's resurrection, a cluster that prompted contemplation of resurrection and the promise of salvation.

With only a couple of exceptions, the pictorial program of the Office of the Passion does not include the evident inventions that adorned the Hours of the Virgin. The Hours of the Virgin were the core of any book of hours, and the cult of the Virgin was a large part of the impetus behind the evolution of the genre. The distinction in decorative programs may reflect the relative value Francesco placed on the different offices. Alternatively, it may represent a kind of decorum. For Francesco the episodes of the Passion may have been less amenable to prompting poetic invention. They were not joyful episodes like those of the Nativity and Life of the Virgin. Allegorical amplification of the scenes of suffering would have resulted in a far more negative emphasis in the manuscript than that which is currently evident.

Although not as welcoming an arena for Francesco's fictions as the Hours of the Virgin, the Office of the Passion still includes inventive touches. The first two images of

the sequence are somewhat unfamiliar in appearance. It is unclear whether their unfamiliar appearance was an intended effect meant to prompt interpretation, or simply the result of the artist's adaptation of a preexisting model to the depiction of another scene. Matins opens with an image of Christ amongst the apostles (fig. 61, right). He raises one hand in speech, and many of the apostles raise a hand to their chest as if taken aback. Though there are no signs of a meal, the image evokes the Last Supper because of the gestures of the figures, and because of its place in the narrative sequence. If not specifically a Last Supper image, it was certainly modeled on one.[245] Shields bearing the signs of the Passion appear at all four corners of the frame. These may be specifically motivated by the line "Portemus in memoria poenas et obprobia Christi coronam spineam crucem clavos et lanceam" ("Let us carry in our memory the memory of Christ's torments and abuse: the cross, the nails and the spear").[246] They also point to Christ's Crucifixion. In a scene evoking the Last Supper, these symbols also evoke the transubstantiation of the Eucharist. They frame the scene, and ensure that it is read not only in literal terms, but also at moral, allegorical and anagogical levels.

The following page represents Christ on a stony mountainside. He is repeated three times, with different gestures of prayer each time. A black, bat-like demon breathing flames appears in the sky behind him (fig. 62). Sutton identified the scene as Christ tempted three times. Given its location in the narrative however, it seems more likely to represent Christ in the Garden at Gethsemane. In that case, the demon would

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[245]On the far right of the scene, and thus as far to Christ's left as possible is a figure in profile with exaggerated features (a large nose and deeply frowning mouth) who can only be Judas. However, in the image of the Betrayal Judas' features are not distorted, and he is beardless. The disparity suggests that the care that went into the elaborate pictorial program for this book of hours was not consistent. It also suggests that the first two scenes were not rendered unfamiliar by plan but by happenstance.

[246] Book of Hours, fol. 80.

represent the sorrow with which Christ was initially overcome, and the three figures of Christ, the three times he left the disciples to pray on his own.[247] Appearing above the opening exhortations to God, to hurry to the reader/viewer's aid, "Deus in adiutorium meum intende. Domine ad adiuvandum me festina," the three different gestures of prayer serve as models for the reader's own prayer. Both of these initial images are unfamiliar in appearance. If deliberate, the effect may have been intended to prompt the reader's contemplation of the images, and subsequent interpretation.

The following seven images are familiar in iconography and placement, and are keyed to the texts they accompany. Lauds opens with the Betrayal of Christ (fig. 63), an image appropriate to the prayer accompanying the hour, which speaks of Christ's betrayal,[248] and closes with Christ brought before Caiaphas (fig. 64). Prime opens with The Mocking of Christ (fig. 65), and closes with Christ before Pilate (fig. 66), again appropriate to the hour's prayer.[249] Terce opens with an image of Pilate Robing Christ (fig. 67), and closes with the Flagellation (fig. 68). Sext opens with Christ Carrying the Cross (fig. 69).

With the close of Sext Francesco's intervention in the image program becomes explicit. Sext closes with the Crucifixion (fig. 70). This Crucifixion is amplified by an image on the facing page. In that image, opening None, a group of knights on horseback approach the Crucifixion. The most prominent knight displays the black and white heraldry of Siena on a banner, on his shield, and on the livery of his horse. He raises his

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[247] Matthew 26. 36-44.
[248] "Domine [Jes]u [Christ]e qui hora diei matitunali p[ro] salute hu[ma]nam tradi voluisti capi et ligari a lapis cedi et conspui fac nos q[uaesumu]s d[omi]ne contumelias et obprobia …" Book of Hours fol. 88 verso.
[249] The opening hymn begins, "Tu qui velatus facie fuisti sol iusti[ci]e flexus illusus genib[us] cesus quoq[ue] v[er]beribus…. " Book of Hours folio 89 verso, folio 90 recto. The prayer includes the line "…qui hora diei p[rim]a pilato p[re]sidi p[re]se[n]tatus iudex iud[iciu]m durissim[um] p[er]tulisti t[ibi] humil[ite]r supplicam[us]…" Book of Hours folio 91 verso and folio 92 recto.

right hand in a gesture that points to the Crucifixion, perhaps to spur his companions onwards. A forest of spears rises above the knights, also pointing towards the facing page. These knights frame and reinflect the devotional image. Their pairing with the devotional image indicates a narrative of interaction on the part of a specific group with the Crucifixion, and links the devotional image to a particular context. In the absence of further information, the juxtaposition of the knights and the Crucifixion reads ambivalently. The implication of the juxtaposition might be that the knights are to be read as equivalent to the Roman soldiers at the Crucifixion, their spears recalling Longinus. Those spears, however, are to Christ's left, and not juxtaposed with the wound in his right side. They are also safely pointing above the frame. Furthermore, the Sienese heraldry and armor suggest that the knights were meant to be historically separate from the biblical event. It is more likely then that they were to be read in a positive light. In a manner roughly comparable to the examples of the scholar and the prefiguration of Mary seen in the Hours of the Virgin, they are separate from the devotional scene and act as models for interaction with the devotional image. The knights may therefore go to battle in Christ's service, prompted by the memory of his sacrifice. Instead of cuing contemplation in the manner of the framing images in the Hours of the Virgin, the knights prompt action in the service of God. With the addition of the knights, Francesco reframed the Crucifixion and gave it a particular significant context. This is not merely a matter of amplification, of dwelling on the topic at hand. The reader/viewer sees the familiar image of a Crucifixion on the left. Once his attention is turned to the succeeding image of the approaching knights on the recto of the facing page, the Crucifixion is recast. It is no longer the image of the Crucifixion, but of a particular vision of the event,

and one that inspires specific action. Francesco here made something new out of a commonplace. The addition of the knights was Francesco's invention, his particular meditation upon the Crucifixion. Furthermore, once represented, these knights in turn argue for and prompt a particular kind of response on the part of the viewer to the sight of the Crucifixion.

The close of None and the opening of Vespers are cued with conventional images of sacred history, The Descent from the Cross and the Deposition (fig. 71).[250] Vespers however closes with a more charged pairing, with facing, juxtaposed images of the Resurrection of the Dead and an eclipse (fig. 72).[251] At the base of folio 111v, the Resurrection of the Dead depicts several tiny naked figures standing in open stone tombs and looking upwards. The image on the facing page shows the sun, moon and earth arranged vertically. The red sun at the top casts its rays outwards. These rays fall on the moon at the center of the frame, and the brown and green earth below is cast into shadow. Like many of Francesco's diagrams and discussions of cosmology in the *Documenti*, this image was drawn from William of Conches' *Dragmaticon*.[252] In association with the Resurrection of the Dead, this eclipse can be read in narrative terms, as a specific reference to the Last Judgment prophecy of Matthew 24: 29: "Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened and the moon shall not give her light."[253] The allegorical import of the juxtaposition is also clear. Just as the Earth will reemerge from shadow, so will the dead be resurrected. The eclipse can be read on both

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[250] The prayer for Vespers specifically addresses the Descent from the Cross. "D[omi]ne [Jes]u [Christ]e qui ho[r]a diei vesp[er]tina ia[m] morte p[er]e[m]pt[us] de cruce depo[n]i …." Book of Hours, fol. 111 verso.

[251] In the Egerton Hours, (British Library MS Egerton 1151, ca. 1260 Oxford) an image of a sunrise illuminates Prime in the Hours of the Virgin.

[252] Sutton, 158. For Francesco's use of the *Dragmaticon* as a source, see Claudio Scarpati, "Francesco da Barberino e Guglielmo da Conches," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 19 (1976): 163-170.

[253] Sutton, 158.

literal and allegorical levels, and serves to amplify the meaning of the resurrection of the dead.[254]

For Francesco and other readers, making such associative connections was a part of meditation. The Resurrection of the Dead and the eclipse were inserted into the narrative sequence of the Passion, following the Entombment. The Resurrection of the Dead is an event from the end of time. The pair amplify the idea of resurrection. They thus foreshadow, parallel, and comment upon Christ's resurrection, which is obliquely represented in the image of the Three Marys at the Tomb which opens the next hour (fig. 73). The interpolation of these two images deliberately disrupts sequential time, and creates a meaningful chain of associations. Rather than being led sequentially through the narrative, the devotee is here prompted to stop and contemplate the comparison. These images appear at the end of the hour, at which point we might imagine Francesco suspending his daily prayers until Compline. Neither image is self-consciously novel. It is their placement within the manuscript that makes them especially significant.

The final four images that adorn Compline are conventional scriptural images. The acceleration of the pictorial program ensured that numerous images in the book of hours were given to episodes from Christ's resurrection. In itself this accumulative emphasis inflected Francesco's experience of the manuscript and of the recited prayers. Compline opens on folio 112 verso with the Three Marys at the Tomb (fig. 73). Folios 115 verso and 116 present facing images of the Descent into Limbo and of Noli me

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[254] The sun however is not simply a poetic fiction, though it may be employed as part of one. It is also a real thing in the world. Regarding the sun, Dante states in the *Convivio*, "Nothing in the universe perceptible by the senses is more worthy to be made the symbol of God…." The image employs a natural sign. This use implies Francesco's understanding of the idea that signs in the natural world can be read as indicating man's final salvation. This is far more than a matter of poetic fiction or allegory, because such signs would be those left by God. *Dante's 'Il Convivio,'* 124.

tangere (fig. 74), this last rarely depicted in books of hours.[255] The hour closes with Christ's Ascension (fig. 75, left).

Francesco's pictorial program for his Office of the Passion is extensive. Most evidently specific to Francesco's intervention are the inventive additions of the knights who approach the Crucifixion, and the placement of the Resurrection of the Dead and the eclipse so as to amplify Christ's resurrection. Aside from those exceptions, the images represent familiar episodes from Christ's Passion and Resurrection and are relatively standard in their iconography.[256] The episodes represented were a matter of conscious choice, and their overall effect meaningful. Most obviously, the multiplication and acceleration of scenes emphasize Christ's resurrection. The promise of salvation is thus repeatedly brought before the eyes of the reader/viewer for contemplation.

The next section of Francesco's book of hours is the Office of the Dead. Reciting the Office of the Dead was intended to help release souls from Purgatory. The office was recited at medieval funerals by both clergy and laypeople, but because of its important function, it was also to be said at other times.[257] In the "typical" book of hours as it was later to be established, the Office of the Dead was most often accompanied by a single image. The choice of that image, however, was among the most variable of all the images in a book of hours. The Office might open with an image of the activities surrounding a death: a funeral service, of which the Office of the Dead was a part, a deathbed, the preparation of the dead, or burial. Job and Lazarus sometimes appear at this point, as do personifications of Death, or the Three Living and the Three Dead. Some offices of the

[255] Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 92.
[256] It is possible that the extent of this program and its individual episodes were derived from the manuscript's model.
[257] Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 117.

dead open with an image of the Last Judgment.[258] This section of a book of hours was seemingly more amenable than the others to variation. Unsurprisingly Francesco had an expanded pictorial program of at least five images painted in this section of his Book of Hours.[259] This program was clearly not derived from any preceding Office of the Dead, as it was largely composed of images designed by Francesco, giving further evidence of the license possible in this section. Generally speaking, the images Francesco planned for his Office of the Dead reinforced the emphasis on the promise of salvation evident in the previous section.

The Office opens with the image of a seated woman, clothed in blue, with a white veil (fig. 75). The costume suggests that the woman is to be associated with the Virgin Mary. Two figures kneel before her, while she places one hand palm down over their heads in a gesture of mercy and raises the other in a speaking gesture. In front of her are written her words in gold, "Ite et amplius nolite peccare" ("Go, and sin no more"). The kneeling figures have evidently fought. Both have empty scabbards, and are pierced by one another's weapons.

The image is roughly patterned on that of donor portraits. Books of hours frequently include images of their patrons kneeling before the Virgin. The model is here transformed by the addition of the words and the implication of preceding narrative action by means of the wounds and weapons. The effect is to abstract the image. No longer representing a specific donor, or offering a particularized image of a specific interaction between a devotee and Mary, the schema has been transformed into an

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[258] Wieck, *Time Sanctified*,124-136 and *Painted Prayers*, 23.
[259] The section is incomplete. Of the five we know about, four image are extant, and the fifth was described in the *Documenti*.

allegory.[260] Despite the woman's resemblance to Mary, we know from the *Documenti* that Francesco identified the figure as Misericordia.[261] The allegory presents a parallel, abstracted and extrapolated from a sacred model.[262]

As with Laus, Francesco is here repeating a figure invented for another context. Francesco first had Misericordia represented in the bishop's palace in Treviso, alongside Justitia and Conscientia. As discussed in the previous chapter, according to Francesco's description Misericordia was represented in essentially the same way in these two very different locations, speaking the same words, and likely with two similar figures kneeling before her.[263] The reused image, transferred from a monumental location in the bishop's palace, has changed in significance and address. Rather than representing the outcome of a judgment in this world, where the wrongdoers are sent off to behave properly, the allegory in the book of hours opens the Office of the Dead. The two kneeling figures must therefore be understood as having killed one another. In its previous location it was likely intended to be a model for the bishop, and part of a definition of how he ought to act. In the book of hours, the reader/viewer is positioned to identify not with the Marian personification but with the supplicants. The allegory overall represents that for which the reader prays.

The preceding series of images consisted of Christ's Resurrection, Noli me tangere, his Descent into Limbo and finally his Assumption. This last image is paired

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[260] Under the term "allegory" I include the interaction between the personification and the two subsidiary, exemplary, figures.

[261] "Hoc etiam eodem modo ponitur misericordia in principio cuiusdam mei officioli in capite officij mortuorum." Egidi, 3: 287.

[262] There are of course many appeals for mercy from Christ within the Psalms and Lessons of Matins, but none are specifically relevant to such a scene.

[263] Francesco reports that *Misericordia* had an inscription as if she were speaking, and that she "dicit duobus coram se genuflexis ite et amplius nolite peccare," ("with two kneeling before her she says, "Go and sin no more."). Egidi, 3: 287.

with Misericordia by appearing on the facing page. In this context mercy has to do with a reprieve from Death, and the promise of heaven. Its relation to death is most clearly shown on the following page, where Francesco's allegory of Mors appears (fig. 76). Here the field is divided into two, but the action ought to be understood across both pages. Mors is a furry beast with lion's paws and multiple faces, who stands on the back of a dragon and shoots arrows in multiple directions. His arrows strike men, women, kings and soldiers alike. Implying the continuing action across the page break, Death's arrows pierce the frame, as does a crumpling knight. Like those on the left, the figures on the right have all been struck by arrows, and skeletons lie below. In this field of the image the situation is much more hopeful, for here the stricken figures have not all died, and all the arrows have not reached their targets. In the center of the scene a man dressed as a scholar offers comfort. Above, Christ gestures to a personification of Vita etterna at his left, and extends a banner to the figures below that tells them, and the viewer, that he gives to them Eternal Life.[264] Though the action takes place across both fields, the page break is employed to enforce the difference between the two sides, one representing despair, the other offering the promise of salvation. Francesco repeated this invention later in other contexts, specifically in the *Documenti* (fig. 4) and on the tomb of Bishop Antonio d'Orso (fig. 90), but it was first formulated for his book of hours.[265]

The figure of the scholar offering comfort within the allegory is very significant. As with the figure of the scholar amongst his books, the scholar ought to be identified

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[264] The abbreviation can be unpacked as "[Con]v[er]timini a me et ecce dabo vobis [etternam] vitam," ("You will convert/return to me and I will give you eternal life.")

[265] "Quia vero de mortis huius timore longa mentio facta est licet licteratis scriptura sufficiat ydiotis tamen figuram mortis inferius represento pro ut alias in principio cuiusdam officioli mortuorum eam primitus presentavi." Egidi, 1: 164. Reemploying the image in these later contexts did not require reinterpretation of the image, although it carries a different weight in both, and interacts differently with its framing images and texts.

with Francesco, even as he also stands for a scholarly everyman. In this allegory, the scholar/Francesco explicitly acts as a mediator, apparently communicating Christ's message to those threatened by Death. Francesco's self-consciousness about his own mediating role could not be represented more clearly. His role was not a matter of direct access to sacred truths, but of mediation by means of evident, unabashed fictions. This allegorical scene performs its mediating role by means of Francesco's novel personifications of Mors and Vita etterna.

The hour of Lauds is framed by two further images calling the reader/viewer to contemplate death and resurrection. Both are "speaking" images. Lauds opens with a full-page image of the tiny souls of two skeletons ascending to Christ (fig. 77). Gold letters beside Christ represent his speech.[266] Both skeletons also gesture in speech, recorded in gold below. The image resonates with the texts recited in the hour, such as the antiphons: "To our Lord shall rejoice the humbled bones" and "I am the resurrection and the life: he which believeth in me, although he were dead, yet he shall live: and everyone which liveth, and believeth in me, shall not die forever."[267] Lauds ends with an image of Christ appearing from the sky and addressing kneeling figures (fig. 78, left). The golden letters beside Christ read: "[I]f you have followed me, you will be saved."[268] The inscription

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[266] I have not yet been able to completely decipher the abbreviations. The first approximately reads: "om[n]ia ptere ut pt amare me." There are abbreviation marks above the "p" in "ptere," above the "ut" and above the "pt." Below the image is another phrase. I believe that it says, with the abbreviations unpacked, "Quod a t[er]ra su[mp]sim[us] t[er]r[a]e reddidim[us] quod adeo deo," ("That which we took from the earth we return to the earth, that which we took from God we return to God.") Book of Hours, fol. 143 verso.
[267] "exultabu[n]t d[omi]ne ossa humiliata." Book of Hours, fol. 146. "ego sum resurrect[i]o et vita…." Book of Hours, fol. 154. English translation from Gunhouse "The Office for the Dead," *Hypertext Book of Hours* http://medievalist.net/hourstxt/deadlau.htm
[268] "Si secuti eriti[s] me salui eritis," ("If you have followed me, you will be saved.") Book of Hours, fol. 155 verso.

below the scene as a whole reads, "Deliver us not into the hands of your enemies."[269] Again the images, and the injunction, work across the page break. The kneeling figures are at the far left, while Christ appears in the upper right corner of the verso page. In this position, Christ separates the kneeling figures from his "enemies," on the facing page. On that page is Hell is represented with tiny figures tormented by demons (fig. 78, right). A monstrous, fiery Hellmouth appears at the center. The depiction relates to the antiphons, "From the gate of hell" and "From the gate of hell deliver my soul O Lord." Taking their cue from the versicle and response that precede the final prayer, "From the gate of hell, Deliver their souls O Lord…," the images unabashedly present the possibility of Hell, in order to remind the viewer/Francesco of the possibility of salvation.[270]

The hour of Vespers is incomplete. Only the first half of Psalm 114 remains, but we know from the *Documenti* that the hour was adorned with a Last Judgment scene. In later examples, the Last Judgment was often chosen to illustrate the whole of the Office of the Dead. While his choice of scene was not unusual, Francesco's Last Judgment differed considerably from the usual iconography, and included personifications of virtues alongside Christ. In the commentary discussing the figure of Justice in the *Documenti,* Francesco briefly refers to her appearance as part of the Last Judgment image, stating

> And in the end, where the Last Judgment is represented, Justice
> (is placed) next to divine majesty and she is there to the right,

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[269] "ne des no[s] i[n] man[ibus] inimico[rum] tuo[rum]," (Deliver us not into the hands of your enemies.") Book of Hours, fol. 155 verso.
[270] "a porta inferi" Book of Hours, fol. 148 verso; "A porta inferri erue d[omi]ne a[n]i[m]am mea[m]," Book of Hours, fols. 150 recto and verso; versicle: "a porta inferri" and response: "erue d[omi]ne." Book of Hours, fol. 154 verso. Wieck commented that it was relatively unusual to depict the possible fates after death whether for good or ill, and that when Hell was represented, it was not allotted a great deal of space nor emphasis. Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 129, 131.

> however she does not direct the rays towards Christ. And to her
> left is Truth….[271]

The described scene represents an extremely interesting appropriation and reinvention of an event from sacred history, even if an event that has not yet occurred. From this description, it seems that Justice appeared in the Last Judgment much as she previously appeared in the bishop's palace in Treviso, and as she would later appear in the *Documenti*, with a sword and steelyard, and emitting bright rays. Truth was also depicted. This figure probably closely resembled the version that appears in the *Documenti*, where she is represented as a half-figure rising out of a boulder, and holding open a book.[272] From Francesco's brief description it is impossible to know what other virtues might have appeared accompanying Christ in this Last Judgment, or to know in detail what the image as a whole might have looked like. However, the appearance of Truth and the other personifications in the scene, may have been inspired by Psalm 84:

> But yet his salvation is nigh to them that fear
> him: that Glory may inhabit in our land.
> Mercy and Truth have met each other:
> Justice and Peace have kissed.
> Truth is risen out of the earth: and Justice hath looked down from heaven.
> For our Lord truly will give benignity: and
> our land shall give her fruit.

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[271] "Et iustitia in fine iuxta magestatem divinam ubi presentatur finale iudicium et est ibi adextris non tamen radios dirigit versus christum a sinistris autem eius est veritas cuius diffinitiones (1) habes infra proximo documento in glosa . et rationes figure . figuram autem habes infra in fine libri que amorem claudentem librum assotiat ." Note 1 explains "Nel ms. 'diffinitiones' e segue 'et figuarum' cancellato." Egidi, 3: 287.

[272] Egidi reports that the open book contains the phrase "quecumque satis hic sunt et ego semper maneo," ("Whatever/whoever they are this is enough and I always endure." Egidi, 'Le Miniature,' 88.

Justice shall walk before him: and shall set his steps in the way.[273]

Though the connection of Truth's iconography to the psalm seems fairly direct, the connection can only be tentatively proposed. Furthermore, Psalm 84 does not appear in the Office of the Dead, but in the Hours of the Virgin.[274]

The hierarchical framework provided by representations of the Last Judgment provided a useful model for novel images. Like Francesco's allegories, the *Allegory of Good Government* in the Sala dei Nove in Siena was modeled on the hierarchical structure of a Last Judgment. We may imagine for Francesco's Last Judgment a similar array of virtues (if more radically novel in appearance), with Christ in place of the *Common Good/Commune*. To keep the comparison closer to home, I would suggest that the scene likely resembled the hierarchical arrangement of the Roccha amoris of the *Documenti* (figs. 1, 27), itself loosely patterned on the hierarchical arrangement of a Last Judgment. Christ would have appeared flanked by a row of virtues, with the souls awaiting judgment below. Francesco also used the model of the Last Judgment to invent his image of Gratitudo controlling entry to Love's court (figs. 20, 39). The loss of Francesco's Last Judgment must be regretted, as it was the clearest and perhaps most drastic example within the book of hours of the transformation of religious iconography to suit Francesco's specific ends. The other examples within the manuscript of Francesco's adaptations were accomplished through juxtaposition of images - through amplification, rather than direct appropriation and intervention within the scene itself. In

[273] Gunhouse, "The Office of Our Blessed Lady At Prime," *A Hypertext Book of Hours*, http://medievalist.net/hourstxt/bvm1pri.htm.
[274] In Francesco's Book of Hours Psalm 84 begins on folio 40 recto, in the hour of Prime of the Hours of the Virgin.

none of the other biblical images are personifications presented immediately alongside sacred figures, as seems to have been the case with Francesco's Last Judgment.

The representation of the Last Judgment in allegorical guise would have had the effect of presenting a meditation on the event, and a particular lesson on the virtuous nature of the celestial court and the qualities required to be admitted there. Rather than representing an authoritative image from sacred history, or reframing a conventional devotional image by means of an appended image, the adapted image in this case would have literally mediated between the particular viewer, primarily Francesco, and the vision of the end of time. Unlike the later manipulations of Last Judgment imagery by Cola di Rienzo or by Ambrogio Lorenzetti on behalf of the Sienese communal government, Francesco here was not simply appropriating the framework and authority of the Last Judgment image for his own ends. Like theirs, his action fictionalized the image and made it specific, but unlike theirs it served to *comment on* the Last Judgment, to create a kind of lens through which to contemplate it. The adapted image is freed from exact correspondence to the authoritative model in order to become a meditative model for a specific patron/viewer, or potentially a didactic tool for a set of viewers.

The next section of Francesco's book of hours was that of the Penitential Psalms. As the tradition developed later, the Penitential Psalms were marked by a single image. The section frequently opened in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with an image of Christ, as Judge or as King of Heaven. Such a choice was appropriate because it was to Christ as judge that these psalms were addressed. A group of scenes from the life of David, "the model penitent," was another possibility, particularly in fifteenth century

examples.[275] In contrast, Francesco's book emphasized retreat into the wilderness, presenting hermits and ascetics as penitential models. The section's pictorial program appears to include personifications devised by Francesco. As in the other parts of the manuscript, these inventions embody Francesco's response to the section, and prompt future contemplation by ensuring that the images are not merely read at a literal level, but interpreted.

Folio 157 presents a full-page miniature of hermits in the wilderness amongst animals (fig. 79). One inhabits a cave, another a tree, another a tower, one kneels in prayer, two appear to read, and one appears to be eating foliage. The hand of God descends from the upper right corner, the height of the mountain, and four of the figures inhabiting the landscape appear to address their prayers there. There are seven human figures in the scene, suggesting that each may represent a psalm. This interpretation is in keeping with my understanding of the three representations of Christ on the mountainside as evoking the three times Christ left the apostles to pray in the Garden at Gethsemane.

The emphasis on hermits in this section of the manuscript is intriguing and has been related to events in Francesco's life. Francesco may have had to leave Florence in 1304 for political reasons, and the theme of exile might inform the imagery of his book of hours.[276] While we do not have enough information to determine if this was actually the case or not, the choice of hermits to represent penance would seem particularly appropriate to an exile.

The verso represents Mary Magdalene and St. John the Baptist, both clothed in hair (fig. 80). The next portion of the Penitential Psalms is now bound out of order, and is

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[275] Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 97-99.
[276] Sutton, 163.

currently folios 33 to 38 recto in the manuscript. The text ends on folio 37 verso, and at the base of the page is a woman, apparently Mary, veiled and dressed in blue, and holding a large golden disc on which appears the Agnus dei (fig. 52, left).[277] Both Mary and the lamb look across the page break to the facing page, which depicts an unusual image. In this image a haloed woman leads a procession of clerics across a hillside (fig. 52, right). The section thus opened and closed with a mountainous landscape, emphasizing penance and retreat into the wilderness. The woman carries a white banner with a red cross, the flag of the Redeemer.[278] A fire burns high on the hill. Like the hand in the upper right of the opening image of the section, and recalling the pillar of fire that embodied God's presence on Mount Sinai in the Old Testament, this fire most likely represents God's presence.[279] Given the flag of the Redeemer, and the clerical appearance of the woman's followers, the fire might also refer to John the Baptist's statement: "I baptize you with water, for repentance; but the one who comes after me is mightier than I. … He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire."[280] Given Francesco's process of invention it is more than likely that this woman represents a personification rather than a historical figure. Carrying a victory standard, she leads a procession of clerics towards the fire on the mountain that represented God's presence in the Old

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[277] Saint Agnes is depicted holding a similar disk with an image of a lamb in Duccio's *Maestà* (1308-11). The woman's blue cloak and the juxtaposition with the triumphal scene on the facing page indicate nonetheless that the figure should be understood to represent Mary.
[278] Christ typically carries this banner in images of his resurrection. The *Agnus dei* often carries it. John the Baptist is sometimes depicted with the standard, as are military saints like St. George. St. Reparata, who was one of the patron saints of Florence, was one of the only female saints represented with the banner. St. Ursula is the other. George Wells Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 304, 305.
[279] "The glory of the Lord looked to the Israelites like a devouring fire on the mountain-top" Exodus 24.16; "From heaven he let you hear his voice for your instruction, and on earth he let you see his great fire, and out of the fire you heard his words" Deut 4.36; "These commandments the Lord spoke in a great voice to your whole assembly on the mountain out of the fire, the cloud and the thick mist;…" Deut 5.22; "Thou didst guide them … by a pillar of fire at night…" Neh 9.12
[280] Matthew 3.11.

Testament. The figure may represent Ecclesia, the victorious Church, triumphant over death, replacing the old law.

On the back of the page is the beginning of the Litany, the rest of which has not survived. Its opening, at least, was not illustrated, which is typical of later books of hours.

The remaining section of Francesco's *officiolum* is the most exceptional of all. It opens, reasonably enough, with the Marian antiphon Salve regina (fig. 81). The accompanying image shows Intelligentia as a young woman, identified by an inscription beside her, kneeling with her arms folded before the enthroned Maria Regina. Mary's guise repeats the personification of Misericordia seen opening the Office of the Dead. The emphasis on mercy is also reinforced in the text of the prayer. Mary is specifically addressed as "Queen of Mercy," and exhorted to turn "her merciful eyes" to the supplicant.[281] As with the personification of Misericordia, the model of a donor portrait has been transformed. Rather than representing the donor, the supplicant is a personification, clothed in a pink gown very similar to that worn by the scholar/Francesco on the following pages.[282] The personification Intelligentia embodies "the power of discerning or understanding," and represents the highest cognitive faculty, able to contemplate even abstract things.[283] The personification was not specific to Francesco alone. In the late thirteenth, early fourteenth century poem *Intelligenza* for instance, the narrator describes a beautiful lady and the elaborate palace in which she resides. At the

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[281] "Mater" is left out here, and the opening line is "Salve Regina misericordie." "Eja ergo, advocate nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte." Book of Hours, fol. 165.

[282] "E maria dignare me laudare te virgo sacrata da michi virtutem contra hostes tuos" Book of Hours, fol. 165 verso.

[283] *Intelligentia* is defined as "the power of discerning or understanding" in *A Latin Dictionary founded on Andrew's Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary*, s.v. "Intelligentia." In the *Lexicon totius latinitatis*, 2nd. ed., s.v. "Intelligentia," it is defined as the "facultas animae nobilissima, qua res, etiam incorporeas, percipimus et contemplamur," ("the most noble faculty of the soul, by means of which we perceive and contemplate even incorporeal things.")

end of the poem the lady is revealed to be Intelligenza.[284] Intelligentia here gazes upon Mary. She represents a mental faculty turned to contemplate the divine. She is a fiction, not to be read on a literal level. Francesco consistently used personifications, fictions, to mediate his devotional experience. These imaginative figures embodied abstract ideas in sensible, visible form, and made it possible for Francesco to contemplate those abstractions.

The following pages, an extended pictorial and textual allegory, are also written in gold, aligning them with the prefatory prayer. They present a narrative of a struggle between a scholar and a sphinx-like beast (figs. 82-89). The scholar wears a pink robe very similar to that worn by Intelligentia, and to that worn by the scholar/Francesco at the opening of the book of hours. The accompanying texts do little to clarify or specify the meaning of the allegory. Instead they represent the speech of the protagonists to one another, and give broad hints as to the action taking place.

The story begins with a child suckling at from a hybrid beast, who has the veiled head of a woman, a single falcon's claw, a lion's mane and paw, and hooves for back feet (fol. 167r; fig. 82).[285] Her speech obliquely offers a characterization, noting that her grasp is strong, she approaches stealthily, and so on. The suckling boy from this illustration states: "If I am suckled on you, I will be sustained by that which rules over you, and I will overcome your power. Nevertheless before victory I will be afflicted with great anguish and torments." As the sequence proceeds, the scholar, first suckled and carried

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[284] The late thirteenth – early fourteenth century poem is an important example of the very kind of personification allegory that occupied Francesco. For the poem see *Poemetti del Duecento: Il Tesoretto, Il Fiore, L'Intelligenza*, ed. Giuseppe Petronio (Turin: Unione Tipografico – Editrice Torinese, 1963), 35-48, 377-506.

[285] The text at the top of the page is spoken by the beast, and presents a kind of riddle as to her identity, "I proceed slowly, what I grasp I scarcely let go, I attack forcefully, I approach and enter by stealth." The text below represents the speech of the boy. For all of the translations of the final allegory I am relying upon the translation provided by Kay Sutton in her article. Sutton, 164.

by the beast, starts to oppose her, suffering various setbacks (fol. 167 verso, fol. 168 recto; figs. 83-84). In the third episode, the beast restrains the scholar with her claw. In the fourth episode she holds him under one paw. The captions express the scholar's inability to escape, and appeal to "you who govern kings and peoples" (that is, to God) not to abandon his servant.[286] The extent of his despair is made evident by the expansion of the barren landscape across the page, extending even outside the pictorial frame.

The fifth scene represents an odd moment in the sequence. The scholar is mounted on a horse that stands in a river that flows out of a pipe in the mountainside. He addresses with raised hand a king on horseback (fol. 166; fig. 84, right). Below, men lead their horses to drink from the river. The caption expresses hope, "I see that that treasury will be filled, and that past transgressions shall cause no harm and that a cleansed heart will allow me to serve your servants and enjoy peace."[287] Given the appearance of Intelligentia at the beginning of the allegory, the reference to a treasury may be a metaphor for the treasury of knowledge stored in the memory.[288] In combination with the reference to "past transgressions" and a "cleansed heart," baptism and rebirth are evoked at this point in the allegory. The water of the source spills out beyond the frame, contrasting with and answering the arid landscape of the facing page.

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[286] The second image represents the boy standing on the beast's back, as if being carried somewhere (fig. 39). The caption reads, "I do not overcome because purity and innocence overcome, therefore my heart does not rejoice since my consolations are torn away by these deficiencies." In the third episode, the beast restrains the boy, who appears to be trying to leave, with her claw (fig. 39). The caption reads, "However, you who govern kings and peoples do not desert your servant nor do you permit him to be tortured thus beyond hope and I will remember since you are the one." In the fourth scene, the beast holds the boy, now a youth, beneath his lion's paw (fig. 40). The caption exhorts, "You have abandoned me Father and I am cast down. Shall I be helped and shall I see your power appearing in the clouds and shall I say "I am wasting away because I did not know you?"

[287] In the commentary to the *Documenti*, Francesco mentions that the phrase "servum servorum dei" is used as a papal epithet because of the humility of the pope. "Summus autem pontifex qui se ratione humilitatis dicit servum servorum dei ...." Egidi, 1: 16.

[288] Mary Carruthers discusses the metaphor at length. See Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 33-36.

After this expression of hope, the scholar is able to fight back, and the sixth scene illustrates his efforts to free himself. Holding a book, he raises a sword to the sphinx-like beast (fol. 166 verso; fig. 85). The caption addresses Christ, who appears above, and evokes baptismal imagery, claiming that hope in Christ has given the scholar greater strength over "her," the beast. The seventh scene is especially opaque. The scholar rides on the backs of two monstrous horned birds across a bridge away from a crowd of people (fol. 171; fig. 85). The caption seems to express triumph and revelation: "This will be the end of mourning and the needy will be filled with whatever he desires, and the seekers will see him and they will rejoice, saying 'Our souls for his soul and our bodies for his body.'" However, the monstrousness of the birds on whose backs he flees likely were meant to indicate the illusoriness of this moment of triumph, because the following two scenes represent setbacks. The scholar is first clawed by the beast as he flees towards Christ, and then fruitlessly attacks the beast with arrows (fol. 171 verso, 169 recto; fig. 86). The accompanying texts appeal to Christ, and state the scholar's intent to "seek safety along the most barren byways of mankind until you give me the palm." They also attest to his failing spirits.[289]

In the tenth and eleventh episodes, female personifications appear to turn the tide. The tenth scene, spanning two pages, presents an allegory of Hope (fols. 169 verso and

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[289] "Whoever hopes in you is not forsaken but is forsaken by her and grows in strength in order to fight and overcome her, and, behold! I shall follow what you write and shall go into the water in order to live in the fire." The phrase evokes John the Baptist's words regarding baptism, also cited above, "I baptize you with water, for repentance; but the one who comes after me is mightier than I. … He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire" (Matthew 3.11). Next is a reversal of the scholar's fortunes (fig. 44). The beast claws his shoulder as he flees towards Christ, stating, "Shall now my life and my honour be trodden underfoot and my hope fall to ruin? I seek safety along the most barren byways of mankind until you give me the palm." The phrase implies exile until a victory is granted. The palm is a symbol of victory, and of martyrdom. Ferguson 45. In the ninth episode the young man stands and fires arrows at the beast (fig. 45), stating, "The war is hard for me and my spirits are made anxious and weakened as though continuously firing arrows into iron. They are disturbed and seek a prison for the sake of rest."

170 recto; fig. 87). Hope and her palace appear on the right page while the hopeful and despairing are on the left, physically separated from their goals. As in other scenes the page break is significant. In the caption, the scholar appears to address Hope, declaring "My soul has failed me and as if I were a wild beast I am displeasing to my own self. You alone brought support to my life." The equation of the scholar with a beast in the caption is particularly interesting, as it suggests a similar equation between the scholar and the beast he is fighting in the images.

The eleventh episode presents another two-page image. Here our scholar kneels at the feet of a woman who fires arrows across the page break towards the beast (fol. 170 verso and 172 recto; fig. 88). The kneeling scholar salutes the standing lady, and holds her quiver. He appears between the lady and the beast, spatially illustrating the battle over him and his allegiance. Like Virtu in genere, who appears later in the *Documenti*, this female personification opposes a hybrid beast. Like that personification, moreover, this one is surrounded by rays, which may perhaps be glossed in a similar fashion as "denoting that she herself is armed against vice."[290]

In the final scene (fol. 172 verso; fig. 89), which is in extremely poor condition, the beast has been overcome. She lies on a hillside, surrounded by hunters. The scholar is amongst the hunters, holding a crossbow.

While the plotline of the allegory is clear, understanding its specific import is more difficult. Observing the seeming autobiographical valence of the narrative, and

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[290] Francesco of course reuses motifs and reinterprets them according to his needs. Justice also is surrounded by rays, but her rays are glossed in relation to the virtuous viewer's capability for looking directly at her, like an eagle the sun, while sinners/lesser birds are unable to do so. The figures are not strictly comparable. First, surely Francesco would have mentioned the previous appearance of *Virtu in genere*, as he does with other repeated figures. This virtue is active, shooting arrows at the beast, while *Virtu in genere* is passive, repelling the arrows of the vices, and embodying *medietas*.

assuming that Francesco had to leave Florence in 1304 for political reasons, Sutton tentatively argued that the allegory might be a specific response to the difficulties of Francesco's exile from Florence. The antiphon does call on the Virgin in the name of the exiled, and Francesco pledges to a crowned figure in one of the scenes. This pledge might be read as an indication of Francesco's Ghibelline sympathies, while the monster, as a version of Ecclesia, might represent his Guelph adversaries. [291] Sutton argued that since the book of hours was primarily for Francesco's own use, he would not have needed to provide explanations for his own inventions.[292] However, Sutton's proposal relies too heavily on the assumption of Francesco's political sympathies and actual exile, and is too literal in its interpretation of the theme of exile. It also relies on a characterization of the book of hours as a strictly private object.

A narrowly biographical reading cannot be adequate to understanding this allegory for a number of reasons. Throughout the book of hours, the effect of the interpolation of Francesco's personifications and allegories was precisely to prevent a simply literal reading, and to prompt reading at other levels. According to the rules of rhetoric, and as discussed by Dante in the *Convivio*, it is simply inappropriate to speak of oneself, because one must speak in terms of either praise or blame. The only causes for exception are when to do so is the only way to avoid infamy or danger, or, when to speak of oneself would provide instruction to another, as in the case of St. Augustine's

[291] Sutton, 161 and 163. As part of her biographical interpretation, Sutton proposed the beast was derived from the personification Ecclesia, who after the twelfth century was sometimes depicted riding a hybrid beast with four heads and four different legs representing the four gospels. In her reading the beast might therefore represent Francesco's Guelph enemies She cites folio 105 recto of the *Hortus deliciarum* as one example. She also noted the beast's resemblance to the sphinx who questions Oedipus, as she appears in manuscripts of the Histoire ancienne in the second half of the thirteenth century in Acre.
[292] Sutton, 162.

Confessions, and in Dante's own *Divine Comedy*.[293] The very representation of the sequence bespeaks a rhetorical purpose. Even if the sequence in Francesco's book of hours did have biographical meaning, it would also have had more general significance. The use of personification and allegory serve to abstract the narrative. While the invention of the forms may be attached to Francesco, their meaning and valence is generalized.

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, personal piety was publicly expressed in the late middle ages. Furthermore, as Carruthers has discussed, expression of "character" took place rhetorically, in common, memorable terms for an audience.[294] While the events depicted in the allegory might refer in some way to specific events in Francesco's life, it would be antithetical to his own preoccupations, if not simply impossible for the time period, for him not to generalize those events, to represent them in terms of larger lessons and with relevance for others. Furthermore, while it is true that Francesco was the primary audience for his book of hours, it is also the case that he was generally concerned with the didactic efficacy of his images. We know that Francesco showed this allegory to others, who reused its images to their own ends. Most importantly perhaps, any reading of the sequence must also account for its appearance within a book of prayer, and its specific connection to the prayer *Salve Regina*, made evident in the common gold lettering.

For the remainder of this chapter I will explore some of the interpretive possibilities for the allegorical sequence. On a basic level the allegory represents a story

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[293] *Dante's 'Il Convivio,'* 6-8. See John Freccero for the connection between Augustine's Confessions and the Divine Comedy, *Dante The Poetics of Conversion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 2, 3.
[294] See Carruthers' discussion of Heloise in *The Book of Memory*, 179-182.

of conversion and salvation.[295] First led astray by a deceptive beast, the scholar is able to overcome and kill that beast by returning to a "source" evoking baptism, and with the aid of Christ, Hope and Virtue. The scholar represents Francesco in some sense, but the figure and narrative are also generalized, and the figure acts as a scholarly everyman as well.[296]

As noted above, the allegory is formally linked to the *Salve regina*, in the shared gold lettering of the text. We must therefore interpret the allegory specifically in relation to the opening prayer from which it stems. The prayer opening the allegory addresses Mary as the Queen of Mercy, and, characterizing the speakers as the exiled children of Eve, asks the Virgin to turn her merciful eyes upon them, and to show them Christ, "blessed fruit of her womb," after their exile. The prayer here closes with the versicle and response: "Dignare me laudare te, Virgo sacrata," "Da mihi virtutem contra hostes tuos," ("Vouchsafe me to praise thee, sacred Virgin. Give me strength against thy enemies").

This response may offer a solution as to the identity of the female personification that saves the scholar from the beast. She may personify the strength or *virtutem* that was requested from the Virgin.

The theme of exile is certainly present, and is explicitly referred to in the caption for the eighth episode. Exile was, of course a real experience for many people in fourteenth century Italy as a result of the conflict of political factions, and may have

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[295] I am following Sutton's proposal as to the original organization of the manuscript.

[296] Similarly, in the thirteenth century Lambeth Apocalypse the patron, most likely to be identified as Eleanor de Quincy, Countess of Winchester, appears in one image kneeling before the Virgin in devotion. Later in the manuscript is an allegorical image in which a very similar figure appears, labeled as "the penitent." Given the resemblance, this figure was probably meant to encompass Eleanor de Quincy, as well as a generalized penitent. For the Lambeth Apocalypse, see Nigel Morgan, *The Lambeth Apocalypse* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1990).

occasioned Francesco's departure from Florence.[297] It was, however, not merely a fact of everyday life or simply a literal experience. For a Christian, life in the world after the Fall was itself a form of exile. Homecoming was represented by the hoped-for return to heavenly Jerusalem.[298] Considered as such, exile was an inherent part of earthly existence. The supplicants of the antiphon describe themselves as exiled, and it is specifically exile from paradise that is evoked. The theme of exile must again be understood more generally. The request to be shown Christ after exile refers to salvation, and to the desire to see Christ after death, as depicted by Francesco in the right side of his allegory of Mors. In the prayer, *Salve Regina*, the supplicants beseech Mary from a position of exile, "in this valley of tears."[299] The struggle between the scholar and the beast is depicted as taking place in a rocky landscape with barren mountains rising behind. In contrast, the two episodes of hope and seeming victory are depicted nearby rivers. The setting too establishes the scholar's exile, and the contrasting state of salvation.[300]

This exile is not however depicted as a literal, physical experience.[301] There are many clues to its fictional status. First, of course, is the presence of the fantastic beasts. Second, the supplicant addressing Mary with the *Salve Regina* is not Francesco or a

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[297] See Randolph Starn, *Contrary Commonwealth: The Theme of Exile in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

[298] Marianne Schapiro, *De Vulgari Eloquentia: Dante's Book of Exile* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 2.

[299] Salve regina misericordi[a]e vita dulcedo et [spes] n[os]t[r]a salve ad te clamamus Ad te gemente[s] et flentes in hac lacri[m]a[rum] valle exules filij eve ad te suspiramus eja ergo advocata n[os]t[r]a illos tuos mis[e]ricordes oculos ad nos converte et xhm benedictum fructus v[e]nt[ri]s tui Nobis post hoc ex[s]ilium hostende …. Book of Hours, fol. 165 verso.

[300] The personifications of *Hope* and *Virtu* have architectural backgrounds – in the case of *Hope*, her palace, and in the case of *Virtu*, a throne – that may serve as the backgrounds called for by the rules of the art of memory. At the least these serve to distinguish the scenes of the interventions of the personifications.

[301] Sutton usefully observed that the captions refer to the "mental state" of the scholar, however, she contrasts this with the action of the pictures. I argue that both are representative of mental states. Sutton, 161.

person, but a personification of Intelligentia. The subsequent allegory is linked to that opening image by the formal connection established between Intelligentia and the scholar by their pink garments. By opening the allegory with Intelligentia, Francesco suggested that the sequence ought be understood as an intellectual and spiritual struggle, and as one undertaken by other scholars. One of the earliest images in the manuscript is that of the scholar/Francesco surrounded by his books, all of which are vain that do not contain knowledge of the Lord.

In addition to its specifically Christian meaning, exile was also thematically connected to poetic invention. Poetry was a response to exile. In the most extreme formulation, exile was considered a necessary precondition of poetry. In the *Didascalicon*, Hugh of St. Victor commented upon exile, a metaphor for reading, as proper to poets and philosophers.[302] In an example closer to home for Francesco, Brunetto Latini's discovery of his exile from Florence begins his educational journey under the guidance of the personification of Nature. Most significant, of course, is Dante's conceptualization of poetry in relation to exile. The illustrious vernacular was conceived of as a language superceding political division, and to use it would be to effectively exile oneself from one's own native, local vernacular. The *Commedia* was also deeply informed by exile, and represents a journey to make a true return from exile and find salvation.[303]

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[302] He is commenting specifically upon Honorius of Autun. Cited by Giuseppe Mazzotta, *Dante, Poet of the Desert: History and Allegory in the Divine Comedy (*Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 272-273.

[303] See Marianne Shapiro's introduction to her translation of Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia* for discussion of the impact of Dante's exile on his formulation of the idea of the illustrious vernacular, belonging to no particular place, and his call for poets to effectively exile themselves from their local dialects and espouse the illustrious vernacular. Language would then "transcend" political division and exile. Schapiro, 8. For more extended and ambitious treatment see Maria Rosa Menocal, *Shards of Love: Exile and the Origins of the Lyric* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994) especially Chapter 2, "The Inventions of Philology," 91-141. The Commedia was also deeply informed by Dante's own exile, the parallels he drew to Exodus, and

The beasts that prevented Dante's journey at the beginning of the *Commedia* were a leopard, a lion and a wolf. The hybrid beast in Francesco's narrative is different in character. The monstrous beast has a beautiful female face, and a veiled head. As described above, the narrative begins with the young scholar/Francesco suckling at the beast, and being carried by her. Evidently the beast provided some kind of nourishment or instruction to the scholar, even if he later found it to be inadequate. These initial scenes thus suggest that she may not be wholly negative, and/or that she is deceptive in some way. The beautiful female face on the monstrous body, and the control it exerts over the boy at the beginning of the narrative, imply both deception and seduction. The accompanying phrase, "I approach and enter by stealth," further supports this implication. This hybrid beast recalls the fantastic creatures evoked by Horace to establish the bounds of poetic licence, and evokes the idea of poetic fiction exceeding nature.[304]

The allegory also has meaning in relation to Francesco's self-consciousness about his pictorial and poetic inventions. The allegory may represent a youthful pursuit of love poetry, prior to redirection to more serious purposes. Such a narrative ties in neatly to the first image of Francesco that appears in the manuscript, that of the scholar surrounded by books, who is admonished only to study those that lead to God. It is also in keeping with the evidence of Francesco's poetic activity. Early in his life, prior to having the book of hours made, Francesco engaged in debates about Love, and publicly represented Love

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by a conception of exile as "the spiritual condition of individual souls." Mazzotta states that "The distance and confrontation between poet and world as the constitutive region of poetry is a persistent feature of Dante's moral imagination." See Giuseppe Mazzotta, "Theology and Exile," *Dante's Vision and the Circle of Knowledge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 177, 179. See also his *Dante, Poet of the Desert: History and Allegory in the Divine Comedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979). The fundamental essay on the *Commedia* and Exodus is Charles S. Singleton's "In Exitu Israel de Aegypto," 78th Annual Report of the Dante Society of America (Boston 1960), rept. in *Dante: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. John Freccero (Eaglewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1965), 102-121.

[304] Horace, "The Art of Poetry," *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica,* trans. H.R. Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library (1929; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), 451.

and his effects.[305] From the evidence of the *Documenti*, and from the evidence provided by commentators like Boccaccio, it seems that Francesco's early representations of Love were negatively charged, representing carnal love. [306] In the *Documenti*, Francesco interprets the figure in positive, divine terms, but residual negative attributes, like Love's taloned feet, unmistakably point to a less respectable past. The figure of Love that appears in the *Documenti* evokes a negative precedent, even as it is forcibly reinterpreted by Francesco in the accompanying texts. In the *Documenti*, the combination of the figure and its accompanying textual interpretation enact a conversion of the representation of Love, turning the previously negative figure to proper ends, to the representation of Divine Love, and to the teaching of moral behavior to Francesco's reader. The conversion of the figure also evokes a narrative of conversion, whether real or not, in relation to Francesco's own life. The narrative of conversion and salvation at the end of the book of hours may play out a similar conversion, from youthful pursuit of poetic invention directed to frivolous ends to a mature use of poetic invention for more responsible ends.

Such a conversion, especially in relation to poetry, was a commonplace, and fruitful material for reinvention and re-presentation.[307] A specific and influential model

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[305] As recorded in the *Cronica Martiana,* at some point between 1297 and 1304 Francesco also publicly presented an allegory of Love on horseback with a falcon's claws, with accompanying explanatory text. This public presentation may have been a fresco, or may have been a more ephemeral presentation, for instance a festival decoration of some kind. In the *Documenti* Francesco also reports a poetic exchange with Feo d'Amiero. He was posed twenty-three questions on Love, in response to one of which he described Love and his court.

[306] Jacobsen, 1: 98-100.

[307] Folquet de Marseille, for instance, upon the death of his patron, turned away from love poetry and entered a Cistercian monastery, later becoming a bishop. see Huot, "Visualization and Memory," 5. Guittone d'Arezzo became Fra Guittone d'Arezzo. In the *Convivio* Dante, pointing to the different pursuits appropriate to youth and maturity converts the tempting "donna gentile" of the *Vita Nuova* into the abstract personification of Lady. Philosophy. *Dante's 'Il Convivio,'* 5. See also Lansing's introduction, xviii-xx. Saint Augustine's *Confessions* provided a crucial model for Dante's conversion in the Commedia. See

for the allegory closing Francesco's book of hours might also have been provided by the beginning of Boethius' *The Consolation of Philosophy*.[308] There the imprisoned scholar opens by talking about the wounded muses, and poetry, "once the glory of [his] happy and flourishing youth." Lady Philosophy appears and banishes the muses of poetry because they cannot help Boethius. Drawing attention to their deceptive qualities, Lady Philosophy calls the muses "whores of the theater" and "sirens," with this last term evoking seductive hybrid forms, fictional monstrosities.[309] Lady Philosophy then takes over care of Boethius. She herself appears in the guise of a personification, a poetic fiction. The problem then does not seem to be all poetry, but vain or empty poetry that is only dedicated to pleasure. Like Boethius' Lady Philosophy, Francesco's personifications of Intelligentia, Spes and Virtu are properly conceived personifications. Used to appropriate ends, fictional inventions aid the scholar to defeat the beast and achieve salvation and knowledge.

An episode from the poem *L'Intelligenza* further supports the association of the pictorial allegory with poetic invention put to appropriate ends by providing an appropriate and revealing comparison for the image of the scholar/Francesco speaking with a king beside a source of water. *L'Intelligenza* opens with the poet describing a lush, springtime landscape. He describes how, when standing beside a stream, he sensed a ray

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John Freccero, *Dante the Poetics of Conversion,* ed. Rachel Jacoff (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986).

[308] Filippo Villani expressly states that Francesco imitated Boethius, with reference to Francesco's treatment of Love as the inspiring force from which all good and evil came. ("Questo uomo grave e temperato avendo opinione, che dalle punture d'amorecome da natural principio tutti i beni e mali procedessero, imitando Boezio de Consolatione, ma in materno sermone, compose un libro in versi e prosa distinto, ….."). I am arguing that Francesco used Boethius as a kind of structural model. *Le Vite d'Uomini illustri fiorentini scritte da Filippo Villani* (Firenze: Sansone Coen Tipografico-Editore, 1847), 38.

[309] Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. Richard Green, (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1985), 3-5. The siren encountered by Dante in Purgatorio 19.1-36, on the model of Boethius, may also evoke "the moral threat of poetry." Giuseppe Mazzotta*, Dante's Vision and the Circle of Knowledge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 141.

coming into his heart from "fin Amore." He then turns to describing his beloved lady, who at the end of the poem turns out to be Intelligenza.[310] The column miniature that opens the poem in Magliabecchiano VII, 1035, fol. 2, depicts the poet standing in a garden (fig. 130). A crowned figure, fin'Amor, appears in the sky above emitting rays that go to the poet's heart. In *L'Intelligenza*, poetic description of a personification in the form of a beautiful lady is launched from the poet's encounter with a regal version of Love near a stream. The poet's devotion and concomitant words, prompted by his encounter with an Amor in princely guise, are not directed to describing an earthly love, but to a higher one. The episode indicates that the scholar/Francesco's encounter with the regal figure beside the stream of water may be understood in poetic terms, as well as religious ones.

The allegorical narrative that concludes Francesco's book of hours represents a generalized lesson. The story of conversion, with a link to poetic and scholarly activity supported by the image of the scholar/Francesco at the beginning of the manuscript, does not depend on specific biographical referents. Instead of being tied to the literal facts of Francesco's life, it represents a biographical model or commonplace. Other evidence from the book of hours and from the *Documenti* indicates Francesco's interest in such a biographical model, and his self-consciousness about the ethical ends of poetic representation and interpretation. The allegorical representation of the narrative in pictorial and textual form itself provides an example of Francesco's invention put to proper ends. He extrapolated this allegorical narrative from the *Salve regina* to represent a tale that both prompts moral behavior in this world, and evokes spiritual salvation. The

[310] *L'Intelligenza,* stanzas 1-7, in *Poemetti del Duecento*, 385-387.

emphasis on salvation after exile in this appended prayer is consonant with the themes of the pictorial program in the other sections of the *officiolum*.

Francesco deliberately shaped the pictorial program of his book of hours, from its novel images to its more conventional ones, to give a particular form to his devotional experience of reciting prayer. All aspects of that program had an effect on his devotional experience and on that of the reader/viewer. The inclusion of certain images and their placement emphasize certain moments and certain themes. The juxtaposition of particular sets of images also creates thematic connections, and material upon which to meditate. “Speaking” images address the reader/viewer directly, while other figures provide cues for the reader’s behavior. In contrast to their appearance in the conduct books and monumental contexts, in the *officiolum* many of Francesco’s invented images are paired with the images of sacred history, and amplify those images, prompting dilation of the experience of prayer and meditation at that point. The juxtapositions explicitly enact Francesco’s meditation upon the prayers and images of the book of hours by representing the associations he made in response to the authoritative prayers and biblical images. They then encourage further parabolic reading. Given their authoritative neighbors/referents, Francesco’s images devolve from that authority. They are tied to it but also represent a contingent variation upon and mediation of the authoritative image for both inventor and audience. Though they could not be the equivalent of authoritative, Scriptural images, they claim crucial didactic value, mediating the viewer’s access to the biblical images and their interaction with those images. As adjured by the image of the scholar among his books, in the context of Francesco’s *officiolum* his inventions were put to the proper devotional end of directing the reader/viewer towards knowledge of God.

CHAPTER THREE

LOVE'S LESSONS: THE SOMATIC ENCOUNTER AND USEFUL INTERPRETATION

As will be evident from the preceding chapters, Francesco's *Documenti d'Amore* provides much of the information we have about his formulation and use of images. In the *Documenti* Francesco discusses the histories of his inventions, comments on the utility of his images for understanding, and provides evidence of his poetic stake in the images he devised. These comments are helpful for understanding Francesco's use of images in any context. In all cases Francesco had a claim to the novel forms of his inventions. In all cases his personifications were to provide visible, material mediators between their audience and abstract authority. Even in the book of hours, Francesco's concern with the proper ends of poetic invention was represented in the images. Despite the overlap, Francesco's inventions served diverse purposes in their different contexts. In the last chapter I described how Francesco's images functioned in the context of his book of hours. There they appeared in dialogue with the biblical images, functioning as a kind of commentary and frame. Francesco's pictorial inventions allowed him to shape his interaction with the authoritative contents of the book of prayer. They both represented his meditations and prompted further meditation.

The function of Francesco's personifications in the *Documenti* is distinct from their meditative use in his book of hours. In the *Documenti*, Francesco's personifications

are not in dialogue with more authoritative images and texts within the same manuscript. Instead they assume center stage. Francesco's *Documenti d'Amore* is in no way exceptional as poetry, nor for its didactic use of personification. What is exceptional in the conduct book is Francesco's attention to the appearance of his personifications, his insistence on their material form, and his attention to explaining the motivation behind the various aspects of their appearance. The *Documenti d'Amore* is a striking example of the use of visuality to appeal to and educate an audience. Its personifications are not mere abstractions, but assume a coherent physical presence that is assimilated to real bodies in the world.

The purpose of a conduct book was to teach its reader appropriate moral behavior. In the conduct book Francesco's pictorial personifications encourage the reader/viewer's engagement with the abstract virtues under discussion, and demonstrate the difficulties of proper, moral interpretation. Francesco's reader moves from looking at images to understanding behavior in the world, and from looking at and reading about deliberately formulated images to shaping his own appearance and behavior. As Francesco teaches his reader, interpreting and judging appearances, whether of people in the world or of images, is not always a simple process.

As described in the first chapter, the *Documenti d'Amore* has an elaborate allegorical frame. The God of Love and the virtues offer rules of conduct so that their audience might attain the rewards of Love's court. Most generally, the reader learns to avoid vices and to love the virtues.[311] The orally delivered lessons are translated into written form by Francesco, one among many scribes.

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[311] The first two parts of the conduct book are described as having the task of teaching the reader to avoid vice and acquire virtue, ("la prima che noviçi / doce schivar le vizi / ela seconda in le vertu intrare." Egidi,

Francesco tells the reader in the commentary that he was inspired "per ymaginationem collatam in mentem meam" ("by the mental image placed in [his] mind"), by Love to begin this work, and to write down the offered lessons.[312] These lessons are ones that would allow the reader to properly comport himself in society, and they encompass a large number of topics. Francesco teaches the reader the vices to be avoided when speaking in public, how to behave in church, how to choose a wife, how to travel safely, and so on. [313] While these teachings are on the whole down to earth, Francesco specifies that it pleases Divine Love that his servants live morally, and that the Court of Love is to be equated with the Kingdom of Heaven.[314] The advice he offers stems from Divine Love, as does the figure of Amor. He justifies this connection to Divine Love with the statement "[Q]uia ubi christus fundamentum non est nichil superhedificari potest," "Because where Christ is not the foundation, nothing can be built above."[315] As is typical of medieval poets, when it is time to answer the *accessus*

1: 8. The commentary defines the *intentio* of the book in similar terms, "Intentio quod amoris est tradere suis formam cessandi avitiis et virtutibus adherendi . ac illis ut dominus statuta tradit subditis, tradere documenta per que vitia cognoscant ut cessent, et virtutes ut ament." Egidi, 1: 5. This is a commonplace of literature on the virtues. Guittone d'Arezzo, for instance, wrote "Primo e maggio bono, al meo parere, / è ben scerner malizia a bonitate; / secondo, vizio odiar, vertù calere / e a poder seguir tal volontate…." The poem is introduced by the rubric "Bisogna odiare il vizio, amar la virtù, porre ogni desiderio in Dio." in *Le rime di Guittone d'Arezzo*, ed. Francesco Egidi (Bari: Gius. Laterza & figli, 1940), 256.

[312] "Summa nostri virtus superioris amoris meum nuper accendidit intellectum ut servos eius ad suam maiorem archem de quacunque patria evocarem." In the commentary he glosses "accendidit": "dic per ymaginationem collatam in mentem meam licet indignam et metaphorice loquitur prohemium istud." Egidi, 1: 3 and 21.

[313] Egidi, 1: 76, 1: 139-147, 3: 71-75, 3: 89-178.

[314] "Nota per istam gobulam et sequentem quod quamvis amor iste divinus non exigat quod homines servent certos mores in quibus si excedimus quo ad deum non committimus peccatum, delectatur tamen quod omnes servi eius moraliter vivant et si non propter se adminus ut non displiceat quis aliis ex orrore malorum morum nam si unanimitas placet deo et ex (1) hiis homines alter alterius conservationem cesset unanimitas leditur et per consequens amor iste offenditur." Note 1 explains that "ex" was written twice in the mansucript, with the second crossed out. Egidi, 1: 80. The image of Gratitudo, who allows the worthy into the court while damning the unworthy, is analogous to images of the Last Judgment, and is commented upon as such in the commentary. Egidi, 3: 340-345. This analogy was discussed by Partsch, 82.

[315] Egidi, 1: 14. Part of the sentence immediately before this is missing, but Francesco is discussing the the fact that the figure of Amor that he presents to us here and at the end of the *Documenti* is worthy of Divine Love.

question of under "what part of philosophy" the work is to be classified, Francesco firmly places his work under Ethics, that is, having to do with human behavior.[316] There was no separate category for poetry in the Late Middle Ages, instead the reader was to treat the world of a poem as coextensive with the real world, to draw meaningful analogies between the two, and to use the behavior of characters in a poem as models for his own behavior.[317]

The *Documenti d'Amore* has a complex multimedia structure. Rules for conduct are presented to the reader through moral-allegorical Italian poetry, and a Latin prose translation of that poetry. The extensive Latin auto-commentary provides the reader with explanations, definitions, citations, and numerous stories. Images quite literally have a central role, and appear at the beginning of each subsection. They are also distributed throughout the commentary. All of these media are keyed to work together. The Italian poetry springs from and refers to the images, but also refers to explanations in the accompanying commentary. The commentary is keyed to the Latin translation of the poetry, and includes explanations of the images.

There are two extant illuminated manuscripts of the *Documenti d'Amore* preserved in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Ms. Barb. Lat. 4076 is the more extensive of the two manuscripts. It includes the Italian poem, Latin translation and commentary, and twenty-seven images, associated with both the poem and the commentary. Ms. Barb. Lat. 4077 includes the Italian poem, but only the beginning of the Latin translation (up to folio 5 recto) and Latin commentary (only on folio 1 recto), and seventeen of the images. Those present include all of those attached to the main body of

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[316] Egidi, 1: 5. On medieval poetry as Ethics see Judson Boyce Allen, *The Ethical Poetic of the Later Middle Ages: A Decorum of Convenient Distinction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).
[317] See Allen's discussion of the principle of *assimilatio* in Chapters 4 and 5, 179-287.

the Italian poem, as well as the commentary images of *Constantia's Ascension* and the appended *Io son Amor*. Both manuscripts were likely completed in Florence, between circa 1315 and 1325.[318]

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[318] As has already been discussed, following Egidi's assessment, the drawings in Ms. Barb. Lat. 4077 were long believed to have been executed by Francesco himself while he was traveling between 1309 and 1313. Otto Pächt corrected this assessment by noting that the style of the drawings was comparable to that of Bolognese illuminations of ca. 1300. Nardi linked the style of Ms. Barb. Lat. 4077's miniatures to Padua, and the influence of Giotto's Arena chapel there, as seen in the Giottesque miniatures in the manuscripts of the Biblioteca Capitolare di Padova illuminated by Gerarducius or Duxius. Frojmovič dated Ms. Barb. Lat. 4077 to ca. 1310 – 20, and attributed it to a Bolognese-influenced artist working in Florence, where the wash technique was more common. As for Ms. Barb. Lat. 4076, scholars have frequently noted its Sienese quality and have consistently placed the manuscript close to the Master of the St. George Codex. Hypotheses about the location of execution and dates of the manuscript have varied more considerably, due in part to disagreement over the dating of the commentary. Degenhart and Schmitt, still placing it close to the Master of the St. George codex, assigned the manuscript to a Bolognese illuminator, albeit one influenced by Sienese art. Boskovits placed the miniatures in the Sienese tradition, and close to the Master of the St. George Codex. He followed Egidi's dating of the manuscript, and stated that the illuminations would have been contemporary to the commentary, therefore ca. 1313. Ciardi Dupré dal Poggetto argued that Francesco would have had the illumination done in Florence. She saw the hand of two illuminators in the manuscript, both the product of the Master of the Saint George Codex, and both having worked in the Camera della Guardaroba in the Papal Palace in Avignon. In her view the miniatures would have been added after the completion of the commentary ca. 1325. Nardi put the miniaturist close to the Master of the Saint George Codex but suggested that he was a Florentine artist influenced by Sienese art. She agreed with Egidi's assessment that the two manuscripts were executed prior to 1314. Frojmovič noted the Sienese influence, and placed execution of the manuscript in Florence. Based on the fashion of the sleeves, she dated Ms. Barb. Lat. 4076 at the earliest to the 1320s. Handwriting analysis has continued to play a role in the discussion of the attribution of the manuscripts. Part of Egidi's argument for attributing the miniatures of Ms. Barb Lat. 4077 to Francesco was based on his assessment that the manuscripts were in part autograph. Paola Supino Martini has disputed the autograph content of Ms. Barb. Lat. 4076 and Ms. Barb. Lat. 4077, and argued that both were the product of professional copyists. Once the autograph status of these manuscripts is dismissed, there is no reason to suppose that the illumination of Ms. Barb. Lat. 4076 was completed at the same time as the composition of the commentary, that is ca. 1313. Supino Martini does not discuss the dating of the manuscripts. Her scenario puts the execution of both manuscripts from a common model in a professional workshop, with the same hand (A) appearing in both. This scenario implies that they were close in date, with a terminus ante quem established by the style of Ms. Barb. Lat. 4076, therefore between ca. 1315-1325. Placing both Mss. Barb. Lat. 4077 and 4076 in a Florentine workshop also seems the most logical solution. Regardless, given the centrality of the images to the poetic text, and the former lives led by many of them in Francesco's book of hours and in various fresco cycles, they were certainly planned prior to 1313. For these discussions of style, see Egidi, *Le miniature*, passim; Egidi 4: XXXVI; Pächt, 183; Nardi, 81, 82, 85, 86; Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 23-26; Degenhart and Schmitt, part 1, vol. 1: 35. Miklós Boskovits, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting. The Fourteenth Century. The Painters of the Miniaturist Tendency* (Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1984), 189-191; Maria Ciardi Dupré dal Poggetto, *Il maestro del codice di San Giorgio e il Cardinale Jacopo Stefaneschi* (Firenze: Editrice Edam,1984), 181-192. For discussions of the autograph status of the manuscripts, see Armando Petrucci, I. Note sugli autografi dei 'Documenti d'amore." In *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Aurelio Roncaglia: a cinquant'anni dalla sua laurea* (Modena: Muchi, 1989), 1005-1009; Maria Cristina Panzera, "Per l'edizione critica dei *Documenti d'Amore* di Francesco da Barberino," *Studi mediolatini e volgari* 40 (1994): 91-118; Paola Supino Martini, "Per la tradizione manoscritta dei «Documenti d'Amore» di Francesco da Barberino," *Studi medievali,* Series 3, vol. 37, no. 2, (1996): 945-954.

Beyond these illuminated versions, there are four other extant manuscripts of the *Documenti*. These manuscripts repeat only the Italian poetry. However, they do seem to have been intended to be illuminated. Barb. Lat. 4028, dated to the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and the fourteenth century Banco Rari 72, in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence, have enough space left for miniatures. The fifteenth century Magliabechiano cl. VII 683 and the fourteenth or fifteenth century ms. Riccardiano 1060, both also in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence, also have enough space left for miniatures.[319]

For the art historian, the most striking feature of the *Documenti d'Amore* is the key place accorded to images. Images structure the conduct book. In both illuminated manuscripts the first page is dominated by an image of winged, claw-footed Love presiding over his fortress, which is populated by several personifications (figs. 1, 27).[320] Curialitas and Eloquentia stand at the sides, gesturing towards the center of the fortress. Crudelitas and Pietas battle across the space of the fortress. Below their feet are twelve sleeping personifications, each identified with an inscription. These twelve figures offer a kind of "table of contents," for these are the personifications that subsequently appear at the head of each subsection.[321] Love's fortress is only schematically represented by a line drawing, and there is no attempt to indicate a three-dimensional structure. Instead, the fortress diagrammatically establishes the hierarchical relationship of the figures to each other, and to the reader, who is informed that the lack of doorway to the castle indicates

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[319] See Panzera, 91-118 for descriptions of these manuscripts.
[320] For a brief description of Francesco's model for the *form* of his allegory in courtly literary, pictorial, and festival contexts describing "Castles of Love," see Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 50-52. See also Pio Rajna, *Le Corti d'Amore* (Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1890).
[321] Frojmovič refers to this image as an "Inhaltsangabe." Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 49.

that they cannot enter there.[322] At the base of the fortress, twelve "servants" of Love, including Francesco himself on the far right, record Love's teachings on scrolls. They wear distinct costumes, and may represent people of different times in history. For instance, the figure at the far left in Ms. Barb. Lat. 4077 wears a toga.

In the commentary Francesco establishes his claim to these images. He tells us that he designed these images himself, even though he was no painter, because he could not find an artist in the place where the book was begun who understood him properly.[323] Francesco reiterates his claim to these images several times in the course of the *Documenti* by explaining the histories of his figures. As described in the first chapter, Francesco also had his own mediating role represented in the frontispiece, and his translation of Love's lessons into specific, material form. In the historiated initial beginning the Italian poetry, and just below the fortress, Francesco holds out the book to the reader. This pictured book is immediately adjacent to the *incipit* naming the book, and explaining how Francesco collected the teachings of Love into this book.[324] The book we read is represented to us in two ways immediately adjacent to one another on its opening page. This descriptive redundancy holds for most of the other representations on the book. The personifications are both depicted and described.

Images remain important throughout the manuscript, as a pictorial personification governs each chapter. In both extant illuminated manuscripts each of the subsequent twelve chapters opens with the image of one of the inhabitants of the fortress, presented

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[322] "Et hec quidem roccha portam non habet quia nunquam intramus in ipsam cum eo, …." Egidi, 1: 7.
[323] "De secundo sic dicas quod et si non pictorem designatorem tamen figurarum ipsarum me fecit necessitas amoris gratia informante . cum nemo pictorum illarum partium ubi extitit liber (2) fundatus me intelligeret iusto modo . Poterunt hinc et alij meis servatis principiis reducere meliora." Note 2 indicates that in the manuscript "pictus" was written at that point but cancelled. Egidi, 3: 351.
[324] "Incipit liber documentorum amoris per Franciscum de Barberino utriusque iuris scolarem ab eiusdem amoris ore proferentis per eloquentiam collectorum." Egidi, 1: 1.

like an author portrait or, more specifically, a lecturer. These personifications, in order of appearance, are Docilitas (figs. 2, 28), Industria (figs. 8, 29), Constantia (figs. 9, 30), Discretio (figs. 11, 32), Patientia (figs. 12, 33), Spes (figs. 13, 34), Prudentia (figs. 14, 35), Gloria (figs. 16, 36), Justitia (figs. 17, 37), Innocentia (figs.18, 38), Gratitudo (figs. 20, 39) and Etternitas (figs. 21, 40).[325] Each of these virtues is assigned a specific role. Docilitas teaches the reader to avoid the vices, Industria to enter into the virtues, Constantia teaches the reader to persevere in these virtues, and so on.[326] In both manuscripts, the *Documenti* concludes with three images. The first shows an image of Amor, accompanied by Sollicitudo, Perserverantia, Veritas and Fortitudo, closing the book. The second is an allegorical image of the death of a lady and the concomitant injury to Love accompanying the canzone *Se più non raggia il sol* (figs. 22, 41). The third shows an armed Vigor guarding the closed book (figs. 23, 42). Appended to both manuscripts is also *Io son amor*, an image of Love and his Effects represented in image and text (figs. 24, 43). In the image Amor appears on horseback at the top of the page, as at the beginning of the book, but here over a group of people of various stations, who relate his effects upon them in accompanying poetry. Ms. Barb. Lat. 4076 has a number of other images, both within the commentary, and appended to the *Documenti* as a whole. The additional commentary images include Mors (fig. 4), Virtu in genere (fig. 3), Natura naturans/Natura naturata (fig. 7), Hours of the Day/Ages of Man (fig. 15), Superbia (fig.

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[325] Docilitas (4076 - 4v, 4077 – 4v), Industria (4076 – 32v, 4077 – 22v), Constantia (4076 – 57r, 4077 – 46r), Discretio (4076 – 61r, 4077 – 50r), Patientia (4076 – 64r, 4077 – 53r), Spes (4076 – 66r, 4077 – 55r), Prudentia (4076 – 69v, 4077 – 58v), Gloria (4076 – 85r, 4077 – 74r), Iustitia (4076 – 87v, 4077 – 76v), Innocentia (4076 – 90r, 4077 – 79r), Gratitudo (4076 – 92v, 4077 – 81v) and Etternitas (4076 – 96r, 4077 – 85r). The difference in page numbers is due to the fact that 4077 is missing one of its gatherings from the section governed by *Docilitas*.

[326] Egidi, 1: 8-12.

6), Conscientia (fig. 19), and various diagrams. Circumspectio (fig. 25) and Laus (fig. 26) are appended to the whole.

All of these images have a significant role within the conduct book. The book is structured around the images, as the poetry of each subsection begins by introducing and describing the virtue that appears above. The images are all striking, and the personifications are all distinctly characterized by age, attributes, and clothing.[327] While some are static, specifically Docilitas (figs. 2, 28), Justitia (figs. 17, 37), Gloria (figs. 16, 36) and Etternitas (figs. 21, 40), most of these personifications engage in actions (or resist actions) that help to characterize them. Together these virtues do not represent a previously established group, like the seven cardinal and theological virtues in the Arena chapel. This is perhaps not surprising, given the variety of virtues and of sets of virtues that appeared in art and literature prior to the fourteenth century.[328] Nonetheless, even when such well-known cardinal virtues as Justitia (figs. 17, 37) and Prudentia (figs. 14, 35) appear in the *Documenti*, they appear in distinctive guises.[329]

Particularly remarkable in Francesco's book is the emphatic presence of the virtues on the manuscript page. The miniatures are centered on the page, in most cases

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[327] In one of the most influential models of personification allegory, Alain de Lille's *Anticlaudianus*, the personifications are also distinguished by age and dress, especially the colour of that dress. Prudence, described in terms of the conventional attributes of beauty – "golden tresses," brows like twin crescents, radiant eyes, etc. – is distinguished by her robe and attribute. "Her robe was woven of fine thread; it does not fake its colour and by no trick does it deceive our eyes: rather its native red permeates it….In her right hand she balances a scale which weighs each and every thing -…." Reason is described as resembling Prudence like a sister, but "their countenances differed with their years. Reason more powerful carried the banner of seniority: she is greater in age, more mature in the fullness of years. Her right hand is resplendent, aflame with the brightness of a threefold mirror." These attributes are not explained with reference to people in the world. Alain of Lille, *Anticlaudianus,* trans. James Sheridan, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1973), 56-58, 63. This is very different from the personifications that populate the *Romance of the Rose*, described by Kelly as fundamentally interchangeable, each characterized only by "good," desirable features or by "bad" ones. See Kelly, 58-69.

[328] As described in Chapter 1.

[329] Katzenellenbogen suggests that the attributes of the cardinal virtues, such as Prudence with a book and Justice with her scales, were established in the Carolingian period. Katzenellenbogen, 55.

spanning the width of the central column of poetry and the space allotted to the Latin prose translation. This page layout resembles that of law textbooks. The centralized images, spanning multiple columns of text rather than being restricted to a single column, have parallels in contemporary manuscripts of the *Decretum Gratiani*, especially in the opening page of Gratian's *Distinctiones*, where the image of Christ giving the laws was often allotted a relatively large, centralized space above the text (figs. 136, 138, 140).[330] The resemblance is particularly acute in illustrations where winged angels appear at the top of the page as representatives of the divine source of canon law (figs. 137, 140, 141).[331] Centered and framed by the surrounding texts, Francesco's virtues are likewise emphasized as objects. The columns of text also draw attention to the pictorial personifications by echoing their number. Single figures like Docilitas and Gloria appear above a single column of poetry (figs. 2, 28; 16, 36), while the depictions of Patientia and Prudentia, which include two main figures, appear in both manuscripts above two columns of poetry (figs. 12, 33; 14, 35).[332] The visual impact of these columns is to reinforce the presence of the figures, and to imply that the personification above is the

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[330] The images opening other sections in the law textbooks I have seen appeared as column miniatures rather than centered on the page. Francesco's poetry often appears as only one column, itself centered on the page, but the images usually span the columns of Latin translation as well. Panzera and Jacobsen have commented on the resemblance of the commentary to legal examples. This centering however, did occur in other subsections, but seems most frequent in *Distinctiones* pages.

[331] These angels appear as part of the images opening other sections besides the *Distinctiones*. See examples in Anthony Melnikas, *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Decretum Gratiani*, 3 vols. (Rome: Studia Gratiana, 1975) 1: 140. Examples include the Vatican, Archivio della Basilica di S. Pietro, Ms. A. 24 f. 4v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. Nouv. acq. lat. 2508, f. 0v; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. lat. 2492 f. 97; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. Nouv. acq. lat. 2508, f. 111; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Clm. 23552, f. 199. A very elaborate page from the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria in Turin, illuminated by the "Maestro del 1328," represents an Allegory of the Law, as well as the Martyrdom of Saint Catherine, ms. E. I. 1 fol. 4 (fig. 139). A nude winged figure appears in the upper left corner of the page.

[332] In the case of Prudentia, the second figure is a celestial sphere. In both cases, the lines of Italian poetry consist of fewer syllables than in the other subsections, and could more easily be written in two columns. Where more than two figures appear there is a single column of poetry below.

embodiment of the text below. The mise-en-page of these personifications gives them an emphatically material quality.

This layout was not an accident of these particular manuscripts, but was planned. References are made within the text to the layout of the page and the physical presence of the figures on these pages. Francesco writes that the virtues that sleep within the fortress will appear at the head of each chapter, and refers to the images that he will show the reader painted on the pages, at the head of each chapter, "che pinta mostro in carte, in capo di ciascono, capitol che qui pono."[333] Francesco's constant attention to spatial arrangement is evident elsewhere in the *Documenti*. When describing the fresco cycle he had designed in Treviso, Francesco includes a small, labeled diagram that showed how the personifications were lined up (fig. 17), and when describing the first public appearance of his image of Love and his effects, Francesco explains where the texts were placed in relation to the figures.[334] This attention suggests that the resemblance to law manuscripts was deliberate and significant, and not merely the result of the layout requirements of poetry accompanied by an extensive commentary.

By means of the resemblance, Francesco's book of advice for moral conduct was made something that one ought to study carefully, as if it too had legal status.[335] Francesco put his own poetry in the authoritative, central place occupied by laws in legal manuscripts. He also composed extensive interpretive commentary on that poetry. The

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[333]The passage begins "E ciascuna dilor ascripta edetta, / prima ad amor la parte, / che pinta mostro in carte , /....." Egidi, 1: 17.

[334] "…et gobule subposite singulariter singulis ad pedes earum et due stantie de dicta cantione scripte fuerunt a destris ad pedes earum post gobulas et relique due stantie ab opposito et ritornellum post omnia…," (and the *gobule* placed underneath each separately at their feet and two strophes set opposite and the *ritornellum* at the end …). Egidi, 3: 411.

[335] See Armando Petrucci's brief discussion of Dante and Boccaccio's ambition for vernacular books to have the same form as "Desk-Books," that is, large format, written in *littera textualis* on parchment, in "Reading and Writing *Volgare,*" *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy*, ed. and trans. Charles M. Radding (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 189-192.

commentary frames the poetry as something worthy of interpretation, implying that it has a certain authoritative status. The lessons of the poetry are delivered by the personifications that govern each chapter. Their fictional bodies stand as the "authors" of the poetry, or at least as lecturers, delivering the legal lessons. Where in a legal manuscript Christ might appear giving the laws, here the personifications appear to give the laws, in forms devised by Francesco. This is not to say that Francesco claimed that his poetry was the same as law. Nonetheless by means of this mimicry, the layout of the *Documenti* was made to be self-authorizing.

