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Sarah Rozalja Kyle

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Date

The *Carrara Herbal* in Context:  
Imitation, Exemplarity, and Invention in Late Fourteenth-Century Padua

By

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Doctor of Philosophy

Art History

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M.A., Queen's University, 2002  
B.A. Hons., University of Western Ontario, 2000

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## *Abstract*

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By Sarah Rozalja Kyle

This dissertation examines the relationship between the *Carrara Herbal* (British Library, Egerton 2020), an illustrated book of plant medicines, and the patterns of the Carrara family's patronage during their rule of Padua. The *Herbal* was one component of patronage system that redefined the collection and production of cultural artifacts as an enterprise in portraiture, involving not only books but portrait medals, fresco cycles, and tomb monuments. Commissioned by the last Carrara lord of Padua, Francesco II "il Novello" (r. 1390-1405), the *Herbal* and its diverse plant portraits reflect the effort Francesco made to portray himself as a scholar-prince in the tradition of Petrarch's illustrious men.

Francesco's commission of the *Herbal* was influenced by the vision of self and of Padua expressed in portraits and books commissioned by his father, Francesco I "il Vecchio" (r. 1350-1388). As a material object, the *Herbal* upheld the status of the codex as an emblem of the learned prince, a status celebrated in his father's patronage. The elder Francesco had used his library to cultivate his self-image as a successor to the Roman leaders immortalized by Petrarch. The *Herbal* specifically engaged and modified the Petrarchan rhetoric of exemplarity established in Francesco il Vecchio's patronage, refocusing it onto the rising fame of the University of Padua's medical doctors.

With the other illustrated books in Francesco Novello's collection, the *Herbal* mediated between the earlier portraits of the noble, physical bodies of Francesco's ancestors (and the healthy *res publica* that they connoted) and his own self-image and rule. Positioning himself as "court physician," Francesco metaphorically orchestrated the moral and physical health of his community. Doing so, he continued the "healthy" history of Padua associated with the bodies of his forebears and recorded in family biographies and local chronicles. Francesco brought his ancestors' achievements into his present and into his role as heir to the dynasty. Translating their use of portraiture into his book collection, Francesco aligned the visual signs of their good governance with his patronage and role as a physician prince. In Francesco's library these family identities were exchanged and appropriated, and the dynasty's continuity was expressed.

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Lastly, I thank my wonderful family, especially my parents Krystyna and Gerald Kyle, my grandparents Phyllis and Stanley Urbanski and Margaret and James Kyle, my brother Eric and sister-in-law Meagan, and my husband Erik Tamplin for their unerring love and support. I dedicate this dissertation to them. I could not have done it without all of you.



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## *Introduction*

By the sixteenth century, the relationship between collecting books and showcasing wonders of nature was well established within the practices of self-making and self-representation.<sup>1</sup> Among patricians, book collections served as indices of their owner's knowledge, especially the knowledge of a natural world that was itself increasingly on display in their collections of nature's curiosities. The visible manifestation of knowledge in these collections was perceived as an indication of the moral qualities or ethos of the collector. Along with the study of exemplary historic deeds, an activity that had been fostered as a form of education by the court humanists of the fifteenth-century, knowledge of nature was pursued by sixteenth-century humanists not simply as a form of erudition, but also for its personal and social benefits.<sup>2</sup> So, for example, the eminent collector and first professor of natural sciences at the University of

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<sup>1</sup> Paula Findlen's comprehensive studies of sixteenth-century humanists and proto-scientists and their collections of natural wonders, antiquities and books, discuss the relationship between the collector and the invention of self-image (what she terms the aestheticization of self) for both private and public consumption. See especially, Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: California UP, 1994) and "Possessing the Past: the Material World of the Italian Renaissance," *American Historical Review* 103, no. 1 (Feb. 1998): 83-114. Also see Dora Thornton's chronological account of the patrician *studiolo*, or study, as locus for collection and display, *The Scholar in his Study: Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1997), especially chapter five "The Collector's Study," 99-120; Susan Barnes, "The *Uomini Illustri*, Humanist Culture, and the Development of a Portrait Tradition in Early Seventeenth-Century Italy," *Studies in the History of Art* 27 (1989): 81-92; and Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (New York: Zone, 2001), especially chapter two "The Properties of Things," 67-108.

<sup>2</sup> Brian W. Ogilvie, "Natural History, Ethics, and Physio-Theology," in *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Pomata and Siraisi (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 2005), 82. The connection between a construction of the moral self and the pedagogy of *imitatio* was established popularly by the fifteenth century in educational treatises written by Pier Paolo Vergerio (ca. 1370-1445), Leonardo Bruni (ca. 1369-1444), and Battista Guarino (ca. 1434-1513). These teachers advocated a pedagogy in which their students were encouraged to emulate the great men of history, particularly Roman history, an idea ultimately stemming from Petrarch's veneration of the Roman heroes in his *De viris illustribus vitae* (The Lives of Famous Men) completed in the last quarter of the fourteenth century by Petrarch's assistant and executor, Lombardo della Seta. See Pier Paolo Vergerio, "The Character and Studies Befitting a Free-Born Youth," Leonardo Bruni, "The Study of Literature," and Battista Guarino, "A Program for Teaching and Learning," in *Humanist Educational Treatises*, ed. and trans. Craig Kallendorf (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2002). However, merging the values of historical exemplars with the development of a more codified understanding of natural history truly became popular during the sixteenth century.



Bologna, Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522-1605), accumulated and catalogued books and natural objects as a means to articulate his personal and professional character. He described his collection, or museum, as the eighth wonder of the world, and through it sought to give material form to his encyclopaedic knowledge as a scholar of the natural world.<sup>3</sup>

The contents of Aldrovandi's book collection, a collection primarily dedicated to the study of plants and medicine, included a late-fourteenth century illuminated manuscript containing a translation of the Cordovan Arab Serapion the Younger's (Ibn Sarābī) treatise on medical botany, the *Liber aggregatus in medicinis simplicibus*.<sup>4</sup> The manuscript is known today as the *Carrara Herbal* (London, British Library, Egerton 2020) and is richly illustrated with plant portraiture.<sup>5</sup> It both contributed to the splendour of Aldrovandi's library and fulfilled his desire to display his knowledge as a naturalist and doctor of medicine. To firmly identify and claim the book as part of his collection, Aldrovandi pasted a slip of paper with his signature into the third folio of the manuscript. For Aldrovandi, the collection and ownership of objects and books was what Paula Findlen calls "a metaphor for the acquisition of knowledge."<sup>6</sup> In Aldrovandi's collection,

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<sup>3</sup> Paula Findlen, 1994, 24; and E. W. Gudger, "The Five Great Naturalists of the Sixteenth Century: Belon, Rondelet, Salviani, Gesner and Aldrovandi: A Chapter in the History of Ichthyology," *Isis* 22, no. 1 (Dec. 1934): 37.

<sup>4</sup> The author of the *Liber aggregatus*, Serapion the Younger (Ibn Sarābī), is often confused with a Christian doctor and author, also called Serapion, who practiced in Damascus during the ninth century. The author of the *Liber aggregatus* is referred to Serapion the Younger to alleviate this confusion. The date of his work is debated; however, its production likely occurred between the second half of the eleventh century and the thirteenth century. He lived and worked in the Western Arab Empire (Spain): in a chapter on the medicinal virtues of cherries he observed that the cherries grown "in Oriente" (in the East) are different from those known "apud nos" (to us). See Peter Dilg, "The *Liber aggregatus in medicinis simplicibus* of Pseudo-Serapion: An Influential Work of Medical Arabism," in *Islam and the Italian Renaissance*, eds. Charles Burnett and Anna Contadini (London: Warburg Institute, 1999), 221-231.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix A for a description of the manuscript and its provenance.

<sup>6</sup> Findlen, 1998, 92.

the *Carrara Herbal* was both a book about plant medicine and itself a historical object. In the new age of the printed book and the systematized study of the natural world at universities, the centuries-old illuminated manuscript was a distinguished remnant from the past. Possessing it, Aldrovandi simultaneously asserted his knowledge of the history of plant medicine and the specific local history of illustrated books of plant medicine.

The original owner of the *Carrara Herbal* was, of course, not Ulisse Aldrovandi. The manuscript first belonged to the man who commissioned it, namely Francesco II da Carrara (1359-1406). Popularly known as Francesco Novello, he was the last *signore* (seigniorial lord) of Padua (r. 1390-1405). Like Aldrovandi, Francesco claimed ownership of the codex, making it an attribute for his self-image. The frontispiece of the manuscript prominently displays both his initials and his family coats of arms amid colourful, swirling acanthus-like leaves highlighted with gold (fig. 1). The characteristic themes of knowledge, identity, and morality displayed in Aldrovandi's book collection also were present in Francesco's own *studiolo*, his study or personal library, although they were expressed differently and used for a different purpose.

Unlike Aldrovandi's collection, which has been the topic of intensive study for several decades, the collection of which the *Carrara Herbal* was originally a central part has not been addressed in consideration of its significance. Neither the manuscript's content nor its remarkable illustrations have been examined, either as part of a collection or within the distinct patterns of patronage associated with the self-image of the patron. I will argue that long before Aldrovandi showcased the *Herbal* as part of his library and as an emblem of his character, Francesco Novello used the illustrated book as a species of metaphorical portrait related to a much larger project involving the representation of an

imagined healthy and health-giving Carrara body. Francesco's enterprise was made possible by a practice of imitation that was formulated in Padua by his forefathers and revealed in their commissions, especially in their use of figural portraiture (portrait as a recognizable likeness) and family heraldry.

In the following chapters, I will examine the *Carrara Herbal* as a central part of Francesco Novello's response to his forefathers' practices of imitation. In its content and pictorial apparatus, the *Herbal* provided a framework that enabled Francesco to construct a portrait of himself as a new prince of Padua, the progressive counterpart to his ancestors. The *Herbal* became an attribute for Francesco's imagined identity as the metaphorical "court physician" of Padua, the new "healthy" head of its civic body, and leader of the Carrara dynasty.

At Francesco Novello's court, imitative practice was multifaceted. Firstly, Francesco followed his ancestors' precedent in which a type of imitation as emulation was practiced to demonstrate the continuity of the Carrara dynasty. Each Carrara *signore* built upon the identifiable patronage strategies of his predecessor, creating a visual continuity in their successive rules and simultaneously asserting an individual character for each ruler. Secondly, another type of emulation was at play *within* the patronage of Francesco's immediate ancestors. Indebted to Petrarch's teaching practice, this new type of imitation gave particular meaning to their artistic commissions.

Francesco Novello's father, Francesco I "il Vecchio" (r. 1350-88), and grandfather, Giacomo II (r. 1345-50), were patrons of Petrarch. They both entreated the poet to settle in Padua and welcomed him into their inner court circles. Petrarch's correspondence from his time in Padua shows that he considered his role at court as that

of a teacher. He taught a moralized version of Roman history, and used its heroic protagonists as examples to instruct the *signori* on the proper character and rule of a good and moral prince. Petrarch described his method of teaching in his letter to Niccolò Acciaiuoli, the Grand Senechal to the new King of Naples, Louis of Taranto (Angevin), in 1352. In his letter Petrarch urged Acciaiuoli to educate the king using examples of virtuous men of history. Petrarch wrote,

Let [the King] borrow this quality, discipline, from that great leader, and additional ones from other men, so that by culling from all of them he may fashion a truly distinctive man. However many outstanding men preceded him, let him consider them all his teachers of life [*magistros vite*], his leaders toward glory. Examples enkindle noble minds no less than rewards, nor do words less than statues. It is of benefit to compare oneself to exemplary men who are highly praised, for beautiful is that imitation inspired by virtue.

(Hoc ab illo, alia sumat ab aliis, e quibus omnibus perficiat clarum virum; quotque insignia nomina precesserunt, tot sibi magistros vite, tot duces ad gloriam datos sciat; non minus interdum accendunt generosos animos exempla quam premia, nec minus verba quam statue; iuvat laudatis se se conferre nominibus et pulchra emulatio est que de virtute suscipitur.)<sup>7</sup>

Petrarch advocated an imitative practice for contemporary rulers that involved studying and emulating the (moralized) lives of ancient Roman leaders.

Perhaps the strongest literary expression of his teaching practice is *De viris illustribus vitae* (The Lives of Famous Men), dedicated to Francesco il Vecchio in 1367. According to Petrarch, the heroes of Roman history (the *viri illustres* or illustrious men) provided a template for the development of a good and just modern ruler. The heroes'

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<sup>7</sup> Petrarch, *Le Familiari. Libri XII-XIX*, vol. 3, ed. Vittorio Rossi (Firenze: Sansoni, 1942, reprint, Firenze: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 1997), XII.2, p. 15-16. Translation by Aldo Bernardo (with slight revisions) in Petrarch, *Letters on Familiar Matters: Rerum Familiarium Libri*, vol. 2, IX-XVI (New York: Italica Press, 2005), XII.2, p. 139. Petrarch continued on to describe King Robert, former King of Naples, as a "suitable exemplar" (exemplar ydoneum). He urged Niccolò to instruct Louis to "contemplate that great man [and] ... conform to his pattern of life; let him look upon [Robert] as though he were seeing him in a flawless mirror. He was wise, he was kind, he was high-minded and gentle, he was the king of kings" (... Illum intueatur; ad illius regulam se conformet; in illo se nitidissimo speculo contempletur; ille sapiens, ille magnanimus, ille mitis, ille rex regum erat.)

personal and professional characters became Petrarch's blueprints for the return of good government to a corrupted Italy. Teaching a moralized Roman history, Petrarch upheld each illustrious man as *magistra vitae* – a teacher or guide of life – and urged the Carrara lords to see them as exempla to follow in their own lives. Petrarch's understanding of this practice derived from the *Speculum principis* (Mirror of Princes) literary tradition, a tradition indebted to Seneca's first-century moral theory on monarchical rule expressed in *De clementia* (On Mercy).<sup>8</sup>

In *De clementia* Seneca sought to provide an education on proper ethical and political behaviour for the imperial rulers of Rome.<sup>9</sup> The first sentence of Seneca's treatise specifically indicates that his argument is meant to serve as a "mirror" for its reader.<sup>10</sup> He wrote: "I have undertaken, Nero Caesar, to write on the subject of mercy, in order to serve in a way the purpose of a mirror, and thus reveal you to yourself" (*Scribere de clementia, Nero Caesar, institui, ut quodam modo speculi vice fungerer et te tibi*

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<sup>8</sup> Seneca's *De clementia* is the oldest example of a *speculum principis* in Latin (Peter Stacey, *Roman Monarchy and the Renaissance Prince*, vol. 79 Ideas in Context [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007], 4-5). Petrarch's use of the *speculum* combines characteristics drawn from Seneca's treatise with his own Christian (Augustinian) values. For instance, he criticizes Seneca's dismissal of pity as a princely virtue, and emphasizes *miser cordia* as the best virtue of a prince above the virtues praised by Seneca, namely *magnanimitas* (magnanimity) and *humanitas* (humanity). See Petrarch's letter to Niccolò Acciaiuoli for examples. Prior to his letter to Francesco il Vecchio in 1373, Petrarch's letter to Acciaiuoli best expresses his debt to Seneca's *speculum* (Stacey, 139).

<sup>9</sup> Part of Seneca's project was to appropriate Cicero's discussion of civic virtue and moral duty, described in *De officiis*, into a new social order where the prince embodies the *civis*. In what Stacey describes as a process of "ideological re-characterization" after the Roman revolution, Seneca helped to transform republican values into imperial ones (9). Stacey's argument for Seneca's primacy in the Mirror of Princes tradition counters that of Quentin Skinner. Skinner argues for a Ciceronian influence on the *speculum principis* tradition practiced by early humanists, especially by Petrarch in his letter to Francesco il Vecchio (*Visions of Politics: Renaissance Virtues*, II [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002], 124-5). Skinner expressed a similar idea about the fifteenth-century *speculum principis* tradition's debt to Cicero (*The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, vol. I [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1978], 117-9).

<sup>10</sup> Stacey, 4-5.

ostenderem perventurum ad voluptatem maximam omnium.)<sup>11</sup> Here, Seneca used the mirror as a metaphor to relate the prince's person to intangible moral characteristics. Furthermore, he used the body of the ruler as a metaphor for his territories and his citizens. If the ruler did not conduct himself well and care for his (civic) body, his people's (and his city's) health would suffer. For example, Seneca wrote:

For if - and this is what thus far [my essay] is establishing - you are the soul of the state and the state your body, you see, I think, how requisite is mercy; for you are merciful to yourself when you are seemingly merciful to another. And so even reprobate citizens should have mercy as being the weak members of the body, and if there should ever be need to let blood, the hand must be held under control to keep it from cutting deeper than may be necessary.

(Nam si, quod adhuc colligit, tu animus rei publicae tuae es, illa corpus tuum, vides, ut puto, quam necessaria sit clementia; tibi enim parcis, cum videris alteri parcere. Parcendum itaque est etiam improbandis civibus non aliter quam membris languentibus, et, si quando misso sanguine opus est, sustinenda est manus, ne ultra, quam necesse sit, incidat.)<sup>12</sup>

Seneca considered the relationship between the state and the ruler to be like that between the soul and the body and he used the idea of careful surgery or phlebotomy as a metaphor to suggest how the prince ought to control his unruly citizens.

Petrarch revitalized this metaphor in his discussion of the *viri illustres*. The poet and his followers used similar corporeal metaphors related to the health of the prince's body to illustrate an ideal prince's moral leadership. Petrarch argued that a leader would ensure the health of his civic body by patterning his life on Rome's great men. The resulting teaching practice influenced the artistic commissions of both Francesco's father and grandfather. In different ways, Francesco il Vecchio and Giacomo II incorporated

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<sup>11</sup> Seneca, "On Mercy," in *Moral Essays*, vol. I, trans. John W. Basore (London: W. Heinemann, 1928-35), 357. For original see, *Liber Senecae de institutione morum*, ed. Eduard Woelfflin, in *Publilius Syri Sententiae* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1869).

<sup>12</sup> Seneca, "On Mercy," Book I, v. 1, p. 371. Also noted by Stacey, 152.

Petrarch's view of Roman history and its leaders into their artistic commissions. Through it they sought to project images of themselves as the successors to Rome's great leaders and as proper vessels for the health of Padua and its people.

When the rule of Padua fell to Francesco Novello in 1390, he incorporated all types of imitative practices used by his forefathers into his own patronage of art. His main patronage strategy, the acquisition and circulation of books, was one strategy that had been employed by his father. Owning the *Carrara Herbal*, in particular, identified Francesco as a member of a long line of elite patrons who commissioned and collected illuminated *materia medica*, a line that likely included Francesco il Vecchio. Beyond emulating his father's book-collecting practice, the younger Francesco also followed his immediate ancestors' use of Petrarchan imitation, but he did so in a way that he could claim as his own. On the one hand, Francesco followed his father's precedent in his collection of books. On the other hand, Francesco's specific focus on the collection of books of medicine, local Paduan history, and the Carrara family, differed from that of his father. While the elder Francesco's collection likely contained illustrated herbals among other sacred and secular books, his collection principally focused on Petrarchan texts and their complements – books on Roman philosophy and history.

Finely illuminated books were expensive commodities and have long been associated with collections of luxuries possessed and displayed by princes to convey their affluence and status.<sup>13</sup> For Francesco Novello, however, illuminated books were more

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<sup>13</sup> Several scholars have discussed the relative costs of book production during the late medieval and Renaissance periods. Brigitte Buetner demonstrates the high cost of secular illuminated manuscripts in Burgundian France through comparison. She notes that books for princes' collections ranged from 100 to 600 francs, and compares this cost to that of the "most expensive type of horse" at 100 francs (see "Profane Illuminations, Secular Illusions: Manuscripts of Late Medieval Courtly Society," *Art Bulletin* 74, no. 1 [March, 1992]: 76). Also, J. J. G. Alexander notes that Vespasiano da Bisticci, the book purveyor (*cartolaio*) for the Medici and other wealthy families, estimated the value of Federico da Montefeltro's

than visible signs of his wealth. They were attributes of an imagined self. The books served as visible, material signs of invisible characteristics and knowledge that Francesco longed to associate with his person and his rule of Padua. They were able to acquire and contain such meaning only within the practices of imitation established by Francesco's forefathers.

Through his illustrated book collection, Francesco sought to remake Petrarch's concept of the *virii illustres*, as they were understood by his father, into a new image. The new *virii illustres*, as they were understood by Francesco Novello, were the most recognizable and lauded citizens of his present-day Padua: medical doctors and chronicler-historians. Possessing books about medicine and about local history affiliated Francesco with these two influential communities of learned men. Through his association with these communities Francesco could invest his self-image as the new ruler of Padua with their respective knowledge of medicine and history and the moral qualities associated with this knowledge. In doing so, Francesco updated his father's use of Petrarch's *virii illustres* as metaphors for his own personal qualities as the new Carrara leader.

These admirable personal qualities, whether associated with men from ancient Rome or from fourteenth-century Padua, needed a Carrara body in which to manifest themselves. Francesco's father and grandfather used figural portraiture as a heuristic device to mobilize allusions to the Roman *virii illustres* as their alternative selves.

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library at 30,000 ducats. Similarly, an inventory of the Aragonese manuscript collection taken by Tommaro de Marinis in 1481 described 266 printed books and manuscripts put up as collateral to secure loans worth 38,000 ducats (roughly 143 ducats per book) for a war against the Turks (see, "Patrons, Libraries and Illuminators in the Italian Renaissance," in *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Illumination, 1450-1550* [New York: Prestel, 1994], 16-17).



Francesco Novello, conversely, did not focus his commissions on figural portraits of himself. Instead, he appropriated his forefathers' use of figural portraiture into his illustrated book collection. He went so far as to have portraits and family *stemmi* (heraldic devices) originally commissioned by his forefathers translated into his new books, making explicit the connection between Francesco and his ancestors and between their artistic patronages. In doing so, Francesco combined the hermeneutic apparatus on which the metaphorical association between the Carrara princes and Petrarch's *viri illustres* depended into a physical object associated with Francesco himself. As I will show, the *Herbal*, in its content and illustration, played a key role within Francesco's collection, a role that enabled him to use the portraiture associated with his forefathers in a distinctive new way. Ultimately, the goal of Francesco's patronage strategy was to assume his forefathers' strengths (as emphasized in their portraits) into himself. The vehicle for doing so was Francesco's collection of illustrated books, especially the *Carrara Herbal*.

In both its content and imagery, the *Herbal* was an unusual addition to Francesco's library. Its text was transcribed locally from Latin into the Paduan dialect by an Augustinian monk, Frater Jacobus Philippus, in the last years of the fourteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Its content and organization generally parallel the catalogue of individual medicinal plants (called simples) recorded by Dioscorides in his first-century Greek treatise the *Περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς*, known more commonly by its Latin name, *De materia medica*. Serapion the Younger, the original author of the text contained in the *Herbal*,

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<sup>14</sup> On the closing folio (289v) the scribe identified himself and the site of production. He wrote, "Frat Jacobus Phyllipus de Pad[er] ord[is] h[er]e scripsit" (Frat[er] Jacob[us] Phyllipus de Pad[er]e, ord[in]is h[er]e scripsit).

wrote much later than Dioscorides (likely during the twelfth century). Consequently, he integrated information drawn from Galen's elemental medical theory with Dioscorides' catalogue.<sup>15</sup> In doing so Serapion fused the two principal Antique authorities on medicine into one volume. Along with many medical texts of Arabic origin that preserved and augmented their Greek and Roman precedents, the *Liber aggregatus de medicinis simplicibus* became popular at the medical school of the University of Padua during the reign of the Carrara family in the fourteenth century.<sup>16</sup> The *Herbal* is the earliest known illustrated manuscript of a translation of an Arabic treatise on the medical values of individual plants, with one exception. It was preceded by the slightly earlier production of illuminated manuscripts of the *Tacuinum Sanitatis*, the "Table of Health" originally composed by the Christian physician Ibn Butlan of Baghdad (d. ca. 1063), which was popular at the court of the Carrara rivals – the Visconti of Milan.<sup>17</sup>

Among the many books on medicine in Francesco's collection, the *Carrara Herbal* is distinguished by its use of illustration. Upwards of two-thirds of a page was

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<sup>15</sup> The Greek physician Galen (129-ca. 219 A.D.) theorized that each plant possessed a dominant "element." Following the tenets of Hippocratic medicine and their roots in Empedocles' doctrine of the Four Elements, Galen considered disease a result of an imbalance of the four humours or fluids (blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm) within the body, which he correlated with Empedocles' four cosmic elements (hot, dry, cold, and damp). While Hippocrates believed that the body had the ability to heal itself and re-balance its humours with the help of proper diet, good air, rest, and hygiene, Galen added a complementary theory on the curative use of plant drugs.

<sup>16</sup> See Nancy Siraisi, *Arts and Sciences at Padua: The Studium of Padua Before 1350* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1973), especially Chapter Five "Medicine and Surgery," 143-171; Karen Meier Reeds, *Botany in Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (New York: Garland, 1991), especially Part I "The Character of Botany in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance," 3-38; Danielle Jacquart, "The Influence of Arabic Medicine in the Medieval West," *Encyclopaedia of the History of Arabic Science, Vol. 3: Technology, Alchemy and Life Sciences*, ed. Roshdi Rashed (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 963-984; Pearl Kibre, "Arts and Medicine in the Universities in the Later Middle Ages," *Studies in Medieval Science: Alchemy, Astrology, Mathematics and Medicine*, ed. Pearl Kibre (London, Hambleton Press, 1984), XII; Ernesto Riva, "The XV Century Venetian Illuminated Herbaria," *34<sup>th</sup> Acta Congressus Internationalis Historiae Pharmaciae: Firenze, 20-23 ottobre, 1999* (Firenze: Accademia italiana di storia della farmacia, 2001), unpaginated; and Dilg, 221-231, along with their relevant bibliographies.

<sup>17</sup> Minta Collins, *Medieval Herbals: The Illustrative Traditions* (Toronto: Toronto UP, 2000), 279.

reserved for a portrait of the simple within each textual entry (often several pages in length).<sup>18</sup> While the cycle of illustration remains incomplete, likely having been cut short by the expensive conflict with Venice that preceded the extermination of the Carrara family, fifty-six portraits of individual plants were executed by an anonymous artist in gouache on vellum. The illustrations are scattered throughout the codex's folios and are often clustered in small groups in the entries near the beginning of their respective chapters.<sup>19</sup>

The artist used a combination of different techniques in his representations of the plant simples. Many are remarkable for their precise attention to the defining visual characteristics of a particular plant, not a generic example of it, which is unique in fourteenth-century herbal manuscript illumination. Yet, many also retain elements of the older illustrative traditions in which artists portrayed the plants as schemata, rather than as specific, individual specimens. These illustrations often depict the general shape of the

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<sup>18</sup> The majority of images occupy the lower two-thirds of the page, while the text occupies the upper third. However, many illustrations are interspersed between passages of their texts, or between entries especially toward the beginning of the codex. In his study of the *Carrara Herbal*, Felix Baumann suggests that the scribe and artist went through a number of alternative settings for image and text before settling on the dominant pattern. See Felix Andreas Baumann, *Das Erbario carrarese und die Bildtradition des Tractatus de herbis: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Pflanzendarstellung im Übergang von Spätmittelalter zur Frührenaissance* (Bern: Benteli. 1974), 26-27.

<sup>19</sup> Many of the unillustrated chapters in the *Herbal* contain entries for plants with elemental combinations in the third and fourth degrees. For example, the eleventh book on hot and humid medicines in the *third* degree contains no images. Yet, the third book on hot and humid medicines in the *first* degree contains four images. The artist seems to have completed more images of plants with elemental combinations in the first and second degrees than with combinations in the third and fourth degrees. He may have produced some of the illustrations according to the progression of the plants' elemental degrees rather than according to the order in which they were bound. This would help to explain why the illustrations seem scattered randomly throughout the codex. The entries on the plants are arranged first according to their primary elements (hot, cold, dry, and humid) followed by their elemental degree (i.e.: the second book contains entries for plants considered hot and dry [elemental constitution] in the first degree).

plant and its significant parts, but avoid the more precise details that convey a sense of illusionistic realness and individuality.<sup>20</sup>

By merging illustrative techniques, the *Carrara Herbal* broke from the trajectory of both contemporary and earlier herbal illustrations. It broke from its genre through its use of carefully observed details in its plant portraits *and* through its conscious perpetuation of visual elements from historic models. Although contemporary scholarship on the *Herbal* has focused on the artist's use of verisimilitude (lifelike detail usually based on observation), the artist in fact used and merged new and traditional representational techniques in his compositions. The use of the traditional techniques together with the verisimilar ones served to revive the historic models in Francesco's *Herbal*. The combination of innovation and amalgamation is a clue to understanding the illustrations' hermeneutical role in the codex. By understanding the illustrations' role in the codex, we can better understand the role of the codex itself within Francesco's collection. The distinctive compositional choices suggest that the *Herbal* and its illustrations functioned within the matrix of imitative practices that guided Carrara family patronage. The book's content and illustrations allude to the history of herbals, while its layout and illustrative variations suggest the novelty of Francesco Novello's specific interests.

Regardless of the style of their execution, the illustrations interact with the text and the available page surface to command the viewer's attention in various ways.<sup>21</sup> The

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<sup>20</sup> Cathleen Hoeniger, "The Illuminated *Tacuinum Sanitatis* Manuscripts from Northern Italy ca. 1380-1400: Sources, Patrons, and the Creation of a New Pictorial Genre," in *Visualizing Medieval Medicine and Natural History, 1200-1550*, AVISTA Studies in the History of Medieval Technology, Science and Art, vol. 5, eds. Jean Givens, Karen Reeds, Alain Touwaide (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 67.

artist's representations of marshmallow plants (malbavisco, 52v, fig. 2) are characteristic of a style in which observation of *single* plant specimens played a large role.<sup>22</sup> With the goal to create the effect of seeing an actual plant, the artist recorded specific identifying details (such as the plant's fruit and its structure of growth) using techniques of pictorial illusionism like tonal variation, overlapping, and *chiaroscuro* (the variation of light and shadow used by an artist to indicate depth).

In the portrait of marshmallow at right, for instance, the artist showed the funnel-shaped profile of the plant's flower and depicted the characteristic three to five sepals that frame the bottom of the petals. He showed the alternate pattern of leaf growth, and depicted the underside of one of the leaves to reveal its prominent white veining. The artist also rendered the distinct pumpkin-shaped fruits of the marshmallow three-dimensionally. They are portrayed both frontally and in profile so that the viewer may observe how the bracts characteristically curl over the fruit.<sup>23</sup> Since the plant usually

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<sup>21</sup> The second book on hot and dry medicines in the first degree is an appropriate cross-section of the manuscript's characteristic illustrative techniques. This book contains the largest group of plant portraits (27) within a single tract. My examples are drawn from this book.

<sup>22</sup> In the marshmallow portrait the artist portrayed two genera of the plant. Baumann suggests a modern, Linnaean identification of the plants as *Lavatera Thuringiaca* L. (left), tree mallow, which has a pronounced flat corolla (circle of petals around the stamens and pistils of the flower), and *Althaea officinalis*. L. (right), which I discuss above (28). For clarity, when citing plant names I have chosen to use their modern common names. The identifications are based on the observations of Baumann, myself, and Gustav Ineichen, ed., *El libro agregà de Serapiom, volgarizzamento di Frater Jacobus Philippus de Padua*, vol. 1, testo (Venice and Rome: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1966). After each common plant name I have included the name used by Serapion placed within parentheses.

<sup>23</sup> Baumann considers marshmallow an example of what he terms the "Gepreßtes Herbarexemplar" category (Pressed Herb Specimens). I disagree. Unlike a pressed plant, the marshmallow retains the shapes of its flowers, as well as the three-dimensional quality of its fruits. The artist's use of an oblique light source to the upper left of the plant articulates the curved 'V' shape of the leaves: the left side of the leaves is in shadow, while the right side is lit. Also, the careful construction of the root system to show the interweaving roots full of shadowy crevices provides yet another visual cue to depth. Baumann argues that the nine images sharing his pressed-plant categorization attempt to show the vestiges of the plant's three-dimensionality so as to convey a sense of careful observation of the plant in nature. He points to the spread-out and flattened quality of the leaves in this category to illustrate his argument. I do not see this visual cue in the marshmallow representation.

completes flowering and goes to seed in October, the artist likely observed and recorded it in late summer or early fall. The second type of marshmallow plant, on the left side of the page, shows a similar attention to detail, allowing the viewer to see the similarities and differences between the two genera.

The portrait of bird's foot trefoil (meliloto, fol. 15r, fig. 3) shows a more playful use of the verisimilar technique. Rather than illustrating the three-dimensional aspects of a living plant, as he did in the marshmallows, the artist showed the trefoil as a specimen pressed into this very book for preservation and study.<sup>24</sup> In his portrait, the artist pushed the trefoil toward the interior margin, leaving much of the vellum page exposed. This compositional gesture alerts the viewer to the strange positioning of the plant and its parts. The secondary stem, furthest to the left, bends awkwardly back in on itself, and the flowers that branch from the main stem appear squeezed against the page, their petals sandwiched together in a disorderly fashion, their peduncles (that link the flowers to the stem) bent dramatically.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Baumann considers bird's foot trefoil an example of the "Natureobachtung" category (Nature Study) rather than the "Pressed Herb Specimen" category. I disagree with his attribution of this plant to a category whose purpose was to create the illusion of a three-dimensional, living plant. As my observations point out, the bird's foot trefoil contains many visual cues to suggest its forced two-dimensionality due to pressing.

<sup>25</sup> While not a literal, material-based *herbarium siccus* itself, like Luca Ghini's sixteenth-century plant catalogue made up of dried specimens, the images of pressed plants in the *Carrara Herbal* denote an older tradition of preserving plants in books, perhaps the earliest in the history of the natural sciences (Baumann, 91). In the 1540s, as the large botanical gardens were being established in Padua and Bologna, Luca Ghini (1490-1556), a professor of plant medicine at the University of Bologna (1534-1544), created his own *herbarium*, or his guide to the identification of plants. However, Ghini made this guide from actual plants that he pressed between pages of a book for preservation. While no longer extant, Ghini's book is considered the first *herbarium siccus* by many scholars. See Anna Pavord, *The Naming of Names: the Search for Order in the World of Plants* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2005), 206; Findlen, 1994, 166; Agnes Arber, *Herbals: Their Origin and Evolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986), 139. Baumann points to two slightly earlier examples of pressed plant specimens: the 1493 correspondence between Pandolfo Collenuccio (in Ferrara) and Angiolo Poliziano (in Firenze) shows that Collenuccio sent pressed botanical specimens to Poliziano. In his reply to Collenuccio, however, Poliziano notes that this form of plant study could not be considered a reliable form of scientific communication (91). Baumann also notes that the *Codex Querini* from Brescia, dated June 13<sup>th</sup>, 1506, contains painted representations of plants next to the actual pressed specimens (91).

Although constructing the general illusion of a pressed plant, the artist continued to articulate the principal identifying characteristics of the bird's foot trefoil. He chose a composition that revealed the plant's underlying structure. He showed the plant in flower, its alternate arrangement of sessile leaves (which emerge directly from the stem), and its fruit (the long, disorderly, "bird's foot-like" seed-pods) isolated against the blank expanse of the page. The withering, yellow flowers that resemble sweet-peas are tinged with a deep red, which is suggestive of the plant's age.<sup>26</sup> Through his compositional choices, the artist added a new dimension of visual play to his portrait, a dimension that (through its very playfulness) draws the viewer's attention back to the role of the image in this particular book and to his or her role as reader.

In another type of plant portrait, the artist did not use the verisimilar techniques discussed above. Instead, he used schematic techniques of representation. For instance, he depicted the marine sponge (sponga marina, fol. 14r, fig. 4) as a distinctly two-dimensional, asymmetrical ovoid mass covered with many small, pointed scales.<sup>27</sup> Without the modeling and shading of the other portraits, the marine sponge appears flat on the page. The uniform ivory-grey colouration discourages the perception of depth or texture. For the marine sponge portrait, the artist used a different visual language than he used for the marshmallow and trefoil portraits. Instead of incorporating details drawn from observation of the plant in nature, the artist incorporated details drawn from the older traditions of herbal illustration.

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<sup>26</sup> Like the marshmallows' fruits, the red-tinged flowers on the trefoil suggest a late stage in the plant's growth. Pavord notes many visual indications that the verisimilar images in the *Carrara Herbal* represent plants in late summer or early autumn (130).

<sup>27</sup> The marine sponge was considered part of the plant kingdom by Dioscorides and Serapion.

In the final type of plant portrait employed by the artist, he amalgamated techniques from the other species of portraits within the *Herbal* to create hybrid portraits. In these portraits, the artist blended details derived from historical models with details derived from observation. In his illustration of the Italian Stone Pine tree (pino, fol. 46r, fig. 5), for example, the artist presented his viewer with an aggregate of traditional and new representational techniques. To depict the entire tree on a single page, the artist adapted the tree's overall proportions. The body of the tree itself is diminutive, while the tree's fruits and leaves are magnified.<sup>28</sup> The darker green background of the canopy conveys the treetop's common bulbous shape when seen from a distance, while the artist simultaneously emphasized the characteristic fissures in the bark that are common to many genera of pine trees and are particularly large and deep in the Italian Pine.<sup>29</sup> Harvested for their *pignóli*, the pine cones shown on the tree closest to the interior margin are given visual prominence by the artist. He also adapted the length of the pine needles, portraying them in large, pale green clusters that form fan- and whorl-shapes against the darker green mass of the tree's canopy, a pattern of growth associated with the Italian

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<sup>28</sup> The artist used this technique to focus attention on different aspects of the tree in many of his tree portraits. See Baumann, 89, for examples.

<sup>29</sup> Baumann suggests that in some of his tree portraits the illustrator may have drawn on the representative techniques discussed by Cennino Cennini in his late fourteenth-century *Il libro dell'Arte* (chapter LXXXVI "The Way to Paint Trees and Plants and Foliage, in Fresco and in Secco"). Perhaps following Cennini's instructions, the *Carrara Herbal*'s artist primed the trunk and canopy of the pine tree with black paint upon which he layered the needles in different shades of green, highlighted with yellow. Cennini aimed to create a greater illusion of depth than seen in the older tradition for painting trees. In schematic representations of trees, the leaves and branches are articulated individually so that they stand out, starkly flat, against the page. The *Carrara Herbal* contains examples of both methods for depicting trees (see Baumann, 89). Baumann further suggests that the artist's use of Cennini's method may be evidence that he looked to illustrative sources outside of herbaria tradition for the *Herbal*'s illuminations, perhaps to the *Tacuinum Sanitatis* illustrative tradition. While the examples from this tradition that Baumann compares all date to the end of the fourteenth- or beginning of the fifteenth century, I remain skeptical that the *Carrara Herbal*'s artist could have had access to these luxury codices associated with the Visconti court in Pavia (*Tacuinum Sanitatis*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Series Nova, 2644, and the *Historia Plantarum*, Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 459).



Stone Pine. By combining schematic and verisimilar techniques, the artist created a portrait of the tree in which the viewer simultaneously sees the overall structure of the tree (as though from a distance) and the details of its fruit, bark, and needles (as though from up-close).

No previous scholarship on the *Carrara Herbal* has questioned the use of these four different techniques as a deliberate practice. Scholars have not considered this stylistic diversity in relation to the cultural ambient of Padua under the Carrara, in general, nor to Francesco Novello's illustrated books, in particular. Rather, scholars have discussed the *Herbal's* veristic plant portraiture as part of a progressive stylistic development toward the more realistic figural and nature imagery associated with the idea of Renaissance established by Otto Pächt in his article "Early Italian Nature Studies and the Early Calendar Landscape."<sup>30</sup>

The existing scholarship on the Carrara family and their patronage also has remained mostly silent concerning the *Carrara Herbal*. Historians Benjamin Kohl and J. K. Hyde have discussed the political and military realities of the Carrara *signoria* in detail.<sup>31</sup> Kohl's work, in particular, has been indispensable to my understanding of the network of political and social relationships that the Carrara cultivated and how artistic commissions functioned to buttress these relationships.<sup>32</sup> Yet, neither Kohl nor Hyde addressed the significance of the Carrara manuscript commissions. Over a century ago,

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<sup>30</sup> Otto Pächt, "Early Italian Nature Studies and the Early Calendar Landscape," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950): 13-47.

<sup>31</sup> Benjamin Kohl, *Padua under the Carrara 1318-1405* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998). J. K. Hyde, *Padua in the Age of Dante* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1966) and *Literacy and its Uses: Studies on Late Medieval Italy*, ed. Daniel Waley (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993).

<sup>32</sup> See especially, Kohl, 1998, and "Giusto de' Menabuoi e il mecenatismo artistico," in *Giusto de' Menabuoi nel Battistero di Padova*, ed. Spiazzi (Trieste: Lint, 1989), 24-26.

Vittorio Lazzarini published a partial inventory of Francesco Novello's books, dated 1404, which included the *Carrara Herbal* and showed the other genres of books in Francesco's library; however, he did not address the significance of the book or the collection to Francesco Novello either.<sup>33</sup> More recently, art historians Margaret Plant, Howard Saalman, and Diana Norman all have discussed aspects of the artistic patrimony of the Carrara; however, none of them has considered the *Herbal* either as evidence of the trajectory of Carrara family patronage or as a record of its values.<sup>34</sup>

When Otto Pächt first addressed the illuminations in the *Carrara Herbal*, he suggested that they were part of a progression toward an increasingly illusionistic portrayal of the natural world drawn from direct observation. For Pächt, this progression culminated in monumental, individualized landscape painting in Northern Europe and later in Italy. He posited that the imagery in the *Carrara Herbal* expanded upon that in a late thirteenth-century *Tractatus de herbis* (London, British Library, Egerton 747) produced in Salerno, which itself was an illustrated version of an earlier unillustrated treatise on plant simples, the *Circa Instans*.<sup>35</sup> The new version of the *Circa instans*,

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<sup>33</sup> Vittorio Lazzarini, "Libri di Francesco Novello da Carrara," *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Patavina di Scienze, Lettere ed Arte*, vol. 18 (1901-02): 25-36.

<sup>34</sup> While discussing aspects of the Carrara court's patronage, art historians have not addressed the role of the *Herbal* within the Carrara artistic patrimony. See Margaret Plant, "Patronage in the Circle of the Carrara Family: Padua, 1337-1405," in *Patronage, Art and Society in Renaissance Italy*, eds. Kent and Simons (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987): 177-200; Howard Saalman, "Carrara Burials in the Baptistery of Padua," *Art Bulletin* 69, no. 3 (Sept., 1987): 376-94, and Diana Norman, "'Splendid models and examples from the past': Carrara patronage of art," Chapter 8 in *Siena, Florence and Padua: Art, Society and Religion 1280-1400*, vol. I: Interpretative Essays, ed. D. Norman (New Haven & London: Yale Univ. Press, 1995), 155-176, and idem., "Those who pay, those who pray and those who paint: two funerary chapels," Chapter 8 in *Siena, Florence and Padua: Art, Society and Religion 1280-1400*, vol. II: Case Studies, ed. D. Norman (New Haven & London: Yale Univ. Press, 1995), 169-194.

<sup>35</sup> Dating to between 1280-1317, the Egerton *Tractatus* is the first extant, illustrated copy of a new version of the *Circa instans*, an earlier unillustrated treatise compiled by the Salernitan doctor, Matthaeus Platearius (d. 1161). The absence of physician Matthaeus Silvaticus' *Opus pandectarum medicinae* in Egerton 747 provides a potential terminus ante quem. Matthaeus' work was dedicated to Robert of Anjou in 1317 and, afterwards, was used extensively in teaching at the school of Salerno. It would have been an

Egerton 747, added illustrations and combined the original textual content with information drawn from earlier Latin botanical treatises, especially from the *Herbarius* of Apuleius Platonicus, the *Macer Floridus* (*De viribus herbarum*), and the *Old Latin Dioscorides*.<sup>36</sup> The compiler of this revised edition fused the popular western derivatives of Dioscorides' medicine with those preserved in Arabic treatises.<sup>37</sup> For Pächt, Egerton 747 was the archetype for a new genre of illustrated herbal that strove to record lifelike observations of nature. As such, Egerton 747 began the return to a supposed veristic Late Antique aesthetic that heralded Renaissance.

Pächt introduced the illustrations of Egerton 747 as the “initial phase in nature studies.”<sup>38</sup> He posited that the illustrations in the Egerton *Tractatus* combined firsthand observation of nature with lost Antique illustrative models, and suggested that its

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obvious choice for a reference or teaching compilation of works (Collins, 286, n. 39; also Collins and Sandra Raphael, *A Medieval Herbal: A Facsimile of British Library Egerton MS 747* [London: British Library, 2003], 6). The compilation's title, *Tractatus de herbis*, is the title of a specific treatise within a larger compilation of diverse medical texts. The term was first applied to compilations of Arabic and Greek treatises on botanical medicine in an eighteenth-century catalogue for the Biblioteca Estense in Modena (Baumann, 100, n. 12). It remains, however, a convenient title to indicate the conventional group of texts within these thirteenth- and fourteenth-century codices, as well as to distinguish the text of the *Tractatus* itself from that of its predecessor, the *Circa instans*.

<sup>36</sup> These three texts are part of the western (Latin) illustrative and textual traditions of botanical and medical knowledge maintained in Europe prior to the reintroduction of Dioscorides' medicine in the fourteenth century. They contain both superstitious and mythical entries on plant simples and fragmented information culled from Antique sources. See Minta Collins, 2000, for a complete discussion of the earlier illustrative traditions.

<sup>37</sup> Collins, 244; Collins and Raphael, 6. The other texts appended to the illustrated *Tractatus* all originated in Salerno, which confirms the codex's origin there. For a discussion of these additional texts and the glosses added to the text of the *Tractatus* see Jean Givens, “Reading and Writing the Illustrated *Tractatus de herbis*, 1280-1526,” in *Visualizing Medieval Medicine and Natural History, 1200-1550*, AVISTA Studies in the History of Medieval Technology, Science and Art, vol. 5, eds. Jean Givens, Karen Reeds, Alain Touwaide (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 115-146.

<sup>38</sup> He also proposed that the codex was the botanical equivalent of the animal model book, *Il taccuino di disegni*, attributed to the workshop of Giovanni de' Grassi (Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica “A. Mai,” MS Cassaforte 1.21). Available in facsimile, Giovannino de'Grassi, *Taccuino di disegni: codice della Biblioteca civica di Bergamo*, Monumenta Bergomensia, 5 (Bergamo: Edizioni “Monumenta Bergomensia,” 1961). Pächt argued that the model book and Egerton 747 were central to the dissemination of a renewed style of verism to other artists and workshops (31).

illustrator mapped these sources onto the older schematic plant portraits of the western illustrative traditions. The resulting fusion generated plant portraits that Pächt described as “half picture, half diagram” (fig. 6).<sup>39</sup> They resembled pressed, slightly abstracted specimens rather than live ones and, for Pächt, provided only a starting point for future illusionistic nature drawing.

To explain the development of this new imagery, Pächt suggested that local Salernitan artists gravitated to an increasingly widespread empirical worldview. Pächt argued that the idea of gaining knowledge through personal experience was fostered by the medical school at Salerno and the atmosphere of scientific inquiry at the court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen. These influences compelled artists to “correct” their models through observation of individual plants.<sup>40</sup> Pächt argued that the plant portraits had deteriorated into schematic and decorative images that made the illustrations worthless for identification of the plants, which he considered the purpose of these books.<sup>41</sup>

I agree with Pächt’s assessment that some of the illustrations in the *Herbal* and, to a degree, some in the Egerton *Tractatus*, reflect a growing interest in the observation of nature, and that these illustrations were innovative. Observation, as Pächt noted, was part of an empirically based medical practice, one that challenged the theoretical medicine traditionally privileged by Scholastic universities north of the Alps. A medical practice based on observation and experience was central to the teaching at Salerno (as it would be later at Padua). I disagree with Pächt’s assessment, however, because he did not

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

consider any alternative purposes to the artists' stylistic choices. He assumed that their only goal was to create pictures of plants as they appeared in nature so that the books' readers could identify the plants when they encountered them in the field.

Pächt internalized a realistic representation of nature as normative.<sup>42</sup> His efforts to understand and historicize the illustrations were coloured by his expectations of verisimilitude as a metahistorical value. The novelty of the Trecento representational techniques diminished as they were relegated to supporting roles in the development of a lifelike aesthetic popular in subsequent centuries. Conversely, many of the illustrative and textual practices seen in the earlier herbal traditions suggest particular, contextually specific values. For instance, a hastily drawn ninth-century portrayal of the plant artemisia accompanied by Chiron the Centaur and the goddess Diana in a *Herbarius* produced in Italy (fig. 7) looks schematic and simplified when compared even to contemporaneous northern counterparts like the illustration for chamomile produced in Metz (fig. 8). However, the ninth-century Italian image was produced by a scriptorium known for its interest in preserving the textual tradition of its models rather than for fidelity to their illustration. Conversely, the northern scriptorium that produced the chamomile image was known for its interest in reproducing the pictures of its models, and it replicated both their imagery and layout.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Thomas Greene questions and historicizes the internalization of lifelike representation as normative in *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1982), especially 1-15. Auerbach and Gebauer/Wulf expand on the psychology and social contexts of mimesis in artistic representation. See Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: the Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, repr. trans. W. R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1974) and Gunter Gebauer and Christoph Wulf, *Mimesis: Culture—Art—Society*, trans. Don Reneau (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

<sup>43</sup> Collins, 183.

The desires of these two scriptoria to privilege the text or the pictures in their efforts of preservation as more representative of a codex's authority suggest that different motives governed the making and reception of these manuscripts. The tendency to isolate the illustrations of manuscripts like Egerton 747 and the *Carrara Herbal* from their texts obscures our view of the inventiveness of the relationship between textual and visual information in these manuscripts. Similarly, the tendency to situate the manuscripts' illustrations within a stylistic trajectory aimed toward the reconfiguration of a lost Antique model in the Renaissance obscures our view of the illustrations' alternative roles in their distinct historical contexts.

In the sole dedicated study of the *Carrara Herbal*, *Das Erbario carrarese und die Bildtradition des Tractatus de herbis: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Pflanzendarstellung im Übergang von Spätmittelalter zur Frührenaissance*, Felix Baumann followed Pächt and similarly situated the *Herbal's* imagery within what he perceived as a stylistic arc, a rise and fall of early pictorial naturalism, in the *Tractatus de herbis* manuscripts.<sup>44</sup> In his monograph, Baumann categorized the plant portraits in the *Carrara Herbal* according to their negotiation of this stylistic arc. He classified the images as schematic portraiture ("Schema"), early nature study ("beginnendes Naturstudium"), portraiture derived from direct observation of nature ("Natureobachtung"), portraiture made from observation of pressed specimens ("gepreßtes Herbarexemplar"), and finally as a return to a simplification of form due to the copying process ("Reduktionsformen"). For Baumann, *Reduktionsformen* was an aesthetic only truly "overcome" by Leonardo and his followers. While his detailed observations of the *Carrara Herbal* remain a definitive

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<sup>44</sup> See note 18 for complete bibliographic reference.

source on the *Herbal*'s imagery, the heart of his argument is a stylistic progress narrative. Ultimately, Baumann's conclusion parallels Pächt's.

Recently, Minta Collins' book, *Medieval Herbals: the Illustrative Traditions*, presented a comprehensive survey of the development of botanical imagery and its chronology.<sup>45</sup> She assessed botanical imagery from the early Greek illustrated Herbals, through their Arabic counterparts, to the medieval Latin *Herbarius* of Apuleius Platonicus and its late thirteenth-century successor, the *Tractatus de herbis*, and, finally onward into its fifteenth-century redactions. While invaluable as the culmination of the sort of formal analysis Pächt undertook and the development of a definitive stylistic chronology across the genre, Collins' argument also remains tethered to Pächt's conclusions. Like Pächt, Collins suggests that the reappearance of illusionistic plant imagery in fourteenth-century herbals is evidence of the illustrators' consultation of Antique examples of plant representations that sparked a fashion for empirical observation in late medieval natural philosophy. Collins concludes that by the fifteenth century, when their accompanying texts had become increasingly abbreviated and distanced from their original medical content, illustrated herbal manuscripts became simply "picture books" for aristocratic bibliophiles.<sup>46</sup> She does not question why these codices were collected or how they functioned within the privileged communities that possessed them. Neither does she question the role that pictorial naturalism played within the codices, nor what prompted its demand. Collins also does not consider the role of

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<sup>45</sup> See note 17 for complete bibliographic reference.

<sup>46</sup> Collins, 310.

visual pleasure in the variety of imitative imagery and how the viewing experience charged the book as an object in relation to its textual content.

Pamela H. Smith's recent study of the style of representation emerging from the workshops of northern Europe during the Early Modern period, *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution*, re-examined the artist's production of lifelike imagery as a secret type of material knowledge possessed within his body.<sup>47</sup> She focused on the technical ability of the artist to translate a physical, visual experience of nature onto a two-dimensional surface. What appeals to me about Smith's approach to the developing popularity of a verisimilar aesthetic during the fourteenth- and fifteenth-centuries is that she questions why it was valued by its audience and how it attained a currency within particular artisanal and elite societies. Accordingly, Smith both revitalized the narrative of formal aesthetic change seen in the studies discussed above and located these changes within the artists' experiences and within the audiences to whom the artists catered. Although she focused on the workshop culture of northern Europe, how Smith questioned stylistic variance and recognized the deliberate, conscious method of artistic creation has shaped my approach to the pictures in the *Herbal*.

Rather than seeing the schematic portraits in the *Carrara Herbal* as "trials and errors" along the way to portraits like the marshmallows and bird's foot trefoil, I consider the variety of illustrations as a deliberate oscillation between techniques related to the historic collection of illustrated *materia medica* by elite patrons. The illustrator's calculated use of imagery gives insight into Francesco Novello's patronage strategy and the messages that this strategy sent to the privileged citizens of Padua who had access to

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<sup>47</sup> Pamela Smith, *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 2004).



the prince's books. The illustrator *crafted* his imagery in relation to the content of the *Herbal*. The diversity of the *Herbal's* illustrations and the enjoyment that comes from the seeing their compositional variety are as relevant to any discussion of the *Herbal's* imagery as its verisimilar details. As I will show, by moving between lifelike, fanciful, and schematic portraiture the illustrator charged the reading experience. He defied reader expectations and, doing so, he cultivated a pleasurable, engaged reading experience. Furthermore, the reader's active engagement with the reading experience potentially drew his or her attention back to the book as a novel addition to Francesco's personal library. In drawing attention back to the prince's library, its role as the locus of Francesco's patronage and his self-image becomes clearer.

In the ensuing chapters, I explore the place of the *Carrara Herbal* within two traditional avenues of Carrara family patronage: commemorative family portraiture and the University of Padua (or *Studium*). While it has been isolated from the broader goals of its patrons in contemporary scholarship, I aim to show how the *Herbal* participated in a complex and evolving dialogue about Francesco's identity and his understanding of medical and humanistic knowledge. Furthermore, I aim to show that the *Herbal's* role in this dialogue grew out of specific use of imitative practices that unfolded across the Carrara family's history of patronage.

In chapter one, I examine the Carrara family's historic uses of portraiture and emblems to articulate images of themselves as they wanted to be seen. I focus especially on the patronage history of Francesco Novello's immediate ancestors, his father, Francesco il Vecchio (r. 1350-88), and grandfather, Giacomo II da Carrara (r. 1345-50). His forefathers' uses of portraiture provided a foundation for Francesco Novello's

patronage choices. The younger Francesco was influenced especially by his father's vision of self and of Carrara Padua, ideas that were expressed in different types of portraits. Francesco Novello enhanced his father's vision in his own patronage. In his turn, Francesco il Vecchio used portraiture to build upon the legacy of his own father, Giacomo II da Carrara, the fifth lord of Padua, and his great-grandfather's nephew, Ubertino da Carrara, the third lord of Padua (r. 1338-1345). In their varied uses of portraiture, the Carraresi created and perpetuated a history of Carrara literary, scientific, and artistic patronage, and showed themselves as the learned rulers of a sophisticated court.

Chapter two focuses on Francesco Novello's appropriation of his forefathers' use of Carrara emblems and figural portraits into his personal book collection. Regaining Padua in 1390, Francesco Novello expressly focused his patronage on rebuilding the family library, which had been relocated to Giangaleazzo Visconti's court in Pavia as spoils of war. I examine how Francesco's incorporation of figural portraits and *stemmi* into his books animated and contextualized him as the new Carrara prince of Padua. Francesco Novello commissioned at least three panegyric illustrated family biographies for his library: the anonymous *Gesta magnifica domus Carrariensis* (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. X, 381 (2802), ca. 1390), the *Liber cimeriorum dominorum de Carraria* (Biblioteca Civica di Padova, B.P. 124, XXII, ca. 1390), and Pier Paolo Vergerio's *Liber de principibus Carrariensibus et gestis eorum* (Biblioteca Civica di Padova, B.P. 158, ca. 1390). These biographies aggrandize and celebrate the Carrara dynasty and their just rule of Padua. They pair portraits of the *signori* and their personal devices with accounts of their virtues, good deeds, and descriptions of their physical

appearances.<sup>48</sup> The pictorial imagery in all three manuscripts may derive in part from highly visible fresco cycles throughout Padua that were commissioned by Francesco Novello's immediate ancestors and members of their court *famiglia*.

Chapter three contextualizes the *Carrara Herbal* and its imagery within Francesco Novello's push to re-establish the Carrara library and the Carrara family's identity after the Visconti conquest and looting of Padua in 1388. In rebuilding the Carrara book collection, Francesco emulated his father, who had used the library successfully as a locus for the cultivation of his self-image as an illustrious man and successor to the Roman leaders immortalized by Petrarch. This chapter addresses how Francesco Novello's commission of the *Carrara Herbal* specifically engaged and modified the rhetoric of exemplarity established in his father's manuscript patronage and refocused it onto the rising fame of Padua's medical doctors.

In my conclusion, I consider how the *Herbal* may have participated in and advanced the family's use of the University of Padua's growing popularity as a measure of their leadership and good governance. Continuing his forefathers' support of the scientific, medical, and juristic excellence at the university was another facet of the elder Francesco's strategy to show himself as a modern heroic ruler. During the second half of the fourteenth century, the university's reputation surpassed even that of the prestigious University of Bologna due to the efforts of the Carraresi to woo great teachers to Padua.<sup>49</sup> On account of its growth and achievements, the university became a source of pride for

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<sup>48</sup> The *Gesta magnifica* shows the Carrara as supporters of the commune in their fight against tyranny and their subsequent election as lords of Padua. Vergerio's *Liber de principibus* presents the lords as new *viri illustres* in the tradition of Petrarch's *De viris illustribus*.

<sup>49</sup> Siraisi, 1973, 29 and Pearl Kibre, *Scholarly Privileges in the Middle Ages; the Rights, Privileges, and Immunities of Scholars and Universities at Bologna, Padua, Paris, and Oxford* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1962), 63-66.

Paduan patricians and an integral part of the fabric of civic identity under the elder Francesco.

Francesco Novello's library and its contents speak to his father's legacy of university patronage. The *Herbal*, as a material object, reflected the status of the codex as an emblem of the contemplative and learned prince. At the same time, through its medical subject matter, the *Herbal* bore witness to Francesco Novello's patronage of Padua's *studium*, especially of its medical schools. The *Herbal*'s content, while it complemented the portrayal of the *signore* as a learned prince, focused this association more specifically into the portrayal of a learned prince versed in the healing arts. This meeting between the identity of a medical doctor and that of the courtly scholar paralleled the development of a new role at the Paduan court, one that Francesco Novello appropriated as a metaphor for his role as prince: namely, the role of the court physician.

In association with his other illustrated books, the *Herbal* mediated between the portraits of the noble, physical bodies of Francesco's ancestors (and the healthy *res publica* that they connoted) and his own self-image and rule. Positioning himself as "court physician," Francesco Novello metaphorically orchestrated the moral and physical health of his community. In doing so, he continued the "healthy" history of Padua associated with the bodies of his forebears and recorded in Vergerio's *Liber de principibus*, the *Gesta magnifica*, and other local chronicles in Francesco's library. Francesco brought his ancestors' achievements into his present and into his role as heir to the dynasty. By translating their use of portraiture into his book collection, Francesco aligned the visual signs of their good governance with his patronage and role as a physician prince. Francesco's library became the arena in which these family identities

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were exchanged and appropriated, and where the continuity of the dynasty was expressed.

### *Chapter One: Portraits of the Carrara*

By the time the last Carrara lord, Francesco II “il Novello” da Carrara (1359-1406), came to power in 1390, a great deal of thinking had been done already about how to construct a positive image of the *signori* using their artistic and civic patronage. As heir to the Carrara house, Francesco Novello had grown to adulthood within a deliberately constructed dynastic mythos successfully cultivated and circulated by his father, Francesco I “il Vecchio” (1325-1393).<sup>1</sup> By the end of his nearly forty years as *signore* (r. 1350-1388), the elder Francesco had used his artistic patronage to revise the old accounts of the Carrara family written during Padua’s last communal era, 1259-1318, according to his own aspirations for power and self-aggrandisement.<sup>2</sup> Francesco Novello witnessed his father’s use of monumental fresco imagery and book collection as tangible vehicles that encouraged an impression of him as a magnanimous, learned, and just ruler, the contemporary heir of Petrarch’s *virii illustres*. Francesco il Vecchio’s successful propagation of this imagined self remained with his son and influenced how Francesco Novello would portray himself as the new ruler of Padua after 1390.

In this chapter, I examine how the different patronage campaigns of Francesco Novello’s predecessors developed the family’s image over the course of their rule of Padua.<sup>3</sup> By doing so, I aim to illustrate the familial and artistic contexts that influenced

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<sup>1</sup> Francesco Novello was born on May 29<sup>th</sup>, 1359, the fifth, last, and only male child of Francesco il Vecchio and his wife Fina di Pataro Buzzacarini. See Appendix B for genealogical diagrams of the Carrara family.

<sup>2</sup> On the Commune of Padua from the fall of the Ghibelline (imperial ally) Ezzelino III da Romano in 1259 to the rise of the Carrara seignory in 1318 see Hyde, especially 193-251. Kohl suggests that during the following era of relative peace and prosperity, the influence and power of the Carrara family grew as they cultivated ties through marriage with leading local and international families (1998, 35-7).

<sup>3</sup> I want to stress that I will *not* be presenting a historically truthful portrait of Padua under the Carrara in this chapter or in this dissertation. As noted in the introduction, Benjamin Kohl and J. K. Hyde have

Francesco Novello's collection of illustrated books and his commission of the *Carrara Herbal*. I begin with a general examination of the architectural and decorative commissions for the family palace, the Reggia Carrarese, which served both as the centre of court politics and the family residence.<sup>4</sup> I then turn to an examination of Francesco il Vecchio's patronage, in particular, which he deliberately shaped around his friendship with Petrarch.

Three Carrara lords commissioned monumental fresco cycles for the Reggia before Francesco Novello claimed lordship of Padua. Each lord focused his artistic patronage on the spaces of the Reggia and used the palace as the site for important court business and festivities. The large complex was decorated using various representational techniques over the course of the dynasty, by turns, with heraldry, figural portraits, and narrative cycles.<sup>5</sup> Francesco's father, Francesco il Vecchio, the sixth lord of Padua (r. 1350-1388), commissioned frescoes that depicted Roman leaders from Petrarch's *De*

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discussed the realities of the Carrara seignory in detail. These scholars presented their readers with an account of the city as it was ruled by the Carrara, and the portrait of the Carrara it conveys is quite different from the one that the Carrara lords presented of themselves. Kohl, 1998 and J. K. Hyde, 1966 and 1993.

<sup>4</sup> Little remains today of the once-extensive palace complex. It was heavily damaged by Austrian occupation in the eighteenth-century, and largely demolished by 1880 to make room for a school, the *Scuola elementare 'Reggia Carrarese'*. Between the decision to demolish the Reggia in 1873 and the erection of the school in 1880, Andrea Gloria, then director of the Museo Civico in Padua, unearthed and published as much archival evidence on the Reggia's decoration as he could find to demonstrate its cultural and historical importance to Padua. Any examination of the Carrara Reggia is indebted to his comprehensive study of the extant documentation. See Gloria, *Documenti inediti intorno al Petrarca con alcuni cenni della casa di lui in Arqua e della Reggia dei da Carrara in Padova (discorso tenuto per l'inaugurazione del Museo Petrarcesco di Arqua)* (Museo Civico: Padova, 1878).

<sup>5</sup> On the Reggia Carraresi and other Carrara strongholds in the Padovano see Cesira Gasparotto, "La Reggia dei da Carrara, il Palazzo di Ubertino e le nuove stanze dell'Accademia Patavina," *Atti e memorie Accademia Patavina di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti (AMAP)* 79, part 1 (1966-67): 71-116, and "Gli ultimi affreschi venuti in luce nella Reggia dei da Carrara e una documentazione inedita sulla Camera di Camillo," *Atti e memorie Accademia Patavina di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti (AMAP)* 81 (1968-69): 243-61; G. Lorenzoni, "L'intervento dei Carraresi, La Reggia e Il Castello," in *Padova: Case e Palazzi*, eds. L. Puppi and F. Zuliani (Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 1977), 29-45; John Richards, *Altichiero: An Artist and his Patrons in the Italian Trecento* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), and *Petrarch's Influence on the Iconography of the Carrara Palace in Padua: The Conflict Between Ancestral and Antique Themes in the Fourteenth Century* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2007).

*viris illustribus* in the 1370s.<sup>6</sup> His grandfather, Giacomo II da Carrara, the fifth lord of Padua (r. 1345-50), commissioned frescoes that drew their imagery from Roman literature. Finally, Francesco's more distant kinsman Ubertino da Carrara, the third lord of Padua (r. 1338-45), commissioned not only the building of the Reggia, but also its first decorative fresco cycles that depicted Carrara family heraldry within tapestry-like or illusionistic architectural settings.<sup>7</sup> Each lord commissioned frescoes in a different style of representation that complemented his public persona as *signore*. Each style reflected the lord's individual circumstances and ambitions while building upon the political achievements of his predecessors.

Commissioned by Ubertino in the 1340s, the Reggia increased the visible presence and prestige of the family at a critical time in the development of the Carrara *signoria* (seignory). The status of the Carrara family in Padua during Ubertino's lifetime was quite different from its status during Francesco Novello's. Although the family's seigniorial power in Padua was established, it was by no means secured. The road to Carrara seigniorial rule had begun two decades before Ubertino came to power, when Giacomo "il Grande" da Carrara was elected as *Defensor, Protector et Gubernator populi paduani* (the Defender, Protector and Governor of the Paduan people) on July 25, 1318.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> For the first years of his rule, Francesco il Vecchio shared the rule of Padua with his uncle, Giacomino. During this time, Giacomino assumed the less glamorous administrative duties of ruling the city while Francesco distinguished himself as a gifted military strategist and knight. Allegedly, his uncle became jealous and plotted Francesco's death in order to secure the seignory for himself and his son. When the plot was uncovered, Francesco confronted and arrested Giacomino. He imprisoned Giacomino in the Rocca at Monselice where he lived comfortably until his natural death in 1372. From 1355 onward, Francesco ruled Padua as the sole *signore* (Kohl, 1998, 97).

<sup>7</sup> Ubertino da Carrara was Francesco il Vecchio's third cousin (the son of his great, great-uncle Giacomino da Carrara [d. 1319]).

<sup>8</sup> The statute of election reads: "Quod nobilis vir Dominus Jacobus de Carraria, natus quondam nobilis viri domini Marsilii de Carraria, sit et esse debeat, et esse intelligatur auctoritate presentis legis et statute, et omni modo et iure quo melius esse poterit, Defensor, Protector et Gubernator populi paduani, et civitatis et



Between that date, however, and the time of Ubertino's election, the family had ruled Padua independently only for about three years. It is against this background of the family's more tenuous hold on power that we must examine Ubertino's extensive civic patronage and his use of architectural and decorative commissions. His efforts, to some degree, were directed toward overcoming older, negative conceptions of the family that called their nobility into question. Ubertino was the first *signore* to use architecture and monumental fresco cycles, in particular, to help consolidate the family's rule and to elevate its standing in Padua and the surrounding territories.

Just before the end of the Commune of Padua and the election of the first Carrara *signore*, the local judge and historian Giovanni da Nono (d. 1347) wrote a chronicle that organized the great Paduan families into categories of nobility.<sup>9</sup> In his chronicle, *De Generatione aliquorum civium urbis Padue, tam nobilium quam ignobilium* (ca. 1311), da Nono described the Carrara family as neither the most prominent nor the most wealthy citizens of Padua. He placed them in the second tier of Paduan nobility and not among the oldest and most powerful magnate families to which they belonged by the time Francesco Novello claimed power. Despite this ranking, da Nono did not doubt the family's claim to nobility. According to the chronicle, the Carraresi descended from a noble family of German knights, the da Montagnone, who had taken up residence in

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districtus, et in eis habitantium Capitaneus generalis." (That the nobleman Lord Giacomo da Carrara, son of the late nobleman Lord Marsilio da Carrara, be and ought to be and is understood to be by the authority of the present law and statute, and with every measure and right by which he best can be the Defender, Protector and Governor of the Paduan people, and of the City and District, and Captain General of their inhabitants). Trans. Kohl, 1998, 39.

<sup>9</sup> In his chronicle, da Nono sorted over one hundred aristocratic Paduan families into four hierarchical categories, or degrees, of nobility. The categories ranged from the most powerful magnate families to the least. He described each family's origin, principal family members during his time, coats of arms, major houses in the city, and their relative wealth. J. K. Hyde, 1966, 57, and 1993, 21-22, 34-38.

Carrara, a small town in the southern Padovano, during the tenth century.<sup>10</sup> Da Nono noted that the Carrara owned property in Padua and around Carrara and Pernumia, and that the family was allied through marriage to many prominent families in northern Italy. These facts accorded the family the designation of nobility by da Nono's criteria. However, the chronicler also noted that the common people did not believe the current Carraresi were descendants of an ancient noble house.<sup>11</sup> Paduans may have considered the Carrara as citizens of the *popolo* (people) on account of the fragmentation of the family estates and the growing divisions within the family itself at that time.<sup>12</sup> Da Nono's account of the early Carrara is very different from the presentation of the family and their history found in the chronicles commissioned by Francesco Novello and his father. Ubertino's patronage efforts likely played a large role in enabling the later *signori* to portray themselves, the family, and their history more positively in subsequent chronicles and artistic commissions.

In his biography of the Carrara *signori* written during Francesco Novello's rule, *Liber de principibus Carrariensibus et gestis eorum* (ca. 1390-1405), Carrara apologist Pier Paolo Vergerio specifically praised Ubertino for his visible support of the city. His patronage included: commissioning large-scale public buildings and the first clock tower,

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<sup>10</sup> Kohl, 1998, 35. On the da Montagnone, see Hyde, 1966, 82.

<sup>11</sup> Da Nono seems to defend his view of the family's nobility, writing: "but I pass over what [the people] say, because today [the Carraresi] are noble and powerful citizens of Padua." Cited and translated by Hyde, 1966, 82, from *De generatione aliquorum civium urbis Padua*, Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario, MS 11, ff.37v, 38r. Currently, no complete version of the manuscript is available in print. For excerpts and discussion of *De generatione*, see G. Fabris, "La Cronaca di Giovanni da Nono," *Bolletino del Museo Civico di Padova*, vols. 8 and 9 (1932 and 1933): 1-33 and 167-200; J. K. Hyde, "Medieval descriptions of cities," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 48 (1966a): 308-40; and P. Rajna, "Le origini delle famiglie Padovane e gli eroi dei romanzi cavallereschi," *Romania*, 4 (1875): 161-183.

<sup>12</sup> Hyde suggests that the discrepancy between public opinion and public records may be due to the relative obscurity and poverty of some members of the large Carrara family at the time (1966, 82-83).

repairing roads and completing the walls that encircled the city, securing provisions during a famine and spurring the local economy through support of the guilds, increasing financial support to the University and sponsoring the studies of twelve students at the University of Paris, and finally, persuading the locally renowned professor of law, Raniero Arsendi, to settle in Padua and lecture at the university.<sup>13</sup>

Ubertino's choices for his decoration of the Reggia complemented his legacy of civic patronage by promoting a message of family strength and stability. The decoration of Ubertino's halls began almost immediately after construction of the Reggia in the early 1340s, which suggests the important role ornamentation played in establishing the complex as the seat of Carrara governance.<sup>14</sup> Fragments of the monumental fresco cycles

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<sup>13</sup> Vergerio wrote, "... duodecim adulescentes Patavinos, qui ad disciplinas apti viderentur, deligi mandavit, eosque praebitis in omne tempus large com meatibus Parisius misit, quae urbs litterarum studii famosissima tunc erat, uti, cum liberalibus disciplinis imbuti essent, medicinae operam darent." And later, "Hec urbem et munivit muris et aedificiis ornavit, et studiis atrium bonarum instruxit. Nam opera quidem murorum, quae Marsilius inchoaverat, pro magna parte perfecta reddidit. .... Horologium, quo per diem et noctem quattuor ac viginti horarum spatia sponte sua designarentur, in summa turri constituendum locavit. ... In primis vero studia litterarum fovit magnopere, Raineriumque de Forlivio (Raniero Arsendi of Forli), ejus temporis jurisconsultum insignem, interpretendarum legum gratia magna mercede conduxit. Agri quoque curam praecipuam gessit. Hoc auctore, via, qua itur ad Campum S. Petri, strata est." See "De principibus Carrariensibus et gestis eorum," ed. A. Gnesotto, *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia patavina di scienze, lettere ed arti (AMAP)* 41 (1924-25): sec. 101, p. 427, and sec. 105-106, p. 431-432. Ubertino's accomplishments are also noted by Kohl, 1998, 199 and John McManamon, *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder: The Humanist as Orator*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies (Tempe: MRTS at SUNY Binghamton, 1996), 112.

<sup>14</sup> Built in stages during Ubertino's five-year rule, the Reggia encompassed both the site originally planned as the residence for Giacomo il Grande (which was never built), and the site selected by Alberto della Scala for the Scaligieri palazzo during his family's occupation of Padua (1328-1337). This was a strategic choice for two reasons. Firstly, by building on the site chosen for the residence of the first elected Carrara lord of Padua, Ubertino signalled his connection to Giacomo il Grande and the continuity of the dynasty. Secondly, building on the site chosen by the Scaliger usurpers suggested that Ubertino was an opponent of their occupation and a proponent of a Padua free from foreign domination. Construction began with the Palazzo di Ponente, the initial, secure family residence. The extant remains of the Reggia all come from this palazzo (fig. 9). Its main living area comprised a large rectangular block, the long sides of which faced north and south. Its northern, more public face consisted of a two-storey trabeated (post and lintel) loggia which gave access to the apartments on the upper and lower levels. The Palazzo di Levante, built on the site originally planned for the Scaligieri residence, was the palace closest to the urban environment and likely served administrative functions (Gasparotto, 1966-67, 80). For a more detailed account of the Reggia's architecture and placement within Padua, see Richards, 2007, especially 17-23.

located in the two rooms on the lower level of the Palazzo di Ponente are all that remain of Ubertino's fresco commissions. These rooms are known as the Camera dei Carri and the Anticamera dei Cimieri and originally they were located directly beneath Ubertino's personal loggia and facing his gardens.<sup>15</sup>

The decoration of both rooms likely dates to between 1340 and 1343. Frescoes of an illusionistic tapestry inlaid with shields bearing Carrara *stemmi* (heraldic devices) encircled the Camera dei Carri. The family's principal heraldic device, the red *carro* or cart (a pun on the Carrara family name) set against a white ground, is featured alongside Ubertino's personal device of a golden-horned Saracen atop a helmet (fig. 10). Frescoes of illusionistic, architectural quatrefoil frames that enclosed similar alternating depictions of Carrara helmets and *carri* adorned the Anticamera dei Cimieri (fig. 11). Pairing his personal device with the family device used by the previous elected *signori*, Giacomo "il Grande" and his nephew Marsilio "il Grande" (r. 1328-38, independently 1337-38), Ubertino emphasized both his individual lordship and his membership within the governing family.

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<sup>15</sup> Vergerio described these loggias in his *Liber de principibus Carrariensibus*. He wrote that after Ubertino had finished the city walls: "[he] built a square portico with tall columns all round, in the place where Cangrande had at first begun his palace. He wanted the loggias to be two storeys high, so that it was possible to walk around, upstairs or downstairs, while sheltered from the rain. Furthermore he made another [portico] in the interior of the building, of the same height and with the same distance between the columns, but composed of only two such sides, facing north and west, so that he could freely view those regions of the heavens" ("Porticum quadratam altissimis columnis in aedibus struxit, [ubi] Canis grandis habere primus regiam coeperat], eamque duplicem esse voluit, ut et humi et in sublime deambulare liceret, ab imbre tectos. Aliam quoque in interiori domo, pari altitudine et intercolumniorum distantia, perfecit, quam duobus tantum lateribus constare jussit in septentrionem occasumque spectantibus, ut esset prospectus in eas caeli plagas liber") (Vergerio, *De principibus*, sec. 105, p. 431; trans. Richards, 2007, 19). Michele Savonarola and Angelo Portenari also describe the palace. See Savonarola, *Libellus de magnificis ornamentis regie civitatis Padue*, vol. 24, part 15, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, N.S., ed. A. Segarizzi (Citta di Casertlo: S. Lapi, 1902), 49, and Portenari, *Della felicità di Padova* (Padua: P. P. Tozzi, 1623), 104.

The frescoes in Ubertino's rooms may have been the sole examples of this type of heraldic decoration in Padua at the time. Although, (as the damaged state of the frescoes demonstrates) the limited survival of the original fourteenth-century fresco cycles precludes any certainty of the designs' uniqueness. We do know that similar motifs were used by the Scaligieri in Verona and by other regional notables, which suggests a currency of this type of imagery across the region.<sup>16</sup> The presence of illusionistic fresco imagery adorned with heraldry seems to have denoted dynastic prestige at the courts of the northern Italian princes.<sup>17</sup>

Alternatively, Ubertino's decorative choices may consciously have drawn attention to Marsilio il Grande's victory over Padua's most recent foreign occupiers, the Scaligieri, in 1337, only a year before Ubertino was elected. The month following the expulsion of the Scaligieri, the notaries' guild of Padua had the gates of the communal church painted with the arms of the allied forces responsible for Padua's liberation: the white lily of Florence, the winged lion of Venice, the red cross of Padua, and the *carro* of the Carrara, recognizing the Carrara family and their regime.<sup>18</sup> To my knowledge, this is

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<sup>16</sup> This style of ornamentation was visible at the Scaligieri palace, the Castelvecchio, in Verona, as well as on the walls of a courtyard at the Visconti stronghold at Pandino, and in a few of the apartments in the Carrara castle at Monselice (Richards, 2007, 24). On the frescoes of the Castelvecchio see Richards, 2000, especially, ch. 2, "The Sala Grande in Verona," 35-75. By Francesco Novello's rule it seems that the Camera dei Carri may have served as an antechamber in which Francesco's guests assembled prior to meeting with the *signore* in the Camera Lucretie close by (Gasparotto, 1966-67, 114, and Richards, 2007, 24).

<sup>17</sup> On account of the regional preference for this type of ornamentation, Gasparotto and Richards suggest that the message conveyed through the decoration would have been familiar to courtiers accustomed to life under seigniorial rule (Gasparotto, 1968, 237-42 and Richards, 2007, 25).

<sup>18</sup> The notice in the Notary Guild's records from September 30, 1337 reads: "dicti gastaldiones fecerunt depingi in ecclesia palatii et portas palatii et dicto palacio signa et armatures communium Veneciarum, Florencie, Padue et magnifici domini Marsilii de Carraria" (*Reformationes fratuleae notariorum Padua*, Biblioteca Civica di Padova, MS B.P. 825, fol. 15r). Cited by Kohl, 1998, 68, and transcribed by Roberto Cessi, *Padova Medioevale: Studi e Documenti*, v. 1, eds. D. Gallo and P. Sambin (Padova: Erredici, 1985), 1:145 n.19.

the first recorded use the *carro* to adorn a public building as a sign for the family and in support of the family as rulers of Padua. By echoing the public use of the *carro* as an emblem of victory in the family's apartments, Ubertino reminded his visitors of the family's role in "freeing" Padua from foreign occupation.

The perception of the Carrara as liberators of Padua continued to be cultivated in the decorative commissions of Ubertino's successor, Giacomo II da Carrara (r. 1345-50). Coming into power in 1345, Giacomo II immediately commissioned the decoration of a new hall of state for the Reggia, known as the Sala Thebarum.<sup>19</sup> The Sala Thebarum remained the central hall for court business at the Reggia until Francesco il Vecchio commissioned the fresco cycle for the Sala virorum illustrium in the early 1370s. Giacomo's hall was first mentioned in a document dated July 17, 1347, in the middle of his rule. It describes the location in which it was written: "in Giacomo's new great hall where the history of Thebes is depicted" (in eius [Giacomo II] sala nova superiori, ubi depicta est ystoria Thebana).<sup>20</sup> Written sources on Giacomo's great hall are scant and no

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<sup>19</sup> The fresco cycle for the Sala Thebarum likely was executed during the period immediately following the Giacomo's election and the completion of the upper storey of the peristyle courtyard in the first half of 1345. Gasparotto, 1966-67, 25. Kohl and Richards, following a note in Guglielmo Cortusi's contemporaneous *Chronica*, suggest that the Sala Thebarum likely was completed by the time Isabella del Fiesco, Luchino Visconti's wife, came to visit Padua in March 1347 (Kohl, 1998, 92; Richards, 2007, 28; Cortusi, *Chronica de novitatibus Padue et Lombardie*, vol. 12, pt. 5 *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, n.s., ed. B. Pagnin [Bologna: Zanichelli, 1941-64], 117-118). In total, Giacomo commissioned four frescoed halls for the Reggia. The decorative schemes of the Sala Thebarum and the Camera Neronis differed greatly from those commissioned by his predecessor, Ubertino. For these halls, Giacomo seems to have preferred narrative frescoes that drew their subjects from ancient Roman sources. The decoration of the other two halls commissioned by Giacomo, the Sala delle Bestie and the family's private chapel, was more traditional (i.e., indebted to Ubertino's decorative schemes). These two areas may have been frescoed by Guariento during his time as court painter. The Sala delle Bestie was located directly below the Sala Thebarum (according to Gasparotto), and probably contained hunting scenes, which were common at the northern courts during this period. The private chapel likely was located on the upper floor of the Palazzo di Ponente at the western end. It was decorated with Old Testament scenes by Guariento, likely between 1349 and 1354 (Richards, 2007, 30-33). Only fragments of the frescoes survive, including an image of the Angelic Orders with which Guariento adorned the ceiling, and are held at the Museo Civico di Padova.

<sup>20</sup> Archivio di Stato, Padua Corona, Busta 149, 2314 n.g.7787, cited by Gloria, *Documenti*, 35 and Gasparotto, 1966-67, 95. My translation. Michele Savonarola also described this room in his city guide-

evidence of the frescoes remains. However, as the hall's name and the document from 1347 imply, the frescoes likely depicted episodes from the *Thebaid*, a tragedy about the downfall of the city Thebes written by the Roman poet Statius (ca. 45-96 AD).<sup>21</sup>

Scholars have turned to an illustrated manuscript of the *Thebaid* produced by Jacopo Avanzo in Padua in the late fourteenth century as a possible record of the fresco cycle's imagery.<sup>22</sup> In the manuscript, each of Statius' twelve books begins with a grisaille scene of the book's principal event, highlighted with blue and red pigments (fig. 12). As John Richards has noted, the illustrations do not tell us anything about how the frescoes may have been organized.<sup>23</sup> Yet, whether they formed a continuous narrative, like Guariento's contemporary treatment of the Old Testament frescoes in the Carrara chapel (1349-1354), or represented the story in distinctive sections, is inconsequential here. The important point, corroborated by modern scholars and contemporaneous documentation

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cum-biography of famous citizens, the *Libellus de magnificis ornamentis regie civitatis Padue* (1446). Savonarola did not record a detailed description of the room either. He did, however, note the popular title of the room, which suggests the subject of its decoration, and addressed the placement of Giacomo's hall in direct relation to his son's *sala curiale*, the Sala virorum illustrium (Savonarola, *Libellus*, 49, also cited in Richards, 2007, 28, and Norman, 1995, v.1, ch.8, 165).

<sup>21</sup> Richards, 2007, 30. At the time of the Sala Thebarum's construction there were two possible sources for a "story of Thebes": the original, Statius' *Thebaid*, or a chivalric retelling of the story popular in twelfth-century French romances. Richards persuasively argues that the frescoes' narrative was based directly on Statius' version. He uses Giacomo's friendship with Petrarch and their shared love of Roman literature as evidence to support his view.

<sup>22</sup> Gian Lorenzo Mellini, Gasparotto, and Richards all argue that the *Thebaid* manuscript illustrated by Jacopo Avanzo and held in the Chester-Beatty library in Dublin (MS 76) may reveal some of the frescoes' original traits (Mellini, *Altichiero e Jacopo Avanzi* [Milano: Edizioni di Comunita, 1965], 102; Gasparotto, 1966-67, 95; Richards, 2007, 31-32). Regardless of the exactness of the relationship between the manuscript illustrations and the frescoes, the Chester-Beatty *Thebaid* is a probable record of the Sala Thebarum. Given the similar stylistic treatment of illuminations from other manuscripts that also may record the Reggia's no longer extant frescoes, it seems likely that the Chester-Beatty *Thebaid* does copy the fresco cycle, at least in part. For instance, the grisaille portraits of the Carrara lords in Vergerio's *De principibus Carrariensibus* likely replicate frescoes from the entrance loggia in the Reggia, and the grisaille illustrations in the Darmstadt *De viris illustribus* (Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt, Ms. 101) may record aspects of the monumental portrait series in the Sala virorum illustrium. See below for discussion.

<sup>23</sup> Richards, 2007, 31-32.

alike, is that Giacomo II turned to the *Thebaid* as the subject matter for his commission. One of the questions that remains is why he did so.

Like Ubertino, Giacomo II's seignory faced challenges to its legitimacy, although for different reasons than his predecessor. When Ubertino died on March 9, 1345, without a legitimate heir, he had not appointed Giacomo II as his successor. Rather, Ubertino recommended to the city council that his cousin Marsiglietto from the Papafava branch of the Carrara family be elected the next lord of Padua. Allegedly, he did so to thwart the seigniorial ambitions of Giacomo II and Giacomino, the sons of the "traitorous" Niccolò da Carrara.<sup>24</sup> Marsiglietto was elected lord of Padua on March 27 and quickly moved to secure Venetian support, renewing the alliance of 1337. At the same time Giacomo II and Giacomino assembled a group of powerful local families to support their bid for power.<sup>25</sup> According to Guglielmo Cortusi's *Chronica* (circa 1360s), on the night of May 6, 1345, after bribing the guards to leave the doors of the Reggia unmanned, Giacomo II entered Marsiglietto's bedroom and murdered him in his sleep.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> In the autumn of 1327, Niccolò allied with the Della Scala and attempted to seize Padua, a choice that alienated him not only from Marsilio il Grande but from Ubertino who supported Marsilio as head of the family. Rallying against Niccolò, Marsilio, along with the members of the Papafava branch of the Carrara family and other noble families of Padua, repulsed Niccolò and the Della Scala forces with the help of German knights. Niccolò was exiled to Chioggia for the remainder of his life. Despite his absence from Paduan politics, it was from Niccolò's line that the last three Carrara lords stemmed (Kohl, 1998, 54-57).

<sup>25</sup> Kohl, 1998, 86-89.

<sup>26</sup> Cortusi, III, 13, cited by Kohl, 1998, 89. Writing mid-century as a supporter of Francesco il Vecchio, Cortusi's *Chronica* gives a pro-Carrara account of Paduan politics between 1311 and 1368. The later Gatari chronicle (also pro-Carrara) did not mention bribery, preferring to attribute the choice to leave the doors unlocked to Marsiglietto himself who "thought himself well loved" ([Marsiglietto] il predetto con benigno muodo, fidandosi d'ognuna persona: per che, credendo così lui eser amato, come lui amava altri, non soervava in sé tropo stretta guardi ...) (Galeazzo Gatari, *Cronaca Carrarese*, vol. 17, pt. 1 *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, new ed., eds. A. Medin and G. Tolomei [Bologna: Zanichelli, 1909-32], 26. In translation: Gatari, *The Fortunes of Francesco Novello da Carrara Lord of Padua, an Historical Tale of the Fourteenth Century, from the Chronicles of Gatari, with Notes*, ed. and trans. David Symes [Edinburgh: Constable, 1830], xxxii).



The following day Giacomo II was elected unanimously as Lord and Captain General by the major council of Padua.<sup>27</sup>

Giacomo II's ignominious entrance into Paduan politics and his uncompromising attitude toward his detractors were downplayed by later apologists. In the accounts of Giacomo's life given in chronicles commissioned by Francesco Novello, the anonymous *Gesta magnifica domus Carrariensis* and Pier Paolo Vergerio's *Liber de principibus Carrariensibus et gestis eorum* (both ca. 1390-1400), Giacomo II is commemorated as an active governor with an aptitude for foreign policy, which ensured peace and prosperity in Padua.<sup>28</sup> However, Petrarch's esteem for the Carrara lord, documented in the poet's letters, may have helped most to cultivate a positive image of Giacomo's character.

From the beginning of his rule in 1345, Giacomo sent letters to Petrarch, entreating him to come to Padua.<sup>29</sup> The poet finally accepted Giacomo's invitation and arrived in March, 1349. He was welcomed warmly by the Carrara *signore*. Among other

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<sup>27</sup> While Giacomo II chased Marsiglietto's heirs and supporters into exile and murdered Marsiglietto's most trusted advisors, he also chased the favour of powerful families by giving them elaborate gifts of clothing, gold, arms, houses, horses, and lands to atone for his crimes. Further, Giacomo also recalled enemies of Ubertino from exile, granted amnesty to many citizens who had been imprisoned, and obtained an oath of loyalty from all knights in the Carrara palaces. The day following the assassination, Giacomo II advantageously married his son and heir, Francesco I da Carrara, to Fina Buzzacarin, the daughter of long-time Carrara family supporter and magistrate, Pataro di Dusio. In the ensuing months, Giacomo II ratified his rule with the Venetians through a series of negotiations with the Doge, Andrea Dandolo, and effectively transitioned to his role as lord of Padua (for specific details of the treatise, especially on economics and exchange of prisoners, see Kohl, 1998, 89-90; also G. Cortusi, *Chronica*, 111-113).

<sup>28</sup> Vergerio and the author of the *Gesta magnifica* covered over Giacomo's murderous deed, rationalizing that Marsiglietto eventually would see Giacomo as a threat to his power since Giacomo was the righteous claimant to the seignory. Vergerio suggested that Giacomo pre-emptively acted against Marsiglietto out of necessity, and because he was afraid for his life. He proceeded to parallel Giacomo's entrance into power with that of Caesar, who similarly began his rule with a "necessary" act of violence. See *De principibus*, ed. Gnesotto, sec. 115-116, p. 441-442. A similar account is presented in the *Gesta magnifica*, which parallels Giacomo II with his ancestor, Giacomo (d. 1240), who allegedly died a martyr for Padua (*Gesta magnifica domus Carrariensis*, vol. 17, pt. 1, tome 2, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, N.S., ed. R. Cessi [Bologna: Zanichelli, 1942-48], A, 91, B/C, 273-4. Also cited by Richards, 2007, 39). For details on Giacomo's life and foreign policy see Kohl, 1998, 89-95.

<sup>29</sup> H.C. Hollway-Calthrop, *Petrarch: His Life and Times* (London: Methuen & Co., 1907), 142.

honours, Giacomo endowed Petrarch with a canonry that included a home near the cathedral in hopes that the poet would remain in Padua rather than returning to Parma. Petrarch accepted Giacomo's gifts and relocated to Padua where he lived, intermittently, until Giacomo was assassinated in December, 1350.<sup>30</sup>

In his correspondence, Petrarch described Giacomo as an enlightened, modern leader and patron, one who supported poets and the study of the liberal arts at his court. In a letter to Giovanni Boccaccio, dated January 7, 1351, Petrarch revealed his sadness at the death of the Carrara lord. He called Giacomo his "dearest and sweetest comfort and support ... [w]orthy of every praise and distinguished by a uniquely angelic sweetness of manners" (*carissimum atque dulcissimum solamen ... virum omni laude sed precipua quadam et angelica morum suavitate conspicuum ...*).<sup>31</sup> Petrarch told Boccaccio that he

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<sup>30</sup> Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *Petrarch's Later Years* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1959), 4. Guglielmo Cortusi's *Chronica* recounts that Giacomo's murder took place in "his room" (in camera sua) while the lord was warming his feet after lunch on December 19, 1350 (... post prandium stando in camera sua, quae vocatur camera Neronis, ad ignem ... calefaciendo pedem unam ...) (*Chronica*, 127-128, also cited by Richards, 2007, 33 and noted by Kohl, 1998, 95). Gatari's version is much more dramatic. He wrote: "Gulielmo da Carrara (a bastard) not remembering God, but having the devil in his heart in the morning of the day of S. Antonio (17<sup>th</sup> January) [sic], while standing beside the Signor Giacomo, drew a knife and stabbed him in the belly. The Signor turned round to the fire, looked hard at Gulielmo, and uttering only these words, 'seize him!' fell dead. Nor did Gulielmo escape. He was cut in pieces where he stood, and his body was flung in fragments into the court. Marsilio, the infant son of the murdered Signor, was placed upon a horse, brought into the public Place, and proclaimed. This was done because Giacomino, the brother, and Francesco the eldest son of the deceased, were absent from the city, having gone to kill wild boars for the Feast of the Nativity" (... questi Guielmo non abiando Iddio ne la memoria, anzi il diavollo da lo 'nferno, e quello instigandolo a malfare, esendo una matina innel die di santo Tomio a dí XVIII de dexembre il preditto Guielmo nel conspetto fil signore messer Iacomo, e di sotto tràtossi uno coltello e di quello dato nel ventre al suo signore, che voltava le spalle al fuoco e 'l viso contro il predetto e dimenando il 'detto coltello per lo ventre, tagliò molti degl'interiori: per la quale ferita, subito chade morto, né altro non disse, se non – pigliatelo! –. Il predetto Guielmo non si mosse de quela parte, che tuto fu tagliato a peze, e gitate le soe carne in qua e in làper la corte. E di presente tolto Marsilio da Cararam piccolo figliuolo del signor misser Iacomo, e quello aportato suso un cavallo in piazza, e dàtolti la signoria di la terre. E questo fu fato per lo meo, perché [né] misser Iacomino, fradello del signore, né Francesco da Carara suo figliuolo nin era in la città, anzi erano andati a Chanpo San Piero per chaziare a' gienghiari per la festa di Nadalle) (Gatari, 28, trans. Symes, xxxii-iii). For additional accounts see Vergerio's *De Principibus*, ed. Gnesotto, sec. 123, p. 449 and the *Gesta magnifica*, par.182, 61.