At the beginning of each section, below the "author portrait" of the personification, the poem names the figure and provides a short description of her purpose and attributes, before beginning the rules for good conduct proper. These descriptions draw attention to the characteristic features of the personification, and the qualities those features represent. For instance, in both manuscripts, Docilitas appears frontally seated, enthroned, holding a staff (figs. 2, 28). She wears a blue garment lined with fur, and her hair is veiled. In Ms. Barb. Lat. 4076, her face is somewhat worn, but in Ms. Barb. Lat. 4077, the lines on her face are evident. Below Docilitas the Italian poem states, "This is Docilitas, to whom the office of teaching is given. And look at her age, because in the aged rules wisdom." She carries a rod for the office of teaching, and is enthroned because of the reverence that is due her.[336] In the Latin commentary, further explanation is given of the personification and her form, answering the *accessus* questions *quid sit docilitas*, ("what is Docility") and *que forma sibi datur et quare* ("what

[336] "Questa e docilitate, / achui lofficio dinsegnar e dato. / eguardate suo stato, / che negliantichi regna sapiença. / Siche veglia sua essença / per magistero bacchetta richiede. / nela cathedra siede / chonor ereverença le convene (1)." The note specifies that this word is "conviene" in Ms. Barb. Lat. 4077. Egidi, 1: 39-41.

form is given to her and why").[337] In answer to this last question, Francesco explains, for instance, why Docilitas' age denotes wisdom, observing that the aged have studied longer, seen more things, and have greater experience and calmer minds.[338] The form given these personifications is justified as the embodiment of particular qualities. The appropriateness of the fit determined the ability of the image to communicate abstract qualities to the viewer. It was also a demonstration of the appropriateness of the pictorial invention and of Francesco's inventive acheivement. The form of these virtues was important. The outer form had to be appropriate to the concept to be communicated.[339] The translation of abstract qualities into material characteristics was crucial to the didactic utility of these personifications, for, as Thomas Aquinas stated: "the intellect,..., rises to the limited knowledge it has of invisible things by way of the nature of visible things."[340] Francesco's personifications were emphatically "visible things," by means of which invisible things could be contemplated. His explanations of the attributes and characteristics of the personifications explicitly lead the reader/viewer from visible characteristics to abstract qualities point by point.

A similar structure and explanation is applied to the appearance of the vast majority of the figures. In the poem they are described in terms of their age, the type and color of their clothing, their stance or activity, and their specific attributes. In the

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[337] Egidi, 1: 39. In her unpublished dissertation,Frojmovič discusses the personifications as developing out of the accessus question *quae forma*. The answer to this accessus question is usually devoted to an explanation of the "form" of the text, in the 'Aristotelian Prologue' either the "forma tractandi" or the "forma tractatus." For a discussion of the Aristotelian Prologue see A.J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship* 2nd ed. (Aldershot: Wildwood House, 1988), 28, 29.

[338] "Fit enim ad modum cuiusdam antique domine super cathedram sedentis cum uno baculo in manu et mantellum varium habet . Ex antiquitate colligitur sapientia, que magis in senibus esse solet tum quia longiori tempore potuerunt studere, tum quia plura viderunt tum quia eorum magis animus est quietus tum etiam quia quadam necessitate incumbente rerum cursus et exitus sunt experti . unde per experientiam sapientius gradiuntur.... Egidi, 1: 40.

[339] Tuve, 295.

[340] Thomas Aquinas *Summa Theologiae* Ia. 84.7.

commentary, various reasons are given for these attributes and characteristics. There was little risk, at least for the attentive reader able to read Latin, that Francesco's inventions would incur the shame Dante assured would follow if a poet were unable to explain the motivating truths behind the veil of his fictional figures.[341]

The next virtue is distinguished from Docilitas by various characteristics and actions. Unlike Docilitas, Industria appears as a maiden (figs. 8, 29). The gloss on her name simply instructs the reader to "see her." She too is seated, but she twists to her left on a three quarter view to sew a purse, decorated with birds, that is suspended from the wall beside her. The commentary explains that she is youthful because those "who want to learn and enter into the virtues, must be over and above youths in study." She is thin, because "you ought not to study so that you fatten." She is of a common stature because "men of a common stature are found to be more industrious." She embroiders figures on a purse because "Ingeniosorum est magis ars illa…" ("that art is more of the ingenious …)." There are many spools of thread beside her, "sicut varie sunt scientie et artes ad quas tendere homines per hanc industriam," ("just as there are many different sciences and arts in which men strive through industry"). Her clothing is red, because "color iste pannorum dictorum solet esse …" ("this colour is customary of the clothing of poets"), and because it is a colour pleasing to the eye.[342] Here and elsewhere Francesco's concern

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[341] *Dante's Vita Nuova,* 54-56. See discussion in Chapter 1, page 65.

[342] The Latin translation of the poetry reads: "Industriam noster dominus ad nos mictit . / Et venit ut doceat, introitum in virtutes . / Iuveni atque apta, potitur etate / Agilis carnibus, ut possit melius tollerare, quod imminet / Tracta est, comuni magnitudine forma eius in qua videtur eius exercitum magis consistere . / Vestem habet rosaceam, que plurimum commendatur . / Adaptatque subtiliter, in bursa figuras ." The gloss of this passage reads: "*Industria* vide eam . *Iuveni etc* per hec significatur quod qui volunt discere et in virtutes intrare (1) debent iuvenes studio superesse . *Agilis carnibus* per quod nota quod non debes studere ut pinguefias si proficere forte vel ut infra latius hoc dicetur . *comuni magnitudine forma etc.* quia comunis stature homines magis industriosi reperti sunt licet regula fallat . *vestem habet rosaceam* . color iste pannorum dictorum solet esse virorum qui cum possint in vestibus apparere si se amplius non restringant . adminus infra rubeum se restringunt . Preterea color est placitus multum et oculus humanus

with the beauty of his figures is evident. Francesco elsewhere suggested that metaphorical association is a source of beauty.[343] His exhaustive explanation of the reasons behind the appearance and attributes of his figures ensure that the "beauty" of their appropriateness will be recognized.

In the late Midde Ages, the didactic utility of images was a commonplace. It was nonetheless an idea that Francesco took very seriously. In his commentary, Francesco repeats diagrams and comments about the utility of images drawn from Guiglielmo da Conches' *Dragmaticon*. Regarding two diagrams demonstrating the roundness of the earth, he states: "Quod ut melius comprehendas figuram visibilem represento ...", ("in order that you might better understand, I represent a visible figure…"). Regarding a diagram of the seas, he states: "de hiis autem que dicta sunt, ad maiorem ipsorum habendam notitiam visibilem quandam figuram hic represento," ("for the purpose of having greater knowledge concerning these things which are said, I represent here a visible figure").[344] In all of these cases Francesco suggests that the figures will allow for better understanding.

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fertur amenus . Equidem ut crossi displicent industriosi placent . color etiam est qui cito dispergitur ad notandum quod parum est homini gratiam habere ingenij et industrie si studium non haberet, opportet nanque sicut vestis hec magno studio conservatur sic nos quod per ingenium et industriam capimus magna convenit studij continuatione reservare . *in bursa figuras* Ingeniosorum est magis ars illa . et sic sibi per similitudinem adaptata Et nota licet testus non dicat quod fit capite discoperto ut notetur quod domini dotati gratia securiores redduntur et clariores incedunt . Item habet iuxta se sirici varias cannellas (1) sicut varie sunt scientie et artes ad quas tendere homines per hanc industriam || sunt reperti." Note 1 following "intrare" explains that a cancelled "no" follows in the manuscript. Note 1 following "cannellas" qualifies the reading as "D'incerta lettura." Egidi, 2: 3-6. As part of her examination of Francesco's definitions and understanding of them in terms of Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics*, Frojmovič argues that Francesco understands Industria as the active part of Ingenium. Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 111.

[343] "figuras vide etiam ut tibi pulcrior appareat hic tractatus quod insimul cum horis representantur etates ita etiam per se in ipso officiolo presentabantur ystorie ut in completorio decesserit virgo beata et complete sint etates et completus sit dies." Egidi, 3: 138.

[344] Egidi, 3: 89-91 and 3: 121-123. For Francesco's use of Guiglielmo da Conches, see Claudio Scarpati, "Francesco da Barberino e Guiglielmo da Conches," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 19 (1976): 163-170.

With regard to the personifications, Francesco makes more specific claims, telling the reader for instance that only from the painted figures can they "take the example of the virtues."[345] In some cases, Francesco indicates that his images were intended specifically for those unable to read. With reference to his figure of Mors he asserts that he represents her for the benefit of *ydiotes*.[346] Elsewhere, however, he indicates that the utility of the images was for everyone. Describing the sleeping virtues shown in the fortress of Love and how they will later appear at the beginning of each chapter, he states that the reader will find these "painted on the leaves [of the book] so that we may easily and fully understand what they tell us."[347] Francesco directs the reader to look carefully at the figure of Spes (figs. 13, 34), since it is not possible to understand her properly only through reading. He also extends this claim to the rest of the personifications.[348]

The injunction in the poetry to look carefully at Hope is described and expanded upon in the commentary. In the guise of a commentator Francesco states, "Then he turns to her form, stating that without the figures, reading alone cannot understand this matter fully…You may answer, that is true of beginners, but as for others, writing has the same function as picture for illiterates (*ydiotis*)."[349] Here Francesco doubly emphasizes the importance of images. They are not just for those who cannot read, but for everyone. In these statements Francesco echoes Gregory the Great's dictum allowing for images in churches: "… what writing presents to readers, this a picture represents to the unlearned

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[345] "Mo ti ritorno ai primi insegnamenti (1) / li quai si posson trare / veggendo pinte stare / queste figure ne coninciamenti / Che sol da quelle comeglie gia detto / si puote exemplo torre / ...." The note specifies that Barb. Lat. 4077 has an alternate spelling, "insengnamenti." Egidi, 2: 339, 340.

[346] Egidi, 1: 164. The image, however, appears within the Latin commentary, casting doubt on its utility to *ydiotes*, at least in this context.

[347] Egidi, 1: 17-18, translation Jacobsen's 2: 79.

[348] "Poi si guardate ben la sua figura / che gia sol per lectura / non si poria veder sua derittura / Cosi dellaltre dico il simigliante /...." Egidi, 3: 4.

[349] Egidi, 3: 6-7, translated Jacobsen 2: 93.

who behold it …; in it the illiterate read."[350] Some of Francesco's statements refer to the utility of didactic images when the audience cannot read, others imply the utility of the image even when the audience is assumed to be reading the accompanying text. For example, Francesco states that Innocentia (fig. 18, 38) could not be understood without her image, noting that the "buon parlar comuno" ("the good common speech") is not adequate to explaining her.[351]

The complementary role of the *Documenti d'Amore*'s images in relation to its accompanying texts is well established. Beyond general assumptions about the didactic power of images, and about their specific utility in relation to the specific texts of the *Documenti,* several questions remain to be explored. What might have been the particular weight of the images themselves? How do they fulfill their didactic role, and for whom? Was there a structural virtue to the combination of word and image? Did their place within a conduct book help account for the importance of these images in some way?

I described earlier the striking visual impression made by the mise-en-page of Mss. Barb. Lat. 4076 and 4077. The personifications play a crucial role in establishing that impression. Each of these personifications is presented to the reader/viewer as the result of immediate, present tense vision. The bodies of the virtues, in their boxed-in architectural spaces or architectonic thrones, directly address the viewer. This physical address is reinforced by the subsequent poetic introduction of the figure to the reader. The poems frequently begin with the phrase "This is …." The poetry refers repeatedly to

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[350] Gregory the Great, "Book IX Epistle XIII" *Selected Epistles of Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome*, trans. Rev. James B. Barmby, A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church (New York: The Christian Literature Company; Oxford & London: Parker and Company, 1898), 53.

[351] "Ma dicoti di questa che nessuno / in buon parlar comuno / puo divisare / ben lo suo stare / se lei pinta non porge / la qual veduta di lei ben saccorge," (But I say to you concerning this one that no one in good common speech can properly explain her being, if her painted [image] was not offered here, which being seen is well understood.) Egidi, 3: 315.

the images as they appear to the reader in the pages of the manuscript, and describes the image that the reader/viewer sees. For instance, Discretio (fig. 11, 32) is introduced with the following phrases: "Questa e discretione / che doctrina ci pone / … / Ecome puoi vedere / discerne pruni da fiori / liprimi getta eglialtri par chonori" ("This is Discretion / who here sets out learning / … / and as you can see / she separates the thorns from the flowers / these she throws away and the others it appears she honors"). When we turn to the commentary, we find that "Questa e discretione" (This is Discretion), is glossed with "cuius figura vides superius sub sui nominis subscriptione" ("whose figure you see further above under the inscription of her name").[352] The reader is commanded to look directly at those images. Regarding Constantia (fig. 9, 30) the poetry states: "Or guarda tu che vuo sua gratia avere desta donna la forma..." ("Now look, you who want to have her grace, at the form of this lady").[353] Following the cues, the reader/viewer encounters the virtues in the present tense, as he would people in the world, and only afterwards are they explained.

Francesco also structured a present tense encounter with certain objects within the *Documenti*. The example of the manuscript itself, described on the opening page and presented to the reader, was mentioned previously. Another especially interesting example is presented in the commentary to Docilitas. One of Docilitas' teachings deals with the issue of how to deal with those who do not properly understand when you want to be left alone, and how to read such signs yourself.[354] Within the commentary on that section appears the image of a magic mirror reportedly owned by Garaffalus Gribbolus, Francesco's interlocutor (fig. 5). The mirror purportedly had the power to tell the viewer

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[352] Egidi, 2: 347, 348, 349.
[353] Egidi, 2: 305.
[354] Egidi, 1: 176-189.

what someone else was thinking. As depicted in the manuscript, the image is divided into two halves. On the left is a hexagonal font inside which appear several tiny heads. The head in front has horns and long ears. On the right is an opaque circle, rendered as if it has a round back. The circle is labelled "speculum." The two halves of the image represent the two sides of a mirror. According to the image and the description, on one side is ivory and gold sculpted with figures and on the other is silver. According to the commentary, the mirror shows absent things, things in the past, and "veritatem … quod corde gerebas" ("the truth … which you were carrying in the heart"). It only reveals the future rarely, and with many lies.[355] The image, depicted and described by Francesco, directly shows the viewer/reader the magical device, at which one looks to see men's thoughts. This mirror sums up and represents much of the intent of a conduct book, assessing those around you so that you might behave accordingly, and be assessed in turn.

The manuscripts of the *Documenti* were structured so that they would be an immediate physical experience for their reader. The personifications of the virtues were an important part of this encounter. Their place within the manuscript may be elucidated by considering Thomas Stillinger's discussion of the construction of lyric authority in the fourteenth century. Describing the use of images and ekphrasis within the late medieval

[355] "Et discere artem Garagraffuli dicebat quod cum quadam figura cuius effigies est talis || rei huius notitiam optinere . Audi rogo et vide mirabile iste enim Garagraffulus gribolus istam figuram in se plures figuras habentes et in quodam balneo ad modum quo hic pingitur sculptam habebat in auro purissimo ¶ hanc quidem sculpturam copertam habebat et clausam ut speculum quod ex duabus tabulis constat. ¶ Una tabula erat eburnea in qua hee figure cum balneo sculpte erant ¶ alia erat argentea in qua speculum fixum erat ¶ Vertebat ergo ipse figuras istas ad speculum et illarum ymagines ymaginabantur in speculo ¶ Quo ter facto, tibi nolenti sibi confiteri veritatem dicitur quod corde gerebas referebat ¶ Isto eodem modo dicitur quod sepe de presentibus absentibus ac de preteritis indicabat. ¶ De futuris autem raro et multis mendaciis decipiebatur ab ea . de hoc auditu loquor." Egidi, 1: 188, 189. Frojmovič notes the long tradition of magic mirrors, and the papal bull of 1326 which threatened those who made use of such mirrors with excommunication. Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 106, 107.

book, Stillinger suggested that images were a means of "making present."[356] As a specific example he cited the descriptions of heroes in poetry about the Trojan war. In the *Historia Destructionis Troiae* of 1287, Guido delle Colonne described the hero Troilus of as if the hero appeared before the poet, "the result of direct vision." The immediacy of these textual descriptions was also translated into images. In a Venetian example of circa 1370, the heroes appear inserted within the columns of text as tiny portraits that frontally address the reader.[357] Francesco's virtues too were made emphatically present for the reader/viewer. Whereas the Trojan heroes that interested Stillinger were brought out of the past and made present in word and image, Francesco's personifications made absent, abstract concepts immediate and present. Images presented directly to the reader in this way could be akin to Garaffalus Gribbolus' mirror, revealing "de presentibus absentibus ac de preteritis" ("present things, absent things and past things").[358] In Francesco's usage, it is not at all the case that images of the virtues are unnecessary, that they might as well be text. The images served the essential function of minimizing, collapsing, the distance between object and subject.[359] The represented bodies of the virtues allowed the reader/viewer to encounter abstract ideals "in the flesh."

Francesco's description and explanation of his images serves the purpose of guiding the reader/viewer's attention to specific characteristics and specific abstract qualities. The extensive description and explanation also results in a great deal of redundancy. This redundancy itself serves a purpose, creating certain effects. In part, the effect is to draw the reader's attention to Francesco's control over different mediating

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[356] Stillinger, 148.
[357] Stillinger, 146-158.
[358] Egidi, 1: 188. 189.
[359] Here I am referring to Starn and Partridge's statement that the virtues of the Sala dei Nove were relatively unnecessary as images.

forms. Francesco appears in the frontispiece holding two writing instruments to draw attention to his control over the parallel media. As we begin to read the book, it is both pictured for us and described. The virtues appear, are described in both Italian and Latin, and then the reasons for their forms are explained. The text of the lessons is presented in both the vernacular and Latin. The parallel options demonstrate for the reader the contingency of the forms. Both describe the same contents, but one is appropriate to one audience, the other to another. Francesco's stake as a writer and poetic inventor, his control over form if not content, is again made clear.

The repetition has another effect. It makes the abstract idea concrete in as many representations as possible. The technique is a familiar one for modern audiences. As Joseph Kosuth did with his definition, photograph and individual example of a chair in 1965, Francesco circumscribed and pointed to the abstract concept under discussion with as many signs as possible. Unlike Kosuth, who was attempting to communicate that the concept "chair" was an abstraction, Francesco was after the opposite effect. The abstraction of his virtues was a given, and he wanted to make his abstractions as concrete, immediate and visible as possible for his audience. The redundancy was not a matter of equivalent signs, or merely a matter of a circuit of demonstration and explanation. Instead, it was also a matter of accretion, with the end of reinforcement and of making a concept manifest.

Francesco was not alone in this kind of text-image repetition. Giotto's fourteen virtues and vices in the Arena Chapel, for example, were accompanied by Latin *tituli*. Those that survive primarily describe the image, drawing attention to the characteristics and actions of the represented personification by means of that description. According to

the inscriptions, Hope, for instance, is never confined by earthly cares but flies upwards to be crowned by Christ (fig. 105). Faith is crowned, firmly founded upon a rock, and has conquered idols (fig. 107). Justice balances the scales equally, crowning the good and wielding a sword against the bad. If she rules, everyone enjoys liberty (fig. 108).[360] As previously noted, Giotto's images have an emphatic material quality. They are represented as fictive reliefs, but particularly animated ones. The mass and animation bestowed upon these personifications is partly a matter of Giotto's artistic style, but it is also a matter of appropriate poetic invention, crucial to properly embodying the qualities of these virtues and vices. Despite the convincing embodiment of these personifications, they were still accompanied by text summing up the key characteristics of the images. The combination of image and text can be understood in multiple ways. First, as discussed in the first chapter, personifications were understood to be figures of speech, poetic inventions. Their value as such lay in appropriateness and aptness of their embodiment of a concept. According to Dante's statement, to be unable to explain in

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[360] Hope's reads "SPE DE FUGA SEMPER CVRAT/DESIGNATVR QUOD MENS PURA/SPE FVLCITA NVMQVAM CVRA TERRHENORVM CLAVDITVR/SED A CHRISTO CORONANDA/SVRSVM VOLAT SIC BEANDA/ET IN CELIS SVBLIMANDA/FORE FIRMA REDDITUR." Charity's, 'HAEC FIGURA KARITATIS/SUAE SIC PROPRIETATIS / GERIT FORMAM COR QUOD PLACET IN SECRETO/CHRISTO DAT HANC PRO DECRETO/SERVAM NORMAM SI TERRENAE FACULTATIS/MECONTENTUM VANITATIS/COLORAR ET CUNCTA CUNCTIS LIBERALI/OFFERT MANU SPETIALI/ZELO CARET." Faith's, "FIGURATA ET IERATA/PRESENTATVR HOMINI. INDISCUSSA MANET FIDES… CVIVS AVTEM VALET TACTVS/APROBANDO LOYTER. CONGREGAVIT SVBIVGAVIT/YDOLA VIRILITER. CORONATVR ET FVNDATVR/SVPRA PETRA FIRMITER. ANGELORVM ET VIRORVM / CONFORTATVR NVMINE, MIRE RECTA ET PERFECTA…" Justice's, "EQUA LANCE CUNCTA LIBRAT/PERFECTA IUSTICIA CORONANDO BONO VIBRAT/ENSEM CONTRA VICIA CUNCTA GAUDENT LIBERTATE/IPSA SI REGNAVERIT AGIT CUM IOCUNDITATE/QUISQUE QUIDQUID VOLVERIT MILES PROPTER HANC VENATUR/COMITATUR TRUDITUR MERCATORES IAM…/…PRODITUR." Fortitude's, "CVNCTA STERNIT SVPERANDO… ET ARMATA CLAVAM GERENS PRAVA QVOQVE DEPRIMIT EN OCCIDIT VI LEONEM, EIVA PELLE TEGITVR OMNEM SVPERAT AGONEM ET IN NVLLO FRANGITUR…." Prudence's, "RES ET TEMPUS SUMMA CURA…VIDENTIS MEMORATUR…" I have listed the extant inscriptions of the virtues, as transcribed in ed. Giuseppe Basile, *Giotto: gli affreschi della Capella degli Scrovegni a Padova* (Milano: Skira, 2002) 380 ff.

words what their forms concealed would be "a veritable cause for shame."[361] Accompanying the personification with a description/explanation demonstrated the appropriateness of the invention and performed the translation from abstraction to representation. The *tituli* accompanying Giotto's virtues and vices served a similar purpose to Francesco's descriptions and explanations. By means of the inscriptions, the translation from abstract quality to material characteristic is laid out for the reader/viewer.

The combination of word and image also had an experiential effect that could speak powerfully to the reader/viewer, as indicated by Richard de Fournival at the beginning of his *Bestiaire d'Amour*. He writes that: "Images serve the eye and words the ear. And the way to reach the house of memory both through images and words is clear because memory, … renders things of the past as if they were present. And one arrives here by image and word."[362] The eye and the ear are the gateways to the memory. However, the point is not that the various beasts he represents throughout the *Bestiaire* in word and image should live in his lady's memory. Instead he states that:

> I should like to live forever in your memory, if that could be. Wherefore I send you these two things in one. For I send you in this composition both Depiction and Description so that when I am not in your presence this composition will by its picture and its word restore me to your present remembrance.[363]

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[361] *Dante's Vita Nuova* 54-56.
[362] Translation from Helen Solterer ,"Letter Writing and Picture Reading: Medieval Textuality and the *Bestiaire d'Amour*," *Word & Image* vol. 5 no. 1 (January 1989) 131. She based her translation on the edition by Cesare Segre, *Li Bestiare d'Amours di Maistre Richart de Fournival e li Response du Bestiaire*, Documenti di Filologica 2 (Milano: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1957).
[363] Richard de Fournival, *Master Richard's Bestiary of Love and Response*, trans. Jeanette Beer (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 2. See Solterer, 131-147. Solterer emphasizes the seductive potential

The images and words of Richard de Fournival's bestiary serve as a substitute for the poet who cannot address his lady in person. By addressing her eye and ear they mimic the sensible experience of a person or thing in the world and thereby enter her memory where they effectively stand in for Richard.[364] This model suggests that Francesco's combination of word and image might likewise recall Francesco to his audience. In his work as in Richard de Fournival's, the combination of word and image stands in for a person.

Both descriptive redundancy and the combination of word and image were also important in the legal context. Both seem to have had a certain level of legal force. Referring to this force, Stillinger, for example, suggested that the "transparent representations" of heroes in late fourteenth century manuscripts of Guido delle Colonne were symptomatic of a general shift to representation akin to "blazonry: that is, to the verbal description of heraldic signs, where the verbal description has the same legal force as the coat of arms and the coat of arms must be reducible to a short verbal description."[365] He saw the heroes, described and portrayed, as equivalent to a legal statement of identity.

The legal argument makes good sense for Francesco. As a notary, Francesco witnessed documents with both a signature and a small drawing (fig. 97). In this context the signature alone was not enough. It needed to be accompanied by some kind of

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of the combination of word and image, and its instructive role. She also usefully emphasizes the transition from oral reception to reception in book form, and how the *Bestiaire d'Amour* thematizes the activity of writing and illustrating, and accommodates "both oral and textual dimensions." Unlike the case she describes, we can be certain of Francesco's engagement with designing images to accompany his poetry, and for monumental locations. See Carruthers for discussion of how word and image are assigned a common mnemonic function in this passage. Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 223, 224.

[364] Richard's application of his words to the animals of the bestiary was a rhetorical performance in which he turned the animals, traditionally signs of God and Christian salvation, to his own purposes. The words were contingent. Other words could be applied instead. See discussion later in this chapter.

[365] Stillinger, 148.

drawing, however abstract, that also pointed to the specific witness. The same design was reused by Francesco, as were their own designs by other notaries, over and over again. Word and image were combined so as to represent together a specific individual. Brigitte Bedos-Rezak has described this phenomenon in twelfth-century charters as a holdover of oral practice, arguing that the physical presence of the witnesses was recorded and reenacted on the document by the seal or drawn symbol.[366] The combination imitated and invoked experience of the world, the experience of seeing and hearing an oral performance or exchange. Like the seals discussed by Bedos-Rezak, the combination of word and image in the *Bestiaire d'Amour* was intended to stand in for the absent author, allowing him to live in his lady's memory.[367] In the case of blazonry and the signature/*signum*, the combination of word and image pointed to an absent legal entity. In the case of Richard, they were to point to the absent lover. Word and image together circumscribed, defined, and made the absent person or abstraction as concrete as possible.

In the *Documenti d'Amore*, the personifications of the virtues are presented to the reader/viewer in both image and text so as to be understood as appropriate and fitting inventions. They are also presented in image and word so as to mimic experience by appealing to as many senses as possible. The personifications that open each of the chapters are placed in the position of "authority" on the page, at the center, and as the source for the words that follow. These fictions stand in both for real authority, and for real people. In fact, the manuscripts, as a whole, were meant to mimic oral experience. As

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[366] See Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Identity: A Sign and a Concept," *American Historical Review* 105, 5 (Dec 2000): 1489-1533, for a discussion of the use of seals as stand-ins for the physical witness.
[367] Richard de Fournival, 2.

he tells us specifically in the cases of Docilitas and Constantia, Francesco's virtues appear to the reader as lecturers (figs. 1, 28; 9,30). The reader/viewer is to experience the manuscript of the *Documenti* as if he were attending a lecture, and accordingly remember the fictions and lessons.

Francesco, of course, was a member of a professional group specifically occupied with writing, in the highly literate urban society of fourteenth century Italy. In this context, poetry was more frequently a written activity than elsewhere. The production of manuscripts of vernacular poetry was still however in its infancy, even in Italy. Furthermore, as Michael Clanchy has noted with relation to England, the habits of thought of orality persisted long after the advent of written forms.[368] In the illuminated manuscripts of the *Documenti*, Francesco mimicked an oral experience by combining word and image. In keeping with the Aristotelian belief that mental concepts could only be communicated and known through the data of the senses, this mimicry appealed to as many senses as possible, and was thus more effective for communicating abstract ideas.

The descriptive redundancy in the presentation of Francesco's virtues thus evokes an oral performance of some kind, in which the image is indispensable. This effect has important implications for the role of these images in a conduct book. Interpreting and judging appearances, actions and signs are recurring themes in the *Documenti d'Amore*. The reader/viewer's encounter with the images is crucial to the evocation of the theme of interpretation. The reader/viewer encounters the virtue as an experience, as if they were encountering a person. Seizing the reader's attention, each section of the conduct book opens with a striking and even monumental image of a personification, the details of

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[368] Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record. England 1066-1307*, 2nd ed. (Oxford U.K.: Blackwell, 1979, 1993).

whose appearance are then described and explained in the texts that follow. The commentary that attends each image does not just explain the image. Repeated with each image, the very act of interpretation of that image is foregrounded. Beyond the personifications, the attention to appearances and the interpretation of those appearances, continues in the *documenti* proper. There the attention is no longer applied to images, but rather to bodies in the world. Among his lessons, Francesco admonishes his reader to pay attention to the actions and appearances of those around him, so that he may control his own actions accordingly.[369] He is told to judge the qualities and status of others by observing their manner, their expression, hands, and clothing.[370] The reader is taught how to assess which people to avoid, including for instance "… quel che spesso batte / gliocchi guardando..." ("that one who, looking, often blinks his eyes…").[371] In the commentary, an explanation is given, "iste enim qui frequenter agitat oculorum pupillas invidus est repertus..." ("He who often moves the pupils of his eyes is revealed to be envious").[372] The reader is thus taught to read the actions of other people just as he has learned to read the images of the personifications.

Reading others is not the only concern. Since one's own behaviour will also be read, the reader must understand those around him in order to modify his own behavior. Learning to control one's own appearance and actions is after all the goal of reading a

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[369] For example, "Dun grande et alto sire / che vada solo e tu dietro o davanti (1) / to' monimenti (2) alquanti / guarda sua gente elor gradi elor modi (3) / Ancor (1) dimanda et odi / pero chogni (2) paese ha nuova usança / et allor costumança (3) / conforma te nel tuo grado altuo pare." The notes give the alternate spellings found in Barb. Lat. 4077: "davantj," "monimentj," "modj," "Anchor," "congni," and "constumança" respectively. Egidi, 1: 101, 102.

[370] "*percipies* et vere quoniam gestus hominum et loquele cito indicabunt tibi qualitates ipsorum et status.… Sed raro contingit si cautus fueris quod non possis apredictis cognoscere quid agendum. Proba enim et videbis nam aut in modo aut in expressione latitudinis vel longitudinis vel ex colore, vel ex manibus, vel ex pannis, vel similibus, cito cognosces eos …." Egidi, 1: 83.

[371] Egidi, 3: 60, 61.

[372] Egidi, 3: 62.

conduct book. Francesco teaches the reader how to behave in various situations. In church, for instance, he is not to make a show of praying loudly.[373] He is taught how to behave in the street, at table, and when serving a superior. He is to keep his expression clear, under whatever circumstances.[374] He is to avoid the eleven actions that will make him appear effeminate.[375] Underlying these rules for behavior and for reading people are precepts drawn from ancient authorities such as Augustine, Cicero and Seneca. Several related precepts appear in the *Documenti.* For instance, Francesco states: "exterior acts are a sign of that which is inside the heart" and "the shameless eye is a messenger of the shameless heart." Continuing in the same vein he tells his readers that "discomposure of the body … indicates the quality of the mind," that "from contrariness of the body often follows contrariness of the soul," and that "we call signs in bodies those gestures which indicate that which they are inside."[376] These precepts were long-established commonplaces, and Francesco's recital of them is not surprising.[377] They also appeared

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[373] Egidi, 1: 144.
[374] Egidi, 1: 282, 283.
[375] Egidi, 1:157.
[376] "Pero che gliatti di fuor segno (1) sono, / chentel quor dentro sia …," and"Impudicus oculus impudici cordis est nuntius…." Note 1 gives Barb. Lat. 4077's alternate spelling "sengno." Egidi, 2: 242, 243. "Incompositio enim corporis ut Augustinus ait qualitatem indicate mentis." Egidi, 2: 51; "et diversitate corporum diversitas sepe sequitur animorum …." Egidi, 1: 286; "Signa etiam dicimus in homine gestus exteriores qualis sit interius indicante." Egidi, 1: 182.
[377] Dilwyn Knox describes the understanding of the relationship between interior and exterior expressed in such phrases as a "staple to medieval and Renaissance Christian doctrine." see "*Disciplina*: the monastic and clerical origins of European civility," in *Renaissance Culture and Society: Essays in Honour of Eugene F. Rice Jr.*, eds. J. Monfasani and R.G. Musto (New York: Italica Press, 1991), 109. See especially Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La Raison des Gestes dans l'Occident medieval* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1990). The decorum of an appearance appropriate to the person or the contents was also important to medieval aesthetics. See for instance Edgar de Bruyne, *The Esthetics of the Middle Ages,* trans. Eileen B. Hennessy (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1969), 52, 175. In a related article, Laura Jacobus has discussed the relationship between conduct book literature, as represented by Francesco's the *Documenti d'Amore* and *Il Reggimento e costumi di donna*, and the behavior depicted in Giotto's narrative scenes of the Life of the Virgin in the Arena Chapel, specifically as a model for the behavior of the women of the Scrovegni household. Laura Jacobus, "Piety and Propriety in the Arena Chapel," *Renaissance Studies* 12 2 (June 1998): 177-205. My own interests are in the parallels between the interpretive activity of reading the world and reading images. John Anthony Burrow (quite generally) discusses the significance of gestures

in other conduct books. The *Ammaestramenti degli Antichi* by Fra Bartolomeo da S. Concordio (circa 1260-1347), for example, included a section of eighteen citations of the church fathers and other authorities on the topic "Che l'apparenza, e 'l portamento dimostrano la condizione della persona" ("Because the appearance, and the deportment, demonstrate a person's condition"). This is somewhat surprising, since the book opened with a section dismissing corporeal beauty and emphasizing instead the beauty of the soul. In support of this position Fra Bartolomeo cited Gregory, declaring: "Stolte sono quelle menti, che vogliono misurare lo merito della persona per qualità di suo corpo" ("Foolish are those minds that want to measure a person's merit according to the quality of his body.").[378] These precepts may not have been unambiguous. The passage indicates that although exterior appearances were commonly read as indicating interior qualities, it was also understood that appearances could be deceiving, that exterior qualities might not be accurate indicators. Certainly Francesco's lessons imply that the reader could learn to control his exterior appearance and actions enough to change how others read him.

Such commonplaces also appeared in legal contexts. The episcopal constitutions of Florence of 1310, formulated under Bishop Antonio degli Orsi (later Francesco's employer) specify that:

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mentioned in literature, in *Gestures and Looks in Medieval Narrative*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[378] Bartolomeo da San Concordio, *Ammaestramenti degli Antichi* (Milano: Dalla Società Tipografica de'Classici Italiani, 1808), 2, 3. Though advising the reader how to take the path to virtue through asceticism, prayer, retreat from the world, etc., discusses vices to be avoided, and emphasizes practicing particular virtues, like patience, or behaving in positive ways, the book does not describe nor define individual virtues. He is more specific about sins – gola, lussuria, avarizia, superbia, vanagloria, invidia, ira, affrettamento, inconstanza, ingiustizia, accidia. Brunetto Latini's *Tresor* includes a section on "How man is known by his movements," but it only states that "Men are judged by their behavior and habits…" without connecting interior and exterior qualities. Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou tresor*, trans. Paul Barrette and Spurgeon Baldwin (Tempe Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2003), 166.

> Cum dominus noster omnipotens opus imperfectum non novit, et hominem in sabato sanum fecerit ad latitudinem divinorum obsequiorum, tales integri requiruntur ministri, quod dici nequeat huius vitiam corporis inequalitatem indicat mentis, interdicimus hoc nostre constitutionis edicto beneficiorum adeptionem omnibus notabiliter corpore vitiatis.[379]
>
> (Since our omnipotent lord did not consider imperfect work, and made man whole [for the purpose of performing?][380] divine obediences on the Sabbath, such ministers are required [to be] whole, wherefore let it be unable to be said of these that imperfection of the body indicates irregularity of the mind, we forbid in this declaration of our constitution the attainment of benefices to all perceptibly marred in body.)

The point was that no one who was visibly "imperfect" in body could perform mass, because imperfection of the body indicated a similar condition of the mind.[381]

Appearance and behavior could be accurate indicators of interior qualities. Just as the age, clothing and attributes of Francesco's virtues could be read to indicate an essential quality or characteristic of that virtue, so too could the appearance of people in the world be read to indicate something essential about them. The possibility of conflating the two is evident in a recent example, familiar to art historians. Erwin

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[379] Transcribed in Richard Trexler, *Synodal Law in Florence and Fiesole, 1306-1518* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1971), 236.

[380] I am uncertain how to best translate "ad latitudinem divinorm obsequiorum."

[381] Concern with how people read one another's qualities also influenced sumptuary law, which flourished during the fourteenth century. Sumptuary law regulated what people wore in public and what kinds of displays they made on occasions such as weddings. The problem seems not to have been wealth or luxury itself, but the public display of that wealth. As such, and though the roots of this legislation are very complex, in part these laws had to do with how people and social classes understood one another, and to do with making display appropriate to the person, occasion, and social status. On sumptuary laws see Mario Ascheri, "Tra vanità e potere: donne, lusso e miti (di ieri e di oggi)" in Ridolfi, Maria A. Ceppari and Patrizia Turrini, *Il mulino delle vanità: lusso e cerimonie nella Siena medievale* (Siena: Il Leccio, 1993) XVIII. There is a great deal of recent work on sumptuary legislation. For instance, see also Catherine Kovesi Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy 1200-1500* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002).

Panofsky began his essay "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art" by describing the different layers of meaning that the viewer must interpret in order to understand the gesture of a man lifting his hat.[382] Panofsky did not use this example to teach his reader to interpret polite gestures, but instead to teach them how to interpret art. The *Documenti d'Amore* was arranged to work in the opposite order to Panofsky's example. Rather than being taught to interpret a gesture in order to understand images, Francesco's reader moves from looking at images to understanding behavior in the world, and from looking at and reading about deliberately formulated images to shaping his own appearance and behavior. However problematic Panofsky's example might be as an art historical method, it had very deep roots.[383]

Of course, the equation of the bodies of the readers with the represented bodies of the virtues requires something of a conceptual leap, between "natural" and "conventional" signs. Saint Augustine defined natural signs to include such things as smoke indicating a fire, and facial expressions which signify a person's emotional state. In contrast, conventional, or "given," signs involved intentional communication.[384] Similarly, C. S. Lewis argued for a medieval distinction between symbol and allegory. Unlike allegory, symbols were objects from the real world. Because they were created by God, they could be read as a sign of spiritual reality.[385] Bestiaries, in which animals were read as signs of God, were the result of such thinking. However, Richard de Fournival's

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[382] Erwin Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art," in Meaning in the Visual Arts (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 26-28.
[383] For instance, see Svetlana Alpers's brief discussion in "Interpretation without Representation, or, the Viewing of *Las Meninas*," *Representations* 1 (February 1983): 30-42. Alpers describes the disappearance of the "pictorial surface" in Panofsky's example, where the fact of representation is ignored. I am arguing in this dissertation that Francesco was extremely self-conscious about the activity of representation, despite his metaphoric equation of real bodies with fictional bodies.
[384] Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, ed. and trans. R. P. H. Green (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 57.
[385] C.S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958, first published 1936), 45, 46. This is a fundamental text for the study of medieval allegory, and "courtly love."

manipulation of the genre to his own purposes, reinterpreting the animals to his own ends, indicates that the distinction was not hard and fast. Symbols could be interpreted in individual ways, as if they were as flexible as poetic allegory.[386] Reading in the opposite direction, it also seems that personification and allegory could be read as if they were akin to natural signs.

More recent scholarship on medieval allegory has tended to dissolve the distinction made by Lewis, arguing that personification and allegory were not understood to be mere forms.[387] The evidence of the *Documenti*, in itself, argues for dissolution between signs in the world and personification. I am not suggesting that the two kinds of reading appearances presented in the *Documenti* were exactly the same, but that there is a certain amount of slippage between them. The personifications of the virtues were evidently conventional fictions, formulated to represent abstract qualities, while bodies in the world and facial expressions were, at least in part, natural. Both, however, were bound by an aesthetic and moral imperative to match content and form. Francesco's reader was learning to understand both.

Personifications of virtues and vices were already abstractions particularly close to people in the world, as they represented possible qualities of a man.[388] In his *Psychomachia*, one of the most influential examples of virtue and vice personification allegory in the Middle Ages, Prudentius (born 384) represented the virtues and vices at war with one another, a battle assumed to take place within every soul. The virtues were

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[386] By using the bestiary, the speaker is equating his own desire and the fulfillment of that desire with the inevitability of nature.
[387] Thomas Hyde begins his discussion of the profound ambiguity of Cupid in Renaissance literature with a discussion of the dissolution of this distinction by Gombrich, Tuve and Fletcher. See *The Poetic Theology of Love: Cupid in Renaissance Literature* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 14.
[388] C.S. Lewis ascribes the "allegorical period" of medieval literature to two causes, "on the one hand, the gods sink into personifications; on the other, a widespread moral revolution forces men to personify their passions." Lewis, 63.

the "fighting force" with which "the soul is furnished and enabled to expel the sins from within our breast."[389] In Alain de Lille's *Anticlaudianus* of ca. 1181-1184, personifications of Nature and the virtues conspire to create the perfect man. Prudence is sent on a journey to obtain a soul for the perfect body. Once they have fashioned this perfect man, the virtues each bestow gifts upon him that take the form of moral advice. Personifications of the liberal arts bestow gifts of knowledge. All of their gifts, of course, contribute to the reader's own behaviour and education.[390] The perfect man is literally made up of these virtues. In the early fourteenth century, virtues began to appear on tombs in Italy in order to embody the deceased individual's qualities. The first of these tombs was that of Margaret of Luxembourg (d. 1311), sculpted by Giovanni Pisano.[391]

Much of the conceptual difficulty in equating natural and conventional signs, and of equating personifications and people, is also overcome by the habits of medieval reading. Judson Boyce Allen tells us that because they were classified as part of Ethics, the fictions of poetry were understood to be of a piece with the world. Meaningful parallels were to be drawn between the real world and the world of the poem. Metaphoric connections were understood to be fundamentally meaningful, and to exist not only

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[389] See Katzenellenbogen and especially Lewis. Lewis ascribes the "need" for allegory in the Middle Ages to a "twofold" root; "on the one hand, the gods sink into personifications; on the other, a widespread moral revolution forces men to personify their passions." Lewis, 63.
[390] Alain de Lille, *Anticlaudianus* trans. James J. Sheridan (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1973), 175-194.
[391] The tomb of Margaret of Luxembourg (d. 1311) included the four cardinal virtues. Ames-Lewis identified this as the first appearance of the cardinal virtues on a secular tomb. Ames-Lewis, 195. Stillinger included the tomb of Charles of Calabria, executed by Tino di Camaino in 1332 as one of his examples of images "making present" absent things. Though he does not discuss it, personifications of the virtues and even the liberal arts appeared in the tombs of the Angevin court, as if to represent the qualities of the deceased. The first of these Angevin tombs was that of Mary of Hungary, sculpted by Tino di Camaino in 1325, just four years after he had worked with Francesco on the tomb of Bishop Antonio d'Orso in Florence. Tino's tomb for Catherine of Austria (d. 1323), in San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples, includes Hope and Charity. His tomb for Mary of Valois (d. 1331), in Santa Chiara, Naples, also includes Hope and Charity. There are earlier instances. The four cardinal virtues appeared in the floor mosaic over the tomb of Countess Mathilda, in San Benedetto di Polirone, near Mantua. Pfeiffenberger, 4: 3, 7.

within the poem, but also between the poem and the world. Part of the activity of reading was to find such connections.[392] The possibility of collapsing the distance between abstract virtues and an individual acting in the world is suggested in other contexts. For example, in his discussion of Justice, Thomas Aquinas, quoting Aristotle, stated that "A judge renders a person his due by way of command and direction. According to the *Ethics* he is *living justice*, …."[393] The evidence suggests that for a medieval reader there would not have been a strong distinction between personifications and people in the world.

The ubiquitous metaphor of the mirror is relevant here. Gazing into a mirror implied reflection, and a consideration of self in relation to the world. This consideration of oneself in relation to a "mirror" and that which it depicted was a prompt and a tool for self-improvement. The unusual *Exposition des ymages qui sunt ou kalendrier et ou sautier*, part of the Belleville Breviary of 1323-26 includes a passage describing and explaining an image of the Evangelists with the "precious blood of Jesus Christ" flanked by Mary and St. Peter. The image to which the passage refers has been lost, but the passage in itself is significant. Regarding the image, the expositor concludes,

> And so that each person can readily see what is there, the mirror is in the middle of the treasure where one can understand it readily. Therefore,

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[392] Allen, 248. In his discussion of the medieval understanding of imagination, and the understanding of it as crucial to the formulation of "true" allegorical figures, Kelly described the *laetus horror* of the reader/[viewer], as they realize the distance that separates them from the "*imago* of the perfect self visible in the mirror of his own soul." Kelly, 36.

[393] Thomas Aquinas *Summa Theologiae* 2a2ae.58.1.

> reflect on your life and see Jesus Christ before you and the instruments of His passion, and watch whether you do his will well.[394]

The "mirror," whatever it may have looked like, was the means by which the reader/viewer was to reflect upon himself and his actions.

Francesco presents his virtues to the reader as a mirror as well. Docilitas wears a dark blue cloak, because it denotes the "*honestas*" that ought to be in teachers, since they are a mirror to their students (fig. 2, 28).[395] According to the logic of the conduct book, the reader/viewer is one of those students. Garaffalus Gribbolus' mirror is a kind of *mise-en-abyme*, a representation of the work within the work itself. The reader is shown the picture of an object, not an abstraction, that purportedly had the power to reveal what other people were thinking. The mirror sums up much of the activity the reader is learning to undertake, to read and understand others, and to shape his own behavior accordingly.

Francesco made the assumed connection between virtues and real people evident in his explanations of the characteristics of the figures of the virtues. I have not found this kind of commentary on personifications and their specific attributes to be common elsewhere in didactic personification allegory, and it seems to be specific to the *Documenti*.[396] Francesco explains the characteristics of his personifications with

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[394] Translation of the *Exposition* provided in Lucy Freeman Sandler, "Jean Pucelle and the Lost Miniatures of the Belleville Breviary," *Art Bulletin* 66, no. 1 (March 1984): 73-96. Sandler was specifically interested in reconstructing the lost images of the Breviary from the description.

[395] "Et etiam gramaticus ponit hoc unam de sapientie clavibus, vestes habet coloris persi obscuri ad denotandam honestatem que debet in illis vigere qui presunt doctrine cum sint discipulis speculum." Egidi, 1: 41.

[396] In Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, the characteristics of the virtues and vices that are described are simply presented, rather than explained or justified. For instance, "Faith first takes the field to face the doubtful chances of battle, her rough dress disordered, her shoulders bare, her hair untrimmed, her arms exposed; for the sudden glow of ambition, burning to enter fresh contests, takes no thought to gird on arms or armour,

reference to how people behave, or should behave in the world. Prudentia (fig. 14, 35) is thin because thoughts are tiring and because the more one gives to "seeing more acutely" the more one's body is consumed.[397] The connection between the abstractions and people in the world is made especially evident with regard to age. The virtues are depicted, and explained, to be a particular age. A virtue is understood to be appropriate to a certain age, because it was especially necessary to such an age, or because it is characteristic only of those of a certain age. Alternatively, a particular age might embody the qualities appropriate to the personification. Docilitas is old, because old people are wiser.[398] Constantia is thirty, because constancy ought to be greater in men of that age (fig. 9, 30).[399] In some cases, particular social states are linked to the virtues, such as the widowed Constantia and the religious Patientia (figs. 12, 33). In other cases, the actions of the figures are specifically tied to actions the reader ought to perform or make use of in the world. In explaining why Prudentia is seated, Francesco refers to advice stating that

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but trusting in a stout heart and unprotected limbs challenges the hazards of furious warfare, meaning to break them down." *Prudentius*, Trans. H. J. Thomson, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949), 1: 281. Alain de Lille also does not explain the figures he describes. In his *Il Libro de' Vizi e delle Virtudi*, Bono Giamboni encounters *Fede Cristiana*, who resides in a large palace with walls of diamond worked with gold and precious stones. She is dressed in humble clothing. She sits on a "marvelous large throne" and is surrounded by many people whom she teaches. ("sedea in su una sedia molto maraviglioso e grande; e intorno di sé avea molto gente, cu'ella insegnava e ammaestrava; ed era vestita d'un umile vestimento, e stava tutta cotale accercinata.") This figure and her characteristics, but not the location, are drawn from Prudentius's *Psychomachia*. When the narrator asks why she is dressed so humbly, and does not take care of herself like other women do, Philosphy explains that he who is perfect in faith loves God above all things, and does not tend himself or care for worldly glory because he knows that such things do not matter to God. ("E colui che perfettamente è nella fede, ama Dio sopra tutte le cose, e però non si cura, né di manicare, né di bere dilicatamente, né di vestire, né di calzare pulitamente, né della gloria del mondo, però che sa che a Dio non piacciono queste cose;….") Like Francesco's virtues, Fede Cristiana's characteristic feature is explained with reference to behavior in the world. Though the figure is drawn from the *Psychomachia*, the explanation is not. Bono Giamboni's explanation of *Fede Cristiana* does explain the figure's torn clothing with reference to men in the world, but only that single figure is so explained. Bono Giamboni, *Il libro de' Vizi e delle Virtudi* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1968), 32, 38, 39.

[397] "*Est etc . macra quidem* per quod notatur quod licet delectabiles cogitationes non in tantum affligant tamen multum fatigant . Et quanto ad subtiliora videnda vigilamus tanto amplius consumatur corpore . Sed peior esset ex otiositate infructifera omnino consumptio," Egidi, 3: 47.

[398] Egidi, 1: 40.

[399] Egidi, 2: 312.

judges should be seated when judging, and digresses on how men should sit or lie down when they are studying (figs. 14, 35).[400] In one instance the connection between the forms of these virtues and the behavior and appearance of the reader is made through wordplay. The reader is told "Prudença qui vedete / voi cha guardar avete (1)." ("See Prudence here / you who have the task of looking."). Prudence herself is said to "guarda in una spera…." In Italian, the reader's task is the same as the virtue's, namely to "guardare."[401]

Further expressing the assimilation of Francesco's personifications with real people, these virtues can also die. Francesco states that he does not know whether Discretio is even still alive, since she was exiled so long ago.[402] Causing much sorrow among her students, Divine Love calls Constantia to heaven, and in the accompanying image she is held aloft by angels in a drapery, while a tiny nude figure of her soul flies above to heaven (figs. 9, 30). The image of her soul implies that she is far more than the image of an abstraction. As she takes her leave of her students, she wishes, "may our examples in all things be a mirror to you and a light."[403]

The connection between the personifications and living people, and the particular import of *seeing* these virtues, is perhaps most explicitly made in the section governed by Justice (fig. 17, 37). In the second *documentum*, the reader is admonished that he must love Justice so much as to always show her semblance.[404] The line recalls Boccaccio's

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[400] Egidi, 3: 47.
[401] Note 1 states "Tutto il verso è in B [Barb. Lat. 4077] scritto su rasura." In Latin the wordplay does not occur. "Prudentiam hic inspicite vos quibus competit, custodire…." and "In unam speram respicit ut hostendat…." Egidi, 1: 41-44.
[402] Egidi, 2: 346.
[403] Egidi, 2: 343. Translation Jacobsen 2: 90.
[404] "Debetis semper diligere me in tantum, ut mei exterius similitudinem hostendatis." Egidi, 3: 293.

story about Messer Ermino Grimaldi.[405] There, in response to the miser's request for a novel subject, Guiglielmo Borsiere proposed Generosity as a subject evidently unknown to the miser. The implication is that had Messer Ermino ever seen such an image, he would be acting accordingly. Shamed, the miser immediately changes his ways, and promises to have the virtue painted there so that no one would think that he had not seen and known her.[406] The story clearly describes the ideal reaction a viewer should have to the image of a personified virtue. He ought to behave so that that virtue is legible in his own actions.[407] Rather than serving merely as an abstract definition, the embodied virtue thus had a kind of one to one relationship with the body of the viewer.

As indicated by the exhortation to love Justice, this relationship has further import in light of the governing principle of this conduct book, which is Love. In his discussion of the definition of love, and his citation of various authorities on the subject, Francesco cites Hugh of St. Victor to the effect that one is transformed by love into the similitude of that which one loves, claiming "just as a liquefied mass is poured through a tube into the mold and accepts the form [of the mold], so the mind, softened by the fire of love, runs through the beam of contemplation to the image of the divine likeness, indeed, whatever we love, we are transformed into its similitude by the very power of love."[408] This is not to say that the reader will literally look like Justice, but that this virtue should be legible

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[405] The story was discussed in Chapter One, in relation to the issue of novelty.
[406] Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, trans. Mark Musa and Peter Bondanella (New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1982), 52-54.
[407] Jean de Ghellinck discussed the imitation and expression of abstract, theoretical models as part of medieval understanding and use of the Latin word "*imitari*. The word frequently appeared in association with the name of a virtue, and encompassed the subsequent expression of that virtue. See Jean de Ghellinck, "Imitari, imitatio," *Bulletin du Cange* 15 (1940-41): 151-159.
[408] "Item Hugo de sancto victore in libro de arra sponse scis quia amor ignis est et ignis quidem fogmentum querit ut ardeat ea vis est amoris ut talem te esse necesse sit quale illud est quod amas et cui per effectum coniungeris in ipsius similitudinem ipsa quodammodo dilectionis sotietate transformaris. Et idem in libro de ignibus sicut massa liquefacta per fistulam in mallum funditur et formam accipit ita mens amoris igne soluta per radium contemplationis usque ad ymaginem divine similitudinis currit immo quicquid diligimus ipsa vi dilectionis in eius similitudinem transformamur." Egidi, 1: 12,13.

in his actions and appearance. It is important to remember here that the reader is in a realm governed by Amor, learning his precepts in order to enter his court, where the virtues dwell. It is only fitting that his transformation will take place because of love.

The idea that the lover is transformed into the thing he loves was common. In the *Convivio*, for example, Dante briefly explains love as "that which joins and unites the lover with the person loved…." Explaining the transformative effect of love, he states: "Since things that are joined by nature have their qualities in common with one another, to the extent that one is at times completely transformed into the nature of the other, it follows that the passions of the person loved enter into the person who loves." Dante, lover of Lady Philosophy, thus begins to love what she loves, and hate what she hates.[409] Thomas Aquinas too described one of the effects of love as union. In his definition, the union caused by love is greater than that caused by knowledge.[410]

The idea of loving a personification was ubiquitous. The late thirteenth century tuscan compilation of stories known as the *Novellino* includes a story that aptly demonstrates how commonplace it was. The tale tells of "a philosopher who was so courteous that he translated the sciences as a kindness to the gentry and other people." His translation of this knowledge into the vernacular meant that it became accessible to many more people. Accordingly the philosopher has a vision in which he sees the goddesses of the sciences living in a brothel. When he asks them what they were doing there, they reply that he had forced them to live there. The reader is to learn that "everyone is not entitled to everything."[411] The sciences have been made whores

[409] *Dante's 'Il Convivio'*, 148.
[410] Thomas Aquinas Summa Theologiae 1a.2ae.28.1
[411] "Novella LXXVIII," *The Novellino or One Hundred Ancient Tales*, ed. and trans. Jospeh P. Consoli (New York and London: Garland Publshing, Inc., 1997), 105.

available to anyone by the philosopher's translation. The idea of loving a personification is here debased and made into a joke in order to make a point about access to knowledge. The joke depends on the trope of loving a personification. The possibility of the joke demonstrates the trope's common currency.

The reader of Francesco's *Documenti* is to learn to love the virtues, and is repeatedly told that this is the proper way to conduct himself towards them.[412] Amor, for instance, sends Prudence to us to be honored and loved.[413] This prompting of the reader's behavior might in part explain the material presence of these personifications. The connection between Love and vision was another well-established commonplace, and the virtues assume material form here so that the reader's love for them will be prompted by vision.[414] In his extended discussion of love in the Prohemium, Francesco states that love is created when something pleasing is seen, touched or heard.[415] Andreas Capellanus famously defined Love as "a certain inborn suffering derived from the sight of and excessive meditation upon the beauty of the opposite sex…."[416] Giacomo da Lentino, one of the Sicilian poets, wrote "li occhi in prima generta[n] l'amore / e lo core li dà nutricamento," ("the eyes first generate love / and the heart gives it nourishment").[417] Love in all of these instances is described as beginning with the senses.

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[412] "…et amare quelle / donne belle / di chio to scripto valor e potenza." Egidi, 2: 31. "Eveggio bene / chi maior tene / noia pena etormento / ama piu questa / donna honesta / e piu meritamento." Egidi 2: 393.
[413] "Camor la cia mandata / per chella sia honorata / Amata ereverita / checi da stato in vita." Egidi, 3: 42.
[414] See Michael Camille, "Love's Looks" in *The Medieval Art of Love* (New York : Abrams, 1998): 27-49 and Ruth Cline, "Heart and Eyes," *Romance Philology* 25, no. 3 (Feb. 1972): 263-297.
[415] "Et dic quod amor ex alicuius visi tacti vel auditi placiti concurrente consensu duorum invicem vel uno incipiente ac perseverante et altero postmodum concedente creatur." The passage also deals with the necessity of reciprocity between the lovers, but concludes with a repetition of "et dic semper ex aliquo viso tacto vel audito placito." Egidi, 1: 11.
[416] Andreas Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love*, trans. John Jay Parry (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 28.
[417] "Tenzone con Jacopo Mostacci e Pier della Vigna," *Poeti del Duecento* vol. 1, ed. Gianfranco Contini (Milano: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1960), 88.

As noted above, personifications were often understood to be objects of love. Francesco however took the commonplace a step further and made his figures all the more concrete. Francesco presented the virtues to the reader's sense of sight so that they could more easily be loved.[418] As for Richard de Fournival, so also for Francesco, the combination of word and image was not merely directed at the memory. It also had the end of seduction.[419]

In the *Documenti d'Amore* the reader is admonished to love all of the virtues. He is expected to transform himself according to their example so that these virtues can be read in his face, body and actions, just as they are read in the personifications that open each section of the treatise. The importance for the reader of conforming his behavior to the virtues' rules of conduct is made very clear. The reader's actions are meaningful, and will be read and interpreted, just as Francesco reads the attributes of the virtues. Like any visual representation of a virtue, these virtues assume material form in order to be more immediate to the viewer, and to collapse the distance between subject and object. Francesco's virtues in particular assume material form to make it easier for the viewer to love them, and in order to figure bodies in the world, including that of the reader.

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[418] Ciccuto extended a seductive function to the figures of Amore and Madonna Filosofia "in veste di pedagoghi" who appear to narrators, but the examples he discussed were merely figured in words describing the poet's vision. Ciccuto, 40, 41.

[419] Despite their seductive role, however, with two exceptions, Francesco's descriptions in the *Documenti* are not like descriptions of the beloved one might find in love poetry. Rather than describing their golden hair, their beautiful eyes, their throats like columns, he dwells on attributes, clothing and actions. Gloria is one exception to this rule. The reader is told "Guardate sua belleça / quanto e grande / e come spande / sol dal suo guardo anui / ...," (Look at her beauty / how great it is / and how it spills out/ from her glance alone / …"). Egidi, 3: 254. The other exception is Constantia, sometimes assumed to be a representation of Francesco's particular lady-love. Jacobsen, 2: 99. Constantia is endowed by Francesco with the beautiful golden locks of the beloved, and described as having radiant eyes that Francesco dared not look at, and a radiant face, that lit up the night. The absence of the typical characteristics of the beloved from Francesco's other descriptions does not necessarily preclude the viewer's "love" of these virtues. Francesco was concerned with making his virtues distinct from one another. To uniformly apply a description of them as beautiful women with golden hair and beautiful eyes would collapse those distinctions. Perhaps they are all assumed to have those same beautiful features, and Francesco's task was to differentiate and define them.

The reader of Francesco's treatise encounters the virtues in the present tense, as the result of immediate vision, just as one would meet people in the world, or watch and listen to a lecturer speak. In this chapter so far, I have proposed that the images of the virtues were important within the context of the conduct book because their material, visible presence made them immediate for the reader/viewer. Properly understanding and interpreting the images was a figure for interpreting people in the world.

Judging and interpreting appearances, however, is not a simple process. The deliberate novelty of Francesco's images in itself suggests that they were not intended to be immediately legible.[420] After that first encounter one must understand what one sees. The novelty of Francesco's images only encourages that interpretation. The proper response to unfamiliar images is spelled out by the unusual *Exposition des ymages qui sunt ou kalendrier et ou sautier*, part of the Belleville Breviary (1323-26). Establishing the proper response, the *Exposition* opens with the statement that "when one sees anything that is obscurely shown one should see and ask for its meaning and explanation." It continues on to say that the *Exposition* will clarify any obscure images "so that everyone can understand and profit from them."[421] The unfamiliar image ought to cue interpretation on the part of the viewer. In the Belleville Breviary, as in the *Documenti*, answers are provided. Whether or not there was an immediate relationship of influence between the two, the manuscripts give evidence of a similar interest in unfamiliar images, in the proper response to such images, and in the metaphorical

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[420] Frojmovič's comparison of the images to figurative language also emphasizes the fact that they were not intended to be immediately legible.

[421] Translation of the *Exposition* provided in Lucy Freeman Sandler, "Jean Pucelle and the Lost Miniatures of the Belleville Breviary," *Art Bulletin* 66 1 (March 1984): 73-96.

connections to be drawn between parallel series.[422] The attention in both the *Documenti* and the *Exposition* to the explanation of unfamiliar images is rare. This rarity must draw our attention. What do these extended explanations accomplish?

As described earlier, each of the explanations given by Francesco fulfills a role in its particulars, unpacking the image for the reader/viewer and spelling out the connection between visible characteristics and abstract qualities. Beyond this however, at the general structural level, the effect of these repeated explanations, is to draw attention to the very act of interpretation. In fact, the first story Francesco relates in the commentary to the *Documenti* is a story that characterizes proper interpretation. According to this tale, King Darius of Persia had three men in his employ to interpret old documents and deeds. The first, Amandels, always looked for the good. The second, Folchindus, always did the opposite and looked to condemn. The third, Salernes, always tried to contradict both of the others out of hatred and envy. After being given a task by the king, Amandels comes up with an interpretation favorable to the king and is accordingly rewarded. Francesco follows this story with a reference to his own work, explaining that it had been misunderstood and "damned" in the past by those who thought he was discussing carnal

[422] Charles Sterling proposed that Francesco's example influenced Pucelle. Sterling Richter mistakenly referred to the Belleville Breviary's explanation of its unusual images as the earliest example of such an explanation, but rightly noted its rarity. Richter 33. She is interested in its associations with explicit instructions to miniaturists, or evidence of such instructions. As with the ilustrations for the *Politiques* and *Ethiques,* the iconography of the images in Raoul de Presles' translation of Augustine's *City of God* also indicates the intervention of the translator. As other examples she cites a manuscript of *Le miroir du monde* with instructions to the illuminator for fifteen virtues and vices, and Jean Lebègue's Sallust (1418-1420). Other examples she cites of explanations of images include that for the frontispiece of Charles V's Bible historiale, and Oresme's for the first *Politiques*.

love. Amandels, of course, is the model for the reader/viewer, who ought to look for the good in what Francesco has written.[423]

Beyond this story, and the explanations of the images, the problems of judging and interpreting appearances are laid out in the lessons of the *Documenti*. One lesson begins by saying that some men, judged by appearances to be sinful, were actually learned, measured and orderly.[424] In other cases, Francesco warns his reader about false appearances. For instance, he cautions the reader about those who make a show of having a heavy heart, in order that people might call them wise, and about hypocrites, who deceive with their appearance.[425] Francesco also teaches his reader to spot those vices

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[423] Darius olim Rex persarum, …, quondam inter ceteros tres habebat interpretres . qui super constitionibus antiquis, et aliorum scriptis, et gestibus variis expositionibus interpretationibus et relationibus utebantur ¶ Primus nomine Amandels, singula que iam dicta videbat, etiam si aliquo modo possent redargui, dum tamen ad bonum etiam trahi possent, salvare totis suis conatibus nitebantur. ¶ Secundus nomine folchindus ad contrarium tendens (4), dampnare quodlibet etiam si poterat salvum fieri, studebat. Tertius nomine Salernes invidens ad primum et hodiens secundum, nullo alio studio vig[i]labat (5), in rebus, nisi ut se opponeret oppinionibus utriusque ¶ Fuerunt duo Arach scilicet et Ioret ad constitutionem quandam condendam adhibiti ab hoc Rege ¶ quam || conditam est secundus [bonis in]videns (6) contra [Regis commodum re]sultare dicebat ¶ Primus hanc salvabat optimis argumentis ¶ Tertius eam dampna[bat sed per a]lia argumenta quam secundus [inducerat] ipsius secundi [dicta reiciens] … [Con]stituit Rex secundum et tertium, ut servos primi ¶ Et ipsis secundo et tertio super solitis silentium imperavit. ¶ Et primi directione postea tota curia refulgebat. ¶ Et auxit ei tunc Rex nomen Amandels capud regis …. Evo che sia et .§. haberi te volo, possunt meo proposito rationabiliter adaptari non quia dicam me bonum, sed quoniam si quando quicquam utilitatis vel boni ad meam saltem instructionem, pura intentione in scripta deducere, michi gratia superna ministrat, ac in illis pono diurnos pariter et nocturnos labores, qui hec dampnant, et si non mei delinquant, respectu, consideratione peccant, rei taliter (1) ministrate. ¶ Fuerunt itaque quidam qui testum hunc respicientes dampna[bant] dicentes, me ad amorem carnalem, totaliter habuisse respectum." Note 4 explains that the first column finishes at this point in Barb. Lat. 4076. Note 5 explains that the sections in brackets were deciphered from Barb. Lat. 4076. Otherwise, because of extensive damage to Barb. Lat. 4076, this passage was drawn from Barb. Lat. 4077. Note 6 further explains the damage: "Le prime undici righe della seconda colonna sono nel ms. B [Barb. Lat. 4077] assai danneggiate dall'umidità che ha corroso specialmente l'ultima parte di ciascun rigo." Note 1 explains that "here finishes the second column in A [Barb. Lat. 4076]. Egidi, 1: 4,5. Jacobsen notes the story and its role as model for the reader and Francesco. Jacobsen, 1: 80. This story is also discussed by A.J. Minnis in his essay "*Amor* and *Auctoritas* in the Self-Commentary of Dante and Francesco da Barberino," in *Poetica* 32 (1990): 25-42 (36, 37). Minnis describes how Francesco set himself up as compiling and reconciling the laws of love, as Gratian and Justinian had done for canon and civil law. It is significant that the root of the proper interpreter's name is "loving". The proper stance of the interpreter is that of a lover.

[424] "Che piu genti ovedute / per vista rie credute / Che son poi misurate / composte et insegnate (1)." The note gives the spelling found in Barb. Lat. 4077, "insengnate." Egidi, 3: 58.

[425] Egidi, 1: 243 and Egidi, 3: 69, 70, 71.

that, if not judged carefully, appear to be virtues. These include the possibility of mistaking prodigality for largesse, or avarice for good sense.[426]

In addition to the warnings about deceptive appearances embedded in Francesco's *documenti*, relevant lessons also appear in the commentary. These have the form of stories that revolve around the problems posed by appearances. In one such story, a man from Bologna arranges a marriage by proxy, assuming his bride to be "completely perfect and beautiful." He buys a horse with which to go and fetch his bride, without noticing that the horse was blind in one eye, and stubborn. When he meets his bride, it turns out that she is lame, with a shrunken right hand, a spot in her eye and a skewed mouth and neck. On the way home, the seemingly perfect horse balks at a river because of its blindness, and throws the bride into the water, where she is drowned. The moral of the story, iterated by the groom upon his arrival home, was: "May I always be thus deceived in little things, when I profit so much in great matters."[427] Francesco uses the story as an example to illustrate the precept that one must not believe the praise of someone who is trying to sell his horse, or to convince you to marry a woman. In part the lesson is a matter of proportion. One ought to be careful when buying a horse, but extra careful

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[426] Egidi, 1: 53 and 56. Francesco was not alone in giving such lessons. *Della Forma di Onesta Vita,* a vernacular Italian translation of Martin of Braga's sixth century *Formula vitae honestae*, includes a section on Prudence in which the reader is told to consider things carefully, "because there are things which seem good and are not, and others are good that seem bad," and further, that "all verisimilar things are not true; and each thing, that seems unbelievable, is not false. The truth often has the face of a lie…." "Volgarizzamento della Forma di Onesta Vita di Martino Vescovo Dumense," in *Manuale della Letteratura del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana*, ed. Vincenzo Nannucci, 4th ed. (Firenze, G. Barbera, Editore, 1883), 2: 425. "e s'elli mette in ordine la dignità delle cose secondo loro natura, e non secondo ciò che molti uomini pensano: chè cose sono ch'elle sembrano buone e non sono, ed altre sono buone che sembrano rie." and "…perocchè tutte le cose verosimili non sono vere; e ciascuna cosa che sembra non credibile, non è però falsa. La veritade ha molte volte facce di menzogna, ed è tal fiata coverta in simiglianza di verità; chè siccome lo lusinghieri cuopre lo suo mal talento per mostrare bella cera del suo viso, tutto altresi puote la falsitade ricevere colore in simiglianza di veritade per meglio altrui beffare." Prudence and the other virtues are not personified in any way here.

[427] Egidi, 2: 223. Jacobsen, 1: 108. Jacobsen published the story as an example of how closely Francesco's commentary materials resemble legal commentaries and exempla.

when choosing a wife. More importantly, one must not believe everything one is told, and be cautious about looking for the truth. However, the moral of the story is ambiguous. Deceived by the appearance of the horse, the protagonist is saved from the greater consequence of an undesirable marriage, to a woman whose faults were all-too-legible in her appearance. The deceptive appearance in this case had beneficial consequences, and it is by those consequences that the appearance, and the deception, must be judged. For Francesco, the ends justify the means. This is made apparent in the commentary to another section of the conduct book, where Francesco discusses mental images, or *ymagines*. According to Francesco, if these images draw us to villainous acts, or to anything contrary to God and to the teachings of the church, these visions are to be shunned, while visions drawing us to good acts are to be embraced.[428] The visions, which may be difficult to judge in themselves, are instead to be judged by the actions to which they lead. The judgment of meaning is thus displaced from the *ymagines* to their effect on the audience.

In another example, related in the commentary under Justice, Francesco tells a story in which a woman gives birth to a monstrous half-lion half-man. On the birth of the monster, her husband accuses her of adultery. In response, she charges that her husband had gotten her drunk and taken her to the woods in order to murder her, and that the monster had been conceived after he had abandoned her there. While this is a complicated tale, in the end the point of the story has to do with the wisdom of the judge,

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[428] "Primo quod omne quod contra fidem nostram vel contra [ea] que mandat ecclesia et omne id quod rusticitatis est quod vulgariter dicitur villania, et omnis vilitas et omnis offensio dei vel proximi est peccatum . unde hoc modico …. notato vide quod quandocumque tentationes ymaginationes visiones vel visibiles illusiones trahentes nos ad hec nobis occurrunt, opera sunt inimici nostri et ideo evi[tan]da . Nunc per contrarium vide secundum . quandocumque desiderium nostrum per visionem , ymaginationem vel visibilem appare………. ad ea dirigitur que sunt ……….. et omnis curialitas et omnis patientia et desiderium placendi || et serviendi deo et proximis hec sunt angelorum bonorum opera . et inspirationes divine . Et ab hiis non expedit caveamus sed impleamus ea." Egidi, 1: 46.

and with the process necessary to reaching the truth. The judge in the story does not assume the woman's guilt based on the appearance of the monstrous creature, but waits to assign punishment until he has gathered enough evidence to know what had actually occurred. In the end, a hunter is exposed as the rapist and confesses that he had committed the crime while disguised in a lion's pelt, and the husband is forced to confess that he had indeed planned to murder his wife that day. Both are punished, while the woman goes free. In part, the moral of the story is that "nothing is hidden that might not be revealed." Accordingly one ought to live openly, with the assumption that one's actions will be known.[429] Conscientia shows her heart to the viewer for the same

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[429] "In persia natum est animal mostruosum, ex muliere quadam per violentiam prostituta in silvis cui nomen erat aulindes ¶ quod quidem animal unum capud cum collo habebat humanum ¶ aliud cum collo ex pilo et omnibus leoninum ¶ Et postea totum corpus humana forma plasmatum . preter pedes quos leoni aliquantulum similes obtinebat . ¶ erat etiam ultra hominem aliquantulum pilosus per totum . ¶ quo nato accusavit maritus de adulterio seu fide violata mulierem . ¶ que de partu surgens illatam in se in silvis violentiam (1) ad quas eam maritus ut occideret duxerat allegavit ¶ Aqua cum preses peteret quis et quomodo in eam violentiam intulisset ¶ Respondit quod nulla precedente causa, vir illam ad silvas duxerat, ubi eam invitam secum bibere solus cohegit ¶ quo facto mulier ipsa cecidit ebria, velut demens ¶ non tamen in tantum adhuc perdiderat mentem suam, quin duos venientes venatores adgnosceret, qui tam viro quam ei erant noti . quibus ipsa loqui non valuit ¶ Sed perpendit quod illi virum invitaverunt ad ursum ¶ qui vir ea deserta ibidem, secutus est illos ¶ Et post paululum crescente fummositate sonnus ei vires et scientiam usurpavit . ¶ Et post modicum leo quidam fortissimus accessit ad eam . quam iacentem inveniens non lesit . Sed tenuit eam secum . ea partim ut ebria ingnorante, partimque violentiam repellente ¶ sero facto excitata mulier remeavit ¶ vir autem qui illuc redierat sotiis derelictis, nec illam invenerat ut dicebat, domum etiam rediens inquid ad eam ¶ unde venis . ¶ et illa dixit ¶ unde me duxisti . ¶ vir amplexus est eam et dixit hodie te occidere proposueram, sed ire admodo demisso furore (1) parco tibi . ¶ At illa quid tibi feci ¶ Et ille ¶ Vidi te externa die in duos transeuntes viros oculos mala intentione dirigere ¶ Illa autem ut insons se ut potuit excusavit et dixit ad illum ¶ ve tibi et michi nequitia tua ¶ Et de inde usque ad partum, canum (2) qui emerserat hec gemebat ¶ de quo vir interrogans simile ab ea semper reportabat responsum ¶ Quo preses audito, fecit adduci animal coram se ¶ maritum autem et istam separatos ab invicem carcerari . ne aliquis eos alloqueretur inhibens ¶ et illos duos qui venando istis occurrerant, evocavit. ¶ A quibus quod ita occurrerant et mulier sic relicta extiterat testimonia satis clara suscepit ¶ Tunc maritum inscium testes istos venisse, ad se duci iussit ¶ qui omni denegavit ¶ Concepit ergo preses contra maritum . ¶ Et peritorum consilium convocavit ¶ Qui secundum naturam leonicam impossibilem talem coitum extimantes, et quod sic ebria . mulier forsitan, viro aliquo iacente cum illa, sic quodammodo sonniando credidisset, vel aquodam viro se in leonis transfigurante effigiem, isto casu, ubi magna non exigebatur subtilitas elusa fuisset, per quod ex ymaginatione concipiens tale animal peperisset, omnes aliquo tempore detinere ac de hiis solerter inquirere decreverunt . et animal reservare ¶ quod matri ad penam lactandum concorditer commiserunt, donec amplius de culpa vel innocentia constaret ipsius . ¶ Cumque transissent anni tres et nichil posset aliud reperiri, iamque leoninum capud nil humanum summere sineret, nisi eo antea plene refecto, se etiam iam revolveret contra matrem, materque ploraret, venit ad eam unus ex venatoribus memoratis, cui nomen erat Aarand, custodibus pretio elargito et inquid ¶ libero te si michi consentias corpus tuum ¶ erat enim hec mulier spetiosissima valde ¶ At illa et quomodo posses me liberare predicas ¶

reason.[430] The story also shows how with time the careful judge discovers the truth behind the birth of the monstrous creature. At the end of the story, Francesco remarks that women in conception or pregnancy accept impressions of striking images, whether they are fearful or delightful ones, and so the prudent man should paint handsome images in the bedchamber. As a counterpoint to the monstrous child, Francesco cites Alexander the Great's leonine hair as another example of how pregnant women accept impressions. In this case, the leonine features resulted from the mother's delight in what she beheld, rather than from fear.

Et ille da michi antea fidem ¶ Et illa dedit . sed dicens quod (2) antea volebat se videre in propria libertate . ¶ Tunc ille ¶ Die qua eras in silva dormiens, cum maritum tuum duxissemus ut nosti, nobis te ebriam dormire narravit, et cetera (3) ¶ et redire volebat ¶ cui similem potem contulimus et dormivit ¶ tunc meus sotius ad te venit leonina pelle copertus et te habuit ¶ Ipso vero redeunte surrexit excitatus maritus et te quesivit nobis salutantibus illum ¶ quid postea tibi contigerit ingnoramus || Cumque in hiis essent verbis, et preses se ad videndum carcerem convertisset ex casu, hos invenit et captis custodibus qui mandatum excesserant (4) duos istos ad curiam duci iussit ¶ quibus examinationi subiectis, predicta reperiit, ¶ Et pro alio sotio transmisit ¶ quo cum negaret posito ad tormenta, demum omnia fuit supradicta confessus . sed tantum addidit quod si vir tanto tempore dormivisset, debebat ille sotius, ad mulierem etiam accedere memoratum . ¶ quod postea vocatus Aarand similiter est confessus . ¶ Examinata postea muliere, dicente, quod id quod promiserat Aarand fecerat ut referret presidi memorato, non ut eius suasioni consentiret, vocato consilio preses illam remisit ad propria liberatam . ¶ Maritum vero quia fuit in culpa et quia tortus postea, confessus est eam se occidere voluisse Ac Aarand quia ut corrumperet revelavit, Et etiam quia sotio consenserat hoc delictum et ad simile intendebat, Et alium sotium propter facinus confessatum, qui quidem sotius Gallius vocabatur, et custodes qui contra prohibitionem hunc illi loqui permiserant, ultimo supplicio punivit ¶ Et mostrum cuius leoninum capud precedenti die capud humanum occiderat, iussit ab humeris elevari . Et phylosophorum consilio, mulierem ex ymaginatione decrevit, potuisse tale animal concepisse . ac per hoc, et quia non sua extitit culpa violata, pronuntiavit immunem . ¶ Hiis dictis subiunxit iustitia . ¶ Carissimi videte quantum a deo favorem habet iusitia ¶ quotque modis veniunt in notitiam forefacta ¶ Et qualiter licet tardetur punitio non aufertur ¶ Et addidit novimus et enim licet non fuerit exquisitum, custodes illos, pluries hanc tentasse mulierem, de quo in hoc alio sunt puniti ¶ Vivatis ergo cauti quoniam nil occultum quod non reveletur et nil commissum quod non puniatur . ¶ Et facit hoc novum maxime ad nostrum propositum propter istum maritum qui clavem suam novit taliter custodire." The first notes, p. 294 note 1 and p. 295 note 1, indicate that "violentiam" and "furore" were added above the line. Note 2, regarding "canum" from page 295, indicates that "canum" is a guess as to how to decipher the abbreviation. Note 3 indicates an unclear word, "d'incerta lettura." Note 4 regarding "excesserant" specifies that "excerant" was written, with "sse" added above. Egidi, 3: 294-298.

[430] "Et nota quod Anatenabo quondam egiptiorum rex adducit hec ad probandum licet verbis longissimis quod aut in conceptione aut in formatione quod videt mulier si delectatione vel pavore id inspicit, dat sui similitudinem concepto aut formato Inde videtur quod Alexander ad comam dei Amoris retinuit in conceptione in regina olimpiades quod capillos habuit leoninos . Inde mulieres impressiones accipiunt ex picturis unde vir prudens in camera coniugali formosos viros pingi facit ex latere dextro lecti . et spetiosas mulieres ex sinistro ut quidam referunt." Egidi, 3: 297, 298. The dangers of women's glances are perhaps also evident in the husband's motivation for attempting to kill his wife – he had seen her looking at two men "with evil intentions" earlier that day.

The story and Francesco's accompanying comments imply a couple of things about appearances and their interpretation and reception. First, the moral of the story of the monstrous birth suggests that certain audiences will be unthinkingly affected and impressed by images, while others are more capable of judgment and can be more cautious in assessing appearances. Such a distinction between learned and an unlearned audience was undoubtedly a commonplace, but it is nonetheless an important one for understanding how Francesco's images might have functioned didactically, and for whom.[431] Second, in his explanation of impressions made on unborn children Francesco brings in the example of Alexander the Great and his leonine hair. The added example implies that particular features can have either positive or negative connotations. While in one instance the leonine features, like the second head of the baby, are decisively monstrous, in other instances leonine features, like Alexander's hair, can be positive ones. This precept which has to do with judging from context, is one discussed by Augustine, one must judge from context. As Augustine observes, serpents or lions or yeast can have good connotations in some contexts, bad connotations in others.[432]

Turning back to the illustrations of the *Documenti* with these lessons in mind we can see that, for the most part, Francesco adheres to pictorial decorum. The virtues to be loved and emulated appear to the viewer in the form of women, imitating the forms created by nature, while monstrous creatures have "unnatural" forms just as they ought to, appearing in the form of combined and distorted bodies.[433] This general pattern is

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[431] See Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 51-62.
[432] Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, 167. See also Umberto Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 55, 56.
[433] I am thinking of Horace's *Ut pictura poesis*, where he denies the poet the license to create things contrary to nature. Horace, "The Art of Poetry," *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, trans. H.R. Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library (1929; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), 451.

most evident in the opposition between Virtu in genere and the manifold vices. Whereas Virtu appears as a beautiful woman in a golden cloak, the vices have bodies cobbled together out of birds, reptiles, bears, and so on (fig. 3).[434] Like these vices, Death appears as a monster (fig. 4). There are however, exceptions to the rule. The personification Etternitas with her siren's body (figs. 21, 40), and the claw-footed figure of Amor himself (figs. 1, 24; 27, 43), both violate pictorial decorum with their monstrous bodies. These two figures present the viewer with more problems, suggesting that some decisions need to be made about how these seemingly monstrous creatures are to be understood.[435] Francesco was well aware of the demands of pictorial decorum, and the notion that the artist ought to imitate nature.[436] The virtues and his justification of their forms with reference to the real world make this clear.

In light of the attention to judging appearances in the conduct book, it is evident that the difficulty of interpreting Amor and Etternitas was intentional. More than the other figures represented, these two personifications are incommensurable. Francesco explains that Etternitas' face is hidden from us because we are unable to see her fully while we are in this world.[437] A similar explanation is given for why the back of Amor's head and wings are hidden from view.[438] The "unnaturalness" of these two figures might therefore be a means of representing the difficulty, if not impossibility, of fully

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[434] See Theodore Mommsen, "Petrarch and the Story of the Choice of Hercules," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16 (1953): 178-192, for a discussion of the novelty of this image.
[435] In fact, a siren, "what at the top is a lovely woman ends below in a black and ugly fish," is one of the specific examples cited by Horace as laughable. Horace, 451.
[436] Ernst Kantorowicz discussed the presence of the concept of imitating nature in thirteenth century legal texts as a precedent for Renaissance art theory. Ernst H. Kantorowicz, "The Sovereignty of the Artist: A Note on Legal Maxims and Renaissance Theories of Art," in *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honour of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss, vol. 1 (New York: New York University Press, 1961), 267-279.
[437] "suo viso non vedemo / fin che lassu saremo /...." Egidi, 3: 387, 388.
[438] "Certa pars eius non videtur ut posteriora capitis sui et pennarum exteriorum . unde signatur divinitas que absolute sumpta invisibilis est." Egidi, 1: 15.

understanding them, and thus be entirely appropriate to artistic decorum. Other poets, such as Alain de Lille and Brunetto Latini, when faced with abstractions that could not be fully grasped by human senses, pointed directly to the incommensurability of the abstractions appearing before them, or claimed the inadequacy of language. To indicate a similar difficulty, Francesco employed "unnatural" images. Their monstrousness also calls on the reader's ability to judge and to interpret the image in the appropriate way. As Francesco's advice about interpreting mental *ymagines* makes clear, proper understanding of the figures is a matter of good judgment, and a matter of the ends to which they are put.

The difficulty of interpreting Amor has even greater implications, because it is this personification that governs the conduct book. In more than one sense, it is the lessons Amor offers that we must learn. Understanding Francesco's manipulation and use of the personification of Amor is central to understanding his use of images more generally. The importance of Love is not simply due to the governing presence of the figure. It is also a matter of structure, and crucial to understanding the thematization of interpretation in the conduct book. Francesco's advice to his readers about their conduct, his attention to the definition of virtues, and his use of an allegorical frame story, were by no means isolated occurrences in didactic literature. However, my survey of related didactic allegorical poetry did not reveal any examples comparable to the *Documenti d'Amore* in the emphasis on the material images and their particular appearance, in the direct appeal of the images of the virtues to the viewer, or in the extended explanations of the attributes of the virtues. Such emphatic presentation of images does not even occur in those instances where images were planned to accompany the text and referred to within

that text, as for example in Thomasin von Zerclaere's early thirteenth century *Die Welsche Gast*, Frere Laurent's *Somme le roi* of 1279 and Cecco d'Ascoli's *L'acerba* of the first quarter of the fourteenth century. Precedents for both the emphasis on a material image accompanying the poetry, and the extended moralizing commentary on the attributes of that image, can however be found in a different poetic tradition, that of moralized descriptions of the God of Love.

The tradition of descriptions of Love is a long one.[439] Beyond the descriptions of Love that occur within the course of a narrative, there is a particular tradition of descriptions of *representations* of Love going back to antiquity. For instance, in his commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid*, Servius listed various reasons why Love was traditionally painted as a boy, why he was said to be winged, and why he was said to wield arrows. According to Servius he was painted as a boy because "speech is imperfect in lovers, just as in a boy," and he was depicted as winged "because there is nothing lighter nor more changeable than a lover."[440] Propertius likewise described the appropriateness of the image of Love as a boy, winged, and carrying arrows, to the representation of Love's effects. For Propertius Love's attributes were specifically appropriate to representing lovers living "without thought" and inconstant.[441] These

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[439] See Panofsky "Blind Cupid" for a broad overview.

[440] *Aeneidos librorum I-V commentarii*, vol. 1, *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, ed. Georgius Thilo and Hermann Hagen (Lipsiae: In Aedibus B.G. Teubneri, 1881), 190. "nam quia turpitudinis est stulta cupiditas, puer pingitur, ut inter quas curam Clymene narrabat inanem, id est amorem, item quia inperfectus est in amantibus sermo, sicut in puero, ut incipit effari mediaque in voce resistit. alatus autem ideo est, quia amantibus nec levius aliquid nec mutabilius invenitur, ut in ipsa probatur Didone; nam de eius interitu cogitat, cuius paulo ante amore deperibat, ut non potui abreptum divellere corpus. sagittas vero ideo gestare dicitur, quia et ipsae incertae velocesque sunt. et haec ratio paene in omnibus aliis numinibus pro potestatum qualitate formatur.

[441] *Propertius: The Poems*, trans. W.G. Shepherd (London: Penguin Books, 1985): 70. "Whoever he was who painted Love as a boy, / Do you not think he had a wonderful hand? / He first saw that lovers live without thought, / that a great good is wasted in petty cares. / Not in vain he added wind-swift wings, / and made the god fly from the human heart: / For plainly we are tossed by succeeding waves, / And our breeze does not persist in any quarter. / And rightly his hand is armed with barbed arrows, / A Cnossian quiver

references to an image of Love and accompanying moralized explanations of his attributes persisted in the late Middle Ages. *The Ovid Moralisé*, for example, reported that Cupid was painted nude because he strips lovers of such things as knowledge, honor and virtues.[442] In all of these examples, the paintings referred to were generic ones. Each author, referring to Cupid, stated that "he is painted" with particular attributes, but elsewhere. These descriptions emphasized the fictive status of the figure, and explained the reasons for his attributes. Also common to these examples is the derivation of Cupid's characteristics from the characteristics of people in the world. The evidence suggests that the precedent for Francesco's explanation of the attributes and characteristics of his personifications with reference to people in the world was in this tradition of moralized descriptions of Love, rather than in the tradition of literature that employed personifications of virtues.

In order to explain the fundamental position of the figure of Love in Francesco's treatise we should therefore turn to the development of moralized descriptions of love in his time. Sometime between 1285 and 1294, Guittone d'Arezzo revised the tradition of *descriptio amoris* with a series of twelve poems now called the *Trattato d'Amore*. The poems refer to a specific, painted picture intended to accompany the poem. Guittone literalized the generic image, making the formerly absent thing present. The poems are devoted to explaining each of Love's attributes, with the aim of teaching the reader to avoid their effects.[443] The single surviving manuscript of the work, Escoriale. III. 23,

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slung across both shoulders: For he strikes before, secure, we see our foe, / And no one comes away sound from that stroke. / In me the darts are stuck, and the boyish image / Sticks: yet he's certainly lost his wings – alas! He does not fly from my breast to somewhere else! …."

[442] *Ovid moralisé. Poème du commencement du quatorzième siècle publié d'après tous les manuscrits connus*, ed. C. de Boer (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1915), 75.

[443] Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 72, 73. Frojmovič devoted a section of her dissertation to establishing the literary tradition of poetic descriptions of the figure of Love. Unfortunately, part of this

does not include the painted figure, but space was left for the image and directions provided for the illuminator.[444] Introducing the poem is the rubric: "Questa è la disposizione de la figura de l'Amore e de tutte le soe proprietá come porai entendere e per la figura vedere…" ("Here is the disposition of the figure of Love and of all of his qualities as you will be able understand and in the figure see …"). Specifically describing the figure are the instructions:

> Qui de'essere la figura de l'amore pinta si ch'el sia garzone nudo, cieco, cum due ale su le spalle e cum un turcascio a la centura, entrambi di color di porpora, cum un arco en man, ch'el abia ferito d'una saitta a un giovene enamorato cum una ghirlanda in testa. Cum l'altra man porga un'asta cum fuogo di cappo; e per gli artigli si abbia le granfe de astore.[445]
>
> (Here ought to be the figure of Love painted as if he were a nude boy, blind,

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section was missing (specifically pages 70 and 71), and it was not possible to trace her argument in full. In the missing pages she seems to have discussed a thirteenth century revival of poetic descriptions of Love in the circles around Fra Guittone d'Arezzo. She also described the poetic correspondence "Diaffonus" between Giovanni del Virgilio and Ser Nuzio da Tolentino. Ser Nuzio's description of Love included many of the same elements as Francesco's (falcon claws, and horse without reins), bringing her to conclude that the type of Love Francesco described was well known in Florence of the time. The correspondence also confirmed the negative meaning of the blindfold. Pages 77-86, which span her discussion of "Caro Amico Guarda la Figura" and Ovid, are also missing.

[444] See Storey, "The Missing Picture …," 59-75, for a reproduction and description of the page, and a discussion of the likelihood of whether the image described had appeared in earlier copies or the archetype. In his essay "Guinizelli e Guittone, Barberino e Petrarca: le origini del libro volgare illustrato," Ciccuto situated Guittone's *Trattato* amongst poetic debates over vernacular love poetry, specifically Guido Cavalcanti's attack on "quell' apertura del testo a ogni possibile area di significazione che le rime guittoniane avevano sostenuto in piu occasioni," as evidenced in the inclusion of an image in the *Trattato*. Ciccuto suggested that this use of the image was made possible by a tradition of 'poesia illustrata' which included Provencal canzoniere. Later exponents include Francesco. Ciccuto suggested that the *Tractatus Amoris* closing the *Documenti d'Amore* was very close to Guittone's *Trattato*, "in particolare per gli esatti referti circa l'emancipazione di P rispetto a S…." He stated too that the "active pedagogy of the *exemplum figurato* became preeminent", and pictures assumed a greater independence. Ciccuto comments that Francesco would have seen illuminated Provencal canzonieri, and notes the north Italian circulation of Occitan poetic codices and the "figured lessons" of the *Breviari d'Amor* of Matfre Ermengau. Ciccuto, 47, 48, 49.

[445] *Le rime di Guittone d'Arezzo*, ed. Francesco Egidi (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1940), 268.

with two wings on his shoulders, and with a quiver at the *centura* [belt?], both purple, with a bow in hand, as if he had wounded with an arrow a young lover with a garland on his head. With the other hand he holds out a pole with a fire at the top, and for the talons should have the feet of a goshawk.)

As described in this passage, Guittone's Amor was to be depicted as a nude boy, blind, winged, with talons and armed with quiver and bow, and a pole with a flame on the end. One of his victims, a young man with a garland, was also to be depicted.

Giving further evidence of the didactic power of images, Guittone suggests that looking at this image of Love, and "understanding his nature," is the means by which the lover is to be cured.

Caro amico, guarda la figura

'n esta pintura – del carnale amore,

si che conosci ben la enavratura

mortale e dura – ch'al tu fatt'ha core,

…

a ciò che, conosciuta soa natura,

ti sia ben cura – fuggir tuo furore….[446]

(Dear friend, look at the figure

in this picture – of carnal love,

so that you will know well the *enavratura* [wound?]

mortal and hard – that he inflicted on your heart,

…

so that, his nature being known,

[446] *Le rime*, 268.

you might be well cured – to flee your madness …)

It is by means of examining the image and understanding it that the viewer will be educated and cured. As with Francesco's virtues, looking at the image was very important for the reader/viewer's understanding of the lessons. The eleven subsequent poems explain the significance of each of his attributes: Amor's name can be divided to reveal the meaning "mor," or death. He is nude because he is nude of every virtue, as is the lover; blind because however wise the lover is, he will no longer be so if driven by desire; and so on.

Guittone's *Trattato d'Amore* is obviously an important precedent to Francesco's description and interpretation of love, in its emphasis on an accompanying material image, on the particular didactic power of that image, and in its form as an extended commentary upon facets of that image (however traditional), and in the connections established between the characteristics of the personification and the behavior of people in the world. The actions of looking and understanding what one sees are the basis of the poem.

Evidently, the figure of Amor had not only moral implications, but also poetic ones. In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the personification of Love was central to discussions about poetry. The figure was both self-consciously evoked and dismissed, just as self-consciously, as as part of such debates. As noted earlier, Dante, justified his use of the figure of Love in the *Vita Nuova* by claiming the same poetic licence for those writing in the vernacular as that granted to Latin writers. Furthermore, and significantly for the matter at hand, Dante's justification of his representation of the figure occurred within a poetic context that devoted much attention to the question of

Love's appearance, considering whether or not Love had a form, and how that form could be described.[447] Many poets lined up against the visibility of Love.[448] Francesco was obviously not of the group that denied the possibility of seeing Love, but the poetic debate demonstrates the ubiquity of the commonplace of Love's appearance.

As various scholars have noted, Guittone d'Arezzo's use of a material image of *Amor* to accompany his poem had implications for the transmission of his poems, and for the reader/viewer's experience of that poem. While Storey argued that Guittone's use of an image was a deliberate strategy that was meant to exert control over the transmission of his poems.[449] Marcello Ciccuto described Guittone's *Trattato* as an example of the

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[447] Frojmovič characterized the Dolce Stil Novo "poetic-philosophical" debate over the "figura" or "substantia corporalis" of Love. On one side of the debate, Dante, Guido Cavalcanti and Dino del Garbo, informed by philosophical-psychological interest in Aristotle, denied the "Substantia corporalis Amors" and the possibility of understanding Love through sight. On the other side, Guittone d'Arezzo, Federico dell'Ambra, Lapo Gianni, and Francesco himself, driven by ethical-didactic concerns, employed figures as didactic tools. In her view, while Francesco was of the second position, he was also influenced by Dante's understanding of poetry and the concept of the cloaking of true meaning. In Frojmovič's view, Francesco thus made Dante's theory of vernacular poetry the theoretical basis for his invention of images. "Dies ist die Originalität Francescos: eine Theorie der Poetik, die Dante für den volkssprachlichen Dichter formuliert hatte, verwandelte Francescos in die theoretische Basis seiner Bilderfindungen." Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 35, 36, 37.

[448] In the thirteenth century Jacopo Mostacci and Pier de la Vigna of the Sicilian School discussed Love's power, even though "amore no si pò vedere e no si tratta corporalemente…." Federigo dell'Ambra wrote that *if* Love were a visible thing, he would be as he appears in paintings. *Manuale della letteratura del primo secolo della lingua italiana*, 1: 366. Most famous perhaps, is Guido Orlandi's sonnet "Onde si move e donde nasce amor?" which asks many questions about the nature of Love, including "…à e' figura? / ha per sè forma o somiglia altrui?" Guido Cavalcanti, purportedly responded in scientific and philosophical tones with his canzone "Donna mi prega," "And [love] cannot be known by sight: once understood what falls down from this object, and – who listens well – form cannot be seen: even less, thereby, [love] that from form proceeds." Translation from Maria Luisa Ardizzone, *Guido Cavalcanti: The Other Middle Ages* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 2002), 168. "E non si pò conoscer per lo viso: compriso, - bianco in tale obietto cade; e, chi ben aude, - forma non si vede: dunqu'elli meno, che da lei procede." Otto Bird gives the translation "And it cannot be known by visual comprehension, which is concerned with such an object as white; he who understand well, does not see (love's) form, …," "The Canzone d'Amore of Cavalcanti According to the Commentary of Dino del Garbo," *Mediaeval Studies* 2 (1940): 150-203 and 3 (1941): 117-160. Marc Cirigliano gives a very differant translation of these lines, "One's face reveals nothing: repressed pallor overwhelming the victim and who hears well, sees nothing:…." *Guido Cavalcanti: the Complete Poems*, trans. Marc Cirgliano (New York: Italica Press, 1992): 58-67. Cavalcanti's difficult *canzone* has prompted much commentary from Dino del Garbo's commentary onwards. In addition to Ardizzone and Bird, see James Eustace Shaw, *Guido Cavalcanti's Theory of Love* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1949).

[449] See Storey's "The Missing Picture," 59-75, and his book, *Transcription and Visual Poetics in the Early Italian Lyric*, 171-192.

emergence of images complementary to poetic texts. As Ciccuto noted, this development was opposed, for instance, by Guido Cavalcanti's emphasis on the auto-referentiality and self-sufficiency of the poetic text.[450] Guittone embraced the visible figure of Love as didactically effective, and as a skeleton to which to attach his poetry. In contrast, in his canzone "Donna mi prega," Cavalcanti deliberately refuted the depiction and description of the figure of Love, defining Love instead in scientific and philosophical terms. Treatment of the figure of Love thus had general implications for poetry's means and ends.

The questions of how to represent Love and of how the viewer ought to respond to such a figure were not new. They were rooted in Neo-platonic tradition. Tracing this tradition and beginning with Plotinus' question "What is Love? a god, a demon, or a passion of the mind?" Thomas Hyde argued that Love was understood to be fundamentally ambiguous, and that in literary works this ambiguity achieved the status of "poetic theology."

> If Love is "sometimes to be thought of as a god or demon and sometimes merely as an experience," we must be able to tell the difference in order to avoid either disobeying a divine impulse or making an idol of our own desires. If the Eros or Amor or Cupid who appears in literature also is sometimes to be thought of as a god or demon and sometimes merely as an experience, then readers and poets … need to tell the difference too.

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[450] Ciccuto, 42.

The answer to Plotinus' question had ethical consequences for the reader's actions in the world. Hyde, however, dismissed the capacity of the visual arts to represent such ambiguity.[451]

I would argue that Hyde was mistaken with respect to the capacity of the visual arts to represent and make use of this ambiguity. Assuming that Guittone's Amor did indeed appear as an image on the page, and as described, the effect was to propose the kind of question highlighted by Hyde. The difference between Guittone d'Arezzo's image and earlier moralized descriptions would be precisely an allowance for the reader's direct encounter with the figure. That encounter allows for a moment of indecision, before the reader/viewer is told how to understand what he sees. The reader/viewer encounters Amor as a first-hand experience, prior to being given a moralized tour through his attributes. Such an encounter would also mobilize the affective visual appeal of the image. Love, after all, works through the eyes. The viewer/reader falls victim to Love's charms, before being given understanding and cured by the poetry that follows.

The possibility of representing the ambiguity of Love and deliberately allowing for a moment of indecision may also be seen in the frontispiece to Banco Rari 217, a songbook from circa 1300 now in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze. This frontispiece, which portrays an enthroned, winged Amor, has posed some interpretive difficulty for modern commentators (fig. 98). The manuscript of which it is a part is amongst the earliest songbook collections of thirteenth century Italian poetry. The frontispiece introducing the collection of canzone, ballate, and sonnets is divided by an

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[451] Hyde, *The Poetic Theology of Love*, 1, 16. Hyde argued that this ambiguity appeared in literature as both irony, when the character understands Love one way and the audience another, as in the *Roman de la Rose*, and as plot, where the character and reader learn what he is over time, as in the *Vita Nuova*. Hyde dismissed the capacity of the visual arts to represent such ambiguity.

architectural framework into two levels. In the upper register, Love is enthroned in the midst of his court. This Love has human feet, and is not blindfolded. He is seated amongst a group of figures, including a king and queen, and some of the figures appear to speak. In the lower register, two groups of standing figures look upwards and raise their hands beseechingly to Amor. Between the two groups is a bird with a long beak, which also raises its head to gaze upwards. Out of its breast, a cypress tree grows upwards, penetrating the upper level and reaching up to Amor. A single line of poetry begins below the image. It reads: "O vera vertù, vero amore, tu solo se' d'onne vertù vertù," ("O true virtue, true love, you alone are the virtue (force) of every virtue,") and is the opening line of a poem by Guittone d'Arezzo. The poem is continued on the verso of the folio, but the transcription of the poem stops halfway down the page and partway through the poem, only to be resumed on folio 54 recto. In this poem Guittone apostrophizes Amor¸ establishing over the course of the poem that the Amor addressed is a Christian love and source of all good.

Vincent Moleta read Cupid's enthronement in the upper level while the pelican/Christ remains below, as representing the exaltation of secular love over divine love. Noting that the first part of the poem allows for a secular understanding but the second part specifies all too clearly that Guittone intended Divine Love, Moleta speculated that the frontispiece was meant to represent secular love, and was meant to be appropriate to the *canzoniere* as a whole. He suggested that the transcription of

Guittone's poem must have been split in order to allow for this secular interpretation of the image.[452]

There is however, another way of interpreting the split. Instead of a single fixed meaning, the delayed revelation that the opening poem is about Divine Love may simply allow for some ambiguity in understanding the image. The ambivalence of a Divine Love presented in the guise of cupid may well have been intended. After all, deciding what kind of Love you were dealing with was precisely the point.[453] While first evoking secular love, the Amor of the frontispiece may be understood in the end to also represent Divine Love, enthroned in heaven. Christ, manifest on earth, and in the guise of the charitable pelican, provides the means of salvation, the cypress tree, for those aspiring to climb to the heavenly court. Even if no change in understanding occurred for every reader as they came to the rest of the poem, the frontispiece is ambiguous enough to allow for differing interpretations.

As the example of Guittone's Amor shows, Francesco's use of the figure of Amor occurred within a particularly rich and complex context. In fact, as has frequently been observed, Francesco followed Guittone's lead as established in the *Trattatto d'Amore* both in his choice of iconography and in using an image as the springing point for his poems. This use of images may have had implications for the transmission of his texts.

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[452] Moleta, "The Illuminated 'Canzoniere,' Ms. Banco Rari 217," 1-36. See the facsimile and critical essays in *Il Canzoniere Palatino and IV. Studi Critici*, vol. 3, *I Canzoniere della Lirica Italiana delle Origini*, ed. Lino Leonardi (Firenze: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2000).

[453] Huot makes a similar point with regard to the depiction of Love as a seraph in Pierpont Morgan Library MS. M. 819, fol. 56. "The portrayal of Love as an angelic figure, seraphic or otherwise, is undoubtedly a means of representing its power as an abstract entity, an overwhleming spiritual force that can work for either good or evil. Just as the seraph can recall either the angelic transmission of Divine Intelligence or the fallen Lucifer, so human love may be either our closest approach to divinity or a stepping stone to eternal damnation. Such a striking image is well designed to encourage meditation on the part of the reader, who must interrogate the text carefully in order to determine exactly what sort of love is at issue and how it is to be interpreted." Huot, "Visualization and Memory," 8, 9.

Francesco also took full advantage of the reader/viewer's present-tense encounter with images, and the affective and somatic appeal of those images. Most importantly, however, he also made use of the ambivalence of the figure of Amor. Understanding Francesco's representation of Amor and the effect of his discussion of that figure is central to a more general understanding of his use of images in the conduct book.

Amor appears five times in the *Documenti*: in the frontispiece (figs. 1, 27); in the appended triumph of Love (fig. 24, 43); in the depiction of Innocentia (figs. 18, 38); in the closing of the book, and split into pieces to illustrate the canzone, *Se più non raggia* (figs. 22, 41). The version that opens and closes the *Documenti* shows Love as a youthful figure, naked except for a garland. He has clawed feet and wings, and stands on the back of a running horse. He is not blind, and wields flowers in one hand and arrows in the other. As in the frontispiece, so also in the appended triumph is Amor depicted with falcon's claws and riding on horseback (figs. 24, 43). In the latter illustration however, the figures below are representatives of different social groups rather than allegorical figures. A version of this image and its accompanying poems appears independently in Ms. Barb. Lat. 3953, a collection of Italian poetry from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, demonstrating the independence of the composition (fig. 96).[454]

In the prohemium commentary, Francesco gives a particularly exhaustive explanation of the figure's attributes, describing how the figure represents Divine Love.[455] Amor holds a branch to denote *honestas*. He has the figure of a man to signify

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[454] Degenhart and Schmitt, part 1, vol. 1: 39. They ascribe the changes seen in the design, specifically the distribution of the lovers in two different rows to an unknown model designed by Francesco himself, and suggest that the manuscript was likely produced in Central Italy in the first half of the fourteenth century. The folios of Batb. Lat. 3953 containing Francesco's poetry and design are 124 through 126. Folio 126 is reproduced in Degenhart and Schmitt, 3: Tafel 34.

[455] He also acknowledges that the figure could represent licit worldly love. Egidi, 1: 14. "Si queris nunquid amor ipse seu dicta eius figura amori licito mundane valeat confomari Respondeo sic."

his humanity, and wings to signify the Holy Spirit. Some of his parts are not visible, like the back of his head and wings, in order to denote his divinity. He has falcon's talons to indicate that man is joined to God by divine love. Just as nothing comes between the just soul and God, so nothing is represented between Amor and the horse by which is represented the lover. He has eyes because he "sees all and in all things judges and discerns rightly." Man is represented by the horse because he must appear in a lesser form to God.[456] Amor has hands to denote his omnipotence, and so on.[457]

Even as he describes his personification as Divine Love, Francesco makes several comments that raise questions about the divine interpretation of the figure. First, he justifies his extensive commentary by claiming that there were those who "damned" the whole work, considering it to refer to carnal love.[458] Before explaining the figure in divine terms, he directs the reader to the end of the book, where they will find Love depicted again, in a repetition of one of his earlier compositions. The reader is told that this latter image and the accompanying texts had once been presented in public, at which time Francesco's motives were impugned. Garaffalus Gribbolus is said to have accused Francesco of presenting these figures because of a lady.[459] The possibility that Francesco

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[456] This is an interesting parallel to one of the images in the illuminated canzoniere Banco Rari 217, fol. 60v, in which Amor rides on a man's back, a more abstract version of Phyllis riding Aristotle. Could this be what Francesco meant when he said wise men had represented Love on a moveable support? Egidi, 3: 410, "Nudo con ali ciecho e fanciul fue, saviamente ritracto asaettare, deritto stante in mobile sostegno." For a discussion of the historiated capitals, see Moleta, "The Illuminated Canzoniere," 1-36.
[457] Egidi, 1: 14-17.
[458] "Fuerunt itaque quidam qui testum hunc respicientes dampna[bant] dicentes, me ad amorem carnalem, totaliter habuisse respectum ¶ Quam ob rem presentes glosas, ad denotandum proprie intentiones motum et actum [circa lati]num testum pariter et vulgarem, texere ac locare decrevi." Egidi. 1: 5.
[459] "Sed quia hic spatium tot dicta et figuras adduci bene non patitur . igitur in fine huius libri et toto libro expedito invenies eandem figuram pictam . et tredecim alias figuras sub ea in quibus representatur modi et actus et passiones amantium . et apud dic[tas figu]ras invenies quandam cantionem et quasdam gobulas vulgares ex quibus et ex al[iis] circumpositis videbis quomodo illa omnia que ibi dicuntur ad intentionem reducuntur spiritualem . licet cum ego illa dicta et figuras in publicam adduxi dixerit Garagraffulus gribolus quod ego ratione ……. (1) cuiusdam nobilis domine fuerim mo[tus] …." The note comments on the extreme difficulty of deciphering the damaged bottom portion of the column. Egidi, 1: 14.

was motivated to compose his poetry by a lady is also suggested in the frontispiece to Ms. Barb. Lat. 4076, where the figure beside Francesco in the row of scholars appears to be a woman (fig. 1). Finally, Francesco closed the prohemium by protesting that:

> omnia opera per me facta tractantia de amore spiritualiter intelligo sed non omnia omnibus possunt glosari. Ubi tamen de mundano expresse locutus sum vel tacite locutus videor ut in aliqua parte de xxiij questionibus amoris quibus respondi et in tredecim figuris figuratis sub amore de quibus videbis infra post finem libri et in libro floris novellarum quas ad brevitatem reduxi in multis aliis dictis meis etsi non ad amorem divinum adaptari possint non dubito me unquam de illicito amore locutum sed licitum commendans illicitum semper damnavi et dampno…
>
> (all the works done by me dealing with amor, I understand spiritually, but not all things can be glossed to all. Where, nevertheless, I speak expressly concerning worldly [love], or silently seem to speak, as when I responded in some part to the twenty-three questions about love and in the thirteen figures figured below love which you will see below after the end of the book, and in the book *floris novellarum* in which I reduced many other of my sayings, though they may not be adaptable to divine amor, I do not doubt that I never spoke of illicit amor, but commending the licit, I have always damned and now damn the illicit…)

According to his own testimony, Francesco took the figure of love as the subject of his poetic and pictorial invention multiple times. His comments imply that his previous

representations of the figure had been received as representing worldly love. Despite his protests, external evidence, such as the comments made by Boccaccio and Geri d'Arezzo about Francesco's Amor suggest that his earliest representations of the figure may well have been negative ones.[460]

Francesco gives some explanation of his process of invention in association with the appended triumph of love. This explanation also points to preceding versions of the figure as having had worldly and negative associations. Francesco explains that he did not "describe Love in any other guise than did wise men," and asks that the viewer know that he portrayed Love in this way, "to make new in another interpretation."[461] Similarly, having listed Love's characteristics, he states: "Now I do not change these his features nor do I give nor do I take away but I want to figure a thing of mine and keep it only for myself." Francesco then explains the few changes he had made to his model. He gave Love sight because blindness "is not a sign of good," and made him slightly older, so he would not seem so ignorant.[462] With this explanation Francesco acknowledges that his model, the figure as depicted by "wise men," was negatively charged. As has previously been noted, Francesco's Amor was indeed much like Guittone's depiction of carnal love, sharing the falcon's claws, wings, arrows and victims of the earlier version.[463] At the very

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[460] See Jacobsen's discussion of Francesco's reception. Jacobsen, 1: 88-92.

[461] "Io non descrivo in altra guisa amore, che faesser li saggi che tractaro, in dimostrar leffetto (5) suo in figura... Ecolor chel vedranno, non credan chio cio faccia per mutare maper far novo in altro interpretare." The note gives the spelling "leffecto" from Barb. Lat. 4077. Egidi, 3: 409.

[462] "Or io non muto este facteçe sue ne do ne tolgo ma vo figurare una mia cosa e sol per me la tegno. Io nol fo ciecho che dal ben nel segno.... fanciul non faccio asimile parere . che parria poca (3) avesse conoscença . ma follo quasi nela doloscença." Note 3 gives the spelling "pocca" from Barb. Lat. 4077. Egidi, 3: 410.

[463] Francesco Egidi, "Un trattato inedito di Fra Guittone d'Arezzo," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 97 (1931): 49-70. In the article publishing the poem, Francesco Egidi discussed Guittone's poem within the tradition of descriptions of the God of Love. Aside from Guittone's division of the word "amore" to mean "ah" "morte", and aside from its "union" of poetry and image, Egidi found that Guittone's description and interpretation were largely conventional, and that the accompanying image would not have shown signs of Guittone's "immaginazione inventiva." He compares in detail Francesco and Guittone's

least we can conclude that Francesco's Amor was closely related to a distinctly negative representation, or highly ambivalent figure of Love.[464]

Francesco's transformation of a preceding image of Love has been of consistent interest to scholars. Most famously, and accepting Francesco's comments at face value, Panofsky argued that Francesco transformed a negatively charged Love to a positively charged one by means of the removal of Love's blindfold.[465] Later scholars have treated Francesco's claims about his good intentions in his first representations of Love with skepticism. As they have argued, despite Francesco's protests, it seems that his first depiction of Love was a worldly one.[466] These discussions have implied that the signs of

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descriptions and interpretations, pointing out that as the poet himself claimed, Francesco's novelty was primarily in the interpretation.

[464] Frojmovič has proposed that Francesco took his *Amor* from the frontispiece to a vernacular translation of Ovid. Much of her discussion of her reasoning is missing from the dissertation. "In der Miniatur zu "Io non descrivo" hat er die Ikonographie des stehend reitenden, krallenbewehrten Amor vermutlich auch einer Ovidhandschrift übernommen." Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 90.

[465] Panofsky, "Blind Cupid," 120. Panofsky also drew attention to Boccaccio's statement that Francesco had depicted Cupid with a blindfold, suggesting that Boccaccio had confused Francesco's image with the negative precedent. Boccaccio's description however occurs within the passage devoted to Cupid as the son of Venus and Mars; Boccaccio's own intent in the passage was to describe Cupid's questionable qualities, not present him positively.

[466] Jacobsen speculated that the image and poetry of *Io son Amor* was first formulated as an image of worldly love, which Francesco then transformed for the purposes of the conduct book. Jacobsen drew attention to the seams he saw in this transformation, for instance the outer figures of the religious victims and the dead couple, which he suggested had been "a later addition made not for artistic, but for second-thought moral reasons,...." He also drew attention to what he saw as signs of difficulty in this adaptation, such as the length of the commentary on the figure of the widow. Jacobsen 1: 99. He treated these indications as if they were a betrayal of Francesco's previous worldly image, Frojmovič agreed with Jacobsen's assessment, and suggested that Francesco represented an image of earthly Love, "in order to brush against the grain," because of his understanding of his images as figurative language. Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 65, 66. Likewise emphasizing the seams in the *Documenti*, she suggested that the "composite" nature of the frontispiece was in part due to the fact that the central figure, *Amor*, was pulled out of a different narrative context. Besides the transport of Amor, she also ascribes her impression to the fact that the image was not held together as a narrative, but instead figurally represented the contents and purpose of the book. (die Anordnung der figuren nicht erzählen, sondern den Inhalts und die Absicht des Buches figurative darstellen soll;…") Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 53. I am not sure I agree, either with her notion that the image does not fit because it has been pulled from elsewhere, nor that the frontispiece is less a narrative than the image for *Io non descrivo*. Frojmovič rightly emphasized that the images are intended to be difficult to understand. However, she too did not fully consider the implications of this evident reinterpretation. This is especially evident in her discussion of Francesco's first explanation of *Amor*. She described his excessive interpretation of every single detail of the figure as "hypertrophic," and suggested that its excessiveness was intended to create a "watertight" explanation. Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 53.

Francesco's transformation of a preexisting image of worldly love were betrayals of a kind, allowing unintended glimpses of Francesco's earlier image and intentions.

Given the patterns I have described, it seems more likely that Francesco's reuse and reinterpretation of the image were meant to be recognizable. Francesco's presentation of Amor in the *Documenti* was not meant to seamlessly represent Divine Love, but instead to represent Francesco's forcible conversion and reinterpretation of the figure. As noted above, Love was a notoriously ambiguous subject. In the *Documenti*, Francesco adopted a preexisting image of carnal love, closely related to Guittone d'Arezzo's. The falcon's claws alone ensure that Amor was recognized as unnatural, a hybrid monster, which, according to the rules of pictorial decorum, ought to be read in negative terms. There are examples of similar iconography clearly put to negative ends, most famously in the Allegory of Chastity in the Lower Church of San Francesco in Assisi (figs. 131, 132).[467] If the visual cues were not enough, Francesco's description of both the misunderstanding of his first representation of the figure, and his explanation of the changes he made to wise men's versions, ensure that the negative precedent is *not* forgotten. The negatively charged figure was put to positive ends, recognizably transformed from an image of carnal love to one of spiritual love.

Francesco's reuse of this Amor foregrounds the act of reinterpretation and demonstrates how it is done. What he says about this figure is not so much an attempt to

[467] This example was cited and reproduced by Panofsky in "Blind Cupid." The example from the Castello di Avio di Sabbionara, also cited by Panofsky, is less clearly negative (figs. 133-135). Panofsky, "Blind Cupid," 116. It is indeed true that Love is represented on the wall of the tower room blindfolded and with taloned feet standing on horseback. He is there associated with some courting scenes. The register of the wall appears to refer to worldly love. However, the much-damaged vault of the room once depicted enthroned ladies. One of these had a man kneeling before her as if awaiting punishment, suggesting that the lady represented a personification of Justice (fig. 135). In that case, the scenes of love below would have been associated in the room with the female personifications of virtues who dominated the room. I plan to pursue this possibility in a future project.

create a “watertight” interpretation - impossible given this Amor’s reputation - as it is a demonstration of how to understand rightly and adapt worthily.[468] Such a demonstration depends on the inherent ambiguity of the figure of Love, and on preserving that ambiguity in Amor’s appearance. As with Guittone d’Arezzo’s use of the image in his *Trattato d’Amore,* and with the frontispiece of Banco Rari 217, this image of Amor is precisely what allows for the reader/viewer’s initial reaction, which is then revised by the words of the poetry.

Francesco explicitly maintained the connection of his figure of Love to tradition, claiming that he did not describe Love differently than did “wise men.” The claim was primarily intended to align Francesco with those same “wise men,” connecting himself and his poetic activity to authoritative precedents. Such motives notwithstanding, Francesco also stated his desire “to figure a thing of mine and keep it only for myself.” As argued in chapter one, Francesco’s poetic acheivement was defined by the new treatment and new representation of common material, such as the appearance of the figure of Love. The reuse and reinterpretation of an earlier invention was common practice, and at the root of the process of poetic invention, which, in the rhetorical tradition was not a matter of creating something new wholesale, but of revisiting and reshaping commonplaces and common material. Dante provides the most impressive example of revisiting one’s own inventions, in his reframing of prior poems in the *Vita Nuova*, or the more relevant example of the reinterpretation of the pitying Lady of the *Vita Nuova* as a figure of Philosophy in the *Convivio*.

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[468] Frojmovič described Francesco’s extensive interpretation as seeking to be watertight. Frojmovič, “Der Illustrationszyklus,” 53.

Francesco explicitly tells his reader that the alterations were made not simply for the sake of change, but to "make new" in another interpretation. His enumeration of the changes made to Love's appearance, justifying each aspect of the figure's changed appearance with an explanation of its rationale, draws attention to the slight changes in the figure and to the new interpretation. His claim is not so much that he changed the appearance of the figure, but that he changed how the figure was understood, specifically interpreting Amor to represent divine love. As Panofsky observed, Francesco made this interpretive change manifest in removing Amor's blindfold. However, sight was no guarantee of a positive interpretation.[469]

Francesco's new interpretation, represented both in the revamped version of *Io son amor* appended to the conduct book and in the *prohemium*, is a decidedly positive one, directed to proper allegorical and moral ends. The figure has been wilfully transformed from a representation of carnal love to a representation of Divine Love, and a jumping off point for the contemplation of Divine Love. The figure has been elevated considerably from that represented by Guittone d'Arezzo. No longer do his attributes reflect on the behaviour of lovers. They have been reread and glossed allegorically. This is not merely a matter of shifting between the four different levels of interpretation – literal, tropological, allegorical, anagogical – but also a matter of changing the valence of the interpretation from a negative one to a positive one. The procedure might also be described as a change in the *intentio* of the figure, its "direction" and how it moves the viewer.

[469] Frojmovič observed that it seemed to make little difference in art of the period whether Love was blindfolded or not, and stated that representations of blind or seeing Amors were "nearly interchangeable." Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 74.

In the literary tradition the topic of Love was particularly apt for interpretation and reinterpretation. Ovid's *Art of Love*, for instance, was accompanied by the *Remedy*. Love's repeat appearances in different guises in the *Vita Nuova* demonstrate the profound malleability and ambiguity of the figure itself. There Love's different appearances are not glossed. Interpretation is left up to the reader, and explicitly so in the case of the dream vision Dante sent to friends for comment.

Richard de Fournival's *Bestiary of Love* also provides an apt comparison for Francesco's *Documenti* on the question of the interpretation and reinterpretation of images. In a few of the surviving manuscripts the *Bestiary of Love* is accompanied by a *Response*. Richard's *Bestiary* in itself is a reinterpretation of the natural signs of the world to correspond with the lover's subjective desires. The inclusion of the *Response* alongside the *Bestiary* enacts the practice of interpretation and reinterpretation. Richard presents the images and descriptions of the animals of the bestiary to his beloved in a seductive effort, comparing his own actions to theirs. The *Response* takes up those same animals and Richard's words, twisting his descriptions to establish why she should beware of Richard. This approach is summed up near the beginning:

> For which reason, lord and master, I who am a woman must obey you who are a man, which is to say that I intend to put to use what seems good to me, and if there be anything else remaining, let it wait until it can be useful either to me or to another.

Both interpretations are guided by the reader's determination of what is useful and good.[470] Richard's *Bestiary of Love* in itself demonstrates a particular instrumental

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[470] *Master Richard's Bestiary of Love and Response*, 43.

interpretation of beasts, distinct from moralized versions. The *Response* enacts a second rhetorical performance, directed to the opposite end.

In the hands of a single writer, or "speaker," this kind of rhetorical performance of the reinterpretation of a previously used figure often evokes a biographical narrative for the speaker. For instance, Dante's recasting of the pitying lady from the *Vita Nuova* as Lady Philosophy in the *Convivio*, was glossed as having been motivated in part by a change in age.[471] The logic here is that while certain activities, like love poetry, are appropriate to youth, mature men must turn their minds to more serious matters.

Accordingly, Francesco's evident reuse and reinterpretation of Amor not only demonstrates a kind of conversion within the confines of the conduct book, but also evokes a narrative of conversion, whether factual or not, in relation to his own life. As we have seen, such a narrative is expressly played out in his book of hours. In the *Documenti* the conversion narrative is collapsed into the treatment of a single figure. By providing this forcible reinterpretation, Francesco demonstrates his own conversion, his own use of poetic invention to responsible ends, and his own maturity.

As with Richard de Fournival's *Bestiary of Love* and the *Response*, this conversion is also a rhetorical display with moral implications. Appearing at the beginning of Francesco's commentary, King Darius' interpreter Amandels, who sought to turn all things to the good, is not only a model for the reader, but also for Francesco, who claims that he wrote the commentary in order to refute the carnal understanding of earlier readers.[472] This kind of moral reinterpretation is also performed by Francesco in his representation of a Wheel of Fortune in the commentary of the *Documenti*. Here

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[471] *Dante's Il Convivio*, Book I 5.
[472] Egidi, 1: 4,5.

Francesco modified the conventional image by adding a figure of Christ to control the turning of the wheel, and by labelling him as Natura naturata, and the female personification as Natura naturans (fig. 7). The change was motivated by his desire to represent an image in keeping with "divine truth."[473] He corrected the traditional iconography. This conversion shows a similar desire to interpret responsibly, but does not carry the same force as the reinterpretation of Love. It was the difficulty offered by the figure of Amor that allowed the emphatic demonstration of proper interpretation to take place. None of the other figures carry the same ambiguity.

Francesco's figure of Amor presents a particular challenge for his reader/viewers. Francesco controlled the form of the figure as it appears in the *Documenti*, as well as the commentary upon it, but its interpretation by the reader/viewer to some extent lay outside of his control. Many of Francesco's images appeared in contexts outside the *Documenti*, where they appeared with *tituli* naming the figure, but without descriptions and explanations. To some extent at least, they operated independently from their explanations. As stated above, Francesco justified his use of an obscure representation of spiritual love, easily misunderstood, by saying that he had made it "for himself alone." He went on to allow for others' use and interpretation of the figure, stating: "many people afterwards wanted both to paint it and to possess it. But let them be who they will and understand it how they will, because even when they adapt it to lawful worldly amor, if they understand it rightly, they adapt it not unworthily."[474] Referring prospective

[473] "Quia vero res est ista multum notabilis, huius fortune rotam sumpta fortuna ut dico tibi superius, et ipsius fortune quandam figuram, cum figuris aliis quas videbis, ut secundum veram intentionem stare possit, tibi non tollendo vel minuendo de aliquorum gestibus seu dictis, nisi in quantum divina veritas detrahat, represento." Egidi, 1: 290, 291.

[474] "... solum pro me facio rem unam et solum pro me teneo illam sed multi postea hoc voluerunt tam pingere quam habere sed sint qui volunt et intelligant ut volunt quia etiam ad amorem licitum mundanum adaptantes si recte intelligunt non indigne adaptant." Egidi, 3: 414.

interpreters to the discussion of Amor in the *prohemium*, Francesco told his readers "that every reader will most easily adapt to a spiritual meaning."[475] He placed a certain amount of interpretive responsibility on the shoulders of the reader/viewer, who ought to interpret responsibly.[476]

This is a tenet going back to St. Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*, and the saint's advice on how to interpret the ambiguities of the Bible. Proper understanding involves choosing appropriate phrasing and punctuation as well as appropriately interpreting metaphorical language.[477] Following Augustine's advice one ought to figure out what is meant from context, from comparison to other scriptural passages, and also from the "rule of faith," which the reader knows from the "plainer passages of the scriptures and the authority of the church."[478] When context and the "rule of faith" fail to provide a clear answer, Augustine grants the reader license to choose how to best punctuate and therefore to interpret the passage.[479] According to Augustine, the ambiguities of metaphorical language are particularly difficult. One must avoid the literal interptretation of a figurative expression, but also the interpretation of "signs in a useless way." A useful interpretation in Augustine's terms would be one that led to appropriate action or spiritual understanding.[480] The *Response* to Richard's *Bestiary of Love*

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[475] "omnis lector ad spiritualem intentionem facillime adaptabit." Egidi, 3: 414.

[476] See the ninth chapter, "Two Ways Not to Read (and Going Both Ways)" of Gregory B. Stone's The Ethics of Nature in the Middle Ages (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998) 173-203, for a fascinating and entertaining discussion of Boccacio's treatment of interpreters and the problem of interpretation in the *Decameron*. Stone opens the chapter by referring to Augustine and by explaining that the "medieval way [of reading] is to renounce the impossible reconstruction of the original *logos* and instead to concentrate one's efforts on producing interpretations useful for present and future purposes." Stone, 174.

[477] Francesco refers to *De doctrina cristiana* in his discussion of eloquence. Egidi, 1: 22.

[478] Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, 134. Here he is specifically discussing ambiguity of phrasing.

[479] Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, 135.

[480] Augustine explains how to distinguish between literal and figurative expressions by saying that "anything in the divine discourse that cannot be related either to good morals or to the true faith should be taken as figurative." Appropriate understanding must lead to those ends. Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, 141, 147.

demonstrates the application of such an interpretive model in contexts far removed from scriptural interpretation. The speaker of the *Response* interprets so as to preserve moral behavior, and in order to refuse Richard's persuasion and interpretation.

In adapting the figure of Amor, Francesco likewise provides his reader/viewer with a demonstration of this very sort of responsible interpretation and behaviour. His extensive interpretations are both an exposition of his own interpretation, and a demonstration of how to go about interpreting responsibly. His instructions regarding what not to interpret, like the garland given to Amor for honesty's sake, assume that the viewer is actively searching for meaning in all attributes and aspects of the images, independently of the meaning he assigns in his commentary.

Who then was Francesco's audience? There is now only one extant manuscript of the *Documenti* with the complete text of the commentary, only two illuminated manuscripts that would present the reader/viewer with an initial encounter with the figure of Love, and only four other manuscripts with the vernacular text of the conduct poetry. Judging from the surviving manuscript evidence, the *Documenti* did not achieve wide popularity or circulation. It is clear, however, that Francesco showed his work to others. Other writers make reference to him. Geri d'Arezzo wrote a dialogue naming Francesco, on the occasion of the return of a manuscript of the *Documenti*.[481] Boccaccio mentioned Francesco in the *Genealogie deorum gentilium* for his "honestate morum et spectabili vita," ("his honorable habits and admirable life").[482] This praise may allude specifically

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[481] Jacobsen, 1: 91. Jacobsen indicates the ways in which Geri's description does not precisely fit with the *Documenti*. Geri's description implies that Love was depicted with a blindfold.

[482] Giovanni Boccaccio, *Genealogie deorum gentilium*, ed. Vincezo Romano, 2 vols. (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1951), 451, 761. Boccaccio discussed Francesco's representation of Love under his discussion of Cupid as the son of Mars. It is likely that this context affected the valence of the figure, dictating that Boccaccio describe a negative version. Because of the negative connotations of the figure described by Boccaccio, Jacobsen suggested that the poet may have been describing an earlier version of Francesco's

to Francesco's composition of conduct books. Filippo Villani placed Francesco among the "Semipoetae" in his *Liber de origine civitatis Florentiae et eiusdem famosis civibus* of circa 1381-82, commenting on Francesco's understanding of the "fictions of the poets," and his efforts to study and teach "buoni costumi," good morals or customs.[483] This praise too alludes to the conduct books. At the least, Francesco's poetic activities were known in Tuscan poetic circles. It also seems likely that he showed his conduct book to others as he was working on it during his travels in France. As noted earlier, Sterling proposed that the allegorical images and attendant explanation in the Belleville Breviary (ca. 1323-26) may have been the result of Francesco's influence.[484]

The implied audience for the full conduct book was fairly limited. Mss. Barb. Lat. 4076 and 4077 are desk books. They are relatively large, and have extensive commentary (or space for that commentary) on their pages.[485] Their very format implies that they were not intended for everyone, but primarily for other scholars. This limitation of audience is also evident in the presence of the Latin commentary, which would have been accessible only for a specific audience. As has frequently been noted, furthermore, near the end of the conduct book, Francesco explicitly limits his audience, saying:

> …it is not nor ever was my intention that the proper intention of the figures themselves should be known to all Tuscans, but only to some

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Amor, and argues that Boccaccio may not have known a complete version of the *Documenti*. Jacobsen, 1: 91, 92.

[483] "non pero che facesse versi, ma che intendeva bene le finzioni de'poeti." Filippo Villani, *Le Vite d'Uomini Illustri Fiorentini* (Firenze: Sansone Coen Tipografico-Editore, 1847), 38-41. As also noted by Hans Belting in his discussion of allegory. Belting, "The New Role of Narrative," 156. see Jacobsen, 1: 92-93.

[484] Sterling, 85. With reference to the programme accompanying the Belleville Breviary, dated ca. 1323-26, and illuminated by Jean Pucelle, Tuve proposed that the explanation, "and the connection with several manuscripts of the Pucelle and later related ateliers may help to localize the late popularity of this habit, in so far as it is a comment on the wishes or needs of readers." In this article she seems most interested in these explanations as a later phenomenon, linked to Jean, Duke de Berry. Tuve, 289.

[485] Barb. Lat. 4076 and 4077 are 30.5 cm X 22.5 cm and 31 X 23 cm respectively.

> friends…though Amor directs these precepts to all Christians, …, yet I never wanted, or want, the things here to be passed on to barbarians and Germans and the like;….[486]

While the intended audience for the full conduct book was expressly limited, this does not mean that the audience for the images of the personifications was similarly limited. Nor does it mean that these images would have been understood to be useless to viewers without their explanations. With reference to Hope, Francesco claims that the images are useful to everyone, illiterate and literate, and he tells us that he represented Mors for *ydiotes*.[487] These claims are made specifically with reference to the images, which were indeed seen by more diverse audiences in their monumental versions.[488] Furthermore, with the exception of Amor, none of the personifications pose particular interpretive difficulties.

The *propria intentio* of the figures, however, is only to be made known to a few.[489] In part that intention was the content of the commentary, and was therefore restricted to those who could read the Latin. Also, in technical terms, the *intentio* of a

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[486] Translation provided by Jacobsen 2: 92, of Egidi, 3: 403, 404. See Karma Lochrie, *Covert Operations: The Medieval Uses of Secrecy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999) on this posture of limitation of audience.

[487] As cited above, in the commentary on Hope,"without the figures, reading alone cannot understand this matter fully … You may answer, that is true of beginners, but as for others, writing has the same function as pictures for illiterates (*ydiotes*)." Egidi, 3: 6-7. Translation from Jacobsen, 2: 93.

[488] Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 195, 196. Frojmovič indicated the dissemination of some of Francesco's designs, separated from their specific context in the *Documenti*, such as the representations of Prudence, with an armillary, and Justice, with a *statera*, in the Baroncelli Chapel in Santa Croce, painted by Taddeo Gaddi. She also lists the virtues in the Laurenziana *Tesoro*, Plot. XLII, 19, the representation of Justice with a *statera* on the Pazzi tomb in Sta. Croce, the appearance of Love in the allegory of Chastity in San Francesco in Assisi, Prudence's "Himmelssegment" in the Allegory of Good Government in Siena, and Hope's "palace" held in the virtue's hand in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Maestà in Massa Marittima. She proposed their dissemination into artist's model books, but was surprised that they were adopted outside their original narrow intellectual context. Some of these examples do not seem all that closely related to Francesco's designs, and the proposal of a source relationship unnecessary.

[489] "nec est mee intentionis nec fuit unquam quod propria intentio figurarum ipsarum tuscis omnibus nota esset . sed amicis aliquibus prout ipsa eadem cantio dicit istud." Egidi, 3: 403.

mental image was established not by the imaginative power, but by the estimative power. It was a matter of assessment of the represented image prior to its retention in the memory in order to establish the viewer's emotional reaction and response to that image. The *intentio* then, as assessed by the reader/viewer, might be considered as separate from the imaginative image created by the poet. Francesco controlled the appearance of the virtues and of Love, and determined his own moral response, but response to those figures and resulting action on the part of his audience was not properly in his control.

Francesco's explanations, his forcible divine reinterpretation of a figure with a well-established negative valence, and his emphasis on responsible interpretation demonstrate to the reader how to go about interpretation. He tells us that while he made a thing for himself alone, others wanted to use it afterwards. He allows for audiences who will understand the image differently from how he does. Despite his claims about the figure of Amor, the audience for his images in general was not a particularly circumscribed one.

In the specific context of the *Documenti*, the ideal audience was one that read Latin. It was also one learning to interpret appearances.[490] A good corrective to the attempt to find a more specific audience might be based in the reaction of the Romans who went to see the allegorical image of an angel saving a woman (Rome) from a fire, which Cola di Rienzo had painted at Sant'Angelo in Pescheria. According to the writer of Cola's life:

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[490] Paul F. Gehl provides an interesting exploration of Latin education in fourteenth century Florence, and how it made use of difficult Latin sentences with a great deal of wordplay that required puzzling out. Paul F. Gehl, *A Moral Art: Grammar, Society, and Culture in Trecento Florence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

> The people poured into Sant'Angelo and looked at these pictures; many said that they were meaningless and laughed at them. Others said, "It will take more than pictures to reform the government of Rome." Others said, "This is a great thing, and it has great significance."[491]

The described audience was a diverse one. Members of that audience reacted in different ways, with more or less understanding, but they all knew that the image belonged to Cola di Rienzo. The lesson to be learned here is that the form of the pictorial invention remains attached to its inventor, but an audience will do with it what they will.

Francesco da Barberino's memorable personifications of Amor, Docilitas, Constantia, Spes, Etternitas and others do not fulfill their didactic function by being easy to understand, nor by being easily translated into words. The combination of word and image together serve to circumscribe more effectively the abstract concepts to be embodied. The combination is intended to create a synaesthetic experience equivalent in some ways to an oral performance. These virtues appear in novel and delightful forms in order to be loved. To love these virtues also meant to emulate them, and to reflect and express their qualities in one's own actions and appearance. At the beginning of each section, the reader is introduced to one of the virtues and is led through the interpretation of her attributes. He is then taught the lessons that will allow him to understand the world and people around him, and that will allow him to shape his own behavior to be interpreted in turn. Good judgment and appropriate interpretation, however, are not simple tasks, as appearances can be deceiving. It is not merely a matter of properly understanding figurative language, but of properly understanding the world, and of

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[491] *The Life of Cola di Rienzo*, 38.

behaving accordingly. What matters most is the ends to which understanding is put – whether the viewer is guided to proper action or not. The images of the *Documenti d'Amore* are essential to the process by which the reader learns to recognize and avoid vices, and to love and emulate the virtues, so that in the end he might enter the court of love and the kingdom of heaven.

Postscript: Il Reggimento e Costumi di Donna

As he did for the *Documenti d'Amore*, Francesco designed images as part of his other conduct book, *Il Reggimenti e Costumi di Donna*.[492] No illuminated version of the *Reggimento* survives, but the extant fourteenth century manuscript, Ms. Barb. Lat. 4001, includes space on its pages for images.[493] The *Reggimento* is divided into twenty

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[492] For this discussion I am relying on Giuseppe E. Sansone's second edition of the text. Francesco da Barberino, *Reggimento e Costumi di Donna*, ed. Giuseppe E. Sansone, 2nd ed. (Roma: Zauli Editore, 1995). Filippo Villani mentioned the *Reggimento* in his brief biography of Francesco in *De origine civitatis Florentiae et eiusdem famosis civibus*. On the Reggimento, see Gian Battista Festa, *Un galateo femminile italiano del Trecento* (Bari: G. Laterza & Figli, 1910), Charles Franco, *Arte e poesia nel Reggimento e costumi di donna di Francesco da Barberino* (Ravenna: Longo editore, 1982), Catherine Guimbard, "Le 'Reggimento e Costumi di Donna' de Francesco da Barberino: une structure de légitimation et d'identification du monde communal,' *Revue historique* 281, no. 2 (1989): 329-348; Catherine Guimbard, "Signifié et significant de l'itinéraire barberinien dans le *Reggimento e costumi di donna* de Francesco da Barberino," *Lettere Italiane* 41, no. 1 (Jan.-Mar. 1989): 3 – 27; Catherine Guimbard, "La Motivation "communale" du Reggimento e costumi di donna de Francesco da Barberino," *Filologia e Critica* 16, no. 2 (May-Aug. 1991): 252-266; Catherine Guimbard, "Le 'Reggimento e costumi di donna' de Francesco da Barberino: une Oeuvre témoin," *Revue des Etudes Italiennes* 36, 1-4 (Jan. – Dec. 1990): 43-58; Claude Cazalé Bérard, "Le Reggimento e costumi di donna di Francesco da Barberino. Un miroir truque," *Médiévales* 6 (1984): 69-84; Claude Cazalé Bérard, "Lo spazio ludico femminile e le regole del gioco sociale nel Reggimento e costumi di donna di Francesco da Barberino," *Passare il tempo: le letteratura del gioco dell'intrattenimento dal XII al XVI secolo, Atti del convegno di Pienza 10-14 settembre 1991* (Rome: Salerno editore, 1993), 2: 475-509. I have not found any extended discussion of the images in the Reggimento. In her brief characterization of the work, Frojmovic did observe the fact that the images must have differed from those in the Documenti because of the inclusion of the ladies, "Vertreterinnen ihres 'status',…" Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 18.

[493] Barb. Lat. 4001 is written on paper, and each page now measures ca. 280 x 210 mm. Some trimming is apparent. The manuscript was lost for a time, writing in 1640, Ubaldini knew of the work from Francesco's own references, but noted its loss. It was found in 1667 by Carlo Strozzi and passed into the collection of Cardinal Francesco Barberini. Giuseppe Sansone presumed the manuscript to date close to the mid-fourteenth century. On its third page, it is stated, "Al nome didio / questo libro ee di Luccha di Vi….. di Giovanj diLuccha difirençe / ilquale libro fufatto z conpilato perlo valen.. z savio giudice messer franciesco dabarberino / al quale ….. nome barberino / trattando sopra becostumi che adone z adonçelle siconviene usare secolari z rilegiose //." Sansone, XV. The second manuscript, Capponiano 50, also in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, dates from the rediscovery in 1667, and was produced from Barb. Lat. 4001. Sansone, XV, XVI. Spaces do seem to have been left for images. However, the manuscript does not have the

subsections, each of which contains advice for women of different social conditions. Each is also associated with an appropriate personification. The survival of only a single fourteenth century manuscript indicates that the *Reggimento* did not achieve any extensive circulation. Indeed, Ms. Barb. Lat. 4001 may have been copied from Francesco's own manuscript of the book.[494] Despite the absence of the images, the present day reader can gather some idea of the original appearance and composition of these images from the text of the poetry, and through comparison with the *Documenti*.[495] Many of the same virtues appear in the *Reggimento* as in the *Documenti*, and Francesco's comments establish that these virtues had similar attributes in both.

In many ways, the two conduct books are closely related. They contain references to one another, indicating their overlapping composition. Francesco's role in the *Reggimento*, as described in the frame story, is also similar. Again his job is to give material form to abstract teachings. In the case of the *Reggimento*, a mysterious lady, obviously a personification, asks that Francesco write the book. She explains that she was speaking with some virtues about the fact that there was no conduct book for women and

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consistency of the page layout of Barb. Lat. 4076 and Barb. Lat. 4077. Sometimes the space appears at the top of the page where the section begins, but often the space left between the subsections appears at the bottom of the previous page, and sometimes on the recto, where it would not be visible as the reader began the next section. Nonetheless, the spatial arrangements indicated by the text seem to have been preserved. For instance, in the middle of the sixteenth section on folio 68r the reader is instructed "E guarda in giù, ché questa è quella donna che parla le parole ch'io ti scrivo, …." The text ends just above the middle of the page, leaving space for an image of Prudence below, and resumes on 68v. The one image executed in Barb. Lat. 4001 is a small monochrome author portrait in the opening initial of Francesco holding his book.

[494] Suggesting a very close relationship to the original manuscript of the *Reggimento*, Sansone points to the early date of the manuscript, the evident limitation of its circulation, its single tradition, the care of the copyist, and the diverse sizes of the bank spaces, "manetenendo diverse ampiezze, che è facile intuire di stretto rispetto al suo antigrafo." Sansone, XVI.

[495] For instance, "E sua figura per meglio mostrare puote vedere qui di sovra pinta davanti a una donna c'ha nome la Innocenzia…." Sansone, 9. "La forma di colei di cui vi parlo vedere potete dipinta di sovra; e Pazienza la prega e induce che sia soferente…." Sansone, 29.

that they decided to create one.[496] The lady further explains: "in questa ovra, posson ben informare, ma non è alcuna che sapia di loro scrivere in libro sì che si legesse per umano intelletto." While the virtues could "inform" such a book, however, none amongst them had the ability to write it down so that it would be comprehensible to human intellects. To accomplish this they call upon a "faithful servant", Francesco - a scribe "very rough" but very faithful - to turn their inspiration into material form. His job is not to be clever or artful, but to present their teachings faithfully.[497] As in the *Documenti*, Francesco's role is to give material form to teachings originating from abstract entities. This explanation of Francesco's role clearly evokes the Aristotelian idea that human minds can only think by means of sensory data, that abstract thought must be mediated by sensible forms.

As they are in the *Documenti*, vision and its connection to knowledge are important in the *Reggimento*. The topic is thematized throughout the book, in Francesco's relationship with the mystery lady who instigates composition of the *Reggimento*. Francesco undertakes his task in the service of this lady. Throughout the manuscript he repeatedly asks to "see" this lady. In their exchange in the Proemio, Francesco queries why she remains hidden, and asks to see her.[498] She refuses, saying that she does not wish to be *conosciuta*. Francesco also asks to see the figures of the other virtues when the time comes. He is told that he will see "Honesty, who is seated and dressed in a dark blue garment. She holds Industry by the hand, and commands Eloquence with the other." He is also told that he will see "their figures portrayed according to the proper appearance of

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[496] There were of course related examples. See R. Ortiz, "Il 'Reggimento' del Barberino ne' suoi rapporti colla letteratura didattico-morale degli 'ensenhamens,'" *Zeitschrift für romanische philology* 28 (1904): 550-570.
[497] The description characterizes Francesco as "molto grosso, ma molto èe fedele." Sansone, 1.
[498] "…ma perchè state cotanto celata? Degnate di mostrarmi, …, la vostra fattura." Sansone, 2.

each one."[499] The text of the Proemio begins approximately a third of the way down the page on folio 1. From the exchange between Francesco and his lady, and his question about why she remains hidden, it seems that she was not intended to be represented on the opening page. Instead, the book was probably intended to open with Honesty, Industry and Eloquence, as just described. Francesco occasionally stops in the course of writing his advice for women because he is tired, and must go see his lady, to take strength from her rays.[500] The sight of her is what allows Francesco to continue the project. As in the *Documenti*, where Francesco was "accese per ymaginationem collatam in mentem meam" ("kindled by the image placed in [his] mind"), to write, here the vision of a lady inspires him to write the *Reggimento*. At the end of the poem, after he has completed his task, Francesco is admitted into her palace with the aid of *Intelletto*.

Catherine Guimbard has proposed that Francesco's successive encounters with the mystery lady, and specifically his successful entry into the lady's palace with the aid of *Intelletto*, enact a Thomist development through different stages of knowledge, where Francesco finally achieves rational understanding with the aid of divine grace.[501] In keeping with this hypothesis, part of the game of reading the *Reggimento* was evidently to guess the identity of this mystery lady.[502] Francesco closes the *Proemio* with a

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[499] "…ma prego voi che per vostra piatate, che quando noi saremo apresso di loro, vi piaccia di mostrarmi lor figure." "l'Onestae, che siede in persa vesta: tien colla mano Industria, l'altra man comanda alla Eloquenzia; … E vedrai loro figure ritratte sicondo il proprio espetto di ciascuna." Sansone, 4.
[500] "Ma qui vi lascio alquanto a dire d'esta material, però ch'io son si stanco, ch'io non porria scrivere con penna ch'io compiesse questa parte intera, s'io non andassi alquanto fuor di casa in uno giardino che non ci è molto lungi, dove m'è detto mo novellamente che riposa l'alta donna mia: sì prenderò da sua virtute forza." He then finds his lady and asks "che vi piaccia ch'io possa, ciascun'ora ch'io mi stancassi, ricorrere a voi per prender forza dalli vostri raggi." Sansone, 20, 21.
[501] Guimbard, "Signifié et significant…," 3-27.
[502] Jacobsen described the book as having a kind of double plot – on the one hand, the quest to figure out the identity of the mystery lady, and, on the other, the advice to ladies. Jacobsen, 1: 94. There have been many guesses as to her identity. "Intelligenza" has been a frequent guess. For instance, Festa following the opinion of Borgognoni. Festa, 23. Franco states that this assumption was widely accepted. Franco, 39.

challenge to the reader, saying that the lady will speak in various parts of the book, and that the reader, with the grace of God, might be able to recognize her. The reader will also see her appear to Francesco in different guises, and may be able to figure out who she is from her appearance.[503] Yet, as with the *Documenti*, not everyone will understand his meaning. There is evidence that Francesco's mystery lady did appear on the pages of the book. On folio 9, after nine lines a space about two inches high interrupts the text. Before the space, Francesco addresses his lady, commenting on how seeing her has the power to make every man happy: "Madonna, Iddio v'allegri, che v'ha formata tale ch'ogn'uom s'allegra che voi vede in vista." Below the space the text begins again, as the mystery lady addresses Francesco.[504] Clearly the mystery lady was to be represented at this point in the text. As with the *Documenti*, the abstraction who is said to have inspired the text is in part incommensurable and requires interpretation.

Despite their similarities, Francesco clearly distinguished the two conduct books. In the opening frame story to the *Documenti*, he explains that women were not invited to Love's fortress to hear these teachings for fear that Cruelty would strike them down on their way.[505] Instead, they were to look to the teachings in the *Reggimento*. Unlike the *Documenti*, the *Reggimento* was ostensibly written for women, and it is more

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Divine Wisdom was another proposed possibility. Manzi ed., 365. Franco supported the interpretation of the mystery lady as Divine Wisdom. Franco, 45. For my purposes it does not greatly matter.

[503] "… voi udirete parlar la detta donna, sicché, se voi sarete accorte persone e usate d'udire parlare così gentilemente, porrave forse essere ch'avereste grazia da Dio di conoscere chi è questa donna che ci apar così chiusa. Simigliantemente voi vedrete ch'ella m'aparirà in diverse e nuove forme e figure, e quando mi mostrerrà una virtù e quando un'altra in vostro servigio e perché voi le vediate; sì che, anco nella sua aparita, chi s'assottiglierà la porrà conoscere…." Sansone, 7.

[504] Text cited from Sansone, 20.

[505] "Ma non prendesse alchun maravigliare / per che non fur chiamate / molte donne pregiate, / che crudelta lavria. / forse morte tra via, / et honesta li disse non convene." Egidi, 1: 30.

straightforward in its scope and organization.[506] The mandate laid out in the Proemio demands that simple language and syntax be used in the work, and it was not accompanied by a translation or commentary.[507] The images that were intended to open each of the subsections were also cast differently, and did not make the same experiential and interpretive demands of the viewer.

These subsections, like those of the *Documenti*, are governed by personifications, many of them representing the same virtues. Generally speaking, each of the subsections is addressed to a woman of different status or employment. The references to the images made within the text clearly establish that the images would have included representations of these classes and types of women. As in the *Documenti*, the reader is frequently referred to the images on the pages, told to "See here above…."
At the beginning of the first section, which is directed to girls just beginning to understand the difference between right and wrong, Francesco states, "and to better demonstrate, you can see her figure painted here above, before a lady named Innocence."[508] The text below them then reports a conversation between the two. The next section is addressed to a girl who is of the age to get married. Francesco states that if the reader looks above, they will see the girl painted. They will also see "a maiden named Virginity, who is portrayed according to her significant aspects, she offers her hand, and

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[506] In a footnote to her article on the illuminations in Strozzi 14, a manuscript of Brunetto Latini's *Tesoretto*, Catherine Harding notes that Lloyd Howard suggested that it was "likely that Francesco was writing about women for a primarily male audience,…." She lends credence to this idea, but does not pursue it. Catherine Harding, "Visualizing Brunetto Latini's *Tesoretto* in early Trecento Florence," *Word & Image* 19, no. 3 (July-September 2003): 246 n. 66.
[507] In the Proemio, Eloquence is told to use straightforward language so that every woman might understand the treatise. "Non vo' che sia lo tuo parlare oscuro, acciò ch'aver è a mente con ogni donna possa dimorare; né parlerai rimato, acciò che non ti parta, per forza di rima, dal proprio intendimento;…." Sansone, 5.
[508] "E sua figura per meglio mostrare puote vedere qui di sovra pinta davanti a una donna c'ha nome la Innocenzia…." Sansone, 9.

wants to lead [the girl] to heaven….”[509] These images consistently represent interaction and conversation between the personification and the relevant type. In some cases, Francesco provides some description of the clothing of the virtue. Patience in the image would have encouraged a girl passing the age of marriage. Francesco describes the personification as wearing torn, grey clothing (“ha stracciata sua vesta e quella porta di bigio colore”).[510] In other cases, there is the suggestion of architectural elements. The hermit was to be represented about to enter her dwelling, as Fortitude admonishes her.[511] In still other cases, objects were exchanged between the relevant virtue and the lady. In the fifth section, for example, the wife hands a book to Chastity (“giura in su uno libro a Castitate …”).[512]

Many of the personifications represent the same virtues that appear in the *Documenti*, and are described as having similar attributes. Patience’s torn garment was likely much the same as that worn by her counterpart in the *Documenti*, and, according to the text, Hope wore white and had wings just as she did in the *Documenti*. In fact, the *Reggimento* repeatedly refers its reader to the *Documenti* for explanation of the attributes of the personifications.[513] In contrast to the *Documenti*, where a great deal of attention is devoted to describing and explaining the appearance of the images, the *Reggimento* provides little such information. One of the few exceptions is the passage in which

[509] “una donzella c’ha nome Verginità, la quale èe ritratta sicondo li suoi significamenti, le porge la mano e vuolla menare in Paradixo,…”Sansone, 19.
[510] “La forma di colei di cui vi parlo vedere potete dipinta di sovra; e Pazienza la prega…E ponle la mano in capo e dice …” Sansone, 29.
[511] “Vedete lei all’entrar del suo luogo, e la Fortezza che qui l’amonisce….” Sansone, 143.
[512] Sansone, 45.
[513] For instance, “Lei nella sua età vedrete qui dipinta davanti a una donna lo cui nome è Speranza, la cui figura e l’effetto e l’usanza , co molte altre figure ch’apartengon a lei, veder porrete, ch’io feci ritrarre in sesta parte d’uno libro c’ha nome “Documenti d’Amore”; nel qual non solamente di costei, ma di molte altre virtudi vedrai, se tu vorrai, più disteso trattato, sì com’io colsi dal parlar d’Amore. Là troverai in bello ordine pinte molte figure e novelle in diletto; là troverai perch’ell’ha veste bianca e perché l’ali, e di tutto ragioni: ch’ancor quel libro si legga con questo…” Sansone, 33.

Francesco dwells upon the appearance of the widow to whom the section is devoted. He repeatedly calls upon the reader/viewer to look and see the signs of her distress, claiming that if they look they will be moved to pity and cry.[514] Here, the appearance of the image is not interpreted or explained. Instead it is dwelt upon in order to prompt an emotional reaction on the part of the viewer.

Despite the frequent similarities in the attributes, changes were also made to the images and how they characterized the virtues, apparently in order to make them appropriate to their particular roles within this conduct book. Here Justice presides over a dispute between ladies. Hope is not accompanied by the hopeful and despairing but instead addresses a single woman. Prudence is accompanied above by a greater lady, the one who sent her, and speaks to ladies who gather around her feet.[515] The images drawn from the *Documenti* have consistently been altered so as to represent a specific interaction with a woman representing a social type or role. Although many of the personifications were the same as those in the *Documenti*, and apparently represented with the same attributes, the address made by the images to the reader/viewer would have been very different.

This difference is a significant one. The personifications opening the subsections of the *Reggimento* would not have addressed the reader/viewer directly like a lecturer to a

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[514] Sansone 95.

[515] On Justice, "Guarda qui dunque la donna che siede e gli altri che dall'altro lato sono, e odi quelle contenzion che fanno. Iustizia sta di sovra a iudicare chi netto parla e chi non sa parlare;..." Sansone, 213. On Hope, "Lei nella sua età vedrete qui dipinta davanti a una donna lo cui nome è Speranza, la cui figura e l'effetto e l'usanza, co molte altre figure ch'apartengon a lei, veder porrete, ch'io feci ritrarre in sesta parte d'uno libro c'ha nome "Documenti d'Amore"; nel qual non solamente di costei, ma di molte alter virtudi vedrai, se tu vorrai, più disteso trattato, si com'io colsi dal parlar d'Amore. Là troverai in bello ordine pinte molte figure e novelle in diletto; là troverai perch'ell'ha veste bianca e perché l'ali, e di tutto ragioni: ch'ancor quell libro si legga con questo…" Sansone, 33. On Prudence, "… vedete qui che Prudenzia è mandata dalla gran donna dipinta di sovra, per dimostrar alle donne che sono da piè dipinte, e anco alle donzelle, …" Sansone, 173.

student. Neither would they have portrayed a beloved appearing before the eyes of the lover. Instead, in each chapter opening, they would have interacted with a third party, representations of women of varying ages and types, to whom the advice of each section was addressed. The *Reggimento* was also not governed by Amor, and the reader was not called upon to love and mirror the virtues before them. Instead, at least with regard to the virtues opening the subsections, he or she is placed in the position of spectator, looking in upon an interaction between other parties.

The distinction lends support to the suggestion that the *Reggimento* was primarily written for a male audience, despite the text's claim.[516] The described images would have placed the reader/viewer in the position of spectator rather than addressee. This spectatorial position would be appropriate to a reader/viewer looking in on the female types and their respective virtues of each chapter, rather than to a female reader included in the immediate audience of the lessons. Such a spectator would participate in the game of guessing the identity of Francesco's mystery lady, the personification governing this conduct book, and the focus for the narrator's "love." Most importantly, the distinction between the composition of the images in the two conduct books, and the resulting difference in the address made to the viewer, further establishes that Francesco's deployment of his personifications to appeal to the reader/viewer was calculated and deliberate. While in the case of the *Documenti* Francesco made full use of the somatic and visual appeal of his pictorial personifications to engage and educate his reader/viewer, in the *Reggimento* the somatic and visual appeal of the personifications governing each section was tempered, if not withheld. In the *Reggimento*, the reader's

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[516] Harding, 246 n.66. Some of the social levels represented as recipients of advice, like nannies and slaves, would obviously not be reading such a book, also calling into question Francesco's claim.

direct engagement with a personification was directed to the mystery lady, who was to come gradually into “view” over the course of the book.

CONCLUSION

THE TOMB OF BISHOP ANTONIO DEGLI ORSI: COMMEMORATION AND THE PROPER ENDS OF POETIC AND PICTORIAL INVENTION

I opened this dissertation with a description of a present-day encounter with the striking imagery of the tomb of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi. Compared to that of the fourteenth century viewer, the present day experience is a subdued one. After 1323, visitors leaving Santa Maria del Fiore would have encountered a splendid, polychromed and gilded tomb on the west wall of the partially-complete cathedral (fig. 90). What remains of the tomb is now reinstalled in its original location.[517] In its complete state the tomb would have been surmounted by a baldachin, with other figures incorporated into the structure.[518] An enthroned life-size effigy of Antonio degli Orsi, clothed in episcopal vestments, sits on top of the sarcophagus. His eyes are closed, his hands crossed, and his head tilted to one side. The bishop's sarcophagus, sculpted with a presentation scene, rests on the backs of three lions on top of the console (fig. 94). A three-part console constitutes the base of the

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[517] The tomb was moved several times, leading to the dispersion of some of its constituent parts. The tomb was moved as early as 1379 or 1404 to the side wall next to the Porta del Campanile. In 1841 it was moved over the Porta dei Canonici. In 1903 it was returned to the west wall, over the rediscovered inscription. Tiziana Barbavara Di Gravellone, *OPD. Restauro* 10 (1998): 182.

[518] W.R. Valentiner made a few attempts to reconstruct the tomb. See his *Tino di Camaino: A Sienese Sculptor of the Fourteenth Century* (Paris: Pegasus Press, 1935) and "Tino di Camaino in Florence," *Art Quarterly* 17 (1954): 117-132. See also Naoki Dan, "Intorno alla tomba d'Orso di Tino di Camaino," *Annuario dell'Istituto Giapponese di Cultura* 14 (1977-78): 3-60, and Gert Kreytenberg's widely accepted reconstruction, proposed in the article "Tino di Camainos Grabmäler in Florenz," *Städel Jahrbuch* 7 (1979): 33-60. For general discussions of the tomb in relation to both Tino di Camaino's oeuvre and other tomb monuments and of the problems inherent in reconstruction efforts, see Francis Ames Lewis, *Tuscan Marble Carving 1250-1350: Sculpture and Civic Pride* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1997), 56, 189-202, and Anita Fiderer Moskowitz, *Italian Gothic Sculpture c. 1250-1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 102-114 and 180-190.

tomb (figs. 91-93). It was with the personification sculpted in the central spandrel that I opened this dissertation. Tino di Camaino carved the tomb, but its unusual iconography was largely planned by Francesco da Barberino.

Francesco's involvement in the design of the tomb is immediately recognizable. His personification of Mors, identifiable from the Office of the Dead of his book of hours and from Ms. Barb. Lat. 4076, appears prominently in the central spandrel of the console (figs. 76, 4, 91).[519] As in the manuscript versions, Mors, a furry monster with multiple faces, stands on top of a dragon and shoots arrows in all directions. If the resemblance were not evidence enough, Francesco's direct involvement is securely documented. In 1322 there was a papal investigation into Antonio degli Orsi's finances, as money collected by the bishop for the papacy had not found its way to Rome. Francesco was one of the executors of the bishop's estate and testified that, as an executor, he was responsible for distributing money to the poor, for paying various bills and debts, and for commissioning the bishop's tomb.[520] By 1321, Francesco had been associated with the bishop for several years. The tomb is the final monument for which we have evidence of Francesco's direct involvement in the design of an allegorical scene.

The tomb was intended to commemorate Antonio degli Orsi in a prominent place in Florence's new, and only partially-built, cathedral, the construction of which the bishop would have overseen over the previous twelve years of his tenure. In accordance with the essential purpose of any tomb, the monument was intended to commemorate the

[519] The association was first made by Poggi, 667.
[520] Dameron provides a brief summary of the investigation. George W. Dameron, *Florence and its Church in the Age of Dante*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 101-103. The records are in Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Collectoriae 414, fols. 6v-33v and Archivio Vescovile di Fiesole, Tribunali Ecclesiastici XIV.III.A.25 (1322-23), fols. 1-75.

bishop, and to prompt viewers to remember him in their prayers.[521] The overall design of the tomb served these functions. This design was derived from the allegory of Death and the promise of Eternal Life that Francesco had first formulated for his book of hours. The monument is a striking example of Francesco's process of pictorial invention, and a demonstration of the rhetorical effectiveness of his inventions.

In the tomb of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi, Francesco adapted an image first designed for his own personal, devotional manuscript for a public, monumental context. The tomb's imagery served a new purpose, commemorating a specific individual. This contextual function for Francesco's design is distinct from the devotional and didactic functions described in the previous chapters. Nonetheless, here, as in the other monuments, Francesco had a stake in the appearance of his designs. If we accept the claims made in the *Documenti*, the image of Mors, to some extent, remained Francesco's, even in this new context. Here on the bishop's tomb, the use of an image associated with Francesco would have preserved and represented the relationship between the two men. Most importantly, even in its modified form, serving the needs of the bishop, Francesco's allegory still evinces his concern with the proper role of the poet, and, by extension, with the proper ends of poetic and pictorial representation.

The scholarship on the tomb has frequently acknowledged Francesco's role as designer. Nonetheless, attention has largely focused on the relationship of the tomb's iconographic relationship to other tombs, rather than to Francesco's inventions.[522]

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[521] Ames-Lewis states, "A tomb's principal functions, according to St. Thomas Aquinas, were to reaffirm faith in the Resurrection, to honour and keep alive the memory of the tomb's occupant, and to stimulate prayer for his soul in Purgatory." Ames-Lewis, 168.

[522] Ames-Lewis for instance suggests that the "novel features [of the Orso monument] probably depend in part on developments in secular tomb design and imagery." He particularly emphasizes the influence of the enthroned effigy of the emperor on the tomb of Henry VII. Ames-Lewis, 192,193. Moskowitz also raises this comparison. Moskowitz, 112. In his 1935 treatment of the tomb within his monograph on Tino di

Previous discussions have also treated the tomb in relation to its sculptor, Tino di Camaino, and his oeuvre.[523] Prior to his work on the bishop's tomb, Tino had had previous commissions for grand and innovative tombs. Those commissions included the tomb of Emperor Henry VII for the cathedral of Pisa (before 1315) (fig. 144), the tomb of Cardinal Riccardo Petroni in Siena (circa 1318), and that for Gastone della Torre in Florence (d. 1318), the latter being a close copy of the Petroni monument.[524] After he completed the Orso monument and left Florence, Tino di Camaino went on to sculpt impressive tombs for the Angevin dynasty in Naples. These later tombs also incorporated novel iconography, largely expressing the dynastic ambitions of the family and the virtues of its members (figs. 145-150).

Even within the innovative oeuvre of Tino di Camaino, and within a historical context evidently conducive to innovations in tomb design, the tomb of Antonio degli

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Camaino, Valentiner discussed Francesco fairly extensively, characterizing his poetry and discussing the quality of allegory of the period, "In the allegories the poet and artist tried to express in their own media what they had absorbed of these philosophic [Scholastic] ideas and had inwardly meditated. It is for this reason that these allegories in the best works of the time are filled with so much more life than in any other period." However, Valentiner attaches far too much importance to number symbolism in the tomb, and evidently did not read Francesco's explanation of the iconography of Mors, as he argues that the three faces of the figure indicate that it represents the Trinity. Valentiner, 70, 71. Adolfo Venturi suggested that Tino di Camaino "corrected" Francesco's "astrusa rappresentazione, togliendo particolari complicati, inutili, non propri delle arti figurative." Venturi, 4: 271.