<sup>31</sup> Petrarch, XI.2, *Rerum Familiarum Libri VIII-XI*, v. 3, Les Classiques de L'humanisme, eds. Longpré and Dotto (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2003), 337. Trans. Bernardo, 2005, 87-88.

wanted to commemorate Giacomo's benevolence and generosity for posterity, and he lauded the *signore* as "the great friend of learning, the cultivator and just critic of talents" (... *amantissimus studiorum et ingeniorum cultor extimatorque iustissimus*).<sup>32</sup> Similarly, in a letter to his friend Giovanni d'Arezzo, dated May 12, 1351, written from Leonico after the poet's departure from Padua, Petrarch commemorated Giacomo, calling him "a brave and noble man deserved of praise ... [who was] the true father of his country" (... *virii optimi optimeque de nobis meriti ... verissimus patrie pater fuit*).<sup>33</sup>

In his *Testamentum*, Petrarch most clearly showed his admiration for Giacomo and the esteem in which he held him. The poet requested that "if [he] should die in Padua" (*si Padue, ubi nunc sum, moriar*), he be buried alongside Giacomo at the Church of San Agostino. He wrote:

If I should die in Padua where I am now, I should wish to be buried in the Church of San Agostino, which the Dominicans now hold. For not only is this place dear to my soul, but it is also there that that man lies who loved me very much and who, through his devoted entreaties, brought me to these parts, Giacomo da Carrara of most illustrious memory, sometime Lord of Padua.

(*Si Padue, ubi nunc sum, moriar, in ecclesia Sancti Augustini quam fratres predicatorum tenent, quia et locus animo meo gratus est et iacet illic is, qui me*

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<sup>32</sup> Petrarch, XI.2, 337. Trans. Bernardo, 2005, 88. Passage also cited in English by Richards, 2007, 47. Vergerio, following Petrarch, later praised Giacomo as "a prudent man and a generous prince" (*prudens vir et princeps magnanimus*) in his educational treatise dedicated to Francesco Novello's son Ubertino, "On the Character and Studies Befitting a Free-Born Youth (*De ingenuis moribus et liberalibus adolescentiae studiis liber*)" written ca. 1402. See Vergerio, 2002, trans. C. Kallendorf, 38 (Latin) and 39 (trans.). Also following Petrarch, Vergerio noted that although Giacomo "held that this one thing had been lacking in his good fortune, that he was not educated to the extent that a modest man might wish to be," Giacomo "nevertheless cultivated learned men wondrously" and welcomed and supported their community in Padua (*Iacobus de Carraria, ... ipse quidem non magnopere doctus, mirum tamen in modum doctos coluit, ut id unum fortunae suae defuisse iudicaret, quod non esset, quantum modestum hominem optare liceat, eruditus*) (*Ibid*). Francesco il Vecchio later emulated his father in this regard and so earned similar praise from both Petrarch and Vergerio.

<sup>33</sup> Petrarch, *Fam.* XI.3, 339. Trans. Bernardo, 2005, 89.

plurimum dilexit inque has terras piis precibus attraxit, preclarissime memorie Iacobus de Carraria, tunc Padue dominus ...) <sup>34</sup>

Petrarch's will suggests that the poet believed his admiration for Giacomo was reciprocated, and that the Carrara *signore* viewed him as a friend and ally. These documents imply a relationship between the two men built upon mutual respect and a shared love of learning, a relationship that may shed light upon Giacomo's choice of subjects for his artistic commissions. The character of the visual rhetoric Giacomo employed to adorn his halls suggests his knowledge of Petrarch's moralizing view of Roman history. It attests to the poet's influence – if not his direct involvement – in the Reggia's decoration. <sup>35</sup>

Part of Giacomo's reason for choosing Statius' epic may have been because it was read widely by the early humanists, including Petrarch. <sup>36</sup> It is a story about the lust for power and its tragic effects on two brothers and the people they govern: murder, retribution, and social discord. The tale begins with the struggle for power between Oedipus' sons Eteocles and Polynices. It ends with the brothers' deaths. After the brothers have killed one another on the fields of battle outside the city, their mother Jocasta committed suicide, and Eteocles' self-proclaimed successor, Creon, cruelly denied the mourning citizens the right to build funeral pyres to honour their dead,

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<sup>34</sup> Petrarch, *Testamentum*, ed. and trans. Theodor Ernst Mommsen (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1957), 72.

<sup>35</sup> Richards, 2007, 14, 53. Since Petrarch arrived in Padua so late in Giacomo's reign, it is more likely that the poet influenced Giacomo's choices and was not involved directly in the design.

<sup>36</sup> The only non-Virgilian Latin epics in Petrarch's library were by Statius and Lucan (Pierre de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme*, reprint [Torino: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1959], 193). Petrarch's book collection also included Statius' commentary on Virgil (upon whom Petrarch modelled himself), which was highly prized by Petrarch and adorned with a frontispiece by Simone Martini. Yet, in his book *De remediis utriusque fortunae* (1354-1360), Petrarch criticized Statius on account of his association with the tyrannical Emperor Domitian (Richards, 2007, 40). Earlier in the century, Statius had figured prominently in the beginning cantos of Dante's *Purgatorio* (ca. 1308-1321) as the only saved pagan soul in the *Commedia*.

Theseus, the good and just king, arrives to restore order in the final book (XII). He kills the usurper Creon, restores the citizens' rights to proper funeral rituals, and finally brings a lasting peace to Thebes.

Statius' tragedy would have provided a fitting narrative vehicle through which Giacomo could justify his violent actions and legitimate his rule.<sup>37</sup> Unlike his legally elected predecessors Giacomo "il Grande" and Marsilio "il Grande," Giacomo II came to power through a betrayal. He could not present his rule as unsolicited or legal. In 1345 when Giacomo plotted against Marsiglietto, whom he considered a usurper and rival who had stolen his rightful position as ruler, Giacomo could well have been likened to Polynices, who was denied his rightful rule by his brother Eteocles (a metaphorical Marsiglietto). Later in his rule when Giacomo's court appeared the epitome of order and luxury celebrated by Petrarch and Vergerio, Giacomo could have been associated with the just king, Theseus, who restored order by killing the usurper Creon (a metaphorical Marsiglietto). However, if Giacomo intended to associate himself metaphorically by turns with Theseus and Polynices, and to associate Marsiglietto with Eteocles and Creon, the shifting analogies had the potential to confuse more than to clarify any message about the rightful nature of his rule. The potential for understanding the imagery's metaphorical associations differently suggests a more atmospheric reading of Statius' narrative may have been at play in the Sala Thebarum.

In its first eleven books, the story reveals the heavy toll that social and political unrest brings to families and townspeople, scenarios well-known to Paduans and ones that Giacomo II, like his namesake Giacomo il Grande, promised to remedy.

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<sup>37</sup> Richards, 2007, 41.

Accordingly, the use of Statius' narrative may have provided an avenue for a less specific analogy between Giacomo's circumstances and the themes established in the tale: fraternal conflict, war, and tragedy are contrasted with the arrival of a just ruler. John Richards argues that by employing narrative imagery from Statius' tragedy in a public hall, Giacomo portrayed himself as another Carrara "saviour," bringer of peace and prosperity to Padua.<sup>38</sup> Giacomo could present himself as a hero, not in the tradition of Theseus per se, but in the tradition of Giacomo il Grande and Marsilio il Grande who both "liberated" Padua from the claws of tyranny.<sup>39</sup> Giacomo could associate himself with a hero from a Roman narrative and simultaneously emphasize his descent from "heroic" ancestors. In a fashion that Petrarch would have approved, Statius' narrative may have served as a cautionary tale. It provided an ancient example for Giacomo II, the modern ruler, to emulate and yet, by association with Carrara history, positioned Giacomo's ancestors as exemplary men as well.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. The *Gesta magnifica* described Marsilio il Grande's liberation of Padua in July 1337 in salvific terms. The chronicler wrote that "lux apparuit in tenebris," that light appeared from the shadows when Marsilio gained control of Padua (*Gesta magnifica*, 139, p. 47, also cited by Richards, 2007, 41). He further recorded that the people thanked God for the return of the Carrara and they cried out: "Benedictus Deus, qui fecit redemptionem plebis sue (Blessed God, who brings redemption to his people)" (*Gesta magnifica*, 139, p. 47). Richards posits that Giacomo II's seizure of power may have been perceived – by Giacomo if not by the citizens of Padua themselves – as a righting of the unjust treatment of his ancestor and namesake, Giacomo (d. 1240), who was executed by Ezzelino da Romano (2007, 38). Furthermore, a variant of the *Gesta magnifica* describes Giacomo's sons as crusaders who would "liberate the city of Padua from ... subjection" (ibid., 191). In its narrative of Giacomo II's life, the *Gesta magnifica* cements the parallel between Giacomo II and his unfortunate ancestor. The text portrays Marsiglietto as an usurper who deprived Giacomo II of his rightful inheritance of power, which paved the way for Giacomo's violent reclamation of it (ibid., A, 91, B/C, 273-4). Richards concludes that this heroic precedent had great value for both Giacomo II, who buttressed his role with his ancestors' heroic "crusades" on behalf of the Paduan people, and for Francesco Novello, who, as the inscriptions on the reverse of medals he commissioned in 1390 read, "recuperavit Paduam" from the new tyrant, Giangaleazzo Visconti, in 1390 (2007, 38-39).

<sup>40</sup> Giacomo commissioned another fresco cycle that also may have served as an example of good leadership. The Camera Neronis, or the Room of Nero, was first mentioned around the same time as Sala Thebarum in a document dated December 12, 1347 (Andrea Gloria, *Monumenti della Università di Padova (1318-1405)*, vol.2 [Bologna: Forni, 1972], no. 1154, and cited by Richards, 2007, 33). It was also the room

The decorative schemes of Giacomo II's halls provided the thematic model that truly began the Carrara use of a Petrarchan view of Roman history and its characters as foils for the dynasty's vision of its own history and values. Petrarch's continued involvement in Carrara Padua would lead to the most overt celebration of *Romanitas* (the Roman Empire's Latin culture) and its connection to the Carrara concept of self and government in the artistic commissions of Giacomo's son, Francesco il Vecchio (r. 1350-88). When he came to power after the murder of his father in 1350, Francesco il Vecchio built upon the strategies of patronage established by Giacomo II and Ubertino. He continued to adorn the halls of the Reggia, and like his father, he shifted the style of representation both to reflect his individual rule and to demonstrate the continuity of the dynasty. Also like his father, Francesco wooed Petrarch to return to Padua.

When Petrarch rejoined the Carrara court, Francesco urged him to complete his collection of moralizing biographies of ancient Roman heroes, *De viris illustribus vitae*. Petrarch, in turn, dedicated his book to the young Carrara lord in 1367, acknowledging

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in which Giacomo was assassinated in 1350. On account of the room's name, scholars have struggled with the potential subject or protagonist of the frescoes. Roman history has two Neros: the infamous emperor Nero (15-68 A.D.) and the lesser known Republican consul Nero (fl. 207 B.C.) who defeated Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal, at the Battle of Metaurus. Richards argues that while the virtuous actions of consul Nero in his reconciliation with co-consul Marcus Livius Salinator would have been an appropriate foil for the themes of upheaval and betrayal in the Sala Thebarum, it seems more likely that the room was named after the despised emperor Nero. He suggests tentatively that the emperor Nero may have served as a negative exemplum – illustrating correct moral behaviour through examples of what *not* to do (Richards, 2007, 42, 51). I think it is more likely that the room represented the episode of reconciliation between the Roman consuls and the victory over Hasdrubal. Consul Nero's life as a gifted military strategist, saviour of Rome from Hannibal's armies, and conciliatory co-consul would have appealed to Giacomo. Further, the Roman historian Livy, Padua's "son," recorded the story of consul Nero's defeat of Hasdrubal and praised him as a saviour of the Republic. Similarly, and perhaps most importantly, Petrarch praised the consul and included him among the virtuous men of Antiquity in his *De viris*. See Livy, Book XXVIII, *History of Rome (Ab Urbe Condita)*, vol. 8, Loeb Classical Library, ed. and trans. B. Foster et. al. (Cambridge [Mass.]: Harvard UP, 1943), 9, also cited by Richards, 2007, 41, n. 107; and Petrarch, "Claudius Nero et Livius Salinator," *De viris illustribus vitae*, vol. 1, ed. Luigi Razzolini (Bologna: Presso Gaetano Romagnoli, 1874), 81-85.

his friendship with Francesco.<sup>41</sup> In his Preface, Petrarch addressed Francesco directly, naming him the *vir illustris*, the noble lord, at whose request he completed his work.<sup>42</sup> Earlier in his career and in the history of writing *De viris*, Petrarch had renounced all modern rulers as incapable of attaining the glory of their ancient Roman predecessors. When he named the Paduan prince a *vir illustris*, Petrarch added Francesco to a company of lauded Roman men and suggested that Francesco shared their virtuous qualities. In doing so, Petrarch paid Francesco a great compliment and suggested the respect in which he held his benefactor.<sup>43</sup>

In his own turn, borrowing from Petrarch's moralistic view of the Roman heroes, Francesco il Vecchio commissioned the monumental fresco cycle that gave physical form to Petrarch's illustrious men and their histories in his new great hall, the Sala virorum illustrium.<sup>44</sup> Painted circa 1370-1379, likely by Altichiero and his workshop, the fresco

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<sup>41</sup> Petrarch officially dedicated his treatise to Francesco in the second preface, written circa 1367-70.

<sup>42</sup> He wrote: "Illustres quosdam viros, quos excellenti gloria floruisse doctissimorum hominum ingenia memoriae tradiderunt in diversis voluminibus tamquam sparsos ac disseminatos, rogatu tuo, Plaustrifer insignis, qui modestissimo nutu inclitae urbis Patavinae sceptrum unice geris, locum in unum colligere, et quasi quodammodo stipare arbitratus sum" (Petrarch, *De viris illustribus*, 2). Kohl translates this passage: "At your request, noble Carrara lord, who wields the scepter solely and with very moderate force over the great city of Padua, I have decided to collect or rather almost to compress into one place, certain illustrious men who flourished in outstanding glory and whose memory has been handed down to us in diverse and widely scattered volumes through the skill of many learned men" (Petrarch, trans. Kohl, in "Petrarch's Prefaces to *De viris illustribus*," in *Culture and Politics in Early Renaissance Padua* [Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2001], 142).

<sup>43</sup> The year before his death, when frail and ill, Petrarch engaged in a diplomatic visit to Venice with Francesco Novello on Francesco il Vecchio's behalf. Taking such a risk with his health for his benefactor suggests more than words the positive view Petrarch held of Francesco il Vecchio. On the diplomatic mission in 1373, see Kohl, 1998, 126-28

<sup>44</sup> The Sala virorum illustrium was not the only painted hall commissioned by Francesco il Vecchio. However, it is the most-studied hall and the hall for which we have direct evidence of Petrarch's involvement. We have records that testify to the existence of other rooms, but they do not describe the rooms' decoration. The rooms' names suggest classical subjects, or narratives of Carrara victories, and from these names scholars have posited likely illustrative schemes: The Camera Camilli illustrated the life of the fourth-century BC statesman and general, Camillus. The Camera Herculis celebrated the heroic deeds of Hercules. The Camera Lucretie illustrated the life of the virtuous Roman heroine. The Sala nova virorum illustrium likely illustrated the military victories of the Carrara and other contemporary allies. The



cycle composed to adorn the Sala virorum is the most studied of the Carrara family's artistic commissions, even though the original cycle was destroyed in a fire at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>45</sup> The cycle was repainted in the mid-sixteenth century by Domenico Campagnola and Stefano dall'Arzere, ostensibly in an effort of restoration rather than re-creation. An inscription over the main entrance to the Hall announces that the painters intended to adhere to the spirit of the previous program.<sup>46</sup> While Domenico and Stefano slightly altered the list of characters portrayed in the hall, they likely preserved the general makeup of the portraits from Altichiero's original plan. The heroes are represented full-length and over life-sized above monochromatic grey-scale (or grisaille) scenes of their triumphs. They are shown in rich colour with fictive architectural frameworks separating them one from another.<sup>47</sup> The portraits of Petrarch's famous men

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Camera virtutum, part of the Palazzo di Levante where Fina Buzzacarini held court, likely portrayed the four cardinal virtues (Kohl, 1998, 152). For an analysis of possible sources of imagery and Petrarchan influence in these rooms see Richards, 2007, 63-75.

<sup>45</sup> The portrait of Petrarch in his study was spared destruction by the fire. It provides one of the earliest renditions of the poet and has highly influenced how scholars conceive of Petrarch's appearance. Although the portrait survived, it has since been overpainted, especially the landscape scene shown through the fictive window in the portrait.

<sup>46</sup> A 1928 restoration campaign concluded that a fire had caused extensive damage at some point during the late fifteenth century, and that the repainting campaign began ca. 1539-40. The inscription notes that the aim of the repainting campaign was "to restore, in its full splendour, the hall which was near to collapse because of old age" (... aulam vetustate pene colapsam in hunc eregrium nitorem restituit). Cited by Theodor Mommsen, "Petrarch and the Decoration of the Sala Virorum Illustrium in Padua," *Art Bulletin* 34 (June 1952): 102-103 as recorded by A. Moschetti in "Per un antico ritratto del Petrarca," *Padova a Francesco Petrarca nel sesto centenario dalla nascita* (Padova: Comitato per le onoranze centenarie a Francesco Petrarca, 1904), 9. Despite this sentiment, the new cycle included historical figures not mentioned in *De viris*, like Cicero who was excluded from the *De viris* because he was not primarily a statesman or military general. The hall is now an assembly room for the University of Padua. It is called the Sala dei giganti on account of its over-lifesize figures, a name it took on immediately after repainting in the sixteenth century (Mommsen, 102-103).

<sup>47</sup> Almost all modern scholarship on the lost frescoes has focused on the reconstruction of the original cycle's appearance, most often by analogy to an illustrated copy of a Paduan translation of the *De viris* by Donato degli Albanzani made for the Papafava branch of the Carrara family ca. 1400 (Darmstadt, MS 101) and to a series of early illustrated printed versions of Albanzani's translation (see Lilian Armstrong, "Miniatures in Copies of Francesco Petrarca, *Libro degli uomini famosi*, Poiano, 1476 and the Lost Fresco Cycles in the Reggia Carrarese of Padua," in *Studies of Renaissance Miniaturists in Venice*, 1 [London:

adorned the long (north and south) walls of the room (eighteen to each side) (fig. 13). A portrait of Lombardo della Seta, Petrarch's friend and the executor of his will, accompanied that of Petrarch on the narrow west wall of the room.<sup>48</sup> The poets may have faced a large fresco of the Triumph of Fame on the east wall, which completed the cycle.<sup>49</sup>

The relationship between the portrait frieze and Petrarch's treatise is well documented in contemporaneous sources. Lombardo della Seta described an immediate connection between Francesco's hall and Petrarch's *De viris illustribus*. In the preface to the *Compendium quorundam illustrium*, an abridged version of the *De viris* commissioned by Francesco il Vecchio and completed by Lombardo in 1379, Lombardo wrote:

As an ardent lover of the virtues, you [Francesco] have extended hospitality to these *virii illustres*, not only in your mind and soul, but also very magnificently in the most beautiful part of your palace. According to the custom of the ancients

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Pindar Press, 2003]). With respect to this tradition of scholarship, for my purposes here I am not concerned with the degree of similarity between the current frescoes and the originals or to what degree of fidelity the original cycle may have been copied in the Darmstadt illustrations. Rather than focusing on a reconstruction of the cycle, I am interested in how the room may have been perceived by Francesco il Vecchio, fit into the context of his family patronage, and what the illustrations of famous men may have contributed to that perception. From the scholarship on the Sala, I accept that the originals were likely Altichieresque – a style clearly valued at the Carrara court – and that the portraits and accompanying narrative scenes in the Darmstadt codex generally record the original appearance of Sala virorum's portrait-and dado friezes: the panels likely included grisaille narrative scenes beneath portraits executed in "expensive pigments," in accordance with the eye witness accounts of Michele Savonarola and Lombardo della Seta. See Richards, 2000, 114, for formal comparisons between extant Altichiero works (especially of figures and fictive architecture) and the illustrations in the Darmstadt codex. He concludes that while they are similar, the codex's illustrations are not quite Altichiero's style. Most likely, they were executed by a follower.

<sup>48</sup> This portrait likely was added after Lombardo completed Petrarch's work and gave it to Francesco, between 1380-88 (Mommesen, 100, and Richards, 2000, 120).

<sup>49</sup> Norman, 1995, v.1, ch.8, 168 n. 35, following long historiographic precedent, suggests that the renditions of Triumph of Fame scenes in the illustrated copies of Petrarch's *De viris* reflect the presence of a Triumph of Fame in the original Sala frescoes opposite the portraits of Petrarch and Lombardo. Richards disagrees with her because of a lack of contemporary documentation about such a fresco. He suggests instead that the Triumph imagery in the manuscripts developed after Petrarch's death as a monument to the poet and to the patron's association with him (2000, 130-131).

you have honoured them with gold and purple, and with images and inscriptions you have set them up for admiration.

(Hos non modo mente et animo ut uirtutum amantissimus hospes digne suscepisti, sed et aule tue pulcherrima parte magnifice collocasti et more maiorum hospitaliter honoratos auro et purpura cultos ymaginibus et titulis admirandos ornatissime tua prestitit magni animi gloriosa conceptio, que cum similes sui ut supra dictum est reddat effectus ...) <sup>50</sup>

Given the connection between the portrait cycle and Petrarch's text, it is likely that the portrait series followed the order in which Petrarch presented the men in his *De viris illustribus*. The text contains thirty-six biographies of statesmen and military heroes from both the Roman Republic and Empire. Their biographies are recorded in chronological order, beginning with Romulus and ending with Trajan.<sup>51</sup> The frieze likely began with the portrait of Romulus in the southeast corner and ended with the portrait of Trajan in the southwest corner.

In addition to Lombardo's account of the portraits, we have the eye-witness account of Michele Savonarola (1385-1466). Savonarola described the defining features

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<sup>50</sup> Lombardo della Seta, Preface to *Compendium quorundam illustrium*, transcribed from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Lat. 6069 F, fol. 114r. Cited and translated by Mommsen, 96 with minor revisions by me. While Petrarch was completing the *De viris*, Francesco asked him to provide a condensed version of the Lives, as well. Stretched between the two projects, Petrarch finished neither before his death in 1374. Lombardo completed the two treatises and presented them to Francesco in 1379. Petrarch had written twenty-four of the thirty-six proposed biographies for the *De viris*, and fourteen for the *Compendium* (Pierre de Nolhac, "Le *De Viris Illustribus* de Pétrarque: notice sur les manuscrits originaux, suivie de fragments inédits," *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques, publiés par l'institut national de France* 34 [1891]: 65). The abridged version was likely a *vademecum* or a "little manual" (as Mommsen called it), which Francesco could carry with him as a guide to his Hall of Famous Men (106).

<sup>51</sup> Armstrong, 2003, 186. See de Nolhac for the order and original inscriptions that preceded the lives in both the Epitome and the Compendium (1891, 71-3). Lombardo della Seta noted the location of Trajan's portrait, and it is from his remark that scholars have speculated on the original positions of the portraits. Lombardo wrote: "I know that you, gracious lord of Padua, are eagerly waiting for the conclusion of this work so that you can learn briefly and in the right order about the deeds of your famous heroes. For this reason, just as you have placed Trajan among the others in the extreme corner of your beautiful hall, so I, in this work, set out to treat him as the last one" (Scio enim te, urbis Patavi inclite rector, tuorum clarissimorum heroum gradatim ut breuiter acta cognoscas, huiusce opusculi auide finem exposcere. Ideoque ut in ultimo angulo tue venustissime aule Trayanum inter ceteros collocasti, ita et in hoc opera novissimum tradere perquiro ...). Cited and trans. by Mommsen, 99, from transcription of Paris, BnF, Cod. Lat. 6069 F, f.194r.

of the cycle as well. In his *Libellus de Magnificis Ornamentis Regie* (1446), Savonarola attributed the frescoes to Altichiero and one of his followers, Ottaviano of Brescia, and located the room inside the Reggia in relation to the Sala Thebarum. He wrote:

When one ascends the principal staircase, one finds balconies, all decorated, on the upper floor around the loggia, with marble columns and magnificent windows overlooking both courtyards. On either side are two most spacious halls which are elaborately decorated with pictures. The first of these rooms is called the Theban Room (Sala Thebarum), the other one, which is larger and more glorious than the first, is named the Room of the Generals (Sala Imperatorum). In this room are depicted the Roman generals (*Romani imperatores*), in *wonderful figures with their triumphs, painted with gold and the best colours*. The representation of these men was the work of the famous painters Ottaviano [of Brescia] and Altichiero. This is indeed an imperial palace and worthy of an emperor.

(Cumque honoratas scalas ascendis, podiola lodiam parte in superiori circuentia, columpnis marmoreis ac magnificis fenestris, que ad utramque curiam aspectum habent, etiam ornate invenis. Stantque due amplissime et picturis ornatissime sale ad latera horum situate, quarum prima Thebarum nuncapatur, altera Imperatorum nominatur prima maior atque gloriosior, in qua Romani imperatore miris cum figures cumque triumphis, auro optimoque cum colore depicti sunt. Quos gloriose manus illustrium pictorum Octaviano et Alticherii configurarunt.)<sup>52</sup>

This passage places Francesco's *sala curiale* in direct relation to that of his father, which suggests a perceived genealogical connection between the rooms. Emphasizing the theme of succession, Savonarola noted that the Sala virorum illustrium exceeded the preceding hall of state in its grandeur. According to his account, the figures were executed in the "best colours" and in gold (auro optimoque cum colore depicti sunt), attesting to the expense, quality, and importance of the original cycle.

Contemporaneous chronicle accounts attest to the important role of the Sala virorum illustrium in Francesco's court. Banquets, wedding festivities, important

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<sup>52</sup> Savonarola, *Libellus*, 49. My emphasis. Translation from Mommsen, 101, with revisions; also cited in slightly different translation by Norman, 1995, v.1, ch. 8, 165, Richards, 2000, 109, and others. Savonarola went on to praise the magnificence of the palace in superlative terms and to state that no other palace in Italy is as magnificent: "Et ut uno verbo, pace aliarum civitatum, dicam, nullum in Italia ita magnificum, nullumque ita superbum invenitur" (ibid.).

meetings with foreign dignitaries, and even the private family funeral for Francesco il Vecchio were held in this space.<sup>53</sup> Evidently, the room was important to Francesco il Vecchio's understanding of himself as a ruler and served as an avenue to project this understanding visually. But what message did Francesco intend to send by commissioning a cycle of monumental portraits of Petrarch's famous men? What was the relationship between the portrait frieze and the *signore*, and how did it function in the atmosphere of the court?

Lombardo della Seta suggests an answer to these questions in his Preface to the abbreviated *De viris*. In addition to attesting to the relationship between the fresco cycle and Petrarch's text, Lombardo likened the exemplary role of the biographies to the role of the portraits that adorn Francesco's hall.<sup>54</sup> He noted:

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<sup>53</sup> Three chronicles record the wedding festivals of the daughters of Francesco il Vecchio and of Francesco Novello. In the *Cronaca carrarese*, Gatari describes the festivities for the wedding of Caterina, eldest daughter of Francesco il Vecchio and Fina da Buzzacarini, to Stefano, Count of Veglia in 1372 (Gatari, 28v, p. 59, ed. Symes, 59-60). He notes that the marriage was celebrated with public festivities including dancing and jousts (also noted by Kohl, 1998, 133, and Norman, 1995, v. 1, ch. 8, 158). The anonymous *Ystoria de mesier Francesco Zovene* (ed. Roberto Cessi, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, n.s. 17, no. pt. 1, tome 3 [1964]: 182) similarly records the events. The wedding of Lieta, youngest daughter of Francesco il Vecchio, to Frederick, Count of Oettingen (1382) is recorded in the anonymous *Guerra da Trevixo* (1383) (ed. Roberto Cessi, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, n.s. 17, no. pt. 1, tome 3 [1964]: 264). The marriage of Gigliola, daughter of Francesco Novello, to Nicolò d'Este (1397) was celebrated in the great halls of the Reggia – the Sala Thebarum and the Sala virorum illustrium (Gatari, 264r, p. 453-4). On Gigliola's wedding see also the anonymous *Ystoria de messier Francesco Zovene* (177) and Luigi Olivi, "Del matrimonio del Marchese Nicolò III d'Este con Gigliola figlia di Francesco Novello da Carrara," *Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di storia patria di Modena e Parma* ser. 3, no. 5 (1888): 335-76. The funeral rites and procession for Francesco il Vecchio were described by both Pier Paolo Vergerio and Gatari who noted that the private family service was performed in the courtyard of the Reggia, just outside of the Sala virorum illustrium (Gatari, fol. 256r-257r, p.441-444). Vergerio noted that Francesco Novello returned to the Cathedral (where public ceremonies were held) after an oration on Francesco il Vecchio's merits was given at the palazzo (*De dignissimo funebri apparatus in exequiis clarissimi omnium principis Francisci Senioris de Carraria*, ed. Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores* 16:189A-194A [1730], cols. 192C-93C, esp. 193A). See also Giovanni Cittadella for a complete description of the funeral rites, *Storia della dominazione carrarese in Padova*, vol. 2 (Padova: Tipi del Seminario, 1842), 248-54. Norman discusses eye-witness accounts of funeral, 1995, v.1, ch. 8, 156, as does McManamon, 1996, 43.

<sup>54</sup> Lombardo's preface to the *Compendium*, perhaps following Petrarch's preface to *De viris*, also notes that Francesco "ordered" the abridged versions of the biographies. The preface reads "Iussisti enim multa et maxima quorundam virorum facta prius quodam epithomate neque prolixo neque artato, sed mediocri stilo declarari" (transcribed from BnF Cod. Lat. 6069 G, fol. 9v, and cited by Mommsen, 98).

... To the *inward conception* of your keen mind you have given *outward expression* in the form of most excellent pictures, *so that you may always keep in sight* these men whom you are eager to love because of the greatness of their deeds.

(nec tui nec innate uirtutis oblitus in forma excellentissime picture extrinsecus expressisti, quod intus ab arduo erat conceptum ingenio, ut assidue in conspectus haberes, quos diligere ob magnitudinem rerum studueras.)<sup>55</sup>

In this passage, Lombardo built upon his earlier suggestion that the portraits of the *virii illustres* reflected Francesco's "mind and soul" (*mente et animo*). According to Lombardo, the portraits were more than reflections, they were signs, "outward expressions," of Francesco's invisible inner state. Their very presence in Francesco's hall revealed the prince's virtuous character to his visitors. Lombardo, following Petrarch, suggested that by commemorating and honouring these men in his soul, Francesco was participating in their greatness. By having pictures of them painted on the walls of his palace, Francesco appropriated their moral authority and so denoted the rightness of his rule. Moreover, by juxtaposing himself with these men, Francesco unified their different virtues in his person and located them in contemporaneous Padua and the surrounding Carrara territories.

Petrarch's personal role in the introduction of these heroes into Francesco's "mind and soul" was emphasized by the addition of his portrait to the cycle, fragments of which are the only remnants of the original fourteenth-century frescoes (fig. 14). The presence of his portrait honoured the author of the *De viris* and suggested the esteem in which Francesco held him. It also served to remind Francesco and his visitors of exactly how these men came to be known to the prince – through Petrarch's book and his influence. Petrarch is portrayed in his *studiolo*, or personal study. He sits at his desk, which is

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<sup>55</sup> Transcribed from BnF, Cod. Lat. 6069 F, fol. 114r, cited and translated by Mommsen, 96. My emphasis.

strewn with the books and writing instruments of his vocation. The setting stresses the importance of the study as the place of quiet retreat in which Petrarch contemplated, read, and wrote about his *virii illustres*.

Petrarch's portrait emphasized the original literary context of the heroes and juxtaposed the hero portraits with their biographer – the keeper of their histories. Its presence in the frieze showed the viewer how to “read” the images, and connected the heroes to their illustrious histories. In effect, Petrarch's portrait encouraged the viewer to map the narratives of the heroes' invisible lives onto their corresponding visible bodies, making their bodies a (type of) sign for the entirety of their histories.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, by having Petrarch portrayed among the Roman heroes, Francesco also claimed the poet as an exemplar. The setting in which Petrarch works, however, demonstrates that he exemplified a different kind of virtuous life than that of the heroes his book describes. Petrarch epitomized the contemplative life of the scholar-historian.

Late in the Preface to *De viris*, Petrarch described how he viewed his role as an author and historian and how he wanted his work to be interpreted by Francesco. He explained his purpose in gathering together the scattered histories of “[these men] who flourished in outstanding glory and whose memory has been handed down to us” ([i]llustres quosdam viros, quos excellenti gloria floruisse doctissimorum hominum ingenia memoriae tradiderunt in diversis voluminibus tamquam sparsos ac disseminatos ...),<sup>57</sup> writing:

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<sup>56</sup> Fittingly, this shift of emphasis from reading a literary portrait to seeing a painted portrait aided Francesco's insertion of himself into the narrative of great men. Like the portraits of the men, Francesco's body became a sign of his heroic deeds, moral life, and glorious history. I will return to this idea in the next chapter.

<sup>57</sup> Petrarch, *De viris illustribus*, 2. Trans. Kohl, 2001a, 142, from the “Short Preface” (1371-74).

In my book, nothing is found except what leads to virtues or to the contraries of virtues. For, unless I am mistaken, this is the profitable goal for the historian: to point up to the readers those things that are to be followed and those to be avoided. Whoever would presume to wander outside this boundary, let him know that he is wandering on foreign territory and let him be reminded to return to the path, *except perhaps when he will be seeking to please his readers with amusing anecdotes*. And I myself cannot deny that I have often for long periods abandoned myself to such distracting digressions, when it was pleasant to call to mind the manner and domestic life of illustrious men, and their words neither stinging nor grave, their bodily stature, genealogy, or manner of death.

(... hic enim, nisi fallor, fructuosus historicorum finis est, illa persequi quae vel sectanda legentibus, vel fugienda sunt: quisquis extra hos terminos evagari praesumpserit, sciat se alienis finibus errare, memineritque e vestigio redeundum, nisi forte, oblectandi gratia, diversoria legentibus interdum, grata quaesierit. Neque enim infitior me talia meditantem saepe distractum ab incaepo longius abscessisse, dum virorum illustrium mores, vitamque domesticam, et verba nec peracuta, nec gravia, et corporis staturam, originem, et genus mortis meminisse aliis dulce fuit.)<sup>58</sup>

In this passage Petrarch stressed two central themes of the *De viris* that are relevant to the pattern of patronage established by Francesco il Vecchio and his son: firstly, the exemplary role of biographies of famous men and, secondly, the supporting role that pleasure plays in the reception of moralizing messages. For Petrarch, as for Horace long before him, the author binds edification to pleasure to make the process of learning more memorable.<sup>59</sup> The profitable goal is to teach the virtuous life-path to the reader. For Petrarch, the pleasurable digressions are the details of the men's lives – their bodily stature, ancestry, the nature of their deaths, and their triumphs. Many of these pleasurable digressions were pictured in the fresco cycle in the Sala virorum illustrium, making the hall a space designed both for profit and for pleasure.

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 6. My emphasis. Trans. Kohl, 2001a, 143, with slight revisions.

<sup>59</sup> Petrarch clearly had read Horace: an early self-inventory of his library lists the *Odes* among other works of Antique poetry in his possession, and a direct mention of the *Ars Poetica* in an earlier incarnation of the Preface to the *De viris* (1351-53) attests to Petrarch's familiarity with Horace's adage that the purpose of poetry is to teach and delight (Kohl, "Prefaces," 140).



Petrarch expanded upon the theme of striking a balance between pleasure and profit as a reader, and explained how this balance helped to shape the reader's virtuous behaviour. In a lengthy letter to Francesco il Vecchio written November 28, 1373, from Petrarch's home in Arquà, the poet elaborated on the role of history's *virii illustres* in the development of a good ruler's character and the important role of vision in this development. Peppering his narrative with positive and negative examples drawn from the actions and behaviour of Imperial Roman rulers, Petrarch promised to show Francesco "what the ruler of a country should be" (*qualis esse debeat qui rempublicam regit*) in order that

... by looking at this [account] *as though looking at yourself in the mirror*, whenever you see yourself in what I describe ... you may *enjoy* it and daily become more faithful and more obedient to [God] the Dispenser of all virtue and good, and with a huge effort rise through the barriers of hardship to that level where you cannot rise any further.

(... ut hoc velut in speculo tete intuens, ubi te talem videris qualem dico, quod persepe facies, gaudeas, et virtutum bonorumque omnium largitori devotior fias atque in dies obsequentior, et ingenti nisu per difficultatum obices assurgas usque ad illum gradum quo ire altius iam non possis; ...)<sup>60</sup>

In this passage, Petrarch describes the twofold goal of his letter: he aims to mould Francesco into a moral leader and to teach Francesco how best to read history. Petrarch instructed Francesco to seek out his reflection in the examples of good leadership that he was about to recount. The role of the text as a mirror for Francesco held up by Petrarch

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<sup>60</sup> My emphasis. Petrarch, *Sen.* XIV.1, "Ad magnificum Franciscum de Carraria Padue dominum, qualis esse debeat qui rempublicam regit," *Rerum Senilium Libri XII-XV*, vol. 4, eds. E. Nota and Ugo Dotti (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2006), 239, 241. Translated by Bernardo, *Letters of Old Age: Rerum Senilium Libri I-XVIII*, vol. 2, X-XVIII (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1992), 525.

himself points to the dynamic relationship between reader, author, and text, and emphasizes the role of pleasurable (imaginary) vision in Petrarch's teaching practices.<sup>61</sup>

Bringing Petrarch's mirror metaphor into the physical realm provides an avenue of interpretation for the portraits in the Hall of Famous Men, and suggests that they played a role similar to the textual histories for Francesco. As Lombardo's Preface makes clear, Francesco placed the portraits in his hall to "set up [the great men] for admiration." The frieze denoted Francesco's admiration for these men and their values. By keeping company with the heroes physically as well as mentally and by looking to them as though to a mirror, Francesco sought to approximate the *virii illustres*. By upholding himself as a contemporary reflection of Rome's heroes and of their greatness, Francesco aimed to cultivate the admiration of literate citizens and to consolidate his power by way of the ancient heroes' moral authority.

While the portraits of great men and their triumphs served as mirrors of a virtuous *active* life, the portrait of the poet was a mirror of its complement: the virtues of a *contemplative* life, a life that Petrarch encouraged Francesco to pursue when he counselled him to study the historic deeds of the great men. The representation of Petrarch in the Sala virorum illustrium emphasized Francesco's connection not only to the poet as the author of *De viris*, but also to his pursuit of the contemplative life and to his reverence for ancient texts. The site of the poet's pursuit was his *studiolo*. Petrarch is

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<sup>61</sup> For Petrarch, the pleasure of vision was circumscribed by the worthiness of what was being seen: the histories of the great men. On Petrarch's selective history see Kahn "The Figure of the Reader in Petrarch's *Secretum*," in *Petrarch*, ed. Bloom (New York: Chelsea House, 1989), 145-146. The digressions of imagination serve to help the reader better envision the heroes so as to better emulate them. These digressions are connected with vision, especially inner vision, and are considered virtuous pleasures which cement the more nebulous biographical details into the reader's mind.

shown in his study surrounded by his books, the books Francesco would inherit upon the poet's death in 1374.<sup>62</sup>

The contents of Petrarch's personal library undoubtedly were expansive. Petrarch prepared a diagrammatic inventory of his collection prior to his voyage to Rome to receive the laurel crown in 1337. This early inventory provides insight into the themes of the poet's collection, themes which continued to inform his pattern of book collection throughout his life. According to the document, Petrarch organized his book collection into four principal categories: philosophy and rhetoric, history, poetry, and theology. Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, and Boethius were the philosophers and rhetoricians represented in Petrarch's early collections. Valerius Maximus, Titus Livy, Justinus, Florus, Sallust, Seutonius, Festus, Eutropius, Macrobius, and Aulus Gellius were the historians. Virgil, Lucan, Statius, Horace, Ovid, and Juvenal were the poets. Saint Augustine was the theologian.<sup>63</sup>

The lengthy list of Roman historians, philosophers, and poets represented in Petrarch's book collection attests to his love of Roman history, heroes, and ideals, and to his proficiency in their study from early in his career.<sup>64</sup> His library grew richer during his travels prior to settling in Arquà in the 1360s. Records from the Visconti-Sforza library, into which Petrarch's collection was assumed after the fall of Francesco il Vecchio, add information to Petrarch's early list, naming as part of the collection Plato's *Timaeus*

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<sup>62</sup> While Francesco sold a number of the poet's volumes, he kept the majority of the collection for his own library. He also inherited a portrait of the Madonna and Child by Giotto of which Petrarch was particularly fond – a sign of the high esteem in which the poet held Francesco.

<sup>63</sup> De Nolhac, 1959, 42-43. He also recreates Petrarch's diagrammatic list, 293-294.

<sup>64</sup> As the principal theologian in Petrarch's collection, Saint Augustine is also a *propos*: he was the Doctor of the Church who most struggled with his love for Roman sources. See Augustine's *Confessions*.

bound with Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii et de septem Artibus liberalibus libri novem*, Homer's *Iliad* and *Ulysses*, many religious treatises by Saint Gregory, Claudianus, Saint Ambrose, and further commentaries by Saint Augustine.<sup>65</sup> Petrarch urged Francesco to study many of these texts for moral guidance, and he drew upon them repeatedly in his correspondence with the prince and in the *De viris*.<sup>66</sup>

If the books by these authors were represented in Francesco il Vecchio's collection, along with the books written by the poet himself, the Carrara library would have been very grand indeed.<sup>67</sup> The inheritance of Petrarch's books cemented the Carrara

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<sup>65</sup> De Nolhac, 1959, 103-104.

<sup>66</sup> For instance, in *Sen.* XIV.1, Petrarch refers to Cicero, Macrobius, the Apostle Paul, Suetonius, Seneca, the Book of Leviticus, the Gospel of Matthew, Saint Ambrose, Titus Livy, Flavius Vopiscus (*Historia Augusta*), Valerius Maximus, Aelius Spartianus (*Hist. Aug.*), Lucan, Eutropius, the Psalms, Aristotle, Claudianus, the Book of Proverbs, the Book of Acts, Martial, the Book of Kings, the Book of Hebrews, and the Book of Jeremiah. From this list alone, Petrarch's project to synthesize Roman and Christian values is evident. He also encourages Francesco il Vecchio to emulate his "worthy and magnanimous father" (... glorioso et magnanimo patre ...). In the same manner that Petrarch coaxed Giacomo into being a good leader, Petrarch sought to coax Francesco by teaching him the virtues of the ancient heroes and by encouraging him to follow their example in his own life. He advised the elder Francesco that to be a true *pater patriae* Francesco needed to possess in his heart an "inner spark" (*favilla interior*) of virtue that would kindle into flame when coaxed by the poet's breath (*quam flando excites et in flammam erigas*) (Petrarch, *Sen.* XIV.1, 235, 237, 239). Also cited by Richards, 2007, 45.

<sup>67</sup> What volumes Francesco's library contained remains obscure. No complete inventory for the Carrara library exists; however, the earliest inventory of the Visconti-Sforza library in 1426 provides details for a number of volumes that bear annotations or seals denoting their original possession in Petrarch's collection. From this information and from the autograph 1337 inventory, it is possible to deduce an approximation of the scope represented in the Carrara collection. Pierre de Nolhac, Elisabeth Pellegrin and M. L. Minio-Paluello have identified over fifty manuscripts once belonging to Petrarch that correspond with descriptions and titles in the 1426 inventory. See, Pierre de Nolhac, 1959, and *Petrarch and the Ancient World* (Boston: D. B. Updike, 1907); Elisabeth Pellegrin, *La Bibliothèque des Viscontis et des Sforza Ducs de Milan, au XVe Siècle* (Paris: C.N.R.S, 1955), *La Bibliothèque des Viscontis et des Sforza ducs de Milan au XVe siècle. Supplement* (Paris: C.N.R.S, 1969), and "Nouveaux manuscrits annoté par Pétrarque à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris," *Scriptorium* 5, no. 2 (1951): 265-78; and M. L. Minio-Paluello, "Il 'Fedone' latino con note autografe del Petrarca (Parigi, Bibl. Naz., Cod. Lat. 6567 a)," *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze Morali VIII*, no. IV (1949): 107-13. After his conquest of the Sforza in 1499, Louis XII of France moved many of the volumes to his library at Blois, and from there at least thirty-eight of Petrarch's manuscripts have passed into the collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF), including three copies of *De viris illustribus*. De Nolhac rediscovered twenty-seven of Petrarch's manuscripts at the BnF in 1907, M. L. Minio-Paluello added Petrarch's copy of Plato's *Phaedo* in 1949, and Pellegrin another ten in 1951. De Nolhac notes that seven others are housed at the Vatican Library, one (Petrarch's *Virgil*) is housed at the Ambrosiana library in Milan, his Horace is in the Laurentian Library in Florence, another manuscript is in the Marciana Library in Venice, one is in Padua,

library's prestige across the Veneto. It also enabled the Carrara lord's *studiolo* to become another locus for the cultivation of his image as an illustrious man and leader. Like the Sala virorum illustrium, Francesco's personal study served as a physical and conceptual space. It was a physical space in which real books were housed, books that were the sources of information on Roman history and values from which Petrarch derived his biographies of the illustrious men. It was a conceptual space in which Francesco il Vecchio's relationship with the characters in the *De viris illustribus* was mobilized. As Lombardo della Seta noted, Francesco sought to "[extend] hospitality to these *virii illustres* ... in [his] mind and soul." The books were tangible signs of his mind's hospitality. Francesco's mind became the conceptual counterpart to the physical space of the *studiolo*. The link between the physical and the conceptual spaces of the *studiolo* was, of course, Francesco il Vecchio, as the owner and principal reader of the books.

Following Petrarch's celebration of the contemplative life and embracing its role in the amelioration of self, Francesco il Vecchio integrated his self-image as a public, active leader in the tradition of the great Romans (established in the pictures in the Sala virorum illustrium) with the ideal of contemplative study for personal enlightenment (established in his *studiolo* and book collection). He actualized the latter image by building up his library and emphasized the former through its content. As Timothy Hampton has noted, the commingling of the texts as records of active deeds and their role as physical touch-stones of the contemplative life complicates any strict separation of the

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and another in Troyes in Champagne (1907, 89). This list of Petrarchan manuscripts outside of the BnF, heir to the libraries of the Kings of France, corroborates the suggestion posed by Pellegrin and de Nolhac that Louis XII was unable to remove all the volumes and that many were likely hidden and dispersed to various collections (Pellegrin, 1955, 9; and De Nolhac, 1907, 89).

*vita activa* and *vita contemplativa*.<sup>68</sup> This commingling of ideals and objects seems to have served Francesco il Vecchio's purpose well. He was celebrated during his life and remembered in his death both as a good soldier and leader (practitioner of the active life) and as a wise and studious man (upholder of the moral values associated with the contemplative life).<sup>69</sup>

When Francesco Novello regained Padua in 1390 he concentrated his artistic patronage on book collection, striving to reacquire and rebuild the Carrara library after the Visconti conquest. His focus on book collection suggests that his father's relationship with his *studiolo* and its books held similar value for the younger Francesco. In Francesco Novello's activities as a book collector he sought to continue and surpass those of his father. The books in Francesco Novello's collection in general, and the *Carrara Herbal* and other illustrated books in particular, were direct manifestations of this careful balance between competition and continuity within the dynasty's patronage. They were attributes that pointed to Francesco's role as the successor of Francesco il Vecchio. Their significance to the development Francesco Novello's self-image as the new prince of Padua depended upon the relationship between book collection, Petrarch's teaching practices, and the princely identity established by his father. Francesco Novello

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<sup>68</sup> Timothy Hampton, *Writing from History: the Rhetoric of Exemplarity in Renaissance Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 3. Petrarch himself did not practice a life of isolated contemplation. While ambivalent about his involvement in the "active" life of court politics, Petrarch served as a diplomat for Francesco il Vecchio on at least one occasion. See Scott Blanchard for an argument against Petrarch's apparent preference for the contemplative life of solitude, "Petrarch and the Genealogy of Asceticism," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 62/3 (July, 2001): 401-423.

<sup>69</sup> Vergerio expressed this view of Francesco il Vecchio in his funeral eulogy and in the orations written for Francesco Novello. Petrarch's letter to Francesco il Vecchio also upholds this view of the *signore*.

acknowledged this relationship by incorporating textual and visual references to his father's rule (and to his family's various uses of portraiture) into his personal library.

***Chapter Two: The “Illustrious Men” in Francesco Novello’s Books***

A list of fifty-seven manuscripts recorded by Francesco Zago, the official deputy of the Carrara *massaria* (the office that managed Padua’s revenues), on May 9, 1404, constitutes a partial inventory of Francesco Novello’s books (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, c. 147 Lat. XIV 93).<sup>1</sup> Each entry on Zago’s list contains the author’s name, the title of the work or a brief description of its contents, the language of the text, a description of the binding and format of the manuscript, and a record of any identifying markings such as a red star or black cross.<sup>2</sup> On the reverse of the folio, Zago registered the history of book loans prior to the seizure of Carrara effects and property by Venice’s Council of Ten in 1406.<sup>3</sup> This loan history is evidence that Francesco Novello’s collection, like that of his father, was circulated at court and could have helped disseminate his self-image.

The younger Francesco’s manuscript commissions are important, among other reasons, because they are the only surviving evidence of his patronage of art. His efforts to rebuild the Carrara library are the clear focus of his artistic patronage, and are especially illuminating for understanding the role of books in his individual and familial patronage. Francesco’s father followed Petrarch’s advice and strove to present himself as

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<sup>1</sup> For Zago’s complete list, see Appendix C. In the successive months four more volumes were registered on the list, these brought forward by priests identified only as Cristoforo and Brussano (Sergio Bettini, “Le miniature del ‘*Libro agregà de Serapion*’ nella cultura artistica del tardo Trecento,” in *Da Giotto a Mantegna*, ed. Lucio Grossato [Milan: Electra Editrice, 1974], 55; Lazzarini, 1901, 26). The inventory was part of a *consegna*, a note of consignment or delivery, acquired at the end of the eighteenth century by the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana as part of a register of letters that once belonged to Dondi dall’Orologio, a late seventeenth-century Paduan historian. For the definition of *massaro* see Kohl’s glossary, 1998, 422.

<sup>2</sup> Lazzarini, 1901, 26, and Bettini, 55.

<sup>3</sup> For example: 4<sup>th</sup> August, Milone, natural son of Francesco Novello, borrowed the “*Tesaurus pauperum*.” He returned it the 15<sup>th</sup> of the same month (Lazzarini, 1901, 26).



a new *vir illustris*. He adorned his great hall with portraits of Petrarch's Roman heroes, and claimed books and his personal *studiolo* as signs of the contemplative life that was requisite for an illustrious leader. Guided by Petrarch's teachings in the *Speculum principis* tradition, Francesco il Vecchio commissioned portraits and collected books to help connect him to the ideal of a healthy (moral) governance of Padua in the tradition of healthy (moral) governance of a Christianized Roman past.

Although Francesco Novello's evident push to reacquire and rebuild the Carrara library suggests that his father's view held sway in his conception of himself and his leadership, the thematic contents of the younger Francesco's book collection diverged dramatically from his father's. While Francesco il Vecchio primarily collected books by ancient Roman authors, Zago's inventory reveals Francesco Novello's clear preference for contemporary medical treatises and *materia medica*. The majority of the volumes, over two-thirds of the books listed, were dedicated to medicine. Next to the medical books, local histories (chronicles) and family biographies (genealogies) are the most common subject matter for books in the younger Francesco's library. The subject matters chosen for his library suggest that Francesco Novello wanted to project an image of himself as a learned man versed in the contemporary healing arts and in the study of local history rather than as a Petrarchan *vir illustris* as his father had sought to do.

Despite the general ambiguity regarding the survival and whereabouts of the Carrara manuscript inventory recorded on Francesco Zago's list, four illustrated manuscripts have been identified on account of their subject matter and markings, which correspond to Zago's descriptions.<sup>4</sup> The *Carrara Herbal*, registered by Zago as the

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<sup>4</sup> Few of the manuscripts on Zago's list have been identified with certainty because the former Carrara collection was fragmented and scattered even before the end of the Carrara dynasty. Shortly before his

“Serapiom in volgare,” is the only medical treatise firmly identified from the list. The other three identified illustrated books are representative of the secondary focus of Francesco’s collection: biographies and local histories. All four manuscripts were produced in the 1390s and contain portraits of the Carrara lords or representations of their heraldic arms (*stemmi*).<sup>5</sup>

The book recorded by Zago as the *Liber Introitus Magni. Dominj* is likely the *Gesta magnifica domus Carrariensis* (Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, Lat. X, 381 (=2802), ca. 1390), an anonymously written pro-Carrara account of the lives of the *signori*. Dedicated to Francesco Novello in the *proemio*, the *Gesta magnifica* records the family’s history in neat, formal Gothic textura (*gothica libraria*) script in sepia ink accented in red and

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capture on November 18, 1405, Francesco Novello allegedly sent his most luxurious codices to Florence for safekeeping, along with the young Carrara children, money, jewels and silverware (Lazzarini, 1901, 29, and Bettini, 55). The details and whereabouts of this family patrimony are unknown. Furthermore, in January and September of 1406, the chancellors of Padua gave many unnamed codices to the Council of Ten along with other documents from various Carrara governmental offices (Lazzarini, 1901, 27-28). Until 1787, when most of the archive was entrusted to the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, the Carrara documents were kept under lock and key in the room in which the Counsel kept its triumphs of victory, the Room of Arms. Despite the Venetian’s safeguarding, one of the Carrara’s former codices, the *Liber quidam geneologie*, the illustrated book of names described by Zago as a “libro de li nomi de li magnifici signore da Carrara,” was stolen from the *sala* in August 1481. Inventories of the Council’s treasures list this book until 1481. After that year, the book is no longer mentioned, which may attest to its theft (Lazzarini, 1901, 31).

<sup>5</sup> In total, twenty-five manuscripts believed to be from Francesco Novello’s collection have been identified. They are described and catalogued in *La miniatura a Padova dal medioevo al settecento* (Modena: Edizioni Panini, 1999), edited by Giordana Maria Canova (et. al.). Six have been identified from Zago’s list. I discuss the four illustrated manuscripts. The two unillustrated manuscripts from Zago’s list are: the *Cronica del Mussato per letra*, which is likely Albertino Mussato’s chronicle, *De traditione Padue ad Canem Grandem anno 1328 mense septembri et causis precedentibus* (Bibl. Civica di Padova, B.P. 408/I, ca. 1328), an account of the early history of communal Padua. Zago’s *Libro del chataro* is likely the *Cronaca carrarese* (Accademia Galileiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Archivio Papafava, Cod. 38, ca. 1355-1406), a chronicle of seigniorial Padua written by Galeazzo Gatari (d. 1405) and his sons Bartolomeo and Andrea, which was supported by both Francesco il Vecchio and Francesco Novello. The Carrara *stemma* and Francesco Novello’s initials (FF) appear on the lower margin of the first page of the Mussato manuscript, and a partially defaced *stemma* appears on the lower margin of the first page of the Gatari manuscript. See Canova (ed.), 1999, 158-59, and Lazzarini, 1901-02, 30. The titles of other unidentified manuscripts from Zago’s list also intimate that their contents related to the Carrara or to Paduan history. For instance, the *Libro da li inçegni*, a book of the Carrara lords’ insignia, was likely similar to the *Liber cimeriorum*, which I discuss below, and the *Libro di morti* was possibly a record of Francesco Novello’s ancestry.

organized into two columns. It includes ninety spaces for illustrations, usually at the base of the columns, only four of which were used.<sup>6</sup> The book's four narrative vignettes depict the family's active, "heroic" role in Padua from the twelfth century to 1368. In their narrative format these illustrations allude to the many fresco cycles of the saints' lives in Padua in which the Carrara are portrayed as witnesses. In the *Gesta magnifica*, however, the Carrara became the focus of the narrative action.

The *Libro de li nomi de li magnifici segnore da Carrara* on Zago's list is probably Pier Paolo Vergerio's *Liber de principibus Carrariensibus et gestis eorum* (Bibl. Civica di Padova, B.P. 158, ca. 1390), a celebratory biography of the six Carrara lords preceding Francesco il Vecchio (plus the biography of the elder Francesco's exiled grandfather Niccolò da Carrara).<sup>7</sup> The *Liber de principibus* contains large, full-length profile portraits of the lords, each isolated on its own page, executed in monochromatic grey-scale (or grisaille). These portraits share the same poses and clothing as the representations of the Carrara lords from two of the scenes in the *Gesta magnifica*, the scenes of the investiture ceremonies of Giacomo and Marsilio "il Grande" as *signori* of Padua.<sup>8</sup> These similarities suggest a common model. In all likelihood that model was the series of monumental grisaille portraits commissioned by Francesco il Vecchio and

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<sup>6</sup> The *Gesta magnifica* is bound together with an unillustrated, vernacular account of the border war with Venice, *Storia della guerra dei confine*, written by the chancellor of the Paduan court, Nicholetto d'Alessio, and an unillustrated anonymous biography of Francesco Novello, *Ystoria de Mesier Francesco Zovene*, also written in the vernacular. The codex itself is very large, approximately twenty-three inches long by seventeen inches across, and contains forty-five parchment folios. For a complete codicological description of the codex see Canova (ed.), 1999, 190-192.

<sup>7</sup> Lazzarini, 31. This is also the book believed to have been stolen in 1481 from Venice's Room of Arms.

<sup>8</sup> Canova (ed.), 1999, 191.

executed by Altichiero for the *pozuolo*, or loggia, of the family palace.<sup>9</sup> Although the fresco cycle is now lost its appearance is recorded in a sixteenth-century description of the Reggia Carrarese.

Finally, the *Liber cimeriorum dominorum de Carraria* listed on Zago's register has been identified with the book bearing the same name now housed at the Biblioteca Civica di Padova (B.P. 124, XXII, ca. 1390s). It is a small, luxury codex that contains colourful, full-page illustrations of each *signore's* personal heraldry (*cimiero*) enclosed in quatrefoil frames, which mimic the heraldry portrayed in the Reggia's Camera dei Carri and Anticamera dei Cimieri commissioned by Ubertino da Carrara in the early 1340s.<sup>10</sup> The text of the book, penned in gold script, recounts the history of the family, in verse, by means of analogy to its heraldic arms. One of the books that belonged to Francesco il Vecchio, the *Currus Carrariensis moraliter descriptus* (BnF MS lat. 6468), may have set a precedent for such use of the family's heraldry in the *Liber cimeriorum*. In Francesco il Vecchio's book, the *carro* is used metaphorically to structure an account of the family's virtues and history.<sup>11</sup> In a similar way, the verses in the *Liber cimeriorum* consider each lord's personal heraldry as a metaphor for his individual virtues.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Richards attributes the cycle to Altichiero on account of the techniques seen in the portrait copies found in Vergerio's *Liber de principibus Carrariensibus*. He notes that "[t]he design of these figures, their solidity, the way the near foot sometimes moves assertively over the fictive stone frame, the way the figures inhabit a fully realized spatial field, all recalls Altichiero" (2000, 214-15). Richards compares the portraits of Giacomo il Grande and Marsilio il Grande in the *Liber de principibus* with those in Altichiero's Funeral of Saint Lucy fresco in the Oratory of San Giorgio (Giacomo il Grande was Bonifacio Lupi's great uncle). He argues that whether or not earlier scholars' attributions of the book's miniatures to Jacopo da Verona, Altichiero's pupil, are accepted, viewers can still understand the book's portraits as copies of another lost fresco cycle by Altichiero (*ibid.*, 215).

<sup>10</sup> Canova (ed.), 1999, 151.

<sup>11</sup> Francesco il Vecchio's book includes an illustration of the *carro* labelled with the cardinal virtues. In conjunction with the text, the picture instructs the reader how to interpret the family's arms as a symbol of their virtues. The treatise was written by Francesco Caronelli, a Franciscan teacher, and was dedicated to Francesco il Vecchio in 1376. It was among the manuscripts stolen by Giangaleazzo Visconti in 1388 and

The illustrations in these histories and biographies directly refer to figural and heraldic portraits of the Carrara found in the fresco cycles and books commissioned by Francesco's forefathers and members of their courts. They thus raise questions about the role local, traditional modes of portraiture played in Francesco Novello's patronage. In this chapter, I examine the figural portraiture in the *Gesta magnifica* and the *Liber de principibus*. I argue that by translating these figural portraits into his books Francesco Novello's patronage entered into conversation with the local modes of portraiture used by his forefathers in ways that reconfigured them to forecast his own vision of self. In particular, I focus on the portraits of the Carrara in the *Gesta magnifica* and the *Liber de principibus* as responses, with different emphases, to the metaphorical portrait tradition used by Francesco il Vecchio in the Sala virorum illustrium, as discussed in chapter one.

The Sala virorum contained two different types of representation of the illustrious men. The upper register shows the Roman heroes in colourful, larger than life-sized portraits, which served as metaphorical portraits (or imagined likenesses) for Francesco il Vecchio's personal character. The lower register of the fresco cycle, or dado, which was executed in grisaille, portrays the heroes in action – that is, it shows the great deeds of the men identified in the standing portraits above. I argue that the narrative portraits of the Carrara family in the *Gesta magnifica* reinterpret the heroic deeds shown in the dado of

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is listed in the Visconti-Sforza library inventories of 1459, 1488, and 1490 (Maria-Therese Gousset, "no. 45," in Canova [ed.], 1999, 136-7).

<sup>12</sup> For instance, Ubertino's *cimiero* – the ferocious Moor with the golden-horns – is compared to the lord, who like his personal device, is watchful and prepared to defend Padua against her enemies. Fol. 16r reads: "Ternus Vbertinus patanorum carriger heroc [herorum] / Cornigerum gessit maurum trudendo seueros. / Hic tenuit gestus aule tenuit quo[que] mores. / Carrigere simul aurit honores. / Hostibus infidias animo vigilante parauit. / Quos uidetesse truculente ubiq[ue] necauit." The verses were composed by the grammarian and tutor to Francesco Novello's children, Lazzaro de' Malrotondi da Conegliano. Their contents were drawn from passages in the Gatari *Cronaca Carrarese*, which similarly use family heraldry as metaphors for its members' characters. See Canova (ed.), 1999, 151.

the Sala virorum. Using familiar and colourful visual language usually reserved for local narrative fresco cycles of the saints' lives, the scenes in the *Gesta magnifica* assume the principles of exemplarity central to the interpretation of the heroes' deeds in the Sala virorum into an account of the Carrara family history.

Conversely, the non-narrative grisaille profile portraits of the Carrara *signori* in Vergerio's *Liber de principibus* reinterpret the colourful but static portraits of the Roman heroes in the Sala virorum. In conjunction with their celebratory biographies, the portraits of the Carraresi render the Roman heroes' roles as exemplary figures into the context of the family's history in Padua. In both examples, the portraits in Francesco's books appropriate different elements of Petrarch's teachings, which focused on the emulation of characters from an imagined Roman past, and redirect them to the Paduan present and to the (imagined) role of Francesco Novello and his family in recent Paduan history.

To accomplish the "modernization" of Petrarch's rhetoric of exemplarity, the illustrations in Francesco Novello's books refer to ideas current in Paduan literary, medical, and artistic circles. In many ways these ideas complement Petrarch's teachings but, like the portraits in Francesco Novello's books, they have different emphases. The point around which the ideas converge is the practice of physiognomy, an increasingly popular medical theory that considered external bodily signs as indications of an individual's moral character and overall health. It was practiced in Carrara Padua in different ways and to different ends by physicians, artists, and historians. By integrating his forefathers' portraits into his book collection dedicated to medicine and local history (fixtures in the new Paduan rhetoric of exemplarity), Francesco enabled their figural

portraits to function as metaphorical ones that supported his role as the new leader of the dynasty.

The portraits of the Carrara in the *Gesta magnifica* respond to a trend in portraiture popular during the rule of Francesco il Vecchio in which portraits of the Carraresi and members of their court were “hidden” in monumental religious fresco cycles across Padua. The Carrara play only passive roles in the fresco cycles’ complex visual narratives that recount stories from the Bible or from the lives of the saints.<sup>13</sup> In the chapel of Pietro Bovi and his family at the Church of San Michele, portraits by Jacopo da Verona of Francesco il Vecchio, his son, and Petrarch stand alongside portraits of the Bovi family members as witnesses to the Adoration of the Magi and the Funeral of the Virgin scenes (ca. 1379, fig. 15 and 16).<sup>14</sup> Portraits by Altichiero of the elder Francesco

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<sup>13</sup> The multiple “hidden” or commemorative portraits of the Carrara and their court *famiglia* produced during Francesco il Vecchio’s tenure as *signore* have been discussed extensively by art historians. Debates about attribution and dating colour the scholarship on the fresco portraits. I draw attention to the portraits here, however, not to engage with this historiographical trend, but to establish the prominence and popularity of recognizable portraiture in narrative scenes among the elite of Padua and among the Carrara in particular. For the complete debate on the portraits’ identification see: A. Schmitt “Zur Wiederbelebung der Antike im Trecento. Petrarca’s Rom-Idee in ihrer Wirkung und die Paduaner Malerei,” *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XVII (1974): 167-218. For individual positions see A. Medin, “I ritratti autentici di Francesco il Vecchio e di Francesco Novello da Carrara ultimi principi di Padova,” *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova* II (1908), 100-104; L. Rizzoli, “Ritratti di Francesco il Vecchio e di Francesco Novello da Carrara in medaglie ed affreschi padovani nel secolo XIV,” *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova* XXV (1932): 104-114; G. Mardesteig, “I ritratti del Petrarca e dei suoi amici di Padova,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* XVII (1974): 251-280; and G. Gorini, “Iconografia monetale e cultura figurative a Padova nei secoli XIV e XV,” in *Da Giotto al Mantegna*, ed. L. Grossato (Milan: Electra Editrice, 1974), 81-89.

<sup>14</sup> The Bovi were staunch Carrara supporters who worked at the mint under both the elder and younger Francesco, creating the currency that bore the visual signs (arms and devices) of the Carrara and the medals that bore their portraits (fig. 17 and 17a). The use of Carrara portraiture in the Cappella Bovi is particularly a propos and reveals the family’s connection to the *signori* and to their work for the city. The Paduan currency produced under Francesco il Vecchio and his son sported the *carro* and the lords’ names. The cast medals given to foreign dignitaries after the re-conquest of Padua portrayed images of the faces of Francesco Novello and of his father in profile executed in the style of portraiture used by the Roman emperors on their currency, which suggests the prominent role Roman style and ideals played during the Carrara regime (fig. 17b). On the Bovi chapel and identification of portraits see Medin, 1908. The portraits are attributed to Jacopo da Verona, a student of Altichiero, ca. 1379. On Jacopo, see Rodolfo Pallucchini, *La Pittura Veneziana del Trecento* (Venezia and Roma: Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1964), especially 150-152. On the production of the Carrara mint and the cast medals, see Giovanni Gorini, 81-85,

accompanied by his son, and by Petrarch and Lombardo della Seta, also adorn the chapels of the Carrara retainers, Bonifacio and Raimondino Lupi, in the Chapel of San Giacomo (now Felice) in “Il Santo” (ca. 1377-79) and in the neighbouring Oratory of San Giorgio (ca. 1380-84), respectively (fig. 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22).<sup>15</sup>

In the Lupi Chapel, portraits of Francesco il Vecchio, hooded and bearded, and his son, heavy-set, bearded and wearing a cap, stand behind portraits of Petrarch and Lombardo della Seta and observe the Council of King Ramiro (fig. 18 and 18a). Father and son are portrayed in the Judgment of Saint Lucy scene in the Oratory of San Giorgio as well (fig. 19). Francesco il Vecchio is shown again with the poets watching the Baptism scene in the Oratory (fig. 20 and 20a), and also appears on horseback sporting his personal heraldry (golden horned moor) in the scene of Saint George’s martyrdom (fig. 21).<sup>16</sup> Portraits by Giusto de’Menabuoi of Francesco il Vecchio, his wife, Fina da Buzzacarini, and their daughters adorn Padua’s Baptistery, where Fina and Francesco were originally interred and where the citizens of Padua were baptised (ca. 1370s, fig. 23 and 24). Francesco il Vecchio, Fina, Fina’s sister Anna, and Petrarch observe the scene of

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and Francesco Cessi, “Monetazione e medaglistica dei Carraresi,” in *Da Giotto al Mantegna*, ed. L. Grossato (Milan: Electra Editrice, 1974), 86-90.

<sup>15</sup> “Il Santo,” the great pilgrimage church dedicated to Saint Anthony, is the spiritual heart of Padua and, like the Baptistery, was very much a part of everyday life in Padua under the Carrara. The fresco portraits in these areas would have been seen by a large cross-section of Paduans, from the elites to the common people. See Margaret Plant, “Portraits and Politics in Late Trecento Padua: Altichiero’s Frescoes in the San Felice Chapel, San Antonio,” *Art Bulletin* 63 (1981): 414, for identifications. Francesco il Vecchio is portrayed similarly on commemorative medals, lending validity to this identification (fig. 17b).

<sup>16</sup> Plant, 1981, n. 38. Francesco il Vecchio also may appear in the Adoration of the Magi scene in San Giorgio (fig. 22), see Daniela Bobisut and Lidia G. Salomoni for this identification (*Altichiero da Zevio: The Chapel of St. James and the Oratory of St. George*, trans. Wright [Padova: Edizioni Messaggero Padova, 2002], 67).



Christ healing the sick (fig. 23), and Fina and her daughters witness the birth of the Virgin scene (fig. 24).<sup>17</sup>

Like the fresco cycles, the illustrations in the *Gesta magnifica* are narrative. They may even compositionally relate to the cycles' scenes. However, the portraits of the Carrara in the *Gesta magnifica* differ from this local tradition. Rather than popping up in sacred stories that can only allude to their civic lives, they appear directly in narratives of the history of the family and of Padua.<sup>18</sup> The four completed illustrations in Francesco's book are narrative vignettes depicting the family's commitment to Padua, in action, and portraying the Carrara at the centre of Paduan communal history.

The Carrara portrayed in the secular scenes of the *Gesta magnifica* are showcasing their own "great deeds." For instance, the first illustration (fol. 1v) shows the earliest recorded Carrara family member, Giacomo da Carrara (d. 1240), enraged, with his sword nearly drawn, being restrained by the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II, from attacking Ezzelino da Romano, the infamous tyrant of Padua (fig. 25). The ensuing illustration on the interior column of the facing page (fol. 2r) portrays Giacomo's death at Ezzelino's hands (fig. 26). In the execution scene, the artist portrayed Giacomo surrounded by Ezzelino's armoured company and hemmed in by their spears. He lies face down upon the ground, bleeding from his wounds, with his hands tied behind his back. The executioner is poised to strike the *coup de grâce* to Giacomo's head with what

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<sup>17</sup> Norman, 1995, v.1., ch. 8, 169 and others.

<sup>18</sup> For instance, see Plant's interpretation of the Council of King Ramiro fresco on the East wall of the Chapel of San Giacomo in "Il Santo" (fig. 18 and 18a). She argues that this scene in the fresco may refer to secular events in the life of Bonifacio Lupi who served as Francesco il Vecchio's diplomat to the King of Hungary (1981, 406-25).

appears to be a sledgehammer. A Franciscan kneels at Giacomo's side and looks up at Ezzelino as he lowers a sceptre, giving the order for Giacomo's death.

Despite their different narrative emphases, the execution scene in the *Gesta magnifica* may have borrowed compositional elements from Altichiero's scene of the martyrdom of Saint George in the Oratory of San Giorgio.<sup>19</sup> Commissioned by Bonifacio Lupi on behalf of his cousin Raimondino, around 1380, the martyrdom scene contains a portrait of Francesco il Vecchio as a witness to the event (fig. 21). The execution scenes in both fresco and book feature a clerical figure who blesses the protagonist, a ring of soldiers who bear long, upright spears that direct our attention to the action at the centre of the scene, and an authority figure who points a sceptre to signal the execution. The arrangement of these compositional elements varies slightly between the manuscript and the fresco: where Giacomo lies on the ground, Saint George kneels. Saint George faces the right side of the fresco, while Giacomo is positioned to face the left side of the illustration. The priest in the fresco wears a blue robe and a stole and stands, while his counterpart in the book illustration kneels and wears the brown habit characteristic of a Franciscan. Rather than copying the scene directly, the illustrator of the *Gesta magnifica*

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<sup>19</sup> Canova (ed.), 1999, 192 and Canova, "La miniatura Padovana nel periodo Carrarese," in *Attorno a Giusto de' Menabuoi*, ed. Anna Maria Spiazzi (Treviso: Grafiche Zoppelli, 1994), 29-30. Canova proposed that the Saint George scene may have been a pictorial source for the *Gesta magnifica* execution scene on account of the figure of the Franciscan who blesses Giacomo in the illustration. The textual account of the execution in the *Gesta magnifica* makes no mention of such a figure, but a figure in long clerical robes stands over Saint George and blesses him in Altichiero's fresco. The figure in the Saint George scene wears a white stole with yellow stripes over a long, green-blue robe, differentiating him from the majority of figures in the scene who wear soldier's uniforms. He leans over Saint George in the act of benediction. The figure in the *Gesta magnifica* scene, however, is clearly a Franciscan and wears the long, hooded brown robe. He kneels at Giacomo's side with his hand raised in blessing.

seems to have selected elements from Altichiero's narrative scene in order to lend a recognizable aura of martyrdom to Giacomo's execution.<sup>20</sup>

The subsequent scene in the *Gesta magnifica* at the base of the neighbouring exterior column shows the investiture ceremony of Giacomo "il Grande" da Carrara (r. 1318-19), the first elected lord of Padua, who shared the name of his ancestor who (allegedly) was martyred for Padua's freedom.<sup>21</sup> The anonymous illustrator portrayed Giacomo il Grande elegantly dressed in an ermine-lined blue cloak, standing in profile at the head of a crowded assembly of elite Paduans and the communal Council of Anziani, or ancients, in the Palazzo della Ragione (fig. 27). The images of the two Giacomos can be seen as pendants within the *Gesta magnifica* – the sacrifice of the first Giacomo at the hands of Padua's enemy provided evidence of the Carrara family's dedication to the commune, a history of dedication that would support Giacomo il Grande's election and the successive rule of his family in later generations.

The final illustration shows the election in 1337 of Marsilio "il Grande" as *signore*. In form and content, it almost directly replicates the scene of his predecessor's

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<sup>20</sup> Canova (ed.), 1999, 191.

<sup>21</sup> Giacomo il Grande was elected by the city council (*maggior consiglio*) made up of elders (*Anziani*) to protect the city from the ambitions of Cangrande della Scala, lord of Verona (1291-1329), for control of Padua. The council granted Giacomo wide-ranging power over the city, its government, and its military in the hope that he would be able to preserve the Commune's independence and unite its people. The events that unfolded were not as the council had planned. By the summer of 1319, Cangrande had gained control of the southern Padovano and its strongholds (Monselice, Montagnana and Este), and was moving in on Padua. Eighteen months after his election, Giacomo il Grande ceded power to Frederick of Habsburg, the Duke of Austria, King of Germany, and claimant to the Holy Roman Empire. Giacomo placed the city and the Padovano (the larger Paduan territories surrounding the city) under Frederick's protection in an effort to stall the Scaligieri expansion into Paduan territories (Kohl, 1998, 38-43). By the end of the year, Frederick had accepted Padua into his empire, appointed Ulrich von Walsee as Padua's imperial vicar, and sent Ulrich to negotiate peace with the Della Scala.

election, but it is better preserved (fig. 28).<sup>22</sup> In both investiture scenes, the Carrara lord is shown in profile. He stands on a dais in front of an ornate throne and receives the banner of the commune – a white flag with a red cross – from the *podestà*, who stands slightly below him. Trumpets hung with banners emblazoned with the *carro* stretch out above the congregation while well-dressed onlookers clap and cheer to express their support. The portrayal of Marsilio's supporters is reminiscent of Galeazzo Gatari's description of the reception Marsilio allegedly received when he reclaimed Padua from the Scaligieri.

According to the *Cronaca Carrarese* (c.1355-1406), the Paduan people cheered Marsilio in the streets crying: "Live the house of Carrara!" (Viva la cha' da Charara!).<sup>23</sup> The visual continuity of the two investiture scenes suggests the political continuity of the *signoria*.

The portraits of Giacomo and Marsilio in the *Gesta magnifica* show the lords actively involved in an historic moment significant to the Carrara seignory. Their likenesses, however, reflect another visual source, a non-narrative source in which the Carrara lords are portrayed in the tradition of exemplary men. Although the lords are

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<sup>22</sup> For eight years after Giacomo il Grande stepped down, Padua remained under control of Frederick's increasingly unpopular local overseers, the German vicars. Allegedly in response to the brutality of German governance, Marsilio "il Grande" da Carrara (r. 1328-38, independently 1337-38), Giacomo il Grande's nephew and nominal heir, allied the Carrara house with their former rivals, the Scaligieri. He completed the betrothal between Taddea da Carrara and Mastino II della Scala proposed by his uncle, and in 1328, he helped Cangrande to overthrow the Germans. In return for Marsilio's aid, Cangrande named Marsilio his vicar in Padua, a role he maintained for nine years. By 1337 Cangrande was long dead and his nephews Mastino and Alberto, who jointly ruled Cangrande's empire, were becoming too heavily involved in Paduan affairs for Marsilio's taste. So, Marsilio betrayed the Scaligieri and sought lordship of Padua for himself. He allied with Venice and Florence (enemies of the Scaligieri) to overturn the Scaliger empire and reclaimed Padua on August 3, 1337, with the help of Florence and Venice. Marsilio was officially elected the second Carrara lord of Padua on August 6, 1337. By March the following year, however, Marsilio was dead without a legitimate heir. In a choice supposedly supported by the Paduan people and the city's then-ally, Venice, Marsilio named Ubertino as his successor. See Kohl, 1998, 68-71.

<sup>23</sup> Gatari, 9v, p. 21. Trans. Symes, xxvi. When Galeazzo died in 1405 his sons carried on their father's chronicle, adding to and embellishing the history Galeazzo began. The editions of the *Cronaca* published by Medin and Tolomei are as follows: *Cronaca* by Galeazzo and Bartolomeo, BnF, Paris, MS It. 262, written in Bartolomeo's hand and compared to an edition by Andrea, Biblioteca Civica di Padova MS 1490. Unless otherwise noted, the translation cited is by David Symes, 1830.

pictured in colour in the *Gesta magnifica*, their profile portraits replicate the grisaille portraits of the lords commissioned by Francesco il Vecchio for the exterior loggia of the Reggia, portraits also recorded in the illustrations of Vergerio's *Liber de principibus Carrariensibus et gestis eorum*.<sup>24</sup>

These monumental portraits of Francesco il Vecchio's ancestors once "stood" in the *pozuolo*, and guarded the entrance to his hall of state, the Sala virorum illustrium. They provided a contemporary lens through which the fourteenth-century viewer could have interpreted the fresco cycle inside. With the Carrara lords' portraits fresh in the viewers' minds, the iconography of the *virii illustres* on the interior could be juxtaposed mentally with the bodies of the Carrara lords. The heroes of the past were thus compared with the rulers of the present. The use of grisaille in the Sala virorum's dado, which portrays the triumphs and great deeds of the accompanying *virii illustres* shown above it, provided visual continuity that connected the interior and exterior fresco cycles. Furthermore, it tied the interpretation of the grisaille portraits outside to representations of exemplary deeds of illustrious men inside.

As a visual prelude to the Sala virorum, the *pozuolo*'s grisaille portraits demonstrate the relationship between modern rulers and ancient heroes that Petrarch set out to cultivate in the reader of *De viris illustribus*. The palace itself was the visible, architectural body associated with the Carrara dynasty and their rule. The exterior depicted the face of the dynasty in portrait images of Francesco's ancestors, while the

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<sup>24</sup> Canova (ed.), 1999, 191. In his *Notizia d'opere del disegno* (1530), the "Anonimo," Marcantonio Michiel, described the entrance loggia of the Reggia Carrarese. He wrote: "Il pozulo da driedo, ove sono li Signori de Padoa ritratti al naturale de verde" ("The loggia to the right [of the Sala dei Giganti] where the Signori of Padua are portrayed life-size in grisaille"). Michiel, *Der Anonimo Morelliano (Marcantonio Michiel's Notizia d'opere del disegno)*, ed. Theodor von Frimmel (Wien: Graeser, 1888), 34. My translation. Original also cited by Gasparotto, 1966-7, 107, and n. 124, Richards, 2007, 63, and, in a slightly different translation, by Norman, 1995, v. 1, ch. 8, 164, n. 28.

interior portrayed the heroes whose inner qualities Petrarch longed to see epitomized in contemporary rulers. The fresco cycles together formed a visible *Speculum principis* waiting to be activated by the viewer. Seen one after the other, the two cycles visually recreated the exemplary relationship between Roman history's great men and the Carrara princes that Petrarch encouraged in his letter to Francesco il Vecchio and in the preface to *De viris illustribus*. In the heart of the city, the palace's fresco cycles related the internal, invisible qualities of Rome's heroes to the external, tangible bodies of the Carrara. The connection between the illustrious men of ancient Rome and those of Trecento Padua was orchestrated by the viewer as he or she walked from the exterior to the interior of the Palace.<sup>25</sup>

In the *Gesta magnifica*, the lords are portrayed in the same position and clothing as their representations on the *pozuolo*: they are shown in profile with solemn and dignified faces, upright bearing, and dressed in the contemporary fashion befitting their signiorial status. The pronounced folds of the lords' robes, which buckle as they reach for the flag of the commune, the style of caps they wear, and the flag itself that unfolds in an improbable interior breeze are also consistent with the representations of the lords on the *pozuolo* as shown in the *Liber de principibus* illustrations (see fig. 29 and 30). The translation of the lords' portraits from fresco to book illustration in the *Gesta magnifica* suggests a negotiation and commingling of local narrative and non-narrative portrait traditions. The appearance of the lords' portraits from the *pozuolo* in the narrative scenes of *Gesta magnifica* may have served to activate their "hero" portraits with their "great

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<sup>25</sup> My interpretation of viewer perception and the development of meaning through bodily motion is indebted to Geraldine A. Johnson's article "Activating the Effigy: Donatello's Pecci Tomb in Siena Cathedral," *Art Bulletin* 77, no. 3 (Sept.) (1995): 445-459.

deeds” as recorded in Francesco’s book. By bringing together the portraits of the lords from the loggia with visual and textual accounts of the historic actions of the Carrara, the portraits in the *Gesta magnifica* moved away from a specifically Petrarchan ideal of exemplarity, focused on the distant past, and toward a new ideal focused on the recent history of the Carrara.

A different reconfiguration of Petrarch’s teachings is visible in the translation of the loggia portraits into Vergerio’s *Liber de principibus Carrariensibus*. Full-page illuminations of the Carrara lords begin each of their respective biographies in the book.<sup>26</sup> Each lord has identifiable facial features, wears the long robe associated with scholars, merchants, and jurists, and stands dignified and upright in profile. Each lord is shown with his personal arms above his head accented in red, white, and black, and (with the exception of Niccolò da Carrara) is shown carrying the rod and the red and white banner of the commune.<sup>27</sup> Portrayed on the folios immediately preceding the written accounts of their histories, the portraits in Vergerio’s *Liber de principibus* pointedly demonstrate the

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<sup>26</sup> The original Trecento portraits in the book follow the chronology of the family and include Giacomo “il Grande” da Carrara (r. 1318-20, fig. 29), Marsilio “il Grande” (r. 1328-38, fig. 30), Ubertino (r. 1338-45, fig. 31), Niccolò (fig. 32), and Giacomo II (r. 1345-50, fig. 33). In fresco, only five were portrayed – the five that preceded Francesco il Vecchio, with one exception. Rather than portraying the legitimate fourth lord of Padua, Marsiglietto Papafava, the frescoes showed Niccolò da Carrara, father of Giacomo II and Giacomino. Niccolò was exiled from Padua by Ubertino and Marsilio “il Grande” when he betrayed the family and joined forces with the Della Scala. In the *Liber de principibus*, he is not represented as the lord of Padua, but rather with his hands bound (fig. 32), suggesting perhaps that Niccolò was prevented from taking his rightful place as lord of Padua. While he does not hold the banner of the commune, the white flag with a red cross, Niccolò’s bound hands carry the sceptre or rod, a marker of power carried by all the other lords, which further suggests the legitimacy of the leadership he was denied. Notably, the other portraits excluded from the frescoes include the elder and younger Francesco (fig. 34 and 35), Giacomino (Giacomo II’s brother and co-ruler of Padua with Francesco il Vecchio from 1350-55, fig. 36), and Marsiglietto Papafava (fig. 37). Their portraits in the *Liber de principibus* are Quattrocento additions.

<sup>27</sup> The portraits of Francesco il Vecchio and Francesco Novello, added during the Quattrocento, are shown carrying flags that bear their personal mottos, rather than the banner of the commune.

associations the viewer was meant to infer from Francesco il Vecchio's juxtaposition of *virii illustres* and the Carrara portraits at the Reggia.

Vergerio's treatise was written in the tradition of Petrarch's *De viris illustribus*, and like Petrarch, he believed that the study of history illustrated the precepts of moral philosophy. For his biography of the Carrara lords, however, Vergerio emphasized general moral principles from specific episodes of the family's history in order to promote good leadership and to shape the civic values of his ideal reader – the next generation of Carrara princes. The *Liber de principibus* became a new type of *Speculum principis*, invoking its Petrarchan predecessor in form, but using the historic “heroic deeds” of the Carrara to ennoble the family and to guide its future leaders.

The non-narrative portraits of the Carrara *signori* in Vergerio's book offer an updated, Paduan alternative to Petrarch's Roman ideal of the exemplary hero – the ideal portrayed in the Sala virorum illustrium. Drawing on contemporary ideas about the body and morality from diverse communities of scholars, physicians, and artists in Padua, the portraits relocate the heroic ideal to present-day Padua, its ruling family, and to Francesco Novello himself. In contemporary medical, philosophical, and literary treatises, non-narrative figural portraiture was connected with the science of physiognomy and with physical and moral health. This literature provides clues that help us to better understand the new direction for the Petrarchan ideal hero taken in the portraits of Vergerio's book.

Common to the study of medicine at universities from the 1290s onward, physiognomy played an increasingly visible role in the work of humanists and artists in



court settings during the fourteenth century.<sup>28</sup> It was foundational not only to the theory and practice of medicine, but also to the *Speculum principis* literary tradition practiced by Petrarch and his fellow humanists, and to artists practicing in Padua who incorporated into their portraits physical characteristics based on physiognomic associations to convey moral messages. In his *Speculum phisionomie* (1465), the Paduan-trained court physician to Borso d'Este, Michele Savonarola (1385-1466), defined physiognomy as a medical science that uses the visible, external bodily signs to perceive and understand the invisible, internal human psyche.<sup>29</sup> His definition of physiognomy and its role in the preservation of health was typical of practicing doctors and theorists during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, especially physicians practicing at court.<sup>30</sup> It closely follows

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<sup>28</sup> The 1405 statutes from the University of Bologna are the earliest documents to mention the official use of physiognomy in the medical curriculum. They show that by then physiognomy played an especially strong role in the studies of first-year medical students (Joseph Ziegler, "Philosophers and Physicians on the Scientific Validity of Latin Physiognomy, 1200-1500," *Early Science & Medicine* 12, no. 3 [2007]: 292). Knowledge of this science was central to the medical practice of a physician because he considered visible bodily characteristics as clues that helped to determine his patient's temperament (the primary humour in his body, also known as his elemental complexion) and its imbalances, which cause illness. The patient's temperament influenced both body and mind and was the starting point for determining the best path to health maintenance and disease cures.

<sup>29</sup> Michele wrote "... phisionomia est scientia ad naturales anime passiones cognoscens principaliter inuenta corporisque accidentia quibus habituum est. Unde mutua in utrisque permutatio contingit" (*Speculum phisionomie*, fol. 1v, BnF, Paris, MS Lat. 7357). Original manuscript cited by Ziegler, 305, n. 61. On physiognomy in late medieval medical and humanist discourse see Graziella Federici Vescovini, "L' 'individuale' nella medicina tra Medioevo e Umanesimo: la fisiognomica di Michele Savonarola," in *Umanesimo e medicina: Il problema dell' "individuale,"* eds. Roberto Cardini and Mariangela Regoliosi, *Humanistica* 17, Strumenti 3 (Rome: Bulzoni, 1996), 63-87, and idem, "La Medicina Astrologica dello *Speculum phisionomie* di Michele Savonarola," *Kéiron* 8 (2001): 152-61. Currently, there is no printed edition of Michele's *Speculum Phisionomie*.

<sup>30</sup> In his preface, Michele dedicated the treatise to Leonello d'Este and explained the relevance of its information to the marquis and his court. Michele noted that his work would help Leonello to understand the secret hearts of men and their characters, the temperaments and the diseases to which they are prone, the marvelous secrets of nature, and the proportions of the human body. With this knowledge, according to Michele, Leonello could teach his children and better choose his associates and advisors at court. See Anne Denieul-Cormier, "La Très Ancienne Physiognomonie et Michel Savonarole," *La Biologie Médicale* XLV [1956]: 67.

that of Pietro d'Abano (1257- ca. 1315), Padua's most recognized medical son and teacher at the University of Padua, as described in his *Compilatio physionomiae* (1295).

Pietro's ideas about physiognomy were wide-reaching and long-lasting. They were disseminated at the university through his teaching, and expensive illuminated editions of his Latin translation and commentary on Aristotle's *Problemata* were found in aristocratic libraries, suggesting the currency of his ideas in court culture as well.<sup>31</sup> In his commentary on the *Problemata*, completed while Pietro was at the University of Padua in 1310, the physician advanced a theory of portraiture founded on the practice of physiognomy.<sup>32</sup> Pietro's comments are the first of a long line of accounts on the relationship between the art of portraiture and physiognomy that developed during the Renaissance.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Also known as *Commentarius in Problemata Aristotelis* or *Expositio problematum Aristotelis*. A copy illustrated by Pietro da Pavia is listed in the 1426 inventory of the Visconti-Sforza library (Paris, BnF, MS Lat 6541). The treatise bears the Visconti arms on the flyleaf, but was originally commissioned by Pasquino Capelli, Giangaleazzo Visconti's ("traitorous") chancellor. See Kay Sutton, "Giangaleazzo Visconti as Patron: A Prayer Book Illuminated by Pietro da Pavia," *Apollo* 137 (February 1993): 90.

<sup>32</sup> J. Thomann, "Pietro d'Abano on Giotto," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991): 240-241. Pietro noted the date of completion in the colophon (*ibid.*, 240).

<sup>33</sup> J. Ziegler, 302. Such theories are much more prevalent in the Quattrocento. See Cennino Cennini (*Il libro dell'Arte*) and Leon Battista Alberti (*Della pittura*) as principal early examples. Cennino described painting as an art "for which it is necessary to have fantasy and skill of hand, to find things not seen, hiding in the shadow of natural ones, and to fix (or trace) them with the hand, thus demonstrating that that which is not, is"—which seems an apt description for Pietro's understanding of physiognomy and its revelations about character and health (Cennini, *The Craftman's Handbook 'Il Libro Dell'arte'*, ed. and trans. by D. Thompson [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960], 1). For a discussion of Cennino's comment and Giotto's frescoes see Mary Pardo, "Giotto and the 'Things Not Seen, Hidden in the Shadow of Natural Ones,'" *Artibus et Historiae* 18, no. 36 (1997): 41-53. Alberti's advice to painters is also similar to Pietro's theory and advocates the role of physiognomy in conveying a sense of character. Alberti recommended many visual strategies to help painters convey the characters of their figures, which included not only facial features but posture and gestures as well. See *On Painting (Della pittura)*, trans. J. Spencer (New Haven: Yale UP, 1956), 77, 81-85. On the perpetuation of physiognomy in later Renaissance art, see Piers D. G. Britton, "The Signs of Faces: Leonardo on Physiognomic Science and the 'Four Universal States of Man'," *Renaissance Studies* 16, no.2 (2002): 143-62. Joseph Manca also cites passages from later treatises by Antonio Filarete (1460s) and Bartolomeo Fazio (1456) that demonstrate the trend in portraiture to articulate morality and character with stance and facial expression ("Moral Stance in Italian Renaissance Art: Images, Text, and Meaning," *Artibus et Historiae* 22, no. 44 [2001]:54).

Near the end of Aristotle's *Problemata*, in Book XXXVI, 1 §3, Pietro addressed the problem "Why do [men] make images of the face?"<sup>34</sup> According to Aristotle, there are two answers to the question. Men make images of the face "[e]ither because this (i.e. the face) shows what *kind of people* they are, or because these images allow us *to recognize them best*" (Utrum quia hec ostendit quales quidam sunt aut quia his maxime cognoscuntur).<sup>35</sup> Glossing Aristotle, Pietro wrote that men make images of the face because it is through facial features that "the kind of *constitutional arrangement* of that person [is represented]," and it is through an understanding of the person's constitutional arrangement that we can best recognize the person portrayed were we to see him in the flesh.<sup>36</sup> Pietro expanded upon why the face is the best reflection of a person's constitution. He wrote:

... [Aristotle says] that one makes the image of the face for the reason that through this it happens more easily that the individual depicted is recognized because (the face) is most articulated and well defined, through which *characteristic difference* is perceived and regarded as familiar and disclosed ... That someone can be truly recognized through a well marked image [of his face] for what *kind of man* he is not only insofar as the body but also the soul, is shown by the story in the physiognomy in the Book *De regimine principum*, written for Alexander by Aristotle about the figure of Hippocrates on a parchment and shown to Philemon, the great Physiognomist.

(... dicens ideo facere faciei imaginem, quia per ipsam magis contingit cognosci eum cuius est, cum ea sit dearticulata et distincta potissime, quo percipitur differentia, distincta et conspicitur ut assueta et delecta ... Quod autem quis imagines qualis sit recte cognoscatur expressa non solum quantum ad ea que corporis, verum etiam anime monstratur ex historia physionomie libri 'de

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<sup>34</sup> Pietro d'Abano, *Expositio problematum Aristotelis*, trans. J. Thomann, "Pietro d'Abano on Giotto," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991): 242-43. See Appendix D for the complete passage.

<sup>35</sup> Pietro d'Abano, 241. My emphasis.