[523] The inscription on the wall below the tomb reads, "OPERU(M) DE SENIS NATUS --- EX MAG(IST)RO CAMAINO --- IN HOC SITU FLORENTINO --- TINUS SCULPSIT OMNI O(MN)E LAT(US) -/- HU(N)C (PRO) PATRE GENITIVO --- DECET INCLINARI --- UT MAGISTRO ILLO VIVO --- NOLIT APELLARI." Quoted by Kreytenberg "Tino di Camaino's Grabmäler" 33.

[524] The tomb of the emperor was particularly ambitious, and included a sarcophagus carved with figures of the apostles, a recumbent effigy of the emperor, a representation of the emperor enthroned amongst his councilors. Cardinal Petroni's tomb included a recumbent effigy resting on a sarcophagus carved with scenes of Christ's Resurrection. The sarcophagus in turn rested on four caryatids, which may have alluded to the four cardinal virtues, though they have no attributes. It has been proposed that the figures of the enthroned emperor and his councilors were originally intended to be located on a city gate. Even if so, the figures seem to have been relocated with the tomb very quickly. On the tomb of Henry VII see P. Bacci, "Lo scultore Tino di Camaino e la tomba dell'"alto Arrigo" per il Duomo di Pisa," *Rassegna d'arte* 8 (1921): 73-84; N. Dan, *La tomba di Arrigo VII di Tino di Camaino e il Rinascimento*, (Florence: Pan Art, 1983); V. Herzner, "Herrscherbild oder Grabfigur? Die Statue eines thronenden Kaisers und das Grabmal Heinrichs VII von Tino di Camaino in Pisa," *Ikonographia: Anleitung zum Lesen von Bildern (Festschrift Donat de Chapeaurouge)*, eds. B. Brock and A. Preiss (Munich, 1990): 27-77; G. Kreytenberg, "Das Grabmal von Kaiser Heinrich VII in Pisa," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 28 (1984): 33-64.

Orsi is exceptional. The design has a number of unusual features. First, the bishop is presented to Christ on the sarcophagus, below the seated effigy (fig. 94). In other examples, the enactment of the presentation occurs above the recumbent effigy, in a logical vertical progression away from earth and towards heaven. Assuming the Orso tomb would have incorporated a similar argumentative structure, there must have been some representation of the bishop's salvation above the effigy as well. Gert Kreytenberg's reconstruction, the most widely accepted and convincing of the various efforts to reconstruct the tomb, fulfills the demands of logical decorum and provides for such a representation (fig. 95). Kreytenberg's reconstruction includes two angels from an *elevatio animae*, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, on the level above the seated effigy. These angels must have elevated the bishop's soul to heaven. The extraordinary effigy of the bishop has attracted the most comment. Clearly meant to represent the deceased bishop, with his eyes closed, head slumped and hands crossed, the figure is not recumbent, but enthroned. In none of Tino's other tombs are there similar effigies, represented as if in a state of suspended animation.[525] Finally, the tomb is also idiosyncratic for its inclusion of an allegory, a vision of Death striking down people from all walks of life (figs. 91-93).[526] Allegorical scenes do not appear in Tino's other tombs.[527] The scene is directly attributable to Francesco. Francesco's earlier designs also

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[525] He did, of course, include an enthroned figures on the tomb of Henry VII, in Pisa, commissioned in 1315. His tomb for Charles of Calabria, Santa Chiara, Naples (1332-3), included the depiction of Charles enthroned in the sarcophagus relief (fig. 148). The tomb of Mary of Hungary, in Santa Maria Donna Regina, Naples (under construction 1325), completed by Tino and Gagliardo Primario, includes a relief of the queen's enthroned sons on the sarcophagus (fig. 147). The tomb of Mary of Valois (d. 1331), Santa Chiara, Naples, includes a relief on the sarcophagus depicting Mary of Valois enthroned (fig. 149).
[526] The tomb of Lord-Bishop Guido Tarlati of Arezzo also includes allegorical images. It was completed about ten years later.
[527] Personifications do, but only in the later tombs of the Angevin dynasty, and they are not part of extended scenes. The tomb of Mary of Valois (d. 1331) is supported by caryatids of Charity and Hope (fig. 149). The tomb of Catherine of Austria in San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples, included a caryatids embodying

include a specific precedent for the enthroned, sleeping figure, in the sleeping figures of the virtues that inhabit the Roccha amoris on the opening page of the *Documenti* (figs. 1, 27). The most unusual aspects of the Orso monument are inescapably attributable to Francesco's invention.

The allegory of Mors that appears on the console is closely related to the preceding manuscript versions. Nonetheless, the design was transformed in various ways to be appropriate to its new function, the commemoration of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi. Little attention has been paid to the significance of the distinctions between the design's appearance in the manuscripts and its appearance on the tomb.[528] Comparison of the tomb's iconography to the preceding versions will provide better understanding of Francesco's inventive process, and of how the design served its new function.

As described earlier in this dissertation, the allegory initially appeared in the book of hours at the opening of the Office of the Dead (fig. 76). Furry, claw-footed, all-seeing Death is prominent on the left side of the image, shooting arrows to all sides. The symmetrical, frontally depicted figure confronts the viewer. The figure's physical address includes the reader/viewer in the threat, suggesting that he too will be conquered by death. Various people to either side, including crowned kings and armed soldiers, are struck down by Death's arrows. The dead kings recall the passage in Psalm 145 from the Office of the Dead that exhorts the reader: "Put not confidence in princes."[529] The

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Hope and Charity (fig. 145). The tomb of Empress Margaret of Luxembourg (d. 1311) in Genoa sculpted by Giovanni Pisano included the cardinal virtues. Ames-Lewis identifies these figures as the first time that the cardinal virtues appeared in a secular Italian tomb. Ames-Lewis, 195.

[528] Kreytenberg briefly discusses the similarity, suggesting that the similarity of the versions excludes the possibility that the relief had a particular political significance or relation to the bishop's biography. Kreytenberg, "Tino di Camaino's Grabmäler," 40.

[529] The psalm appears in the "The Office for the Dead At Vespers," *Hypertext Book of Hours*, http://medievalist.net/hourstxt/deadves.htm. The hour of Vespers in Francesco's Book of Hours is

allegory spans two pages, and the page break is used as a meaningful divide. Death dominates the left side. His effects, represented by the arrows that have struck the figures and in the interred skeletons, are felt on both pages. However, on the right side many of the stricken figures have open eyes. Christ stands in the register above offering a personification of Eternal Life to those below. The figures below look up and stretch their arms to Christ. One of the stricken figures is given particular prominence. He is dressed in the red cloak and fur-trimmed hat of a scholar. This figure was likely intended as a point of identification for Francesco, but should not be understood only as a specific portrait. The figure stands immediately below Christ's offered promise, and reaches out to clasp the hands of a kneeling figure, as if in reassurance. The version of Mors as it appears in the commentary to Ms. Barb. Lat. 4076 does not differ in any significant way from the one in the book of hours (fig. 4). Death comes to all, but eternal life can be obtained through Christ. Again in this manuscript the scholar is clearly depicted acting as a mediator. Visually aligned with Christ's offered scroll and its written promise, the scholar clasps the hand of a stricken man as if to pull him to his feet. The stricken man metonymically represents the crowd of people behind him. The formal arrangement and the actions depicted imply that the scholar is a means by which Christ's message of salvation is communicated to mortal men and women. The comfort offered by the scholar parallels the scroll offered by Christ.

As noted in my second chapter, the images included in the book of hours represented the theme of the proper role of books. As established by the images of the scholar reading and the images of the extended allegory, the proper role of books and of

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incomplete, so it is not possible to confirm with absolute certainty that the Psalm appeared there. It is however more than likely that it was included.

pictorial and poetic invention is to lead to God. The representation of the scholarly figure in the allegory of death visually argues that the scholar ought to lead others to God as well. The figure appears in the midst of an allegory. He represents an "everyman" scholar as the embodiment of a particular function within that allegory. The role the figure represents, that of mediator, is the very one that Francesco had claimed for his own poetic activity. The figure, especially in the context of Francesco's personal book of hours, also specifically represents Francesco and the role he had claimed for himself. Even in his book of prayers Francesco self-consciously represented himself as mediator, much as he was to do later in the *Documenti* and the *Reggimento*.

The iconography of Mors on the tomb's console is very similar to the preceding manuscript versions (figs. 91-93). Formal changes were made to the design so that it could be accommodated within the pictorial field of the spandrels of the console, but these were not significant. The design still preserves the distinct split into two meaningful halves with Death in the center. Mors appears in the central spandrel, with the same features as in the manuscript versions (fig. 91). The frontal, symmetrical figure appears in the part of the tomb closest to the viewer. Even more strikingly than in the manuscripts, the viewer is thereby included in the threat posed by this personification of Death. Bronze arrows once pierced all the figures in the console. As in the manuscript versions, in one half all hope is lost and Death is feared. In the other, the promise of salvation is pointed out to those threatened by Death. The right spandrel represents the loss of hope (fig. 93). It contains six standing figures. Three are clearly dead, with skeletal features, while a fourth has the crossed hands of the deceased but has not yet decayed. The two remaining figures frame the scene and observe the corpses, in what must be a confrontation with

their own mortality. The left spandrel is somewhat more complicated (fig. 92). As in the manuscript versions, it contains several figures distinguished by their dress. Apparently dead, a crowned emperor with down-turned head and closed eyes rests on the curve of the arch, another reminder that princes are not to be relied upon. Next to the emperor is a scholar who looks upwards, over the sleeper's head, gesturing with a small scroll. To the scholar's right is a bishop, who looks out at the viewer. In the far left corner is a pope, holding keys and a bible. In the lowest part of the spandrel is a scene of succor much like the one in the manuscript versions of the allegory. A figure leans in as if to offer aid to a kneeling man who turns away from death in fear.[530] In this case the figure who offers aid does not wear the scholar's hat. Instead, he is directly below the scholar, facing in the opposite direction, and acts as a fulcrum to lead the gaze from the figure being saved up to the scene above via the scholar's gaze. The scholar is still in the position of mediator, but he does not perform the role alone.

Despite the distinct resemblance of the iconography of the console to the allegory as represented in the manuscripts, certain changes were made in order to make the design appropriate to the particular context of the tomb of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi. The knights and soldiers so prominent in the manuscript versions were evidently not appropriate or necessary to the message of the bishop's tomb, and are notably absent.

[530] These figures are variously identified, and it is not always clear from the descriptions which figure is identified as which. Dan gives specific identifications of some of the figures, calling the emperor Henry VII, the scholar Dante, the bishop Bishop Orso, and the pope Boniface VIII. Dan, 74. While there is reason to identify the bishop with Antonio Orso, there seems little reason to suppose specific identities for the other figures. If the scholar can be said to represent a specific person, Francesco is a more likely choice than Dante. Kreytenberg sees a pope, a bishop, a woman, an emperor, a jurist and a doctor holding a flask. Kreytenberg, "Tino di Camaino's Grabmäler," 40. Valentiner identified the pope with the papal keys and Bible, the emperor, a bishop, a jurist with a scroll in hand. In the lower field he saw a woman begging a judge for assistance. Valentiner, *Tino di Camaino*, 71. While I follow his identifications for the upper portion of the spandrel, comparison of the relief to the manuscript versions suggests that he misread the lower portion.

Two more significant changes were also made. Most importantly, the mediating function is represented differently. In the manuscript versions this function was represented in the single figure of the scholar/Francesco. In contrast, on the tomb that role is performed by multiple figures. A bishop is represented at the scholar's side, and a pope beside him. The pope holds the papal keys and a bible that rests on his knee, immediately in front of the bishop. The two figures are aligned with the scholar whose action directs the viewer's attention upwards. These two are upright, unlike the sleeping emperor, and appear unflinching despite the arrows that once pierced them, unlike the hunched figure below.[531] They accordingly suggest that death is not to be feared and act to convey the promise of salvation.

Francesco's original design was thus modified in order to expand the mediating role to include the bishop and the pope. The tiny bishop faces front, with his head tilted slightly downwards. His frontal position addresses the viewer standing below the tomb. This address is less dramatic than that made by Mors, but even this may be seen as part of its significance. Death threatens all, but only those who receive the proper message about the possibility of salvation will be reassured.[532] Addressed by the tiny bishop, his eyes drawn to the gesturing scholar, the viewer is directed to the message communicated in the upper part of the tomb. Francesco adapted his earlier invention by adding to the actors performing a particular function within the allegory. His process here might be understood as akin to his substitution of the steelyard for a balance in his representation

[531] Kreytenberg states that the bishop is represented as sleeping, in contrast, for instance, to the figure of the pope whose pupils were painted. Kreytenberg, "Tino di Camaino's Grabmäler," 40.
[532] The bodily address made by the figure to the viewer, and the shared mediating role performed by the scholar, pope, and bishop, holds even if the bishop's eyes were represented as closed.

of Justice. The function of those instruments is essentially the same, though they are different in their particulars.

Just as the scholar in the manuscript versions of the design represents both the role of everyman scholar *and* Francesco, this tiny bishop represents both the office of bishop *and* Bishop Antonio degli Orsi. As bishop, Antonio degli Orsi's responsibilities included *cura animorum*, care for all the souls living in the diocese, and ensuring access to the sacraments for those souls.[533] By positioning the tiny bishop as a mediator between those threatened by death and the promise of salvation, Francesco invented a general representation of the bishop's office and his responsibility for the souls living under his jurisdiction. No scene on this tomb refers specifically to Antonio degli Orsi's biography. The depiction of specific events from an individual's life on a tomb was a privilege still reserved for saints at this point in history. Given the exemplary status of saints' lives, such events had didactic, generalized significance in any case. The remarkable tomb of Lord-Bishop Guido Tarlati in Arezzo, begun about eight years after that of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi, was the first tomb of a non-saint to include depictions of biographical events (fig. 125-127). Even on this overblown tomb, however, the scenes had allegorical and civic significance, largely depicting the conquests the bishop had made as lord of Arezzo. As discussed in relation to the extended "biographical" allegory of the book of hours, Francesco consistently designed his poetic fictions as lessons with general relevance. Aspects of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi's biography are evoked, but only with respect to the bishop's office, and only within an allegorical scene populated by types. The bishop's seat beside the pope recalls church hierarchy, as well as Antonio degli Orsi's staunch alliance with the papacy and the Guelph party. Neither figure is a specific

[533] Dameron describes the responsibilities of the Bishop of Florence. See *Florence and Its Church*, 66.

portrait. Appearing within allegorical contexts, these figures act as general types and as representations of “offices,” even though they might evoke an association with the particular people who fulfilled those offices. What matters as far as Francesco’s process of invention is concerned is that the function of mediator within the allegory has been expanded to include a bishop and a pope, in addition to the scholar seen in the manuscript versions.

It is also significant that Christ and the promise of Eternal Life are not represented in the console. Since these figures are precisely the point of Francesco’s allegory as it was presented in the two manuscripts, their message must have been communicated elsewhere on the tomb. While there is no evidence that a personification of Eternal Life appeared anywhere on the tomb, there is evidence that the scholar served to mediate the same basic message in another way. The figure clearly directs the viewer’s attention upwards. He not only looks upwards, over the sleeping emperor and the central figure of Death, but also gestures with a scroll in the same direction. Since the iconography of the tomb was so clearly derived from Francesco’s allegory for his book of hours, the area to which the scholar draws our attention must somehow communicate the promise of Eternal Life and salvation that reassures those threatened by Death below. That promise is not depicted as a personification within the allegorical field. It is instead evoked by means of the exemplum of the bishop’ personal salvation, represented in the figural decoration of the portions of the tomb above the console. The initial address to the viewer is made by means of the allegory, but the final message about the possibility of salvation is communicated by means of the specific example of the bishop.

On the tomb, the message of salvation was made specific to the bishop as appropriate to his tomb, and then communicated to others by means of the example of the bishop. As it is currently installed, and as maintained in Kreytenberg's reconstruction, the sarcophagus above rests on the backs of three lions (figs. 90, 94, 95).[534] With the sarcophagus at this height above the console, the scholar's gaze points directly towards the kneeling Antonio degli Orsi, depicted in the midst of an extended presentation scene. On both ends of the frame three angels flank the scene, engaged in animated discussion with one another. In the center of the frame the Virgin Mary presents the kneeling bishop to an enthroned Christ. The bishop holds an unfurled scroll, as if speaking.

A sequential reading of the various components of the tomb decoration is implied. The viewer's gaze moves from the scholar's gesture and gaze to the scene above. That scene is structured so that it is to be read from right to left, as the bishop and those recommending him approach Christ's throne. The group of angels on the right, behind the kneeling bishop and attendants, is especially animated. One of the angels looks towards the kneeling bishop. The angel furthest to the right appears to hand an object to the central angel, who also gestures as if speaking. Given the sequence from the scholar who gestures with a furled scroll to the kneeling bishop who unfurls a scroll before Christ, it seems that the object shared by the angels may also represent a scroll, presumably one that would recommend the bishop in some way. Regardless of the

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[534] In his first reconstruction Valentiner proposed that the sarcophagus rested on caryatids representing angels rather than on these lions. However, the proposed caryatids turned out to be of differing heights. (Kreyentenberg 33, citing Max Seidel, "Studien zu Giovanni di Balduccio und Tino di Camaino," *Städel Jahrbuch* 5 (1975): 64. Moskowitz suggests that the lions must come from a different context, because they are more commonly associated with pulpits and portals. Moskowitz, 341 n. 44. Whether the supports were lions or caryatids does not alter the essentials of the interpretation proposed here. However, the felicity of the scholar's gaze hitting Antonio Orso with the sarcophagus installed at this height above the console argues that the lions were the original supports.

specific words that appeared on the central scroll, the object itself acts as a material representation of communication, as another mediator.

Certain features of the presentation scene are unusual. Christ is not centrally enthroned and frontally depicted, but turned to one side to face the bishop. In presentation groups on other tombs, the enthroned Virgin and Child face outwards, allowing interaction with the viewer as well. Here Christ is engaged in the particular narrative of the presentation of Antonio Orso, and an address to the viewer is excluded. It is also typical in a presentation scene for the deceased to kneel before the enthroned Virgin and Child. Here the Virgin acts explicitly on behalf of the deceased, rather than implicitly. The change allows a division of genders in the scene. Behind Christ are four male saints. Paul, Peter, and John the Baptist are all clearly identifiable. The choice of these saints would have had political implications, aligning the bishop and the Florentine episcopacy with the papacy and the Guelph party.[535] A fourth male saint with a long beard may represent Anthony Abbot, the bishop's name saint.[536] The Virgin is attended by three female figures, one of whom carries her train. They do not carry attributes, though they are distinguished somewhat in their dress and gesture. These three figures are often identified as female saints.[537] Given Francesco's involvement in the tomb it seems more than likely that they were originally intended to represent virtues, and specifically those virtues that would serve to recommend the bishop to Christ and the Virgin: Faith, Hope and Charity. In that case, the figure with her hands clasped in prayer might represent

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[535] Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 189.
[536] Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 189.
[537] Frojmovič, "Der Illustrationszyklus," 189. Kreytenberg, "Tino di Camaino's Grabmäler," 42. Venturi stated that the bishop was accompanied by the seven virtues, but he was misreading the three angels on the far right side. Venturi 4: 271.

Faith.[538] Polychromy on the tomb may have once also helped to characterize them as virtues.[539] The distinct division of genders in the panel supports the identification of these women as virtues rather than saints. If they were saints, there would be no meaningful reason to separate male and female, and they would be intermingled as viewers of the presentation scene. Instead, the panel is structured in terms of an active petition. The Virgin presents the bishop, who seeks entry into heaven and the company of these male saints. In his petition he is recommended by the female figures behind him: the Virgin and the personifications of his virtues that follow in her wake.

The enthroned effigy of the bishop, the portion of the tomb that has attracted the most attention in the scholarship, sits on top of the sarcophagus. The bishop is not presented as alert in his throne. He appears to slump within his garment, his head tips to one side, his eyes are closed, and his hands are crossed, echoing the crossed hands of the dead in the right spandrel below. The figure thus fuses the recumbent effigy of the deceased seen earlier on clerical tombs such as Tino's tomb for Cardinal Petroni, with the enthroned portrait of the secular ruler, first seen in Tino's tomb of Henry VII in Pisa (fig. 144). The effigy however has neither a specific predecessor nor a successor in Tino di Camaino's oeuvre. It is most likely that the enthroned, "sleeping" bishop was an invention of Francesco's.[540] Francesco clearly invented the iconography of the console,

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[538] In the bishop's palace in Treviso the three virtues associated with the bishop in Francesco's fresco design were Justice, Mercy and Conscience. There is no sign of the attributes that would specifically identify these female figures as these virtues.

[539] For instance, as in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Maestà*, c. 1335-1337 (fig. 103). There are many traces of polychromy, gold and lead on the tomb. Color would have played a crucial role in the overall effect of the tomb. For instance, the cloth wall-hangings painted behind the Presentation scene would have contributed to the courtly effect of the scene. See Barbavara di Gravellona, 182-184. Polychromy would also have reinforced the legibility of the actions and attributes represented there.

[540] Kreytenberg argues that the seated effigy was Francesco's invention, and points to Barb. Lat. 4077 and the seated Docilitas as an indicator of a framing throne and baldachin, but not its specific design. Kreytenberg, "Tino di Camaino's Grabmäler," 44.

and there is a precedent for this figure in Francesco's manuscript designs, namely in the seated figures of the sleeping virtues that appear in the Roccha amoris at the opening of the *Documenti* (figs. 1, 27). The virtues do not have the crossed hands that would indicate death, but do slump over in their seated positions, with heads bowed and eyes closed. Francesco often transferred the associations of particular attributes from figure to figure. For instance, the falcon claw that evokes the idea of a tight grip appears in both his representation of Amor and his representation of the Beast in the final allegory of his book of hours. It has been proposed, reasonably, that the sleeping bishop is meant to evoke the sense that Antonio degli Orsi, poised between life and death in this pose, is awaiting his final resurrection.[541] Francesco's explanation for the sleep of the virtues also serves to reinforce this explanation of the bishop's sleeping pose. Francesco explains that the virtues were depicted sleeping because they had no role in the Prohemium, and were resting, ("Et dormiunt ex eo quia nichil operantur quoad prohemium huius libri"). He also explains that they would appear later in the manuscript in the relevant sections, not sleeping, ("ipse domine dormientes representantur infra non dormientes quelibet in particular pertinente ad ipsam").[542] In Francesco's design vocabulary, the sleeping pose is meant to indicate a suspended state of waiting and readiness. Again, the function is similar although the particular actor has changed.

In addition to the odd synthesis represented in the figure of the sleeping bishop, the placement of the figure is also unusual. Here the effigy appears above the presentation scene that in examples like the tomb of Cardinal Petroni, logically crowns the progression from the death to resurrection. In the Orso monument, the progression

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[541] Kreytenberg, "Tino di Camaino's Grabmäler," 48.
[542] Egidi, 1: 6.

was most likely preserved by the representation of an *elevatio animae* above the bishop's effigy, as supported by the two angels linked with the tomb by Kreytenberg. There is of course an important precedent in the tomb of Margaret of Luxembourg, designed by Giovanni Pisano (fig. 143). The fragmentary remains of that tomb include the effigy of the empress, whose body is depicted as twisting to look up to heaven as she is forcibly pulled upwards by two angels. The remarkable physicality and expressive asymmetry of that *elevatio* however are not a good fit with the strong bilateral symmetry of the extant portions of the Orso tomb. Francesco's design for the Ascension of Constantia shown in both Ms. Barb. Lat. 4076 and Ms. Barb. Lat. 4077 would be a more convincing precedent for this lost piece of the tomb.[543] In the illuminations the frontal half-figure of Constantia is raised to heaven in a veil/pallium by two flanking angels (figs.10, 31).[544] The pinnacle of the tomb must have included a representation of Christ, or as in the miniatures, of Christ and the Virgin, ready to receive the soul of the bishop.

Francesco's design for the allegory of the threat of death remains distinctive and recognizable as his on this tomb, even though appearing in the service of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi. Francesco emphatically claimed in the *Documenti* that his novel designs were specifically his. The novel design stands for its inventor. I cannot demonstrate that the design of the tomb was recognized as Francesco's invention by visitors to Santa Maria del Fiore, but the implication is that the design must remain Francesco's even on this monument commemorating Antonio degli Orsi. In some sense then, the presence of the design on the tomb must visually represent Francesco's association with the bishop and

[543] Kreytenberg includes a reproduction of Constantia's Ascension in his article on the reconstruction of the tomb, but does not address the comparison. Kreytenberg, "Tino di Camaino's Grabmäler," 37.
[544] I do not think it likely however that the Bishop's soul was represented as a tiny naked figure above the elevatio.

his interests. This association was, of course, a very real one. Francesco was a close enough associate of the bishop's to be entrusted with the execution of the bishop's estate and the commission for the tomb. My argument here is simply that the appearance of Francesco's design on the tomb may have had political implications as well. In his studies of the Florentine episcopacy, George Dameron has demonstrated that the bishop of Florence and the families associated with the episcopacy had particular kinds of access to power, status and wealth in Florence in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. He goes so far as to point to the common "assumption that access to ecclesiastical resources was a pathway into the ranks of the Florentine elite."[545] The presence of Francesco's design on the bishop's tomb would represent and preserve his association with the bishop.

Resplendent in its original polychromy, the tomb would have been much like one of Francesco's manuscript designs, if presented at a much larger scale. Like the Roccha amoris or the image of Gratitudo, the visual argument made by the tomb has a vertical, diagram-like structure. Its figures and scenes are presented with emphatic frontality and symmetry. Although in the accompanying inscription Tino di Camaino drew attention to his having sculpted "all sides" of the tomb, all the meaningful elements of the tomb are to be viewed from the front.[546] The original polychromy of the tomb may have been significant, as it was in Francesco's depictions of the virtues. In formal terms, that

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[545] George W. Dameron, *Episcopal Power and Florentine Society 1000-1320* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 153.
[546] The inscription includes the statement "TINUS SCULPSIT O(MN)E LAT(US)." Dan argued that this inscription suggested that the subsidiary side panels and decorative motifs on the sides and bottom of the tomb were also important to the tomb's overall meaning. These panels include cherubs climbing amongst branches, a panel with a nude woman, the three faces at the bases of the console, and angels holding coats of arms. His proposed interpretation of the tomb's overall message however is not radically different due to the incorporation of these elements, merely adding a reference to original sin. Dan, 75. These subsidiary areas do not seem particularly relevant or significant to the overall argument to me.

polychromy would have made the effect of the sculpture closer to that of a fresco or even one of his miniatures. Indeed, the manuscript images of the virtues themselves have a monumental, emphatically material effect. Francesco was deeply concerned with making his poetic fictions material, but the specific medium in which they were rendered was not significant to the poet. What was essential was that they be made manifest.

Like other contemporary tombs, the monument memorializes the bishop and represents his hope for salvation. The allegorical iconography on this tomb, however, also makes it a more generally relevant lesson about death and salvation. The flexibility of Francesco's allegorical imagery is apparent in its adaptation to the purpose of commemorating a particular individual. Francesco's design for the allegory of death on the tomb of the bishop is not greatly different from the versions in Francesco's book of hours and the *Documenti*. Not only is the figure of Mors the same, but so is the tiny scene of the intervention of a scholarly figure to reassure someone threatened with death. In the manuscripts this figure is dressed in the same scholarly garments as worn by the tiny portraits of Francesco. His allegory depicting the threat of death and the promise of eternal life is composed of functional units. According to the nature of the genre, an allegory is like an algebraic equation into which a variety of numbers can be inserted. Francesco inserted the bishop alongside the scholar, extending the mediating role to multiple figures. He thereby adapted his pictorial allegory so that it would actively recall the bishop's role in providing care for the souls under his protection. Nonetheless, the same scene of intervention and reassurance is enacted and a scholar still plays a crucial role in the mediation. Represented as looking upwards, the scholar's gesture visually links the different areas of the tomb and the separate pieces of the message. The scholar,

grouped with the bishop and the pope, moves the viewer from the threat of death to the promise of salvation. Just as Francesco's invented forms mediate between abstract ideas and his audience, just as Ambrogio Lorenzetti's virtues and vices mediate between Siena and its claims to abstract ideals, so the scholar represented in Francesco's representations of Death and the promise of Eternal Life mediates and explains that promise to his fellows. The mediating scholarly figure stands in for Francesco's own activity as inventor of the allegorical image.

The concept that human knowledge had to be communicated by means of sensory data was enshrined in the Aristotelian tradition, and left traces in the work of many poets and artists. Francesco da Barberino was well aware of the fact that representation of any kind involves mediation. His designs, repeated in manuscripts, in frescos and sculpture, provide a remarkable group of objects by means of which to study the implications of this idea. It was essential to Francesco that his inventions be made material, in whatever media. The materiality of these personifications was the very means by which they performed their mediating, didactic function. Pictorial personifications represented abstractions. They translated abstract qualities into visible characteristics, making them available to the senses. At least in the case of personifications, the effort to fulfill this function may have contributed to changes in artistic style. Read in the context of late medieval visuality, and against Francesco's attention to his personifications, the particular and convincing forms of Giotto's virtues and vices in the Arena Chapel, or of Nicola Pisano's Fortitude for the pulpit of the Baptistry at Pisa (1260), take on greater significance. The solid and individualized bodies are not simply symptomatic of a Proto-Renaissance change in style, of increasing naturalism or a turn to classical models.

Instead, the change in style must be read as a deliberate response to a cognitive model and as an effort to embody abstract qualities.

As images, Francesco's inventions were encountered as a first-hand visual and somatic experience by new viewers. This encounter had certain advantages. It evoked the multi-sensory experience of oral culture, stimulating the senses, judgment and memory. The beautiful figures of the virtues, appearing before the reader's eyes, were to be loved and imitated so that their characteristics would be legible in the viewer's own body. To some extent, these fictional bodies could be equated with real ones, and vice versa. The first hand encounter also exercised the viewer's judgment, as they were called to interpret what they saw and act accordingly. Is the Love we see before us carnal or divine?

As understood in the late Middle Ages, personifications represented abstract ideas in the guise of evident fictions. Though they represented concepts that did not belong to any one person, they did so in the form of specific and contingent images. This meant that personifications were important means with which to represent and mediate a particular relationship with authority. Francesco conceived his poetic and pictorial fictions to mediate between abstract ideas and individual experience. As in the case of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Sala dei Nove in Siena, this could be a matter of representing the ideals that ought to inform a corporate group or government in guises specific to that corporate group. In Francesco's book of hours, the insertion of his own pictorial inventions alongside the biblical and devotional images created a frame for those authoritative images that mediated the reader/viewer's experience of the manuscript. Francesco's pictorial inventions shaped a particular experience out of images and texts that would otherwise have belonged to every Christian.

Francesco was very self-conscious about his own role as a poet and inventor of images, and treated poetic and pictorial invention as very similar activities. Both shared the function of giving a specific form to abstract, authoritative ideas. The specific forms Francesco invented to represent abstract ideas were evident fictions. Although their forms were governed by the necessity of appropriately embodying a concept, they were also malleable and contingent. Their malleability meant they could be easily adapted to new circumstances and new interpretations.

Their fictional status meant that these forms could *belong* to their particular inventor. The novel forms of Francesco's personifications were therefore a locus for his claims about his own achievement as an inventor of fictions, and his claim to the job of mediator, if not "author." Francesco self-consciously lay claim to this role, as the person who gave form to authoritative and abstract concepts and communicated them to others. Francesco repeatedly represented himself in this role, in his writing and his designs. In both the *Documenti* and the *Reggimento* Francesco represented himself as a scribe whose role was to translate the lessons offered by abstract personifications into material form. This role is described in the text, and, in the case of the *Documenti*, represented in the frontispiece. In his own book of hours Francesco represented himself as an everyman scholar, learning that all scholarly endeavor, including the formulation of poetic fictions, ought to lead to God. Francesco was highly self-conscious about the mediating role performed by his inventions. He was also self-conscious about his claims upon the forms of his inventions. In some ways those forms became for Francesco a kind of self-representation. All the extant monuments directly associated with Francesco include a representation of his mediating role.

The tomb of Antonio degli Orsi is no exception. More than any of his other inventions, Francesco designs allegorizing the threat of Death and the promise of Eternal Life clearly represent his conception of his own role as an inventor of poetic and pictorial fictions. In this mortal realm everyone is confronted by death. The scholar represents to them the abstract, intangible hope of eternal life, beyond this material world, making it available to the senses.

ILLUSTRATIONS

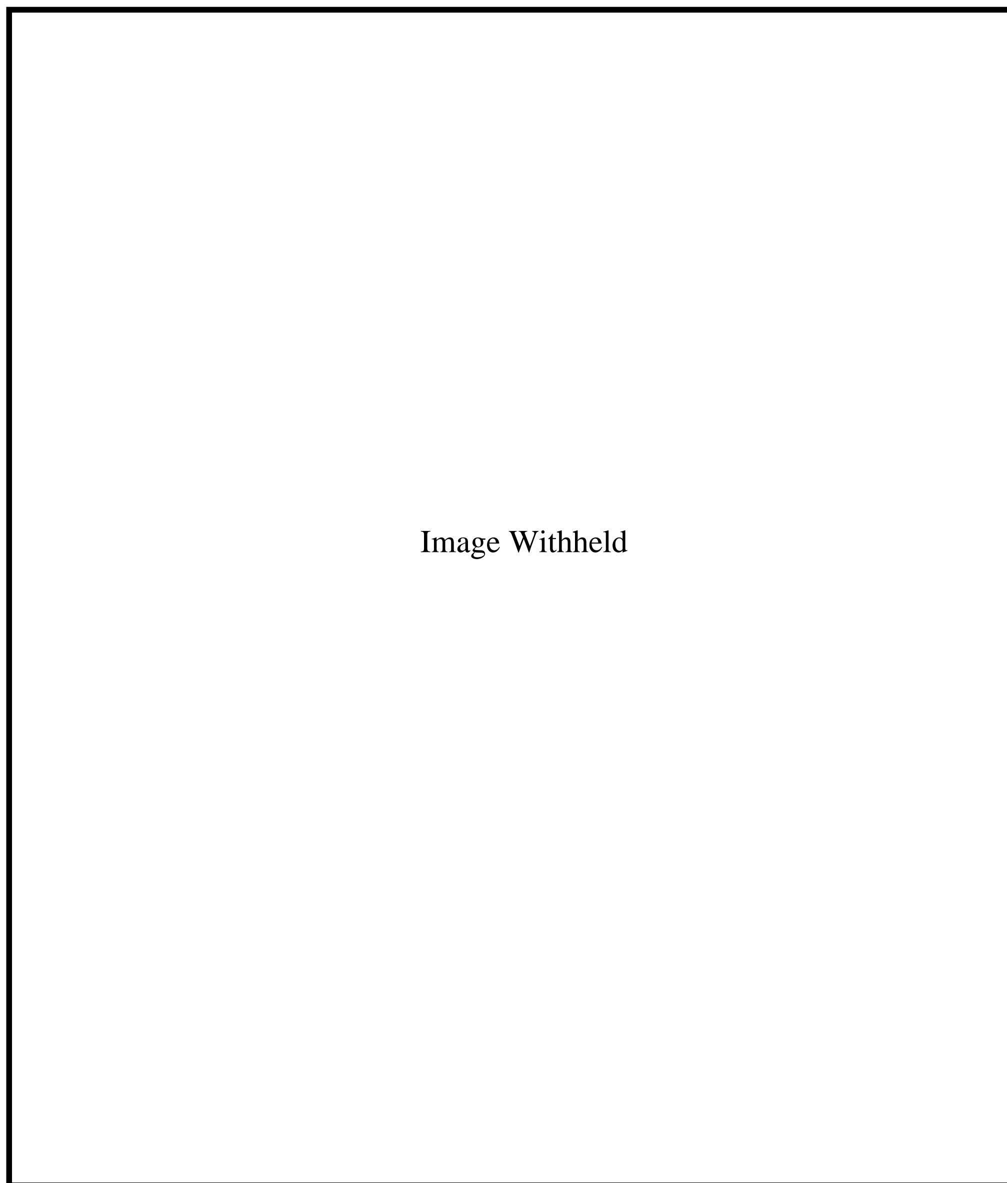

Fig. 1 Roccha Amoris, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 1 recto.

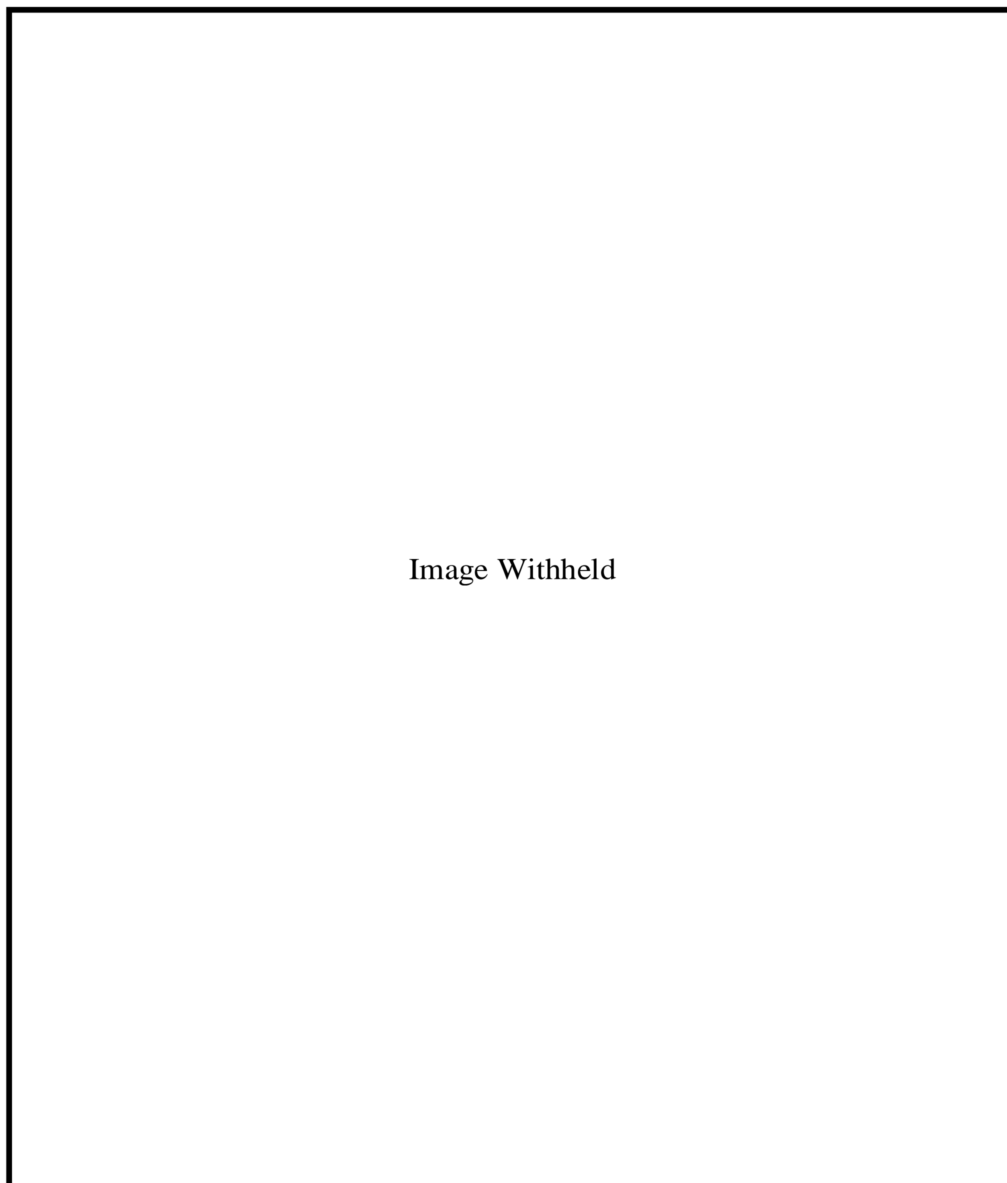

Fig. 2 Docilitas, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 4v.

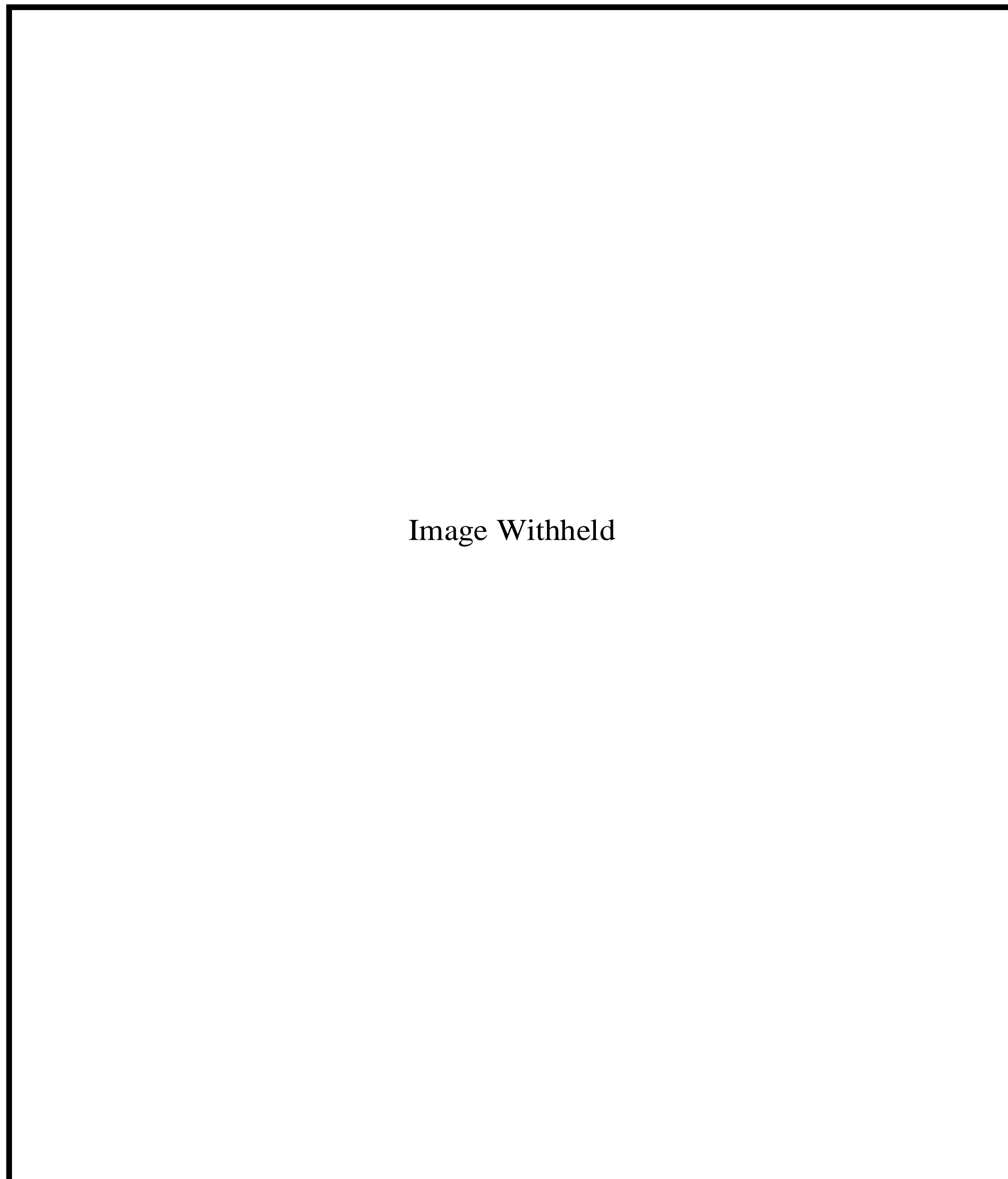

Fig. 3 Virtu in genere, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 6v.

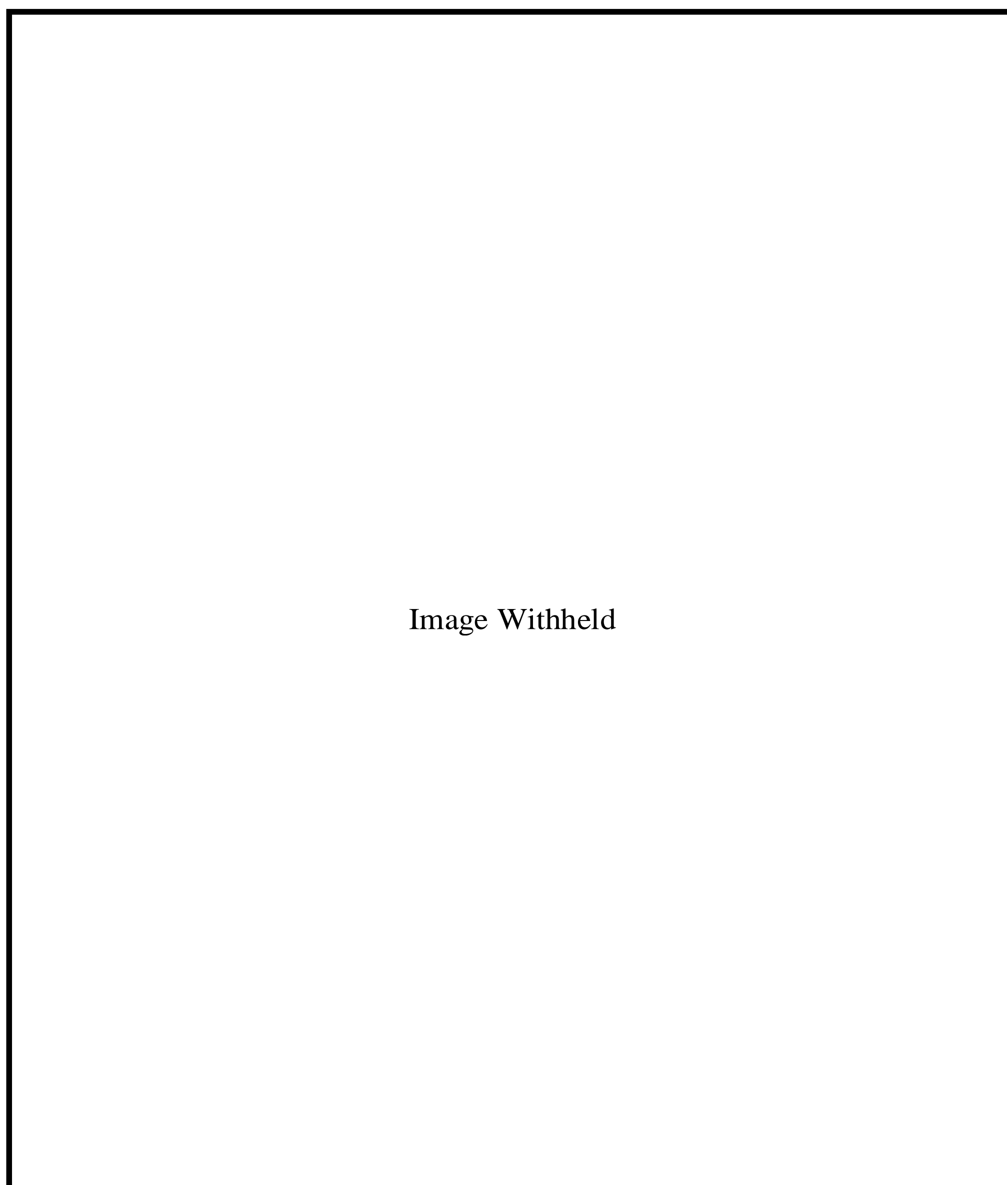

Fig. 4 Mors, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 15v.

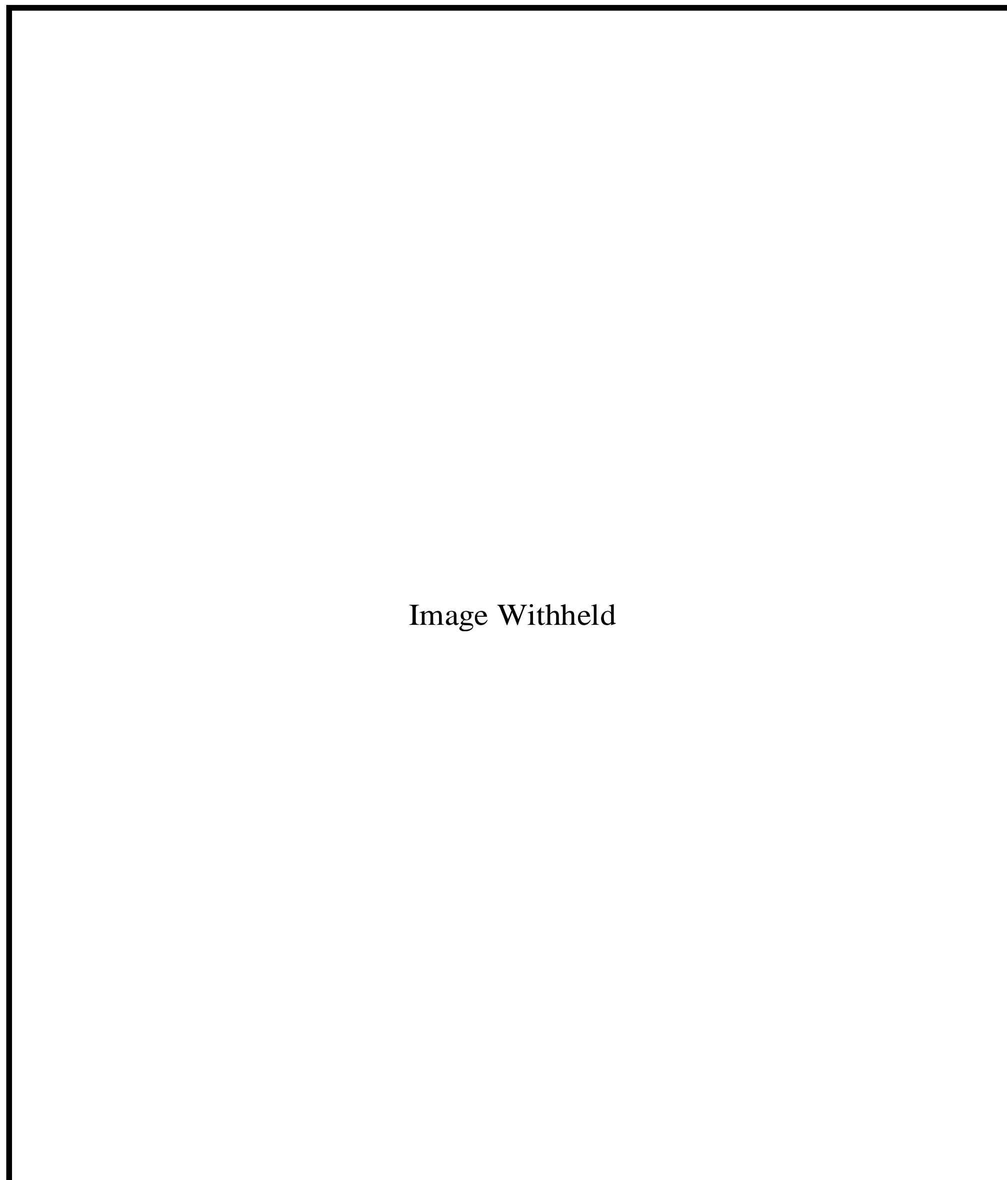

Fig. 5 Magic mirror, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 17v.

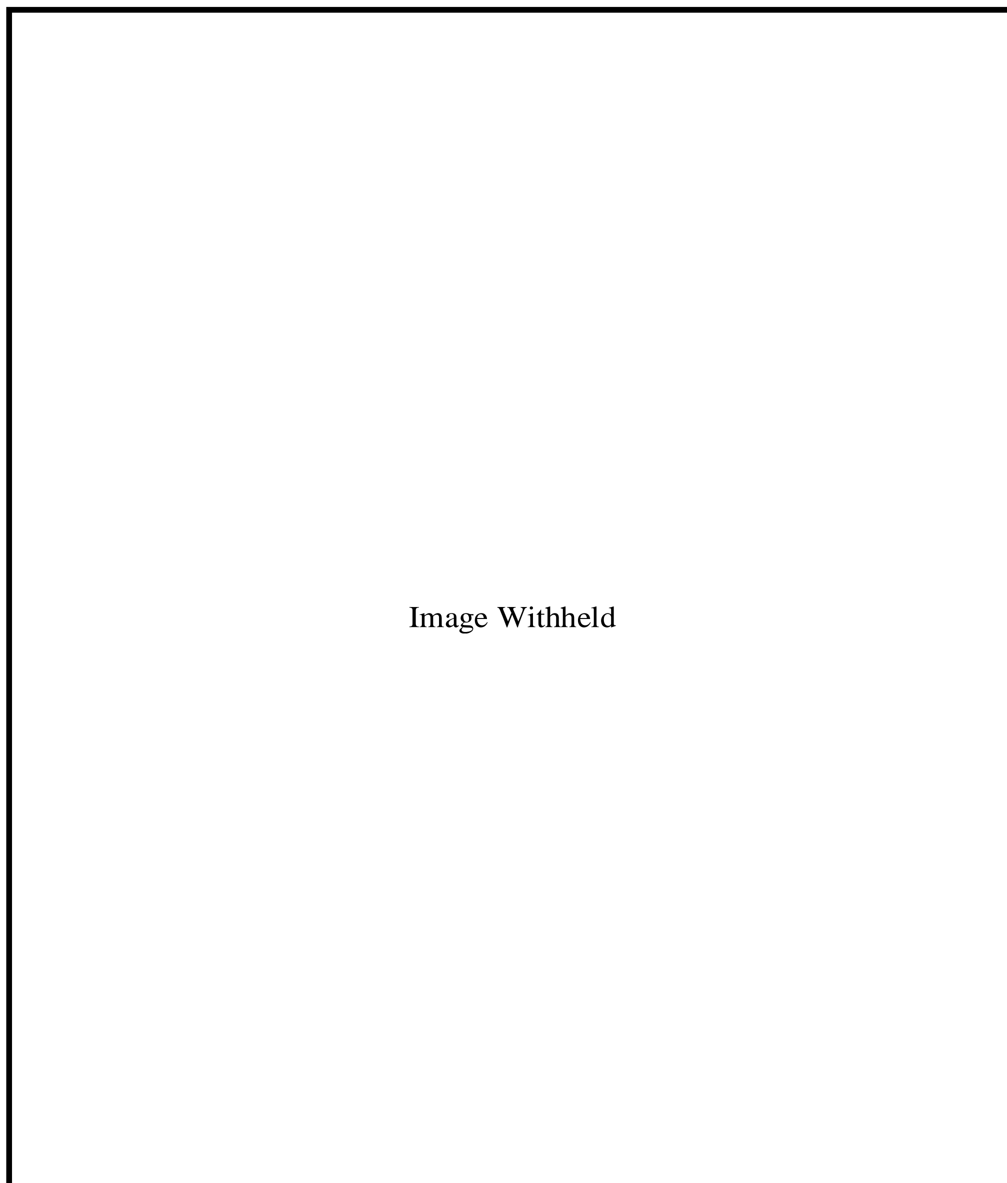

Fig. 6 Superbia, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 23v.

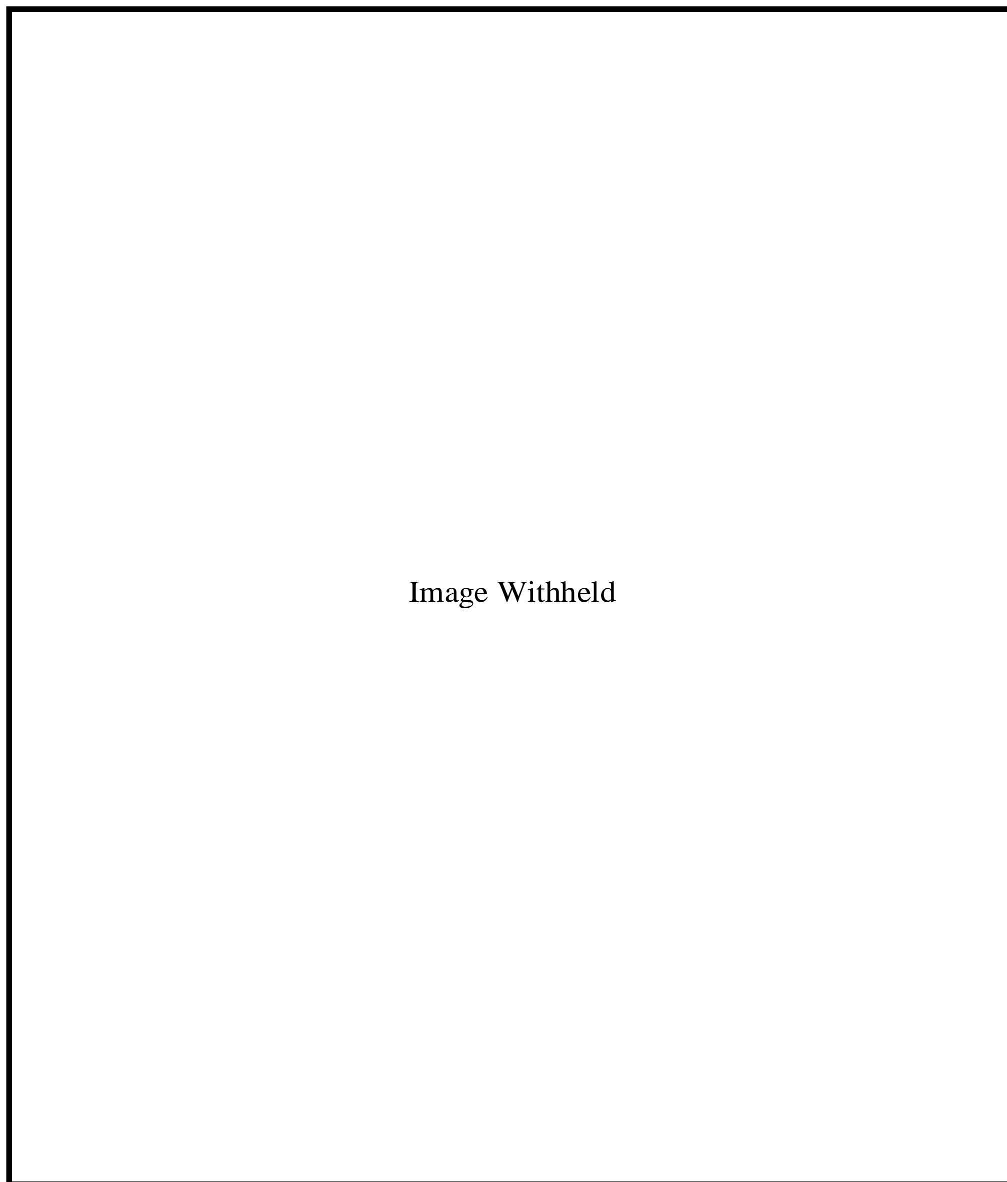

Fig. 7 Natura naturans/Natura naturata, *Documenti d'Amore*,
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 27.

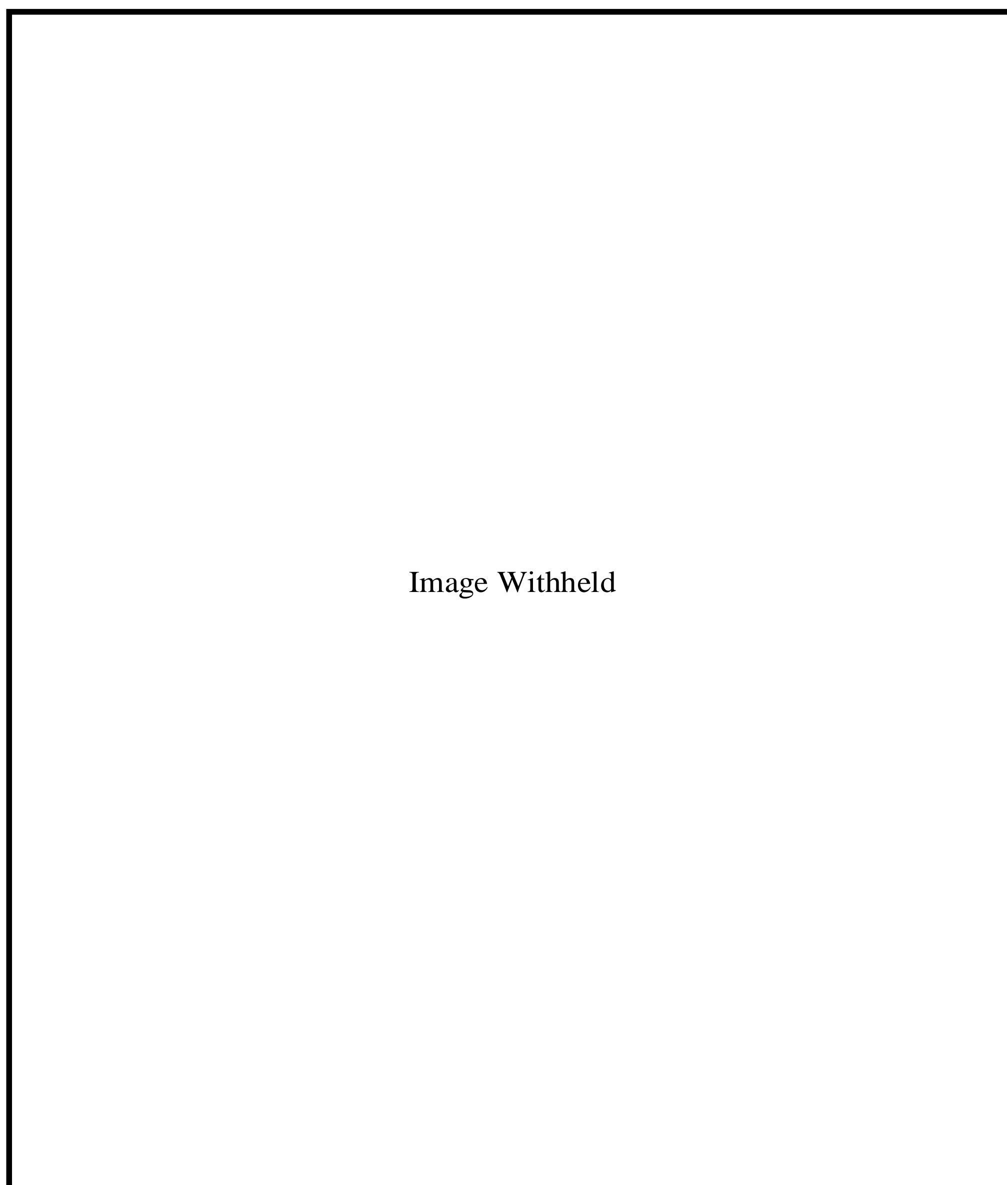

Fig. 8 Industria, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 32v.

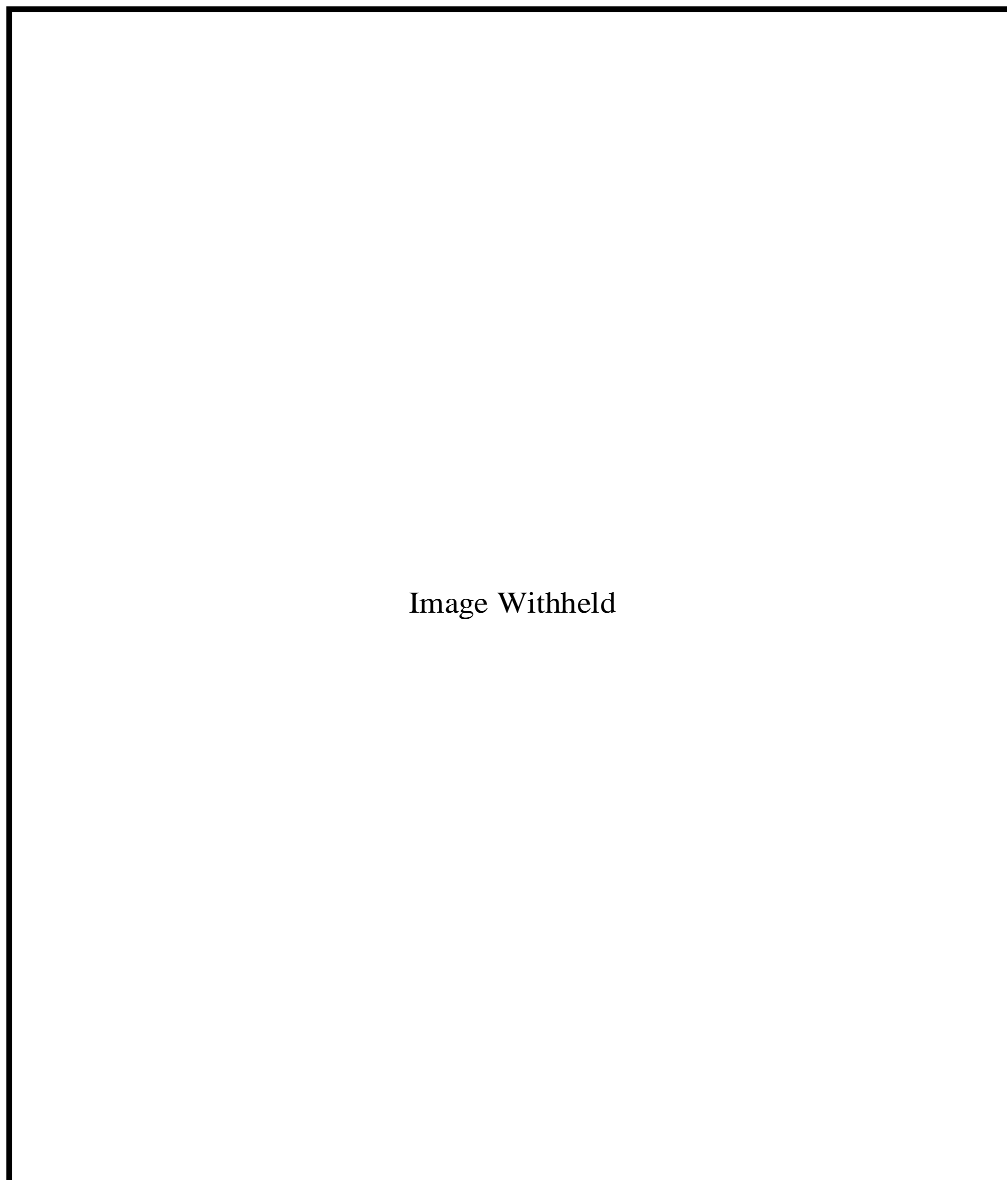

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Fig. 9 Constantia, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 57r.

Fig. 10 Ascension of Constantia, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 60v.

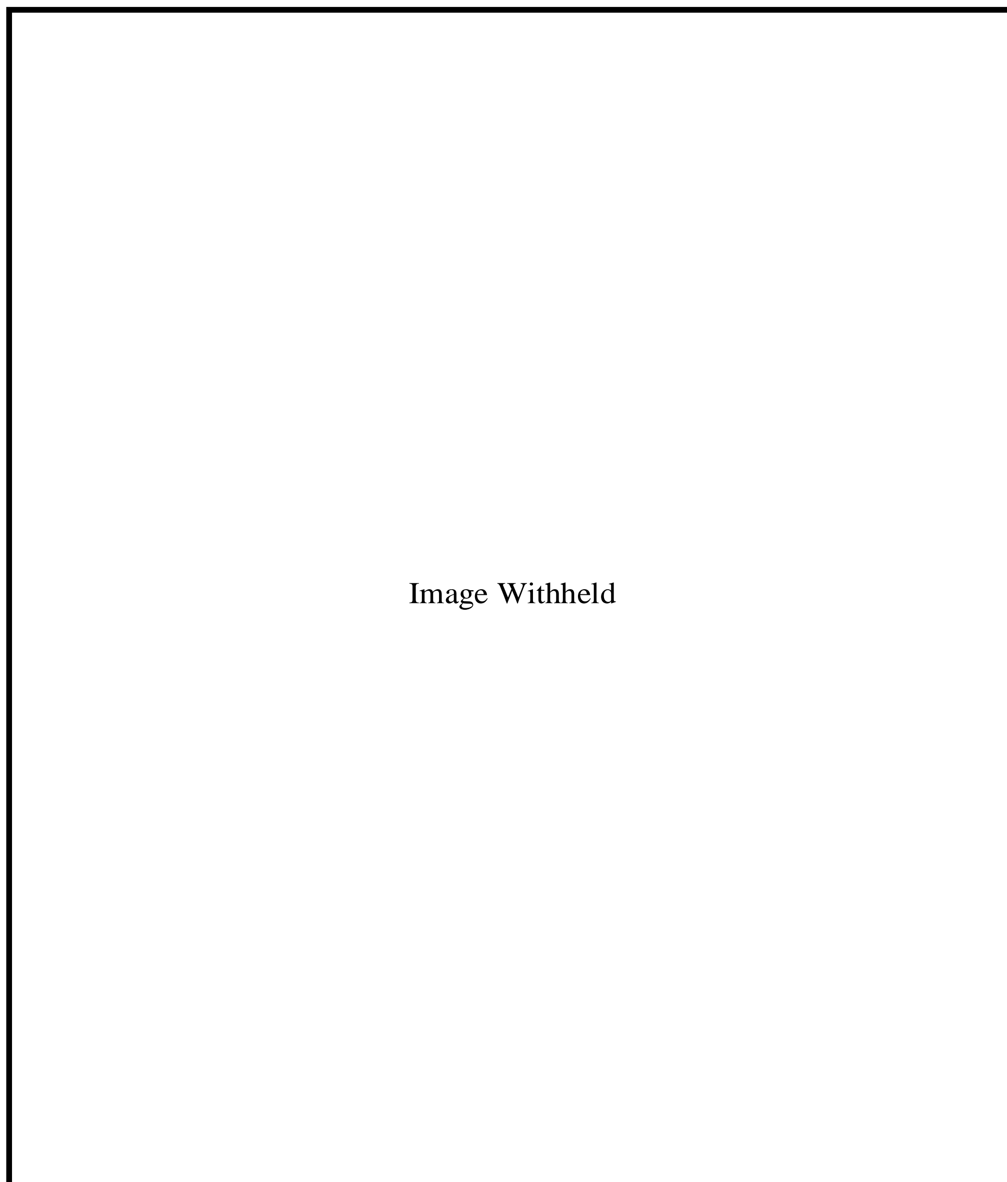

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Fig. 11 Discretio, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 61.

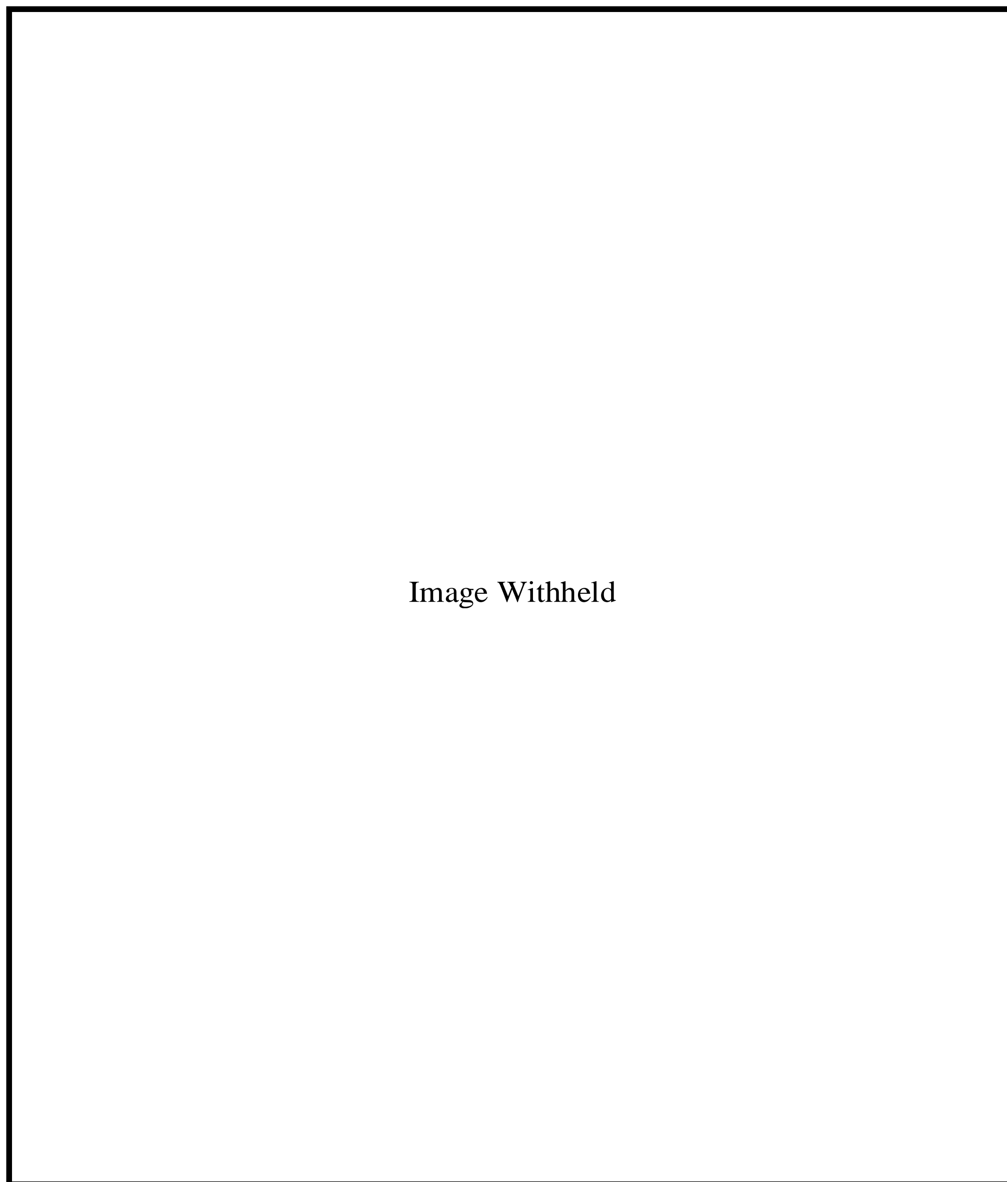

Fig. 12 Patientia, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 64.

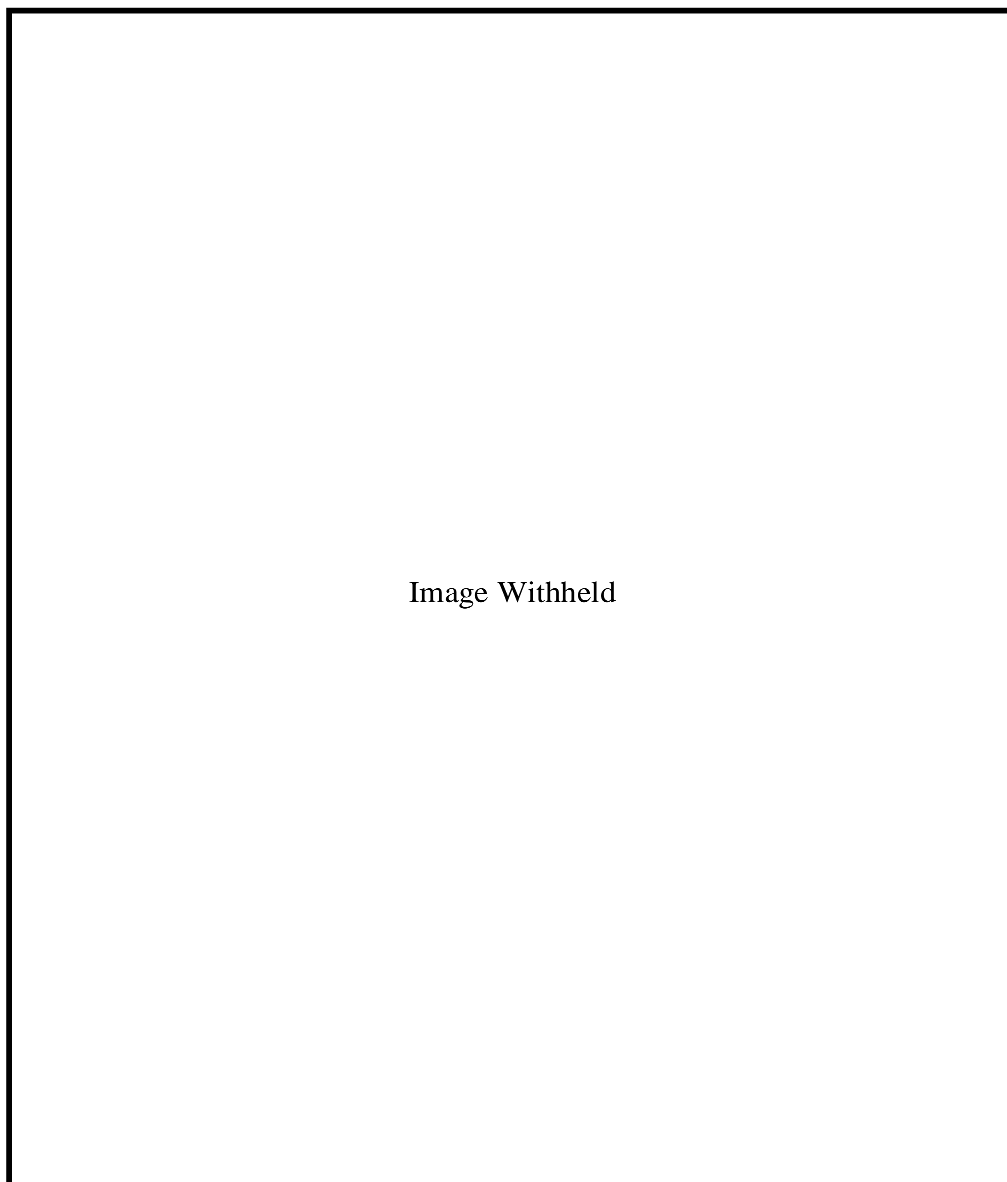

Fig. 13 Spes, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 66.

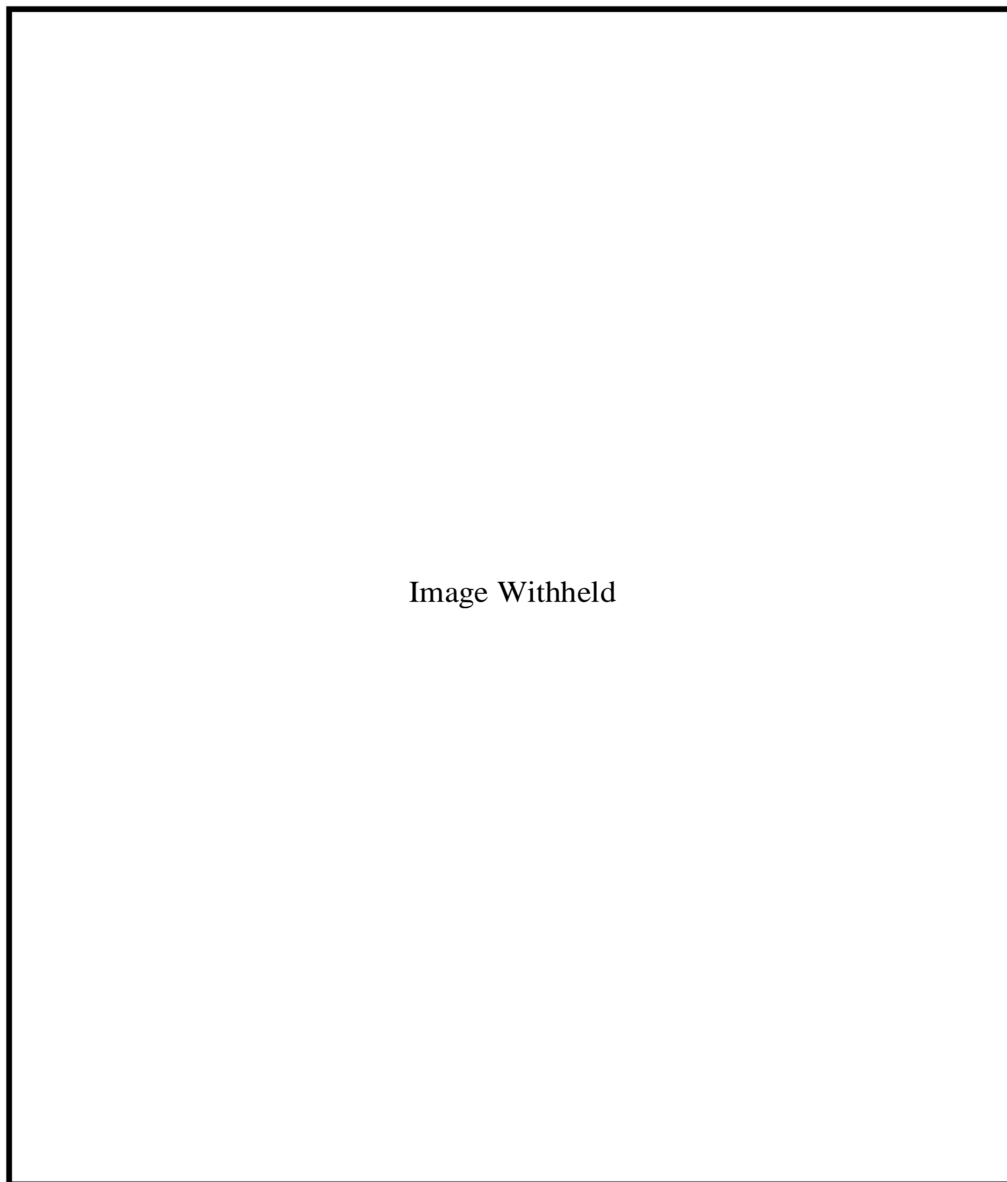

Fig. 14 Prudentia, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 69v.

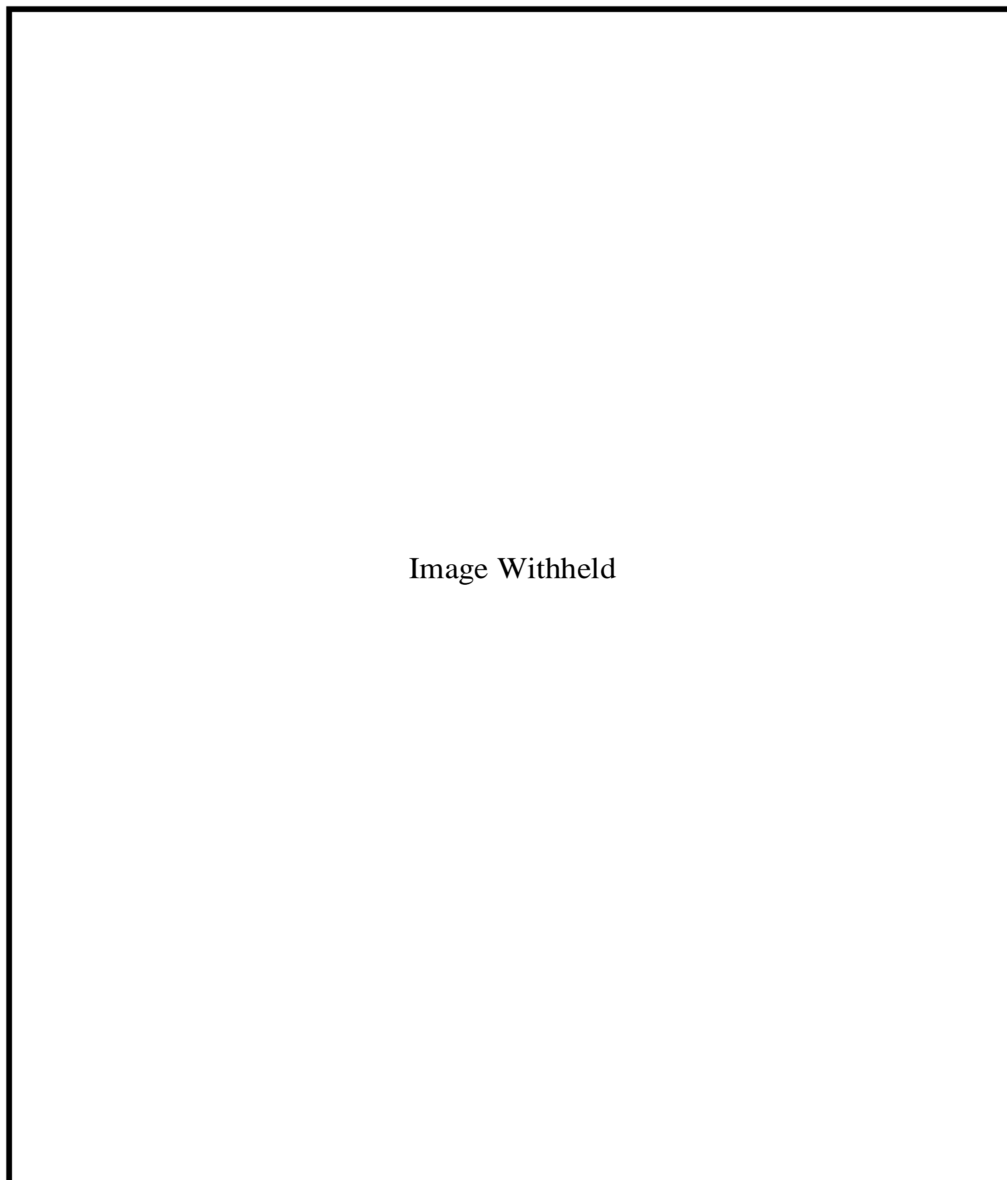

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Fig. 15 Hours of the Day/Ages of Man, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 407, fol. 76v and 77.

Fig. 16 Gloria, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 85.

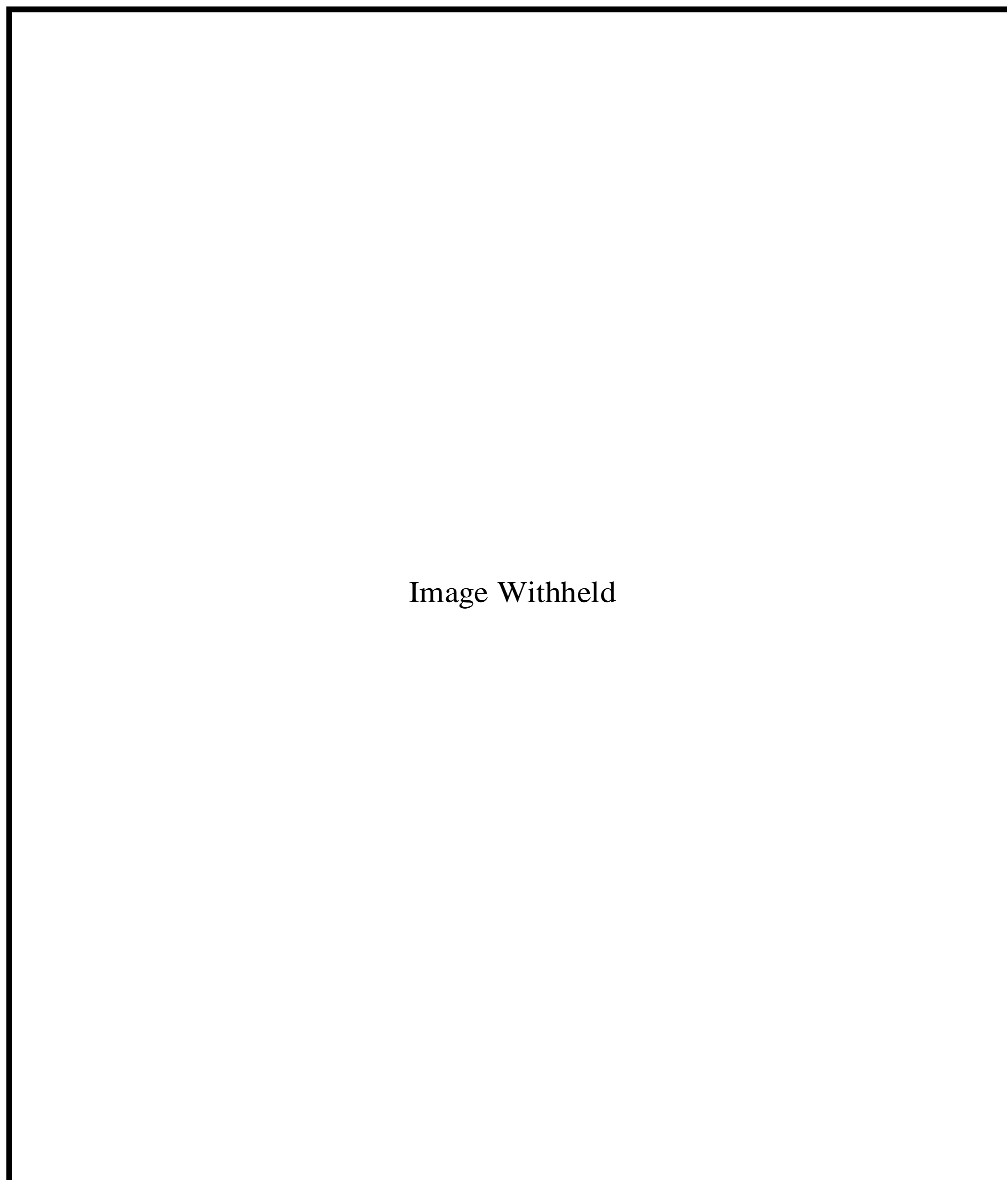

Fig. 17 Justitia, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 87v.

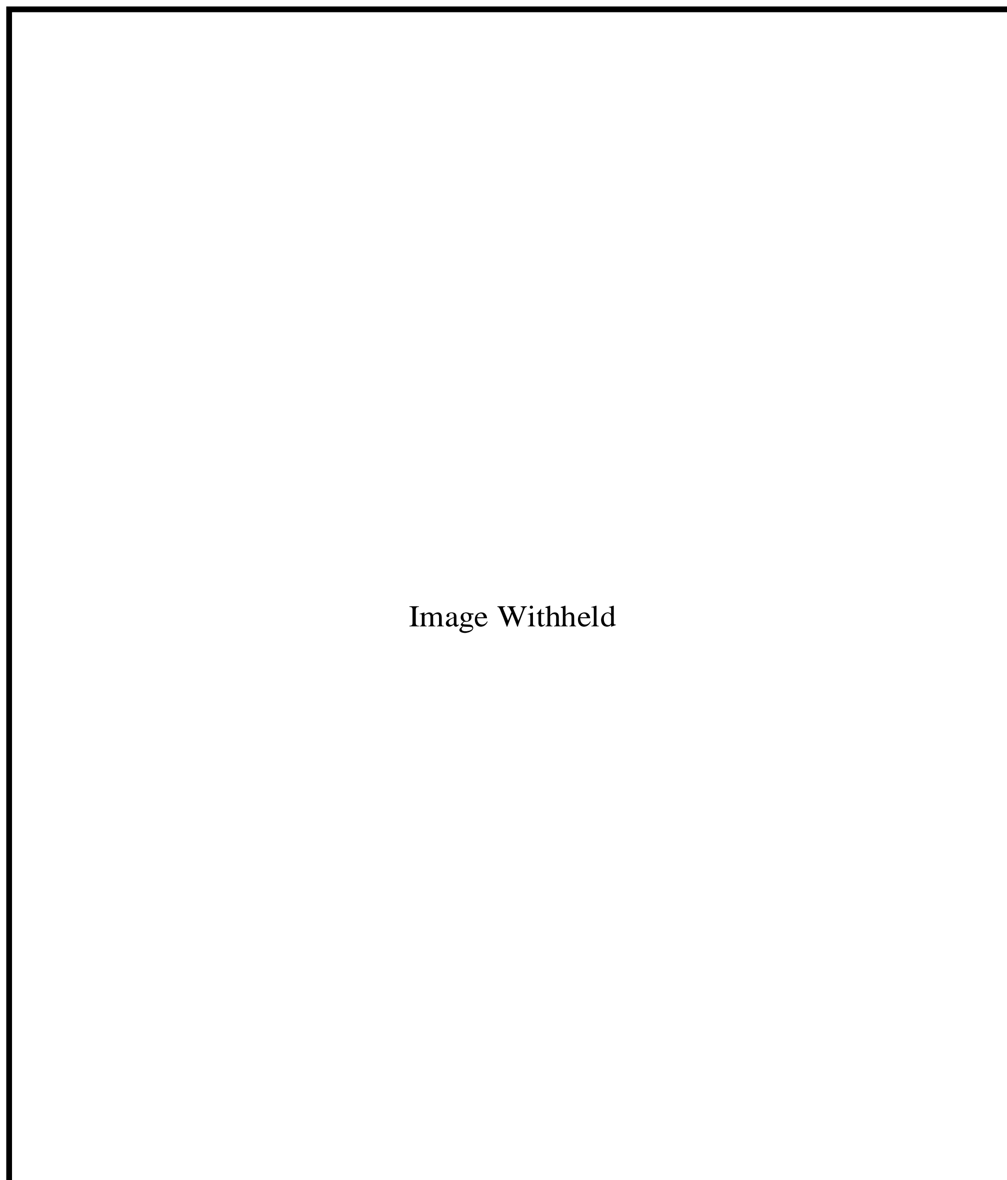

Fig. 18 Innocentia, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 90.

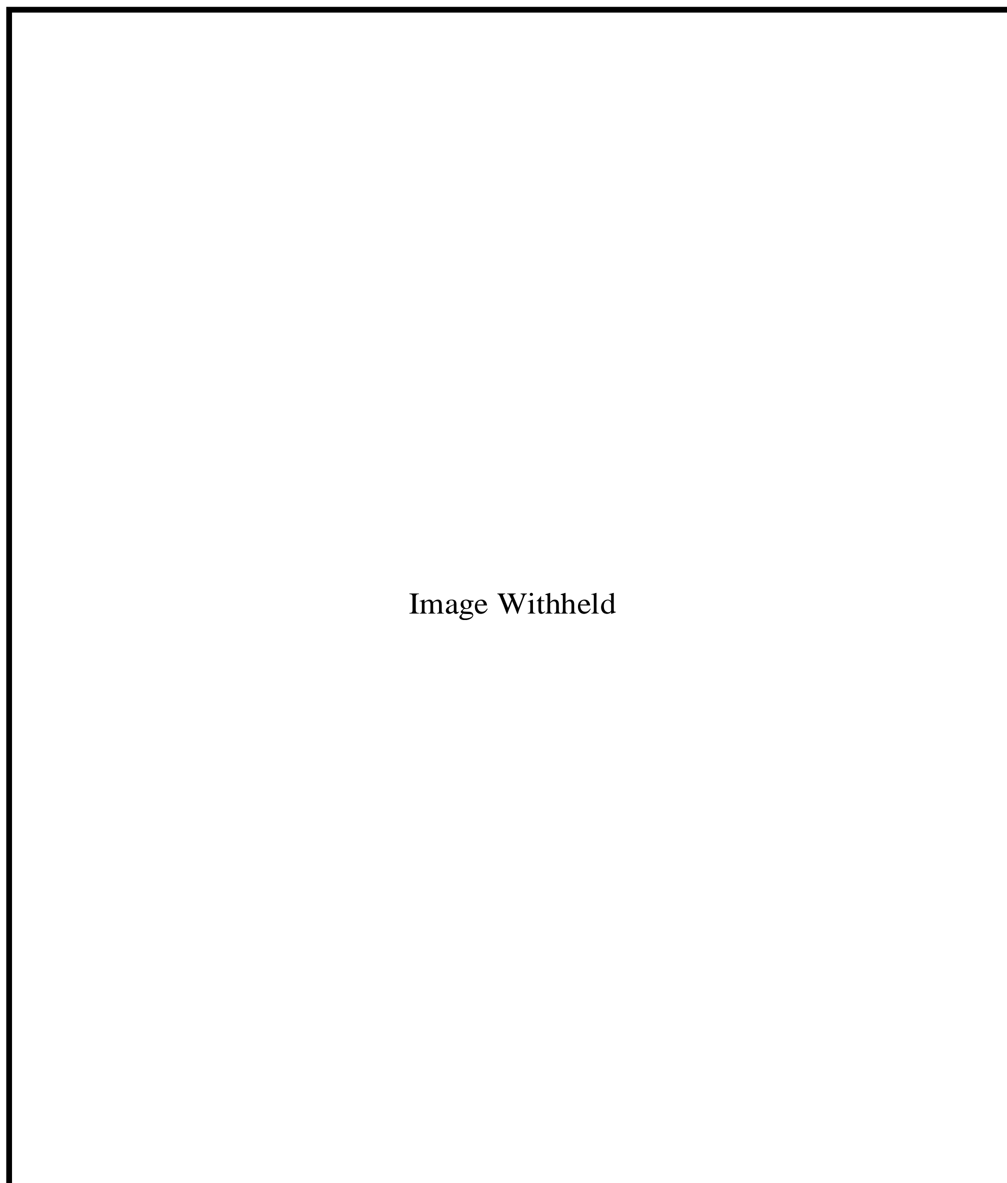

Fig. 19 Conscientia, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 91.

Fig. 20 Gratitudo, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 92v.

Fig. 21 Etternitas, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 96.

Fig. 22 Love Closes the Book…, *Se piu non raggia*, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 98v.

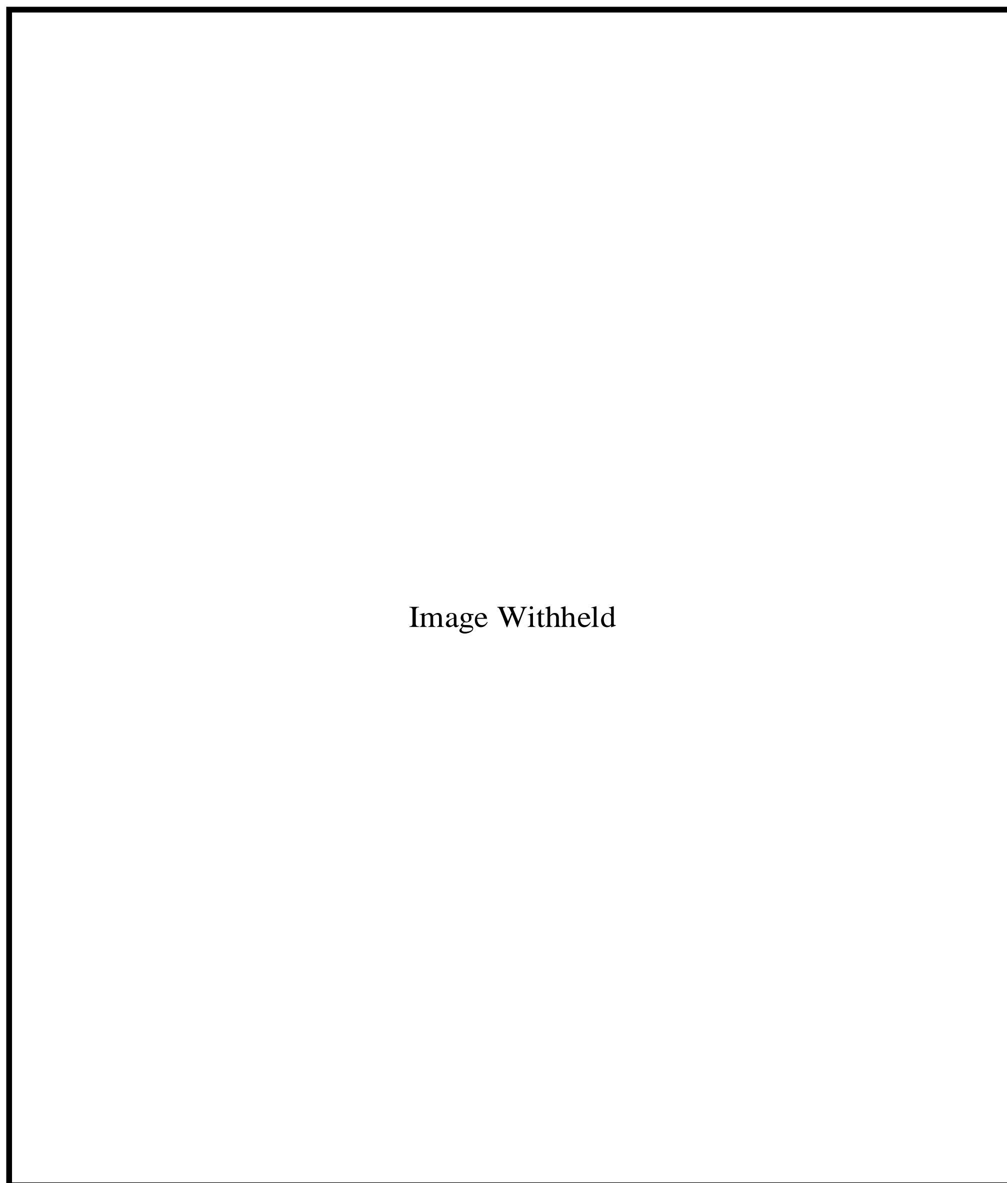

Fig. 23 Vigor, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 99r.

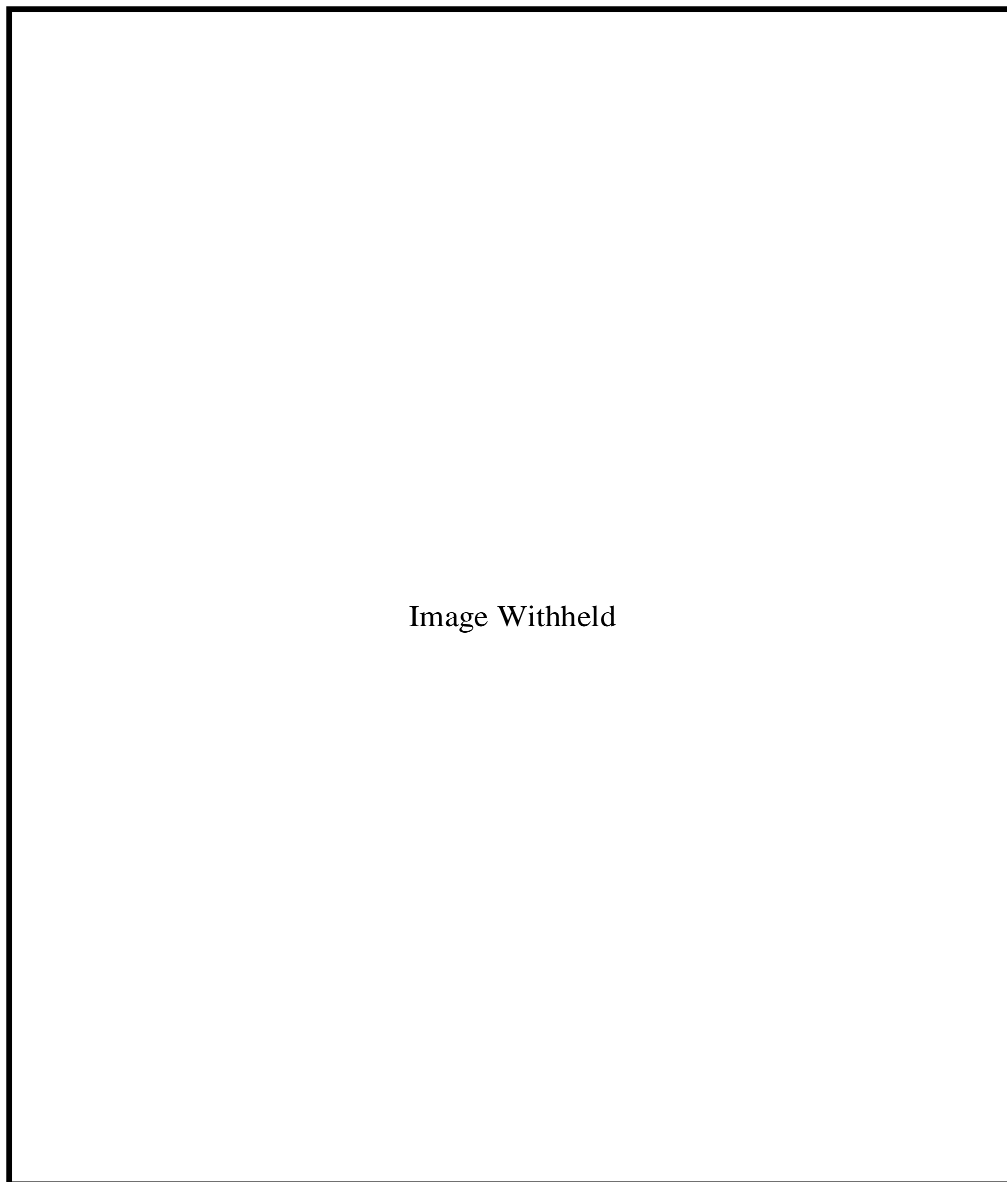

Fig. 24 Love and his Effects, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 99v.

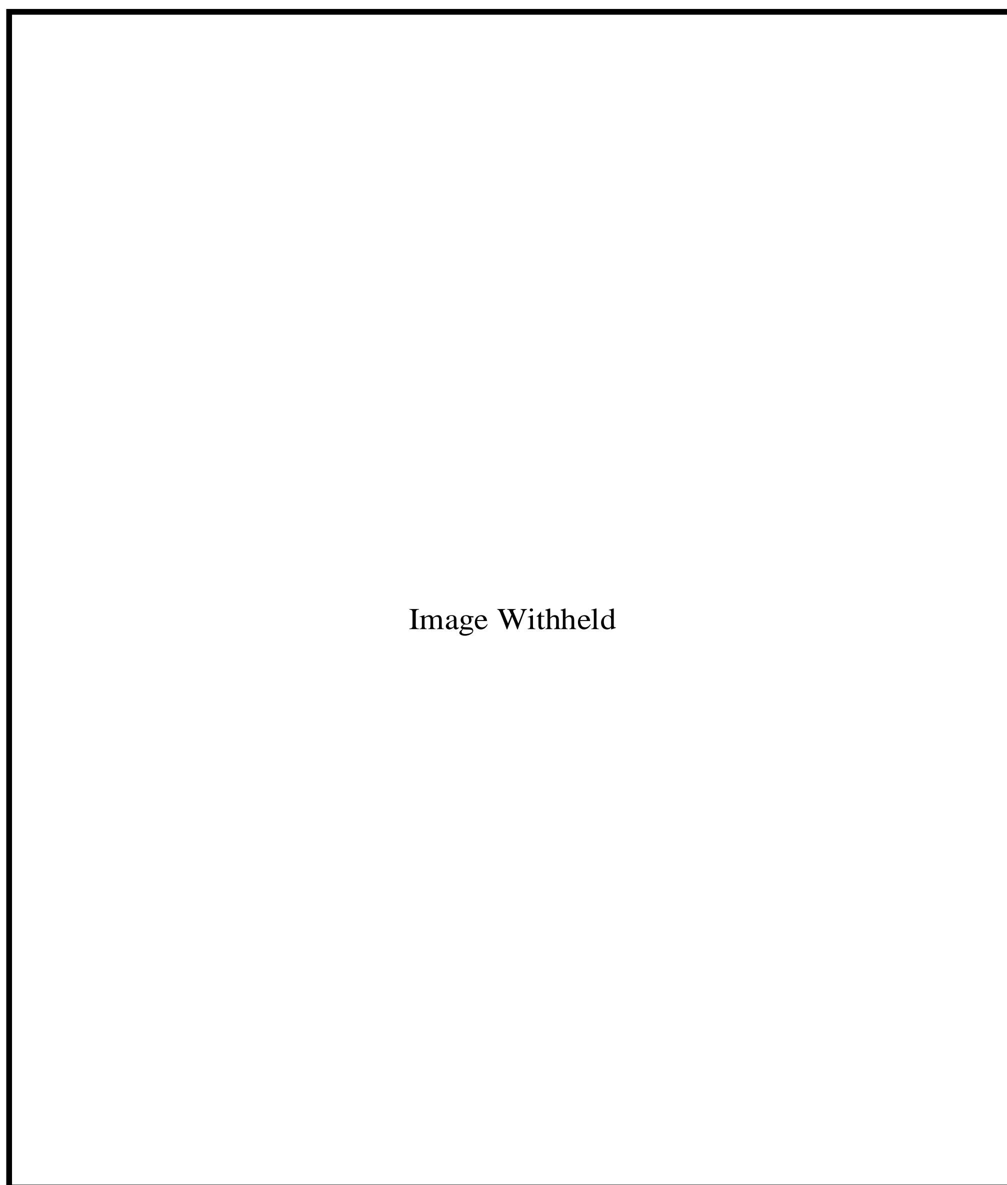

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Fig. 25 Circumspectio, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 101.

Fig. 26 Laus, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4076, fol. 101v.

Fig. 27 Roccha Amoris, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4077, fol. 1.

Fig. 28 Docilitas, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4077, fol. 4v.

Fig. 29 Industria, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4077, fol. 22v.

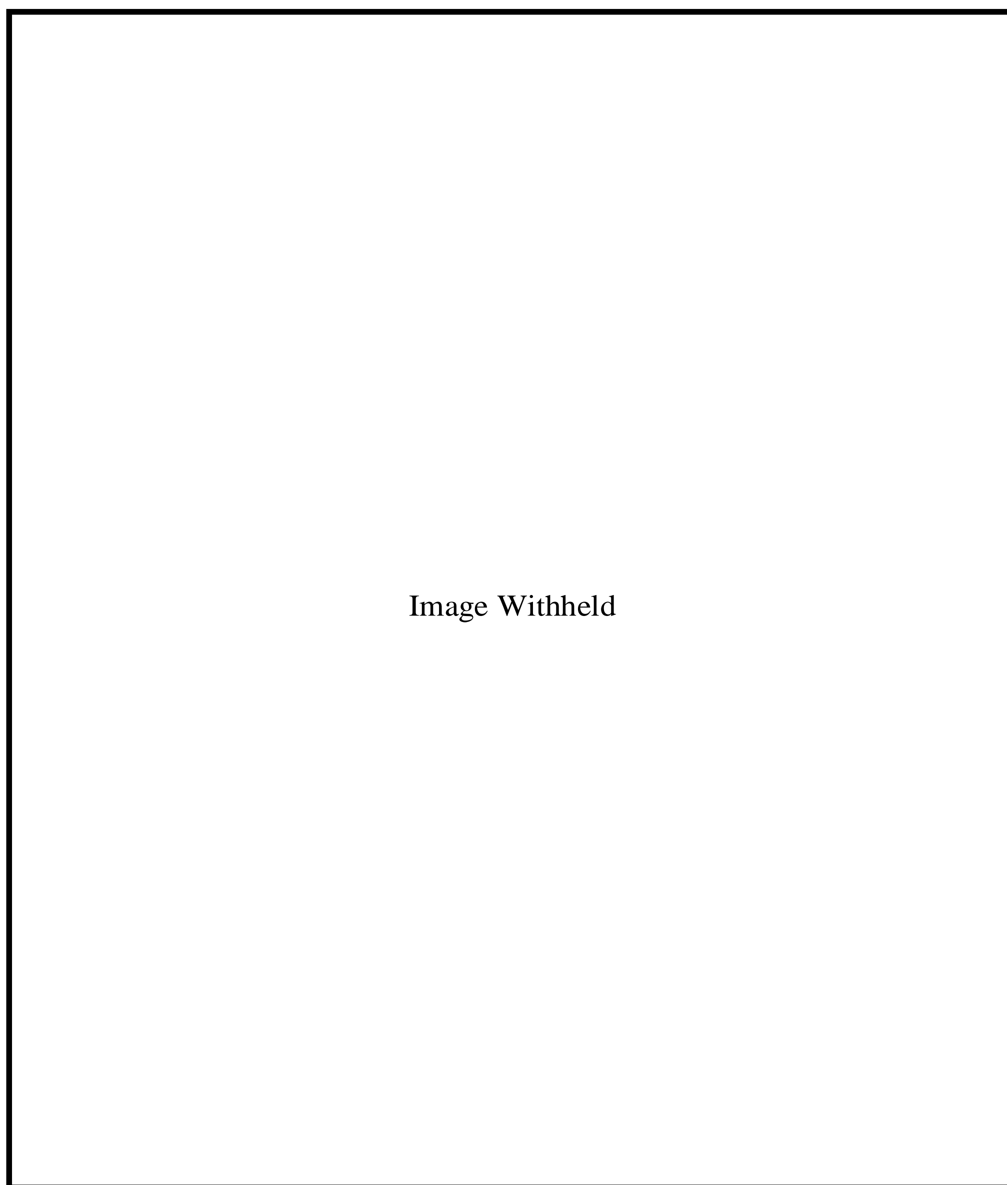

Fig. 30 Constantia, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4077, fol. 46.

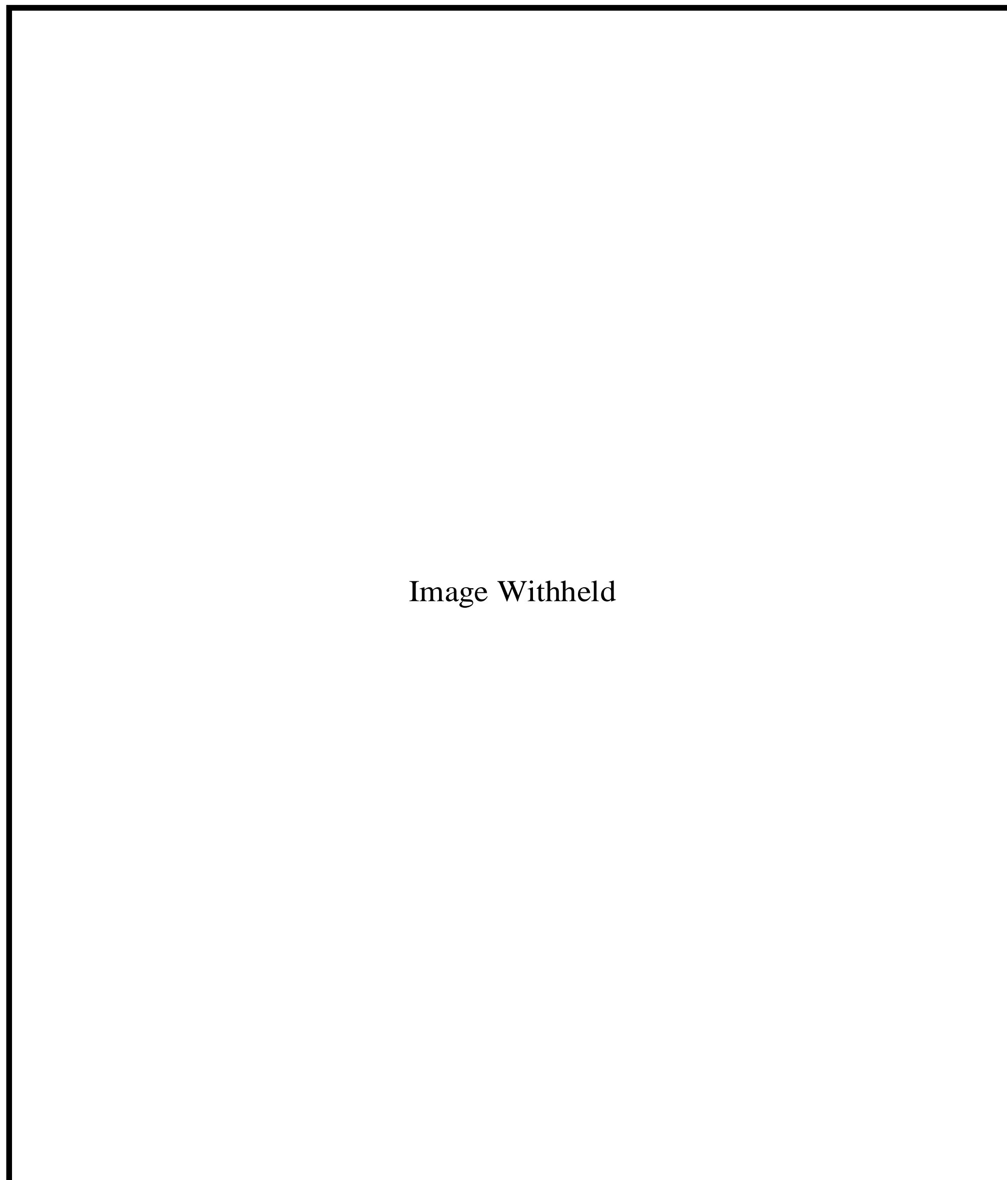

Fig. 31 Ascension of Constantia, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4077, fol. 49v.

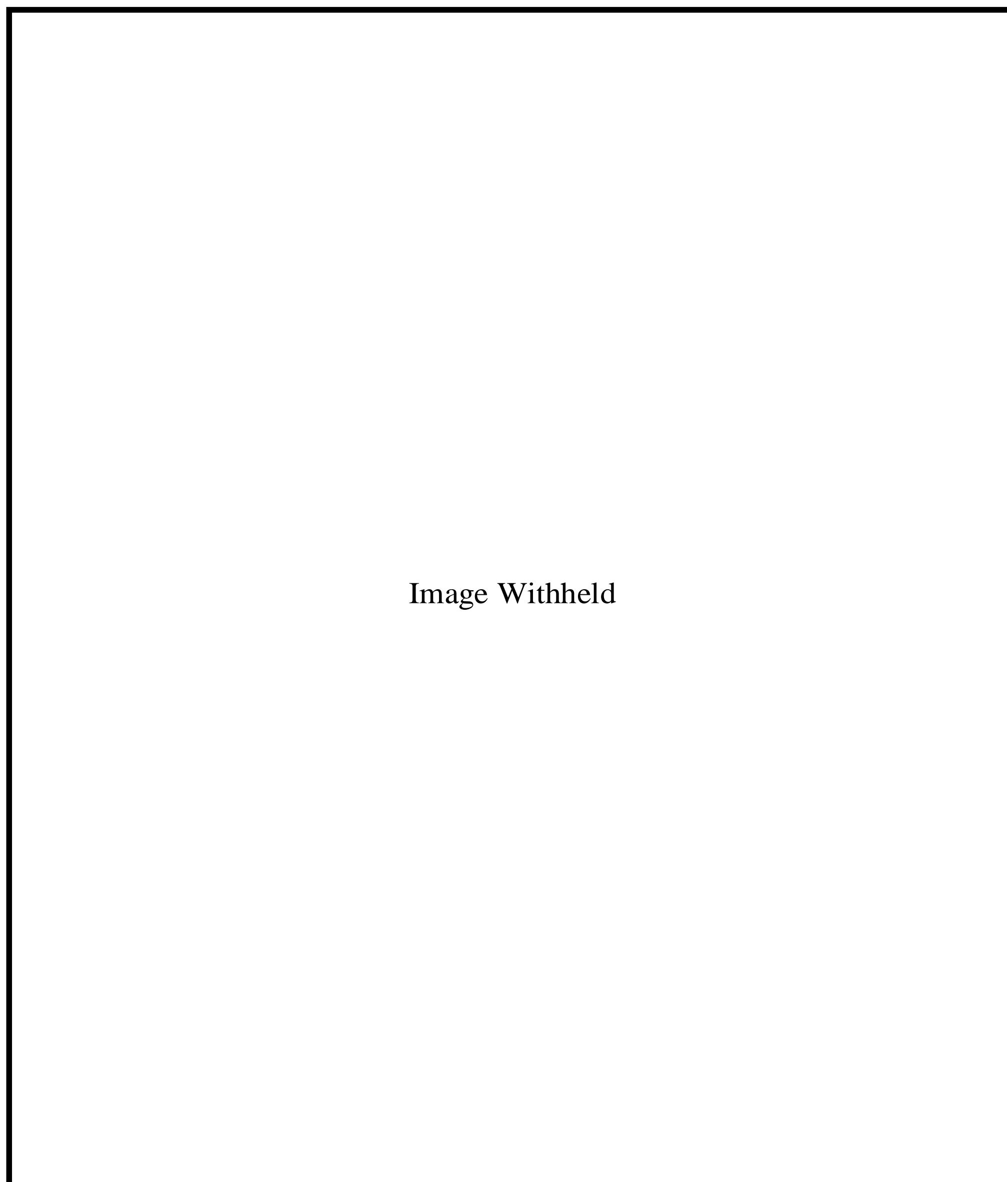

Fig. 32 Discretio, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4077, fol. 50.

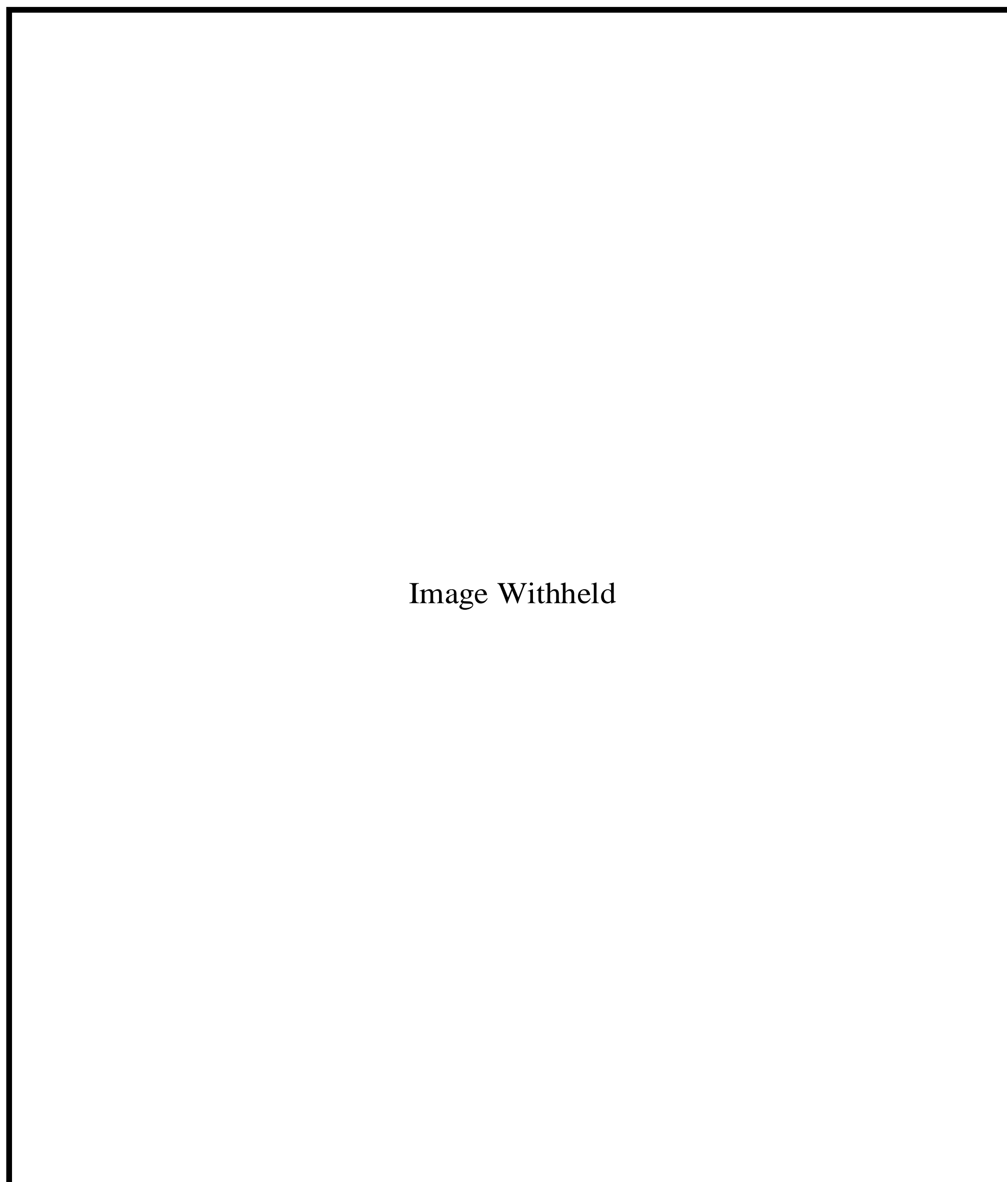

Fig. 33 Patientia, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4077, fol. 53.

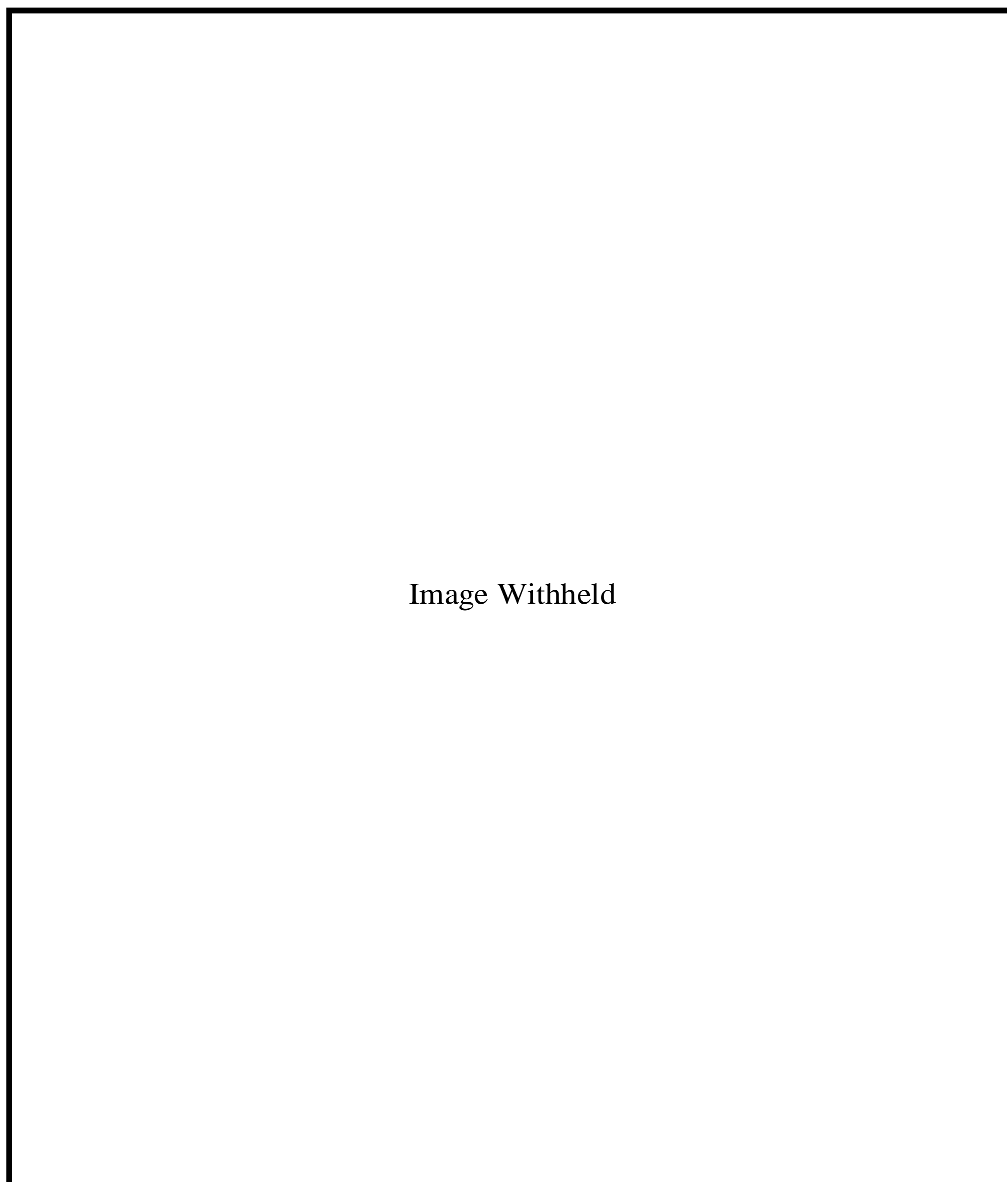

Fig. 34 Spes, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4077, fol. 55.

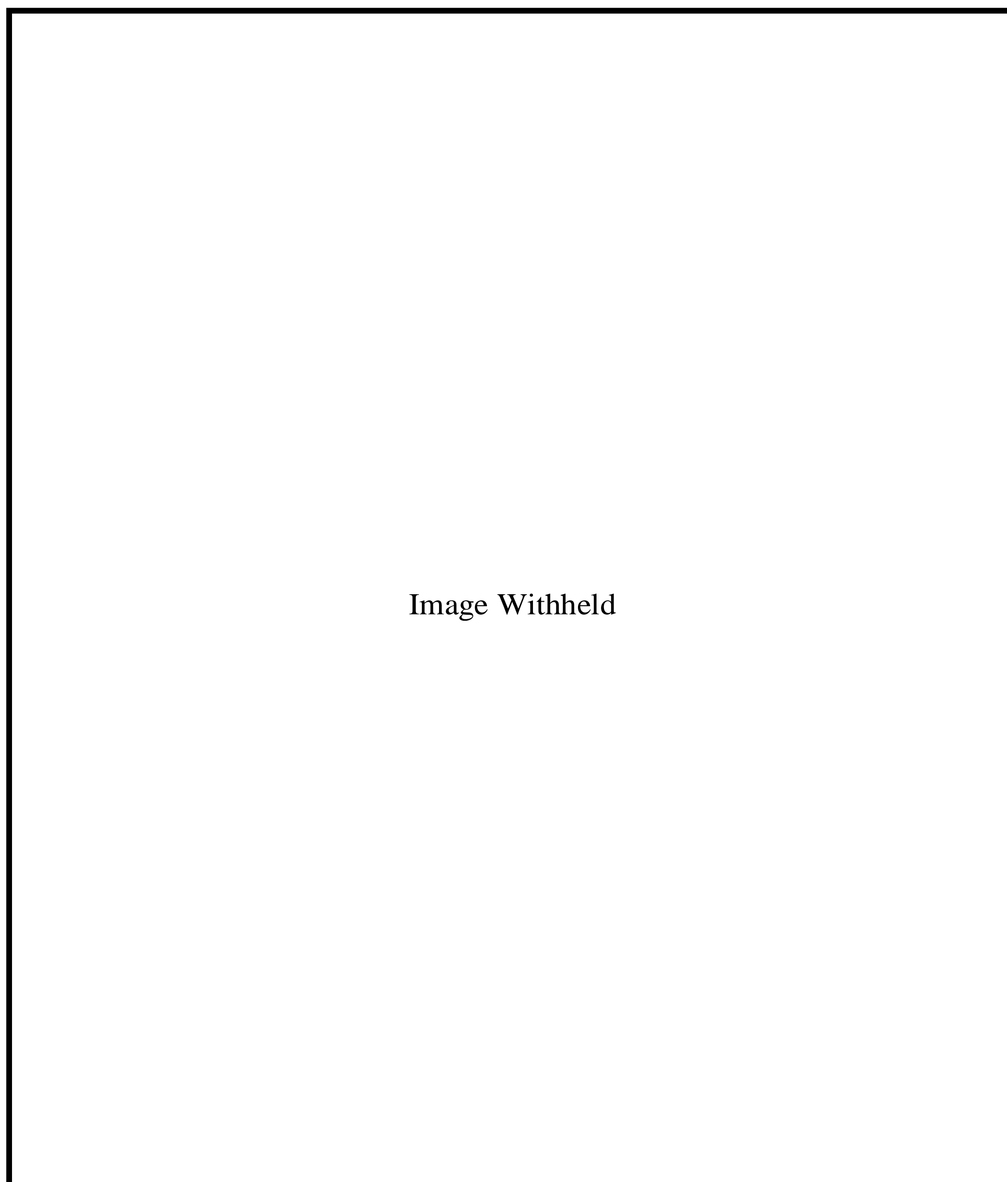

Fig. 35 Prudentia, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4077, fol. 58v.

Fig. 36 Gloria, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4077, fol. 74.

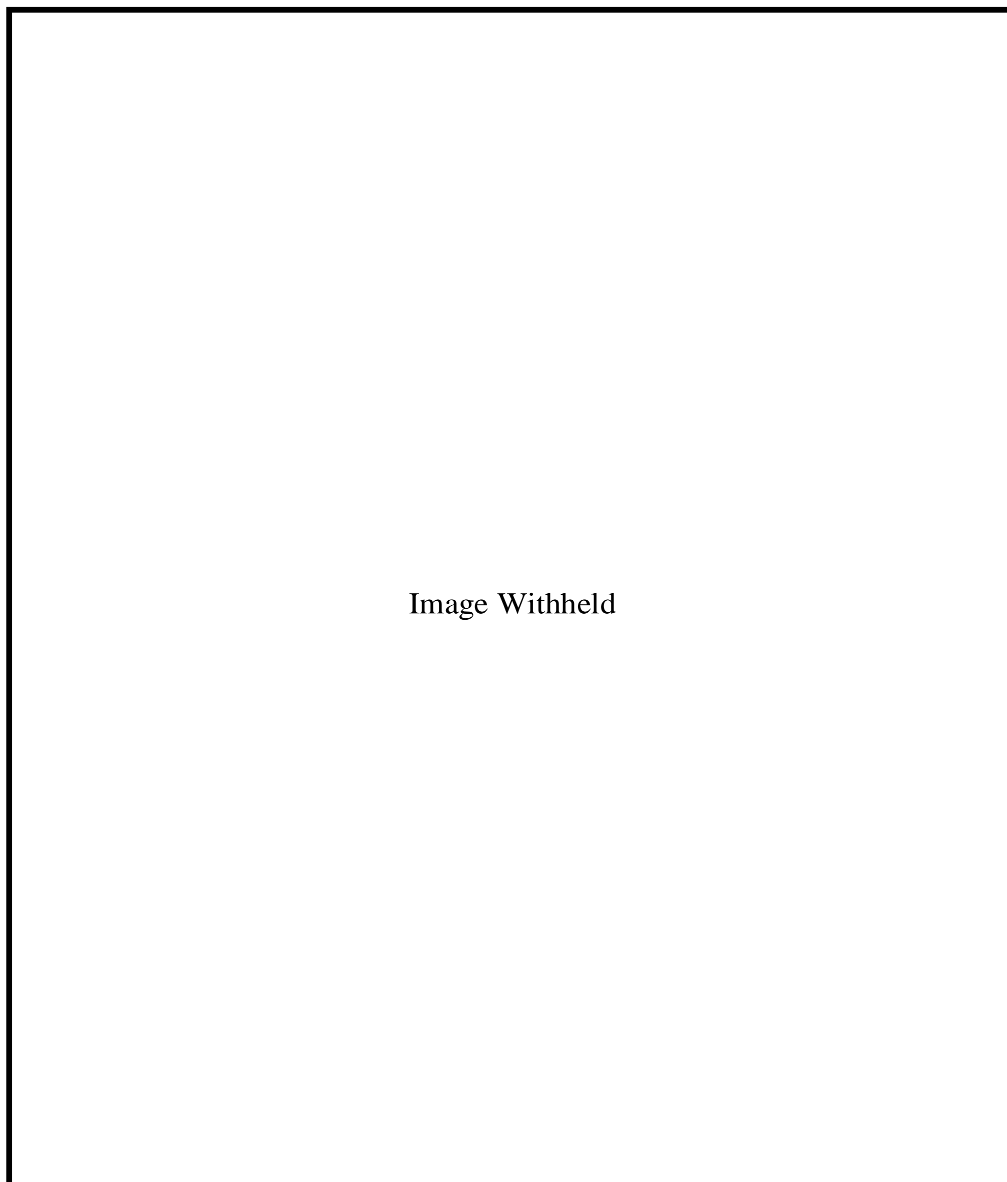

Fig. 37 Justitia, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4077, fol. 76v.

Fig. 38 Innocentia, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4077, fol. 79.

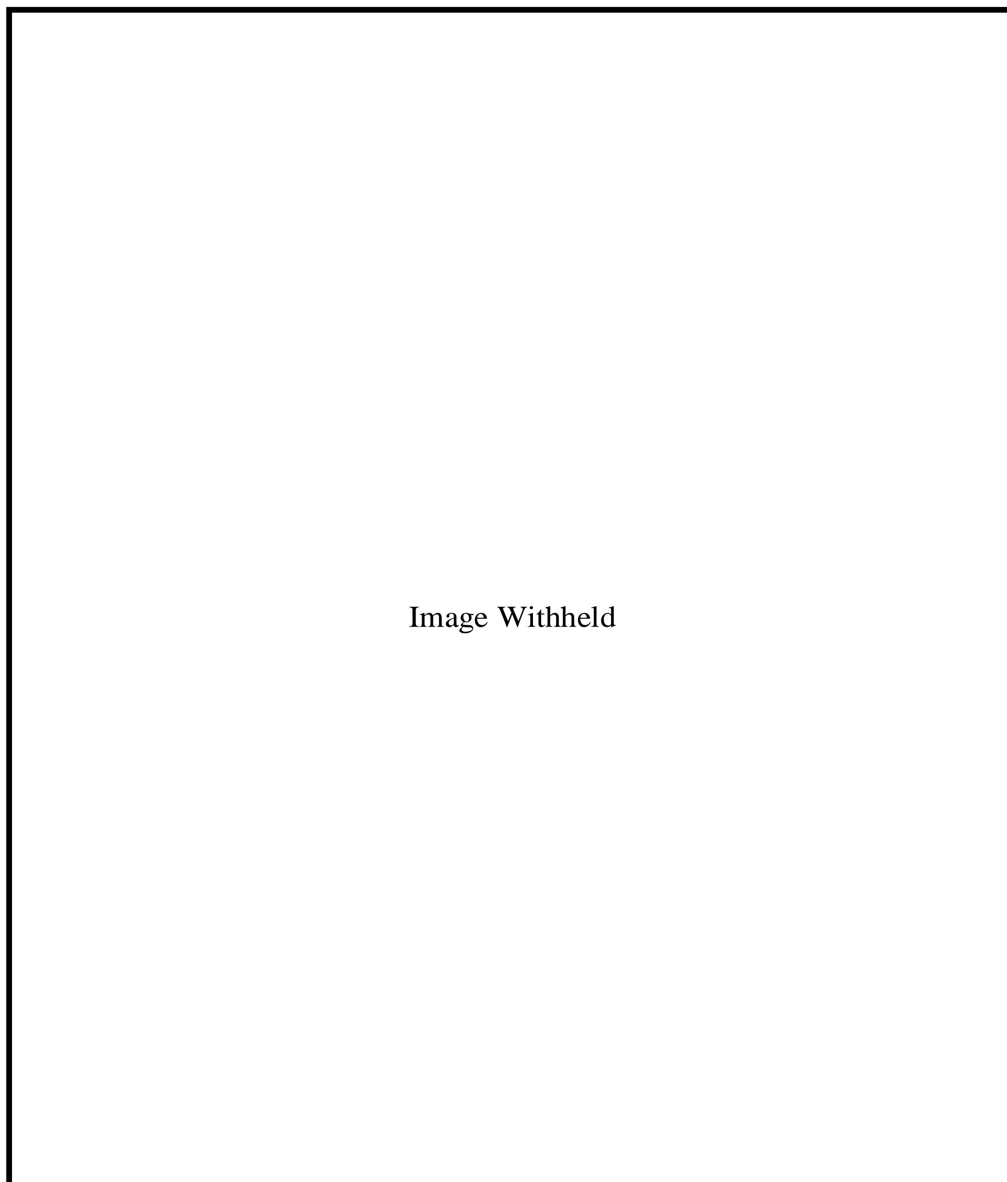

Fig. 39 Gratitudo, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4077, fol. 81v.

Fig. 40 Etternitas, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4077, fol. 85.

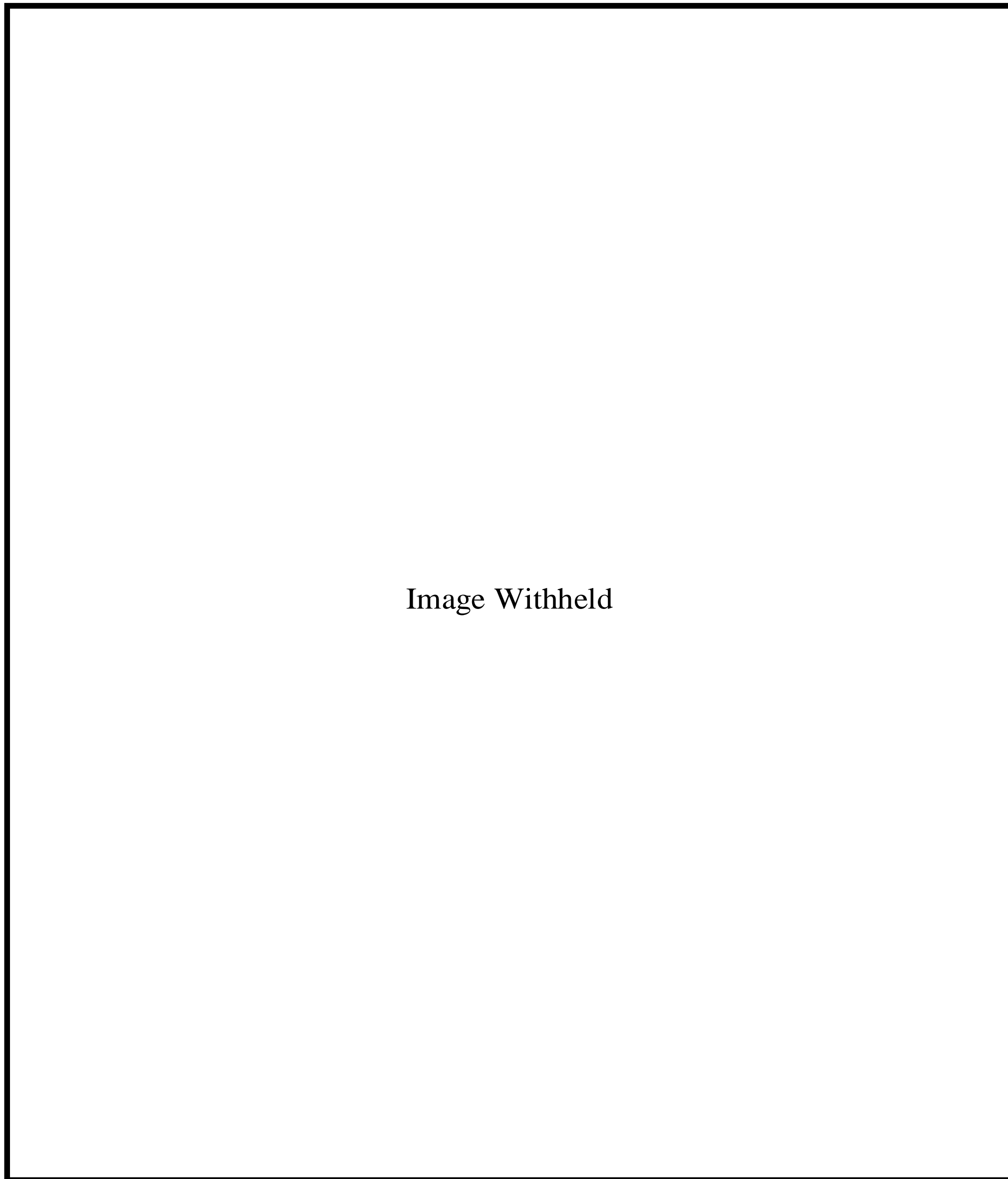

Fig. 41 Amor closes the book, *Se piu non raggia…*, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4077, fol. 87v.

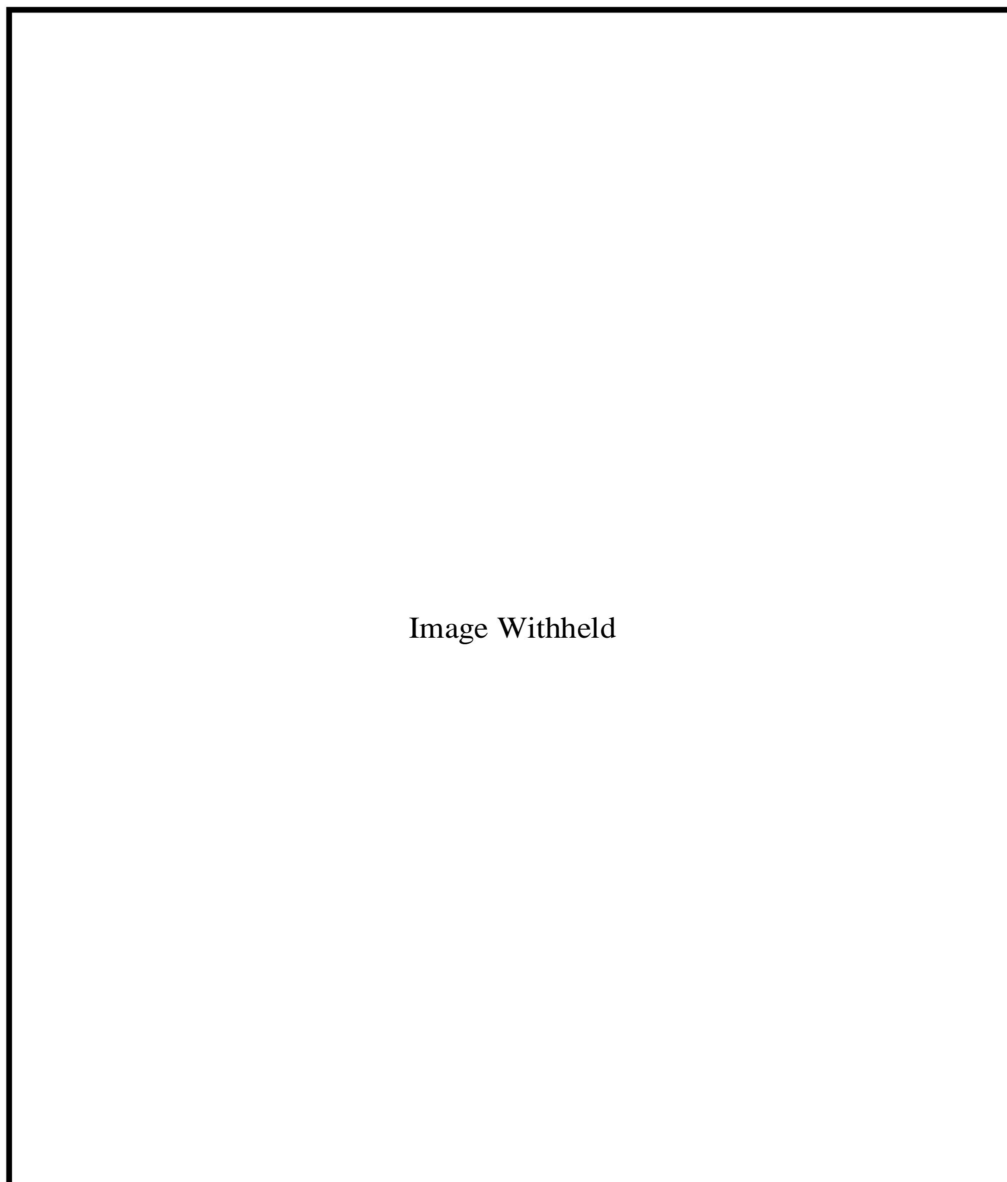

Fig. 42 Vigor, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4077, fol. 88.

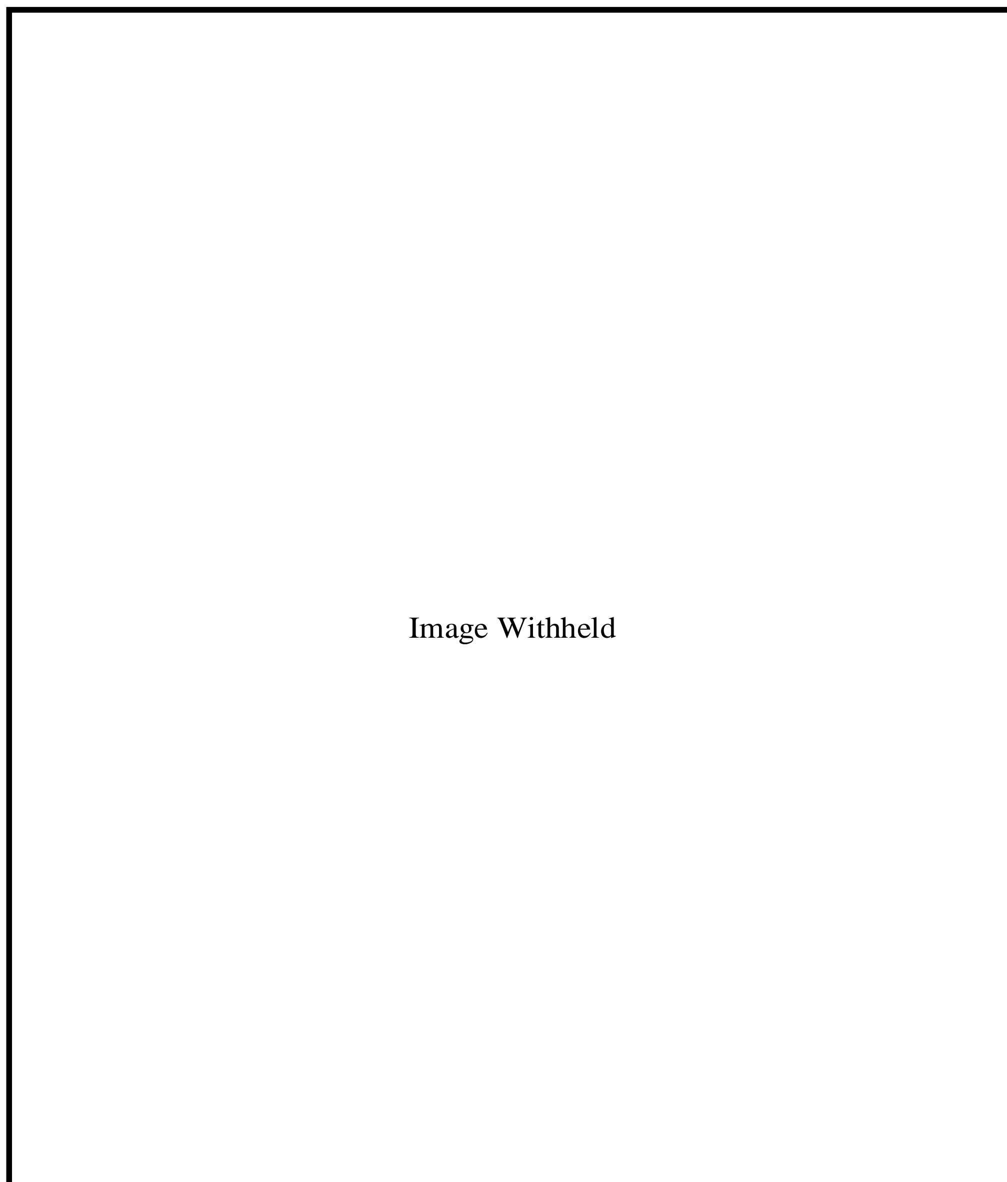

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Fig. 43 Love and his Effects, *Documenti d'Amore*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; MS Barb. Lat. 4077, fol. 88v.

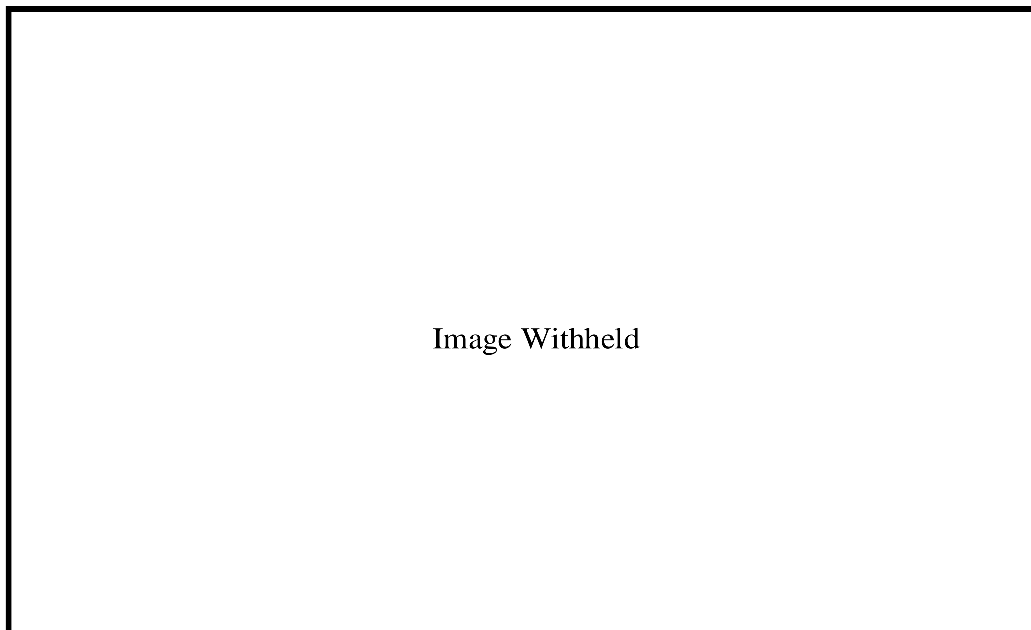

Fig. 44 Tristitia, Aries, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 1.

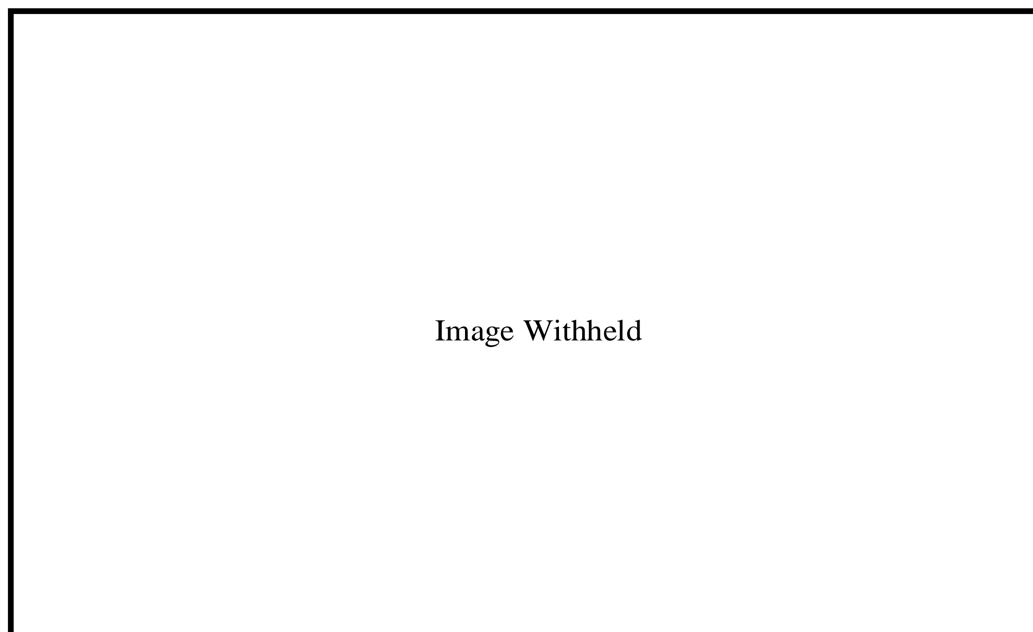

Fig. 45 Vanitas and Letitia, Taurus, fol. 1v; Gola, Bilancia, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 2.

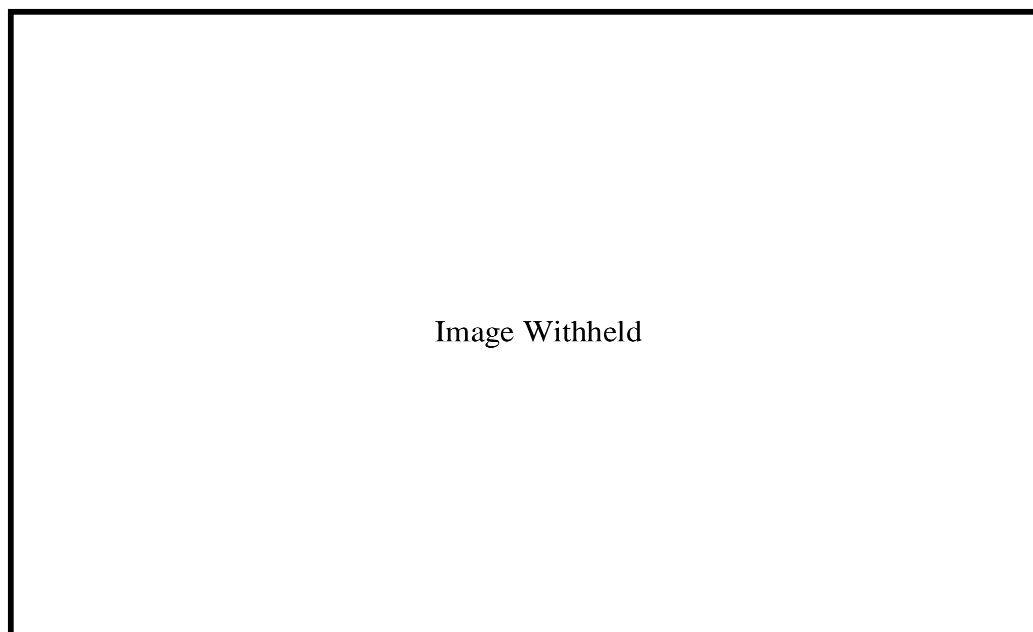

Fig. 46 Ebrietas, Scorpio, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 2v.

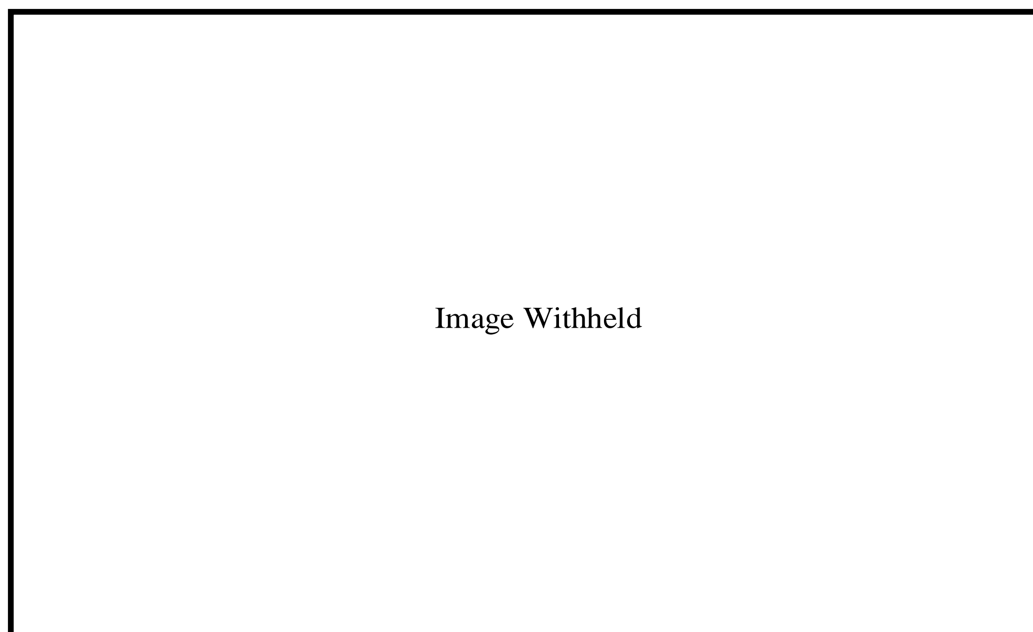

Fig. 47 Coronation of the Virgin, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 3.

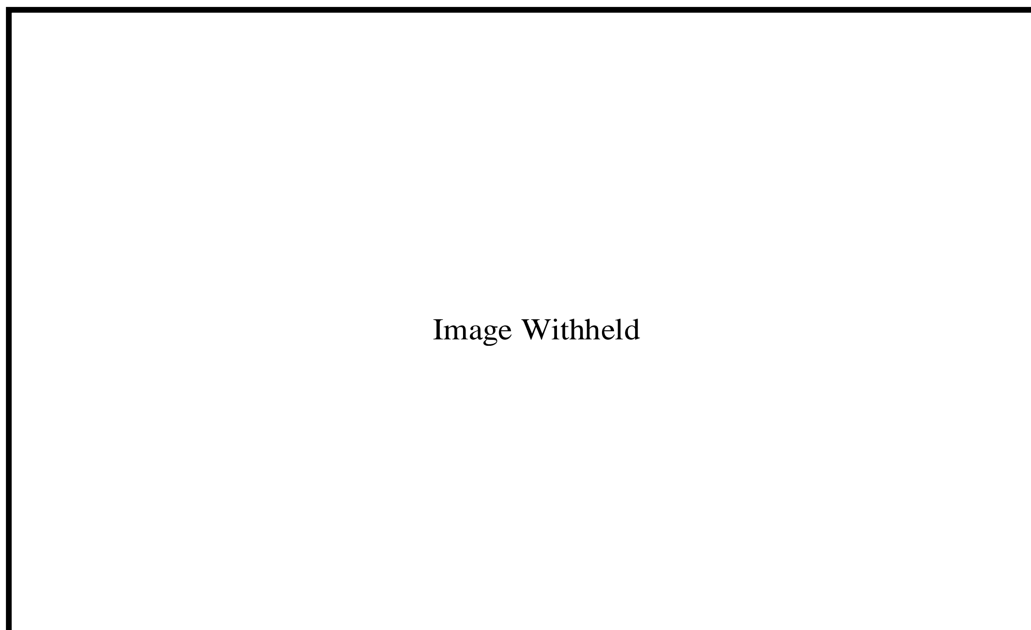

Fig. 48 Scholar/Francesco, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 3v.

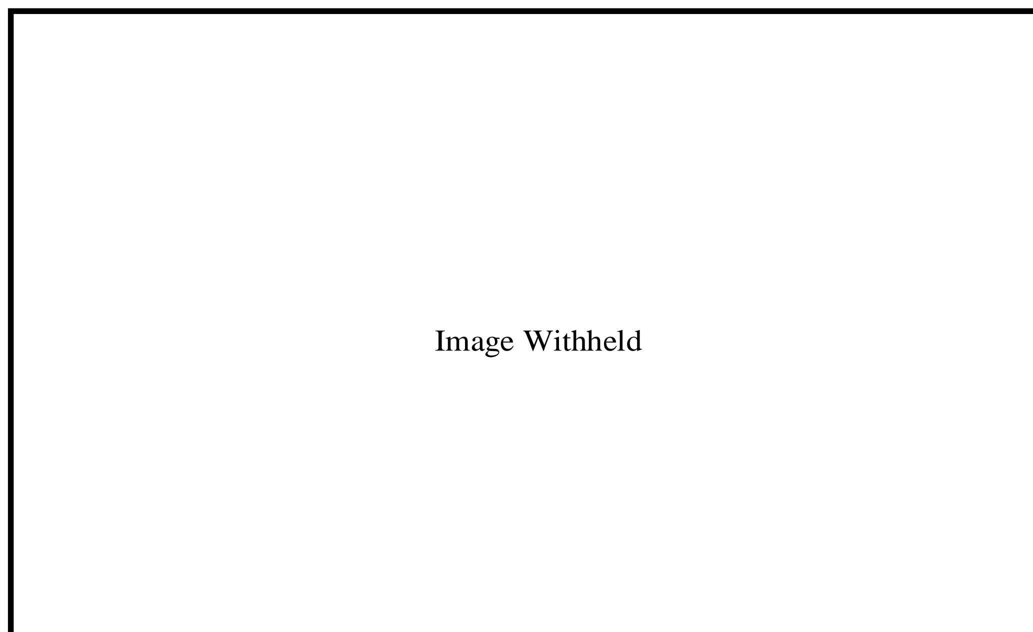

Fig. 49 Angel with drum/tambourine; Christ with Angels playing Musical Instruments, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fols. 10v, 11.