<sup>36</sup> "...causam esse quia per imagines faciei representatur qualis fuerit dispositio ipsius cuius est imago, et maxime cum fuerit depicta pictore sciente per omnia assimilare ... ut ea deveniamus in cognitionem illius ita ...." (ibid.).

regimine principum' Alexandro ab Aristotele conscripti, de figura Hippocratis in pergameno depicta et Philomoni ingenti physionomo monstrata.)<sup>37</sup>

Pietro's example of an artist capable of creating such a portrait of a face, a portrait that he calls a "likeness in all respects," was not an artist like Apelles or Zeuxis drawn from Pliny's history or other ancient Roman accounts. Pietro named a painter currently practicing in Padua: Giotto (Zotus).

For Pietro, Giotto created portraits that enabled the viewer to not only identify the sitter but to determine the "kind of man" portrayed. Representation of the body, especially the face, for Pietro as for Aristotle, showed a person's individual "constitution," which disclosed the "characteristic differences" between people. The "constitution" to which Pietro refers is the primary humour (temperament or complexion) that, according to physiognomy, governs each individual and contributes to his or her distinguishing physical characteristics. Both physical and moral qualities were considered part of an analysis of an individual's constitution.<sup>38</sup> So, for Pietro, when Giotto created a

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid. My emphasis. Pietro's example of such a physiognomer comes from the *Secretum secretorum* tradition. Aristotle's character "Philomon," allegedly the first physiognomer, was able to determine Hippocrates' inner qualities simply by examining a portrait of him. Thomann notes that Pietro misremembered the story here, which he had recalled correctly in his earlier treatise, the *Compilatio phisionomie*, I, 2, 1, when referencing Cicero's *Tusculanae disputationes*, iv, 37, 80. Rather than referring to Hippocrates, the original anecdote refers to the physiognomer Zopyros who read Socrates' character from a portrait. Thomann notes that in later exegeses on the story, Socrates became confused with Hippocrates on account of the similarity between their names in Arabic (241, n.10). Thomann also notes that Pliny recounted a story of a physiognomer (metaposcopos) who was able to determine the length of a man's life by examining a portrait painted by Apelles in *Historia Naturalis* XXXV, 88 (241, n. 22).

<sup>38</sup> According to Galenic medicine, each individual is born with a unique temperament that is influenced and fixed by the astrological signs and planets under which he or she is born. Each constitution is a combination of the four humoral complexions (choleric, melancholic, sanguine, and phlegmatic), and the dominant humour in the mix determines the category of temperament into which the individual is grouped. Each of the four complexions has a corresponding bodily fluid, quality (i.e. hot, dry, moist, cold), element, season, and planetary and astrological complement. Each also has behavioural tendencies – predispositions toward good and bad personal qualities – associated with it. The relationship between the "constitutional arrangement" and the state of the patient's soul was central to Pietro's theory of medicine, since the soul was an important and necessary part of a man's *dispositio*, the whole of which determined his health. This theory was also central to Pietro's successors, the court physicians, and especially to Michele Savonarola. In Pietro's treatise on the subject, *Compilatio physionomiae* (1295), and in Michele's, *Speculum*

portrait of a man, he not only portrayed his physical character but his moral character as well. Giotto's portrait was at once a figural portrait (a recognizable likeness) and a metaphorical portrait (an imagined likeness) of the sitter.

Giotto's portraits of the Virtues and Vices for the dado of the Scrovegni (Arena) Chapel provide an example of his skill at depicting one's true "dispositio" in a portrait. These portraits are the most famous precedents for the personification of immaterial personal qualities, and Giotto would have been painting them while Pietro was teaching at the University of Padua. Although there is no direct record of collaboration between Giotto and Pietro on the dado frescoes, there are records of their collaboration on the later monumental fresco cycle for the Palazzo della Ragione, the town hall of Padua. Evidence for their collaboration on this fresco cycle allows for the possibility that Giotto may have known of Pietro's theories about physiognomy and used them intentionally to create an iconography of good and evil in his earlier personifications.<sup>39</sup>

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*phisionomie* (1446), the authors demonstrate how the physiognomic associations drawn from the appearance of a patient's body and symptoms could be used to treat individual health concerns.

<sup>39</sup> Two contemporary sources record the collaboration between Giotto and Pietro in the creation of the fresco cycle for the upper walls of the Palazzo della Ragione during the communal era, ca. 1309-13. Firstly, Paduan chronicler Giovanni da Nono recorded Giotto's involvement in the earliest account of the creation of the fresco cycle in his chronicle of the city under communal rule, *Visio Egidii Regis Patavie*, ca. 1320 ("Visio Egidii Regis Patavie," ed. Giovanni Fabris, *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova*, 10-11 [1934-39]: 20. Also cited by Eva Frojmovic, "Giotto's Allegories of Justice and the Commune in the Palazzo della Ragione in Padua: A Reconstruction," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 59 [1996]: 27, and others). Secondly, in his *Libellus de Magnificis Ornamentis Regie* (1446), Michele Savonarola noted the involvement of Pietro in the creation of the iconography for the monumental fresco frieze (Savonarola, *Libellus*, 47-48. Also cited by Thomann, 239, and others). Michele also noted the uniqueness of the cycle: its creation was a direct result of the ideas in circulation in Padua. Its magnificence was the direct result of Giotto's invention and his ability to reveal man's true *dispositio*. Coinciding chronologically with the completion of Pietro's translation of Aristotle's *Problemata*, the cycle translated into images the astrological dimension of Pietro's theory of medicine and its relationship to the physical signs of the body and character as expressed in his *Conciliator differentiarum philosophorum et praecipue medicorum* (ca. 1300-1307) and in his *Compilatio physiognomiae* of 1295. By incorporating personal character and astrology into his view of medicine, Pietro connected morality, ethics, and the cultivation of self with health and with the doctor's role in treating disease. See Alfonso Ingegno, "Natural philosophy: The New Philosophy of Nature," in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, eds. Charles B. Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, Eckhard Kessler and Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988): 231-232. On the

Looking at Giotto's depictions of the Virtues and Vices, it is immediately apparent that the artist used exaggerated body types, or physiognomic caricatures, to suggest specific character traits.<sup>40</sup> Perhaps in accord with Pietro's commentary on Aristotle, the personifications' facial features are often their most vividly portrayed physical attributes. For instance, in his portrait of Envy, which is the most pronounced example in the dado of the use of physiognomic caricature to articulate a moral message, Giotto stretched the ears of the figure to grotesque proportions (fig. 38). He may have done so to emphasize that those afflicted with envy listen closely to the whispers of the devil, encouraging their sin. Furthermore, Envy's tongue has transformed into a snake, which not only suggests her corrupted speech but extends from her mouth to circle back and blind her. Demonic horns escape from beneath Envy's headscarf and curve downward toward the back of the figure's head, digging into the flesh behind her ears. The grotesque or exaggerated features realized by Giotto show the viewer how envy consumes its victims from the inside, even as the fires of hell will leap up to consume them from the outside.

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iconography of the frescoes see Diana Norman, "'The glorious deeds of the Commune': civic patronage of art," Chapter 7 and "Astrology, Antiquity and Empiricism: Art and Learning," Chapter 10, in *Siena, Florence and Padua: Art, Society and Religion 1280-1400*, v. I: Interpretative Essays, ed. D. Norman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 141, and 197-216, respectively. Also, Antonio Barzon, *I cieli e la loro influenza negli affreschi del Salone in Padova* (Padua: Tip. Seminario, 1924), P. Castellini, "Architettura e decorazione nel Palazzo della Ragione di Padova," *Scienza e storia* IX (1993): 89-97 and 53, and the essays by Carlo G. Mor, Lucio Grossato, and Nicola Ivanoff Barzon in *Il Palazzo della Ragione di Padova*, ed. Mor (Venezia: Neri Pozza Editore, 1964), 1-20, 47-69, and 71-84 respectively, with relevant bibliographies.

<sup>40</sup> Running along the north and south sides of the Scrovegni chapel at eye level, Giotto's dado portrays the Vices on south side of the chapel (the side beneath Hell in the Last Judgment on the west wall) and the Virtues on the north (the side beneath Heaven, Christ's right side). The vices, reading from west to east, are Despair, Envy, Idolatry, Injustice, Anger, Inconstancy, and Folly. The corresponding virtues are Hope, Charity, Faith, Justice, Temperance, Fortitude, and Prudence.

Giotto's personifications were very successful at conveying the impression of their corresponding moral characteristics. Shortly after Giotto painted the personifications in the Scrovegni Chapel, Francesco da Barberino (1264-1348), the Tuscan lawyer and author of the *Documenti d'amore*, singled out the portrait of Envy for praise.<sup>41</sup> Also, Michele Savonarola, Pietro d'Abano's self-proclaimed student and successor, appears to have studied and described Giotto's personifications for his much later medical treatise on physiognomic associations (1465).<sup>42</sup> Giotto's personifications and their reception demonstrate the currency in Padua of the idea of physiognomic correspondences with moral qualities. The notion that the portrayal of the physical body could be used to convey a moral message, furthermore, was a precedent Giotto clearly established in the visual arts of Padua.<sup>43</sup> Giotto's appeal to physiognomy in the Scrovegni Chapel

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<sup>41</sup> A recent paper presented by Shelley MacLaren discussed the potential significance of the Envy figure to Francesco's sense of himself as an author ("Giotto's Envy and Francesco da Barberino's Renown: Naturalism, Personification, and Artistic Innovation" [paper presented at the annual meeting of the College Art Association, Chicago, Illinois, 10-13 February, 2010]).

<sup>42</sup> In Michele's *Speculum phisionomie* (1465), a treatise styled after Pietro's *Compilatio physiognomiae* (1295), Michele described a number of physical correspondences between character and body that were visualized by Giotto in his dado. For instance, Michele described a correspondence between long and narrow ears and people afflicted with envy (Michele, 91, per Denieul-Cormier's diagrammatic transcription of Michele's physiognomic associations). Other examples include the small ears of Folly (fig. 39), which Michele associated with silliness of character, and the long face and pointed chin of Injustice (fig. 40), which he associated with violence, impudence, and agitation (ibid., 91 and 93). The correspondences are more obvious in the Vices' facial features, but Michele's descriptions of virtuous character traits also suggest that he may have looked to Giotto's portraits of the Virtues for inspiration. Prudence (fig. 41) and Fortitude (fig. 42), for instance, both have deep-seated eyes, a pronounced brow, and a fleshy neck. Michele described these physical traits as indications of wise decision-making, strength of character, and magnanimity (86, 88, and 95). Temperance (fig. 43) is portrayed with small, soft eyes, which Michele describes as reflections of a gentle and eloquent spirit (86).

<sup>43</sup> Later in the century, Giusto de'Menabuoi would also depict personifications of the virtues and vices in grisaille in a side chapel of the Eremitani for a member of the Carrara court, the jurist Tebaldo de'Cortellieri. Although the cycle was destroyed in 1610, Marcantonio Michiel described the chapel in his *Notizia d'Opere del Disegno* (1530). Michiel noted that the virtues and vices mirrored one another across the central space of the chapel, much as they do in the Scrovegni Chapel. In Cortellieri's chapel, a smaller, more personal commemorative space than the Scrovegni chapel, the grisaille personifications were juxtaposed with portraits of exemplary Augustinians. Together with these portraits, the personifications of the virtues would have been perceived as even stronger exemplars, and the vices, in contrast to the monks' lives of good works, even greater negative exemplars.

personifications, to portray specific characteristics as guides to living a Christian life, parallels the popular use of corporeal metaphors in the tradition of the *Speculum principis* practiced by humanists at the Carrara court in the second half of the century.

The use of corporeal metaphor, the metaphor of the prince's body as a visual indication of his virtues, served as a philosophical buttress for the arguments Petrarch presented in his letter to Francesco il Vecchio and in his preface to *De viris illustribus*, and in similar documents penned by his followers.<sup>44</sup> These humanist authors used corporeal metaphors and the terminology of a healthy, noble body to describe the invisible moral qualities (the psyche, or soul) of the prince. For them, a healthy physical body was a visual indicator of a healthy moral body. They incorporated literary portraits of princes' fit and strong bodies into their narratives to illustrate the princes' morality and its role in preserving the moral health of their citizens.<sup>45</sup>

In his letter to Francesco il Vecchio, Petrarch used allusions to bodily sickness and health to convey his message about the importance of a prince's morality to his ability to govern justly. Petrarch cast the *signore* as the head of the civic body who must rule in the interest of this body's welfare. He likened the citizens of Padua to "the limbs

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<sup>44</sup> For instance, physiognomy is central to Michele Savonarola's *Del felice progresso di Borso d'Este*, Pier Paolo Vergerio's *Liber de principibus Carrariensibus*, and fellow court humanist Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna's *De dilectione regnantium* (On the Proper Love Due Princes, 5 September 1399). *De dilectione* is a moral treatise in letter form addressed to Giovanni's friend Paolo Leone, counsellor to Francesco Novello, in which Giovanni mirrors ideals expressed in Petrarch's letter to the elder Francesco but in relation to Francesco Novello's government. On the identity of Giovanni's addressee see, T. Pesenti Marangon, "Michele Savonarola a Padova: L'ambiente, Le Opere, La Cultura," *Quaderni per la storia dell'Universita di Padova* 9-10 (1976-77): 50-52.

<sup>45</sup> The fourteenth-century humanists drew their use of corporeal metaphor from Seneca's first-century *De clementia* (On Mercy), in which the Roman philosopher described the relationship between the emperor and his state using visceral corporeal imagery. As a product of Imperial Rome, Seneca recast the Republican virtues (most ardently articulated in Cicero's *De officiis*) as virtues of the Imperial Prince: for Seneca, the righteous prince became the true and worthy successor to the *civis* (Stacey, 10). This rhetoric naturally appealed to the Renaissance princes, like the Carrara and the Visconti, who usurped power from communal governments.



of [Francesco's] own body or the parts of [his] own soul," and instructed Francesco to love his citizens "like sons" because "the state [res publica] is but one body of which you are the head" (unum enim corpus est res publica cuius tu capet es).<sup>46</sup>

Late in his letter Petrarch also used the language of sickness and health to argue the importance for a ruler to set a good example through his behaviour and bearing for his citizens to imitate. Petrarch wrote that a prince must beware the "dangerous contagion of [ungoverned and unruly] imitation."<sup>47</sup> He continued his letter by praising Francesco's modest dress, good manners, and lack of ostentation because they set good examples for his citizens to follow. He explained further:

... the people strive to imitate all the actions and mannerisms of their prince. It is thus very true that no one harms the state more than those who harm by example, for what the poet says is true, "The whole world follows the example of the king" [Claudianus, *De consulatu Honorii De consulatu Stilichonis*]. So it is, by heaven: the bad habits of rulers are harmful not only to themselves but to everyone.

(... Populi enim omnes et actus principum et habitus imitari student. Ita sit verissimum nullos magis rei publice nocere quam qui exemplo nocent, quia verum est quod ait ille: *Componitur orbis regis ad exemplum*. Sic est hercle: mali mores principum non eis tantum, sed omnibus sunt damnosi...)<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> The complete passage reads: "I daresay, without prejudice to any truer opinion, that you must love if not each of the citizens, yet all the citizens together and the entire republic not only as much as a son or your parents, but as much as yourself. In the case of individual dear ones, we have a special feeling for each; but in the state you must love all: your citizens, then, are like your children, or rather, to put it a different way, like the limbs of your own body or the parts of your own soul, for the state is but one body of which you are the head" (Audebo tamen dicere sine preiudicio verioris sententiae: etsi non quemque civium, omnes tamen simul cives universamque rempublicam, non quantum filium modo vel parentes, sed quantum temet ipsum amare debes. In singulis enim caris capitibus singuli sunt affectus, in republica autem omnes. Amandi tibi sunt igitur cives tui ut filii, imo, ut sic dixerim, tanquam corporis tui membra sive anime tue partes: unum enim corpus est res publica cuius tu capet es) (Petrarch, *Sen. XIV.1*, 249, trans. Levin and Bernardo, 528-9).

<sup>47</sup> The relevant passage reads: "... ut te dominum non vestis, non elatio, sed sola morum gravitas et frontis probet auctoritas. Bonum duplex ut, in contrario, duplex malum, et iactantia per se ipsam odiosa et imitationis periculosa contagio." Petrarch, *Sen. XIV.1*, 297.

<sup>48</sup> Petrarch, *Sen. XIV.1*, 297. Trans. Bernardo, 548.

In this passage, Petrarch acknowledged the power of a prince's bearing to shape the perception and behaviour of his subjects.

To assure the health of Francesco's people, Petrarch advised Francesco to curb his "bad habits" (vices) and so resist spreading the "dangerous contagion" of poor morals to his citizens. Petrarch gave Francesco the tools to strengthen his morals (virtues) when he urged Francesco to adhere to the examples of history's exemplary leaders. Because "[he] would like to compare [Francesco] only to the good and illustrious," Petrarch urged Francesco to "imitate them and follow the examples of those who by deeds and words have earned loud praise for justice" (Proinde, quoniam te non nisi bonis et illustribus comparatum velim, hos imitare, obsecro, atque horum exempla complectere qui rebus ac verbis claram laudem iustitiae meruerunt).<sup>49</sup> The resulting moral stance of the prince, inspired by the poet's knowledge of history and Rome's exemplary men, would ensure the moral health of the community (the body of Padua) and garner the admiration of its citizens and the respect of foreign leaders.

Along with being central to Petrarch's teachings on how to rule justly, corporeal metaphors informed the visual rhetoric of commemorative portraiture on the Carrara tomb chests (*arche*) and in the memorializing accounts of the lords' deaths in the local chronicles. The commemorative portrait tradition seen in tomb statuary and relief sculpture in Padua is another mode of local portraiture alluded to in the portraits of the Carrara in Vergerio's book. Represented in grisaille, the lords appear as illusionary "statues" and as such seem to advocate commemoration of the Carrara family and their rule in a manner similar to their sculptural effigies. The marble tombs of Ubertino and

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 273. Trans. Bernardo, 538.

Giacomo II da Carrara (ca. 1350s), commissioned from the workshop of the prolific and locally recognized sculptor Andriolo de'Santi, show the *signori* in exacting topographical detail (fig. 44 and 45).<sup>50</sup> From the heavy fabric of their robes adorned with buttons and intricate girdles that falls across their limbs, to the wrinkles on their foreheads and the pronounced veins on their hands, the sculptures strongly convey the physical presence of the deceased. Their faces are dignified and calm in death, and their costumes reveal them as influential, educated citizens who belonged to the class of scholars, lawyers and merchants in Padua.<sup>51</sup>

Originally elaborate constructions combining fresco, sculpture and architecture, the tombs consisted of colourful painted donor portraits of the living Carrara *signori* kneeling before an image of the Coronation of the Virgin above their sculptural effigies asleep in death (fig. 46).<sup>52</sup> Each tomb also included a type of commemorative attribute for

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<sup>50</sup> The contract from Giacomo's tomb survives. Dated February 26, 1351, it names Andriolo de'Santi as the designer and notes that two other unnamed sculptors executed the tomb. Wolfgang Wolters published the contract in *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460)*, vol. primo, testo e catalogo (Venezia: Alfieri, 1976), cat. no 41, p. 169. Due to its stylistic similarities, the *arca* for Ubertino is believed to be an earlier work by the same sculptor. The marble tombs (*arche*) were originally located in the Church of San' Agostino, the church in which elite Paduans were interred, and in which Petrarch and Pietro d'Abano had wanted to be buried (see Petrarch's *Testamentum* and, for Pietro's wishes, see Norman, 1995, v. 1, ch. 8, 157, n. 14, and Guseppe Toffanin, *Cento chiese padovane scomparse* [Padova: Editoriale Programma, 1988], 25-8). Currently, the tombs mirror one another across the nave of the Church of the Eremitani as they once mirrored each other in the Carrara family chapel at the Church of San Agostino, which was destroyed by the Austrians in 1819 (Norman, 1995, v. 1, ch. 8, 157).

<sup>51</sup> Norman, 1995, v. 1, ch. 8, 157. Norman identifies the costumes on account of the headdress, which is also visible in the fresco portraits of the Carrara lords and in the *Gesta magnifica* illustrations. She further notes that the Carrara were portrayed as citizens, not as warrior-knights, suggesting their ability to govern fairly and to administer the city.

<sup>52</sup> This use of multiple media in commemorative monuments was popular among the elite in Padua during the Trecento. Three fragments remain from these fresco programs: an image of the Coronation of the Virgin and votive portraits of two Carrara men. Photographs taken prior to World War II show these fragments originally were located above Giacomo's tomb. The fragments are now in the chancel of the Church of the Eremitani and are attributed to Guariento. The frescoes that once framed Ubertino's tomb have not been recovered. Both tombs sustained damage during the move to the Eremitani and again during the allied bombings in 1944 that destroyed Mantegna's *Ovetari* Chapel. The architectural baldicchino of Ubertino's tomb, especially, was heavily damaged and its sculptural details have been reconstructed (Norman, 1995, v. 1, ch. 8, 158 and others).

the prince in its design. At the foot of Ubertino's effigy laid a miniature replica of the city of Padua, reminding its viewers of Ubertino's role in the successful governance of the city. Andriolo's model-city corresponds to Trecento maps of Padua (fig. 47), and its placement on Ubertino's tomb bound the physical body of the city with the physical body of its former ruler (in perpetuity).<sup>53</sup> This juxtaposition of the body of the ruler with a representation of the "body" of the city recalls Petrarch's description of the ideal relationship between the prince and his people: "the state [res publica] is but one body of which you are the head" (unum enim corpus est res publica cuius tu capet es).<sup>54</sup>

Taking a different tact but conveying a similar message, Giacomo's effigy rests above an inscription of an epitaph penned by Petrarch. Written in elegiac verses, the epitaph reads in part:

Alas! O abode so confined for so great a man! / Here, under a small marble slab,  
lies the father, *the hope and salvation of his country*. / Whoever you may be, O  
reader, who turns your eyes to this stone, / In reading about the public downfall  
[of the city] add prayers to your tears.

(Heu magno domus arcta viro sub marmore parvo / En pater hic patrie spesque  
salusque iacent. / Quisquis ad hoc saxum convertis lumina, lector, / Publica  
damna legens iunge preces lacrymis.)<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Norman, 1995, v. 1, ch. 8, 158. The model of the city was moved prior to World War II to prevent damage. It has not been replaced. The model's accurate topography may have imitated the representation of Padua created by Giusto de' Menabuoi in his fresco of Saint Anthony of Padua Appearing to the Blessed Luca Belludi for the Conti Chapel in "Il Santo," 1383 (ibid.).

<sup>54</sup> Petrarch, *Sen.* XIV.1, 249. Trans. Bernardo, 528-9.

<sup>55</sup> My emphasis. The epitaph is recorded in the Gatari family's chronicle of Carrara Padua and in Petrarch's letter to Giovanni d'Arezzo (1351). The epitaph continues: "... Illum flere nefras, sua quem super athera virtus / Sustulit, humano siqua fides merito; / Flere gravem patrie casum fractamque bonorum / Spem licet et subitus ingemuisse malis. / Quem populo patribusque ducem Carraria nuper / Alma dedit, Patavo mors inimica tulit. / Nullus amicitias coluit dulcedine tanta, / Cum foret horrendus hostibus ille, suis; / Optimus inque bonis semper studiosus amandis, / Nescius invidie conspicuusque fide. / Ergo memor Iacobi speciosum credula nomen / Nominibus raris insere, posteritas." Petrarch, *Fam.* XI.3, 345 (ed. Rossi), trans. Bernardo, 2005, v. 2, 91-2, with slight edits.

In the epitaph, Petrarch commemorates Giacomo and grieves for the good government of Padua that he believed was lost when Giacomo was assassinated. This sentiment textually echoes the visual statement made by the replica of the city on Ubertino's memorial. The epitaph commemorates Giacomo's positive relationship with the city in words just as the ideal city-model sculpted to accompany Ubertino's effigy does so in images. Words and images commemorating the apparently ideal, ordered government of the Carrara were connected to their bodies.

Local Paduan chroniclers practiced a literary tradition that similarly commemorated the princes and their "virtuous" governments through descriptions of their bodies. For instance, in their chronicle of Padua under the Carrara, the *Cronaca carrarese* (circa 1355-1406), the Gatari closed the chapters of each lord's life with an account of the manner of his death and a description of his body and heraldic arms, followed by a list of his characteristic virtues. At the close of the final version of his treatise, penned after Francesco Novello's death, Andreas Gatari introduced a vivid account of the death, person, and virtues of the last Carrara *signore*. In this linguistic portrait, Gatari associated Francesco's physical characteristics with what he considered to be Francesco's inner character and good governance.

According to Gatari, Francesco Novello was strangled (with great difficulty) in a Venetian prison as a traitor to *La Serenissima* (a martyr to Padua) on January 16, 1406. The following day he was buried at the Church of Santo Stefano in Venice ("El corpo suo fu portato a sopelire la matina, a dí dexesepte de zenaro mille quatrocento sie, nella chiesa di Sancto Stefano ai Frari"). Gatari described Francesco's body in heroic terms. He wrote:

[although] his face was quite bruised and battered ... [Francesco's] body was clothed in his suit of Alexandrian velvet, with his gold sword girded about his waist, and his golden spurs upon his heels. [He] was ... of normal stature, heavy with strong limbs more so than other men. He was swarthy in complexion and rather proud in bearing, discerning in his speech, gracious and merciful to his people. Everyone thought him most wise and strong in body.

([el corpo suo fu] dopieri ala cassa e vesititi d'una dele sue pelande de veluto alesandrino. Ed era nel vixo tutto infiatto e batuto, con una spada dorata cinta e due speroni dorati in piedi. Fu il deto signor misser Francesco da Carara di persona non troppo grande, ma di comune grandeza, e grosso e ben menbruto quanto niun altro, e bruno nel vixo e nela cierra sua alquanto fierra, ne suo parlare discretissimo, gracioxo, a suo puopollo misericordioxo, a tuti sapientissimo, e forte di sua persona.)<sup>56</sup>

In this passage Gatari memorialized Francesco's body, dressed according to conventions of nobility, in direct connection with his personal qualities that benefited the people of Padua: his careful judgment, grace, and mercy.

Moving away from the strictly memorializing function of earlier portraiture in the chronicles and tomb sculptures – portrait traditions that lauded *past* achievements – the portraits in Vergerio's book for Francesco Novello suggest a new ideal of living, present-day exemplars. In the *Liber de principibus*, the Carrara lords are portrayed, textually and visually, as *living* members of a heroic community rather than as noble ancestors commemorated in death. Although they are rendered in grisaille, and thus suggest commemorative statuary, these portraits of the Carrara show the lords as *living* statues. Their eyes are open and bright, and their upright stances suggest living strength rather than death's repose. The potential result of this combination of visual cues was that the lords' bodies assumed the connotations of family history and commemoration associated with the tomb sculpture and chronicles while they simultaneously provided living role models for their viewers – the current Carrara lord and his court. Vergerio's biographies

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<sup>56</sup> Gatari, 360v, p. 580, and trans., 237.

were written to effect a similar perception. They provide animated details of the lords' lives, persons, and characters while also serving to memorialize them.

Vergerio's treatise on education, *De ingenuis moribus et liberalibus adolescentiae studiis* (On the Character and Studies Befitting a Free-Born Youth) addressed to Francesco Novello's second youngest son Ubertino da Carrara, provides a potential context within which to view the seemingly incongruent relationship between "living" statues and the exemplary Carrara body. Written circa 1402, the content of *De ingenuis* demonstrates how the moral advice of the *Speculum principis* tradition, as understood by Francesco il Vecchio, commingled with the practice of physiognomy in medicine and the visual arts in Padua under Francesco Novello. The educational treatise, much like Vergerio's *Liber de principibus* and his orations, combined historic Carrara patronage interests and channelled them into Francesco Novello's preferences. This treatise complements the didactic use of biography in his *Liber de principibus* and potentially illuminates the compositional choice to imitate the grisaille fresco-portraits in its illustration.

Vergerio believed that education spurred virtue and was central to successful participation in the life of the city, a view of education shared by Petrarch and apparently upheld by the Carrara lords in their support of the university and the *studia humanitatis*. Vergerio added a contemporary twist to Petrarch's view of Roman history as *magistra vitae* (as a guide to living life), revealing Vergerio's educational theory as particularly Paduan. Alongside the honing of the mind through the study of history, moral philosophy, and rhetoric, and the honing of the body through the discipline of arms, Vergerio advocated that princes observe and emulate living role models. He wrote:

... Socrates used to give good advice, that young men should often look at their own image in a mirror. His reasoning evidently was that *those who had a fine appearance would not dishonour it with vices*, while those whose appearance was more irregular would *take care to make themselves attractive through their virtues*.

But perhaps they will have better success if they will contemplate, not [just] their own image, but the behaviour of someone else of high character, a *living mirror*. For if Publius Scipio and Quintus Fabius used to say that they were deeply inspired by gazing upon the images of famous men – an experience common to nearly all noble minds – if Julius Caesar was spurred on to supreme power after seeing the image of Alexander the Great, what, in all reason, is bound to occur when someone can gaze on *a living effigy* and an example [of virtue] that is still breathing?

(Hinc bene praecipiebatur a Socrate, ut adulescentes in speculo suam imaginem crebro contemplantur, ea scilicet ratione, ut hi quibus inesset speciei dignitas, vitiis illam non dehonarent; qui vero deformiori specie viderentur, formosos se ex virtutibus reddere curarent.

Magis autem id ipsum consequi fortasse poterunt, si non tam suam speciem quam alienos probati hominis mores et vivum speculum intuebuntur. Nam si P. Scipio et Q. Fabius (quod omnibus fere generosis mentibus usu evenit) illustrium virorum contemplantis imaginibus excitari se magnopere dicebant – quae res Iulium quoque Caesarem visa magni Alexandri imagine ad summam rerum accendit – quid consentaneum est evenire, cum ipsam vivam effigiem et adhuc spirans exemplum intueri licet?)<sup>57</sup>

Vergerio's use of mirror imagery immediately recalls his debt to the *Speculum principis* tradition and to Petrarch in particular. However, less obviously, this passage also recalls Vergerio's use of sculpture and architecture as metaphors for the development of a boy into a prince, metaphors he used frequently in his educational treatise. Vergerio claimed that humanists were, to borrow John McManamon's term, "educational artists" and that the study of the liberal arts would polish students' minds and bodies. For Vergerio, the education of princes was the culmination of a process in which the promising raw

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<sup>57</sup> Vergerio, 2002, 12 and 13. My emphasis.



material of their youth was roughed out into a basic shape (by grammarians) and finally polished to brilliance (by humanists), becoming a great work of art.<sup>58</sup>

The reference to the importance of sculpture as a metaphor for learning and character development and as a visual cue to history's role as *magistra vitae* first appeared in a letter Vergerio wrote in response to the destruction of a statue of Virgil in the nearby town of Mantua. The letter served as a manifesto for Vergerio's beliefs about imagery and education that appear in his later educational treatise and in the biography of the Carrara lords. On August 28, 1397, Carlos Malatesta reclaimed Mantua from Giangaleazzo Visconti for the anti-Visconti league, of which Francesco Novello was a member. This was a great victory for the league; however, it was marred by Malatesta's destruction of the statue of Mantua's most famous son, Virgil. Vergerio's reproachful letter was not addressed to the Malatesta *signore*. Rather he addressed it to the general reader, "personus" or "peregrinus." Paralleling his belief in the rhetorical power of vision, Vergerio's critique of Malatesta emphasized the importance of Virgil's statue as a visible memory.<sup>59</sup> He connected the representation of Virgil's body to the city of Mantua, and added that the monument was appropriate for the city and its citizens since it served to remind them of their illustrious ancestor and so spurred them on to great accomplishments. In his letter, then, Vergerio connected commemorative statuary with exemplarity, ancestry, and inspiration to civic virtue. The same themes are addressed in the grisaille fresco portraits of the Carrara and in their tomb sculpture.

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<sup>58</sup> McManamon, 1996, 101. Vergerio suggested this in many areas of his treatise. For instance, he wrote, "In youth, therefore, the *foundations* for living well are to be laid, and the mind must be trained to virtue while it is young and *impressionable*, for the mind will preserve throughout life the impressions it takes on now" (Iacienda sunt igitur in hac aetate fundamenta bene vivendi et conformandus ad virtutem animus, dum tener est et facilis quamlibet impressionem admittere: quae ut nunc erit, ita et in reliqua vita servabitur) (4-5, my emphasis).

<sup>59</sup> McManamon, 1996, 75.

Returning to Francesco's books, I suggest that the portraits in Vergerio's *Liber de principibus Carrariensibus* complemented the humanist's lessons in his education manual, *De ingenuis*. In its illustration and in its content, the *Liber de principibus* provided an avenue of expression for Vergerio's ideas about exemplarity and imitation, ideas closely related to his theory of vision's role in education. Vergerio advocated that one should imitate living exemplars, and in the case of Ubertino, the principal reader of the *Liber de principibus*, the immediate living exemplar was his father Francesco Novello. By upholding Francesco as a living exemplar Vergerio's book furthered Francesco's self-image as a new *vir illustris* in the tradition of his ancestors. For Vergerio, the portraits of Francesco's forefathers could serve as "living" statuary, not only recommending them to the reader as exemplars of past generations, but also connecting them to the city itself. For Vergerio, the grisaille portraits of the Carrara princes (much like the statue of Virgil and the tomb sculpture of Ubertino and Giacomo II) served as living memorials of Padua's greatness that would spur the city's citizens on to great deeds.

Vergerio's biography of the Carrara lords suggests how he understood the use of visual imagery of the physical body as a rhetorical strategy that promoted exemplarity. The content and imagery of the *Liber de principibus* supplemented the other chronicles and family histories in Francesco's library by incorporating pictorial imagery derived from the monumental, commemorative portraits that Francesco's father commissioned for the Reggia. Together with the *Gesta magnifica* and the books of medicine in Francesco Novello's library, the figural portraits of the Carrara princes in Vergerio's illustrated biography potentially can be seen as metaphorical portraits of the princes'

virtues and as records of the successful practice of moral and physical medicine in their lives. The histories and historic bodies of Francesco's forefathers recorded in the *Liber de principibus* and the *Gesta magnifica* celebrate an ideal vision of Francesco's family heritage.<sup>60</sup> Facilitated by the fluid exchange between humanistic, artistic, and medical theories of physiognomy, this vision combined characteristics from Francesco il Vecchio's patronage of humanists with characteristics from his son's patronage of medical doctors, a relationship that is illuminated by Francesco Novello's commission of the *Carrara Herbal*.

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<sup>60</sup> In *De ingenuis*, Vergerio noted the role of books as an ideal "second memory." His metaphor seems a fitting description for Francesco Novello's illustrated book collection that combined and refined the patronage trends of his ancestors. Vergerio wrote, "... as Cicero says, What a happy family books make! Absolutely honest and well-behaved! A family that does not fuss or shout, that is neither rapacious, voracious or contumacious, that speaks or remains silent as it is bidden, that always stands ready to execute your every command, and that you never hear saying anything you don't want to hear, and that only says as much as you want to hear. So, since our memory cannot hold everything and indeed retains very little, scarcely enough for particular purposes, books, in my view, should be acquired and preserved as a kind of second memory" (O iucudam familiam [librorum]! ut recte Cicero appellat, utique et frugi et bene morigeram! Non enim obstreperit, non inclamat; non est rapax, non vorax, non contumax; iussi loquuntur et item iussi tacent; sempreque ad omne imperium praesto sunt; a quibus nihil umquam, nisi quod velis et quantum velis, audias. Eos igitur (quoniam nostra memoria non est omnium capax ac paucorum quidem tenax et vix ad singula sufficit) secundae memoriae loco habendos asservandosque censeo) (2002, 45-47).

### *Chapter Three: The Carrara Herbal in Francesco Novello's Library*

From at least the first century AD, and likely from much earlier, illustrated *materia medica* have been produced for and treasured by individuals or the institutions they patronized. The *Carrara Herbal*, the “Serapiom in volgare” registered on Francesco Zago’s partial inventory of Francesco Novello’s book collection, is no exception. It ties Francesco Novello to a long history of collection of illustrated *materia medica* manuscripts by privileged patrons, including his father. As an object, the *Carrara Herbal* became an emblem of Francesco’s scholarly sophistication and of his support for the University of Padua’s medical schools. It also provided a visible link to his family lineage and traditions of patronage.

In this chapter I analyse the *Carrara Herbal* through the lens of its generic, conceptual, and visual precedents, situating it, in the first place, within the long tradition of illustrated *materia medica* manuscripts. I begin with the question of the general functions, personal and cultural, of the illustrated herbal, and establish pleasure as a value fundamentally attached to ownership and the reading-experience of such manuscripts. As a means of establishing the Carrara manuscript’s place within a local genealogy and a particular pictorial tradition, I turn to the herbal written and illustrated by the Salernitan scholar-doctor Manfredus de Monte Imperiale in the late thirteenth century. I argue that this manuscript was part of Francesco il Vecchio’s collection and was a formal and ideological predecessor of the *Carrara Herbal*. By looking to the history of influential, illustrated herbals this chapter aims to provide a broader historical understanding of the role the *Carrara Herbal* played – as a treasured book and illustrated *materia medica* – in Francesco Novello’s library and at his court.

A well-known sixth-century illustrated herbal produced at the Byzantine court for Juliana Anicia (ca. 462-528), daughter of Emperor Flavius Anicius Olybrius (d. ca. 472), is a fine early example of an illustrated *materia medica* produced for an elite audience.<sup>1</sup> Commonly known as the *Vienna Dioscorides*, Juliana's herbal contains a version of Dioscorides' *De materia medica* along with several other texts on plant medicine.<sup>2</sup> The version of *De materia medica* included in the herbal is the sole extant Late Antique illustrated example of the Greek Alphabetical Recension of Dioscorides, a version that was illustrated from its inception.<sup>3</sup> Juliana's copy is illustrated with plant portraits, many of which are remarkable for their lifelike details.<sup>4</sup> While they have not been the focus of

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<sup>1</sup> Collins, 219-220. The exclusivity and relative inaccessibility of Juliana's manuscript are suggested by the uniqueness of its format and layout of text and imagery. Only two other illustrated manuscripts are textually related to this manuscript: the seventh-century *Codex Neapolitanus* (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. gr. I), likely produced in Rome from a non-extant model brought from Constantinople, and a fifteenth-century Greek Dioscorides produced in Constantinople and now housed in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, MS gr. 2091). While not directly imitating the layout of Juliana's herbal, the *Codex Neapolitanus* and a tenth-century version of it in New York (Pierpont Morgan Library, Cod. M652) do relate to it pictorially (Leslie Brubaker, "The *Vienna Dioscorides* and Anicia Juliana," *Byzantine Garden Culture*, ed. Littlewood, Maguire, and Wolschke-Bulmahn (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002), 205-206).

<sup>2</sup> The complete compilation is formally known as the *Codex Vindobonensis medicus graecus 1* and is housed at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. Alongside Dioscorides' *De materia medica*, the *Codex Vindobonensis* contains a number of other treatises on medicine, many of which are illustrated, and one on ornithology, which is illustrated with exceptional bird portraits. On the contents of the *Codex* see Brubaker, 197-201. On the bird illustrations, see Kurt Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination*, Martin Classical Lectures vol. XVI (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1959), 16.

<sup>3</sup> Developed in the fourth century, the Greek Alphabetical Recension of Dioscorides is a shortened version of the original Greek *De materia medica*. The Greek Dioscorides shifted into several recensions, patterns from which emerge in the layout of later Arabic and Latin versions of the text. This version also includes information drawn from Galenic theory and from the earlier pharmacopoeia of Krateaus, which Charles Singer suggests may have been illustrated ("The Herbal in Antiquity and its Transmission to Later Ages," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 47 [1927]: 5-7). For a comprehensive discussion of the path of the Greek recensions through their dominant extant examples, see Singer, Collins, and Brubaker.

<sup>4</sup> On account of its verisimilar illustrations, the *Vienna Dioscorides* is often compared to the *Carrara Herbal*. Across the trajectory of research on the *Carrara Herbal*, scholars have sought to connect its illustrations to Antique precedents, from which they assume its tendency toward verisimilitude stems. Many scholars believe its verisimilar illustrations follow the imagery from a non-extant herbal of Hellenistic origin, descendants of which are visible in the Late-Antique *Vienna Dioscorides* (Wilfrid Blunt and Sandra Raphael, *The illustrated herbal* [New York: Thames and Hudson, 1979], 68-9; Pächt, 29,

contemporary scholarship on the *Codex Vindobonensis*, Juliana's herbal, like the *Carrara Herbal*, also contains many stylised and fanciful images of plants, such as the anthropomorphic Mandrake. These whimsical images must have served a different purpose than as guides to botanical identification, perhaps one found in folkloric, popular or magical understandings of the plant not eclipsed by the pharmacological powers associated with it.<sup>5</sup> Regardless of the style in which it was portrayed, each plant is represented on its own page and faces a page of text describing its properties and medicinal usages (fig. 48 and 49).

Weighing fourteen pounds and including three hundred and eighty-three botanical illuminations painted on parchment, this extravagant codex was, allegedly, a gift for a patron of extremely high status.<sup>6</sup> Juliana is named as the recipient of the book and is portrayed enthroned on the frontispiece, which is dated 512 AD (fig. 50). In her study of the *Vienna Dioscorides*, Leslie Brubaker hazards that the choice of an elaborate herbal as a gift (or as a personal commission) may reflect contemporary ideals of compassionate

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Baumann, 22; Singer, 50; Pavord, 85, and many others). Leslie Brubaker remains the sole scholar to my knowledge who stresses that we have no clear, extant evidence for the artist's sources for the *Vienna Dioscorides* and suggests that the portraits may be original to the sixth century (206). I share Brubaker's view. The *Codex Vindobonensis* contains an isolated and exceptional copy of Dioscorides, which precludes a definitive analysis of its illustrations' sources. Its textual and illustrative descendants are few and far between, which suggests that this book remained privately held.

<sup>5</sup> Pächt, Collins and others have focused their attention on the verisimilitude and botanical specificity portrayed in the *Codex*; however, the presence of fantastical illustrations is a clue that the *Codex*'s principal purpose need not be plant identification as these scholars have posited. As Brubaker noted, the *Codex*'s three hundred and eighty-three illustrations fall into about a dozen groups of plant types and many remain schematic portraits that could not secure a plant's identification (207).

<sup>6</sup> The *Codex* may have been given to Juliana by the citizens of the Honorata district of Constantinople in gratitude for the Christian church dedicated to Saint Polyeuktos, the building of which she financed (Brubaker, 189). However, considering its costly materials, it is not unreasonable to consider the herbal a commission made by Juliana herself.

women who care for the sick.<sup>7</sup> The nature of the book object itself (rather than a desire to represent any singular personal characteristic) also may have influenced this choice. As a *materia medica*, the content of Juliana's book provided a natural avenue for the creation of exceptional illustrations. Together with the sheer size of the codex, the plant illustrations visually denoted Juliana's prestige. While its content may have been significant to her character, the opulence of the codex as a material object celebrated Juliana as a great and powerful patron in the tradition of her imperial family.

Two thirteenth-century examples of illustrated herbals commissioned by Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen (1194-1250) point to the later production and collection of illustrated herbals by elite patrons to showcase their status and personal characteristics (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ms Plut. 73.16 and Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 93).<sup>8</sup> We have more information about Frederick as a patron and about his collection of *materia medica* than we do about Juliana and her herbal. Frederick's copies of the *Herbarius* of Apuleius Platonicus, the illustrated herbal tradition popular during his rule, played a role in displaying Frederick's imperial status.<sup>9</sup> They also

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<sup>7</sup> Brubaker, 213.

<sup>8</sup> Because there are no extant inventories of Frederick's collection, we cannot be absolutely certain that these codices were produced by Frederick's *scriptorium*. However, Giulia Orofino argues persuasively for the connection of both manuscripts to Frederick's court, as either a commission made by Frederick or his son Manfred, on account of the relationship between the manuscripts' iconography and content to Frederick's personal interests. See Orofino, "Gli erbari di età sveva," *Gli erbari medievali tra scienza simbolo magia*, Testi del VII colloquio medievale, Palermo 1988, in *Schede Medievali* 19 (1990): 325-46.

<sup>9</sup> The *Herbarius* was the prevailing illustrated herbal compilation between the sixth and thirteenth centuries. It is attributed to a composite or fictional character, Apuleius Platonicus, who amalgamated information from various fourth-century Greek and Latin sources, especially from the chapters on plant medicine in Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* and the condensed version of this information from the Late Antique *Medicina Plinii*. Like the later *Tractatus de herbis*, the *Herbarius* tradition takes its name from the largest book in a relatively consistent compilation of medicinal and pseudo-scientific texts. For details on the texts see *Apuleius Barbarus, Antonii Musae De herba vettonica liber, Pseudo-Apulei Herbarius, Anonymi De taxone liber, Sexti Placiti Liber medicinae ex animalibus etc.*, ed. Sigerist and Howald, *Corpus Medicorum*

played a role in articulating Frederick's chosen identity as a scholar-king and patron of the contemporary study of medicine. In their content and iconography, Frederick's *Herbarius* manuscripts altered and edited earlier textual and illustrative traditions to form a new herbal, which alluded to the progressive medicine taught at Salerno.<sup>10</sup>

It is widely known that Frederick especially valued the scientific and medical knowledge emerging from the Arab world that was being taught at the medical school. Generally, in his manuscript commissions Frederick sought to amalgamate this new knowledge into older Latin sources to produce distinctive, personal reference books.<sup>11</sup> The iconography of the illustrations decorating his herbals draws together specific elements from the different editions of the *Herbarius* across its long history that had never before been assembled in a single codex. In their comprehensive synthesis of the *Herbarius'* earlier visual and textual varieties, the thirteenth-century manuscripts are visual and textual records of the history of the genre itself.<sup>12</sup>

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Latinorum, vol. 4 (Leipzig: Tuebner, 1927); G. Maggiulli and M. F. Buffa Giolito, *L'altro Apuleio: problemi aperti per una nuova edizione dell'Herbarius* (Naples: Loffredo, 1996), 68; Collins, 166; and Singer, 47.

<sup>10</sup> See Collins, 211-218 and Orofino for analysis of the process of amalgamation.

<sup>11</sup> Collins, 219. It is well-known that the Hohenstaufen court valued the pursuit of knowledge and cultivated the perception of its progressiveness. Frederick is remembered for his many commissions of scientific texts on astronomy and medicine, and for his own treatise on falconry, *De arte venandi cum avibus*, in which he synthesized contemporary technical expertise with classical hunting traditions and information from Arabic sources on hunting with birds. He is also remembered for his emphatic support of the medical school at Salerno. The medical school was central to the diffusion of Greek and Arabic medical knowledge into the west. It flourished under Frederick's rule partly because he declared that doctors could practice in his kingdom only if they possessed a degree from the school. On the role of Arabic medicine in the curriculum at the medicine school of Salerno (the *Articella* textbook, especially), see Michael McVaugh, "Constantine the African," *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 3 (1971): 393-395. See Orofino for discussion of Frederick's interests and their relationship to his books.

<sup>12</sup> See Collins, 209. Frederick's *Herbarius* manuscripts combine the layout of text and image from the ninth-century southern Italian *Herbarius* tradition with the sumptuous colouration of its ninth-century northern European counterparts. They also join the lavish character of the Carolingian illustrative tradition – which depended on its ninth-century predecessors – with the careful revision of source texts characteristic



Frederick's collection of these herbals emulated his ninth-century ancestors' commission and collection of this type of manuscript. Frederick's forefathers associated books on plant medicine with Imperial Roman patronage, which they, in turn, strove to imitate.<sup>13</sup> Through their connection to his imperial genealogy, the *Herbarius* manuscripts visually and textually suggested Frederick's sense of himself as an heir to Empire. Through their amalgamation of traditional and novel medical content and illustrations they projected an image of Frederick as a progressive and scholarly leader, a leader whose knowledge bridged centuries of learning. Within the illustrated herbals, Frederick sought to make evident his pursuit of medical knowledge, his Imperial heritage, and his future ambitions for the Empire.

I mention the herbals produced for Juliana and Frederick to draw attention to the lengthy history of collection of illustrated *materia medica* by elite patrons and to demonstrate the consistent production of such books through the late Middle Ages. These examples reflect a general way of thinking about illustration, the luxury book, and the accumulation of knowledge that would be echoed for a specific purpose by Francesco Novello in his commission of the *Carrara Herbal*. They share an approach to content and

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of the twelfth-century manuscripts produced in southern Italy (Collins, 183, 188, 218). In Frederick's thirteenth-century copies single plant illustrations precede their textual descriptions and are often flanked by the plant simples' synonyms (fig. 51). The illustrations clearly dominate the surface of the page with colourful botanical and figural representations (fig. 52). The schematic illustration of plants and animals reproduced by Frederick's illustrators are characteristic of all three recensions of the *Herbarius* manuscripts, from the earliest sixth-century copies through their twelfth-century successors. The mythological figures and illustrations of medical treatments seen in the thirteenth-century codices originated in ninth-century versions of the *Herbarius* in both Italy and the north (fig. 53 and 54). The anecdotal narrative scenes, such as the image of a man bitten by a rabid dog placed next to textual entries on the cures for such bites, drew from twelfth-century Italian versions (fig. 55). The prefatory portraits of doctors and didactic scenes of preparation, collection and application of herbal remedies grew out of the northern twelfth-century renditions (fig. 56 and 57).

<sup>13</sup> Collins, 219.

imagery that is both innovative and traditional, and that is significant to ancestral patronage and the articulation of status. However, within the scholarly community, and especially among the medical authorities, the use of imagery within *materia medica* was highly contested. The historic production of illustrated herbals was rivalled by the long history of text-only versions, which generally were read by scholars and students.

The earliest written testimonies regarded the *materia medica* as a textual genre and clearly privileged the word over the image as the only reliable medium to convey pharmacological and medical knowledge. For these men the purpose of the herbal was for education and practical reference. They considered the use of imagery detrimental to the dissemination of medical knowledge. Consequently, these authors excluded illustrated herbals from the canon of education in medicine.

Pliny the Elder (23-79 AD) was the first author to mention illustrations accompanying texts on medical simples, and he strongly criticized their insertion into herbals.<sup>14</sup> In his *Historia naturalis*, Pliny wrote:

[The early herbalists] Krateaus, Dionysios and Metrodoros adapted a most attractive method, though one which makes clear little else except the difficulty of employing it. For they painted likenesses of the plants and then wrote under them their properties. But not only is a picture misleading when the colours are so many, particularly as the aim is to copy nature, but besides this, much imperfection arises from the manifold hazards in the accuracy of copyists. In addition, it is not enough for each plant to be painted at one period only of its life, since it alters its appearance with the fourfold changes of the year.

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<sup>14</sup> Brubaker, 191. In his encyclopaedic *Historia naturalis* (ca. 77 AD), the Roman lawyer appropriated information about the plant world principally from Aristotle's *Historia animalium* and Theophrastus' *De causis Plantarum* (Pavord, 64). Notably, the illustrative traditions used in north Italian herbals and *Tacuina* produced in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were also incorporated into the imagery used in contemporaneous illustrated copies of Pliny's *Historia naturalis*. See Lilian Armstrong, "The Illustration of Pliny's *Historia naturalis*: Manuscripts before 1430," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 46 (1983): 19-39.

(Praeter hos Graeci auctores prodidere, quos suis locis diximus, ex his Crateuas, Dionysius, Metrodorus ratione blandissima, sed qua nihil paene aliud quam difficultas rei intellegatur. Pinxere namque effigies herbarum atque ita subscripsere effectus. Verum et pictura fallax est coloribus tam numerosis, praesertim in aemulationem naturae, multumque degenerat transcribentium socordia. Praeterea parum est singulas earum aetates pingi, cum quadripertitis varietatibus anni faciem mutant.)<sup>15</sup>

Pliny noted that the goal of the illustration was to imitate and record nature, but he emphasized that a picture was incapable of accurately capturing the diversity of forms a plant assumes during its lifecycle. He further suggested that, even if it was capable of this feat, copyists would eventually eliminate the picture's usefulness. Pliny considered the deterioration of the original form and colour an inevitable part of the copying process.

Pliny's criticism of the illustrations in herbals suggests his knowledge of two early accounts of how to best study plants for their medicinal values. He noted that an image can only capture the plant at a single moment, making it inadequate to a complete understanding of a plant, which changes its appearance seasonally. Aristotle's student Theophrastus of Eresos (ca. 372-287 BCE), whose *Historia Plantarum* chapter IX is generally considered the earliest recorded account of plant medicine, and Pedanios Dioscorides (ca. 40-90 AD), who compiled the well-known pharmacological manual *De materia medica*, both discussed how plants change their appearance throughout their lifecycle.<sup>16</sup> At the beginning of *De causis plantarum* (Enquiry into Plants), Theophrastus observed that:

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<sup>15</sup> Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 25.4, ed. Karl Friedrich and Theodor Mayhoff (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1906). Translation from *Historia naturalis*, 25.4, *Pliny: Natural History, volume 7*, ed. and trans. W.H.S. Jones (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1956), 141. Also cited by Brubaker, 191.

<sup>16</sup> Brubaker, 191; Collins, 31; and Pavord, 26. Singer attributed the earliest Greek herbal to Diokles of Karystos (ca. 350 BCE) (2-3). Although his successors briefly quote or refer to Diokles, there are no extant records of his work. Consequently, the earliest herbal is more firmly attributed to Theophrastus. He observed the various life-cycles of plants and identified annuals (plants that complete their life cycle in one

[when] considering the distinctive characters of plants and their nature generally one must take into account their parts, their qualities, the ways in which their life originates, and the course which it follows in each case.<sup>17</sup>

Theophrastus stressed that to understand its medicinal value one must recognize a plant's characteristics at different times of its life. A single image cannot replace the role of careful observation over the lifecycle of a plant.

Dioscorides shared this view. He wrote:

Now it behoves anyone who desires to be a skilful herbalist, to be present when the plants first shoot out of the earth, when they are fully grown, and when they begin to fade. For he who is only present at the budding of the herb, cannot know it when full-grown, nor can he who hath examined a full-grown herb, recognize it when it has only just appeared above ground. Owing to changes in the shapes of leaves and the size of stalks, and of the flowers and fruits, and of certain other known characteristics, a great mistake has been made by some who have not paid proper attention to them in this manner. ... Therefore the man who will observe his herbs oftentimes and in diverse places, will acquire the greatest knowledge of them.<sup>18</sup>

In writing *De materia medica*, Dioscorides aimed to provide accuracy, order, and reliability to pharmacology, and to reclaim the study of plants from the superstitious and spurious works of the Hellenistic period.<sup>19</sup> He was proud of his method and of the

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year) and perennials (plants that die back in winter and re-emerge from the same rootstock in the spring). He also was the first author to suggest families of plants, and to group plants according to their shared appearances (Pavord, 42). These observations were assumed by his successors, including Dioscorides, and reappear throughout much of the genre. Theophrastus believed in the categorization of the natural world into groups, even though he acknowledged that these categories must be flexible. His four basic botanical groups were trees, shrubs, sub-shrubs, and herbs. A variant of these divisions resurfaced in Dioscorides' *De materia medica* nearly four-hundred years later.

<sup>17</sup> Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants*, Book 1, ed. and trans. Sir Arthur Hort (London: Putnam, 1916), 3. In original Greek on facing page, 2. Cited by Pavord, 41.

<sup>18</sup> Dioscorides, *The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides*, ed. and trans. John Goodyer, and R. T. Gunther (New York: Hafner, 1959), 3-4. Pavord cited a similar passage, 73. For original Greek text, see the Preface to Dioscorides' *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei De materia medica libri quinque*, 3 vols., ed. Max Wellmann (Berolini: Weidmann, 1906).

<sup>19</sup> During the Hellenistic era, ca. 130 BCE, the poetic texts by Nicander of Alexandria emerged as medical authorities. His haphazardly arranged and superstitious remedies for poisoning are recorded in the *Theriaka*

rigorous order he established in his work. Its longevity attests to his success. All extant traditions of botanical treatises through the Early Modern period were influenced by Dioscorides' *De materia medica*.<sup>20</sup> His way of thinking about plant medicine withstood the various re-structuring of his text from the Late Antique period through the fourteenth century, including Serapion's. Dioscorides' views on how to correctly study a plant were likely just as tenacious.<sup>21</sup>

Despite the reservations about the role of imagery in herbals expressed by Pliny, and the advice of the founders of the western *materia medica* tradition to study plants in their many stages of growth, illustrated herbals continued to be produced. Pliny's comments confirm the existence of early examples of plant illustration, which suggests that this facet of the genre developed concurrently with its potentially more widely read textual counterpart.<sup>22</sup> According to his description of illustrated herbals, the illustrations were not divorced from the textual content of these manuscripts. In various fashions, they

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and *Alexipharmaka*, both texts that reappear in medieval compilations of botanical medicine and lore, often, ironically, alongside Dioscorides' *De materia medica*.

<sup>20</sup> John M. Riddle, "Dioscorides," in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 4 (1971), 119.

<sup>21</sup> Collins charts the trajectory of the Greek recensions and generally follows the standard order set in M. Wellman's prefatory remarks to Dioscorides' *De materia medica libri quinque*. See Collins, "The Greek Herbals," 31-114, for details. Only about a dozen illustrated Greek copies survive and the majority of extant Greek copies are not illustrated, which suggests that Dioscorides' original did not contain illustrations. This is appropriate, considering his instructions on the correct study of plants. A single illustration would not be able to convey the holistic sense of the plant and its lifecycle that Dioscorides advocated (Brubaker, 207).

<sup>22</sup> Brubaker, 208.

visually represented the plant simple described in the corresponding textual entry.<sup>23</sup> If not educational, then what purpose did the illustrations serve?

Pliny described the early herbals' illustrations as "most attractive" to their readers and this observation may help clarify the question of the pictures' purpose. His comment is illuminating because it associates plant imagery with pleasure and personal experience rather than with practical medicine. He provides a clue about the hermeneutical role of the illustrated herbal, as distinct from that of its unillustrated, text-based counterparts, and connects it with the privileged reader who had time to engage in leisurely pursuits.

Pliny's comments acknowledged that the addition of illustrations ultimately changed the function of *materia medica*, and his notion of social privilege and pleasure provides an avenue for the interpretation of his remarks. Instead of competing with or serving the same educational or practical purposes as text-based herbals, illustrated *materia medica* engaged a different set of reader expectations. This means that the medical content of the illustrated codices complemented reader expectations but did not govern them. This distinction is critical to understanding the *Carrara Herbal* and other manuscripts like it because it enables the exploration of the illustrated herbal as a genre in its own right. The illustrated herbals had their own distinctive purpose and attending expectations. They were not simply unreliable inferiors to their educational, text-based counterparts.

Pliny's comment on the attractiveness of plant imagery and the pleasure of looking parallels his praise of rural *otium* (the privileged life of retreat from the city considered central to good leadership) and of the Roman villa's pleasure garden. Pliny

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<sup>23</sup> Brubaker suggests that illustrated herbals probably strengthened existing knowledge about the medicinal simples for their educated physician readers (208). Yet, the medical authorities these men would have studied maintained that imagery could not be a trusted, which complicates her theory.

introduced both ideas alongside his discussion of the medicinal qualities of plants. Unlike his sources, Pliny embraced nature as a means to cultivate a life of studious leisure at a country villa. He considered a pleasure garden an important aspect of the life of an aristocratic man, especially a leader, and thus emphasized the fanciful delight, rather than the medicinal practicalities, of plants.<sup>24</sup>

Pliny's observations on pleasure and plants connect the illustrated herbal to two facets of the concept of Roman *otium* in particular. Firstly, the enjoyment of plant imagery resonates with the ideal of the aristocratic pleasure garden as a garden dedicated to sensory pleasure alone. The garden provided a transitional space in which the retreat from the work-a-day world of *negotium* into the pleasurable oasis of villa *otium* occurred for both the Romans and for their medieval and Renaissance successors.<sup>25</sup> Secondly, as a book, the illustrated herbal itself provides a point of access to another important facet of

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<sup>24</sup> For Pliny the pleasure garden was a natural arena shaped and enjoyed by noble hands, an idea that associates the molding of nature by human invention – by art – with social privilege. In Book XIX, Pliny establishes the antique pedigree of the pleasure garden and its long association with nobility and privileged leadership. To emphasize the connection between *otium* and the pleasure garden, Pliny points out that, historically, the very term for “garden” was conflated with the term for “villa,” the site of rural retreat for the aristocracy (See *Historia Naturalis*, XIX, 19, 49-50).

<sup>25</sup> In book XVI, Pliny gives an example of the role of human invention in shaping nature solely for the delight of the viewer (Pavord 66). He remarks that in Roman gardens cypress trees are clipped “... and trained to form hedge-rows, or else [are] thinned and lengthened out in the various designs employed in ornamental gardening, and which represent scenes of hunting, fleets, and various other objects” (... nunc vero tonsilis facta in densitatem parietum coercitaque gracilitate perpetuo teres trahitur etiam in picturas operis topiarii, venatus classesve et imagines rerum tenui folio brevique et virente semper vestiens) (XVI, 60). The cypress topiary has no practical role in the garden; yet, in a space designed to promote pleasure and engage fantasy, topiary was celebrated as a vehicle for artful invention meant solely to evoke pleasure. The *Carrara Herbal* also contains an example of topiary, basil (basilicò, 50v, fig. 58), which suggests a connection between the *Herbal*'s plant imagery and the pleasure garden. Pruned into a delicate sphere balanced atop a thin central stalk, basil's manicured appearance suggests its association with courtly gardens. Likewise, the illustrations of the mid- to late fourteenth-century Visconti copies of the illuminated *Tacuinum Sanitatis* articulated the privileged lifestyle of courtiers by merging the imagery of popular chivalric romance with the botanical pictorial genres. See Agnes Acolos Bertiz, “Picturing Health: The Garden and Courtiers at Play in the Late Fourteenth-Century Illuminated *Tacuinum Sanitatis*,” Ph.D. Diss. (University of Southern California, 2003), and Hoeniger, 2006.

*otium*: the ideal of studious leisure. For Pliny, *otium* included the pleasure of cultivating the mind while in retreat from the duties of the city, an ideal that Petrarch similarly praised and associated with the contemplative life. The *Carrara Herbal* and other illustrated *materia medica* engaged both these elements of *otium*: their illustrations provided an avenue for the pleasure of viewing nature as shaped by the artful hands of human invention, and as physical objects they provided the material necessary for studious leisure – the book, the very emblem of study.

Pliny's association between social privilege, pleasure gardens, the tradition of rural *otium*, and contemplative study re-emerged during the fourteenth- and fifteenth-centuries. His celebration of this lifestyle influenced the development of Renaissance villa culture (*villeggiatura*) in Italy and France. Well into the seventeenth century, the patterns of illustration in both botanical books and treatises on rural life commissioned by aristocratic patrons reflected Pliny's idealization of rural life. In this incarnation, the renewal of Pliny's ideals intersected with established, hierarchic ideals about reading and health. This intersection provides a useful avenue for exploring illustrated herbals in relation to their social context.

Piero de' Crescenzi, a jurist from Bologna, assumed Pliny's ideal of *otium* into his influential, early fourteenth-century treatise on agriculture, the *Liber ruralium commodorum* (On Rural Life).<sup>26</sup> The many extant manuscripts and printed editions of

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<sup>26</sup> See Johanna Bauman, "Tradition and Transformation: the pleasure garden in Piero de' Crescenzi's *Liber ruralium commodorum*," *Studies in the history of gardens & designed landscapes* 22, no. 2 (Summer, 2002): 99-141, for a transcription and translation of book eight of de' Crescenzi's treatise; and Robert Calkins, "Piero de' Crescenzi and the Medieval Garden," in *Medieval gardens*, ed. Elizabeth MacDougall, *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture*, IX (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1986), 155-175. Pliny's association of nature with the ability to prudently govern was common knowledge and the possession of land and a country household was part of the everyday life of his educated readers during his time and during the Renaissance.



de'Crescenzi's treatise attest to its popularity. By the close of the fifteenth century virtually all royal and noble households in Italy and France owned copies of de'Crescenzi's treatise.<sup>27</sup> Over the course of twelve books, he discussed the practicalities of plant and animal cultivation (books one to five, seven, and nine to twelve) and the curative properties of plants (book six especially). The majority of the book appropriated ancient Roman ideas about agriculture, viticulture, plant medicine, and animal husbandry gleaned from such sources as Cato, Varro, Palladius, Avicenna, and Albertus Magnus.<sup>28</sup> In book eight, however, he left behind these sources and made explicit the connection between divisions of labour and lifestyle at court and types of gardens. In this book, de'Crescenzi surpassed the association between gardens and class articulated by Pliny in his discussion of villa life. He hypothesized that certain types of gardens were appropriate to different classes on account of the classes' particular social status and health and hygiene requirements.

De'Crescenzi outlined the physical characteristics and corresponding social distinctions of three classes of garden that corresponded to three classes of people. The small herb garden, with fragrant herbs and flowers and a small spring and healthy breezes, was appropriate for people of lesser means.<sup>29</sup> The "moderate garden [was] for

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<sup>27</sup> There are between one-hundred and thirty-three and one-hundred and forty-one extant manuscripts in Latin and in Italian, German, and French translations, and many more printed editions in different languages (Calkins, 162).

<sup>28</sup> See Calkins, 158, and Bauman, 113, especially for analyses of de'Crescenzi's sources. Avicenna and Albertus Magnus, while evidently not Romans, appropriated and perpetuated ancient Roman notions of agriculture in their works (Calkins, 159).

<sup>29</sup> The description of the small garden is not associated with a particular class immediately. However, the succeeding chapter on moderately sized gardens explicitly states that the garden's size should be calculated in relation to its owner's social status. De'Crescenzi wrote, "Let the space of the earth set aside for the garden be measured according to the means and rank of persons of moderate means, namely, two or three or four or more *iugera* or *bubulcae*" (Secundum facultates et dignitatem mediocrium personarum

persons of moderate means,” and should be “surrounded with ditches and hedge of thorns and roses ... [or] of pomegranates.”<sup>30</sup> Finally, de’Crescenzi considered the pleasure garden, with its expansive lands, open meadows, ponds, pergolas or summer lodges, and displays of the wonders of nature and of sensual artifice, appropriate for persons of great means.<sup>31</sup> For de’Crescenzi, the most prestigious gardens ought to be adorned with wonders of nature and of art, and he considered grafting the epitome of the marvellous in both. He advocated the need to experiment, engineer, and transform plants into marvellous new flora. He described experiments and natural wonders wrought from creatively engineering ordinary plants, like nasturtium, lettuce, leek, radish, and cucumber. These “unusual things,” literally things of no use (*inusitatas*), were meant solely to evoke delight from the garden’s owner and guests.<sup>32</sup>

One of the most remarkable aspects of book eight is that de’Crescenzi assumed his prior discussion of the traditional medical virtues of plants into a discussion of the garden itself as a natural *space* that possessed healing properties. His approach to the role of plants in a garden was very different from the way that Serapion, Dioscorides or the other early authorities on medicine approached plants. De’Crescenzi prefaced book eight

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mensuretur spatium terrae viridario deputandae, videlicet duo vel tria vel quattuor aut plura iugera sive bubulcae) (101). For scale, twenty *iugera* was approximately twelve and a half acres (noted by Bauman, 102). The moderate space is distinguished by its more exotic plants as well. Roses, pomegranate and quince trees, and figs and almond trees were planted in long rows to accentuate the relative wealth of the owner.

<sup>30</sup> De’Crescenzi, 101: “Cingatur fossatis et sepibus spinorum vel rosarum et desuper fiat sepi de malis Punicis in locis calidis, et in frigidis de nuzolis seu prunes vel malis citoniis.”

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 102-103.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 108-110.

by noting that he intended to discuss how plants in a garden space can heal the mind and in so doing preserve the health of the body. He wrote:

In the previous books, trees and herbaceous plants were discussed according to how they can be useful to the human body; but now the same ones must be discussed according to *how they give pleasure to a rational soul and consequently preserve the health of the body*, since the humoric state of the body is always closely related to the disposition of the soul.

(In superioribus libris tractatum est de arboribus et herbis, secundum quod utilia corpori humano existent; nunc vero de eisdem dicendum est, secundum quod animae rationali delectationem afferent et consequenter corporis salutem conservant, quia complexion corporis animi semper adhaeret affectui.)<sup>33</sup>

In this passage de'Crescenzi transitioned from a discussion of plants' medical utility to their pleasures, but recognized that their pleasures were also medically useful, an idea only implied in Pliny's discussion of rural *otium*.

I mention de'Crescenzi's treatise because his theory offers a foil for illustrated *materia medica*, and especially for the *Carrara Herbal*. De'Crescenzi considered aristocratic gardens a balm for the souls of their owners, which in turn preserved the health of their bodies. He understood the enjoyment of plants, and especially of plants shaped by human invention, as crucial to the overall health of the patrician patient. This connection parallels similar theories of literary pleasure and the power of fictional representation in the maintenance of health, theories expressed in humanistic contexts (such as Petrarch's *De viris illustribus*) and in medical and scientific ones. While de'Crescenzi posited that artful nature was the province of aristocratic enjoyment, which contributed to their health, individual health regimens for aristocratic patrons (*regimina sanitatis*) also advocated leisurely reading as a recreational avenue that promoted health through the cultivation of pleasurable experience.

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 100. My emphasis.

The *Carrara Herbal* falls into the intersection of these ideas: it is a book, the reading of which is made enjoyable through the artist's use of stylistic and compositional variety in his depictions of nature. Moreover, its subject is nature and the healing properties of plants. Consequently, not only is the subject of the *Herbal* how plants can ameliorate and preserve the health of the body, but the experience of reading it was also a way to promote health, especially the health of its ideal readers, Francesco Novello and elite members of his court. While the association between literature and its moral benefits was celebrated in Francesco il Vecchio's collection of books and in his commission of the Sala virorum illustrium, Francesco Novello's collection of medical texts celebrated ancient medical knowledge. Within the body of medical knowledge in which the *Herbal* participated, ideas about the place of pleasure and recreation in physical health played a central role. The ancients acknowledged that managing emotions (or the accidents of the soul) was vital to the maintenance of health. Recreation, play, and pleasure were part of a physician's arsenal of prescriptions to promote health exactly because they helped to regulate the emotions. Both being exposed to the beauty of plants and reading about edifying, exotic, or enjoyable subjects were deemed beneficial to the maintenance of emotional balance for aristocratic patients.

In Avicenna's widely read *Canon*, of which Francesco Novello owned all five books, the physician connected emotions with the body's heat and its *spiritus*, the internal, non-corporeal substances that enable the body to function. He believed that the patient's imagination and emotions affected his or her physical body by way of their impact on the *spiritus* in the body. In his treatise *De viribus cordis* (On Strength of Heart) from the first book of the *Canon*, Avicenna argued that emotions affect the body by

altering and unbalancing the *spiritus*. He posited that a balanced and plentiful *spiritus* of the heart was a central aspect of the body's health and was promoted and maintained by moderate joyfulness.<sup>34</sup> The *spiritus* was balanced by joyfulness, and joyfulness was cultivated by recreation and leisure, of which reading was a vital component.<sup>35</sup>

In the other treatises on health popular during the late Middle Ages, the *Secretum secretorum* and the *Regimina sanitatis salernitanum*, methods of attaining moderate joyfulness as a guard against the poor health associated with extreme emotions were recommended. Reading was one form of recreation used to help regulate the emotions, especially the emotions of princely patients.<sup>36</sup> Both treatises were written for noble patrons and the *Secretum* in particular was written for princes. Originally an Arabic

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<sup>34</sup> Glending Olson, *Literature as Recreation in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca & London: Cornell UP), 1982, 44-45. Translation of Avicenna's *Liber canonis* by O. Cameron Gruner, in *A Treatise on the Canon of Medicine of Avicenna Incorporating a Translation of the First Book* (London: Luzac, 1930), 212-14, as cited by Olson.

<sup>35</sup> The physician Benedetto Reguardati described the best emotional attitude for preserving health in a regimen of health written ca. 1435-38, which drew on material in circulation written over a century earlier. He wrote: "For the preservation of health we should strive most resolutely for moderate pleasures and for gladdening solaces. So that as much as possible we may live happily in temperate gaiety. That condition expands the *spiritus* and natural heat to the outer parts of the body and makes the blood purer; it sharpens one's wit and makes the understanding more capable; it promotes a healthy complexion and a pleasing appearance; it stimulates the energies throughout the whole body and makes them more vigorous in their activity" (Pro sanitatis igitur conseruatione summopere ad temperata gaudia et solatia alacriora conari debemus, ut quam possibile sit lete uiuamus moderata cum letitia. Spiritus, naturalem calorem ad exteriora expandit membra; clariorum sanguinem facit; ingenium acuit; intellectum solertioem efficit; et uiuidum colorem placidumque aspectum inducit, atque totius nostre corporis uirtutes excitat et in eorum operibus agiliores prestat), *Pulcherrimum et utilissimum opus ad sanitatis conseruationem* ([Bologna], 1477, fols. 124v-125). Cited and translated by Olson, 50.

<sup>36</sup> Olson cites the short version of Johannes Hispaniensis' twelfth-century translation of the *Secretum* as preserved in Middle English: "And þe bettir for helth and digestion if þe man haue ioy and gladnes, and with þat goode fortune, as glory, worship, fame and worship of þe peple, victory of his ennemyis. Also, if he may beholde beauteuous parsonis, and delecabil bookis, and here pleasaunt songis, and be in cumpany of such as a man louith, and to were goode clothis, and to be anoyntid with swete oynementis" (And the better for health and digestion if the man have joy and gladness, and with that good fortune, as glory, worship, fame, and the worship of the people, victory over his enemies. Also, if he many behold beautiful persons, and delectable books, and hear pleasant songs, and be in company of such as a man love, and to wear good clothing, and to be anointed with sweet ointments) (53, my translation).

treatise *Kitāb sirr al asrār*, the *Secretum* was believed to be a letter from the aging Aristotle to Alexander the Great sent during the latter's invasion of Persia. It gave advice on statecraft, virtuous behaviour, and on how to preserve the king's health.<sup>37</sup> In its long version, the *Secretum* assumed the contents of a *regimina sanitatis* and became part of the influential *regimen principum* and popular *speculum principis*, the Mirror of Princes, literary traditions during the Middle Ages.<sup>38</sup> I will return to the role that the *regimen principum* and the *Secretum* may have played in the commission of the *Herbal* in the next chapter.

After the Black Death pandemic in 1348, the regulation of emotions also became an important tactic for warding against the plague and was recorded in the widely read and disseminated plague manuals.<sup>39</sup> The *Tacuinum Sanitatis* (Manual of Health), the illustrated version of which was especially popular among the elite of Padua's neighbouring region of Lombardy, similarly recorded (in text and in image) ways of managing difficult emotions in order to achieve the temperate joyfulness associated with health. Storytelling, walking, horseback-riding, hunting or hawking, and sitting or talking in the garden were some of the activities useful to noble patients in promoting joyfulness.<sup>40</sup>

Similarly, many thirteenth and fourteenth-century *consiglia* (compilations of medical cases gathered together for the purposes of study) noted that pleasant activities,

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<sup>37</sup> Telfryn Pritchard, "Aristotle's Advice to Alexander: Two English Metrical Versions of an Alexandreis Passage," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 52 (1989): 209.

<sup>38</sup> Olson, 54.

<sup>39</sup> Bertiz, 100. Boccaccio's *Decameron* served as a fictionalized counterpart to the plague manuals.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 205-212.

conversations and story-telling, and listening to music and viewing beautiful objects warded against melancholy, an emotional state that left one susceptible to poor health.<sup>41</sup> In the *Decameron*, Giovanni Boccaccio incorporated these medical commonplaces into his fictional setting. A group of patricians flee the city for the country in hopes of escaping the plague. There, in a beautiful garden, the group tells stories to lift their spirits and so help to protect themselves from the plague.

Laurent de Premierfait translated Boccaccio's *Decameron* into French for the Duc de Berry in the early fifteenth century. In his preface, de Premierfait directly articulated the relationship between recreation, health, status, and reading and storytelling that was popular in the medical treatises and *consiglia* and implicit in Boccaccio's tale. He told the Duke that reading or listening to Boccaccio's work would enable him to "acquire three profits that are mingled with three honest pleasures." De Premierfait goes on to argue that labour leads to weakness of body and of mind. To restore the body, one must eat nourishing foods. To restore the mind, one must partake of delightful things because they "gladden and cheer people's spirits (esperitz)" and so prolong healthy life.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> The fifteenth-century revision of Aldobrandino of Siena's *regimina sanitatis*, originally written for Beatrice of Savoy and popular among the French elite especially, contains the prescription of reading unusual and pleasant things (Olson, 57; Bertiz, 208).

<sup>42</sup> The complete passage reads: "... after difficult and burdensome work, whether physical or mental, it is natural that everyone restore his energy either through the help of food or through some proper pleasure in which the soul takes delight. ... Since you and other earthly rulers represent divine power and majesty, I say that just as joyful and happy praise from the heart should be sung or spoken before the heavenly and omnipotent Lord, so it is proper before earthly lords that stories be told in an agreeable way and with proper language in order to gladden and cheer people's spirits. For in order to be more fully worthy in the eyes of God, rulers and all men may prolong their lives in any rational way consonant with God and nature" (... selon ordre de nature aprez griefues et pesantes besongnes traictees par labour corporel ou par subillite d'engin il affiert que chascun homme refreschisse ses forces ou par confort de viandes ou par aucune honneste leesse en quoy l'ame prengne delectacion. ... puisque vous et autres princes terriens portez la representacion et figure de puissance et mageste diuine, je di que ainsi comme deuant dieu celeste et tout puissant doiuent estre chantees ou dictes loanges de cuer ioieux et esbaudi, aussi deuant les princes licitement peuent estre racomptees nouvelles soubz gracieuses manieres et honnestes paroles pour leesser

De Premierfait echoes Aristotle's argument about the value of leisure in the *Nicomachean Ethics* and in the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum*, ideas implied in Boccaccio's work and in many medical treatises. In the *Nicomachean Ethics* and its medieval commentaries (especially that of Thomas Aquinas), recreation and pleasure were seen as vehicles that led to virtuous behaviour. Aristotle, per Aquinas' interpretation and translation, argued that

to play in order to work better is the correct rule ... This is because amusement is a kind of relaxation (*requiei enim assimilatur ludus*) that men need, since they are incapable of working continuously. Certainly relaxation is not an end (*non utique finis requies*), for it is taken as a means to further activity.<sup>43</sup>

Because relaxation was not an end in and of itself, it could not be considered idleness – a sin – and instead was considered a means to promote further virtuous activity. This idea resonates with Petrarch's view of history, the study of which leads to virtuous behaviour. In a manner akin to Petrarch's reasoning about the value of historical study to leaders in particular, de Premierfait noted in his preface that rest and relaxation were especially important to the health of princes, an idea seen in numerous *consiglia* as well. For instance in Arnold of Villanova's *regimina sanitatis* for the King of Aragon he stated that:

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et esbaudir les esperitz des hommes. Car pour plusamment meriter enuers dieu il est permis aux princes et aussi a tous hommes alongner leurs vies par toutes voies conones a dieu et a nature acompaignee de raison), Bibilothèque Nationale, MS f. fr. 129, fol. 2v. Cited and translated by Olson, 76-78.

<sup>43</sup> *In decem libros Ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nicomacum*, ed. R. M. Spiazzo, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Turin: Marietti, 1964), L. X. lectio IX, p. 538, cited by Olson, 95, from *Nicomachean Ethics*, X, 6, trans. C. I. Litzinger, *Commentary of the Nicomachean Ethics*, 2 vols. (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1964), II: 900-901. Note also, that in article two of question one hundred and sixty-eight of the *Summa theologica* Aquinas discusses the potential virtue in play (*in ludis*). He suggests that when strained the soul tires just like the body. For Aquinas, contemplation is the most tiring because it requires a person to transcend his natural "sensibilia," which causes greater tiredness. The remedy, for Aquinas as for Aristotle, is to rest the soul. Pleasure is this rest. Olson likens Aquinas' comment on the relationship between pleasure and the soul to sleep and the body (95-97).



People who are *distracted by many cares and troubles* and who are frequently harassed should take time out for cheerfulness and for proper recreations, so that their minds may flourish anew and their spirits be reinvigorated.

(Qui vero multis curis et sollicitudinibus distrahuntur et crebro punguntur gaudio sepe vacare debent et honestis solatiis vt animus reflorat et spiritus recreentur.)<sup>44</sup>

While certainly appropriate for patients vexed by fear of plague, as Olson argues, this advice directly applied to the cares and worries of leaders as well. Just as the pleasure of seeing oneself in the virtuous men of history was important to the moral health of leaders (as Petrarch advocated to Francesco il Vecchio) so also the pleasures of recreation and rest were important to the physical health of leaders.

The pleasure of viewing illustrations in books is part of the pleasure found in reading books themselves. In the *Carrara Herbal*, the variety of style and composition used by the scribe and illustrator cultivated pleasurable experiences for select members of court and engaged their awareness in the process of reading.<sup>45</sup> Borrowing from Pliny, I suggest that the “most attractive” illustrations facilitated pleasurable viewing and reading experiences for the socially privileged. The textual content of an illustrated *materia medica* was only as important as the material object itself. As I suggested above in my discussion of the *Vienna Dioscorides* and Frederick II’s *materia medica*, the content of these herbals served as a conceptual catalyst for the production of beautiful books that

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<sup>44</sup> *Opera medica* (Lyons, 1504), fol. 81. My emphasis. Cited and translated by Olson, 49 n. 15.

<sup>45</sup> Alternatively, Jean Givens has suggested that illustrations in herbals may be a type of index used to demarcate information more readily and to facilitate an educated reader’s search for certain information (2006, 144). This hypothesis is especially relevant for copies belonging to apothecaries and physicians who likely needed to quickly access and reference the diagnostic and pharmacological information in these entries. I agree with Givens that the illustrations in these books are linked intimately with the process of reading. However, many illustrated herbals, including the *Carrara Herbal*, contain visual cues within the scribe’s presentation of the text block that help to guide the reader through the written content. The scribal highlights provide visual keys to the order of information contained in the text block. The illustrations did not need to fulfill this task.

would have functioned differently than unillustrated herbals. The content became a vehicle for the creation of a material setting that distinguished the codex and emphasized the status and character of its owner through its opulence and its distinctive reading and viewing experience.

The *Carrara Herbal* and similar, luxury illustrated *materia medica* were not, in Brubaker's terms, "handbooks for casual use," nor were they tools for the identification of plant specimens in the field as Otto Pächt argued.<sup>46</sup> Yet, neither were they simply "picture books for bibliophiles" as Collins suggests.<sup>47</sup> Rather, the books function in-between these hermeneutic poles as luxurious media for self-consideration – for admiration, for gift-giving, or for personal study. Through their text and illustrations, they draw attention to themselves as codices, specifically as codices that participate within greater sets of historically significant social mores particular to their elite collectors.

The *Carrara Herbal* is an excellent example of a codex best understood by considering the content, imagery, and material object in unison. Its size, careful structure and preparation, use of expensive materials, and extensive illustration suggest that, had it been completed, the codex would have been a commanding, substantial addition to Francesco's library and perhaps even an object of display. The *Herbal* is a large, ornate manuscript, approximately fourteen inches high by nine and a half inches wide. It contains thirty-two quires, usually of ten parchment sheets each.<sup>48</sup> The manuscript is bulky and awkward to handle, and was certainly not a *vademecum* to be carried on the

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<sup>46</sup> Brubaker, 208, and Pächt, 29.

<sup>47</sup> Collins, 310.

<sup>48</sup> Excluding the paper index and the section between fols. 263 and 266, in which a different, thinner parchment was used.

patron's person. To read the *Herbal* necessitated orchestration. It required time, careful handling, and a space structured to accommodate the book itself. The *Herbal* shows few signs of wear, which further attests to its status as a treasured object to be displayed and read carefully.

The *Herbal*'s text, illustrations, and layout all contributed to the reader's experience of the book. The scribe's presentation of Serapion's text contains visual cues to guide the reader. Jacobus Philippus wrote in dark-brown India ink, in crisp and easily-legible regular gothic miniscule script (*littera fere humanistica*). He arranged the text in a single column with wide margins to better display the text block against the pale vellum of the page. The scribe also inserted coloured highlights into the script to alert the readers to important information within the text block. He highlighted his capital letters with pale yellow when quoting place names, and each plant name, chapter number, and "virtù" are inscribed in red and serve as a header for the subsequent information, demarcating the relevant therapeutic information within the text block. The colourful lettering, three-line high opening initials, and red or blue paraphs occasionally overlap areas of the illustration, which suggests that they were added after the completion of the plant portraits.<sup>49</sup>

Serapion's text itself followed a pattern aimed at structuring the reading experience. He originally organized his text into entries for each simple. Each entry records the description of the plant followed by its medicinal "virtue" according to Galen's elemental theory. The description explains the plant's characteristic visual features, as well as its defining smells and tastes. After the description, Serapion noted

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<sup>49</sup> Baumann, 26.

the plant's therapeutic virtues alongside its accompanying elemental qualities. For example, the entry for lemon balm (*Melissa*, fol. 18v) reads “la virtù prima e calda e secha in lo primo gra” ([*Melissa*'s] primary virtue is hot and dry in the first degree). Secondary and often tertiary virtues are also given. The medicinal virtues of the plant are then explained in detail. Serapion discusses the ailment(s) that the plant is most effective in treating and how best to prepare effective medicines from the simple. He also notes the different results of the medicine when given to various patients, depending on their sex, age, and governing elemental temperament. Serapion peppers direct references to the ancient medical sources throughout his text, especially “Galen says” and “Dioscorides says.” By inserting the names of influential earlier authors into his text, Serapion bolstered the authority of his content and showed himself as a member of their lineage.<sup>50</sup> Following Serapion's example, the scribe of the *Carrara Herbal* (Jacobus Philippus) highlighted these names in red ink. He thus drew the reader's attention to the ancient authorities, visually accentuating the information that lent Serapion credibility.

The varied use of composition in the *Herbal*'s illustrations also contributes to the experience of reading the codex: it cues the reader to his role *as a viewer*. Throughout the codex, the artist used compositional variants in which he extended the plant portraits off the page, grew them up out of the text, encircled a text block, or made them appear pressed into the pages of the book.<sup>51</sup> These diverse compositions engage the reader at

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<sup>50</sup> See Appendix E for a textual comparison of the entry for lemon balm in the *Carrara Herbal* with that in an early modern English translation of Dioscorides.

<sup>51</sup> There are variations even within these types of composition. For example, chamomile (fig. 59) appears to grow up from behind the text describing its virtues, rather than from in-between two entries. Instead of portraying the plant below its corresponding text, the scribe broke the text entry in two and the artist inserted this delicate portrait in the middle of it. Baumann accounts for these variations by suggesting that the scribe and artist worked closely together to find the best placement for the text and image blocks. For

every turn of the page, always drawing his or her attention back to the experience of reading the codex.

The illustration of barley (formento, fol. 21r, fig. 60) is a good example of how the relationship between image and text functions in the *Herbal*. Together these elements draw attention to the materiality of the manuscript and orchestrate a specific reading experience. In the portrait of barley, the artist depicted four detailed barley heads growing up from behind the text of the following entry on barley flour (de la farina [del formento], unillustrated). He portrayed the barley heads' ladder-like pattern of growth and the feathery awns that spread outward like rays to surround them. He also carefully observed and recorded the thin, hollow cylinder-shape of the barley's leaves that grow around the stalk and extend outward upon maturity. The curving width of an extended leaf causes it to fold over itself and droop downwards.

The artist's composition emphasizes this distinctive feature of the barley's pattern of growth in order to unify the image with its surrounding text. The illustrator represented the flag leaf of the far left barley spike folding gracefully across the width of the page, which creates a visual break between the text entries. Furthermore, he extended the barley stalk and leaf off of the page, producing a frame for the subsequent text block. This compositional frame visually divides the textual information even as it reminds the viewer of the conceptual connection between the barley heads and the barley flour they can become. It provides both a visual break and a sense of continuity between the

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Baumann, this "trial by error" method is especially prevalent in the second book, and stabilizes into the predominant page layout – in which the text block is on top of the page and the image block lies below – mid-way through the second tract. After fol. 23v, Lombardy Poplar (polvaro), all remaining pages are plotted according to this layout.

entries.<sup>52</sup> By deliberately emphasizing the textual content through its connection with the visual imagery, the composition reminds the reader of the part the illustration plays in the creation of a holistic experience of the book as an object. It potentially makes the reader more consciously aware of the object he or she holds by pulling the reader out of complacent reading and viewing.

Whether one is reading the text or looking at the images, each aspect is interrupting the other continuously. By pausing to admire an image the reader's progress through the text is broken. As the reader stops reading to wonder at the image of the pressed bird's foot trefoil or clump of violets, or to marvel at the exacting pictorial demarcation of genera of marshmallow, the plant fictions compel the reader to dwell on the page. The reader may know these plants are not truly contained within the book's pages, but he or she cannot quite believe they are mere illusions either. In-between the states of knowing and disbelieving lies a moment of pleasant deception that captures the reader away from the text.

The result is similar when the reader's progress is interrupted by the appearance of a schematic plant picture or a picture that combines representational techniques. The insertion of plant representations drawn from older models may suggest to the reader the codex's place within a lineage of illustrated *materia medica* collected by patrician elites. These illustrations may even pull at the reader's memory of specific illustrated *materia medica* he or she may have read. Conversely, and perhaps more simply, the very differences between the representational techniques give the reader pause, and in their

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<sup>52</sup> This is also the mode of representation the artist uses when portraying climbing plants, like wild morning glory (volubelle, fol. 33r, fig. 61), and ivy (cussus, fol. 33v, fig. 62). They crawl across the page, sinuously surrounding the text, and often begin and end outside the confines of the page.

variety enrich the reader's experience of the book with inflections of pleasure. In different ways, the interruptions in the text caused by the different illustrations please the reader, and the unexpected diversity of illustration keeps the reader engaged. The interruptions potentially guide the reader's consciousness back to the codex as a material object to be experienced, and so to its social and historical contexts at the court of Padua.

The different pleasures caused by moments of deception (created by the verisimilar images), of recognition (created by the traditional images), or of simple enjoyment (created by the imagery's variety) become a point of connection between the *Herbal* and the reader. This point of connection also protects the health of the reader. Such healthy pleasure was reserved for an elite audience, and was especially relevant to a ruler. Francesco Novello, as lord of Padua and the *Carrara Herbal*'s principal reader, was the ideal recipient of the book's pleasures and profits. His status associated him with distinct health requirements that the *Carrara Herbal* addressed on multiple levels. As a beautiful book, the *Herbal* met the requirement for leisurely reading needed to maintain a prince's health and focus. Furthermore, its textual content addressed additional means for the maintenance of health: reading the *Herbal* itself was an act promoting Francesco's health, and its very content augmented his knowledge on how to maintain health and cure disease.

By owning the *Herbal*, Francesco was initiated into a genealogy of elite readers whose health was promoted by the very act of reading. Francesco il Vecchio was a member of this genealogy, a member who used his well-known book collection and public image as an erudite reader to garner support for his rule. Perhaps to allude to his place not only in a general lineage of (healthy) elite readers, but in a particular family

genealogy of book collectors as well, Francesco Novello had his family heraldry incorporated into the illustration of the *Herbal*. The heraldry works within the book to connect different genealogical threads: the general ancestry of elite readership and the specific ancestry of the Carrara family as readers and collectors. The addition of family heraldry lends ownership and descent a specific role in the construction of meaning, the promotion of health, and the reader's experience of the *Herbal*.

The pointed use of Carrara family heraldry in the ornamentation of the manuscript's title pages and the scribe's signature on the final folio were central to identifying the *Herbal* as Zago's "Serapiom in volgare." The addition of elaborate heraldic adornment to the frontispiece of the *Herbal* (fol. 4r, fig. 1) and the ensuing unillustrated *Bestiary* (fol. 265r, fig. 63) visually established the book as Francesco's possession. This addition was the final step in the manuscript's illustration, which was likely the work of three painters – one responsible for the plant portraits and two others dedicated to the additional ornament and heraldry.<sup>53</sup> The frontispieces are punctuated by depictions of the Carrara family's arms (*arma* or *stemma* in medieval Italian), centred in the upper and flanking margins.<sup>54</sup> The red *carro* set against a black background is

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<sup>53</sup> Baumann, 26.

<sup>54</sup> For all heraldry vocabulary and descriptions I have followed the terminology used by D'A. J. D. Boulton in his very helpful article on late medieval Italian heraldry: "Insignia of Power: the use of heraldic and paraheraldic devices by Italian princes, ca. 1350-1500," in *Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy: 1250-1500*, ed. C. Rosenberg (London & Notre Dame: Notre Dame UP, 1990): 103-127. Boulton outlines three distinct types of heraldry used by the Italian princes: 1) the oldest form of arms, heraldic arms, represents a design that covers the whole surface of a shield. The design is a simple, often geometrical, motif portrayed in a contrasting colour to the shield; 2) the shield of arms, *il cimiero* in Italian, is a helm bearing a crest at its apex. These designs can allude to the heraldic arms, but often do not, and they are more fanciful in form than the heraldic arms; 3) the badge or device is a symbolic design adopted by an individual. They are usually a plant or an animal whose significance is explained by a motto represented next to the badge. Boulton terms badges "paraheraldic" because they are less formal and their use is less stable than the preceding forms.



represented three times on the title page to the primary *herbario* section and twice on the title page of the subsequent *bestiario* section.<sup>55</sup> On the primary frontispiece, two large, gold “Fs” emblazoned against a dark background complement the heraldic arms from the upper right and left corners. These initials further identify the codex as Francesco Novello’s possession.<sup>56</sup>

Francesco il Vecchio’s crest (*cimiero*), which he appropriated from Ubertino, is portrayed in the lower left corner. Francesco Novello inherited this crest, which portrays a winged, golden-horned Saracen robed in red and gold perched atop a black helmet. The helmet in turn rests upon the heraldic arms: the black shield bearing the *carro*.<sup>57</sup> Another shield of arms mirrors the intergenerational family shield from the lower exterior margin. This crest is Francesco Novello’s personal addition to the family arms. Atop the black shield emblazoned with the *carro*, this crest shows a helmet crowned with two wings – one black and the other white – set against a brilliant red background.<sup>58</sup> These two shields along with two of Francesco Novello’s personal devices frame the depiction of the lemon

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<sup>55</sup> The *carro* on the title page of the bestiary section is centred in the upper and interior margins. The exterior marginal decoration is less ornate than the *herbario* title page’s decoration.

<sup>56</sup> Their presence may also suggest a tribute to Novello’s father and namesake from whom he inherited his shield of arms (*cimiero*). See Giordana Mariani Canova, “Serapion il Giovane, *Liber Agregà*, No. 54” in Canova (ed.), 1999, 154.