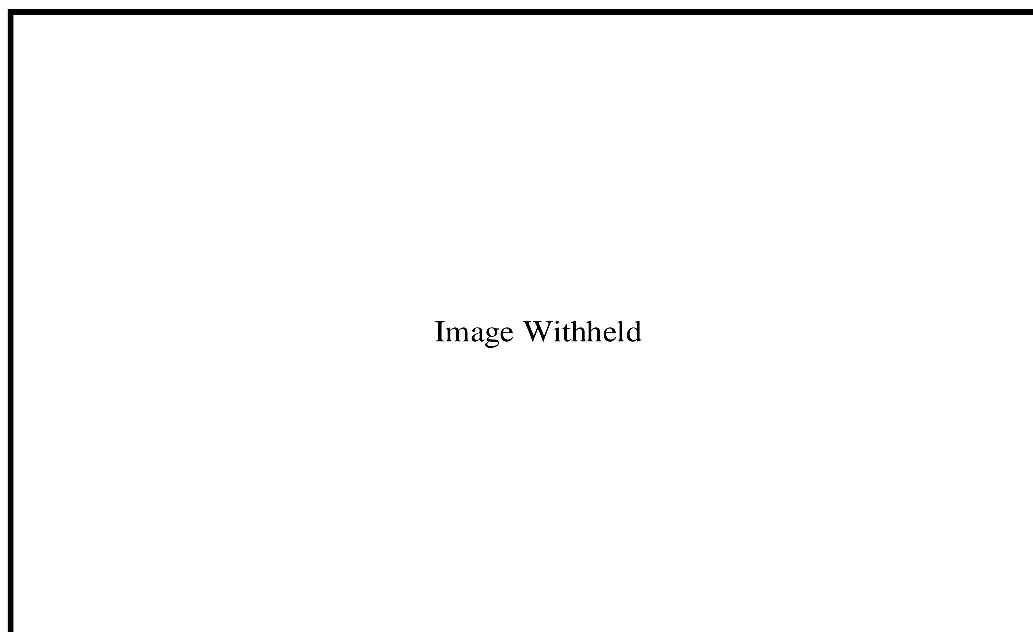

Fig. 50 Woman/Virgin (?) Reading; St. Anne, Mary, Christ Child, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 31v; fol. 32.

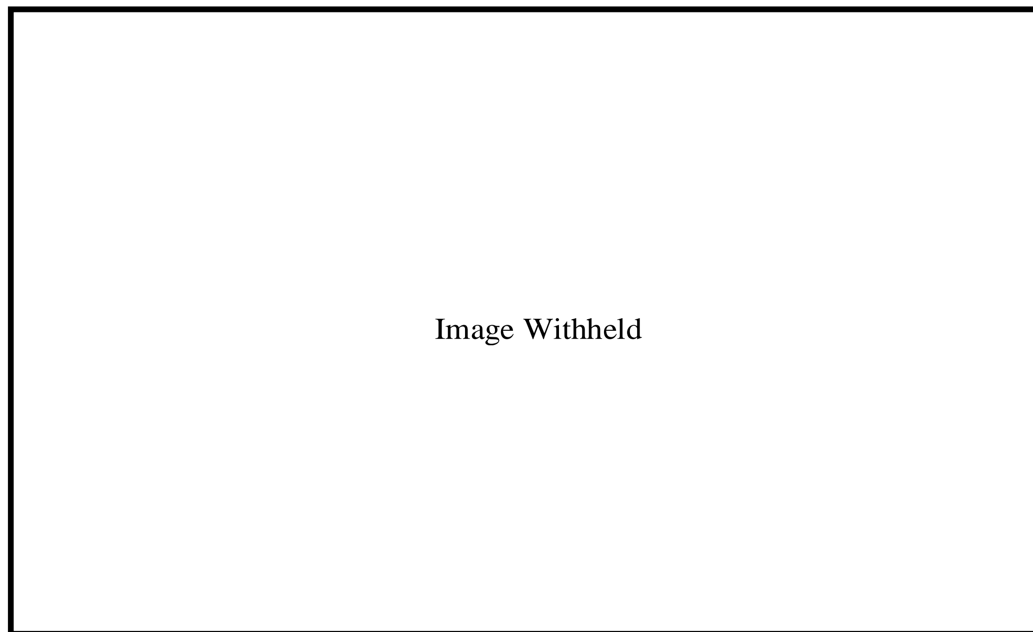

Fig. 51 Infantia (first Hour/Age), Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 32v.

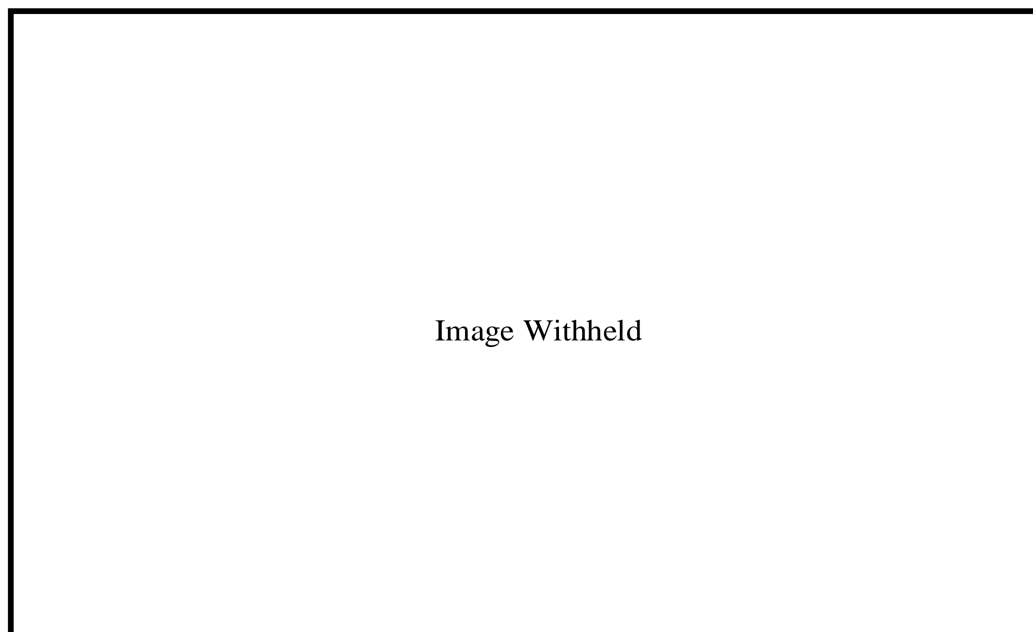

Fig. 52 Seated Woman holding Agnus Dei medallion; Procession on the Mountainside, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 37v; fol. 38.

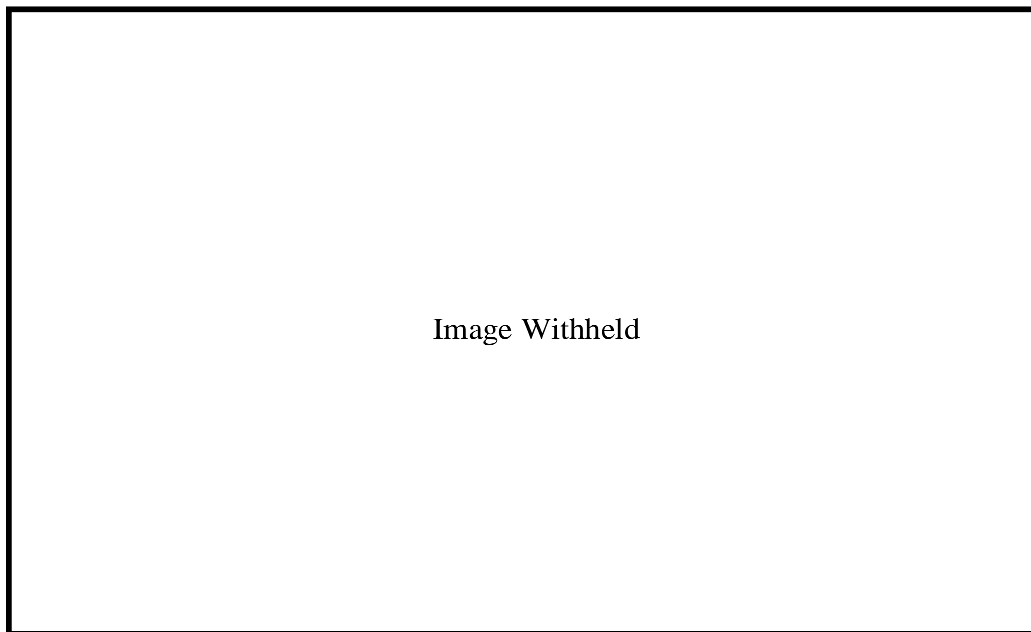

Fig. 53 Joseph Sleeping; Annunciation, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 43v; fol. 44.

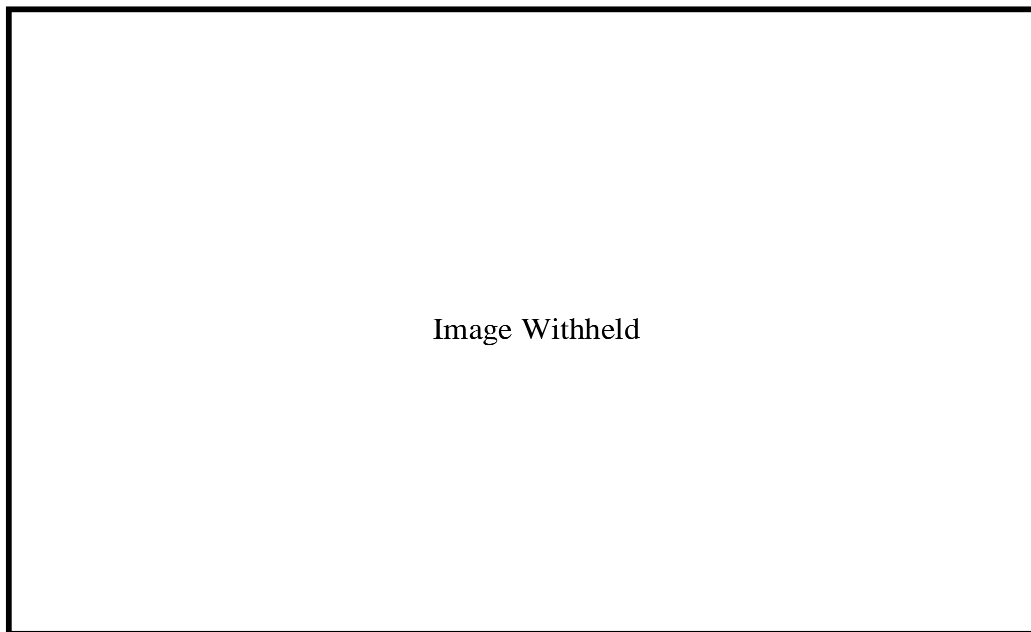

Fig. 54 Pueritia (second Hour/Age); Prophet and Archer, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 44v; fol. 45.

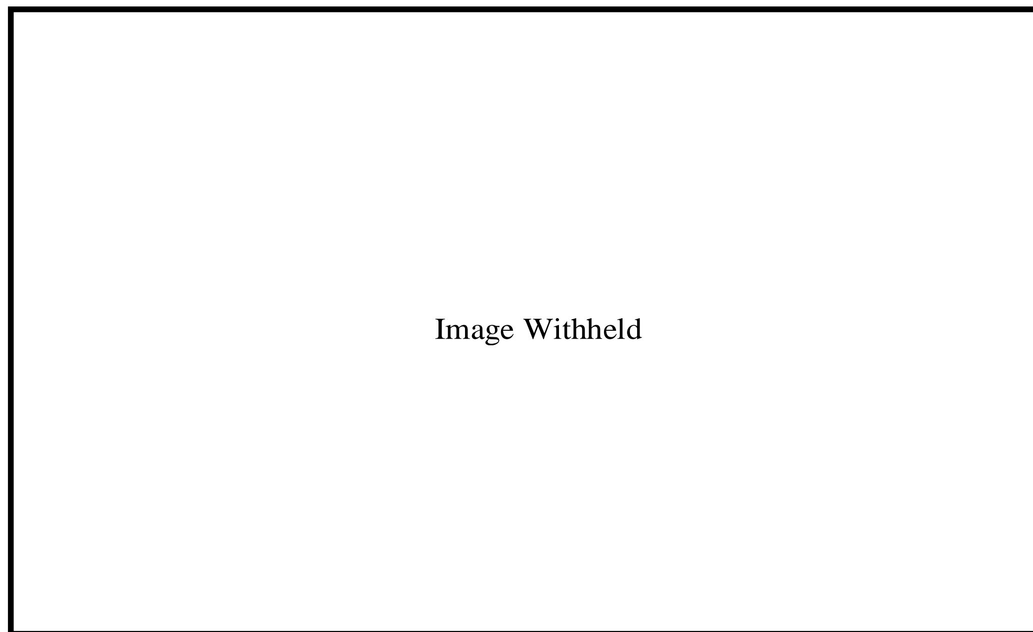

Fig. 55 Nativity; Adolescentia (third Hour/Age), Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 48v; fol. 49.

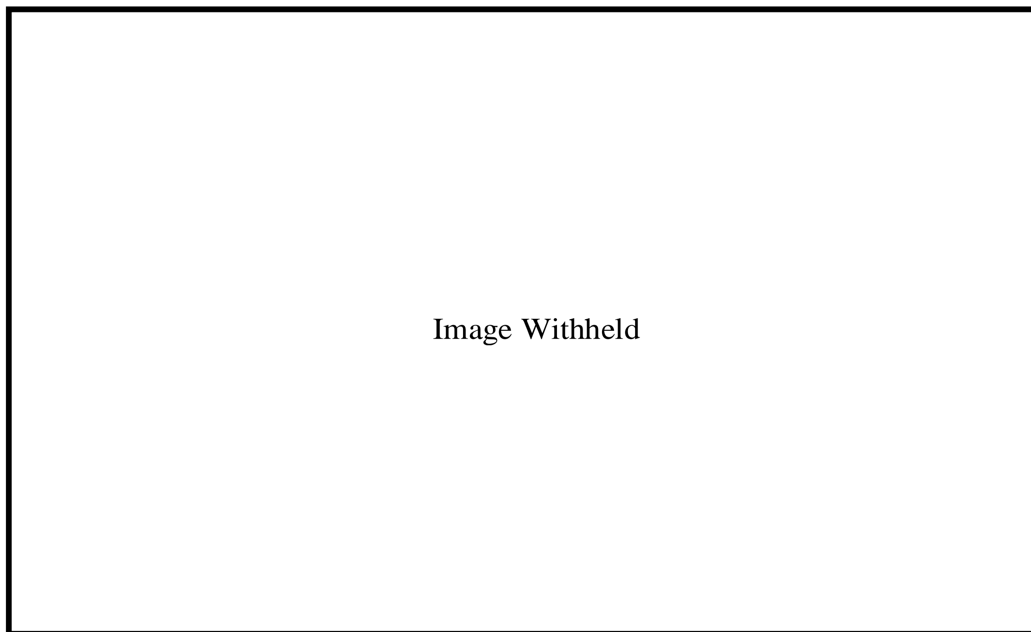

Fig. 56 Adoration of the Magi; Juventus (fourth Hour/Age), Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 52v; fol. 53.

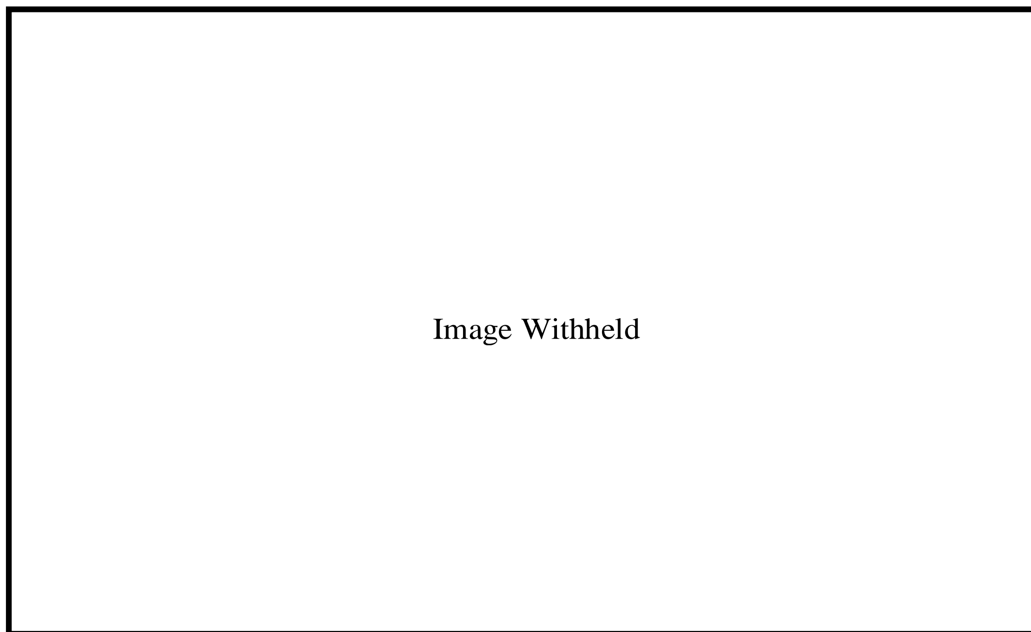

Fig. 57 Presentation in the Temple; Senectus (fifth Hour/Age), Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 56v; fol. 57.

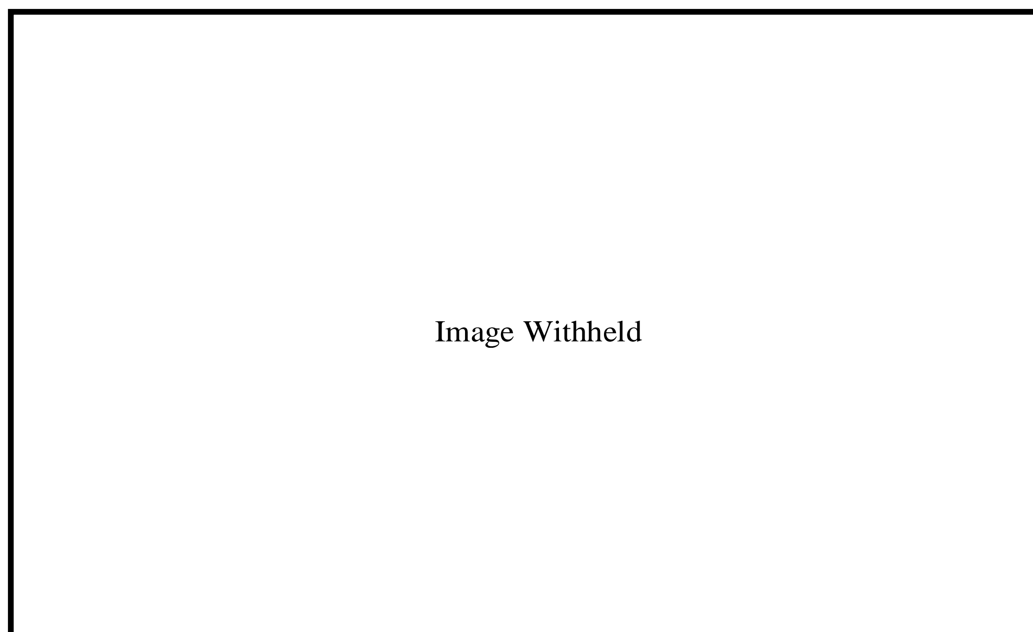

Fig. 58 Dormition of the Virgin; Decrepita etas, (sixth Hour), Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 64v; fol. 65.

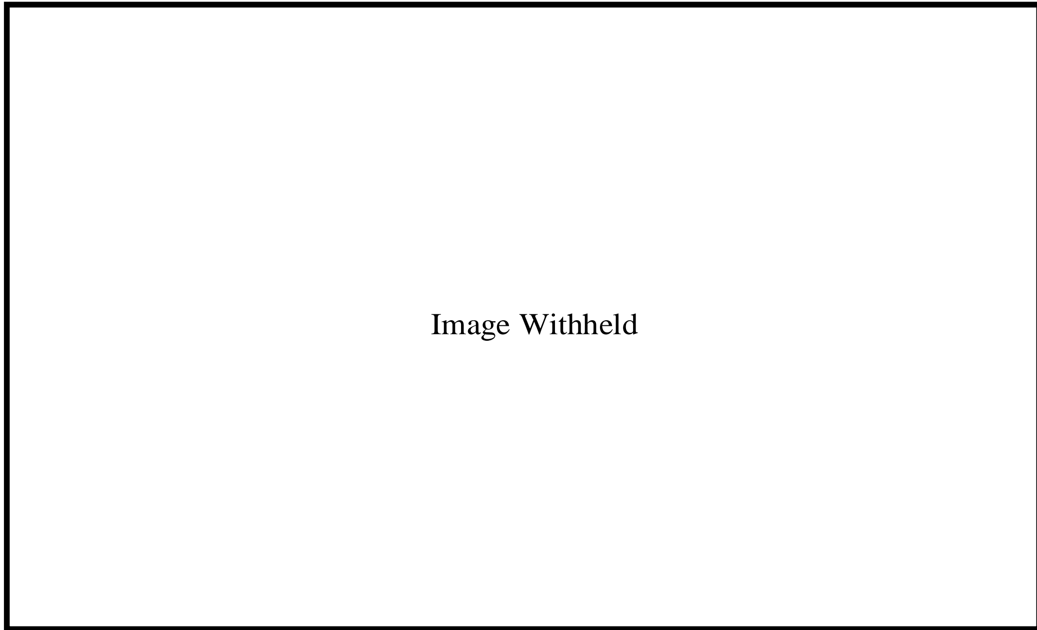

Fig. 59 Limbo, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 69.

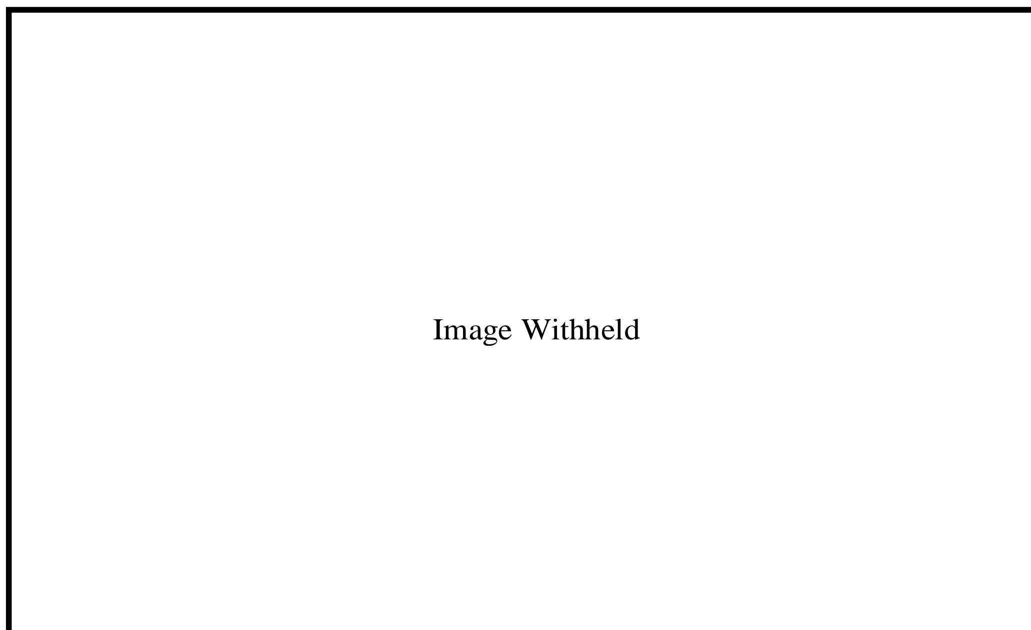
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Fig. 60 Christ Preaching, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 69v.

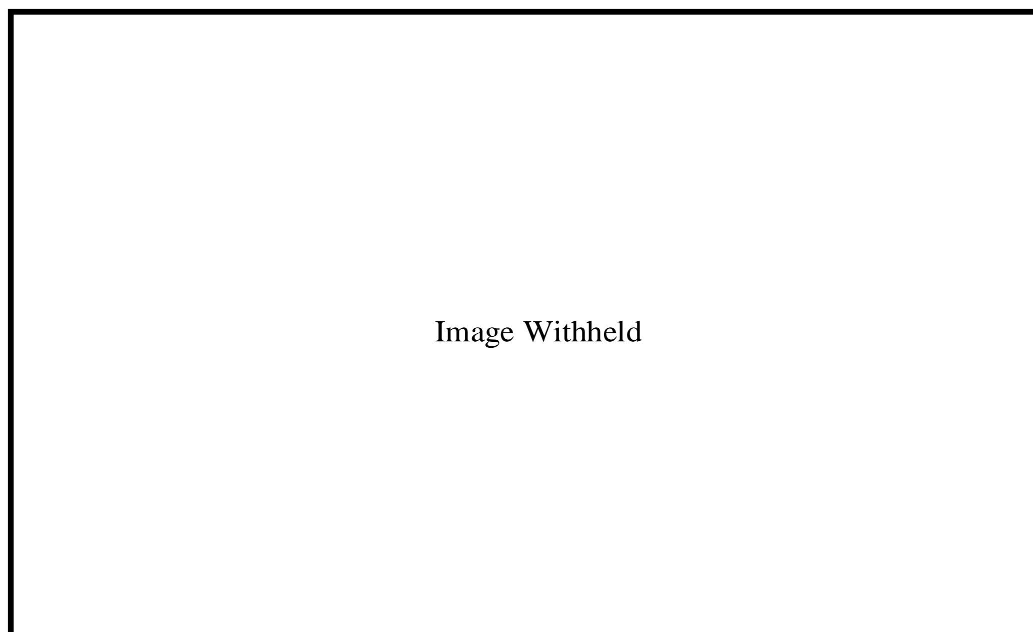

Fig. 61 Laus; Christ and the Apostles, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 78v; fol. 79.

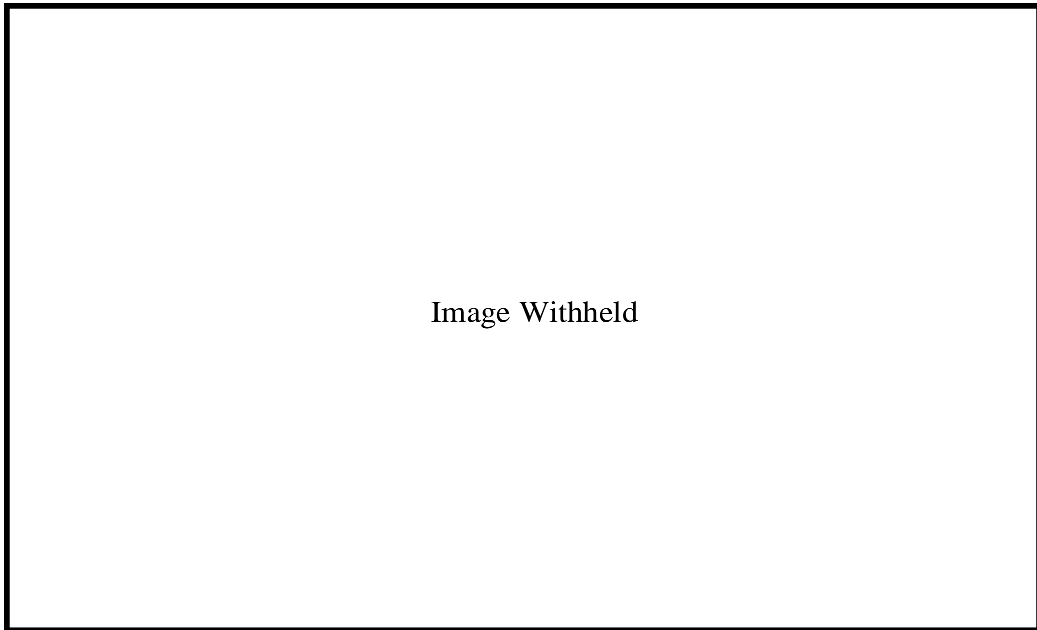

Fig. 62 Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane(?),
Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 79v.

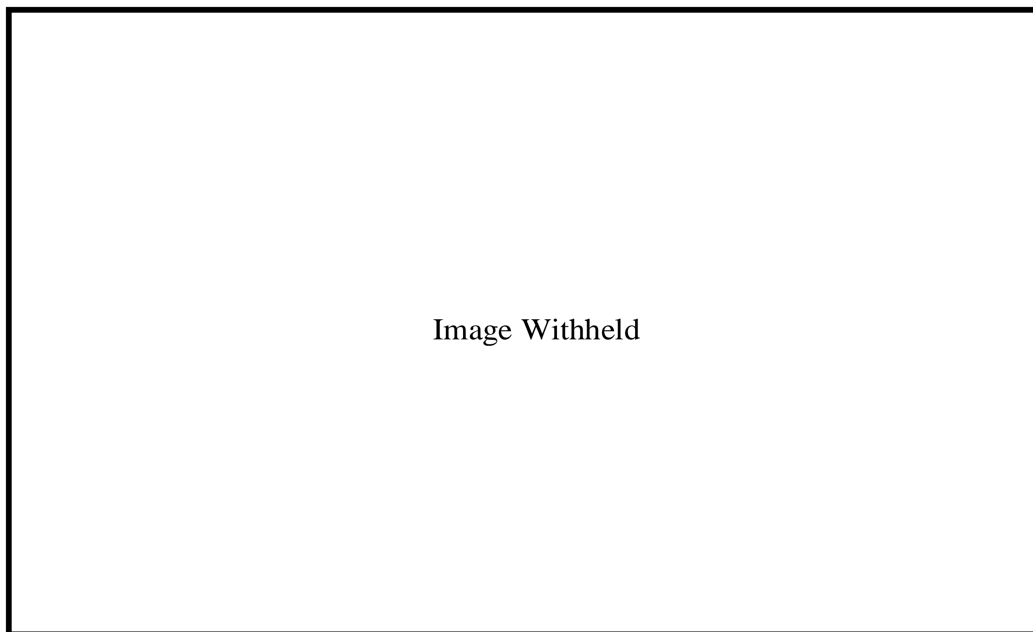

Fig. 63 Betrayal of Christ, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 85.

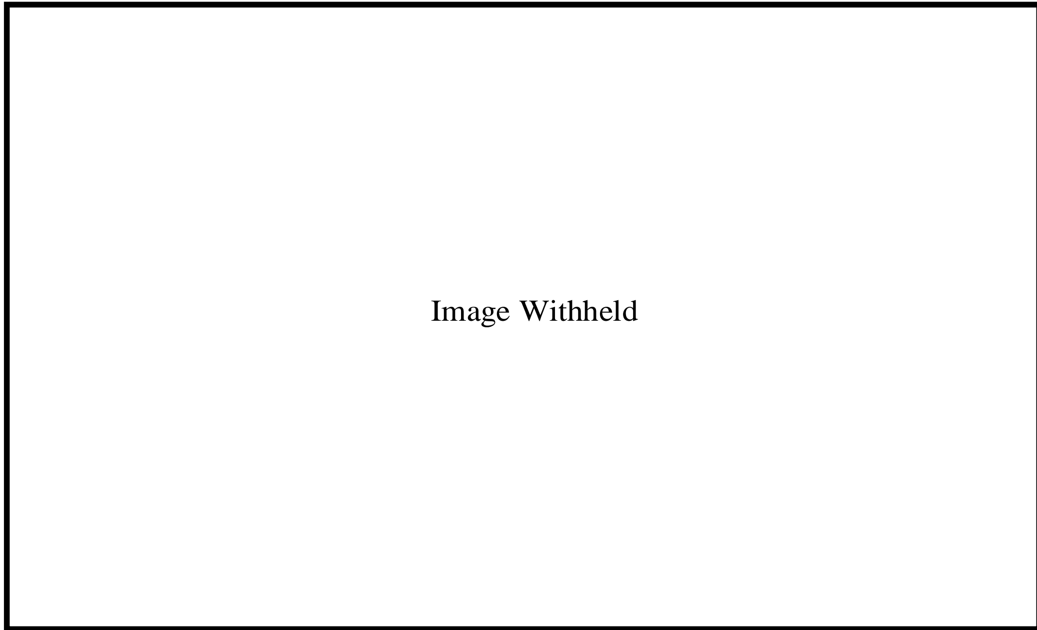

Fig. 64 Christ before Caiaphas, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 89.

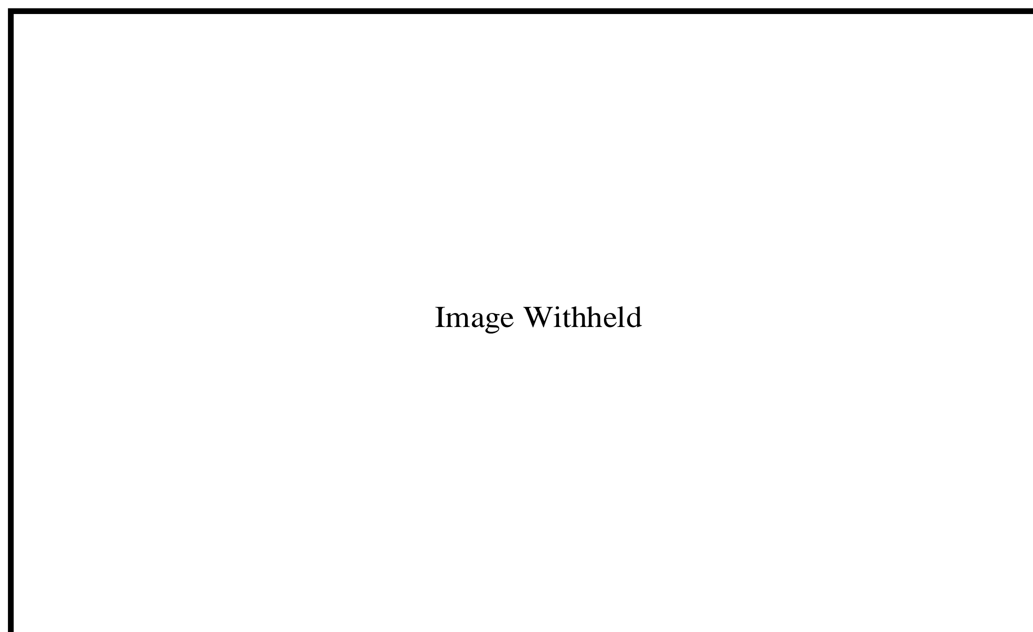

Fig. 65 The Mocking of Christ, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 89v.

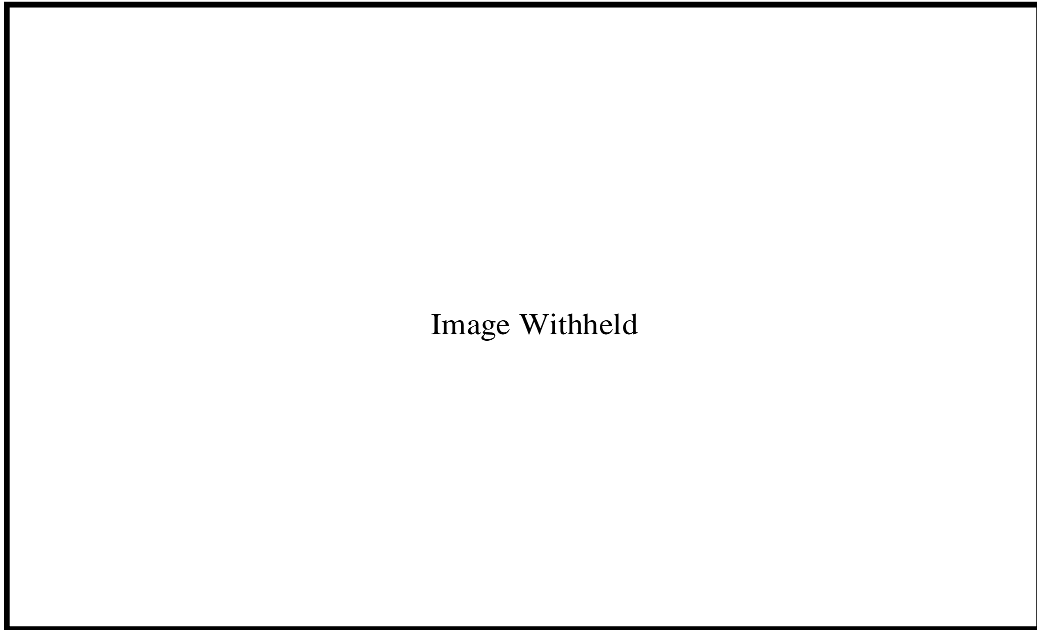

Fig. 66 Christ before Pilate, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 92.

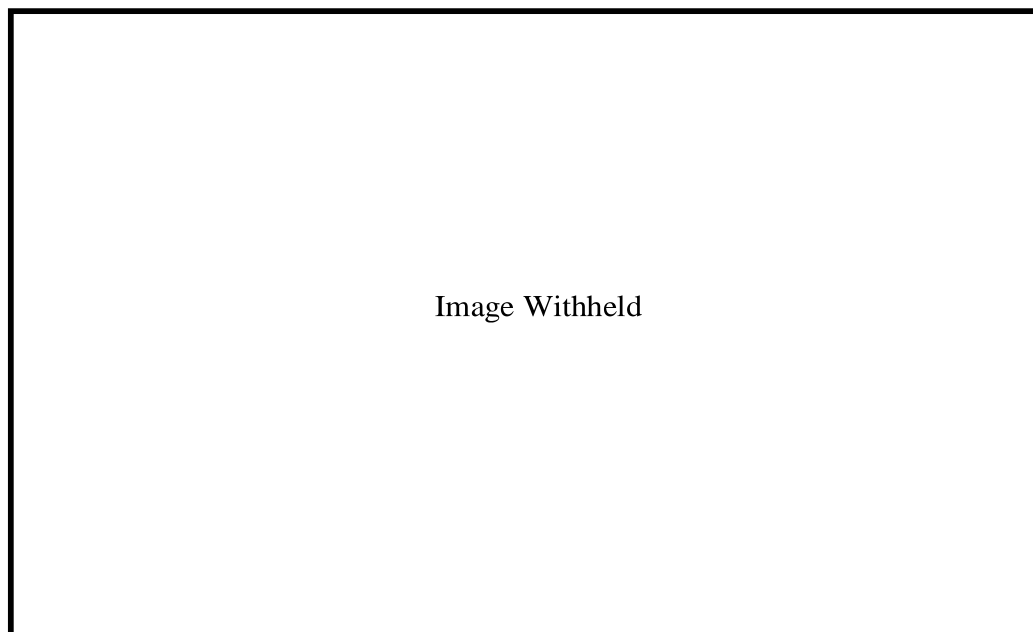

Fig. 67 Pilate Robing Christ, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 92v.

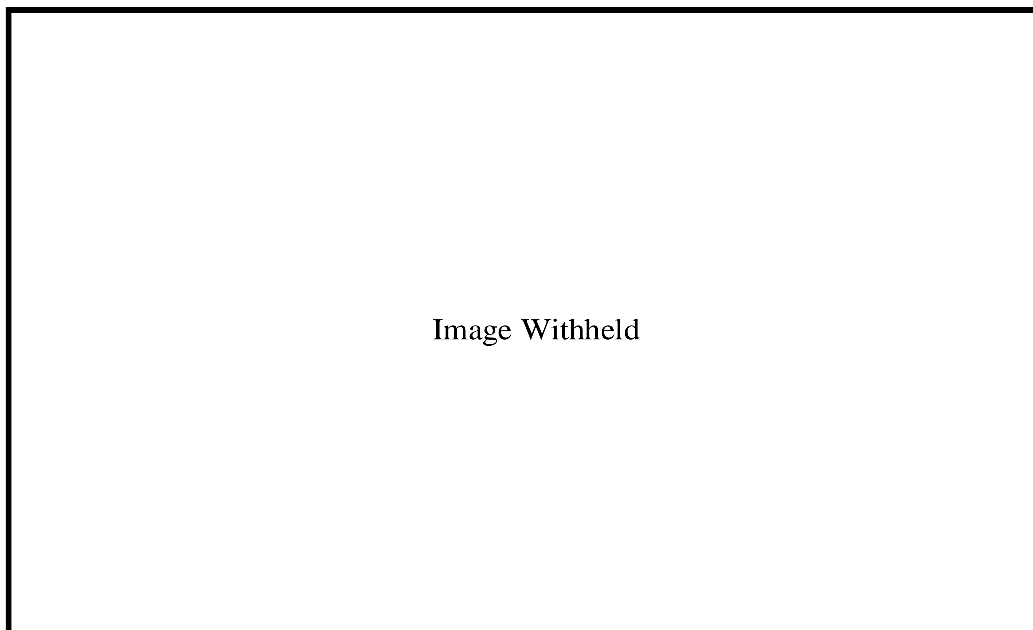

Fig. 68 Flagellation, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 97.

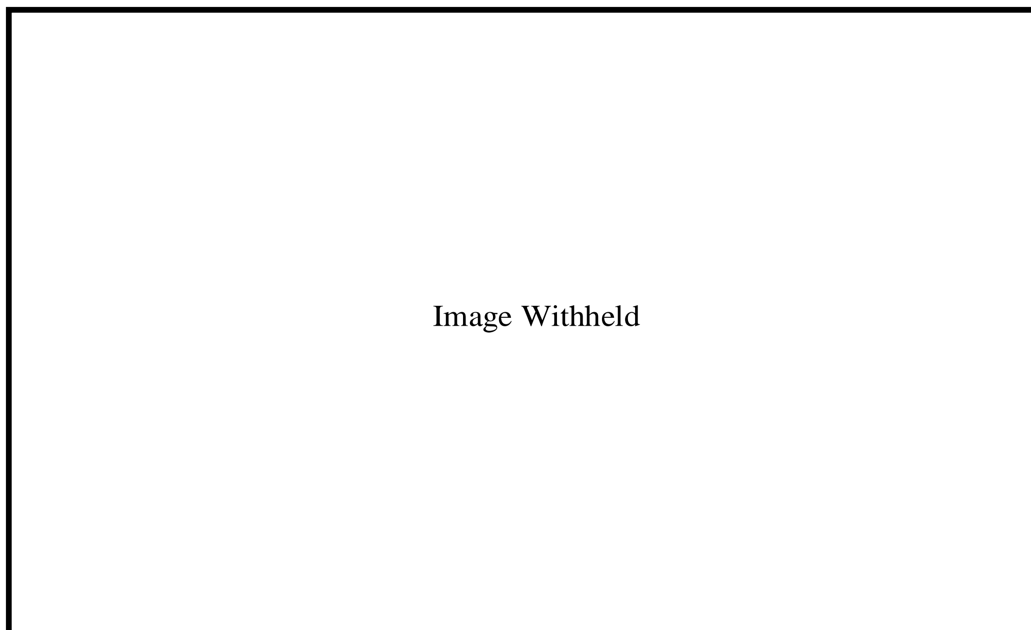

Fig. 69 Christ Carrying the Cross, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 97v.

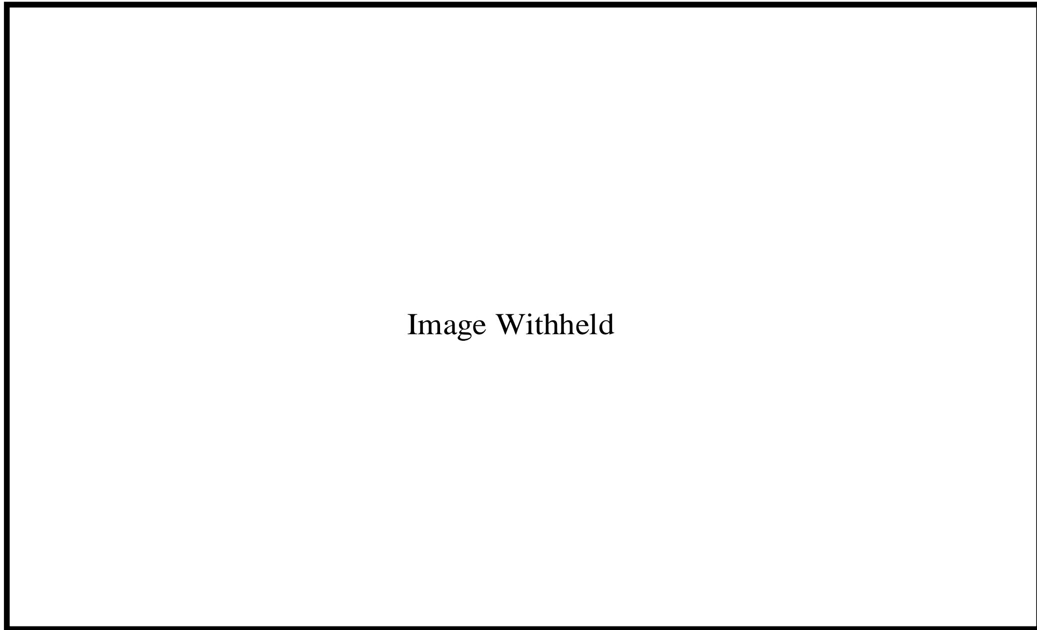

Fig. 70 Crucifixion,; Knights (Approaching the Crucifixion), Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 102v; fol. 103.

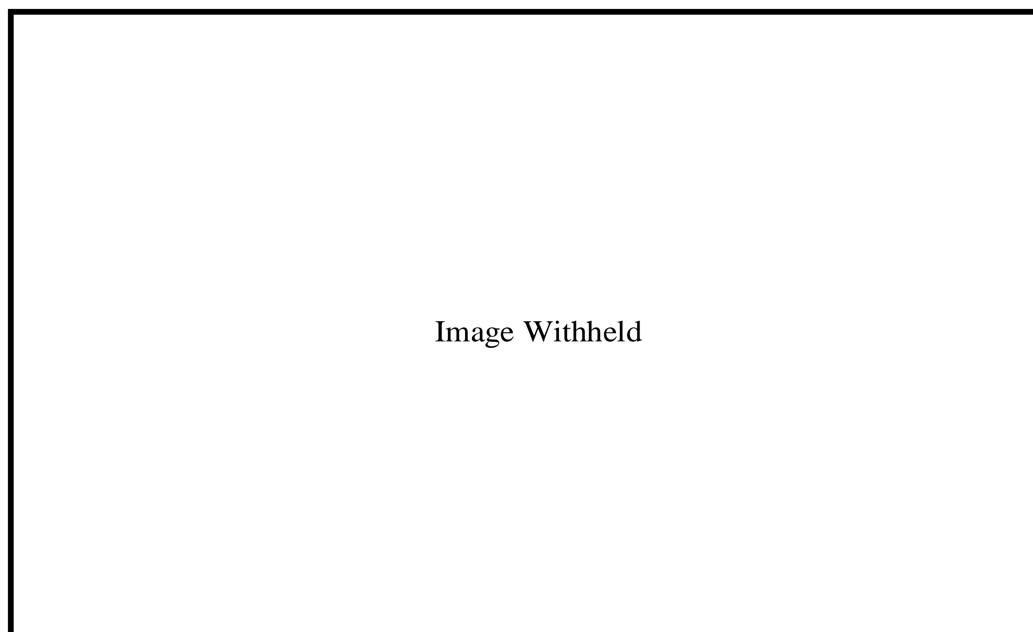

Fig. 71 Descent from the Cross; Deposition, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 108v; fol. 109.

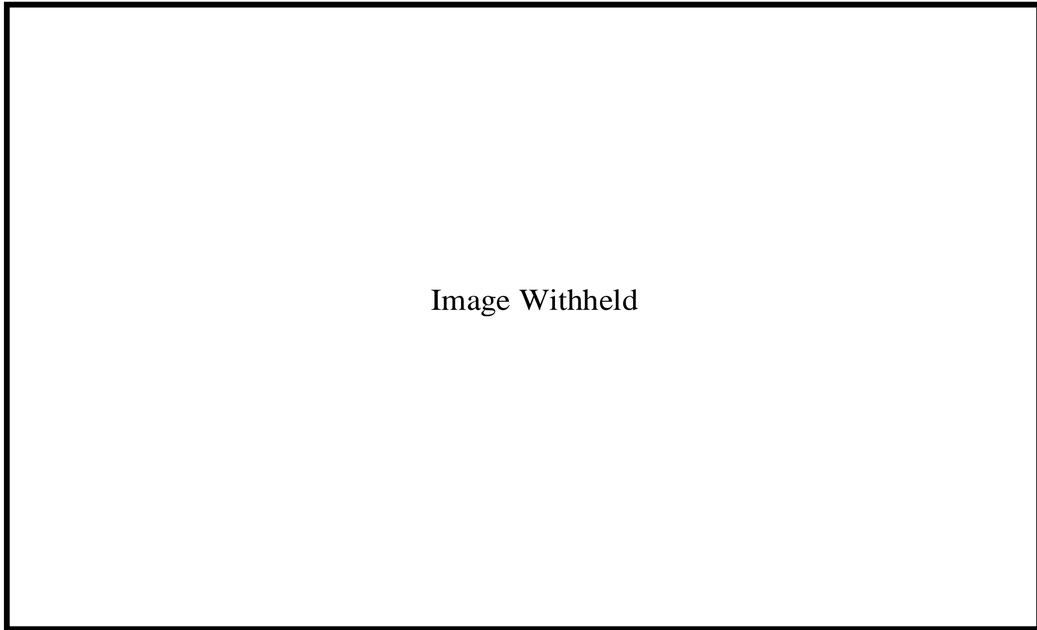

Fig. 72 Resurrection of the Dead; Eclipse, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 111v; fol. 112.

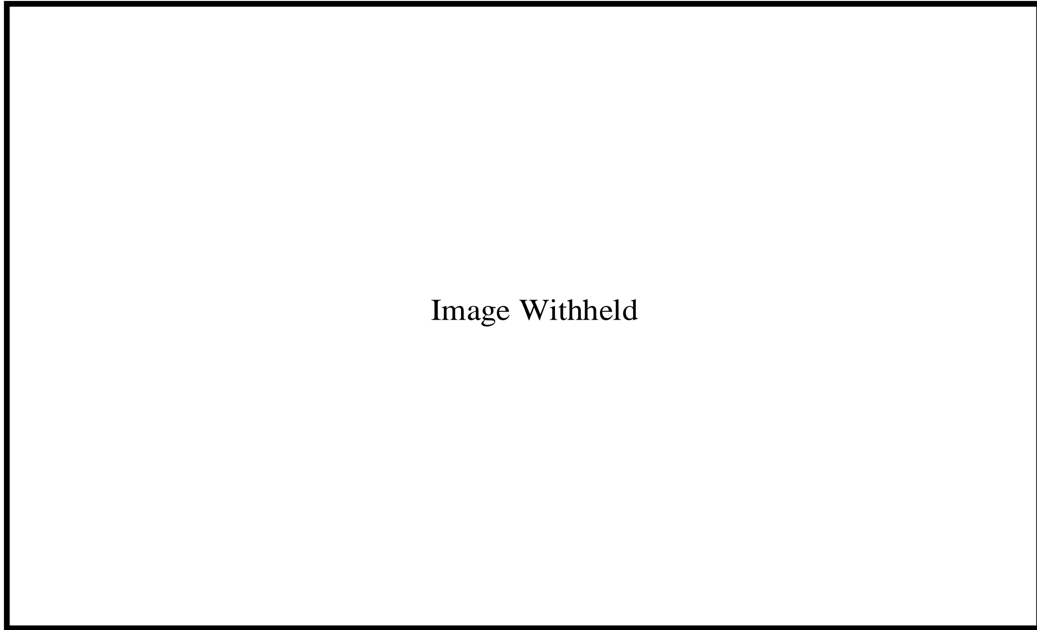

Fig. 73 Three Marys at the Tomb, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 112v.

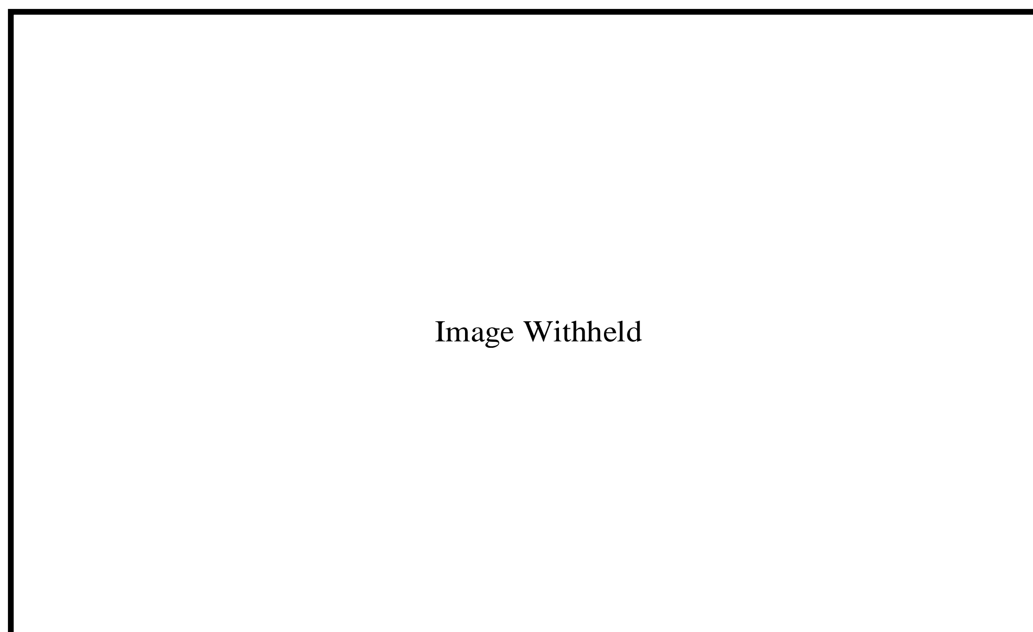

Fig. 74 Descent into Limbo; Noli me Tangere, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 115v; fol. 116.

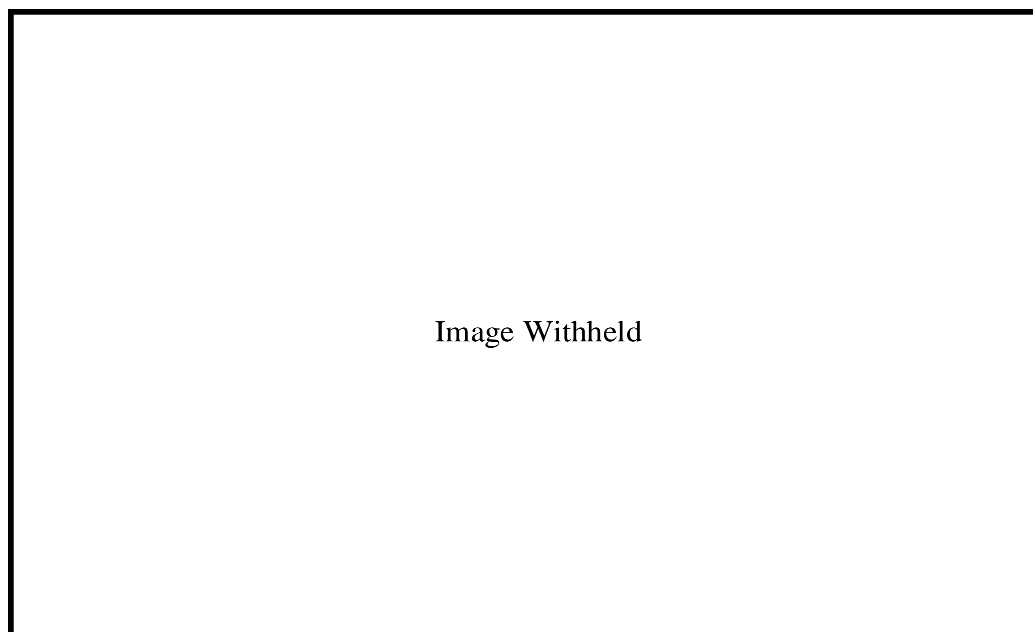

Fig. 75 Ascension; Misericordia, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 116v; fol. 117.

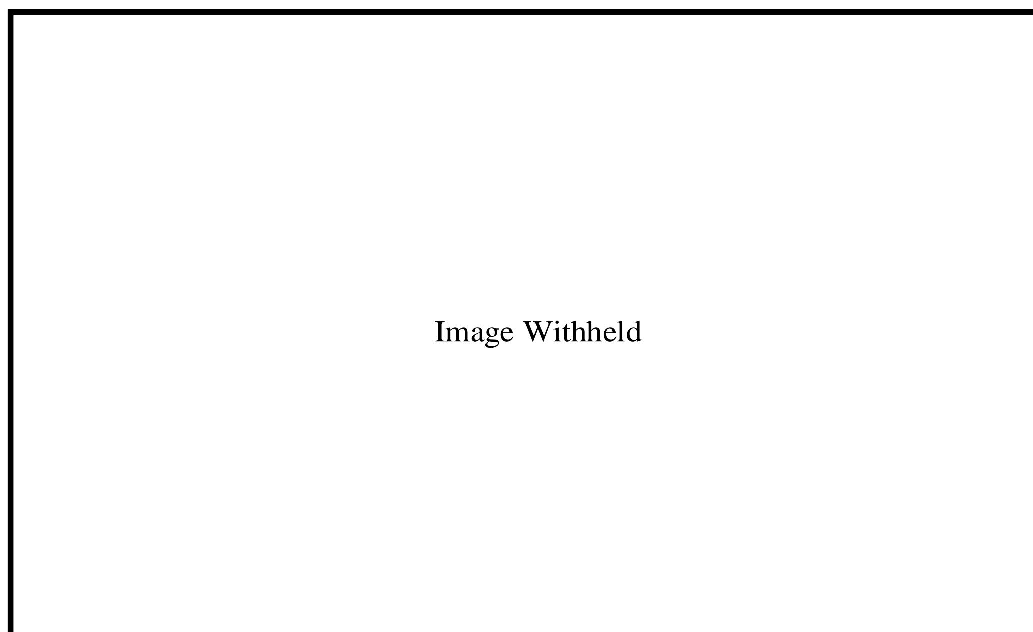

Fig. 76 Death and the promise of Eternal Life, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 117v and fol. 118.

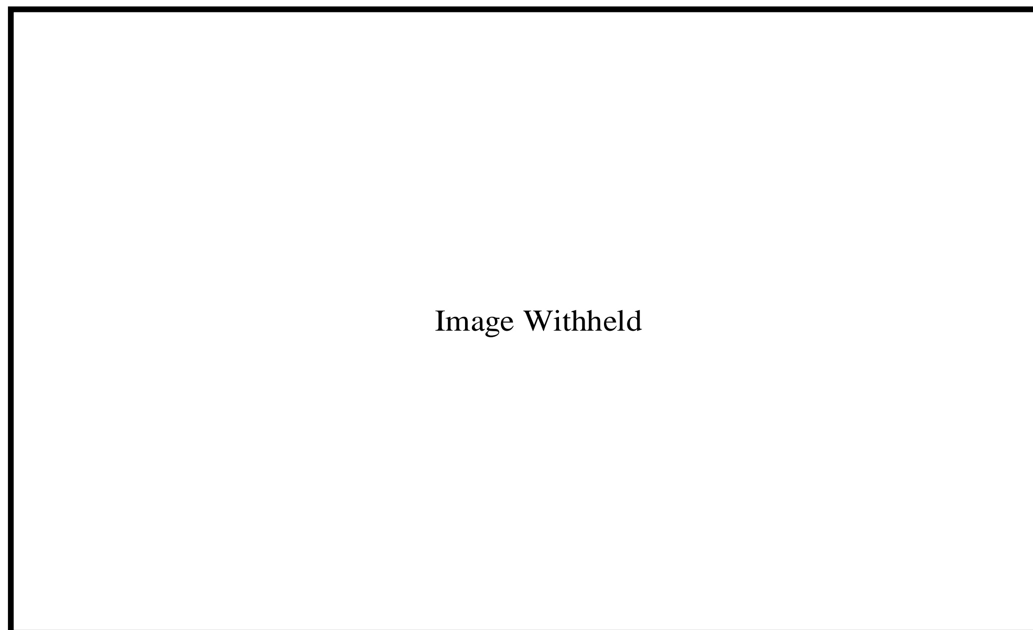

Fig. 77 Souls Ascending to Christ, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 143v.

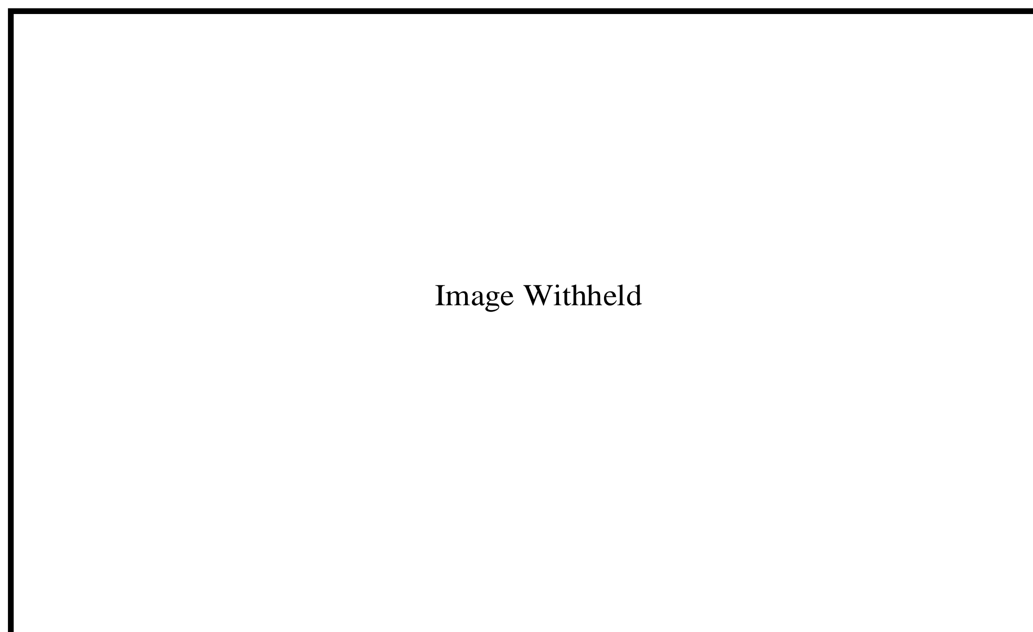

Fig. 78 Christ Appears to Believers; Hell, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 155v; fol. 156

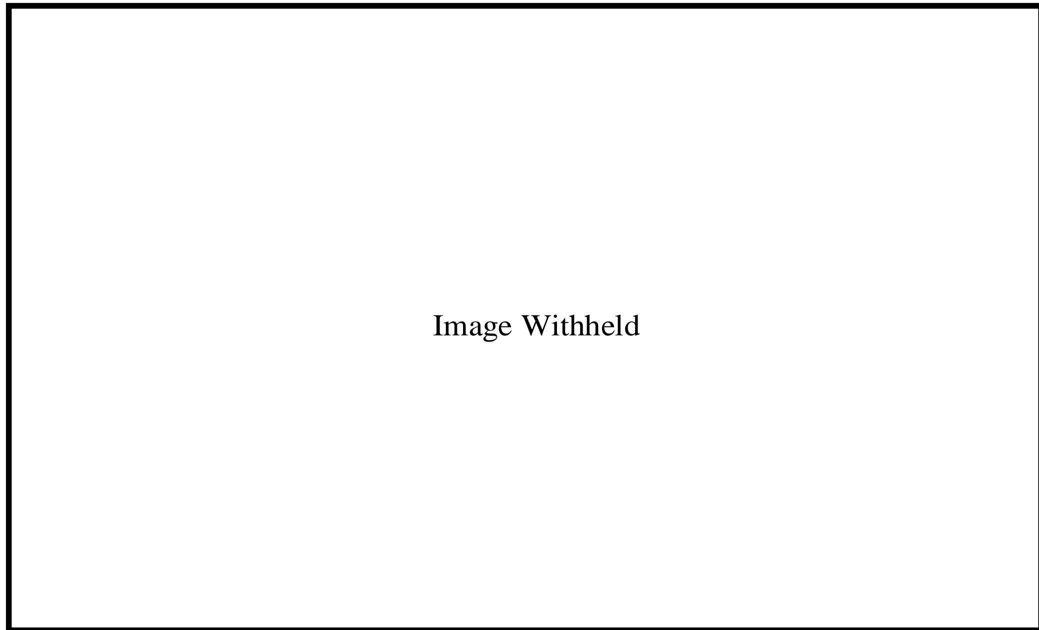

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Fig. 79 Hermits, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 157.

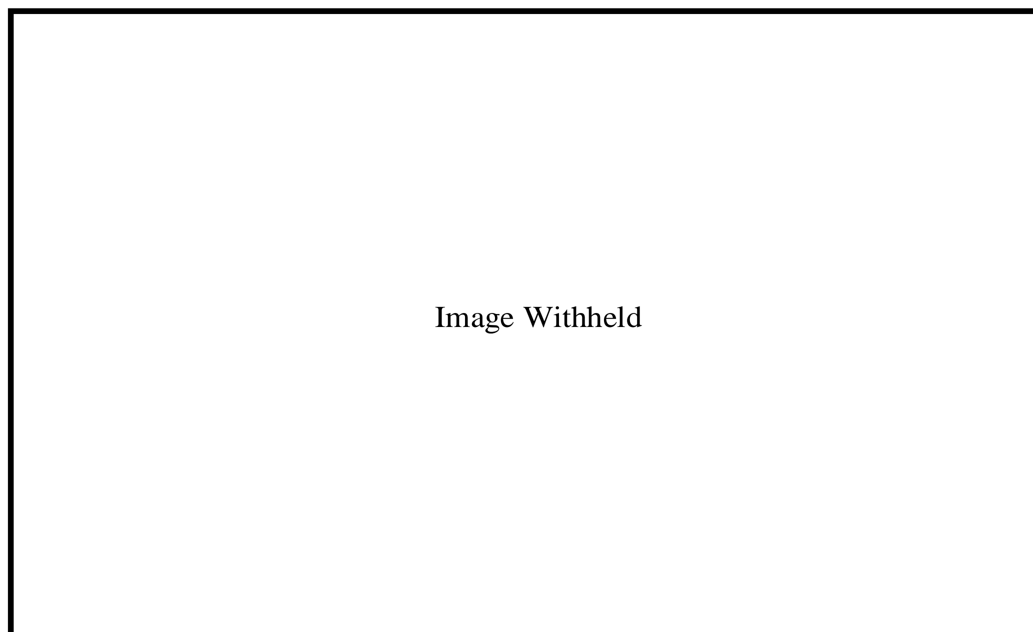

Fig. 80 Penitent Magdalene and John the Baptist,
Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 157v.

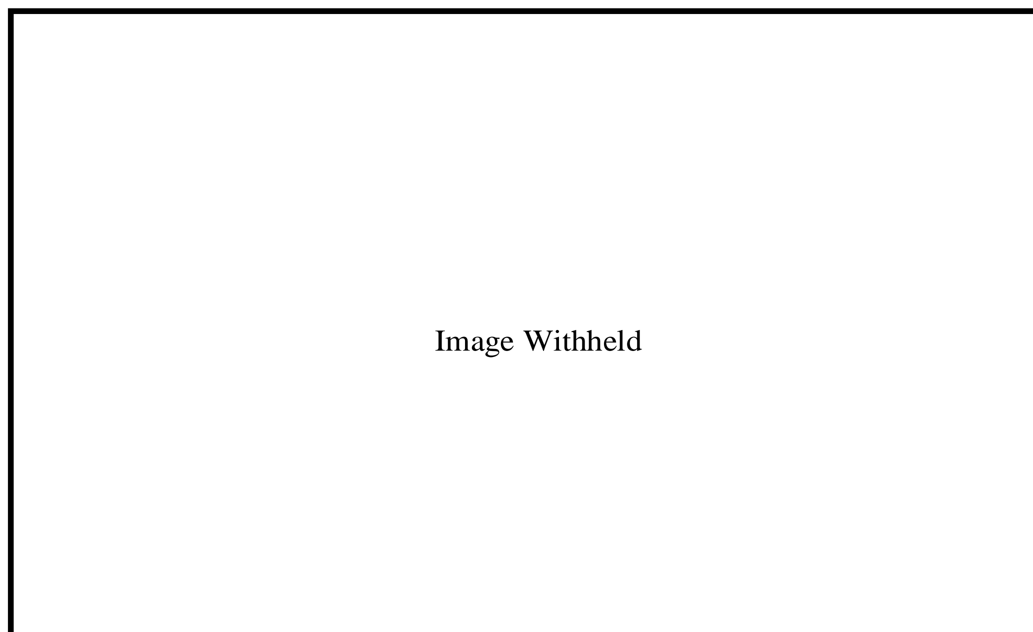

Fig. 81 Intelligentia kneeling before the Virgin, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 165.

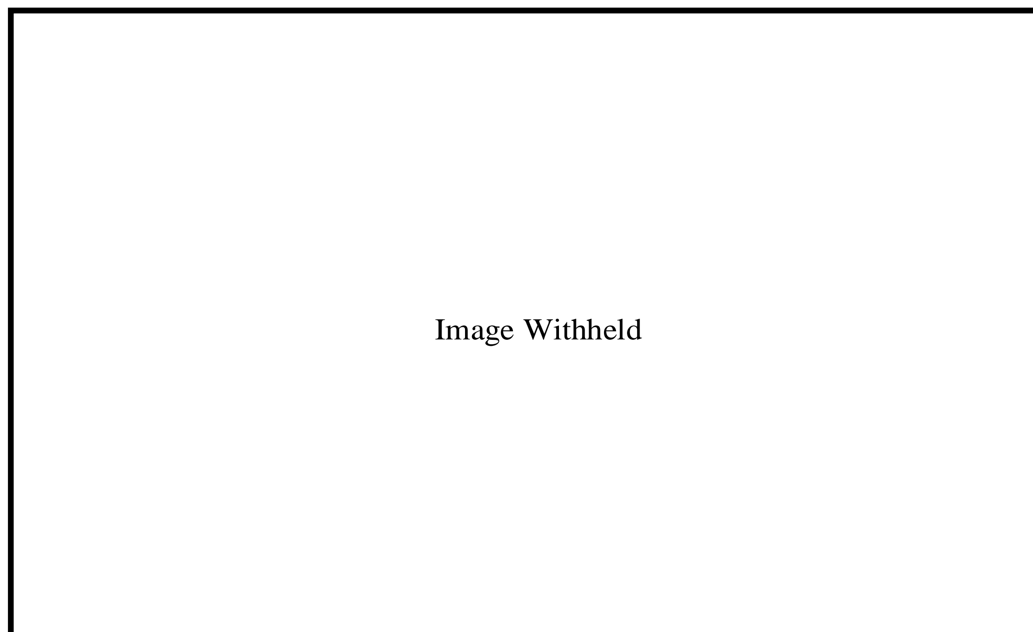

Fig. 82 The scholar suckles from the beast, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 166.

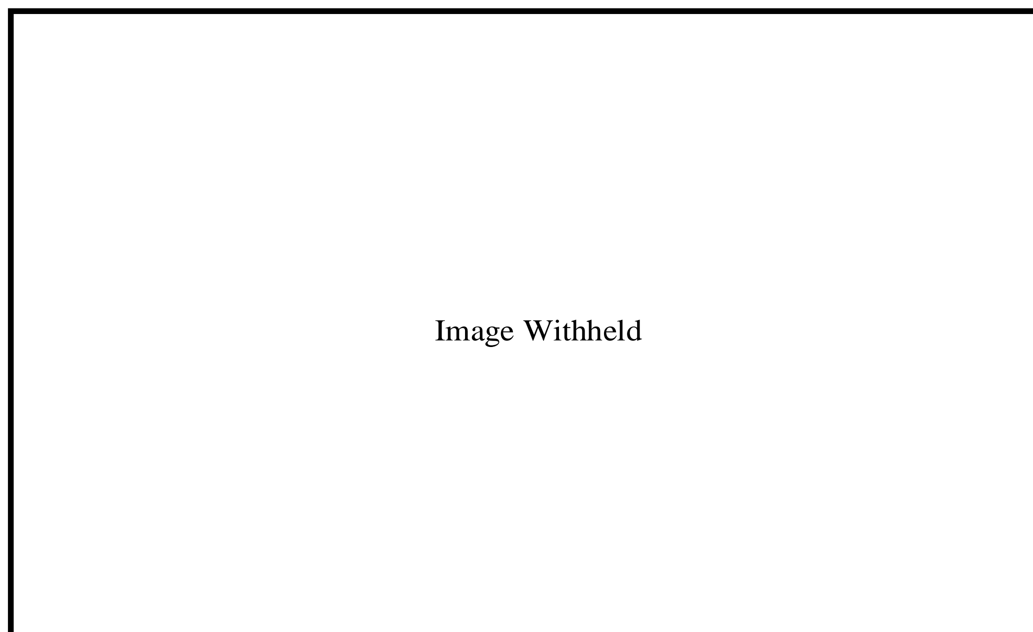

Fig. 83 The scholar rides on the beast’s back; The scholar flees, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 166v; fol. 168

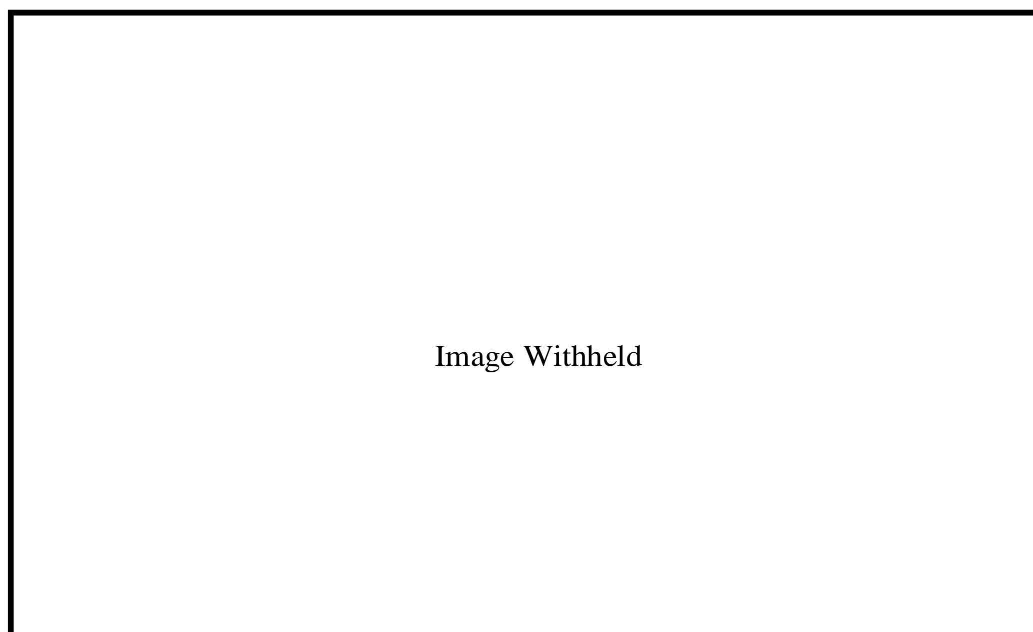

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Fig. 84 The scholar is overcome,; The scholar visits a source and speaks to a king, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 168v; fol. 166.

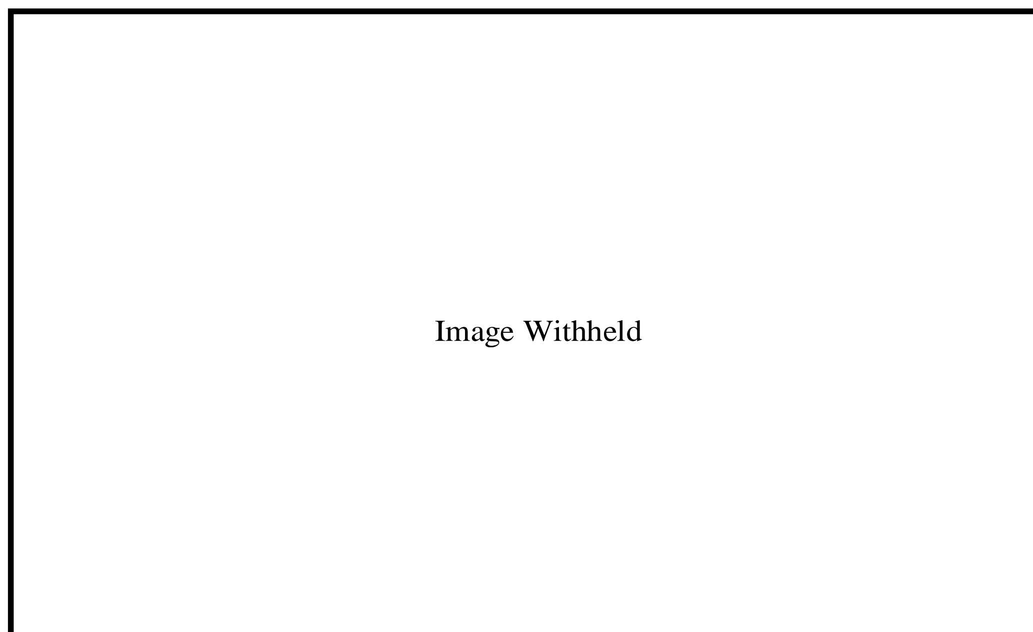

Fig. 85 The scholar fights back; The scholar rides monstrous birds, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 166v; fol. 171.

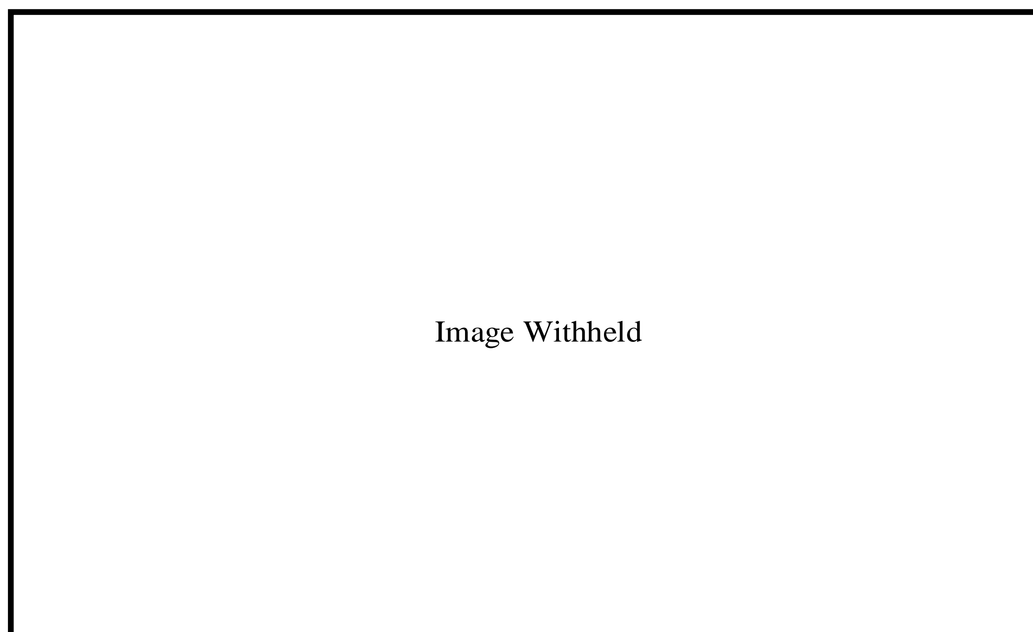

Fig. 86 The scholar flees; The scholar fires arrows fruitlessly, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 171v; fol. 169.

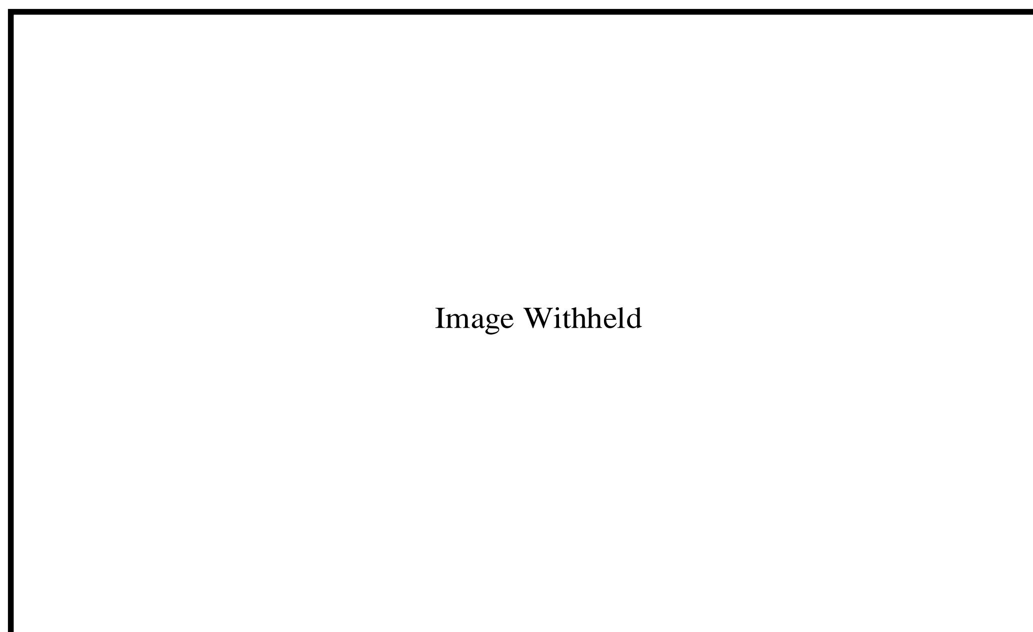

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Fig. 87 Hope, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fols. 169v and 170.

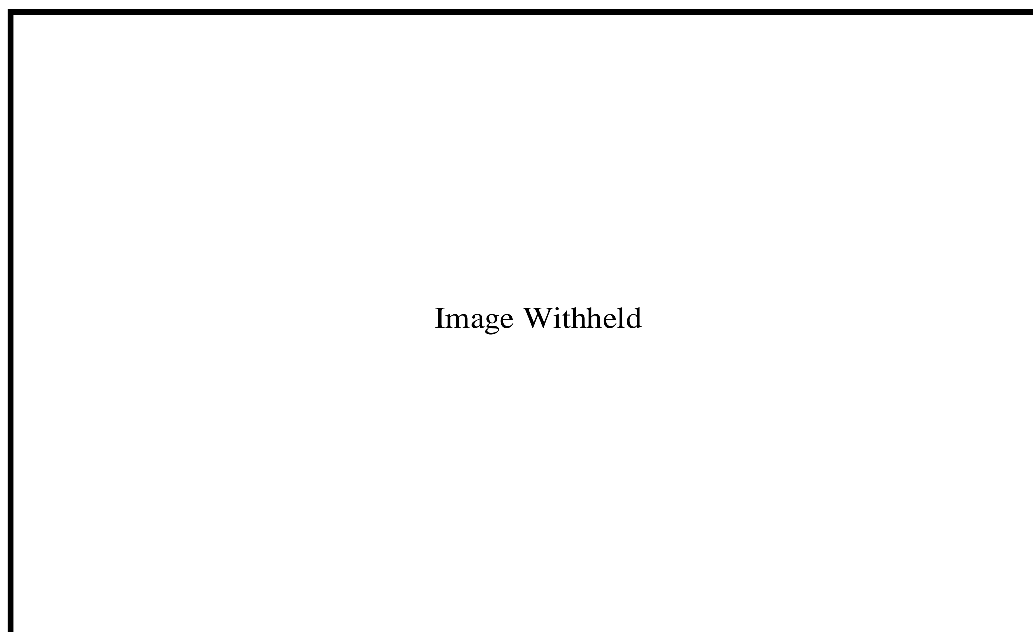

Fig. 88 Virtu(?); Beast, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 170v; fol. 172.