<sup>57</sup> Francesco il Vecchio assumed this personal crest rather than the shield of arms of his assassinated father, Giacomo II da Carrara (lord of Padua, 1345-50), which displays a hydra atop the helm and *carro* (fig. 64). Instead, Francesco il Vecchio resurrected the Saracen crest from its originator, Ubertino da Carrara (r. 1338-45), Francesco il Vecchio’s third cousin (son of his great, great-uncle Giacomino da Carrara) (fig. 65).

<sup>58</sup> This crest is described by Gatari. Francesco Novello gives a pennant bearing this crest to Piero da Cortaruollo to carry into battle. Gatari describes the pennant as: “ch’erra tuta rossa col cimiero da l’alla e con la targha dal carro ...” ([the pennant] that was all-over red with the *cimiero* of the wing and with the *carro* shield) (fol. 327v-328r, p536-7, my translation).

tree, encircling the *Herbal's* opening plant portrait and its text entry with Carrara symbols (fig. 66).<sup>59</sup>

The presence of family heraldry at the opening of the codex is important. In strong visual language, the shields of arms tell the viewer that this large book and its contents belong to Francesco Novello and also to his ancestral family. The Carrara lords used the heraldic signs as markers of possession, not only of their manuscripts, but of their architectural and fresco commissions, currency, and personal seals, as we have seen. The ancestral connections visualized by the presence of the diverse Carrara *stemmi* and their juxtaposition with Francesco Novello's emblazoned initials, claimed the codex for the current Carrara lord *in the name of* the Carrara dynasty. These family symbols provided concise recognizable signs that symbolized the individual members and the histories of the Carrara rulers.

The *Herbal's* plant imagery is intimately connected with the meaning of the heraldry. The frontispiece depicts a portrait of a lemon tree framed by family heraldry, which marks the book *and* the picture as Carrara possessions and prompts the viewer to see the plant portraits in direct relationship to the heraldry. The unrealistically portrayed body of the tree is adorned with many oversized lemons, identified by the realistically

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<sup>59</sup> Two of Francesco's personal devices (badges) rest between the shields of arms on the lower margin. In the device closest to Francesco il Vecchio's shield of arms, a hand stretches out of a bell-shaped sleeve and holds an armillary sphere against a dark blue background framed in gold. The device closest to Francesco Novello's personal shield of arms shows a blue sphere, with a white centre that encases a gold cross, which radiates golden rays across a white background framed in gold. While the second emblem is damaged on the title page of the *herbario*, its details are much clearer in the representation on the *bestiario* section's title page (fol. 267r, fig. 63). The inner white sphere clearly shows the gold cross in its centre, and the gold writing around the blue band displays one of Francesco Novello's mottos: "pour moy auxi" (for me also) (Baumann, 95-97). These two devices also appear on the coins and medals that Francesco Novello minted during his reign (Canova, 1999, 154). In the same passage describing the war pennants, Gatari recorded that one of Francesco Novello's standards depicted celestial worlds (mondi d'oro) (fol. 327v-328r, p. 536-7). Lazzarini suggested that the devices represented between the familial crests may be those described by Gatari (1901, 29, n. 2).

rendered ovoid shape and mottled skins, and the characteristic glossy, lanceolate leaves. The combination of conventional schemata and verisimilar representational techniques is evident in multiple examples throughout the manuscript. The commingling of these strategies in the lemon tree image parallels the conceptual relationship between the *stemmi* and their owners, in which a symbolic, unreal image is used to signify a specific, real individual.

The artist's representation of the lemon tree neither as extremely schematic nor as highly realistic, lends the portrait an emblematic quality, a sense of being a new heraldic device itself. Personal devices, or badges, are usually symbolic designs, often plants or animals, accompanied by a motto that explains the design's significance. Lined up with two of Francesco Novello's other personal devices and two family *stemmi* in the lower margin, the lemon tree appears as a type of badge itself. Just as the personal devices and family *stemmi* are encircled in bright colours and gold and set off against a solid ground, the lemon tree is set against the plain vellum and surrounded by a brilliantly coloured border enhanced with gold.

The composition of the frontispiece itself imitates that of the *stemmi*. If the lemon tree is the visual icon of one of Francesco Novello's personal badges, then the textual content above the tree becomes a type of personal motto. The text above the tree records information about its medicinal properties and about who will benefit from these properties – that is, it records Serapion's medical information in the formula used throughout the codex for each simple. As a type of "motto," such medical knowledge contributed to the prince's persona as an educated benefactor learned in the arts of the medical school he supported. As a new heraldic device, the lemon tree colours the

perception of the remaining plant imagery that punctuates the codex. The pictures, especially those combining the stylistic cues of both the verisimilar and the schematic modes, function as a different type of *stemma* through which a reader might mentally connect an image to a real object – not to the plant represented, per se, but to the Carrara lord and to his book.

The choice of placing the traditional *stemmi* in a frame around the image of a tree also strengthens the underlying ancestral and genealogical messages implicit in the heraldic arms in a different way. The frontispiece of the *Herbal* brings together the genealogical signifiers of the heraldic devices and Dioscorides' typological organization of his material. This not only connects the family with a tree image, but further connects the family with knowledge about curative medicine. Traditionally, *materia medica* begin with a book on the medical properties of trees; however, the juxtaposition of family heraldry with a tree, especially with a tree that itself serves as a new type of heraldic device, invites viewer recollection of tree imagery in other contexts: secular genealogical trees and the religious tree of Jesse imagery.

In both illustrations and in rhetoric, Giovanni Boccaccio employed tree imagery in all autograph editions of his *Genealogy of the Pagan Gods* (*Genealogie deorum Gentilium*). Boccaccio used the tree image to help visualize the origins and ancestry of the pagan gods, who were “rooted” in heaven and stretched downward toward earth (fig. 67). Boccaccio's inversion of the tree was appropriate since the pagan genealogy ends with the generation of Hercules, half-human and half-god, who originated on the earth

rather than in the heavens.<sup>60</sup> A book dedicated in part to the justification of poetic fiction-making, Boccaccio's *Genealogy* would have appealed to Carrara interests on account of its reference to Roman divinities and their hierarchical ancestry. Boccaccio's tree image, however, is indebted more to the Biblical imagery of the Tree of Jesse than to any Roman source.<sup>61</sup>

Many contemporaneous and historical Psalters and private devotional books contain images of trees to show Christ as a descendant of David and his father Jesse. In the Book of Matthew, Christ's family line is likened to a tree, a metaphor that emphasizes Christ as the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy in the Old Testament in which Jesse dreams of his successors: "And there shall come forth a rod (*virga*) out of the root (*radice*) of Jesse, and a flower (*flos*) shall rise up out of his root" (fig. 68).<sup>62</sup> Exegesis on this Biblical passage likened the Virgin Mary (*virgo*) to the rod (*virga*), and her son Christ (*filius*) to the flower (*flos*). Usually family trees flow downward from their source in a distant

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<sup>60</sup> Ernest Wilkins notes antique precedents for Boccaccio's secular genealogical tree. He cites Seneca (*De beneficiis*, III, 28, 2) and Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, XXXV, 2). Wilkins also points to medieval law's use of tree imagery to chart the degrees of consanguinity for purposes of inheritance in the *arbor iuris*. Wilkins, *The Trees of the Genealogia Deorum of Boccaccio* (Chicago: Caxton Club, 1923), 25-26.

<sup>61</sup> Thomas Hyde discusses Boccaccio's debt to the Bible, especially the passages in Genesis dedicated to genealogy and the Jesse trees that often preceded the Book of Mathew. Hyde, "Boccaccio: The Genealogies of Myth," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, v. 100 (1985): 742. On fiction-making in the *Genealogy*, see Boccaccio, Book XIV, chapter seven of the *Genealogy* where he defines poetry as "an art ... full of the sap of natural vigour ... [and as] a sort of fervid and exquisite invention [that is] ... sublime in its effects: it impels the soul to a longing for utterance; it brings forth strange and unheard-of creations of the mind; it arranges these meditations in a fixed order, adorns the whole composition with unusual interweaving of words and thoughts; and thus it veils truth in a fair and fitting garment of fiction" (*Boccaccio on Poetry; Being the Preface and the XIV and XV Books of Boccaccio's Genealogie Deorum Gentilium*, ed. and trans. Charles G. Osgood [Princeton: Princeton UP, 1930], 39). For original Latin text see liber XIV, 7, 1, "*Genealogie Deorum Gentilium Libri*," vols. 10-11, *Opere*, ed. Vincenzo Romano (Bari: G. Laterza, 1951). For commentary on Boccaccio's poetic fiction-making and its relationship to contemporaneous pictorial imagery, see C. Jean Campbell, *The Commonwealth of Nature: Art and Poetic Community in the Age of Dante* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), esp. 80.

<sup>62</sup> ... et egredietur virga de radice Jesse et flos de radice eius ascendet (Isaiah 11:1). Latin *Vulgate* Bible with Douay-Rheims English translation.

ancestor (as Boccaccio used it) – hence the term “descendant.” The Jesse Tree, however, grows upward, reversing the traditional family tree and showing Christ as the culmination of his ancestors and as the saviour.<sup>63</sup>

From the twelfth-century onward secular genealogies of the nobility developed that imitated the upward-thrust of the *virga Jesse* and so channelled its inherent soteriological message and mapped it onto a secular family hierarchy. As Christiane Klapish-Zuber noted, between the twelfth- and sixteenth-centuries virtually all of the prominent, powerful lay families in Europe used the messianic message of the Jesse Tree to their advantage.<sup>64</sup> The *Carrara Herbal*'s combination of the heraldic lemon tree with more traditional family heraldry may suggest the growing prominence of family trees that assumed the sacred imagery of the *virga Jesse* for political reasons. At the Carrara court, the association between the family's political ambitions, their genealogy, and the salvific imagery of the Jesse Tree would have complemented the Carrara agenda to represent the dynasty as the saviours of Padua. For Francesco Novello, in the position of honour atop

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<sup>63</sup> Christiane Klapish-Zuber charts the development of the genealogical “tree” in which the family's source begins at the bottom of the page while the later “descendants” spread upward in the tree's branches – an image that is counter to the very terminology of descent. See “The Genesis of the Family Tree,” *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance*, vol. 4 (Florence: Villa I Tatti, 1991): 105-29. The *virga Jesse* imagery, in which Christ crowns the family tree of his predecessors, places Christ at the pinnacle of the ancestral tree rather than Jesse, the family source. Klapish-Zuber suggests that believers psychologically could not place Christ at the bottom of the page, in a place of lesser honour than Jesse. This prompted a reversal of imagery upholding linguistic tradition (descent) for imagery upholding traditional metaphor (family tree). The image also emphasized the soteriological message of Christianity, whereby salvation is delivered by Christ and hope rests in the future rather than the past.

<sup>64</sup> Klapish-Zuber, 127. Her chief example is the twelfth-century *Welf Tree*, the first known example of a royal genealogy that adopted the upward tree form rather than the descendent-focused charts of the past. The place of honour at the top of the Welf family tree was reserved for the emperor Barbarossa, whose mother descended from this family. The family legitimized their lineage by referencing *virga Jesse* imagery. Klapish-Zuber also lists several English kings who assumed this imagery into their genealogical trees.

his ancestors' success, the association would further his desire to continue and surpass the glories of his forefathers.

The frontispiece of the *Carrara Herbal* participates in many popular forms of genealogical representation, from the immediate familial heraldry to the conceptual affiliation between the emblematic lemon tree and the *virga Jesse* or with Boccaccio's leafy genealogies of the pagan gods. Through its use of stylistic variance, composition, and visual connotations of other contemporaneous family trees, the frontispiece emphasized the centrality of genealogy as a patronage theme stretching across the Carrara dynasty. This theme manifests in the pictorial imagery, but also in the object itself. The very codex is the descendant of a lengthy line of illustrated herbals commissioned by illustrious patrons, up to and including Francesco il Vecchio.

We know that illustrated herbals had a home in the younger Francesco's library. However, their long historical association with patrician collection and their content's resonance with the teaching at the University of Padua suggest that the collection of these books would have been appropriate for the elder Francesco as well. Moreover, Francesco Novello's commission of the *Carrara Herbal* itself indicates that Francesco il Vecchio's library possessed this type of book. Francesco Novello intended to restore and exceed the greatness of his father's library. If he could not reclaim his father's books physically, he reclaimed them through imitation. Following this logic, we might identify the *Carrara Herbal* as the heir to a specific manuscript that once belonged to the elder Francesco and that was among the spoils taken from the Carrara library by Giangaleazzo Visconti in 1388. I suggest that Francesco Novello's *Herbal* is an imitation of the influential and widely copied *Herbal of Manfredus de Monte Imperiale* (Paris, BnF Lat. 6823).

The manuscript was produced in southern Italy ca. 1330-1340 by a scholar-physician who described himself as both author and illustrator of the codex in the manuscript's incipit.<sup>65</sup> *Manfred's Herbal* is the pictorial source of at least three luxury herbals produced by artists working in Padua, Verona, and Milan. Together the manuscripts provide a *terminus ante quem* for the codex's arrival in north Italy in the last half of the fourteenth century.<sup>66</sup> At least one of these manuscripts (MS Masson 116) was produced in the Paduan workshop of either Jacopo Avanzi or Altichiero between 1376 and 1379. If correct, this attribution firmly links *Manfred's Herbal* to the Carrara court under Francesco il Vecchio, where the illustrator of the *Carrara Herbal* may have seen it.

A record of Manfred's heavily illustrated Latin herbal appears in the earliest extant *consignatio* (library inventory) of the Visconti-Sforza collection in Pavia recorded in 1426, a collection to which Francesco il Vecchio's books were relocated after 1388.

How Manfred's book came into Visconti possession remains unknown, as does the cause

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<sup>65</sup> Written on fol. 3r, the incipit reads in part: "... Cum ego, Manfredus de Monte Imperiali, in artis speciarie semper optans scribere virtutes et cognoscere rerum proprietates, de simplicibus medicinis, ut recte cognate fuissent ab aliis et maxime a conficientibus medicinam, manu mea volui scribere librum et congregare omnes herbas et alia medicinalis secundum quod scripta inveni in multis libris autoribus; de quibus herbis quas cognovi et quorum nomina subtus subjecit, in libro hoc scripsi et per figuram demonstravi ... (cited by Collins, 291, n. 102). Although Manfred claims authorship of his manuscript, both the illustrations and content of his herbal derive from the Egerton 747 *Tractatus de herbis* (ca. 1250-1300). Manfred altered his model somewhat to suit his needs as a practicing physician. He included an illustrated version of the *Liber medicinae de animalibus* and also the list of synonyms composed by Simon of Genoa augmented by Manfred himself. The synonym list gives the codex a *terminus post quem*. Simon of Genoa's glossary of Arabic, Latin and Greek plant and medical terminology, *Clavis sanationis*, was written at the papal court of Boniface VIII and finished no later than 1296 (Collins, 270 and note 39).

<sup>66</sup> In chronological order, the three *Tractatus de herbis* manuscripts are: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 873\* (ca. 1350-75); Paris, Bibliothèque des Beaux-Arts, MS Masson 116 ca. 1370-80, and the *Historia Plantarum*, Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS. 459, commissioned by Giangaleazzo as a gift for his ally King Wenceslas IV of Hungary c. 1394-95 (Collins, 273-78). Two of the three manuscripts are linked by costuming and style to the Veneto, and Collins, following François Avril, suggests that MS Masson 116 was produced in Padua. See F. Avril, "commentary," in Platéarius, *Platéarius, Le livre des simples médecines, d'après le manuscrit français 12322 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris*, trans. G. Maladin (Paris: Editions Ozalid, 1986), 282.



or person responsible for its northern migration.<sup>67</sup> Manfred's book, however, would have been an ideal acquisition for Francesco il Vecchio's collection. The book's author and its history of use would have reinforced Francesco's desire to construct an image of himself as a contemplative scholar and as a great patron of the blossoming medical school at the University. Hypothetically, the manuscript's initial migration north may have been the result of Francesco il Vecchio's efforts to recruit instructors for the University of Padua from Bologna. The rise of these two prestigious medical schools and universities in northern Italy transferred the locus of medical knowledge and teaching from the Salerno school northward.

Although the original owner insignia in *Manfred's Herbal* has been effaced, the resonance of the *Herbal's* content and iconography with Francesco il Vecchio's cultivated persona and its subsequent presence in the Visconti library after the conquest of Padua suggest that *Manfred's Herbal* once belonged to the Carrara. As part of Francesco il Vecchio's collection, *Manfred's Herbal* could have been a precedent for the *Carrara Herbal's* illustrations and for its ideological significance as a codex in Francesco Novello's scholarly library.

The *Carrara Herbal* is not a direct copy of *Manfred's Herbal*. However, the herbals share similar textual content. Both also include formally similar examples of realistic and conventional imagery, which suggests that the illustrator of the *Carrara*

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<sup>67</sup> Pellegrin, 1955, 278-9, (A 929). The final extant manuscript that borrowed Manfred's imagery, *Historia Plantarum* (Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 459), is connected decisively to the Visconti court, and dates to after Giangaleazzo's conquest of the Carrara. This pattern of influence suggests that the manuscript was in the Veneto during the last quarter of the fourteenth century and transferred to Lombardy by the end of the century, which strengthens the possibility that *Manfred's Herbal* belonged to the Carrara.

*Herbal* may have observed the illustrations in *Manfred's Herbal*.<sup>68</sup> More important than any formal resemblance between illustrations, however, it is the concept of *Manfred's Herbal* as an illustrated book of plant medicines collected by erudite bibliophiles that the *Carrara Herbal* imitates. By imitating an illustrated herbal from which other contemporaneous luxury herbals derived, the *Carrara Herbal* inserted itself into a hierarchic lineage of collection of illustrated *materia medica* and emphasized the continuity of the Carrara family's efforts to create a prestigious book collection.

The opening series of portrait frontispieces in *Manfred's Herbal* visually articulate another lineage that would have appealed to Francesco Novello.<sup>69</sup> It speaks to the conceptual similarities between the two herbals by articulating the ideal image of the manuscript owner as a medical doctor, a wise reader and successor to the knowledge traditions encapsulated within the book. The opening author portrait of *Manfred's Herbal*, in pale-coloured pen and wash, shows Manfred seated with a large book cradled in the crook of his right arm (fol. 1r, fig. 74). He raises his left hand in a gesture of speech

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<sup>68</sup> For instance, the depictions of cucumber and watermelon in the *Carrara Herbal* (del citron piccolo che fi chiamà citrullo, fol. 162v, fig. 69 and de la angura, fol. 163r, fig. 70) are remarkably similar to their corresponding representations in *Manfred's Herbal* (de cucurbita, left, and de citrulis, right, fol. 42v, fig. 71). In both renditions, the illustrators show the characteristics of the plants' leaves, flowers, and pattern of growth. Also, like the *Carrara Herbal's* illustrator, Manfred adhered to the schematic representational conventions found in the earlier herbals. For instance, he depicted the mandrake anthropomorphically (mandragore, fol. 98v, fig. 72). The mandrake has long been associated with the human body due to the tendency of its long, parsnip-like root to bifurcate or branch out into a shape that resembles legs, torso, and arms. Furthermore, Manfred juxtaposed verisimilar and schematic plant portraits. For instance, he portrayed pennywort schematically (cottilidon sive cinbalaria vel unbillicus veneris, left, fol. 47r, fig. 73), while he portrayed its neighbour, onion, more realistically (cepe, right, fol. 47r, fig. 73).

<sup>69</sup> The series precedes the incipit page that identifies Manfred as both illustrator and author of the manuscript. The portraits, however, were not executed by Manfred himself. He likely commissioned them from either the Sieneese artist Lippo Vanni who was working in Naples ca. 1340-44, or the Neapolitan artist Roberto Oderisio, also working in Naples during the 1340s and 50s, whose frescoes at the Church of Santa Maria Incoronata show similar attention to costuming and individual facial features. See Collins, 272, who cites Degenhart and Schmitt for Oderisio's authorship (*Corpus der Italienischen Zeichnungen 1300-1450*, vol. 2 [Berlin: Mann, 1980], 351), and Avril for Vanni's authorship (*Dix siècles d'enluminure italienne: VIe-XVIIe siècles* [Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1984], 69).

to a group of students, two of whom hold out plants for identification and analysis (betony and artemisia). Text streams from Manfred's mouth toward his students. He says, "Prima et ultima medicina propter corpus et animam est abstinentia" (Moderation, by means of body and soul, is the first and greatest medicine).

Manfred is shown as a Master of medicine in the act of teaching – his face is lined with age and his grey beard falls in waves across the torso of his long, hooded robe. Conversely, his students are portrayed with the glow of youth, their eager faces either clean-shaven or depicted with a short, neat beard. In the upper right corner of the page, the hand of God emerges from a series of concentric blue spheres in a gesture of blessing. Text streams downward from God's hand toward Manfred. It reads, "Omnia probate quod bonum est tenete" (Investigate all things, holding fast to what is good). This quotation from the first letter of Paul to the Thessalonians, 5:21, suggests Manfred's practice and his teaching are assisted (and authorized) by God.

The next two pages display eight portraits of medical authorities and their commentators whose works were central to the curriculum of the Salernitan and Neapolitan medical schools.<sup>70</sup> Four of the figures are named, and all are portrayed seated on benches in discussion with one another. To show their conversations and to identify the speakers, texts excerpted from their most-recognizable works flow from their mouths. The upper register of the first series of author portraits shows Hippocrates citing the incipit from his *Prognostica* to the Arab translator Johannitius who, in turn, speaks lines

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<sup>70</sup> Collins, 272.

from his *Isagoge in Artem parvam Galeni* (fol. 1v, fig. 75).<sup>71</sup> Beneath them, Hippocrates is portrayed again, now citing the incipit of his *Aphorismi* to Galen.<sup>72</sup> On the following page the upper register shows an unknown doctor conversing with Bartolomeo of Salerno, a commentator on the texts of the authorities depicted on the preceding page.<sup>73</sup> Below them, the Aristotelian commentators Averroes and Porphyry face one another in discussion (fol. 2r, fig. 76).<sup>74</sup>

These authors are not directly linked to the texts compiled in *Manfred's Herbal*, and Collins suggests that their portraits were added to strengthen the connection between Manfred and the *studium* of Salerno or Naples.<sup>75</sup> Alternatively, I suggest that their portraits also visually map the contents of Manfred's knowledge, and elevate him and his book as the ultimate, even divinely ordained, resource for medical learning. Within Manfred, the book's original reader, ancient medical authorities separated by vast stretches of time converse and merge their theories and practices into a new medicine embodied by Manfred himself. Pictured prior to the ancient doctors, Manfred's body is much larger and more individuated, highlighting his importance and authority. Manfred supersedes them and shows himself as the current Master of medicine whose learning

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<sup>71</sup> Known in the west as Johannitius, the Christian doctor Hunayn ibn Ishaq (809-873 A.D.) worked in Baghdad and is credited with the first translation of Dioscorides from Greek into Syrian and Arabic. See M. M. Sadek, *The Arabic materia medica of Dioscorides* (St-Jean-Chrysostome (QC): Les Éditions du Sphinx, 1983).

<sup>72</sup> Galen returns the maxim "Intendo enim manducare ut vivam, alii intendunt vivere ut manducent" (Truly, I intend to eat so as to live; others live but to eat). The maxim shows Galen as a student of Hippocratic medicine in which diet is integral to the preservation of health.

<sup>73</sup> Bartolomeo speaks the incipit from his commentary, *Practica*.

<sup>74</sup> Per Collins' identifications, 292, n. 113.

<sup>75</sup> Collins, 272.

encompasses all of the previous knowledge of the ancient sources along with the addition of his own experiences.

Manfred's self-image would have appealed to Francesco il Vecchio who similarly sought physically to embody the knowledge of different ancient authors (and the deeds of their heroes) in his person through the collection and digestion of their texts. His son also pursued this ideal, but in the specific context of ancient medical authorities. In the *Carrara Herbal*, rather than a series of author portraits, a conventional, opening figured initial introduces the text and accompanies the heraldry on the frontispiece (fig. 77). The initial "E" (for El Citron) is the only figured initial in the *Herbal*. Along with the first line of text that announces the title of the chapter, the initial is placed directly below the marginal decoration of flowing gold and colourful swirls, juxtaposed with Francesco's initials and the central *carro* in the upper margin.<sup>76</sup>

Within the architecture provided by the "E," a figure is portrayed sitting at a large enclosed desk composed of gold leaf and modeled in black paint. The central horizontal axis of the "E" is the tabletop of the desk. Dressed in the familiar hooded robe of a scholar, the figure gestures toward an open book perched on a bookstand, denoting the object of his attention. There are two books on a shelf beside him that, following convention, further identify this space as a study or *studiolo*. The uniform, reflective gold background of the scene focuses the reader's attention on the scholar and his open book. The portrait prompts the reader to identify with the scholar who, like him or her, sits at an

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<sup>76</sup> "El prima tractà xè de le medexine temperè" – on temperate medicine (Serapion, *El libro agregà de Serapiom, volgarizzamento di frater Jacobus Philippus de Padua*, vol. 1: testo, ed. Gustav Ineichen [Venice and Rome: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1966], 3).

elaborate desk contemplating this very book. The golden background suggests that the reader may be looking in a mirror, seeing a reflection of him or herself.

As a portrait of the ideal reader, the initial is also a portrait of the patron, Francesco Novello. It visualizes the action of reading and shows Francesco as a scholar in the active process of knowledge-building. The metaphor of the mirror is useful here as well. It repeats the function it played in Francesco il Vecchio's *Sala virorum illustrium*, which furthers the sense of continuity between the patronage of father and son. Both sought to see something of themselves in their artistic patronage reflected back at them and the members of their courts.

The *Carrara Herbal's* figured initial accompanied by Francesco's heraldry, and the author portrait of Manfred in his *Herbal* intimate that these books were linked to the personal collection of illustrated manuscripts (especially *materia medica*) and to patron identity. Manfred augmented his book collection with his *Herbal* to show himself as the new Master of medicine. Likewise, I suggest that Francesco Novello augmented his book collection with the *Carrara Herbal* to promote an image of himself as a new type of prince, a physician prince, capable of healing Padua after the foreign occupation of the Visconti. Francesco pursued a manuscript collection that could facilitate a perception of him as a capable heir to his father's successful rule of Padua. He was inspired by his understanding of the role of illustrated *materia medica* in his ancestors' patronage and in the libraries of other patricians and physicians. As a sign, the *Carrara Herbal* could promote not only his genealogy and his alleged medical erudition, but also, through its medical content, could associate Francesco's book collection with the growing reputation of the university school of medicine, for which Francesco claimed responsibility.

In the following chapter, I will discuss the relationship between the *Carrara Herbal* and Francesco Novello's use of Padua's *studium*, in the tradition of his forefathers' patronage, as a sign of his progressive rule and as a key component in the construction of his imagined self as the "physician" and "healer" of Padua.

***Conclusion: The Physician and his Book***

The *Carrara Herbal* is the only identified illustrated medical treatise from Francesco Zago's 1404 inventory of Francesco Novello's book collection. It was, however, one among many treatises on medicine. Over two-thirds of the texts on Zago's list concern medicine or *materia medica*. These contents clearly point to an interest in the contemporary practice of medicine and to the medical school at the University of Padua. Francesco's library contained medical treatises penned by the contemporary local physicians, Marsilio da Santa Sofia and Piero da Pernumia, and Latin translations of medical texts by the canonical Persian physicians, Avicenna and Rhazes.<sup>1</sup> During their training, students at the university were required to read the same herbals, medical dictionaries, and compendia of medical recipes represented in Francesco's collection.<sup>2</sup> It is significant that the humble and generally unillustrated volumes of the students were

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<sup>1</sup> The inventory lists two treatises penned by respected local professors of medicine at the University of Padua: the *consiglio*, or book of collected medical advice and counsel, by Marsilio da Santa Sofia (d. 1405), and a book of medical maxims on diet by Master Piero da Pernumia (d. after 1393), personal doctor to Francesco il Vecchio. Francesco Novello's collection also included over twenty-four treatises by Rhazes and all five books of Avicenna's *Canon*.

<sup>2</sup> From the thirteenth century on, the *Canon* by Avicenna (ca. 973-1037 AD) was the basic medical theory taught at Italian universities during the Early Modern period. See Nancy Siraisi, "The Physician's Task: Medical Reputations in Humanist Collective Biographies," in *Medicine and the Italian Universities 1250-1600*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, vol. 12 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 163, and Chiara Crisciani, "Histories, Stories, *Exempla*, and Anecdotes: Michele Savonarola from Latin to Vernacular," in *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Pomata and Siraisi (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 2005), 308. Another Persian, Rhazes (ca. 860-923 AD), was a practicing doctor and medical theorist in Baghdad. His theoretical works and commentaries were also required reading at Persian and European centres of medical learning. Pietro d'Abano (1257-1315), the early fourteenth-century medical doctor and theorist at the University of Padua, specifically mentioned his consultation of Serapion's herbal and Dioscorides' *De materia medica* (Siraisi, 1973, 161). He also traveled to Constantinople and saw Juliana Anicia's illustrated version of *De materia medica* (Reeds, 16). Is it a coincidence that Serapion, the original author of the *Liber aggregatus in medicinis simplicibus*, the text housed in the *Carrara Herbal*, would be singled out as a reference by Padua's pre-eminent medical son, Pietro, and an illustrated version of this treatise would assume a vaulted position in Francesco Novello's library?



mirrored by luxurious, decorative and portable copies in Francesco's collection.<sup>3</sup>

The evidence suggests that part of Francesco Novello's mission in developing his library was the celebration of medical knowledge and local physicians, in light of their specific connections to the Carrara family and to Padua. In fact, Francesco's collection, and the *Carrara Herbal* in particular, defied the strict categorization associated with book collection in the late middle ages. Its hybrid form suggests that it drew from the many aspects of book culture in northern Italy, from the university to the court, from learned study to prestigious (and pleasurable) entertainment. In bridging the conceptual space between the university and the court Francesco Novello's personal library demonstrated his interest in the university while remaining a sign of his princely status at court.

In its makeup and presentation the *Herbal* crossed the boundaries between university textbooks and courtly codices, and effectively brought university medicine under the court's purview. In this chapter, I argue that the *Herbal* was designed as a point of intersection for the different value systems circulating in Padua, and located its patron and principal viewer, Francesco Novello, as the orchestrator of these systems. Both in his book collection and in his role as patron, Francesco connected the social mores established by his father and encouraged by Petrarch with the hierarchy of medical learning epitomized by the university. This fusion resulted in the development of a new social role at court, that of the court physician. Like the emergence of the court physician,

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<sup>3</sup> The university students often owned small, portable, inexpensive and unillustrated handbooks with similar medical content for individual study and practice. Records of the gate-toll (*gabella*) paid by book merchants when they came to sell their wares reveal a market for books of many different values, from illuminated manuscripts to everyday, unillustrated books for students, merchants, and lay-people. Armando Petrucci cites the gate-tolls paid by book merchants entering Perugia in 1379. The toll varied according to the value of each book. He notes that the toll for bringing large missals, ecclesiastical books, bibles, and breviaries into Perugia was 3 soldi; 2 soldi for law books, small-format grammar and poetry books, and 6 denari for small books and writings (Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*, trans. and ed. Charles M. Radding [New Haven: Yale UP, 1995], 189).

the making and circulation of the *Carrara Herbal* gave definition to Francesco Novello's self-representation as ruler and as metaphorical "physician" for the people of Padua.

The *Carrara Herbal* shares many of the distinctive characteristics of the *libri di banco* (desk books) produced and used in university centres from the twelfth century onward. Like other books of this kind the *Herbal* is of a large format (approximately fourteen inches tall by nine and a half inches wide) and is subdivided into sections demarcated by colourful indicators of various sorts: rubrics and red and blue enlarged initials, for instance.<sup>4</sup> These colourful guides, along with its clear gothic textura script, contributed to ease of reading and memorization. Abbreviation of common terms and enlargement of margins to allow space for notation were also characteristic of such books. The *Herbal*'s similarities to desk books notwithstanding, it also differs from them in a number of ways. It was written in the Paduan vernacular, the language of court and city, rather than in Latin, the language of the university. The text occupies one large column rather than two as in a typical desk book. The book bears no evidence that it was chained to a desk for consultation by students and faculty as were many *libri di banco*.<sup>5</sup> As part of Francesco's book collection, the *Carrara Herbal* likely would have been read in a secluded *studiolo*, or personal study or library, entrance to which was granted only to

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<sup>4</sup> Petrucci, 171-3. Petrucci considers any book with a length over thirty centimetres (11.8 inches) a large format book.

<sup>5</sup> On account of a least two rebinding campaigns, it is impossible to know whether the book was chained to a desk originally, but it was not a practice associated with patrician book collection. We know that the leaves of the *Herbal* have been trimmed, likely during an eighteen-century rebinding and restoration campaign, and that its current binding is the British Library's from 1965. The title page illumination and a number of the plant portraits show slight loss on the inner margin, which attests to the resizing of the manuscript. The interior margin's adornment on the title page is only fractionally cut compared to the corresponding marginalia on the exterior margin, which suggests that the current state of the manuscript still conveys a close approximation to the original. See *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1853-1875* (London: British Museum, 1877), no. Eg. 2020., and the descriptions by Minta Collins, 279, n. 162, and Baumann, 25-26.

a select few court intimates. Most strikingly different of all, the *Carrara Herbal* is heavily illustrated.

As discussed in chapter three, the frontispiece is as a prime example of the luxuriousness of the *Herbal*'s illustration. It integrates the botanical imagery with the Carrara family's heraldic imagery and its genealogical significance (fig. 1). A full border of swirling acanthus leaves in deep blue, red and gold connects representations of the family crests and surrounds the initial plant portrait of the lemon tree, lending an emblematic quality to the opening illustration. In the lemon tree portrait itself, as in all the other illustrations, many layers of paint were applied to achieve the levels of opacity, density of colour, and tonal variety that characterize the illustrations. The opulent illustrations along with the unusual vernacular rendition of the medical text in the *Herbal* are indicative of a shift away from the format of books associated with the universities toward courtly production.

Although the *Herbal* shares the content of the books studied at the medical school and the initial appearance of a *libro del banco*, it also has characteristics of the so-called "courtly" codex, a form that developed in the Padovano and the Veneto during the thirteenth century. The courtly codex was a luxury book reserved for a privileged audience. It was of a smaller format than a desk book, was written in gothic textura on parchment, and generally contained illustrations in fine pigments. It was written in the vernacular and the text usually was dedicated to epic- or romance poetry and prose, themes popular among the aristocracy.<sup>6</sup> Although it shares the lucid presentation, beautiful illustration, and vernacular language of the courtly codex, the *Carrara Herbal*

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<sup>6</sup> Petrucci, 179-181.

does not quite fit into this category of book either on account of its scholarly subject matter and large size.

The *Carrara Herbal* is not quite a university textbook, nor is it entirely a courtly codex. It is a combination of the two. This merging of book forms recalls the relationship between the university and the seignory. In order to better understand the significance of the relationship between the Carrara lords and the university, it is necessary first to understand the significance of the university to the city of Padua. The university was the principal ornament of Padua. It played a large role in the city's economy and its politics during the communal and seigniorial periods.<sup>7</sup> In 1318, when the major council (*maggior consiglio*) of the Commune of Padua elected Giacomo il Grande (d. 1324) as *Defensor, Protector et Gubernator populi paduani* (the defender, protector and govern or of the Paduan people), the council described Giacomo's principal duties in the election statute.<sup>8</sup> As Captain General, Giacomo's foremost duty was the defence of Padua against Cangrande della Scala and the provision of supplies and food. The relationship between the Carrara princes and the university also was defined in the edicts of the election statute.<sup>9</sup> Giacomo's support of the university and protection of its scholars was second in

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<sup>7</sup> Siraisi, 1973, 29.

<sup>8</sup> Giacomo was granted wide-ranging powers: command of the army, jurisdiction in court cases, civil and criminal, and the power to appoint the commune's magistrates, its *podestà* and his staff. While executive power over the treasury, the university, the election of officials, and the development of new laws were granted to Giacomo for perpetuity in the election statute, the commune did enact safeguards to protect its rights: Giacomo swore to maintain his duties in public assembly, and a panel of eight jurists (*sapientes*) was commissioned to set and limit his salary (Kohl, 1998, 39-41).

<sup>9</sup> Kohl, 1998, 37-38.

importance only to his role as defender of the city. The election statutes decreed that the university's students and faculty were to be like sons ("tamquam filios") to Giacomo.<sup>10</sup>

As Giacomo's "sons," the body of the university became related to that of the Carrara ruler. Metaphorically speaking, the university, its students and professors became part of a Carrara genealogy, a theme central to the *Carrara Herbal* commission.

Giacomo's promise to nurture his generative bond with the university inaugurated the Carrara family's tradition of university patronage, a tradition that continued for the duration of their dynasty. The Carrara prince became a symbolic father, whose paternal function was fulfilled by the continued success of his "sons" – the university students and faculty. As sons of the Carrara, these men were not only products of Padua's great university, but products of Carrara patronage, and their successes reflected positively on their makers. One of the results of the familial connection between court and university was the development of a particular economy of knowledge and pleasure that defined Paduan culture under the Carrara. The *Carrara Herbal* was both a product and an emblem of this economy. It provides a tangible point of access to the metaphorically generative union between the *signore* and the university. Francesco's library represented the collected knowledge of court and university, and the *Herbal*, through its form and content, represented the commingling of this knowledge in a tangible way.

To legitimate their seignory the Carrara lords followed Giacomo il Grande's precedent and accounted for the university in their patronage and rule. They pledged to assure its continued vitality, and that vitality brought praise to the family as benevolent and generous rulers. Beginning with Giacomo's election, the family continued and

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 41. In a letter to Francesco il Vecchio, Petrarch used this metaphor to describe the prince's obligations to his citizens as well. See chapter two.

expanded the original privileges granted by the Commune to students and professors at the university. These privileges included fiscal and tax incentives to settle in Padua. The Carrara rulers actively courted students and professors from other universities, especially from Bologna.<sup>11</sup> Early in the Carrara seignory, Ubertino da Carrara (r. 1338-45) established an important exchange between Paduan and Parisian medical students to bring fresh knowledge into the medical school.<sup>12</sup> Francesco il Vecchio, for his part, provided funding for a college of impoverished, international students and set a philanthropic precedent of endowment that was followed by other prominent citizens.<sup>13</sup>

In Padua, the university was divided into four schools: the university and doctoral college of Jurists and their counterparts in the Arts and Medicine. As was usual in all major Italian universities, the jurists' university and doctoral college had long overshadowed those of the arts and medicine.<sup>14</sup> Subordinated by the jurists' schools, the schools of Arts and Medicine were subject to their administrative decisions.<sup>15</sup> During the Carrara rule, however, and especially after 1350, the medical schools expanded rapidly and demanded greater autonomy from the jurists' regulations. The University of Padua came to be known widely as a pre-eminent centre of medical study, arguably even surpassing Bologna. Respected scientists and physicians, nearly half of whom came from

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<sup>11</sup> Pearl Kibre, *Scholarly Privileges in the Middle Ages; the Rights, Privileges, and Immunities of Scholars and Universities at Bologna, Padua, Paris, and Oxford* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1962), 63-66, and Siraisi, 1973, 29.

<sup>12</sup> Siraisi, 1973, 150, and Kibre, 1962, 65.

<sup>13</sup> Kohl, 1998, 34. In 1362, Francesco il Vecchio endowed a college for twelve poor students of civil law. A medical professor, Bartolomeo Campo, followed suit in his testament of 1369, and endowed a college for students of medicine.

<sup>14</sup> Siraisi, 1973, 23.

<sup>15</sup> Siraisi, 1973, 23; Kohl, 1998, 33, Kibre, 1962, 65-66.

Padua and the Padovano, came to fill the ranks of the professoriate.<sup>16</sup> After years of bickering between the schools, Francesco Novello finally made the medical schools' autonomy a reality, demonstrating his championship of medical study. The official separation of the medical and judicial universities and doctoral colleges in 1399 was one of the major accomplishments of Francesco Novello's seignory.<sup>17</sup>

As the various schools grew in prestige and population, students and faculty gained prominence in the civic life of Padua.<sup>18</sup> Professors of both jurists' and medical schools and members of the medical guilds were employed as consultants and diplomats in the Carrara government. The jurist Arsendino Arsendi and the scientist and physician Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio, for instance, were part of a notorious war council convened in July 1372, in the early days of the disastrous Border War with Venice.<sup>19</sup> Arsendi also served as an ambassador to Florence, Ferrara, and the papacy, and as envoy to Venice during the turbulent 1370s.<sup>20</sup> At Francesco il Vecchio's behest, Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio constructed a planetary clock that charted the movements of the

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<sup>16</sup> Kohl, 1998, 34.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 33. For at least forty years prior to Francesco Novello's intervention, the debate over the schools' autonomy had raged at the University of Padua as the medical school continued to grow in student numbers and in prestige.

<sup>18</sup> Siraisi, 2001, 159.

<sup>19</sup> On the war council see Kohl, 1998, 172 and 199-200. Despite a much-lauded victory in May, 1373 at the battle of the Brenta Canal at Lova, the Border War with Venice, June 24, 1372 – September 1373, resulted in the routing of Padua and her allies (principally the Habsburgs of Austria and King Louis of Hungary), at the battle of Buonconforto (July 1, 1373). The terms of peace with Venice were harsh: *La Serenissima* claimed the Paduan cities of Cittadella, Camposampiero, and Solagna (to the North), Mirano, Stiano, and Castelcarro (on the eastern frontier), and Anguillara and Borgoforte (on the Adige). Francesco il Vecchio was ordered to raze a number of fortifications along the frontier with Venice, publicly admit war guilt before the Doge and the Major Council, and Padua was made to pay 250,000 ducats as reparation. On October 2, Francesco Novello and Petrarch travelled to Venice to fulfill the public admission of guilt. An ailing and frail Petrarch praised the peace between Venice and Padua and called for a renewal of their friendship. See Kohl, 1998, 119-131.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 200.

celestial bodies according to the Ptolemaic system. The clock brought even more praise to the learned men of the university and to the city of Padua. Such visible participation of the university's jurists and physicians in the governance and civic life of Padua points to the living relationship between the Carrara and the city's institution of learning.

The increasingly visible role of the university faculty in public processions and family rituals points to the need for continued renewal of the symbolic bond between court and university during times of transition. Doctors of medicine and law played key roles in Francesco Novello's wedding to Taddea d'Este in May 1374, the funeral of Petrarch in July 1374, and the funeral procession of Francesco il Vecchio in November 1393. All these events were recorded in exceptional detail by Paduan chroniclers, testifying to their importance in the official life of the city.

For instance, the Gatari family's *Cronaca carrarese* records how Francesco Novello's bride, Taddea d'Este, "in a purple gown with the *carri* embroidered in coral" (... vestita di detta porpora con carri ricamati di coralli ...) was escorted on the final leg of her wedding procession into Padua beneath a baldacchino carried by nobles (con un baldachino simile foderato di varij et portato da gentilhomini), and surrounded by

six knights, who guided her horse, and all the doctors [of the University] on foot in their white gowns with hoods drawn, such that never did a bride-to-be appear with such honour, honour enough for an empress.

... sei cavalieri havea atorno, che reggevano il cavallo, et tutti li dottori inanti vestiti di bianco con li suoi bavari et venivano a piedi, che mai fu vista donna andare a marito con simile honore bastevole certamente ad una imperatrice).<sup>21</sup>

Likewise, Gatari recounted that upon Petrarch's death,

Signore Francesco da Carrara, Prince of Padua, with many archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, monks and universally all the clergy of Padua and of the Padovano,

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<sup>21</sup> Gatari, 64v, p. 143, my translation.



and the knights and doctors and scholars of Padua, went together [to the village of Arquà on the mountain in Paduan territory] to honour [Petrarch's] remains.

(Morí adunque nella villa d'Arquà sula montagna del tereno di Padoa, dove ad onorare fu il ditto corpo a sopelire miser Francesco da Carara, prinzipo di Padoa, con quanti arcivescovi, vescovi, abadi, piori, munixi e universalmente tuta la chieresia di Padoa e dil padoano disstreto, e cavalieri e dotori e scolari, ch'era in Padoa, andarono tuti ad onorare il ditto corpo.)<sup>22</sup>

Commenting on the ritual procession for the elder Francesco's funeral, Gatari remarked that Francesco's casket was escorted to the church by,

the most famous doctors, in their hooded cloaks, who led the way and carried a baldacchino of gold cloth lined with ermine [above his casket].

(...perfino ala chiesa, sora la qual cassa era per famosissimi doctori, con loro capuzi di varo in testa, portado uno baldacchino di pano d'oro fodrado d'armelini.)<sup>23</sup>

The presence of these esteemed men in the funeral procession orchestrated by Francesco Novello visually connected the physical bodies of the deceased and present lord with the physical bodies of the doctors, the tangible, living embodiments of the knowledge pursued in practice and perfected at the university. The doctors of medicine and law served as physical emblems of the university and its schools, and in their participation in these significant rituals publicly acknowledged the university's importance to Padua and to its governing lords.

Under Francesco Novello, the *Carrara Herbal* was one product of the union between the Carrara seignory and the university medical schools. Another was the new social position of court physician. The court physician was a practicing medical doctor and often a university scholar who served as a confidant to the *signore* and was

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 69v, p. 138, my translation.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 257r, p. 442-443, my translation.

considered part of his extended court family.<sup>24</sup> The position he came to occupy at court bridged the role of the physician and the role of the educated, humanist advisor. Along with promoting regimens of diet and prescribing medicines to preserve the prince's health, the court physician was also charged with fostering the prince's character and did so by promoting the study of Roman history and the use of its great men as exempla. The court physician thus merged the two defining patronage trajectories and social identities of the last two Carrara lords. In his functions he connected Francesco Novello's support of the university medical schools with his father's promotion of humanist ideals, especially of Petrarch's *virii illustres* as the exemplary predecessors of the Carrara rulers. The court physician embodied both the continuity between the Carrara rulers *and* the new direction of patronage particular to Francesco Novello's identity as ruler.

In order to flesh out the figure of the court physician, I turn to the evidence provided in the career and writings of Michele Savonarola (1385-1466). A Paduan-trained professor and medical practitioner, Michele's career was shaped by the commingling of university and court values in Carrara Padua.<sup>25</sup> He wrote two treatises in particular that reflect his background very clearly. The *Libellus de magnificis ornamentis regie civitatis Padue* (ca. 1446) is a court biography of Padua's prominent citizens and a guide to its monuments written in the tradition of Petrarch's *De viris illustribus*. This work provides insight into the social hierarchy at the Carrara court during the Trecento

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<sup>24</sup> As I will argue, Francesco Novello's book collection and his use of the "most learned doctors" of the university in public ritual processions suggest that the ideal of the physician as counselor to princes and "doctor of the soul," believed to be a fifteenth century development, was present in fourteenth-century court culture as well.

<sup>25</sup> Although he left Padua to work for the d'Este family in Ferrara in 1440, Michele continued to hold his birth city and the medical training and political views he learned there in high regard. On Michele's life, family, and the development of his thought, see Marangon, 45-102. On preserving his Paduan ideals in Ferrara, see p. 83 especially.

and the place of medical doctors within it.<sup>26</sup> In 1440 Michele left Padua, by then part of the Venetian republic, to become the court physician to Borso d'Este in Ferrara. Another of Michele's treatises, *Del felice progresso di Borso d'Este* (ca. 1455), provides evidence of how medical doctors worked at court.<sup>27</sup> While Michele penned his treatises in Ferrara, they drew on his Paduan experience and are important evidence for the Paduan cultural milieu.