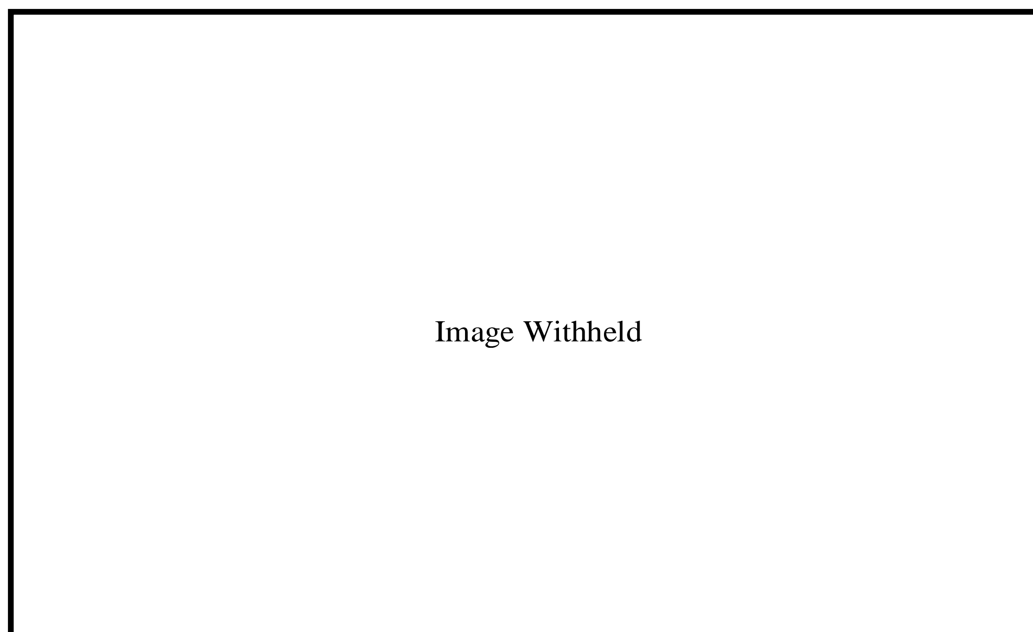

Fig. 89 Death of the Beast, Private Collection, Book of Hours, fol. 172v.

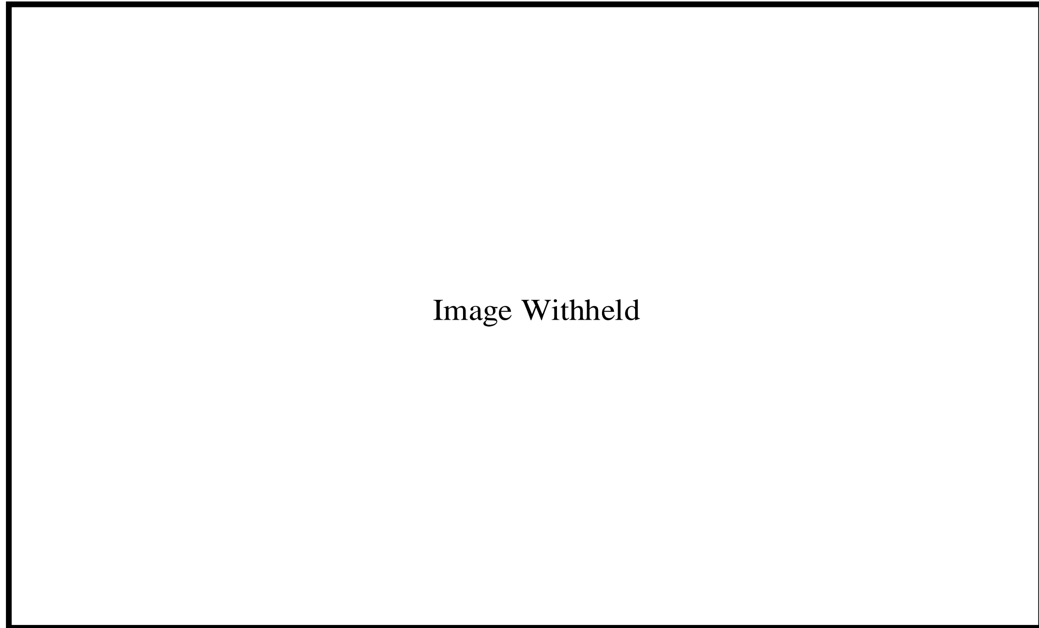

Fig. 90 Tino di Camaino, Tomb of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi, 1321-23, Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence

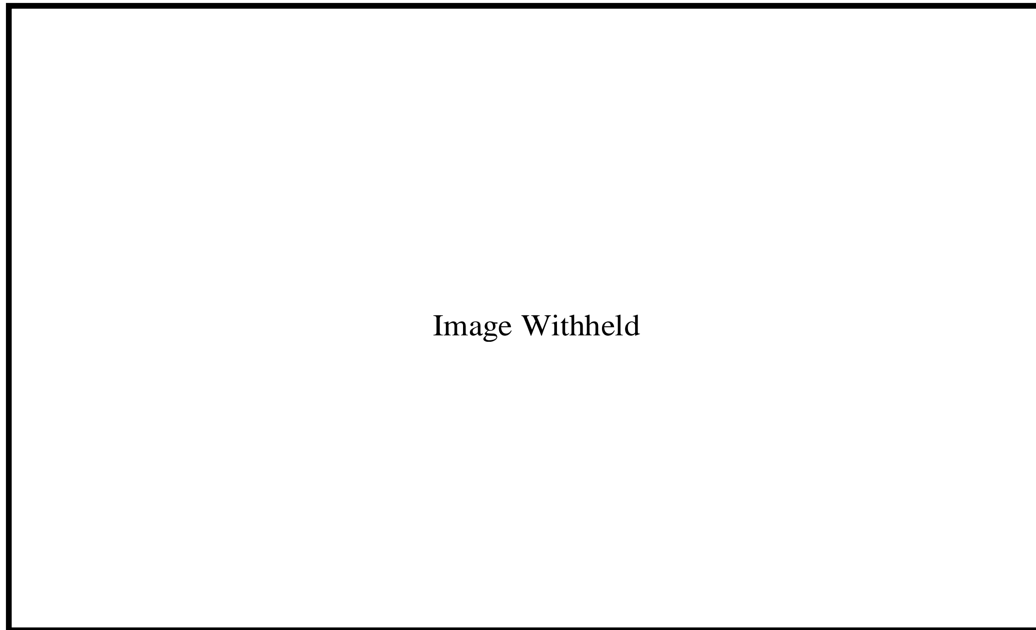

Fig. 91 Tino di Camaino, detail of Mors, Tomb of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi, 1321-23, Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence

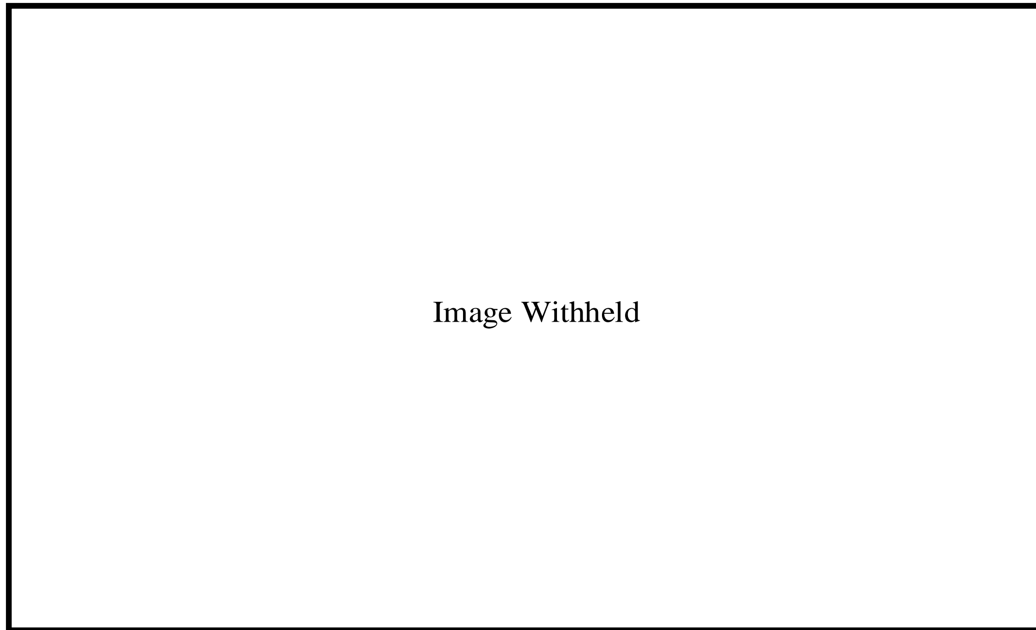

Fig. 92 Tino di Camaino, detail of left spandrel of console, Tomb of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi, 1321-23, Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence

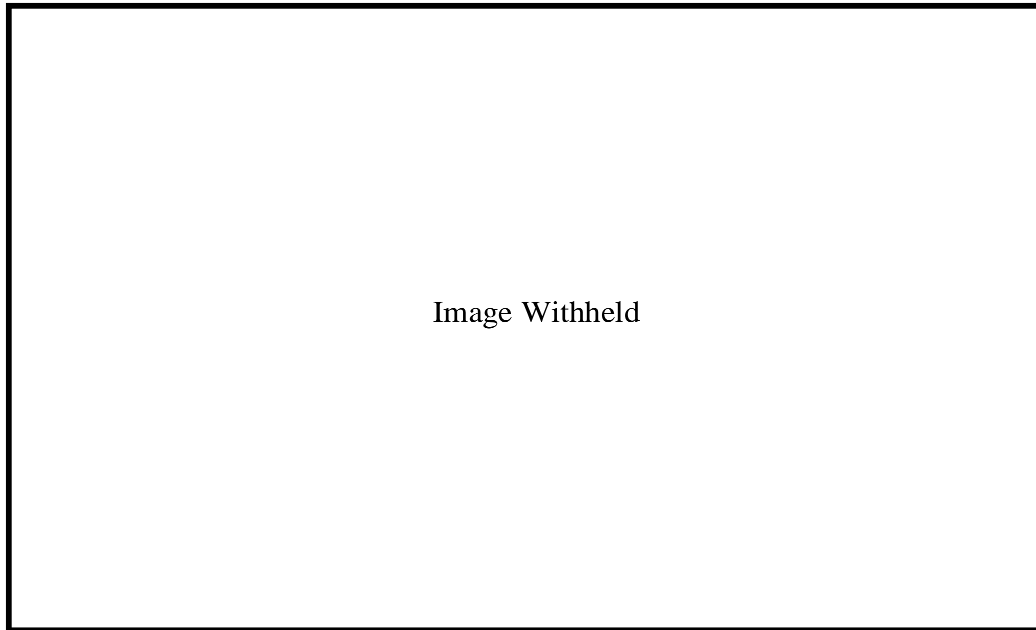

Fig. 93 Tino di Camaino, detail of right spandrel of console, Tomb of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi, 1321-23, Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence

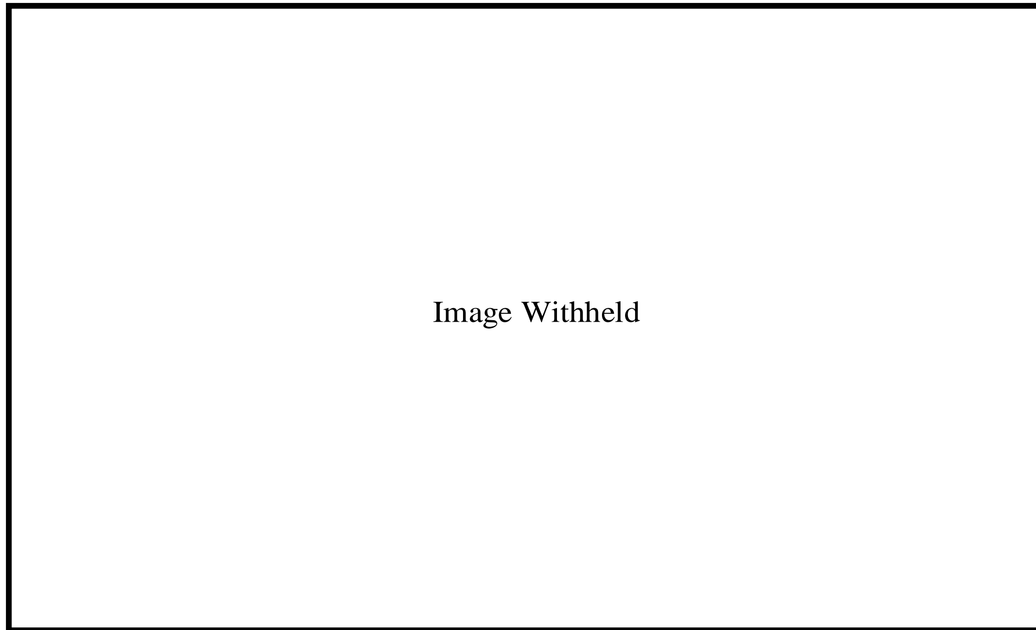

Fig. 94 Tino di Camaino, detail of sarcophagus, Tomb of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi, 1321-23, Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence

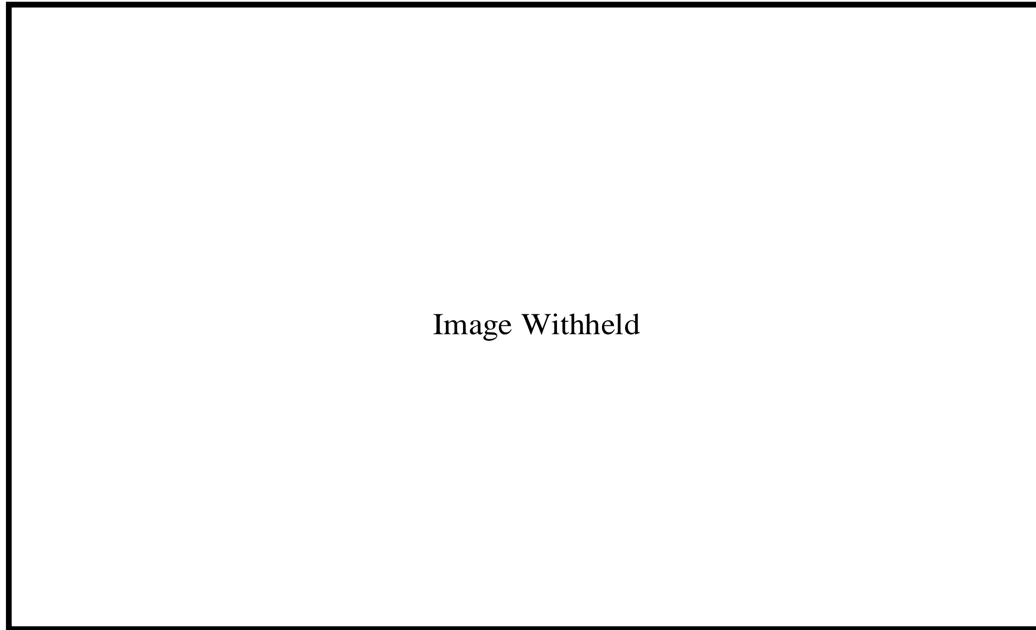

Fig. 95 Gert Kreytenberg, Reconstruction of the Tomb of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi

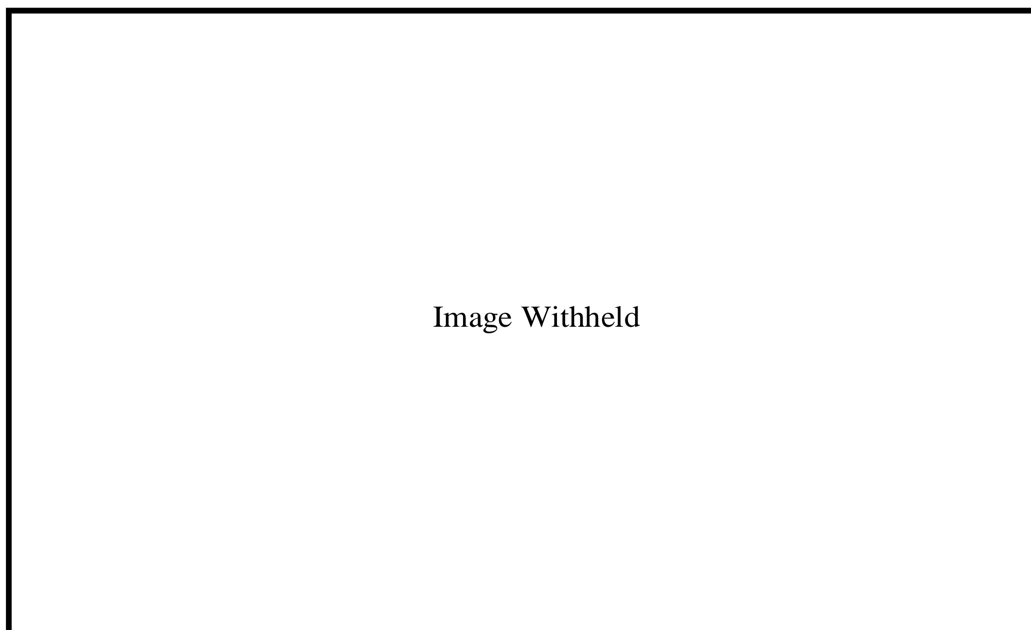

Fig. 96 Love and his Effects, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, MS Barb. Lat. 3953, fol.126.

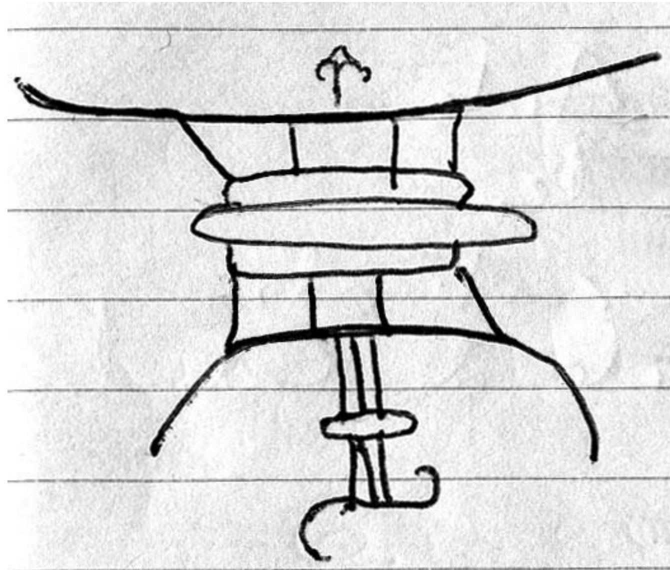

Fig. 97 Francesco's *signum,* (drawing by Shelley MacLaren, from document 1299 Sett 25 Firenze SM Novella, Archivio di Stato, Florence)

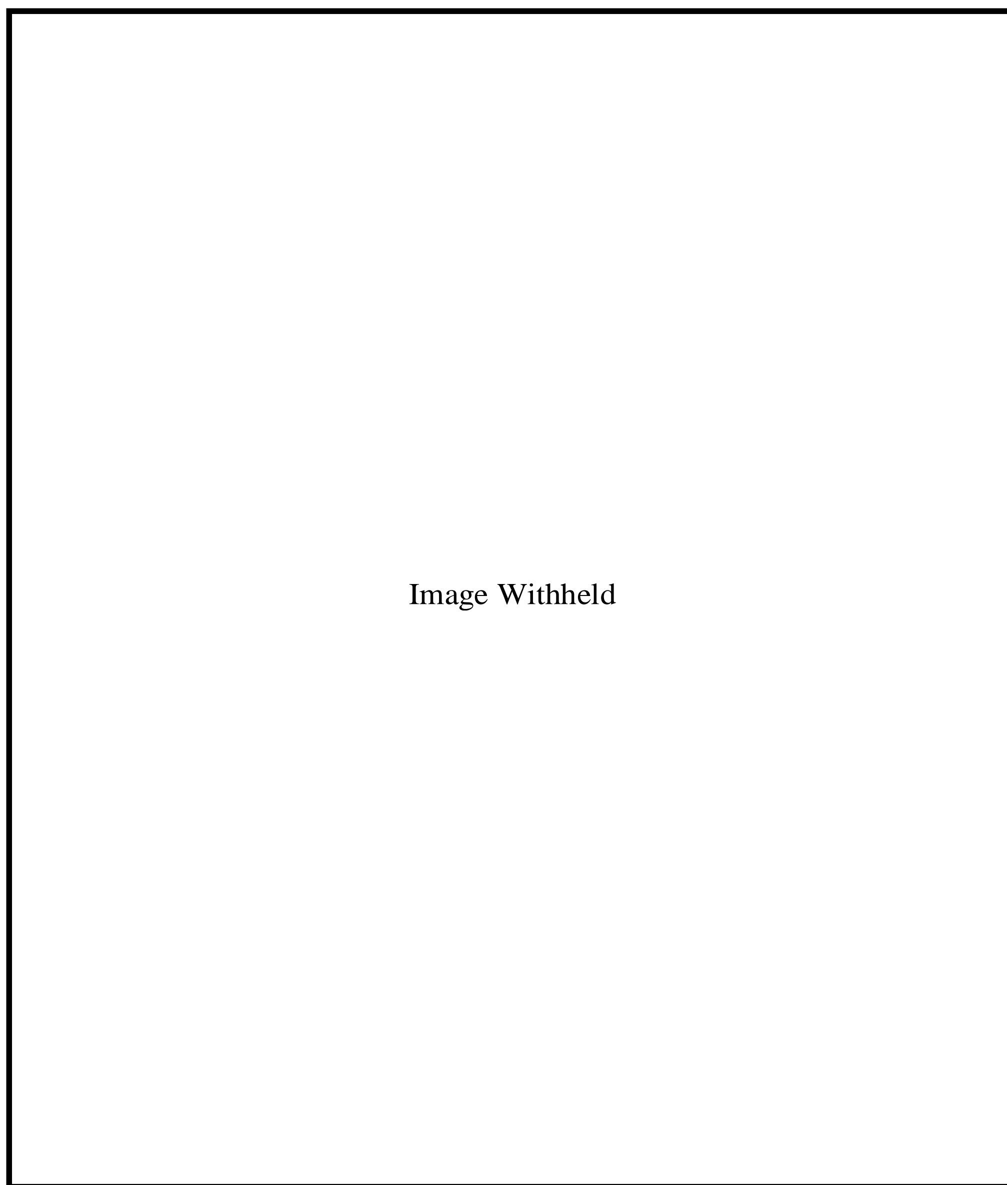

Fig. 98 frontispiece, Banco Rari 217, circa 1300, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Florence.

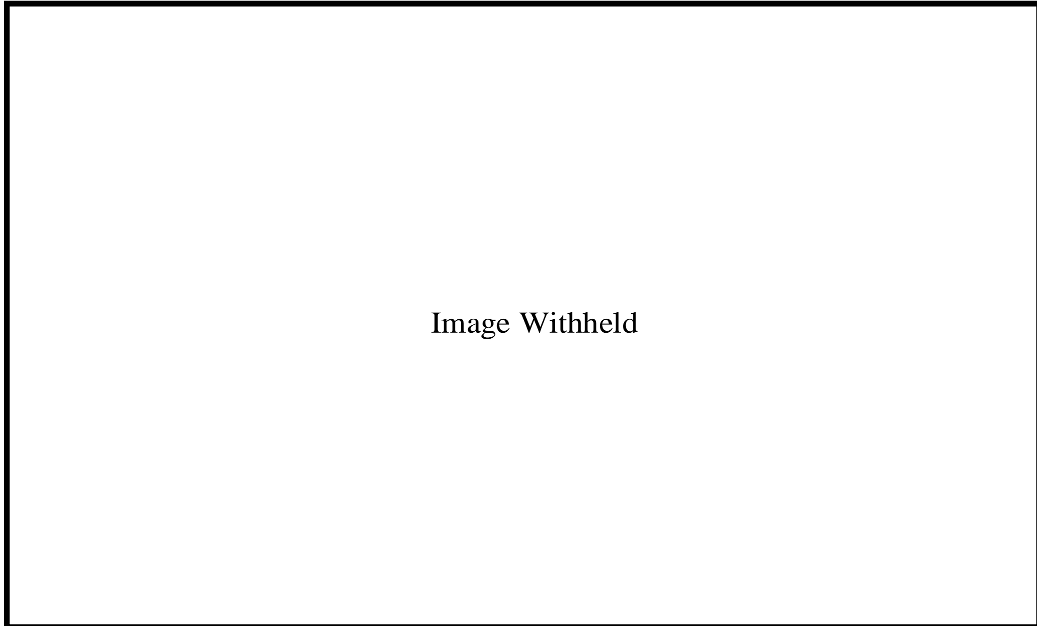

Fig. 99 Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Allegory of Bad Government*, 1338-40, Sala dei Nove, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

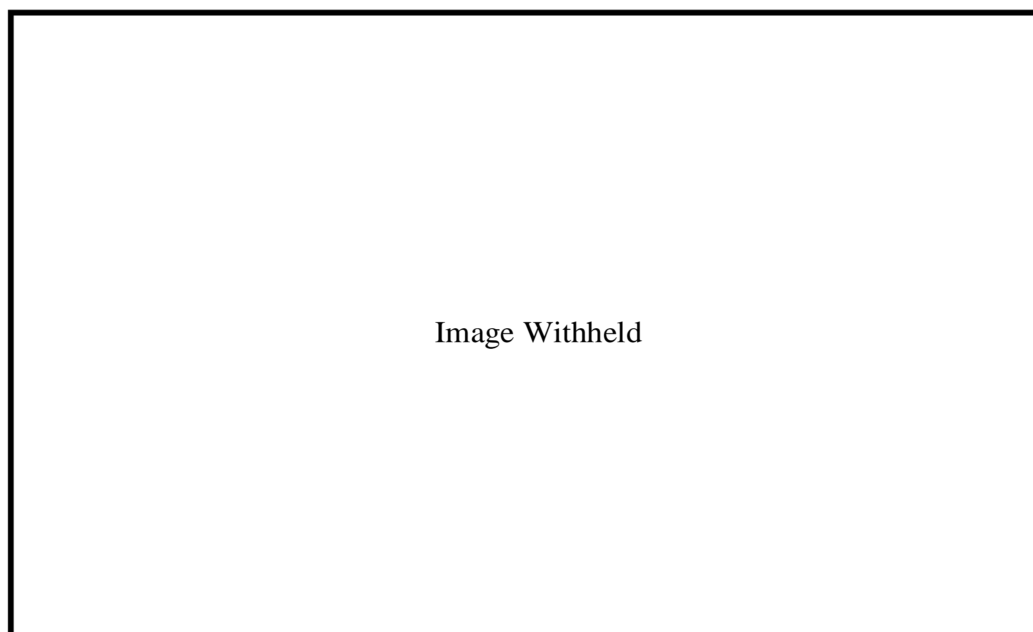

Fig. 100 Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Allegory of Good Government*, 1338-40, Sala dei Nove, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena

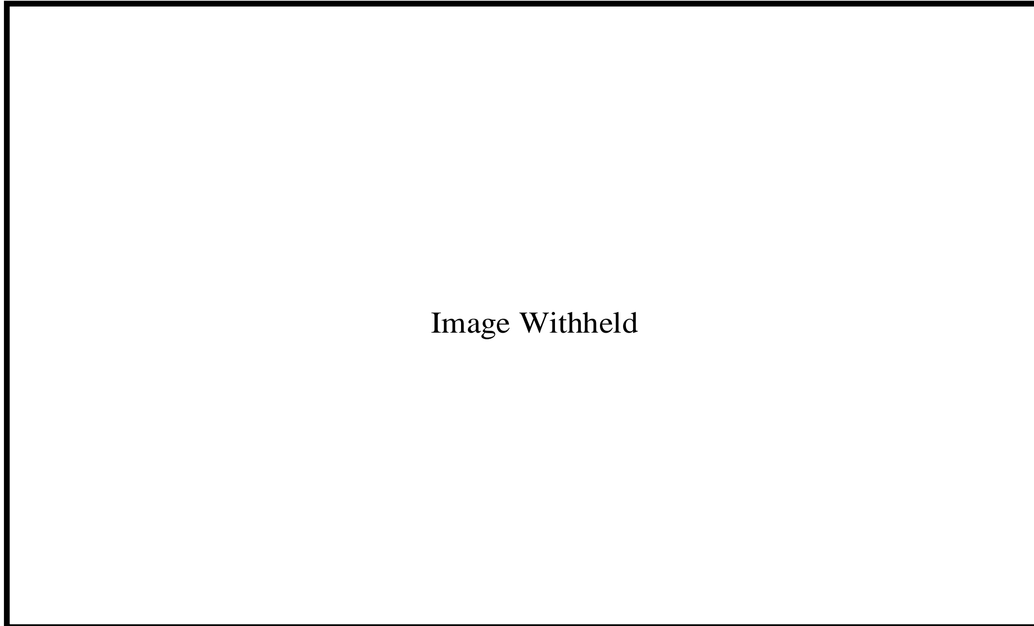

Fig. 101 Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Effects of Good Government in the City*, 1338-1340, Sala dei Nove, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena,

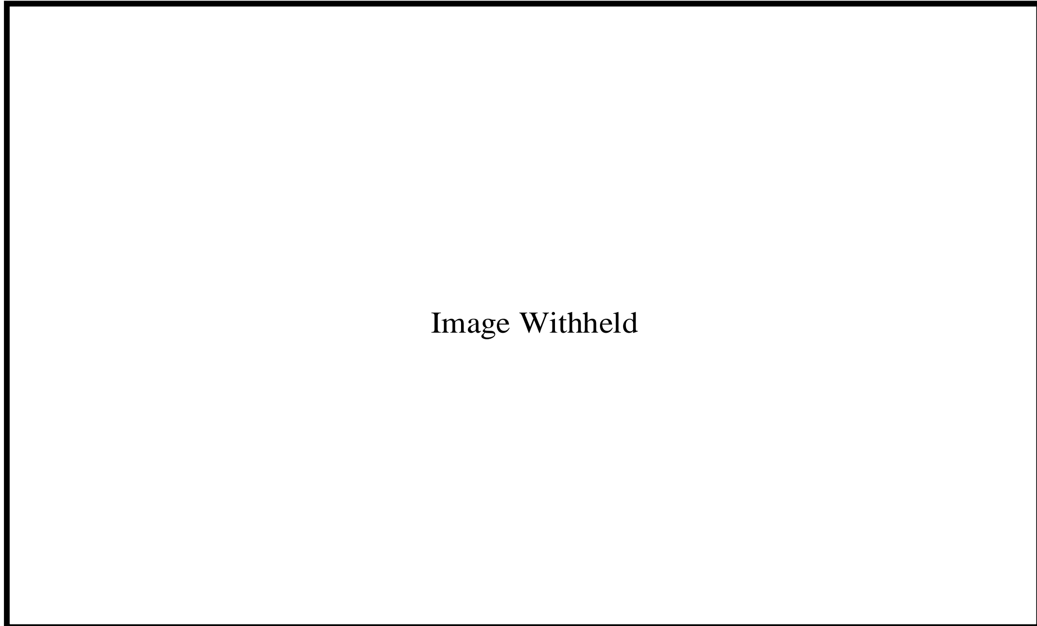

Fig. 102 Ambrogio Lorenzetti, detail, *Effects of Good Government in the Countryside*, 1338-1340, Sala dei Nove, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena

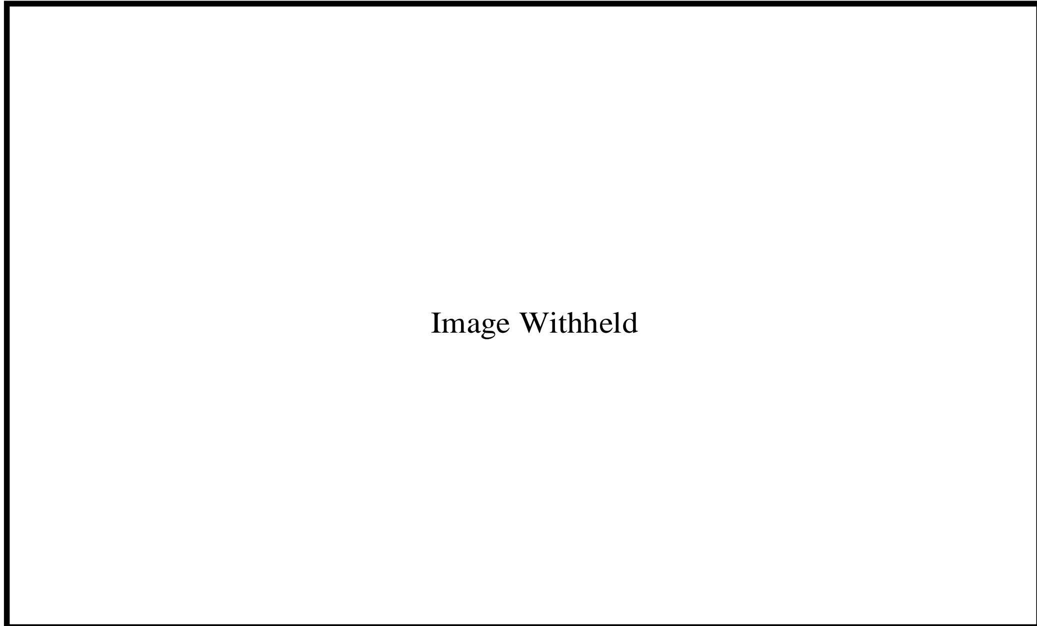

Fig. 103 Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Maestà*, c. 1335-37

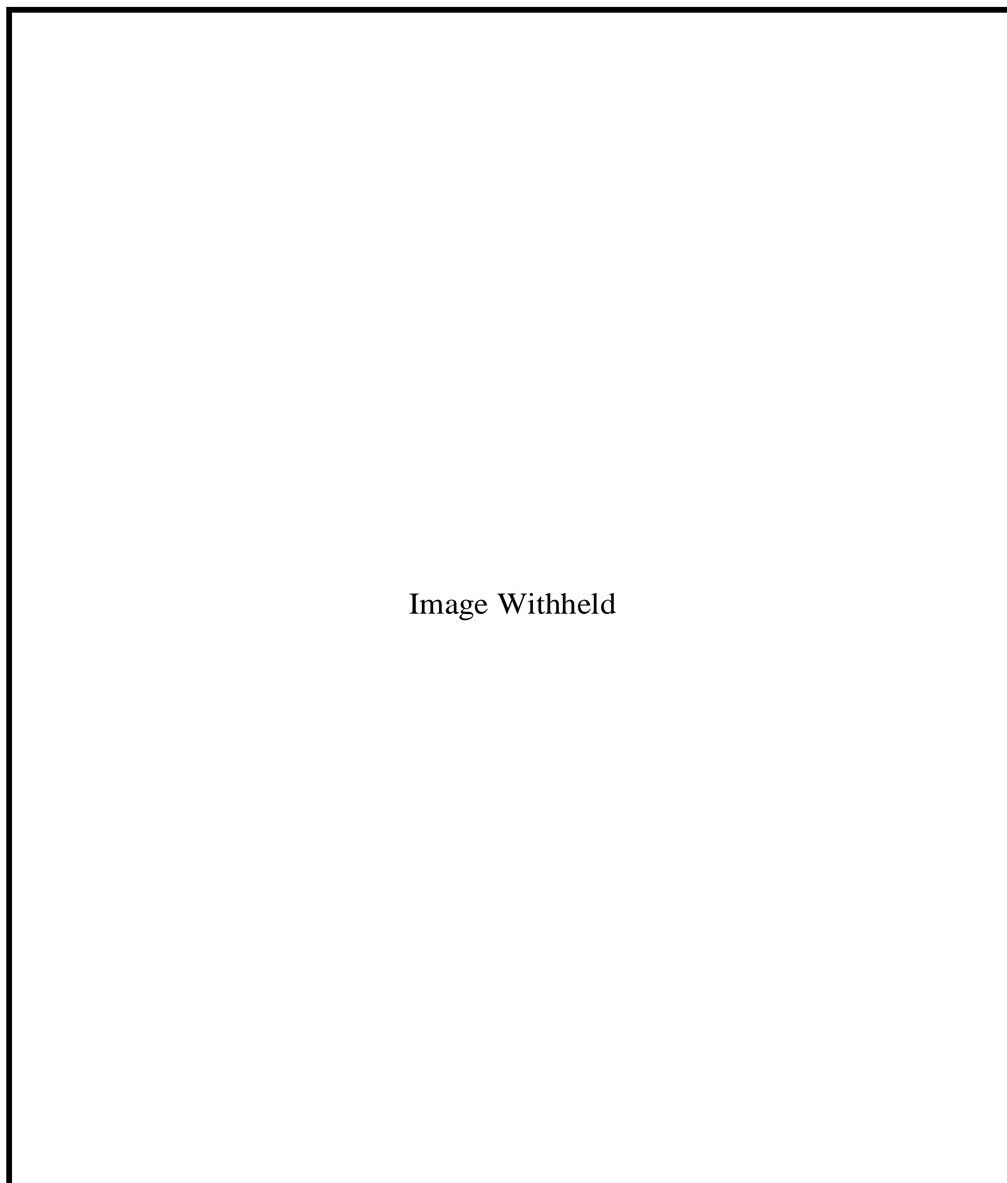
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Fig. 104 overall view, Arena Chapel, Padua,

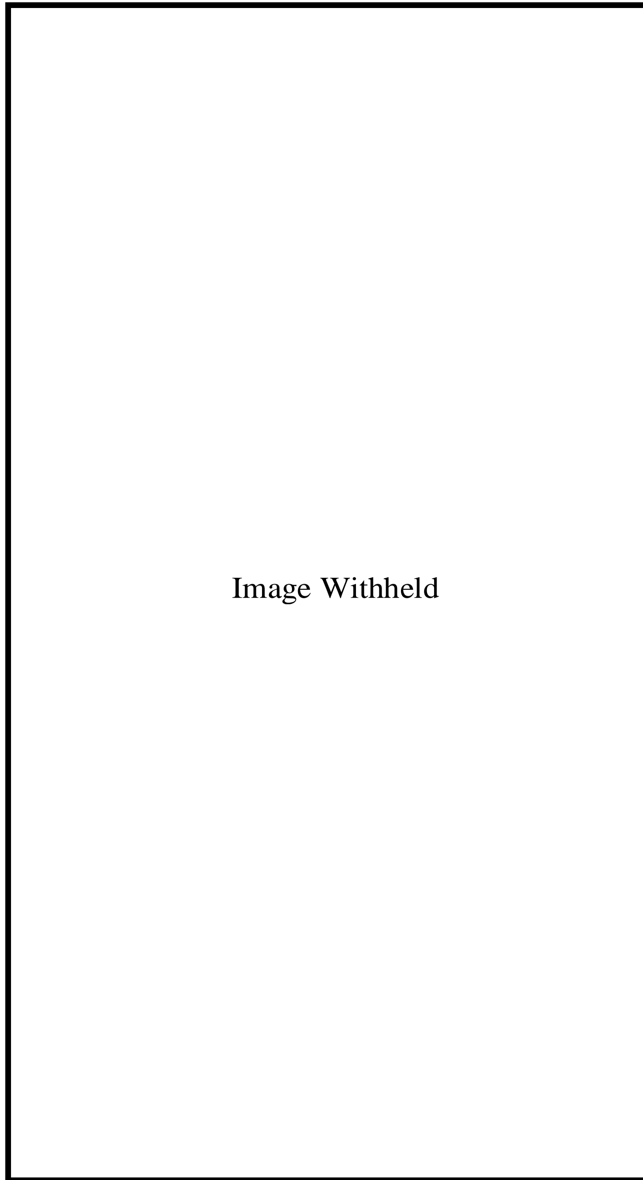

Fig. 105 Giotto, Spes, c. 1305, Arena Chapel, Padua,

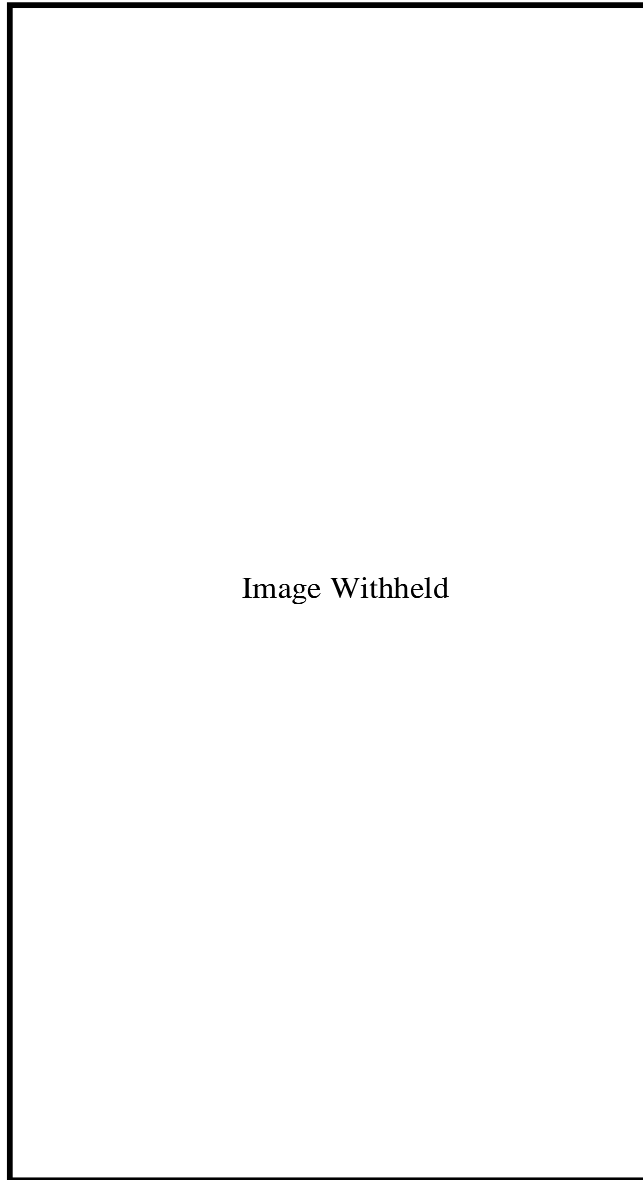

Fig. 106 Giotto, Karitas, c. 1305, Arena Chapel, Padua,

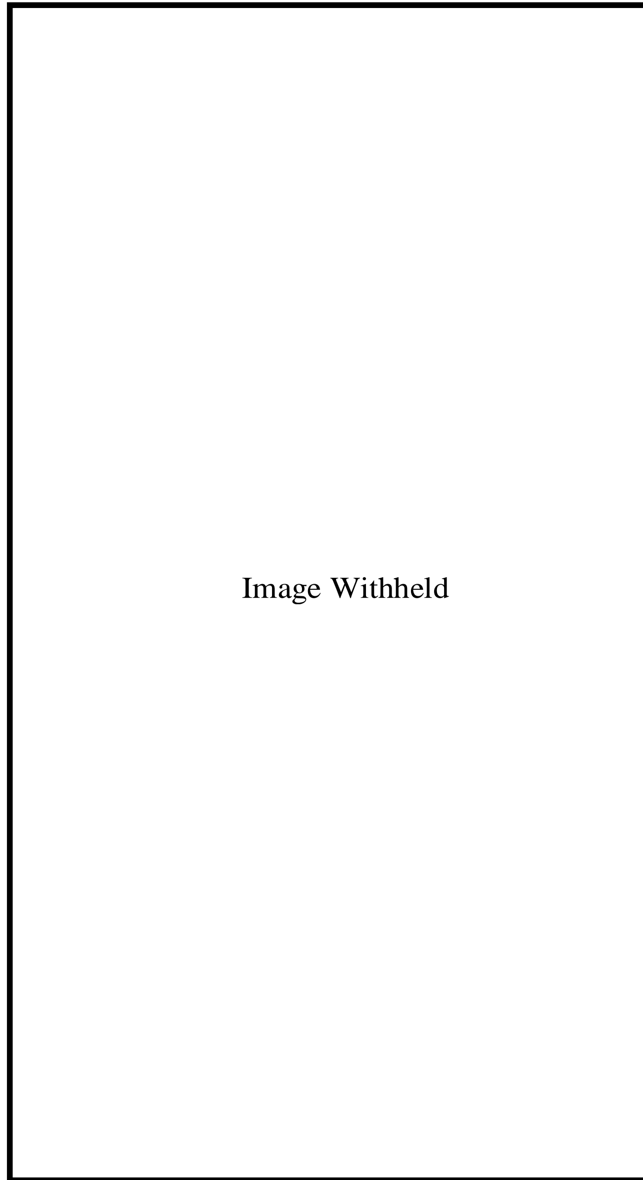

Fig. 107 Giotto, Fides, c. 1305, Arena Chapel, Padua,

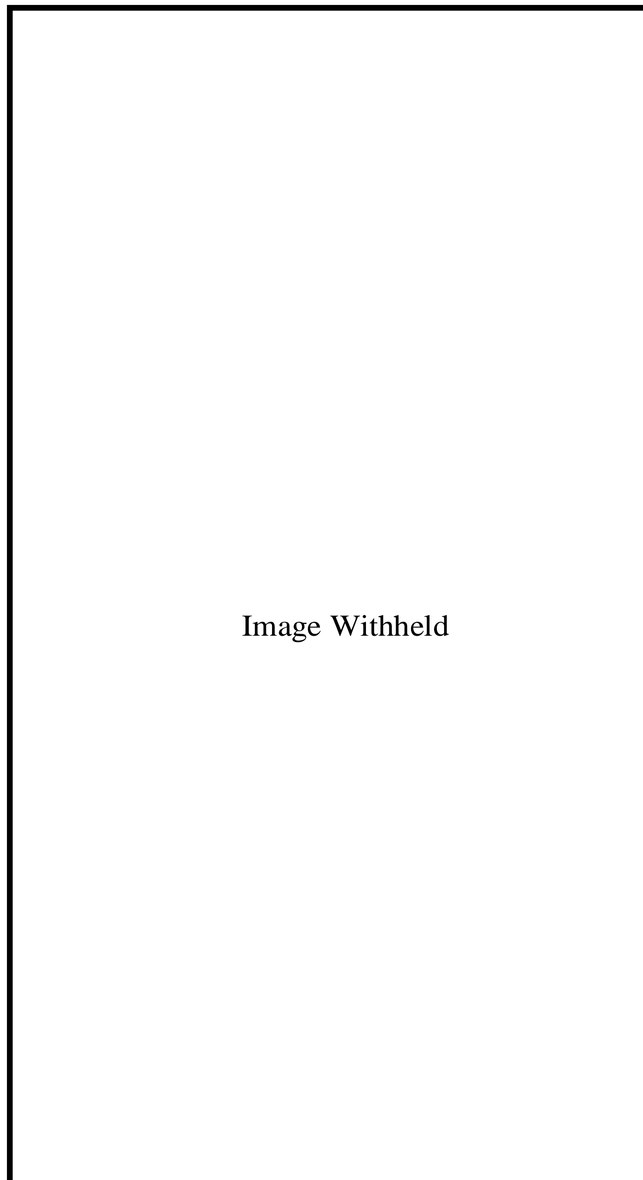

Fig. 108 Giotto, Iusticia, c. 1305, Arena Chapel, Padua,

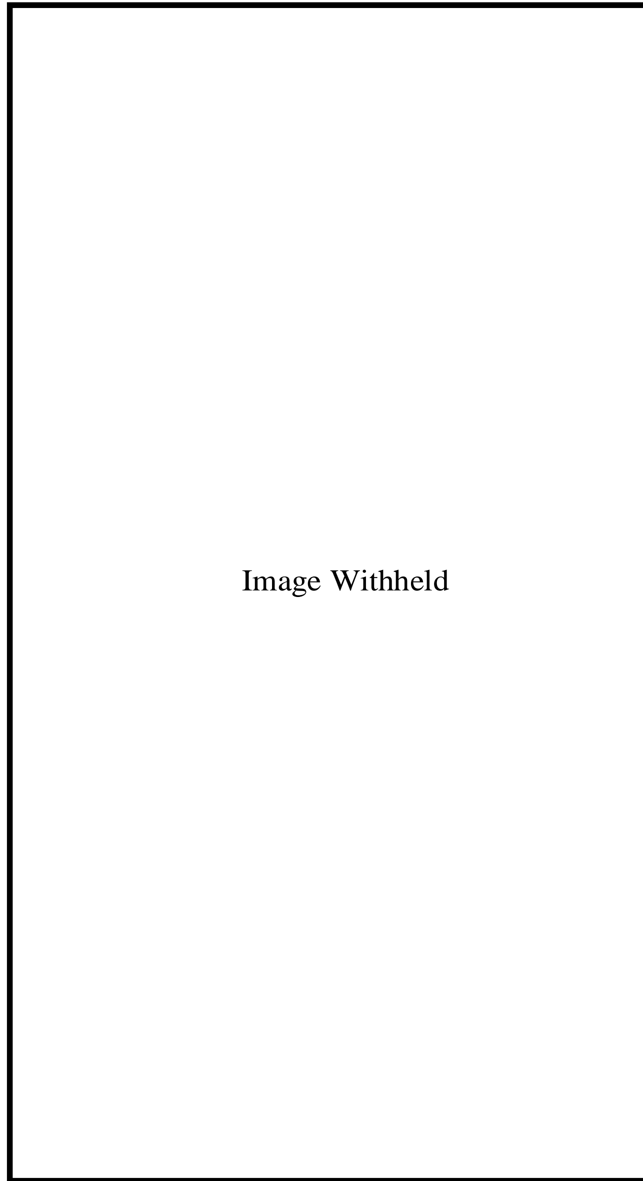

Fig. 109 Giotto, Prudentia, c. 1305, Arena Chapel, Padua,

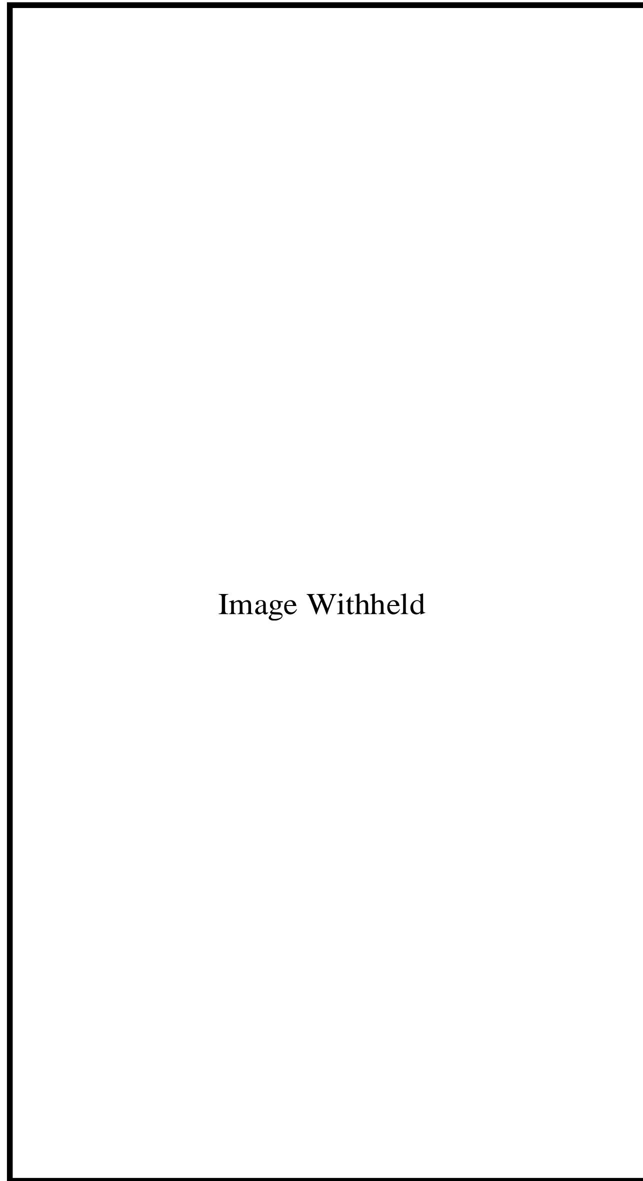

Fig. 110 Giotto, Temperantia, c. 1305, Arena Chapel, Padua

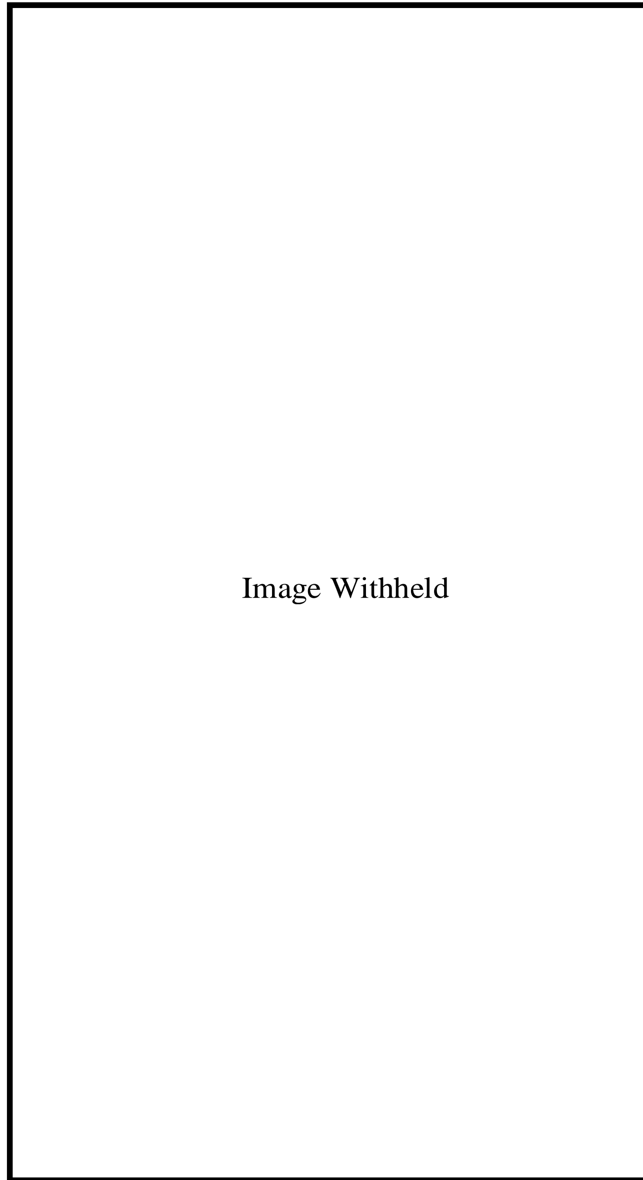

Fig. 111 Giotto, Fortitudo, c. 1305, Arena Chapel, Padua

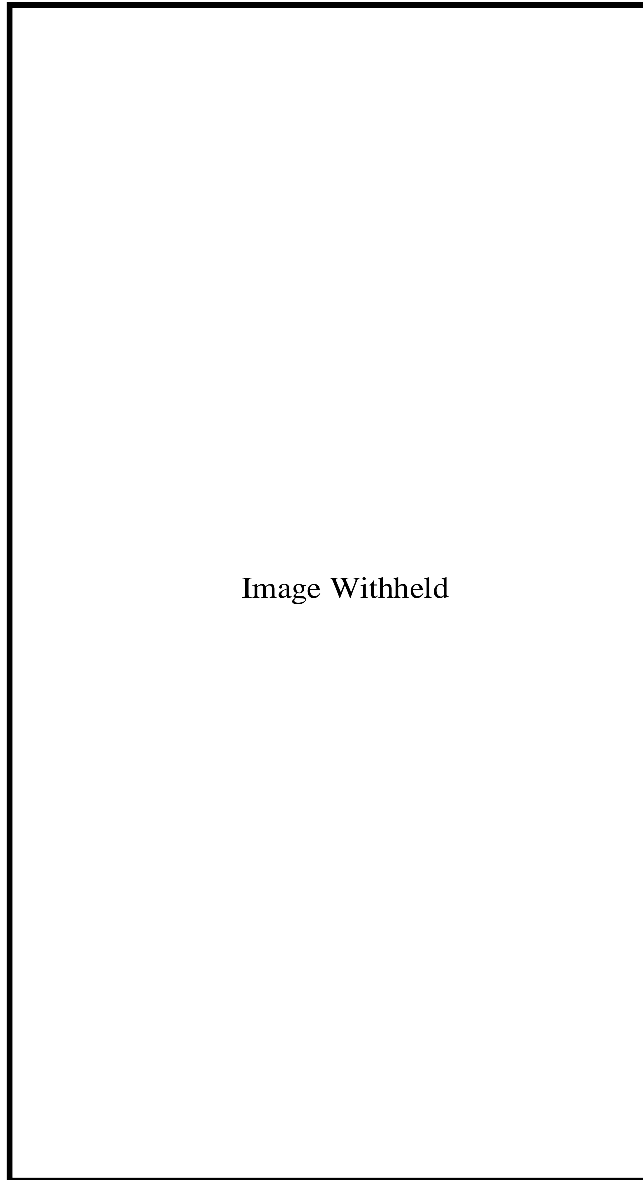

Image Withheld

Fig. 112 Giotto, Desperatio, c. 1305, Arena Chapel, Padua,

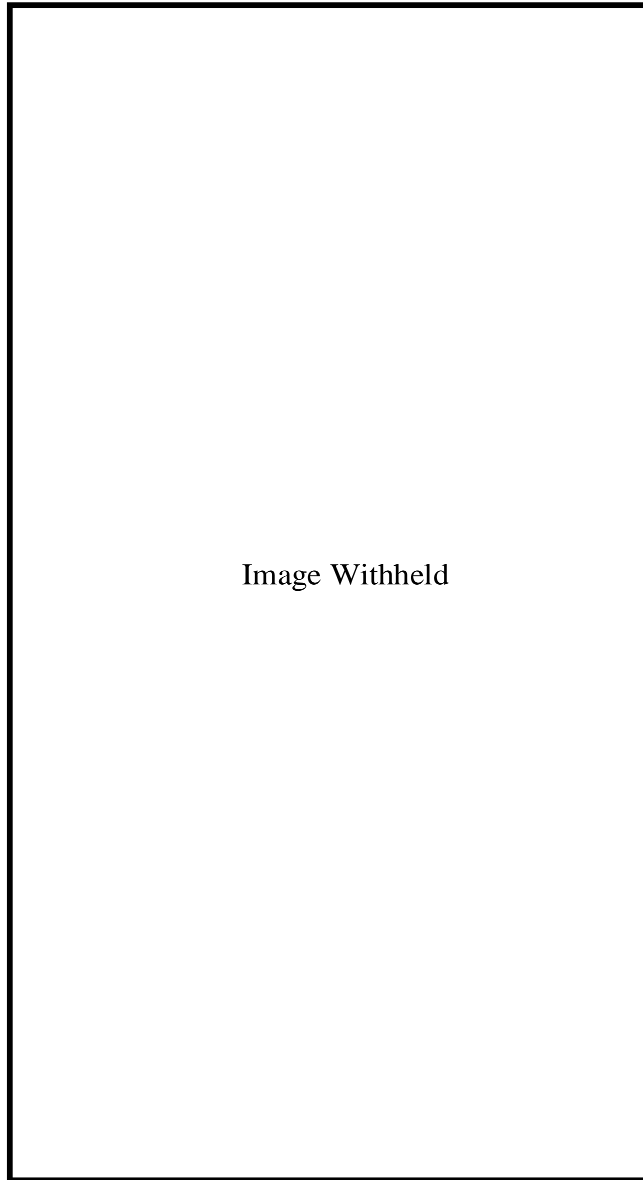

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Fig. 113 Giotto, Invidia, Arena Chapel, Padua, c.1305

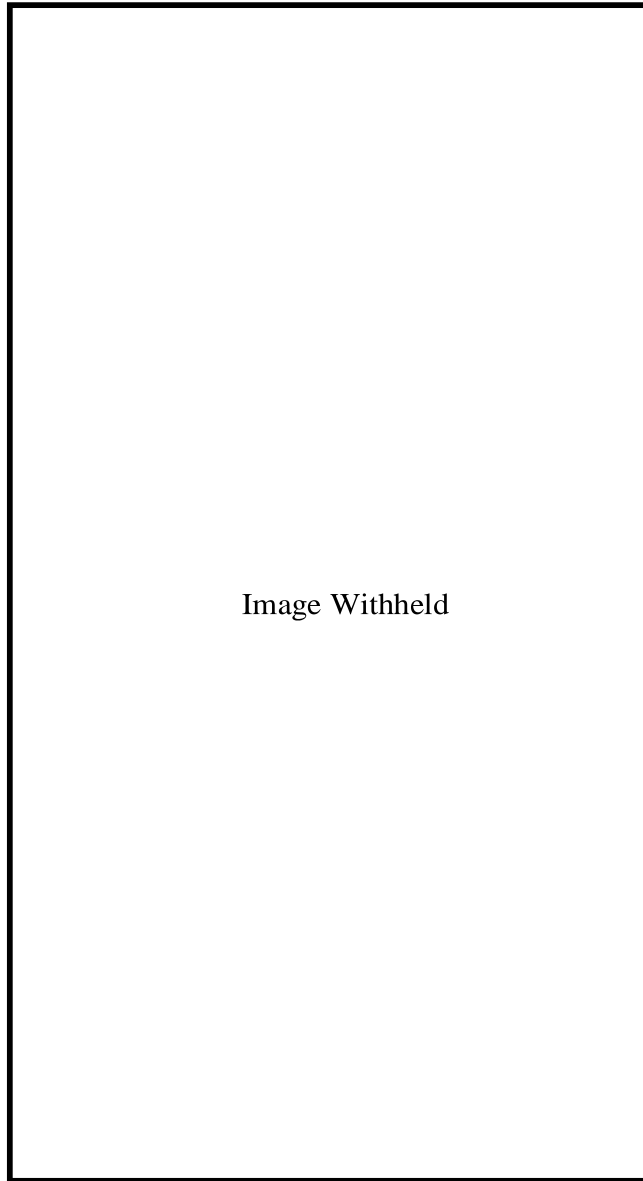

Fig. 114 Giotto, Infidelitas, c. 1305, Arena Chapel, Padua,

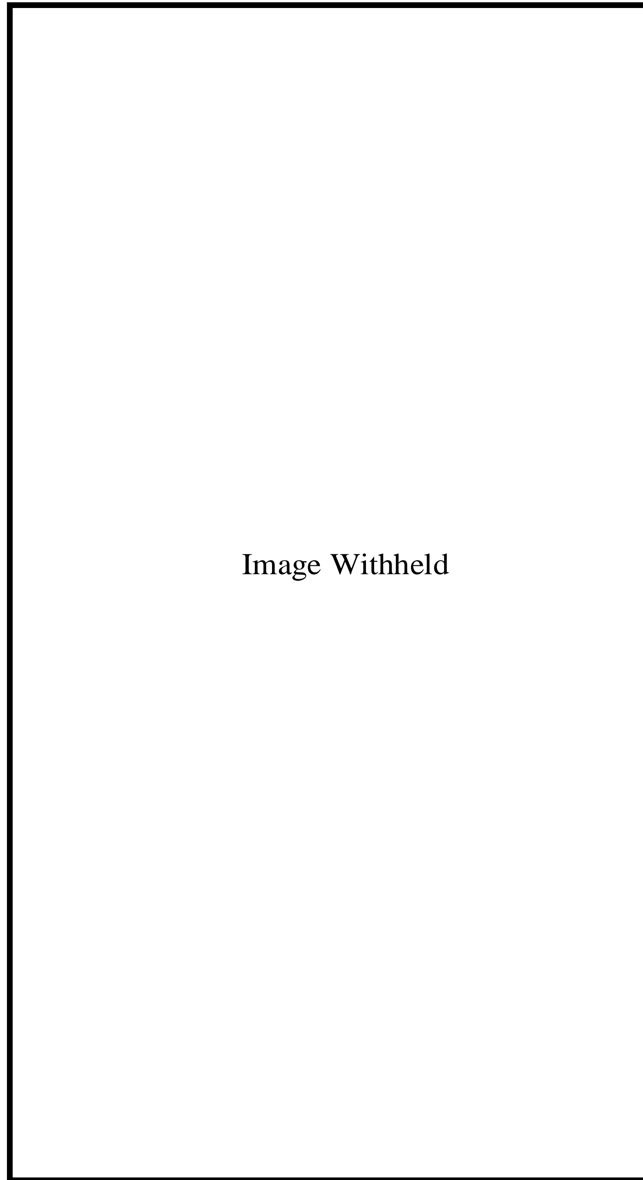

Fig. 115 Giotto, Inconstantia, c. 1305, Arena Chapel, Padua,

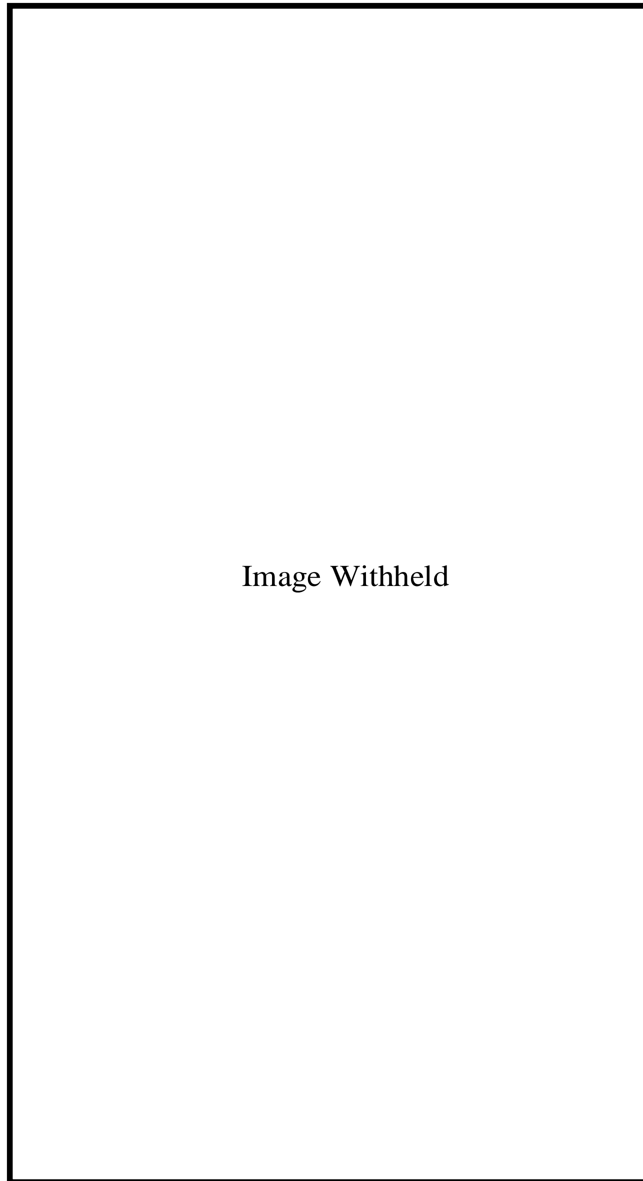

Fig. 116 Giotto, Iniustitia, c. 1305, Arena Chapel, Padua,

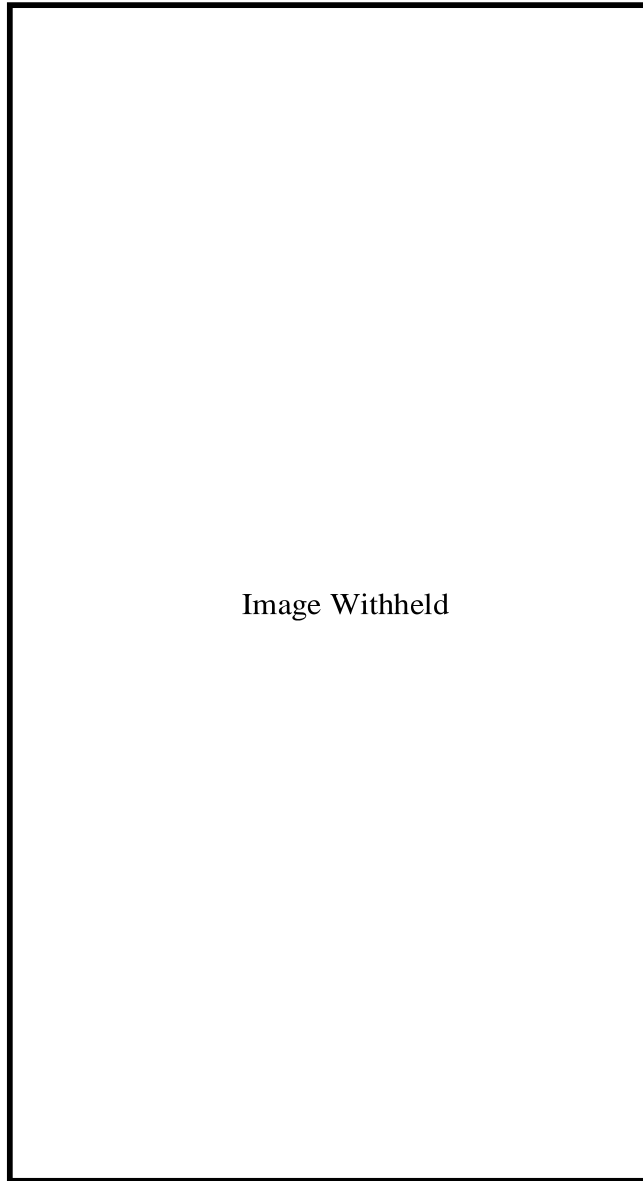

Fig. 117 Giotto, Ira, c. 1305, Arena Chapel, Padua,

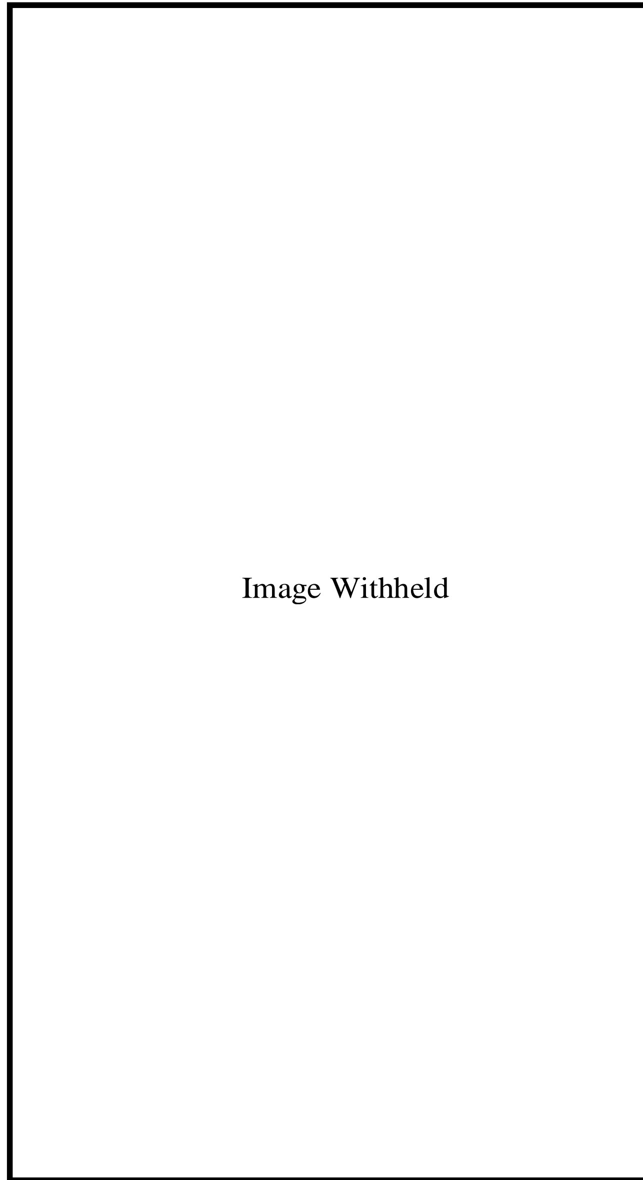

Fig. 118 Giotto, Stultitia, c. 1305, Arena Chapel, Padua,

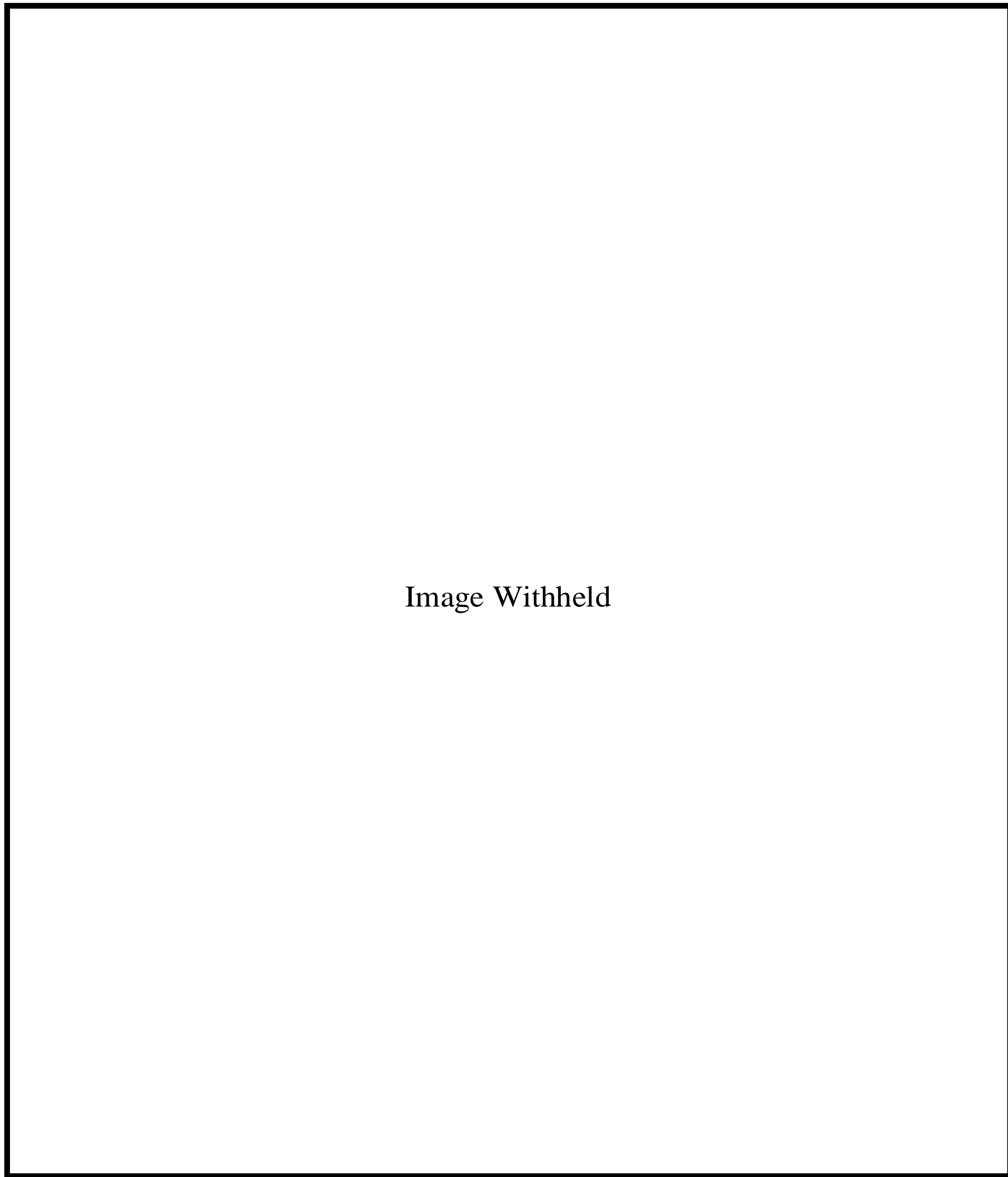

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Fig. 119 Giotto, View of wall showing biblical scenes above and personifications below, c. 1305, Arena Chapel, Padua

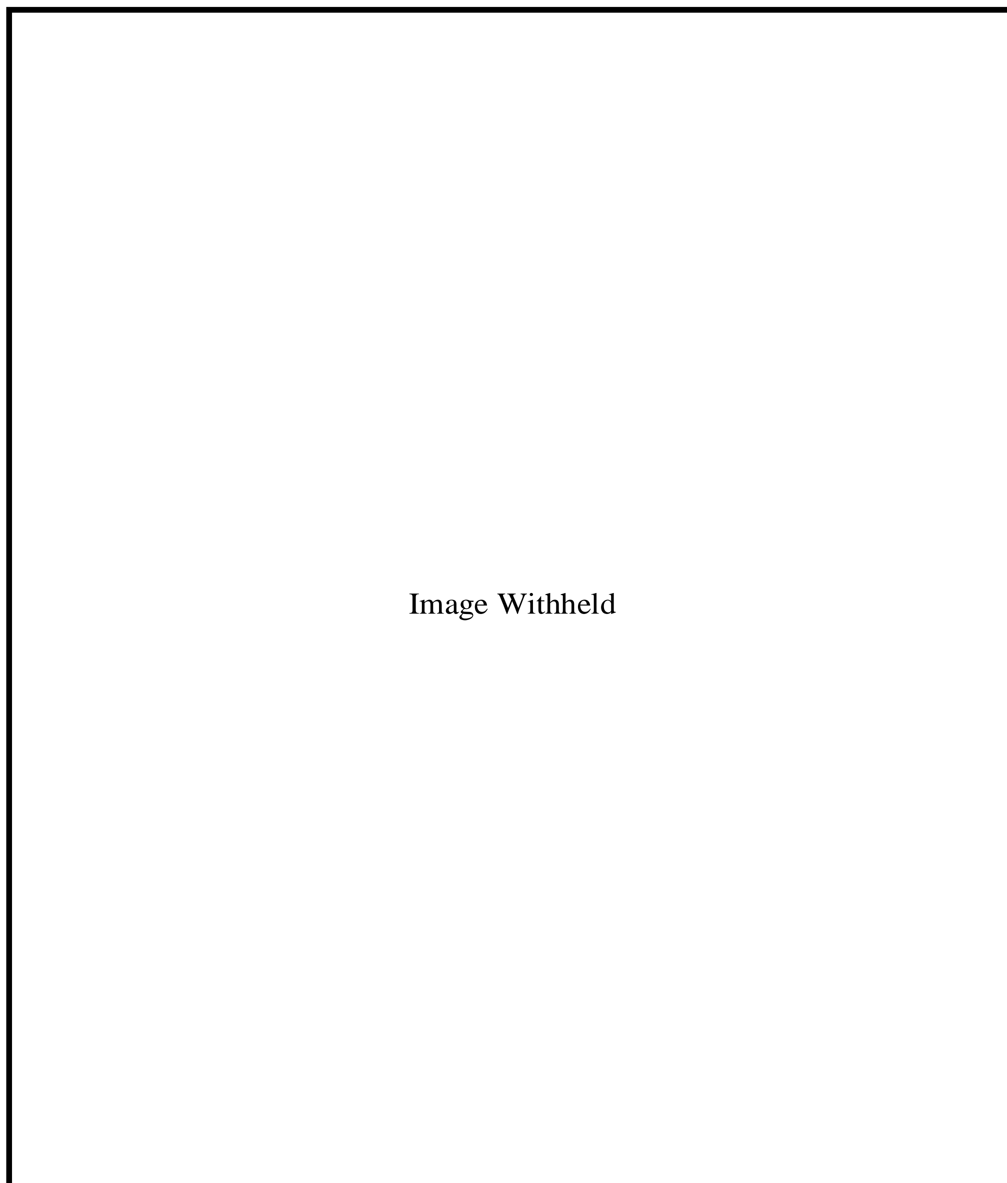

Fig. 120 Giotto, Last Judgment, c. 1305, Arena Chapel, Padua,

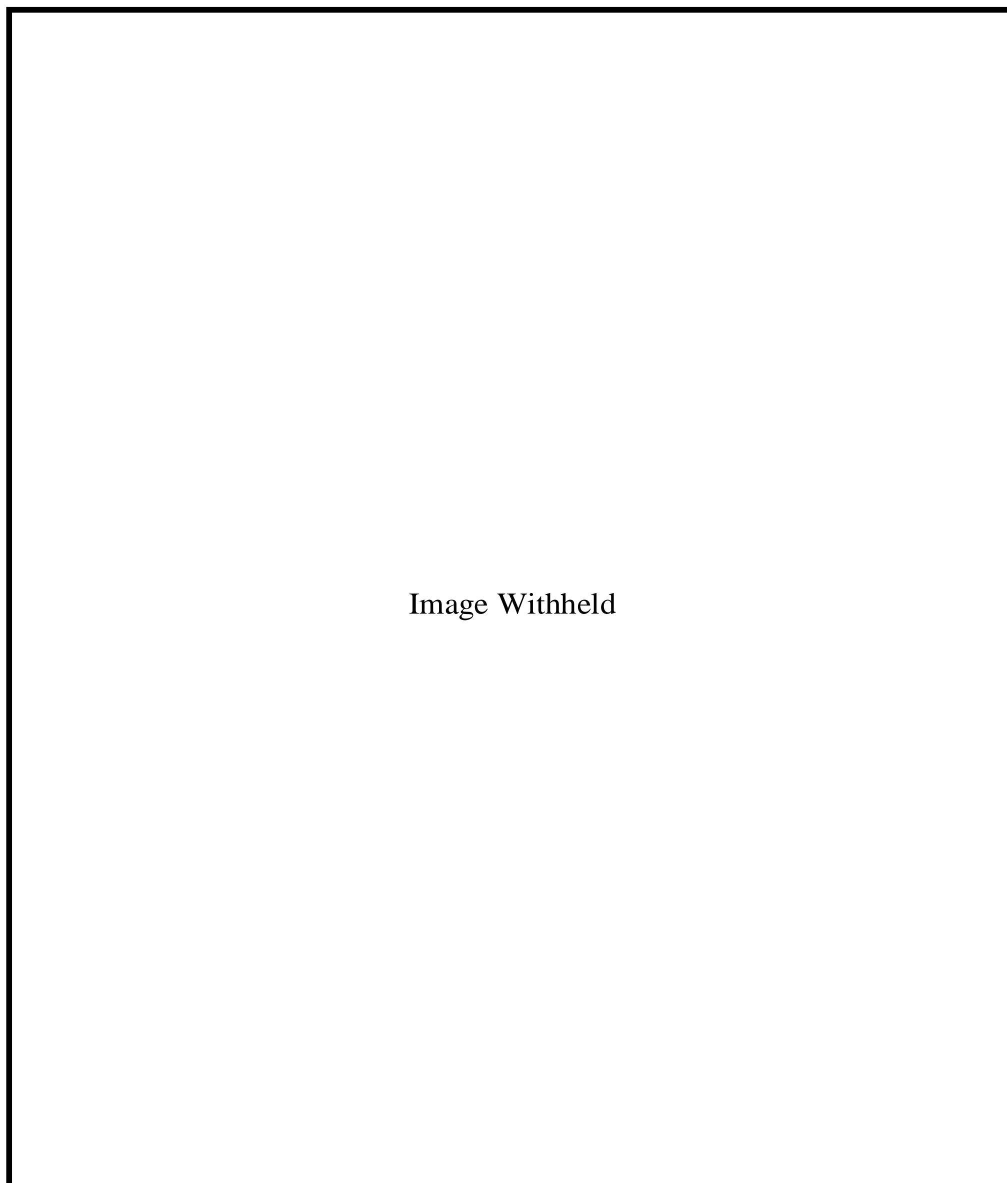

Fig. 121 Giotto, detail of angel pulling back the heavens, Last Judgment, c. 1305, Arena Chapel, Padua,

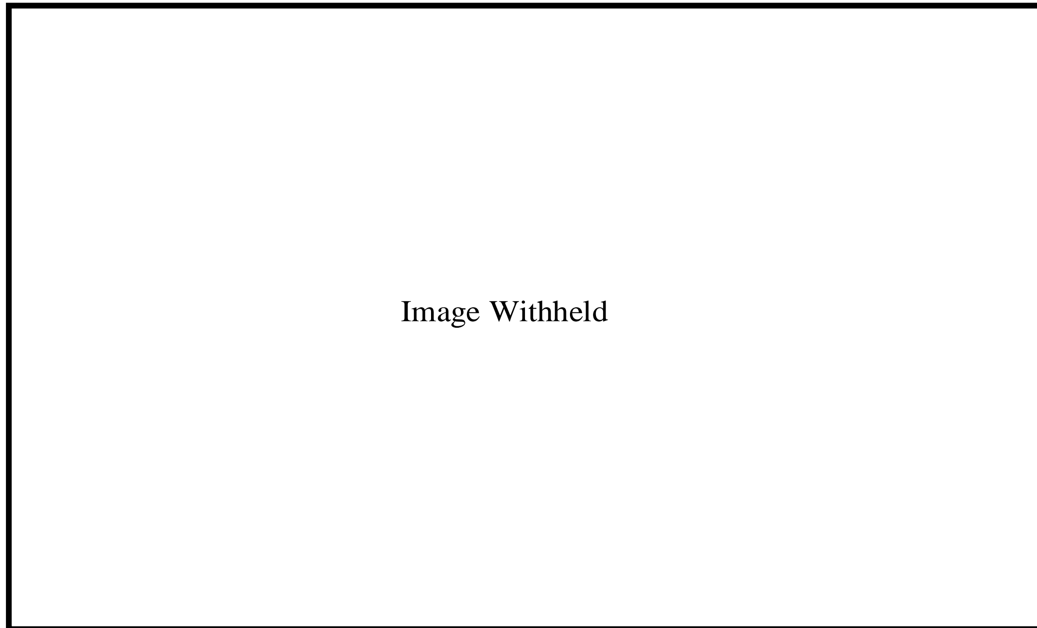

Fig. 122 Salone, fifteenth century repainting of early fourteenth century mural attributed to Giotto, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua,

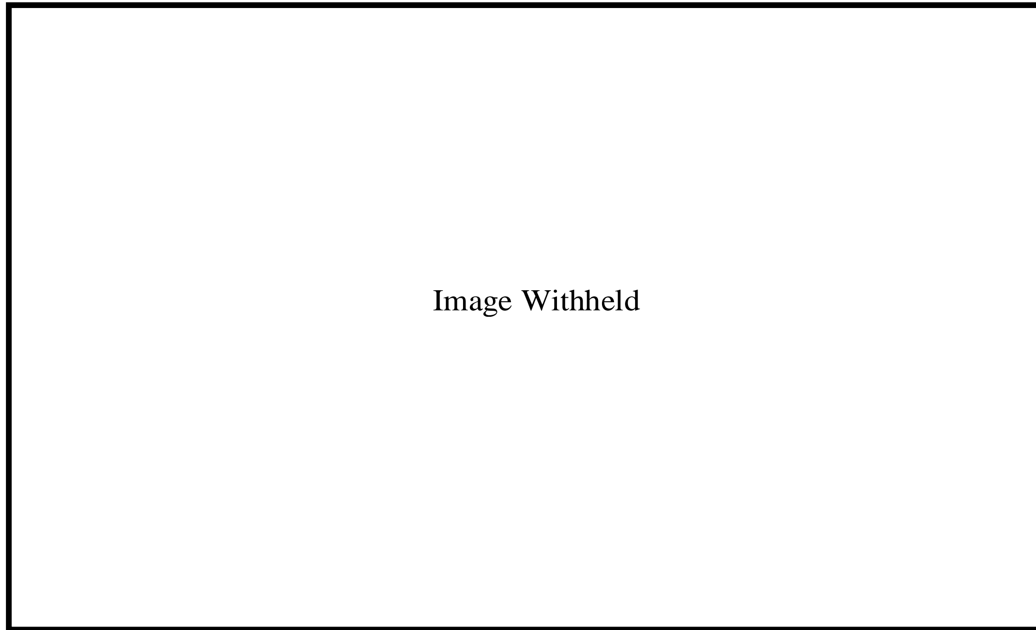

Fig. 123 detail of Justice in the Marketplace, repainting of early fourteenth century mural attributed to Giotto, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua,

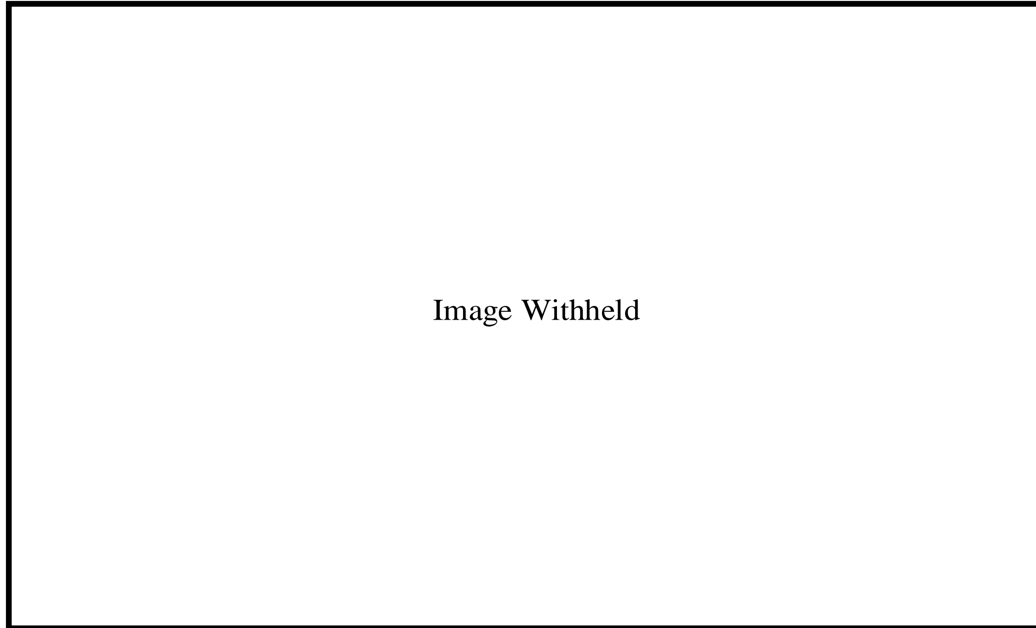

Fig. 124 detail of Communitas under Threat, repainting of early fourteenth century mural attributed to Giotto, Salone, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua,

Fig. 125 Agostino di Giovanni and Agnolo di Ventura da Siena, Tomb of Lord-Bishop Guido Tarlati, 1330, Duomo, Arezzo

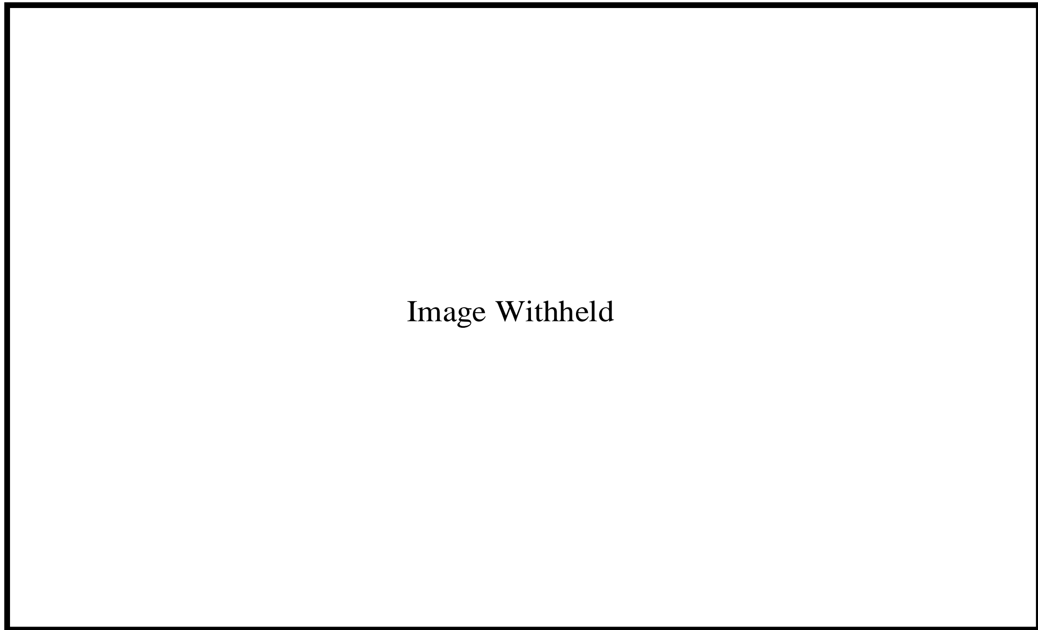

Fig. 126 Agostino di Giovanni and Agnolo di Ventura da Siena, Il Comune pelato, 1330, Tomb of Lord-Bishop Guido Tarlati, Duomo, Arezzo

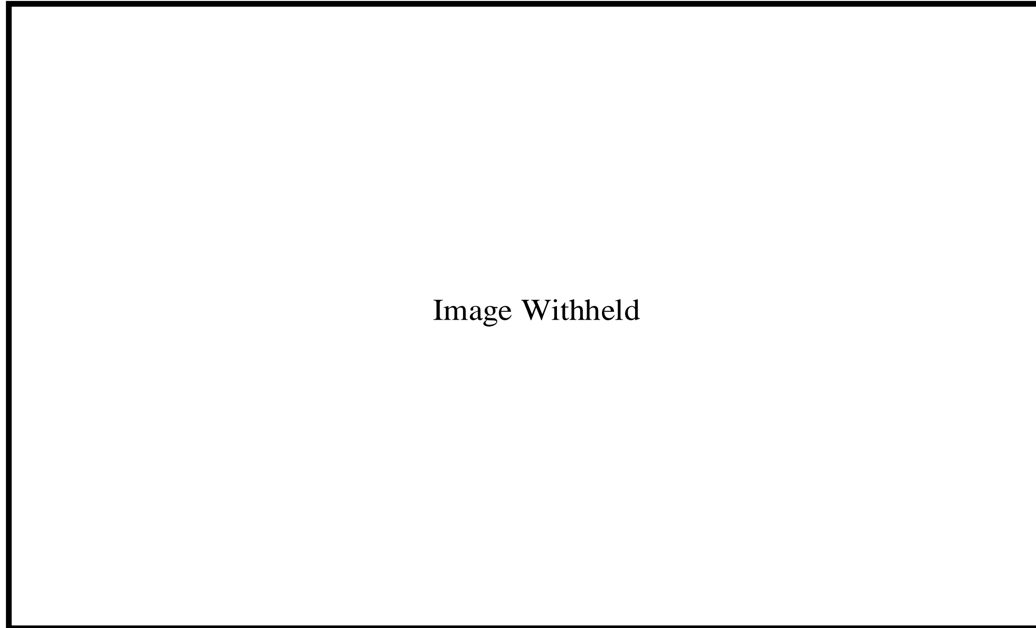

Fig. 127 Agostino di Giovanni and Agnolo di Ventura da Siena, Il Comune in signoria, Tomb of Lord-Bishop Guido Tarlati, 1330, Duomo, Arezzo

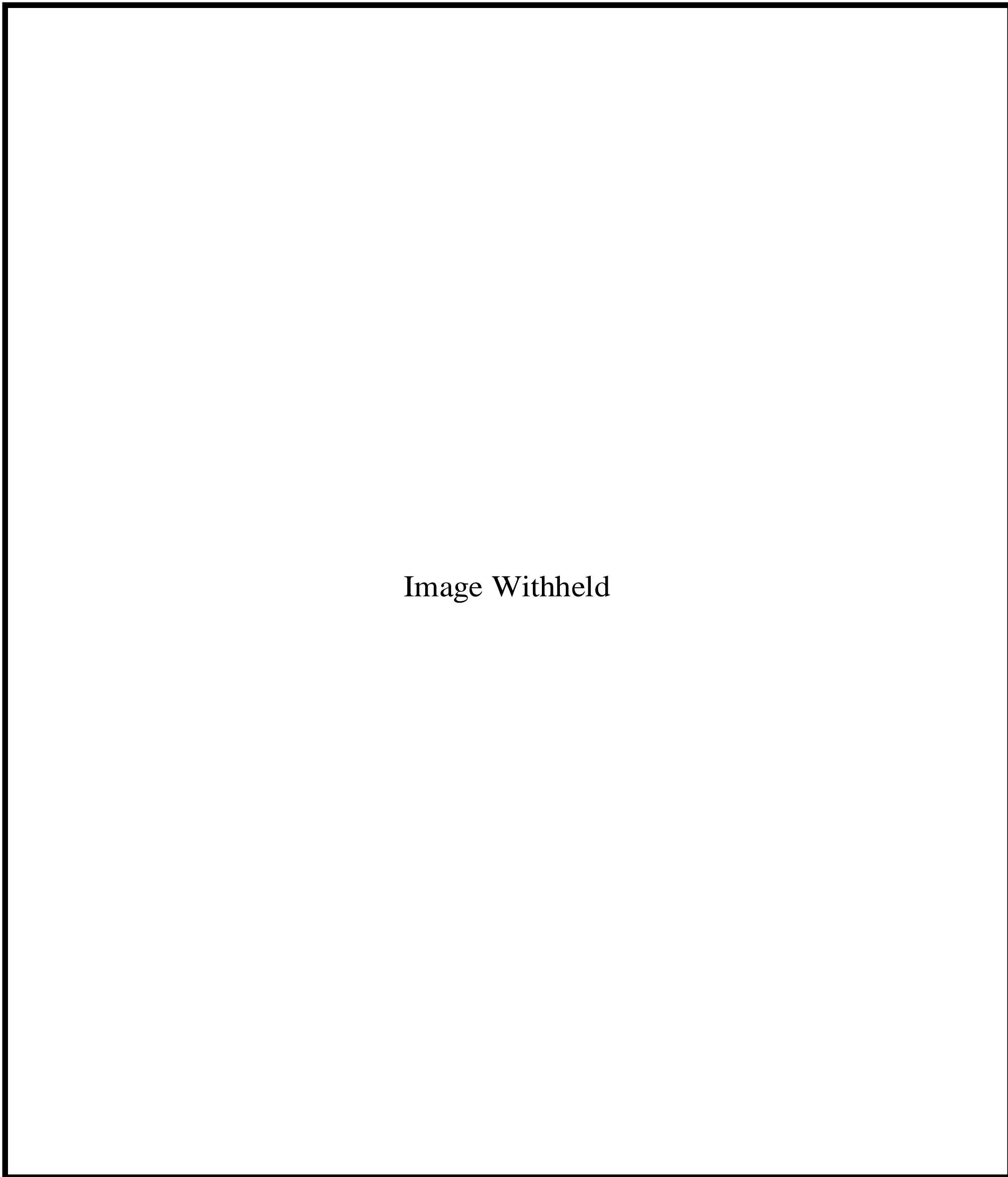

Fig. 128 Nicola Pisano, Fortitude/Hercules, Pulpit, 1260, Baptistry, Pisa

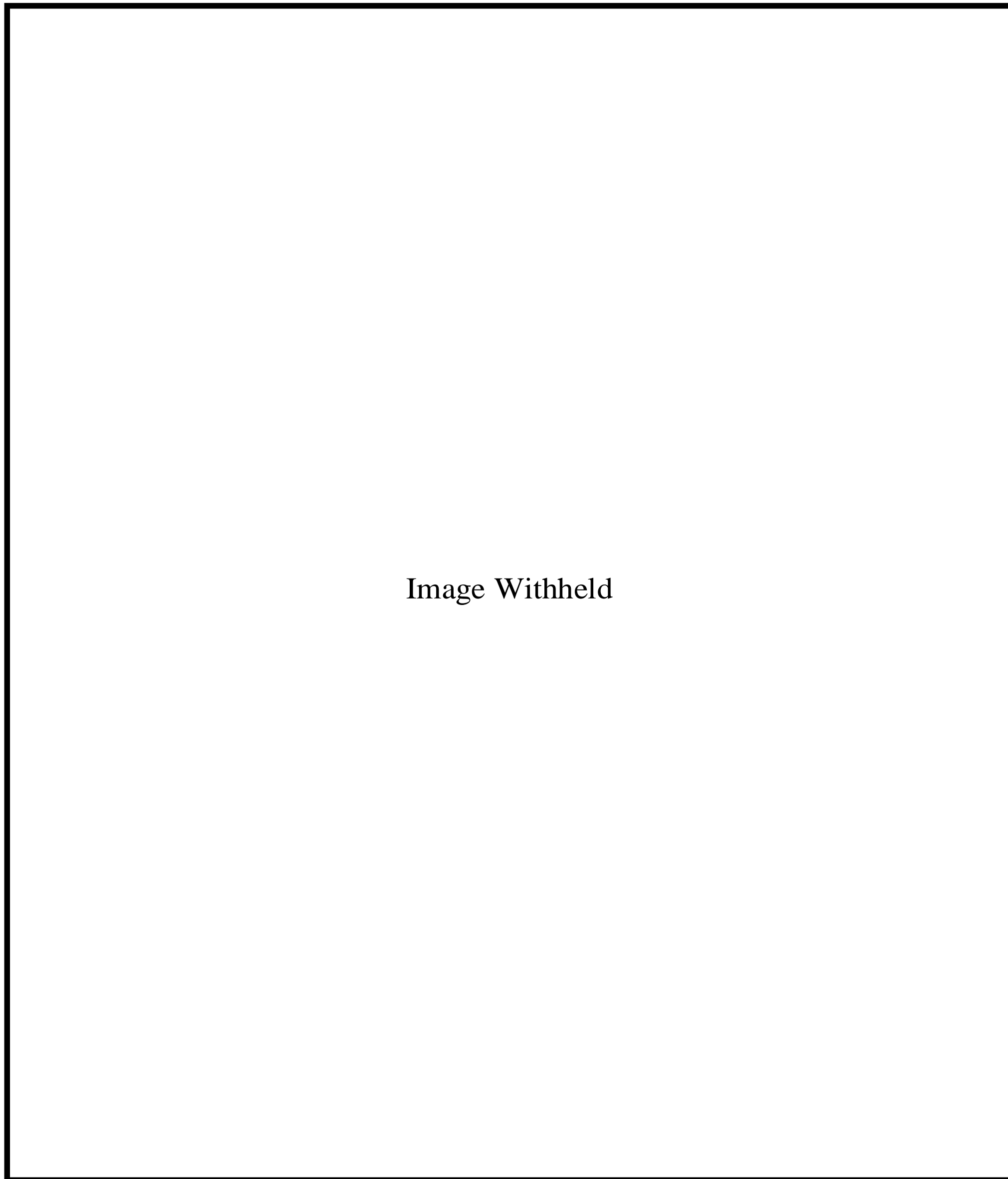

Fig. 129 Giovanni Pisano, detail of virtues, Pulpit, Cathedral of Pisa, commissioned 1302, completed 1310.

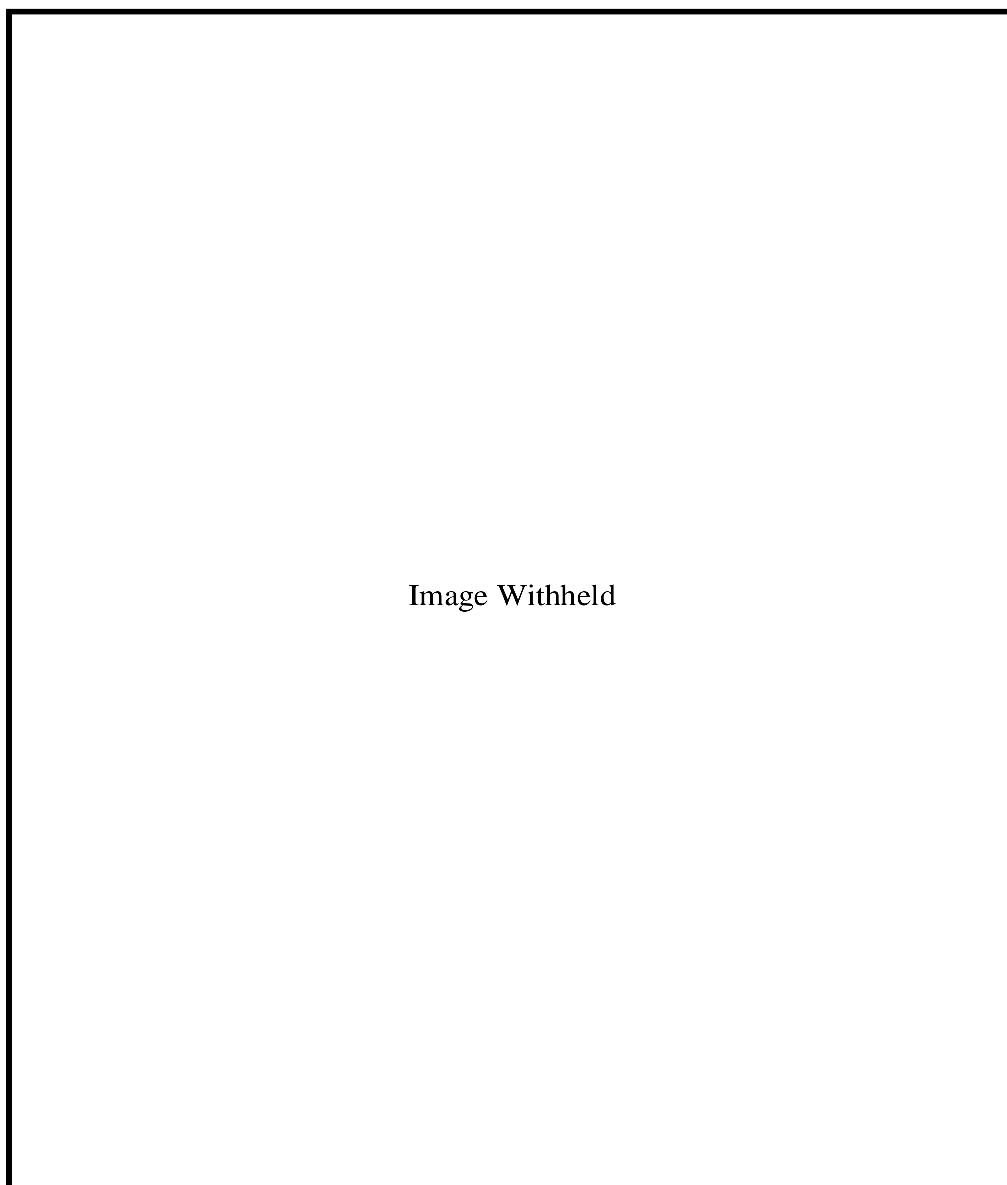

Fig. 130 opening page of *L'Intelligenza*, fol. 2, cod. Magliabechiano VII, 1035, Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence

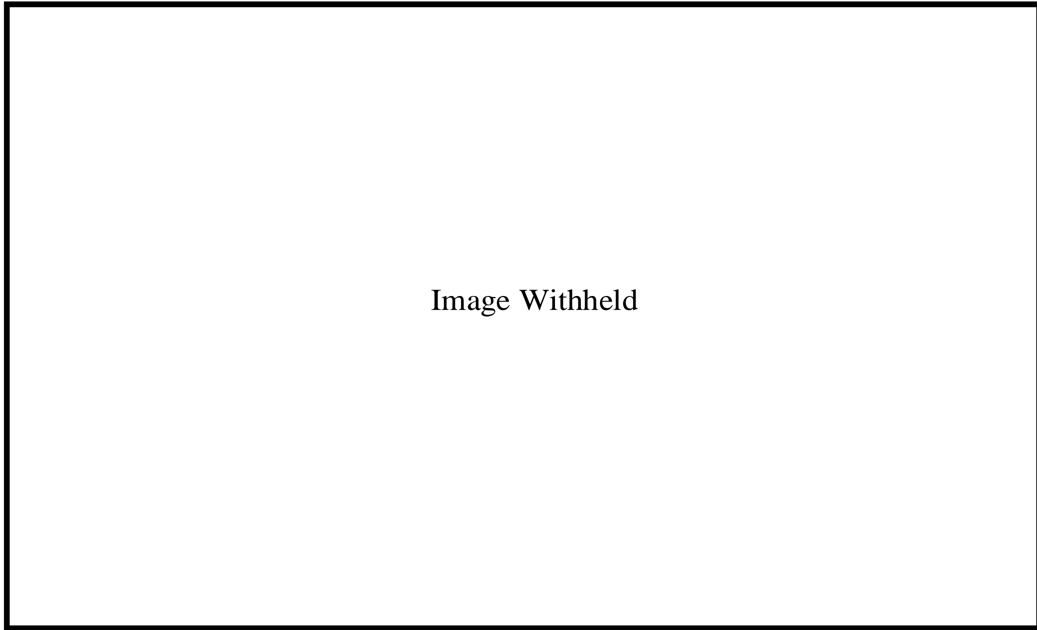

Fig. 131 Follower of Giotto, Allegory of Chastity, 1320s-1330s, Lower Church, Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi

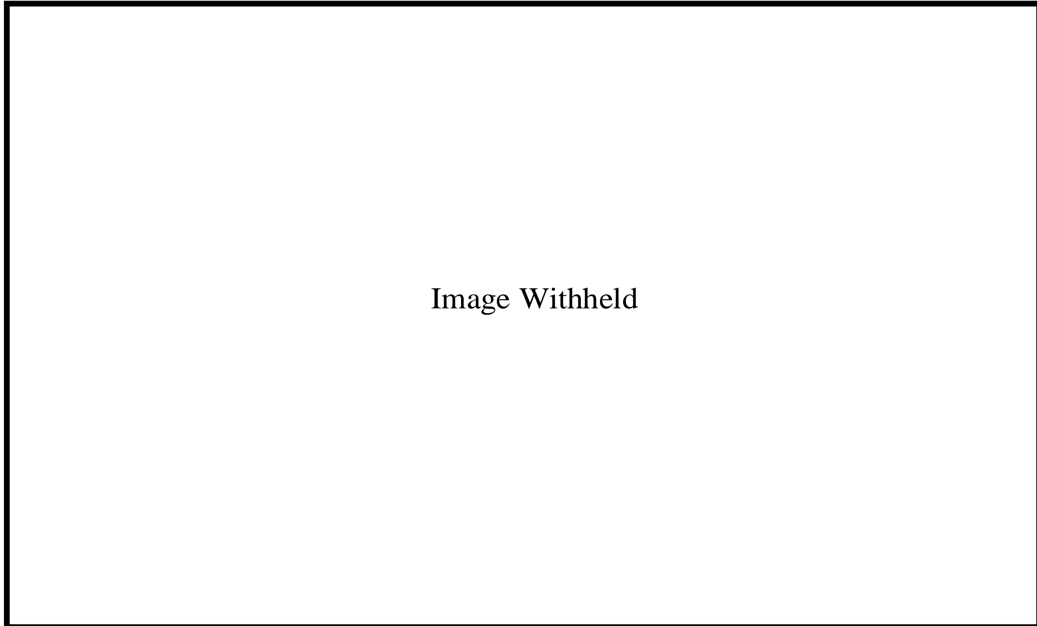

Fig. 132 Follower of Giotto, detail of Amor, Allegory of Chastity, 1320s-1330s, Lower Church, Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi

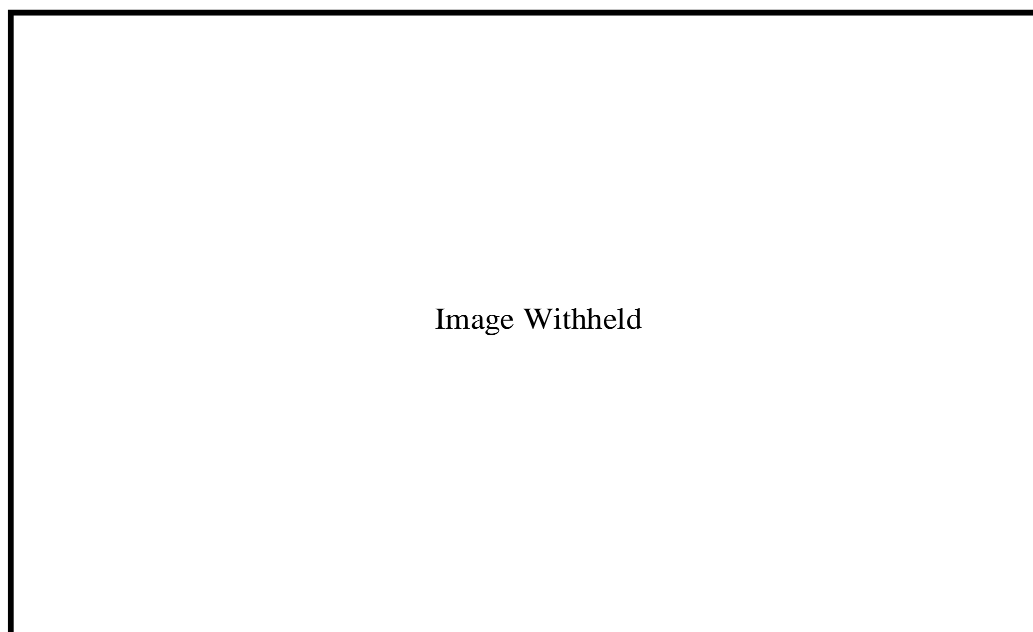

Fig. 133 Amor and Victims, Stanza d'Amore, Castello di Sabbionara di Avio

Fig. 134 Amor, Stanza d'Amore, Castello di Sabbionara di Avio, collection of author

Fig. 135 detail of vault, Stanza d’Amore, Castello di Sabbionara di Avio, collection of author

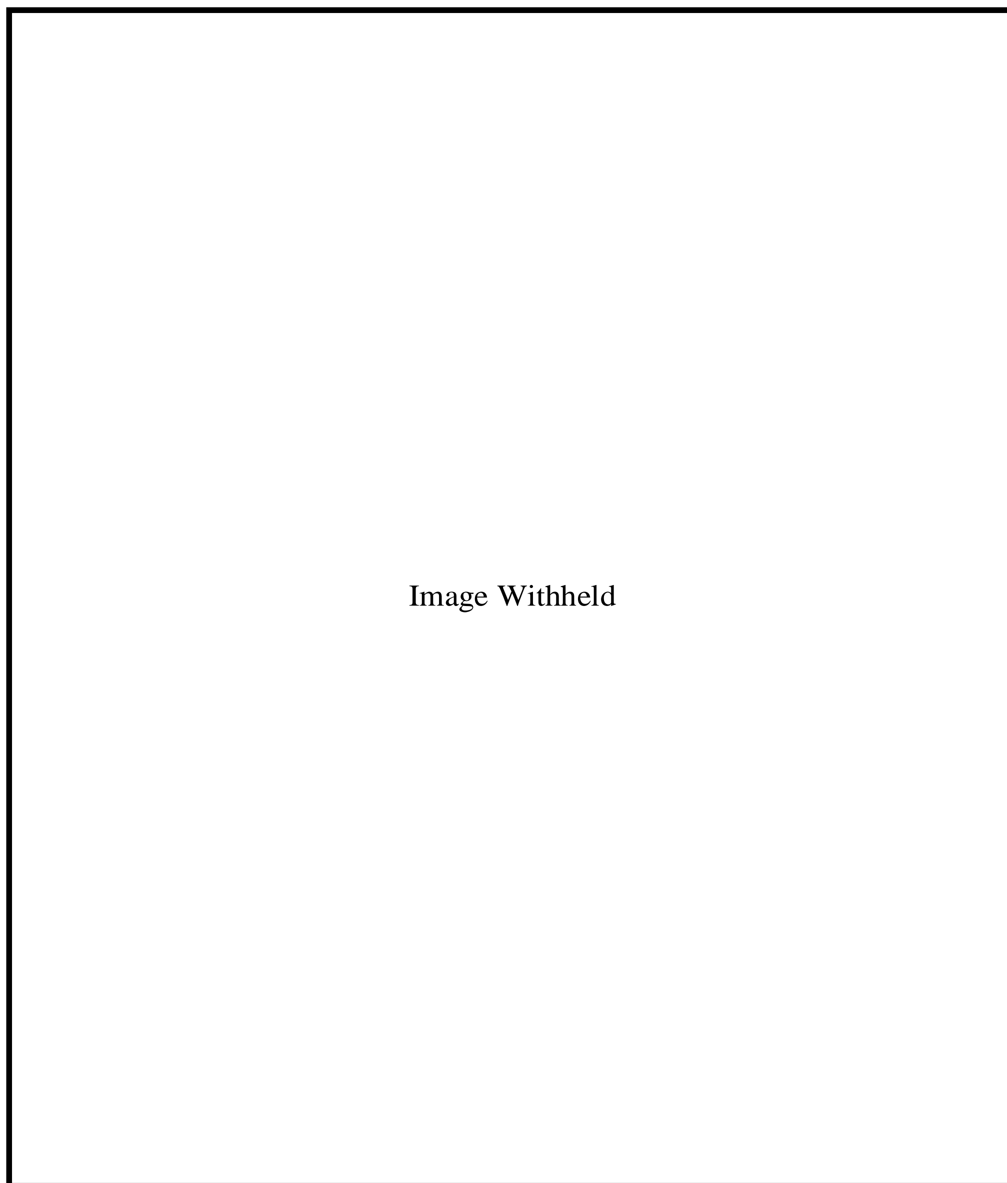

Fig. 136 Bolognese miniaturist, page with *Divisione delle giurisdizioni*, third decade of fourteenth century, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican city, Vat. lat. 2492, fol. 1

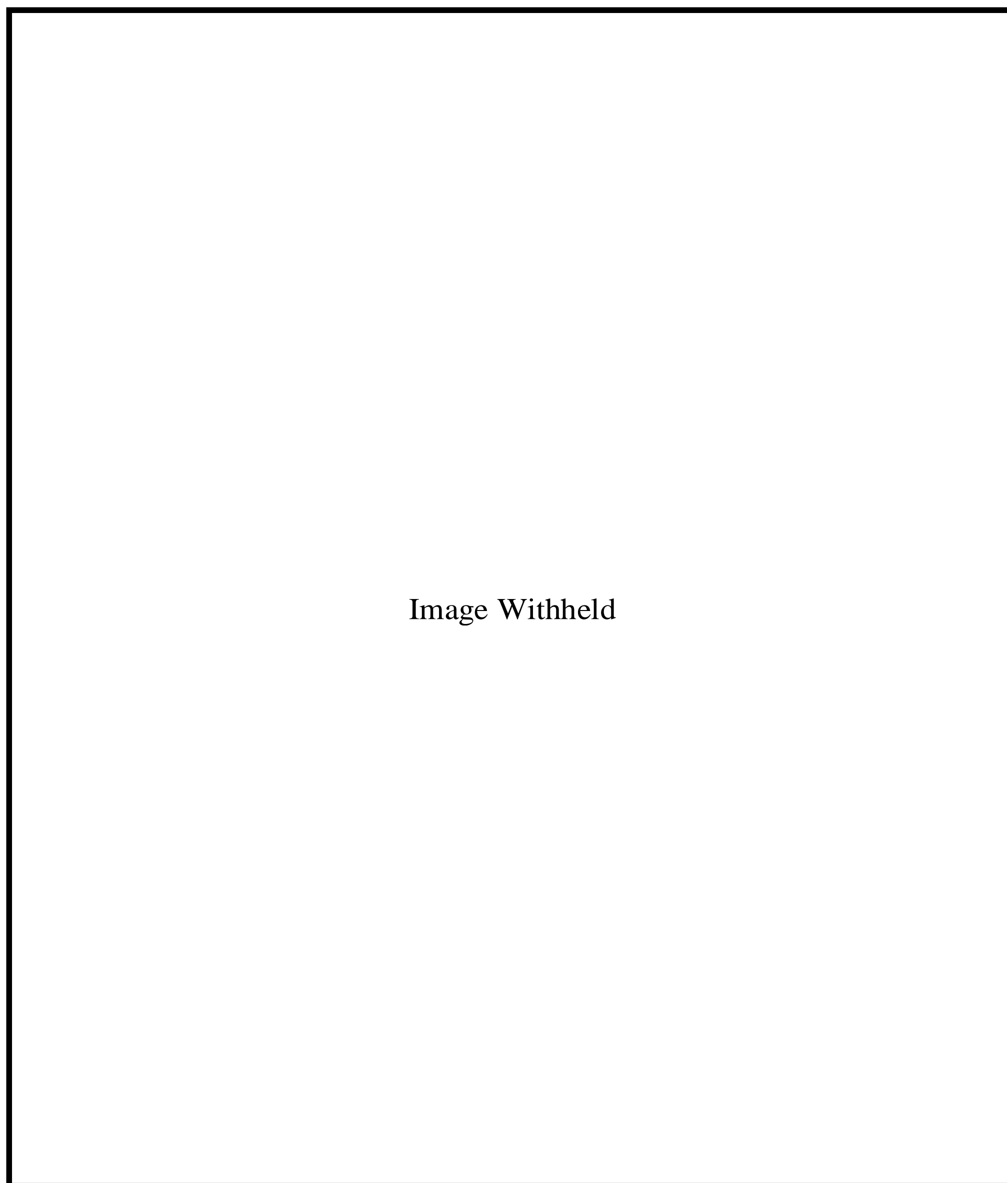

Fig. 137 Bolognese miniaturist, page with Causa II, third decade of fourteenth century, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. lat. 2492, fol. 97

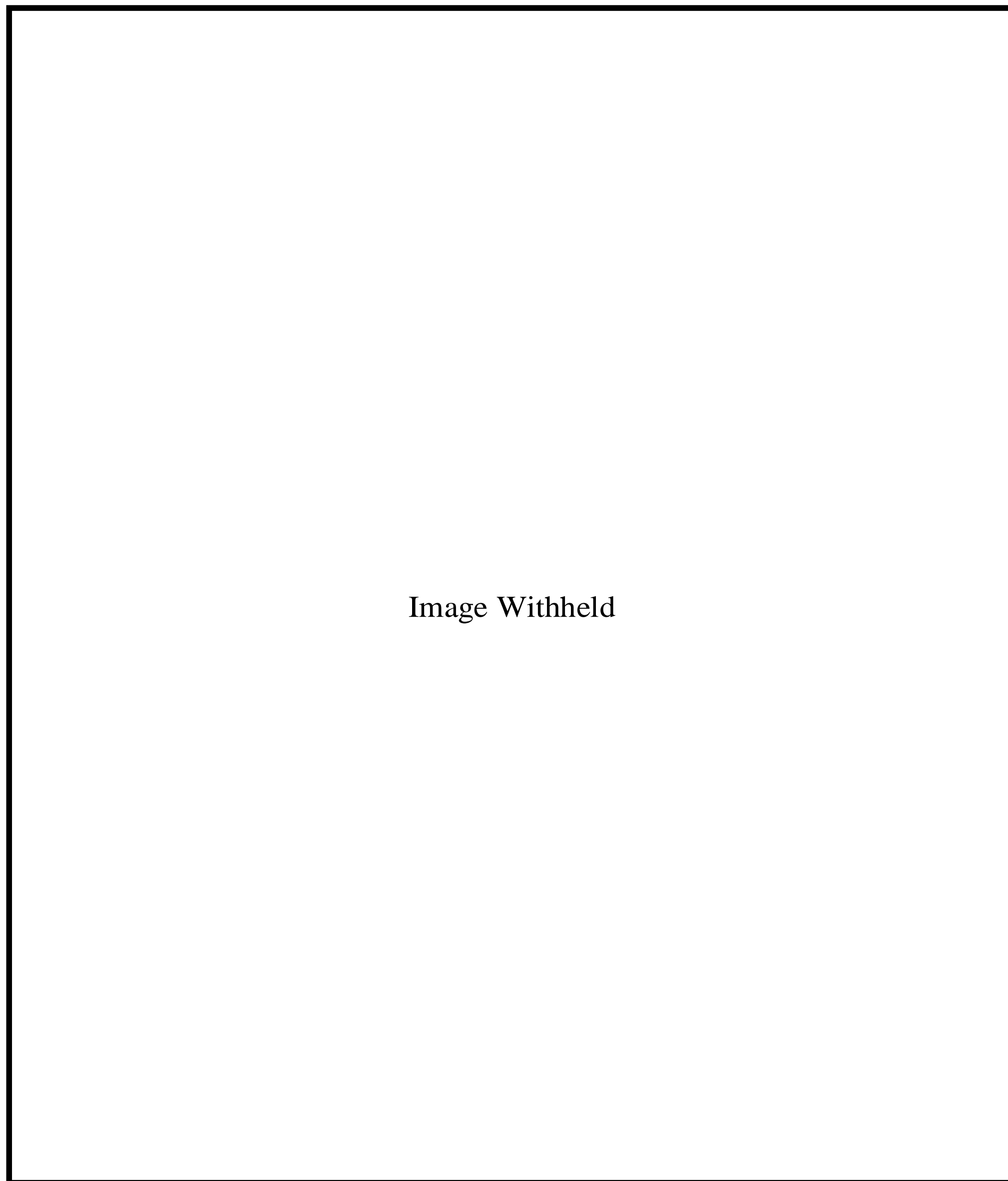

Fig. 138 Distinctiones (Pars I), Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. Vitr. 21.2, fol. 5v

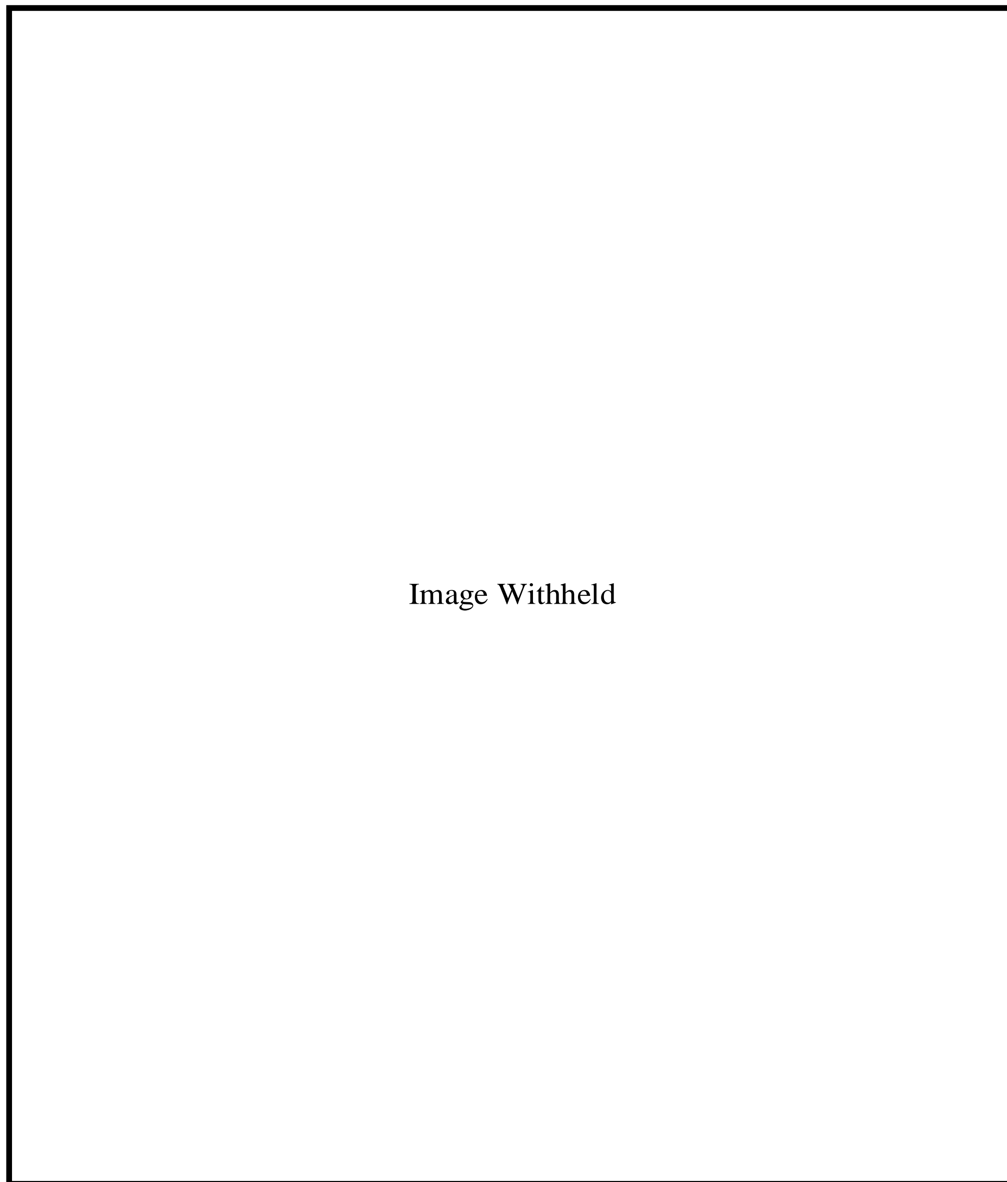

Fig. 139 “Maestro del 1328,” page with Allegory of the Law and the Martyrdom of Saint Catherine, Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, ms. E. I. 1 fol. 4

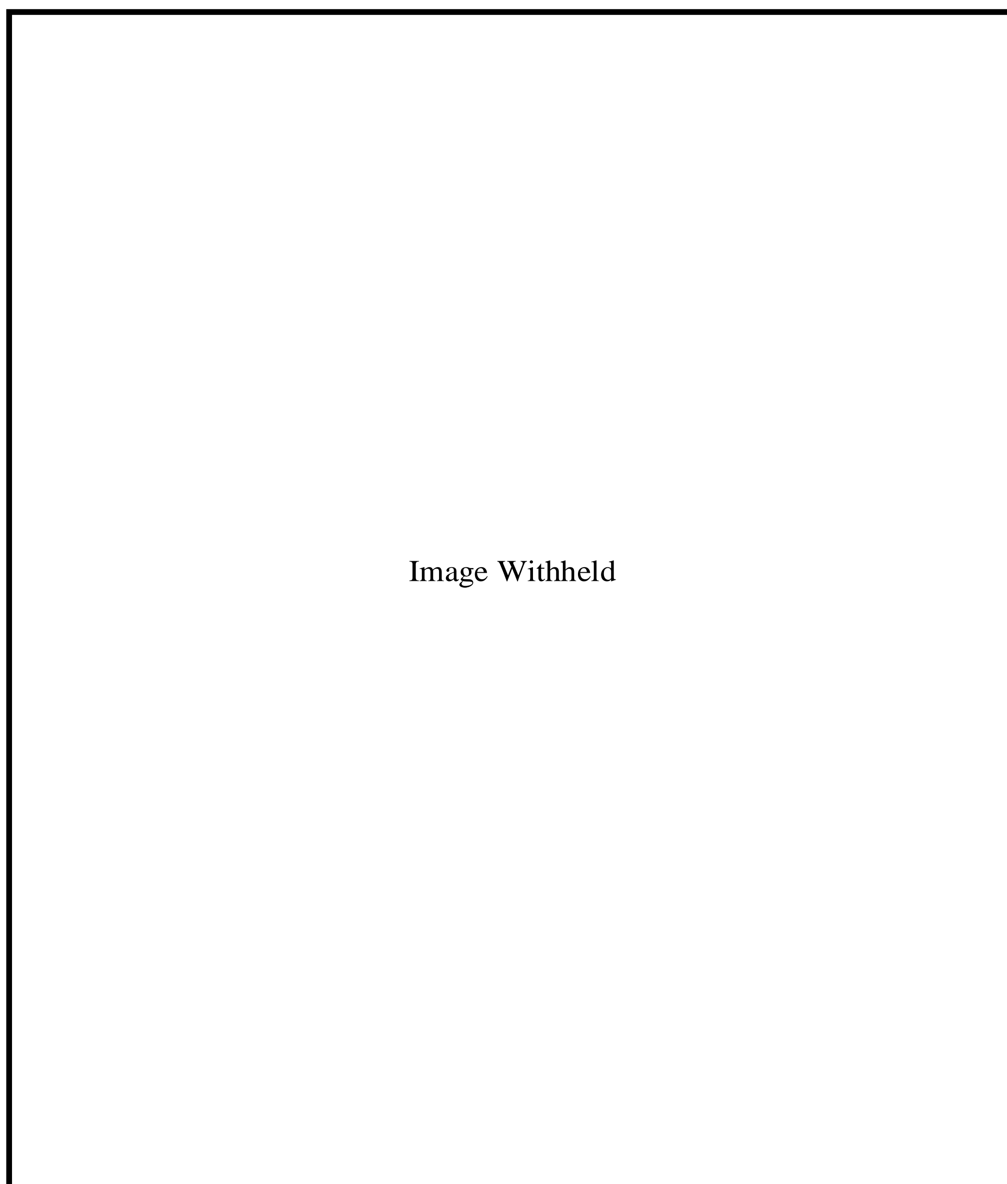

Fig. 140 Distinctiones (Pars I), Vatican, Archivio della Basilica di San Pietro, Ms. A. 24, fol. 4v

Fig. 141 Causa II, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. Nouv. acq. lat. 2508, fol. 111

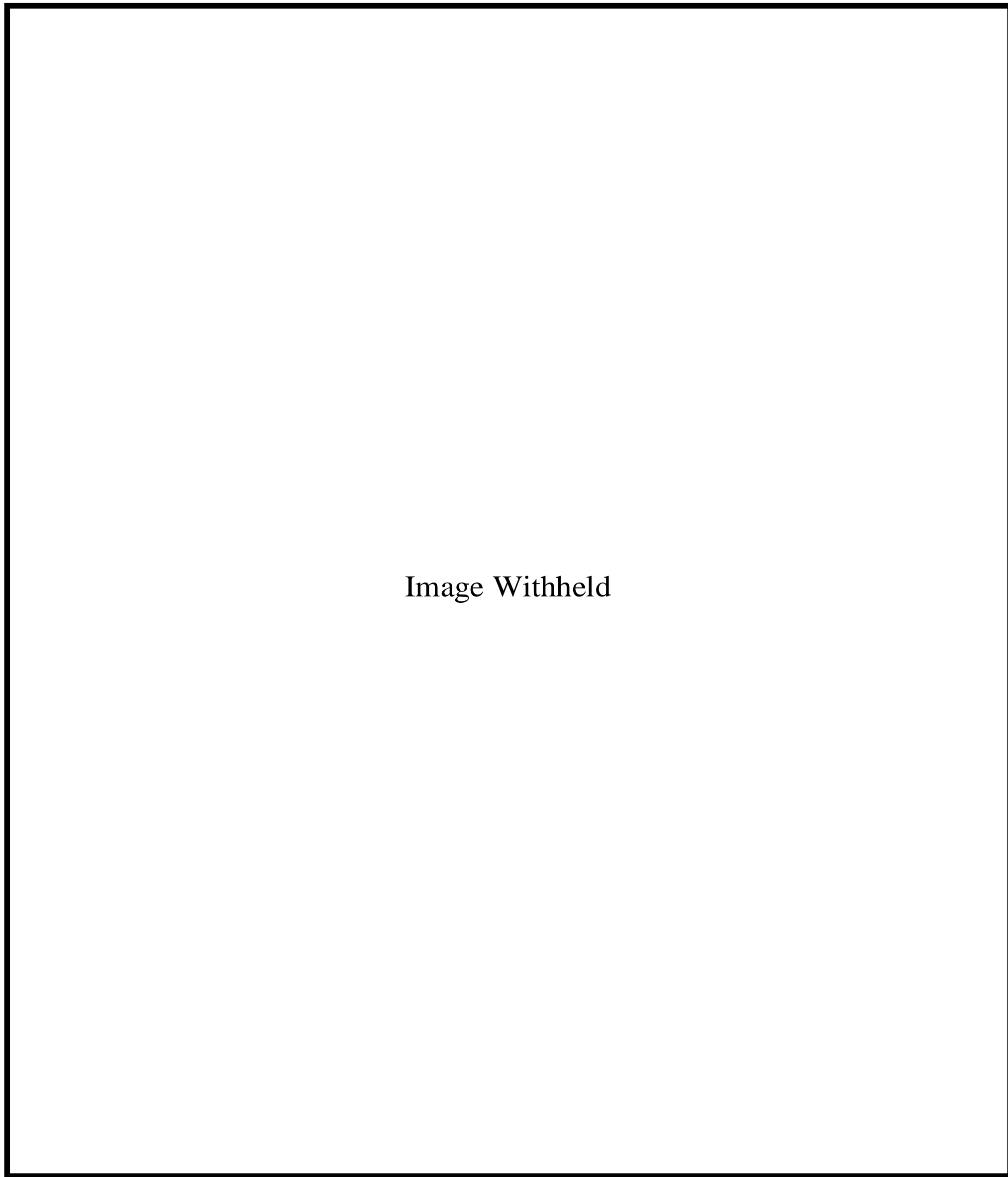

Fig. 142 Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati, Ms. K. I 3, fol. 137v

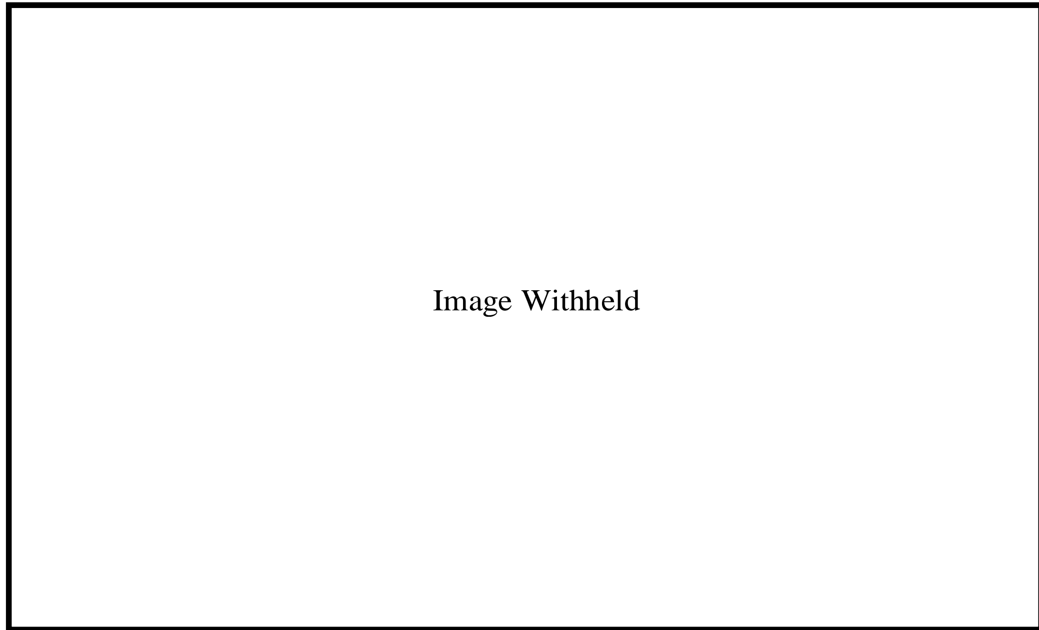

Fig. 143 Giovanni Pisano, detail of *elevatio animae*, Tomb of Margaret of Luxembourg (d. 1311), Palazzo Bianco, Genoa

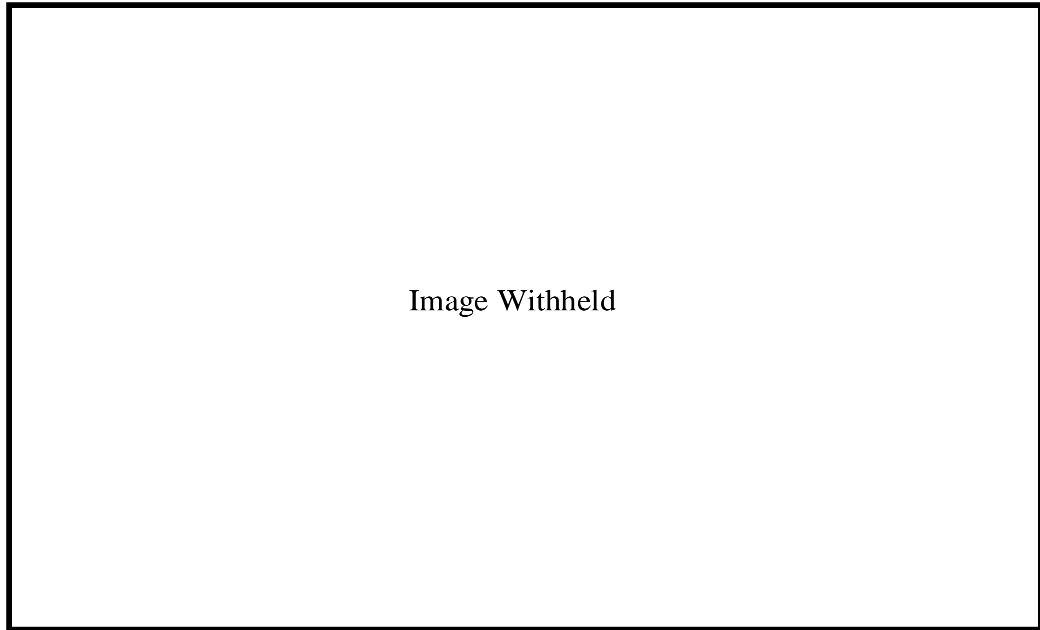

Fig. 144 Tino di Camaino, Emperor Henry VII and his Councillors, Tomb of Henry VII, 1315, Camposanto, Pisa

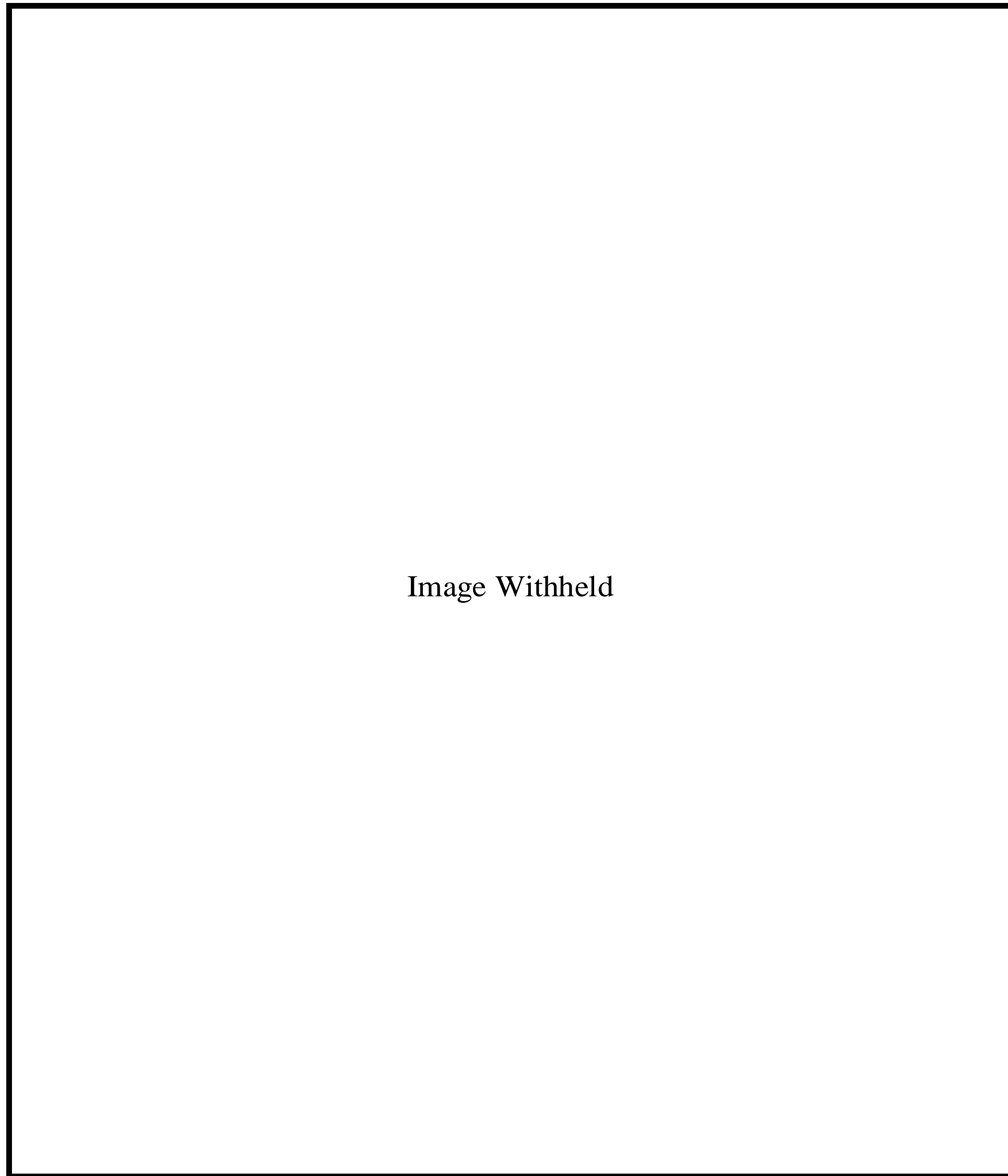

Fig. 145 Tino di Camaino, tomb of Catherine of Austria, under construction May 1323, San Lorenzo, Naples

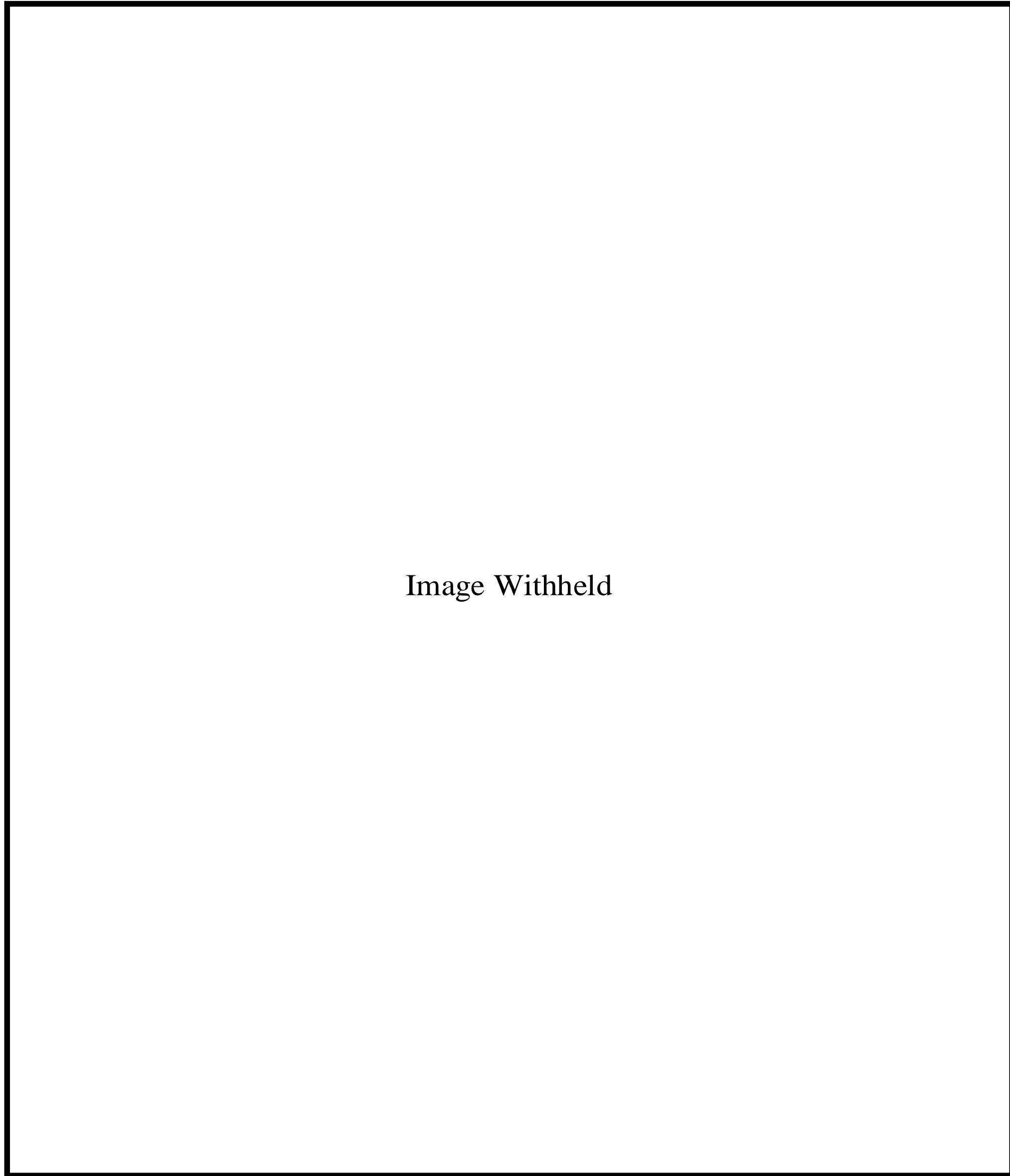

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Fig. 146 Tino di Camaino, Charity, tomb of Catherine of Austria, under construction May 1323, San Lorenzo, Naples

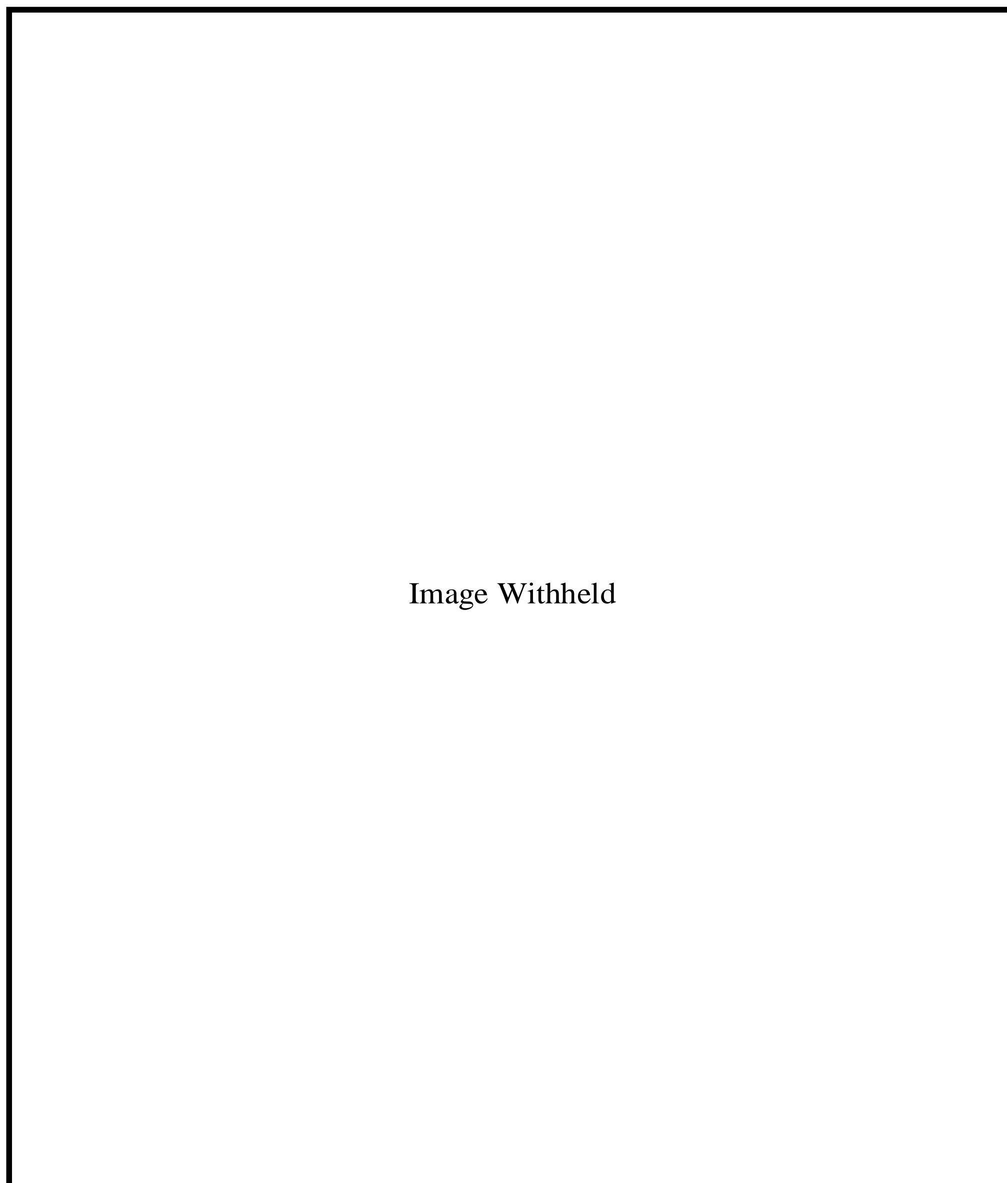

Fig. 147 Tino di Camaino and Gagliardo Primario, Tomb of Mary of Hungary, under construction in 1325, Santa Maria Donna Regina, Naples

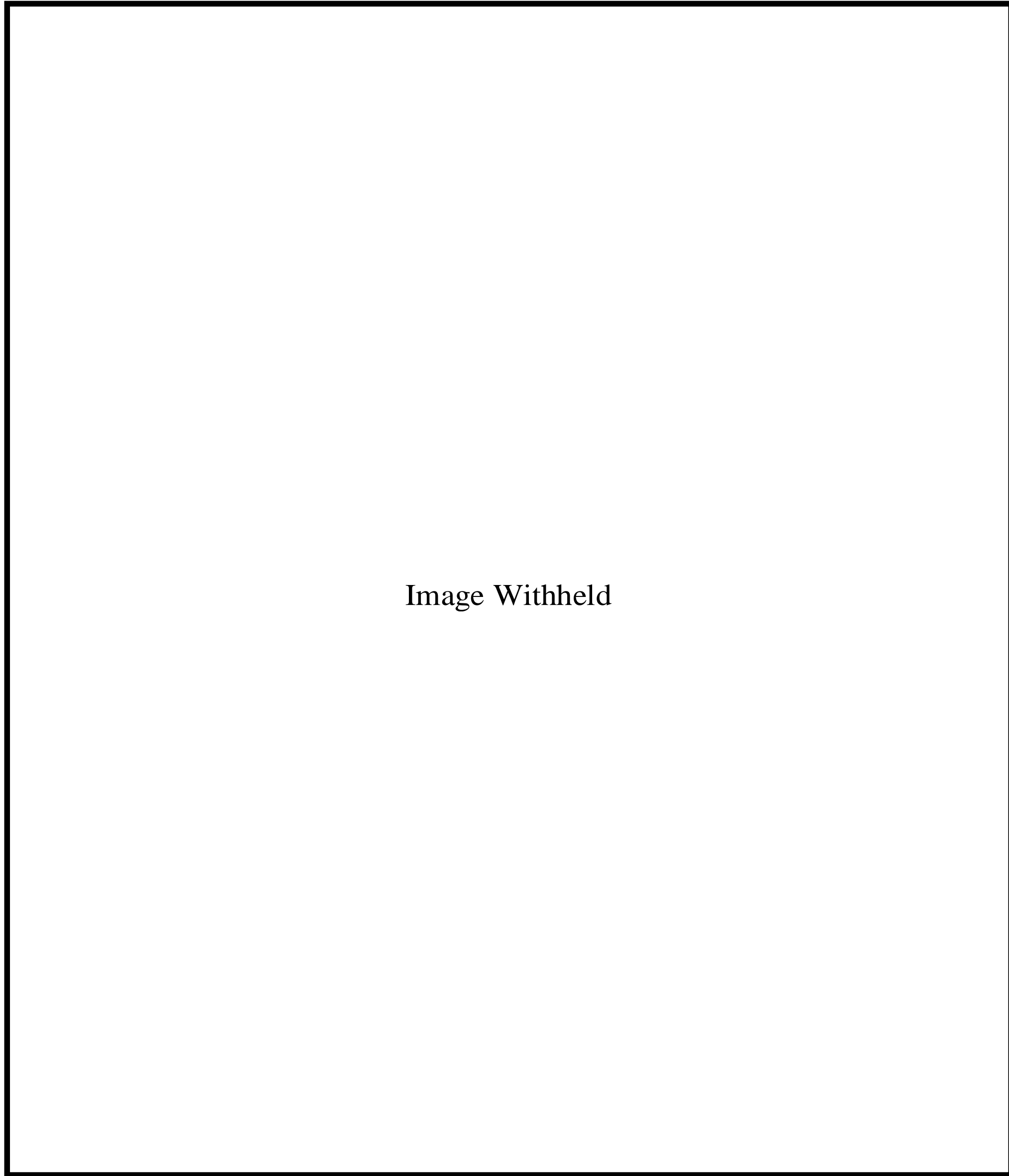

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Fig. 148 Tino di Camaino, Tomb of Charles of Calabria, 1332-3, Santa Chiara, Naples

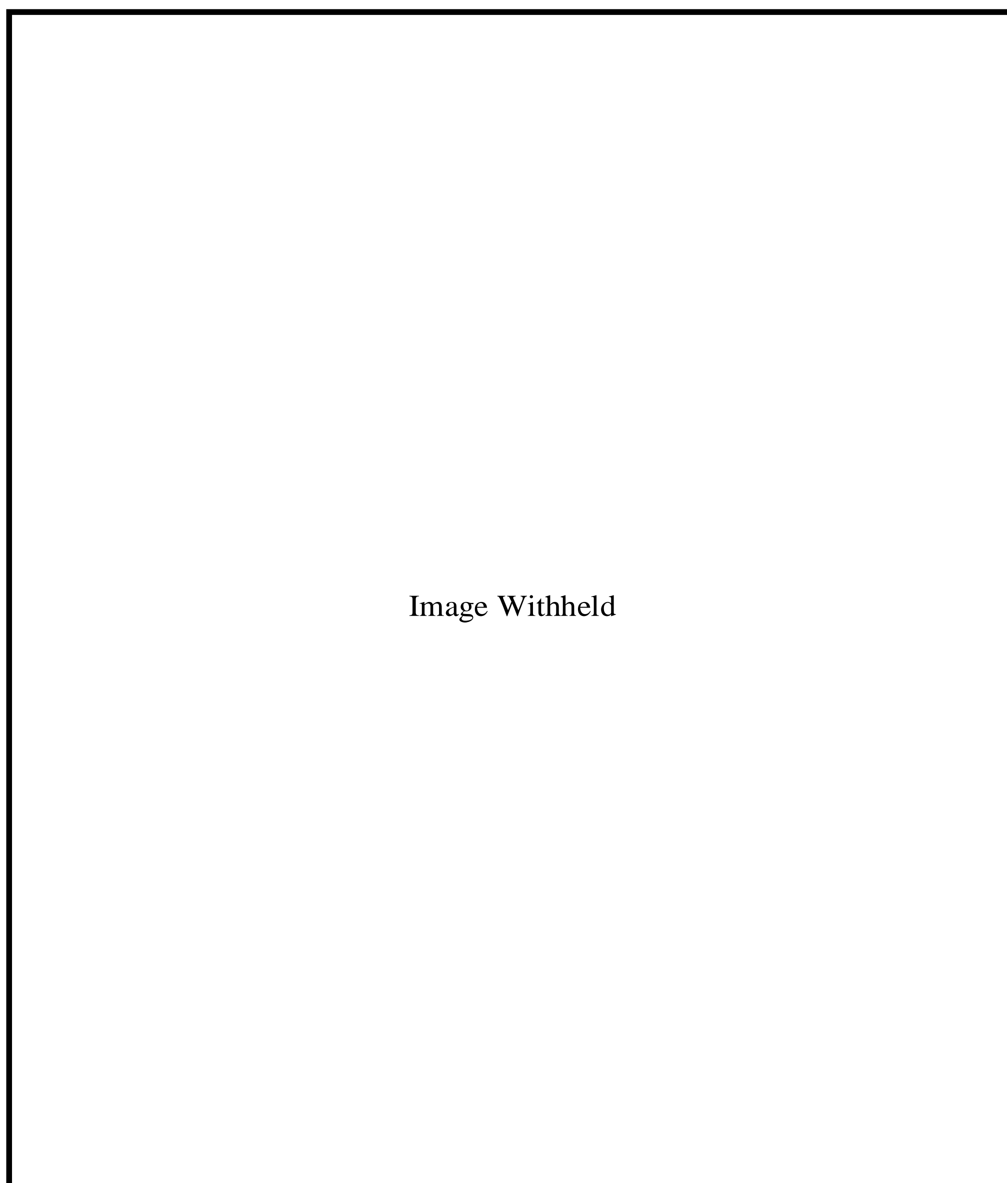

Fig. 149 Tino di Camaino, tomb of Mary of Valois, 1333-7, Santa Chiara, Naples

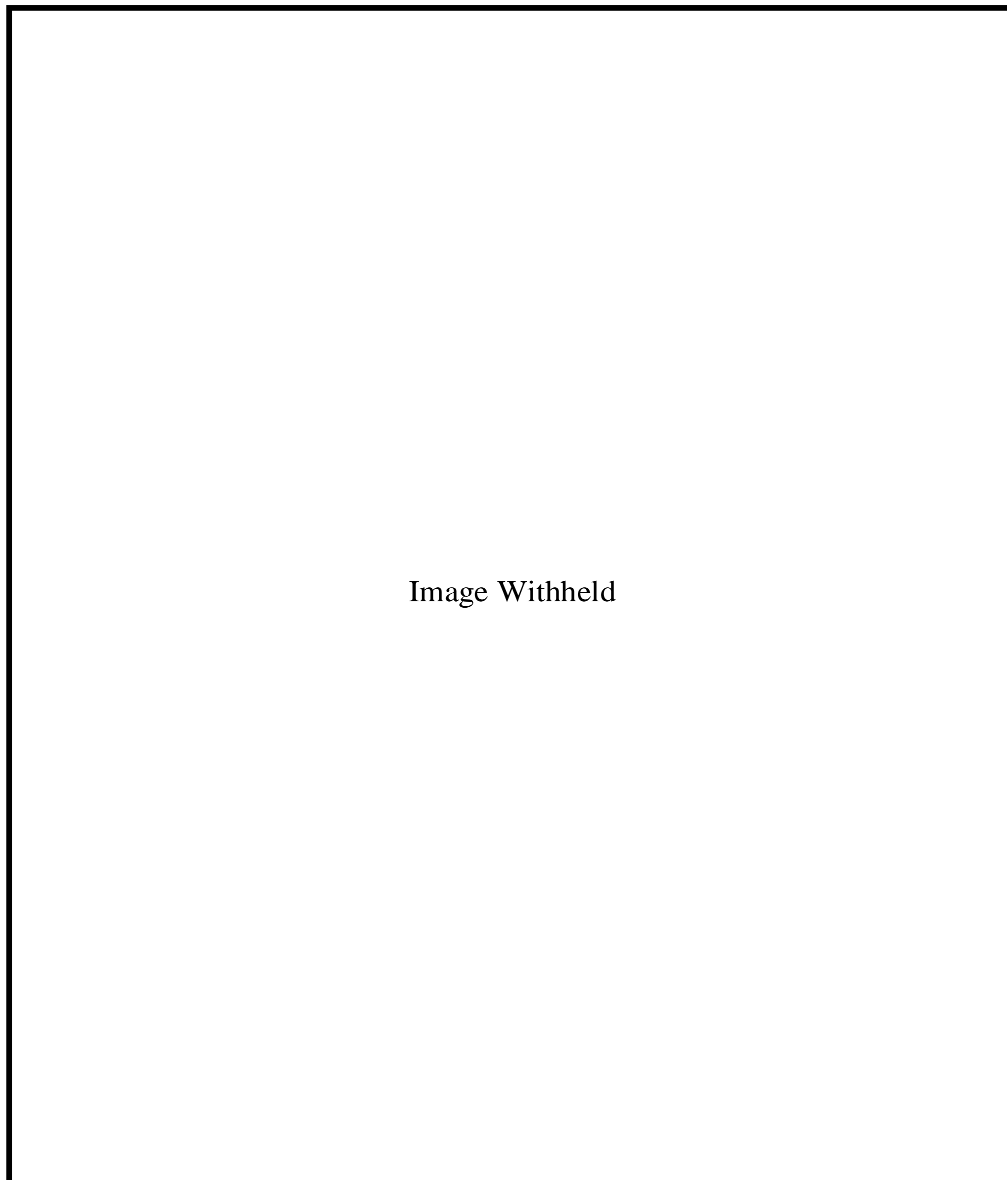

Fig. 150 Tino di Camaino, Charity and Hope, tomb of Mary of Valois, 1333-7, Santa Chiara, Naples

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