Michele's earlier work, a collection of biographies, provides concrete evidence of the high status accorded to physicians during the Carrara rule. In the *Libellus*, Michele ranked contemporary Paduans and Paduans of recent history according to the perceived social value of their professions and occupations – including arts and letters, medicine, and law.<sup>28</sup> At first glance, it appears that Michele ranked the study of law above that of medicine, which was customary; however, his placement of Pietro d'Abano (1257- ca. 1315) as the leader in his category of natural philosophers complicates the initial picture of the social hierarchy.<sup>29</sup> Philosophers, both moral and natural, had a higher position on

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<sup>26</sup> Michele's use of the biographical genre in his *Libellus* stemmed from the humanist tradition of Antique collective biography revived by Petrarch in *De viris illustribus* and continued by Boccaccio, and Giovanni Colonna. A form of exemplary literature, the prerequisite for inclusion in a collective biography was social status. The men included were limited to distinguished men of their respective societies or cities. See Nancy Siraisi, 2001, especially 158, 167, and 179.

<sup>27</sup> Savonarola, *Del felice progresso di Borso d'Este*, ed. Maria A. Mastronardi (Bari, Italy: Palomar, 1996).

<sup>28</sup> Michele subdivided his category of medical doctors into *medici theorici*, the theoretical branch of medicine, which he considered a higher pursuit than the secondary division, the *medici practici*. These sub-categories were necessarily fluid since most doctors were both theorists and practitioners, so their placement was determined by occupational emphasis and authorial perspective (Siraisi, 2001, 180).

<sup>29</sup> The other physicians listed in Michele's category of medical doctors, which followed that of the jurists, can be found in Andrea Gloria (ed.) *Monumenti della Università di Padova (1222-1318)*, vol. 1 (Venezia: Presso la Segreteria del R. Istituto, 1884), and *Monumenti della Università di Padova (1318-1405)*, vol. 2 (Padova: Tipografia del Seminario, 1888). Both repr. Bologna: Forli, 1972. Gloria published documentary evidence that these men were products of university training and that all those in Michele's first group of *theorici* were professors of medicine at the *studium* of Padua; eight *practici* included three men definitely identified as professors of medicine per Gloria's documentary evidence, and one who was referred to as professor but of an unspecified subject. The professors identified as *practici* likely taught a branch of the

the social scale than military and political leaders and jurists. Michele placed Pietro d'Abano in a social position second only to that of theologians. That is, he placed Pietro at the height of the secular social ladder.<sup>30</sup> In doing so, Michele demonstrated for his reader that he considered medicine a truly worthy pursuit, one that was highly valued by the court.

Michele ranked Petrarch and the local humanists Albertino Mussato (d. 1329) and Lovato Lovati (ca. 1237-1309), following Pietro, among the natural philosophers. This placement may prefigure (or even predetermine) Michele's own association between medicine and moral history in his work at Borso's court. Pietro, as the most esteemed practitioner and theorist of medicine, was placed alongside Petrarch, Mussato, and Lovati, poet-chroniclers whose works were honoured for their moral authority and as historical record.<sup>31</sup> All three poets employed history as a moral guide for their readers.

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university curriculum known as "practica" while the non-professor *practici* likely made a living by strict practice. These *practici* were all active during fourteenth and early fifteenth century (the latest is Jacopo Zanettini who died in 1402). The appointment of separate professors for "practica" was instituted at the University of Padua in 1391 (Siraisi, 2001, 179-181 n.66).

<sup>30</sup> Savonarola's praise of Pietro d'Abano is not Pietro's whole story. It is the praise of a fellow doctor and scientist. Pietro's medical theory, like many of the time, included astrology and an adherence to the Aristotelian belief that the natural world and everything within it were subject to a hierarchy of causes. The final result of this line of thought is a philosophy of astral and natural determinism known loosely as Averroism. The Inquisition twice tried Pietro on charges of heresy. He was acquitted the first time, and died while in prison awaiting his second trial. Allegedly, the Inquisition found Pietro posthumously guilty and ordered the exhumation and burning of his body. His fellow physicians, however, already had removed Pietro's body to thwart the Inquisitors. Perhaps this act of resistance sheds light on why Pietro's trials and the charges of heresy against him are seldom mentioned. Savonarola was not alone in his high praise of Pietro or in his reticence to accept him as a heretic (Danielle Jacquart, "Theory, Everyday Practice, and Three Fifteenth-Century Physicians," in *La scienze medicale occidentale entre deux Renaissances (XIs.-XVs.)* [Brookfield, VT.: Variorum, 1997], 153, n.47). Pietro is praised in the majority of the many citations in which he appears for the two following centuries. In histories, lists of practicing physicians, chronicles and in other scientific and medical texts that include him, there is generally no mention of the charges of heresy and trials by the Inquisition (Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. 3 [New York: Columbia UP, 1923-1958], 340).

<sup>31</sup> Lovati's poems address moral problems that related to public life as well as political events. Lovati's student, Mussato, emulated Livy in his prose histories of contemporary regional politics, and emulated Seneca in his verse tragedy, *Ecerinide*, which attacks the recent tyranny of Ezzelino da Romano (d. 1259).

Pietro d'Abano's medical theories discuss the relationship between medical treatment and a patient's history, astrological chart, behavioural and moral tendencies, and elemental complexion. The proximity of these men at the height of the secular social hierarchy presented in Michele's work points to the new role of the court physician. Their elevation also suggests the value invested in the court physician as a figure who combined the characteristics of these great men to the benefit of the prince and his court.<sup>32</sup>

In the sense that he occupied a social role that combined the values of Pietro d'Abano with those of Petrarch and the local humanists, the court physician came to occupy the pinnacle of the secular social hierarchy. In *Del felice progresso di Borso d'Este*, Michele Savonarola describes his counsel of Borso and provides a glimpse into the role of court physician, revealing his privileged role as a valued member of the court's most intimate circle. While it was not a *consiglia* of medical prescriptions, *Del felice progresso* complemented Michele's traditional *regimina sanitatis* for Borso by combining observations and advice on the prince's good health with a moralistic history that narrates his life and government.<sup>33</sup> In effect, *Del felice progresso* is a chronicle of the prince's life that, by virtue of its author's profession, also contains prescriptions for the maintenance of his moral and physical health. In its form and in its content, *Del felice*

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Both Lovati and Mussato pay homage to the over-century old Paduan chronicle tradition in their works as well (Hyde, 1966, 290-297).

<sup>32</sup> Michele Savonarola's hierarchy also suggests a point of connection between Pietro d'Abano and Petrarch. The connection he makes between the medical doctor and humanist is not only a reflection of the growing importance of the court physician's role. It is also a reflection of the connection that Francesco Novello wanted to make between his support of the medical schools and his father's patronage of Petrarch.

<sup>33</sup> Prescribing individualized regimens of health (*regimina sanitatis*) for elite patrons was not a new practice. As discussed in the previous chapter, many late-medieval physicians wrote specific medical plans for aristocratic or royal patients. For instance, Arnold of Villanova penned a well-known regimen for King James of Aragon in 1308 known as the *Regimen sanitatis salerni*, and Aldobrandino of Siena (d. 1287) wrote a regimen at the request of Beatrice of Savoy, Countess of Provence. University students also studied compilations of these *consiglia* as part of their training. See Bertiz, 2003, 76-78, and also Siraisi, 2001.

*progresso* is representative of the marriage between the role of the physician and that of the moralizing poet-historian.

As Borso d'Este's physician, Michele composed a *regimina sanitatis* that prescribed exercise and dietary methods to help keep the prince's body healthy. As Michele's *Del felice progresso* demonstrates, however, the court physician's role did not stop with such corporeal prescriptions. In his narrative of Borso's life, Michele also prescribed methods to keep the prince's morality healthy. He urged the prince to carefully study history's exemplars, including the recent history of Leonello d'Este's rule of Ferrara. His program for the maintenance of the prince's well-being integrated ethics, devotion, and physical health. It included dietetic, educational, and spiritual advice written specifically for the prince.<sup>34</sup>

Michele's literary model for this approach was likely the Greek Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum* (The Secret of Secrets) literary tradition. In circulation in the west by the thirteenth century, the *Secretum* was believed to be a letter of advice on statecraft and healthy living written by the aging Aristotle to his student Alexander the Great who was on a campaign in Asia far from his teacher.<sup>35</sup> References within Michele's work allude to the *Secretum* directly, suggesting that the physician had read a version of

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<sup>34</sup> Crisciani, 301.

<sup>35</sup> The full title of the treatise is the *Book of the Science of Government, on the Good Ordering of Statecraft: the Secret of Secrets*. Translated from Arabic into Latin in the early 1230s by Philip of Tripoli (in Lebanon), the book probably began as a behavioural treatise comprised of Aristotelian pseudepigrapha, of either Hellenistic or Roman origin and accrued its encyclopaedic content (cosmographical, medical, and occult information) over a long period of time from diverse sources written in Arabic and Greek. Philip of Tripoli's translation is considered the whole text (known as the Long Form) while an earlier, abbreviated Latin translation by John of Seville (known as the Short Form) predates Philip's translation by just over a century (ca. 1125). See Steven Williams, *The Secret of Secrets: The Scholarly Career of a Pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 17, and M. A. Manzalaoui, "The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitab Sirr Al-Asrar*: Facts and Problems," *Oriens*, 23-24 (1974): 193.

the treatise. In particular, in his advice to Borso d'Este Michele praised Alexander the Great for following Aristotle's advice on prudent government.<sup>36</sup>

In his treatise on the use of physiognomy in medicine, the *Speculum phisionomie* (ca. 1465) dedicated to Leonello d'Este, Michele also relied heavily on material drawn from the *Secretum*. His use of this material attests to the text's popularity among graduates from the University of Padua during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Michele's treatise supports the conclusions drawn by Pietro d'Abano in his *Compilatio physiognomiae* (ca. 1295), a treatise he wrote while in Paris that extensively cites the *Secretum*. Pietro's use of the *Secretum* both attests to its popularity among graduates and teachers at the University of Paris, and to its translation into Paduan university culture in the late thirteenth century.

Like the *Speculum principis* literary tradition, the *Secretum* was a book of advice addressed to a privileged reader, often a prince, and was popular with scholarly and lay audiences during the late Middle Ages. Both discuss political matters, provide detailed advice on statecraft, emphasize a relationship between princely conduct and the health of the state, and give examples of proper ethical behaviour.<sup>37</sup> The *Secretum*, however, distinguishes itself as an independent literary tradition because it also includes detailed

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<sup>36</sup> "E vogly, pregotte, signuor mio, a la memoria rivocare quanto splendore e quanta gloria ricevuto ha e tutavia receve Alexandri Magno per haver havuto sempre apresso di sé Aristotile e per havere la doctrina di quello con gran diligentia observata. O principi moderni, considerate biene dentro da vuy se 'l vostro principare è somegliante a quello morale e philosophico di Alexandre e se di tale expectati tanta gloriosa fama quanto luy per il suo conseguitato ha!" (Savonarola, 84).

<sup>37</sup> Williams, 8. See Williams for examples draw from Philip of Tripoli's prefatory letter to his translation of the *Secretum* that (like Seneca's *Speculum principis*) call for mercy and for the cultivation of the people's love through kindness. For instance, Philip noted that Aristotle, upon learning that Alexander planned to kill the dissenting Persian magnates threatening his rule of Asia, penned a letter to Alexander. Aristotle advised that while Alexander had the power to kill the magnates, if he did so he would incur the wrath of the people in this new land. It would be better to kill their enmity with kindness, Aristotle urged, which would win their love and obedience peacefully. Pier Paolo Vergerio appropriated this rhetorical strategy in his biographies of the Carrara lords, the *Liber de Principibus Carrariensibus*.

medical information. The medical aspects of the text likely appealed to the Michele as a physician.

Considered a different way, the *Secretum* is a medical textbook that contains a *speculum principis*. The combination of these two genres was central to Michele's *Del felice progresso* and one that would become the trademark of the court physician's approach to medicine and his role in court society.<sup>38</sup> Books I and II of the *Secretum* describe the ideal relationship between ethics and politics – that is, they form a *Speculum principis*.<sup>39</sup> Beyond describing the prince's behaviour, bearing, and ideal moral qualities, the author of the *Secretum* provided additional medical knowledge specific to a prince's constitution. The treatise's later books contain information about plant medicine, hygiene and diet, and information on the “secret arts” of alchemy, astrology and oneiromancy (divination through dreams) allegedly preserved from long-lost Greek sources.<sup>40</sup> Simply

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<sup>38</sup> Crisciani describes *Del felice progresso* as a “renewed” *Secretum secretorum*, a combination of encyclopedic knowledge and a *speculum principis* (2000, 301).

<sup>39</sup> Williams, 11 and M. A. Manzalaoui (ed.), *Secretum Secretorum: Nine English Versions* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1977), x.

<sup>40</sup> Philip's version contains a proem, two introductions, and ten books: I. On the Kinds of Kings, II. On the Position and Character of a King (which includes subsections on the use of astrology, and the section on health and the body), III. On Justice, IV. On Ministers (which contains subsections on cosmology, astrology, the soul, sensation, and numerology, and advice regarding the characters of ministers and political advisors), V. On Scribes, VI. On Ambassadors, VII. On Governors, VIII. On Army Officers, IX. On the Conduct of War (which includes subsections on the role of astrology and onomancy [a type of divination using names] in war), and X. On the Occult Sciences (which contains subsections on talismans, alchemical theory and the Emerald Tables of Hermes, the lapidary and the herbal) (listed by Williams, 10-11). Philip described the *Secretum* as the “most precious philosophical pearl” that “contained something useful about almost everything” (trans. Williams, 364). With such lauded credentials, it is unsurprising that the book steadily gained popularity after its introduction to the West in the 1230s, and over five-hundred manuscripts in different languages remain extant (Manzalaoui, 1977, ix). It joined a growing corpus of translations of Aristotelian works being read and circulated at the universities (Williams, 111). Initially, the *Secretum* was read and annotated mostly by university doctors and scholars of medicine and ethics. By the mid-thirteenth century, it was a prized addition to scientific and moral teaching at universities and monastery schools, especially at Paris and Oxford. Roger Bacon (ca. 1214-1294), Albertus Magnus (ca. 1208-1280), Pietro d'Abano (1257-1315), and Jean Buridan (ca. 1300-1360), among many other scholarly greats, all commented on or extensively cited the treatise. For a list and discussion of the other well-known scholars who commented upon and owned the *Secretum* (up to 1400), see Williams, especially chapter 6, “The Scholarly Reception of the *Secret of Secrets*, Part I: Success,” 183-297.



put, the *Speculum* focused on moral advice for the prince and the *Secretum* focused on medical advice, in addition to moral advice.

The emphasis placed on the ethical and medical information they contain is what truly differentiates the *Secretum* and the *Speculum*. The traditional titles assigned to the *Secretum* and the books to which it was bound during the thirteenth century help to clarify the similarities and differences between the *Secretum* and the *Speculum principis* traditions and show how they often intertwined. In the majority of manuscripts produced during the thirteenth century, the first century of the treatise's circulation, the *Secretum* is bound alongside either medical compendia (such as Peter of Spain's *Thesaurus pauperum*) or Aristotelian or Pseudo-Aristotelian moral treatises (such as the *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Physiognomy*, *Politics*, *Rhetoric*, *Economics*, *Magna Moralia*, and *De Pomo*).<sup>41</sup> Based on these textual associations, the treatise was referred to popularly by two different titles during this period, suggesting its dual roles in both university and court settings. This dual role is central to understanding Michele's use of the format of the *Secretum* in *Del felice progresso*. It is also central to understanding the developing role of the court physician.

During the thirteenth century, the text of the *Secretum* was known either as the *Secretum secretorum* or as *De regimine principum* (The Regimen of the Prince). When referred to by the former title, usually the text was bound with scientific or medical texts, suggesting that the reader was most interested in the text's medical content. When referred to by the latter, usually the text was bound with moral treatises, suggesting that

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<sup>41</sup> Williams, 263-5. Slightly less often, the treatise was bound with generally scientific, philosophical, or theological texts during this period (especially Aristotle's *De animalibus* or *Problemata*).

the reader was most interested in the text's ethical content.<sup>42</sup> The title *De regimine principum* (or similar variations) reveals the text's direct connection to the *Speculum principis* tradition, a tradition concerned mostly with history and moral guidance for the prince.

The two treatises are connected by the idea of the healthy body of the prince and their common use of the body as a metaphor for the state. The health of the prince's body is the literal subject of the medical contents in the *Secretum*, but it is also the metaphorical subject of the moral contents. The *Speculum* is concerned with the relationship between the prince's ethics and the overall health of his kingdom, the "body" of his territories. In the sections dedicated to the prince's morality, the authors use corporeal metaphors and references to sickness and health in order to describe the invisible moral system that supports good governance (see chapter two). This rhetorical connection provides a point of continuity between the humanists' moral treatises and the physicians' medical treatises and prefigures the court physician's role as a combination of the two.

In Michele's book of advice to Borso d'Este he alludes to both the *Speculum* and the *Secretum* literary genres. Through his upbringing at the Carrara court, Michele would have been familiar with Petrarch's *De viris*, and the *Secretum* was circulated in both his academic and court circles during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. While the popularity of the *Secretum* waned at the university throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it continued to grow in court circles, especially among the educated lay readers of the aristocracy. Often young university graduates, perhaps even Michele himself, used

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 269-71. For instance Albertus Magnus, concerned with the ethical advice in the treatise, referred to it as *De regimine dominorum*.

the book as an entrée into court life after leaving the academy.<sup>43</sup> As William Eamon has noted, with its allure and hint of mystery, the *Secretum* became a type of heraldic badge that represented the new graduate's privileged knowledge, and it advanced his identity as a trustworthy intellectual and ally to the prince.<sup>44</sup> The author of the *Secretum* also described the importance of a scholar's knowledge to the prince using metaphors of the healthy body. He noted that "understanding" (intellectus) or knowledge

is the head of government. It is the health of the soul, the preserver of virtue, and the mirror of vice. By it are hateful things cast off and worthy things chosen. It is the fountainhead of virtue and the root of all good, praiseworthy, and honourable things.

(Scias itaque quod intellectus est capud regiminis, salus anime, servitor virtutum, speculator viciorum: in ipso siquidem speculamur fugienda, per ipsum eligimus eligenda: ipse est origo virtutum et radix omnium bonorum laudabilium et honorabilium.)<sup>45</sup>

As court physician, Michele was the point of access to this knowledge for his prince.

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<sup>43</sup> William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 44. As it gained popularity outside of the universities, the *Secretum*'s credibility became more and more suspect, and by the sixteenth century it was considered definitively spurious. Eamon argues that the *Secretum*'s significance was much larger outside of the university than within it. He suggests that the "learned magus" persona projected through the possession of the book helped new graduates from the universities to secure prestigious jobs as advisors at court or within civil administrations.

<sup>44</sup> Eamon, 49-50. Perhaps these young graduates pointed out the passage in the *Secretum* in which the author discusses the ideal character of a prince's advisor, a passage that advocates their suitability for the job. The author advised his reader, the prince, to choose his company carefully. The worthy advisor, he wrote, must possess "a good understanding, and a quick apprehension of what is said to him ... [and he should] be skilled in all sciences ..." (Roger Bacon, *Secretum Secretorum cum glossis et notulis*, ed. Robert Steele, in *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, v. 5 [Oxford: Clarendon, 1920], p. 141 ff. Cited by Eamon, 49-50). The author's description of the ideal advisor for a prince suits the role of the university graduate, and especially that of the court physician. As privileged counsellor and confidant to the prince, the court physician possesses wit and an exclusive "understanding" of the moral and natural sciences. Similar descriptions of ideal advisors to princes can be found in Petrarch's letter to Francesco il Vecchio (*Sen. XIV. 1*), and Giovanni da Conversino's description of his role as advisor to the elder Francesco, which suggests the *Secretum*'s corresponding influence on humanist court culture during the fourteenth century in Padua. (Conversino, *De primo eius introitu ad aulam*, 13 September 1385 [*Of his earliest introduction to court*], in Conversino, *Two Court Treatises*, ed. and trans. B. Kohl and J. Day [Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1987]).

<sup>45</sup> Bacon, 45. Cited in translation by Eamon, 49.

In *Del felice progresso*, Michele argued that the moral and physical health of the prince was essential to the health of the city. He even compared the role of the physician to that of the prince, explaining that the arts of healing and healthy living were related directly to the art of governing well.<sup>46</sup> The true prince must be like a (court) physician to his people. Michele, following Petrarch's example, emphasized the need for Borso to study the examples of the great men and to emulate them in order to prepare for the future, nurture his soul, and secure the moral health of his community. He advised Borso to study Roman history in the humanistic sense of the "historia magistra vitae est," that is the study of history as a guide to life, specifically as a Christian guide to life.<sup>47</sup> But Michele's advice did not stop with ethical recommendations based on historical accounts, as Petrarch's had done. Michele coupled his moral and intellectual prescriptions with physical ones. Not only could he promote the "health of the soul" and the prince's virtues with his humanistic knowledge, as a court physician Michele promoted the "health of the body" with his medical skills as well. Providing the key to the health of the prince's body and soul, Michele helped to secure the health of his government.

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<sup>46</sup> Crisciani, 317. For example, "... che certo ne' il principio, ne' il medico, biem che seppano le regole di l'arte, non puoteno conseguire di sua opera degna laude senza exercitio et experientia" (Savonarola, 87), and "... che molto vale la experientia nel rezere e governare i stati, come quella vale nel medicare i corpi" (ibid., 213, Crisciani, n. 101).

<sup>47</sup> For instance, Michele wrote: "Che, segnuor mio, lo ornamento de le lettere nei principi rendono, come vidiamo, a quelli gran splendore, che certo suono di quelli un gran texoro, essendo gran preparamento ad acquistare ogni altra virtù cum gran gloria, che, lezendo loro i libri d'i prudenti e savii homini passati, nei quali ritrovano tanti nobel consegly e dicti prudenti, per tal lezere se rendono più prudenti, come adviene al garzone, che per conversatione di boni e docti homeni, di buono diventa migliore e più docto assay. Si che tal principi docti, lezendo e greci e latini, mandendo tal historie, consegly e documenti a memoria, sanno da puo' meglio e più prudentemente se rezere e i populi suoy governare" (83). For examples of the use of history and historic figures to mould the prince's character and ameliorate his government see Michele, 78, 92, 203. Michele cites Antique authors (Seneca, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Plutarch, and Socrates) and also gives modern exempla (Borso's father, Nicolò) for Borso to follow. The original source for the idea of history as a guide to life is Cicero (*De oratore*, II, 9).

With the information about the court physician's role provided by Michele, the context within which to judge the form, style, and content of the *Carrara Herbal* is far richer. Like all other medical textbooks rooted in Galen's theory of medicine, the *Herbal* contains information on plant simples that assist in the management of the external factors (called non-naturals) that influence an individual's health.<sup>48</sup> For medical doctors like Michele, and for Pietro d'Abano in particular, the material of the *Carrara Herbal* was a reference source for the prescriptive medicines that they used to help a patient regain his or her constitutional balance in response to an imbalance caused by one of the non-naturals.<sup>49</sup>

More than simply accounting for the contents of the *Herbal*, however, there are important aspects of Michele's writing that shed light on the remarkable pictorial language used in the *Herbal*. Along with his specific moral and medical prescriptions, Michele's historical narrative is peppered with vivid details characteristic of contemporary chronicles. For instance, when he described court festivals Michele noted the colourful tapestries that hung on the walls, the beautiful clothing worn by the other courtiers, and who attended the festivities.<sup>50</sup> He also inserted into his text local anecdotes taken from daily life in Ferrara, and proverbs in current circulation at court. In rhetorical

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<sup>48</sup> Generally, each regimen addressed the relationship between the patient and the so-called six non-naturals. According to Galenic medicine, the six non-naturals are the external factors that impact health. Air, diet, exercise, sleep, sex, and the passions (emotions) all must be regulated and balanced in accord with the patient's elemental constitution or temperament (hot, cold, moist, dry).

<sup>49</sup> Francesco's *Herbal* contains material that Pietro d'Abano studied and taught. Pietro specifically commented upon his study of Serapion's *Liber aggregatus in medicinis simplicibus* (the text of the *Herbal*) and his use of this material in his teaching (Siraisi, 1973, 161 and Bettini, 57, n.11).

<sup>50</sup> For example (one among many), see Michele's description of a celebration that Borso hosted for the Emperor, Frederick III, as part of his ducal investiture, 183.

practice, the use of these details served to legitimize Michele's narrative and aid in its persuasive efficacy.<sup>51</sup>

Michele employed an ornamented rhetoric, one filled with lengthy descriptions of contemporary experiences and culture, not simply to better persuade his audience but also to make his message more immediately relevant. His insertion of specific details of local concern into his writing is more broadly characteristic of the Paduan chronicles and the humanist milieu under Francesco Novello, and served as an indicator of authorial objectivity. Whereas Petrarch advocated and practiced an unornamented rhetoric to convey his moral messages, as his prose works clearly demonstrate, Michele followed a different precedent. Rather, his use of verisimilitude as a mnemonic device stemmed from a tradition of moral story-telling particular to Padua. The chroniclers used inflated rhetoric to better convey the moralistic histories with which they aimed to guide the moral life of the community. Likewise, Michele also embellished his rhetoric to better convey his concern for the health of the prince.

In all the Paduan chronicles from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with which I am familiar (and those from across northern Italy more broadly), the authors used verisimilar details to energize the past, make it memorable and accessible to their audiences, and suggest their authorial reliability. In the *Cronaca carrarese*, for instance, Gatari described the spectacle of Francesco il Vecchio's funeral procession. He focused on the familial and communal heraldry present in the procession and in doing so showcased the unity of the people under the Carrara lords – old and new. The *Cronaca* reads:

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<sup>51</sup> Crisciani, 317.

On the twentieth of the month [of November], being the fated hour and the grand congregation of clergy being therein, [the clergy] commenced to issue forth from the court and to process around the piazze, that is to [the piazza] of the Fruit and to [the piazza] of the Herbs [which flank the Palazzo della Ragione] and on to the cathedral; after the clergy, one-hundred horsemen wearing sable [clothes of mourning] followed, each accompanied by a servant dressed in black, with a shield bearing the arms of the Carrara hanging down from his neck, and a tired banner hailing his grief. (Beside each horse walked two poor persons all dressed in grey cloth, and each carried a torch in his hand, given to him in charity. Four horsemen wearing the arms of the four quarters of the city followed them with banners, shields, and squires on foot as attendants) ... After these, followed the multitude [of citizens] with candles burning ... After these, followed the family of the *signore* all dressed in black crying out with plaintive voices, which shook the sky like thunder. There were, by numbers, eight people in this innermost group; after them followed the bier that bore the body of the deceased. The casket was covered with a pall of cloth of gold lined with ermine, and was carried by noble knights to the church[;] around the casket were the most famous doctors, in their hooded cloaks, who lead the way and carried a baldacchino of gold cloth lined with ermine [above the casket]: to the right of the casket, in profound dolour, came the *signore* dressed in sable [clothes] with two ambassadors from the *signoria* of Venice; after him, [followed] misser Francesco Terzo with ambassadors from the Commune of Florence; after him, followed Giacomo da Carrara with the Bolognese ambassadors; after him, [followed] Nicollò da Carrara with the Marchese ambassadors; after them, followed the other children of the House of Carrara ... After these, the multitude of the people [followed], of which the majority were dressed in sable clothes, [and] with cries and infinite wails, they all accompanied the casket to the cathedral, where the wife of the *signore* along with all the women of Padua cried out and wailed such that it was near impossible for me to write; ... After accompanying the body to the church, the *signore* returned to court, where it was already the twenty-second hour, and he had begun the day at its first hour. ... After this, from the high portico of the palace, misser Giovanni Aluise de' Lambertazzi pronounced a sermon to laud the deceased *signore* and the house of the Carrara and the *signore* present therein, and to thank the noblemen and noblewomen there on the part of the *signore*. (Thus finished the sacred office, [and] not even for twenty-four hours was the body laid in the sepulcher in the baptistery, in the Chapel of Saint John the Baptist, when it was placed in an *arca* of red marble atop four columns in the middle of the chapel, where every day the office [for the dead] was celebrated with masses and orations for the soul of *signore*.)

(... a dí XX del mexe, essendo del dí fato tuto'iaro e la grande turba dela chierexia essendo ivi, cominiò a usire fora dila corte e andò intorno le piazze, cioè a quella dele Frute e a quella dela Biava e andò al Domo; dopo la ierexia seguí cento cavalla coverti de bruno, su cadauno uno famiglio vestido a nero, con uno scudo al collo apicado al'arme da Carara, e una gran bandiera stravolta con grandinisimi pianti (a cadauno cavallo andavano a lato due poveri tutti vestiti di panno bigio, e

cadauno un torcio in mano acceso, dato loro tutto per limosina. Dopo questi andavano IV cavalli coperti all'arma de i IV quartieri della città, con le bandiere, scudi e famigli a piedi, come gli antedetti). ... Dopo questi, seguì la moltitudine de la cerra che ardea ... dopo questi, seguì la famiglia dil signor tuta vestida a nero con voxe de pianti, che tonava il ciello, ch'era per numero cercha VIII<sup>c</sup> persone; dopo questi seguì la chassa dove'era el corpo del perfato. Era la cassa coverta de uno rechisimo 'panno d'oro fodrado d'armeliny, e fu la detta cassa portada da nobilli cavalieri perfino ala chiesa, sora la qual cassa era famosissimi doctori, con loro capuzi di varo in testa, portado uno baldachino di pano d'oro fodrado d'armelini: driedo la cassa venia pieno di grave dolglia il signore vestido di bruno tra mezo due anbasadori dela signoria di Vinexia; dopo luy, misser Francesco Terzo tra mezo anbasadori del comun de Fiorenza; dopo lui, seguia Iacomo da Carara tra mezo li anbasadori Bolognexi; dopo lui, Nicollò da Carara tramezo anbasadori del Marchexe; dopo questi, seguì la prole da Carara ... dopo quisti, la moltitudine del povolo, ch'era la magior parte tuta vestida di bruno, con stridi e pianti infiniti, e aconpagnarono perfino al Duomo la detta cassa, dove li era la donna dil signor con tute le donne di Padoa, e i pianti e stridi che fu per le donne fatti saria inposibelle a me a scrivere; ... Aconpagnado adunque el corpo ala chiesa retornò il signore ala corte, che già era ore XXII, e aveasi comenzado a prima ora de dy. Azunto adunche in corte nel brolo [i.e.: portico] suso ad alto per misser Zuane Luixe dî Lanbertazi fu fato uno sermone a laude dil prefato signore e di la caxa da Carara e dil signor ivi presente, e rengraciando le signorie e signori ivi azonte per parte del signor. (Così finito il santo uffizio, non prima delle XXIV hore, fu sepolto il detto corpo nel battistero, nella cappella di santo Giovanni Battista, il quale fu messo in un'arca di marmot rosso sopra Quattro colonne nel mezzo di detta cappella, nella quale ogni giorno si celebrava l'uffizio con assai messe et orazioni per l'anima del detto signore).<sup>52</sup>

Gatari's description reveals that the procession maintained a strict order that reflected the social and political hierarchy of Carrara Padua. His account also demonstrates that key components of the former *signore's* public character were emphasized visually through the choice of costumes and classes represented in the procession, most notably his commitment to defending Padua both militarily ("one hundred horsemen ... all displaying the 'del Carro' arms") and diplomatically ("[and then came] the Venetian ambassadors ... with those of Florence and Bologna [and] ... the ambassadors of

<sup>52</sup> Gatari, 256r-257r, p.441-444. My translation.



Ferrara”), and his support and love for the university (“sixteen of the most learned doctors of the city”) and the Church (“not fewer than twenty-four mitres [were present]”).

Similarly, *De dignissimo funebri apparatus in exequiis clarissimi omnium principis Francisci Senioris de Carraria*, Pier Paolo Vergerio’s description of the funeral rites organized by Francesco Novello to honour his father, demonstrates the importance of visual details to memorializing and moralizing the past in Carrara Padua.<sup>53</sup> Vergerio was a member of the third generation of early humanists (those after Lombardo della Seta and Boccaccio) and was Francesco Novello’s court humanist and a tutor of the Carrara children during the last years of the dynasty. He was a different type of humanist than Petrarch and his approach to language may have influenced Michele Savonarola. Vergerio wove his orations together using verbs associated with seeing and imagining.<sup>54</sup> His principal rhetorical strategy as a teacher and orator was to create inspiring sights in words, a Ciceronian technique aimed at making the oratory more persuasive.<sup>55</sup> Like the chroniclers, Vergerio’s writing style suggests a belief that vision was the most persuasive of senses, and he used the language of seeing to create authority in his speeches.

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<sup>53</sup> Vergerio, *De dignissimo funebri*, 189A-194A.

<sup>54</sup> Michele’s use of detailed description mirrors Vergerio’s use of it in his orations. For examples of Vergerio’s use of description see McManamon, 1996, 44, n. 33. In a second oration composed to honour Francesco il Vecchio at his death, Vergerio used the rhetoric of vision to empower his speech (“Oratorio in funere Francisci Senioris de Carraria, Patavii Principis,” in *Orationes*, ed. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* 16 [Milan, 1730]:194B-89C). He began the oration with a panegyric description of Padua and its territories – the geographical body of the *signoria* – and argued that Francesco il Vecchio created its peace and prosperity. On the basis of this vision, Vergerio urged the mourners to take comfort in Francesco’s legacy. By celebrating Francesco il Vecchio’s virtues, Vergerio created a “blueprint” for Francesco Novello’s rule in the tradition of the *Speculum principis* (McManamon, 1996, 46-47). Vergerio used a similar technique in an oration commemorating the anniversary of Francesco Novello’s restoration to power (“Ad Franciscum Junioem de Carraria,” in *Orationes* ed. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* 16 [Milan, 1730]: 204-15).

<sup>55</sup> McManamon, 1996, 49. Unlike his contemporary humanists, Vergerio preferred to use the epideictic (celebratory) oration, rather than the favoured judicial and deliberative forms, to make his points. He believed that this form would evoke an emotional response (*pathos*) that would connect his listeners to his subject more intimately (ibid., 43).

In his description of the funeral rites, Vergerio, like Gatari, emphasized the structure and arrangement of the procession as a hierarchy of the body of *signoria*.<sup>56</sup> Unlike Gatari, however, Vergerio directly connected his description of the funeral rites with an illustrious Roman history of Padua – a connection that Francesco il Vecchio had strongly encouraged through his use of Ancient Roman imagery in his artistic and literary commissions.<sup>57</sup> This association between Carrara Padua and Roman Padua articulated in an oration commissioned by Francesco Novello suggests that the younger Francesco was aware of how his father portrayed himself through his patronage choices. The form of Vergerio's detailed descriptions, however, suggests Francesco Novello's new patronage strategy, one more closely associated with the Paduan chroniclers than with the Roman past. In effect, the description of Francesco il Vecchio's funeral illustrates a meeting of the two Carrara lords' self-images: in its content Vergerio's oration connects Francesco il Vecchio's funerary rites to his legacy of patronage associated with the Roman world. In its form (the use of the chroniclers' detailed language) and in its portrayal of the ideal body of the *signoria*, Vergerio's description highlights the new direction of Francesco Novello's patronage.

In *Del felice progresso*, the *Cronaca carrarese*, and *De dignissimo funebri*, Michele, Gatari, and Vergerio all use details from daily life and personal experience to help convey their messages and to persuade the reader of their authorial objectivity. The connection between chronicle culture and medical culture employed in Francesco

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 42.

<sup>57</sup> Vergerio told his listeners/readers that the Romans had commemorated their dead with funeral masks and tombs in order to remind themselves continuously of the greatness of their dead ancestors. To better commemorate their honourable ancestors, the living Romans sought to emulate their ancestors' great deeds, especially by serving the noble state (Vergerio, *De dignissimo funebri*, 189A-B, and cited by McManamon, 1996, 42).

Novello's patronage is visible most directly, however, through Michele's use of the chroniclers' rhetoric in *Del felice progresso*. In his detailed descriptions of Borso's history and the events in which he participated, Michele captivated his readers. He appealed to their sense of vision and borrowed a form associated with contemporaneous moral story-telling that would have been familiar to them.

As a court physician, Michele's use of visual details to captivate his readers speaks in relative context to the varied use of representational techniques in the *Carrara Herbal's* plant portraits. The *Herbal* presented its reader with a distinctive reading and viewing experience in part through its use of diverse plant portraits, which held the reader's interest and disrupted a passive reception of the book's content. Like the use of highly detailed descriptions, the pictorial imagery of the *Herbal* certainly would have made the book more memorable and impressed its textual and visual contents more firmly onto the mind of its reader. The use of visual detail, in rhetoric as in painting, suggests its recognition as an effective mnemonic device in Paduan court culture.

Like the *Herbal*, the court physician was a product specific to Francesco Novello's rule of Padua. Also like the *Herbal*, the promotion of the court physician reflected more general values cultivated and circulated at Francesco's court, values that projected a particular image of the *signore*. When he regained Padua in 1390 Francesco had medals struck in celebration. These medals provide a visual point around which all the conceptual threads discussed above come together. The obverses of the medals show profile portraits of Francesco Novello and of his father, Francesco il Vecchio, in the tradition of Roman commemorative medals. The profile portraits mirror one another, drawing attention to the lords' visual similarities as father and son (fig. 78 and 79). The

reverse of Francesco Novello's medal bears the heraldic *carro* device of the Carrara family encircled with the inscription of a motto that reads "recuperavit Paduam" and gives the date of 1390.<sup>58</sup> The motto suggests, of course, that Francesco recovered Padua from Giangaleazzo Visconti on June 19, 1390. However, given the many intersections between Francesco's rule, the development of the figure of the court physician, the uses of portraiture, and the practice of medicine current in Padua during his seignory, it is fair to say that the inscription suggests Francesco "recovered Padua" also in a medical sense. As a physician and exemplar to his people, Francesco cured them of the ailment of Visconti occupation. The medals suggest that he recovered the health of Padua and its people and in his role as benevolent physician-prince healed the city from the infection of bad government. And if Francesco Novello was the doctor, the *Carrara Herbal* was his book.

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<sup>58</sup> Kohl, 1998, 268. On the obverse, the bust of Francesco Novello is surrounded by the text: "EFFIGIES DNI.FRANCISCLIVNIORIS. D. CARARIA. PAD." The *carro* on the reverse is surrounded by the text: "1390 DIE. 19. IVNII. RECVP-ERAVITIPADVAM:ETCETA." On the medals see, Richards, 2007, 134-135, and T. R. Marvin, *The Carrara Medals with Notices of the Dukes of Padua Whose Effigies They Bear*, with some additions and changes from the original printing in the *American Journal of Numismatics*, January 1880 ed. (Boston: Privately published, 1880).

## *Appendix A*

### *Codicological Description of the Carrara Herbal (British Library, Egerton 2020)*

#### Description and Provenance:

The *Carrara Herbal* was acquired by the British Museum on October 13, 1866, from bookseller J. T. Payne. It was purchased using the Bridgewater fund bequeathed by Francis Henry Egerton, Eighth Lord of Bridgewater (d. 1829).<sup>1</sup> It originally belonged to Francesco Novello, the last lord of Padua, and was part of Ulisse Aldrovandi's collection during the second half of the sixteenth century. We do not know the manuscript's whereabouts or owner between these two men. Nor do we know what happened to the codex between Aldrovandi's death and the codex's acquisition by the British Museum.<sup>2</sup> Evidence of an eighteenth-century rebinding and restoration campaign suggest that the book may have been in Russia.

Originating in Northern Italy between 1390 and 1404, the *Carrara Herbal* is an illustrated translation into Paduan dialect of Serapion the Younger's *Liber aggregà de medicinis simplicibus*, transcribed by Brother Jacobus Philippus. It contains two-hundred and eighty-nine folios that each measure thirty-four and a half by twenty-three and a half

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<sup>1</sup> See *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1853-1875* (London: British Museum, 1877), no. Eg. 2020.

<sup>2</sup> Aldrovandi left specific instructions regarding his book collection in his final testament. It is unclear to what degree they were carried out. Aldrovandi's will, dated November 10, 1603, expressed his wish that, along with a personal portrait, his collection of books and natural objects be housed in a public museum and library supported by the Bolognese Senate and endorsed by the Pope. Ulisse's will reads, "[I beg] the Senate to persuade the Pope, for the honour of the City and of the Testator, to favour and help in building within the [city] Palace or somewhere else four or five bright and beautiful Rooms for the Museum and Library to accommodate [the materials] in the given order, together with my Portrait I have left; and to beg His Holiness to donate funds for the expansion and decoration, because in the field of Letters the major enterprise is to expand and erect a public Library." Archivio di Stato di Bologna, Atti Notarili, 6/1, v. 3063; *Ulisse Aldrovandi's Will 1603*. Quoted by Gian Battista Vai and William Cavanzza, "Ulisse Aldrovandi and the origin of geology and science," in *The Origins of Geology in Italy*, ed. Vai and G. E. Caldwell (Boulder: the Geological Society of America, 2006), 51.

centimetres (approximately thirteen the three-quarter inches in length by nine and a quarter inches in width). Of the folios, two-hundred and eighty-six are the original parchment, while the remaining three folios are paper and consist of an opening index written in a different, later hand. The leaves have been trimmed, likely during the eighteenth-century rebinding campaign. Parts of the title page were also over-painted during this campaign to hide heavy wear, which suggests that the manuscript lacked a cover for a period of time. The title page illumination and a number of the plant portraits show slight loss on the inner margin, which attests to the resizing of the manuscript. The interior margin's adornment on the title page is only fractionally cut compared to the corresponding marginalia on the exterior margin, which suggests that the current state of the manuscript still conveys a close approximation to the original. The codex was rebound in a modern calf leather binding by the British Library in 1965.

The manuscript is elaborately decorated. Title pages with full borders of swirling foliage executed in gold and fine pigments begin the sections of the book on plants (fol. 4) and on animals (fol. 167). The borders are embedded with Carrara heraldic devices and Francesco Novello's initial "F". The manuscript includes a single historiated initial showing an author portrait set against gold ground (fol. 4), as well as six large- and one small initial set against gold ground. Penwork decoration includes large initials in red, blue, or brown, as well as paraphs in red or blue. Some initials in brown are highlighted in yellow, especially for place names, and the names of medical authorities are executed in red or blue.

The section of Serapion's treatise on plants (fol. 4-267) contains fifty-six illustrations of plants with many spaces left empty. Of the fifty-three pages that contain

the plant portraits, ten are in the opening book on temperate medicine.<sup>3</sup> The second book on hot and dry medicine in the first degree contains twenty-seven depictions.<sup>4</sup> The third book on hot and humid medicines in the first degree contains four images.<sup>5</sup> The fifth book on cold and humid medicines in the first degree contains only one image, the stunning violet.<sup>6</sup> There are nine portraits in the ninth book on cold and humid medicines in the second degree.<sup>7</sup> Finally, the tenth book on plants that are hot and dry in the third degree contains two images.<sup>8</sup> Books four,<sup>9</sup> six,<sup>10</sup> seven,<sup>11</sup> eight,<sup>12</sup> eleven,<sup>13</sup> twelve,<sup>14</sup> thirteen,<sup>15</sup> fourteen,<sup>16</sup> and fifteen<sup>17</sup> are not illustrated. The bestiary section of the treatise is also unillustrated.

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<sup>3</sup> *El prima tractà xè de le medexine temperè* (Serapion, 3)

<sup>4</sup> *Tratà primo de le medexine calde e seche in lo primo grado* (17)

<sup>5</sup> *Nu scomenceremo a dire de le medexine calde e humide in lo primo grado* (82)

<sup>6</sup> *De le medexine frede e humide in lo primo grado* (140)

<sup>7</sup> *Nu faveleremo chì de le medexine frede e humide in lo segondo grado* (238)

<sup>8</sup> *Mo siegue le medexine calde e seche in terço grado* (246)

<sup>9</sup> *De le medexine frede e seche in lo primo grado* (92)

<sup>10</sup> *Chì se comença el tratò de le medexine calde e seche in lo segondo grado* (150)

<sup>11</sup> *De le medexine calde e humide in lo segondo grado* (221)

<sup>12</sup> *De le medexine frede e seche in lo segondo grado* (224)

<sup>13</sup> *Chì comença el tratà de le medexine calde e humide in lo terço gra* (356)

<sup>14</sup> *Chì se tracta de le medexine frede e seche in lo terço grado* (359)

<sup>15</sup> *Chì se trata de le medexine frede e humide in lo terço grado* (367)

<sup>16</sup> *Chì se comença el numero de le medexine, le quale è calde e seche in lo quarto grado* (371)

<sup>17</sup> *Qui se tratta de le medexine frede e seche in quarto grado* (397)

Content:

The content of Serapion's *Liber aggregatus de medicinis simplicibus* generally parallels the organization of information developed by Dioscorides in his first-century Greek pharmacological treatise, known more popularly by its Latin name, the *De materia medica* (Περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς). Dioscorides observed and recorded over six-hundred plant specimens and arranged them into different groups. The organization of these groups originally was presented in a descending order of importance, in accordance with a hierarchical understanding of the natural world and humanity's place within it. In Late Antiquity the material was separated into the five conventional books, following Dioscorides' earlier groupings:

- I. Aromatic oils, salves, trees and shrubs and their products
- II. Animals, parts of animals, animal products, cereals, pot herbs and sharp herbs
- III. Roots, juices, herbs and seeds
- IV. Roots and herbs not previously mentioned
- V. Wines and minerals<sup>18</sup>

Each entry contained the Greek name of the plant, a list of synonyms, a description of the plant, its origin and habitat, as well as a section on its medicinal properties.<sup>19</sup>

Writing centuries later than Dioscorides, Serapion added information drawn from later medical theories, especially from Galen's elemental theory of medicine. Galen, a Greek doctor and personal physician to Emperor Marcus Aurelius, Galen supposed that the dominant element in the medicinal plant would cure a disease defined by the plant's elemental opposite. Thus, at its simplest, should a patient's symptoms show an

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<sup>18</sup> Table cited by Collins, 32, and John M. Riddle, "Dioscorides," *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 4 (1971): 1971, 120.

<sup>19</sup> For general information on Dioscorides, see John M. Riddle, 1971, 119-23; and *Dioscorides on Pharmacy and Medicine* (Austin: Texas UP, 1986).



imbalance of heat (i.e. fever), which Hippocrates associated with blood, Galen would prescribe a drug with a cold elemental constitution and an affinity for helping the blood to counteract the heat imbalance.<sup>20</sup> Consequently, the simples in Serapion's text, while adhering to Dioscorides' hierarchy of natural materials, are grouped together in relation to their principal "element" and the strength of the element, or "degree," following Galen's theory. For instance, the first book of the *Carrara Herbal* is dedicated to temperate medicines and begins with the entries for the lemon and nutmeg trees, members of the first tier of Dioscorides' hierarchy. The second book focuses on hot and dry simples in the first degree and begins with the cereal oatgrass, which belongs to the plant section of Dioscorides' second group.<sup>21</sup>

Serapion's original text was translated from its twelfth-century Arabic original into Latin by Simon of Genoa and Abraham ben Shem-Tob at the end of the thirteenth century. The *Liber agregà* is comprised of two books: the short first book is dedicated to medical theory and describes various simples according to their "consistency," "taste," and "effects;" and the substantial second book describes the individual simples in four-hundred and sixty-two sections. Following the order of the hierarchical *tria regna naturae* (three kingdoms of nature), it contains three-hundred and sixty-five sections on medicinal plants, forty-nine on mineral simples, and forty-eight on animal simples.<sup>22</sup>

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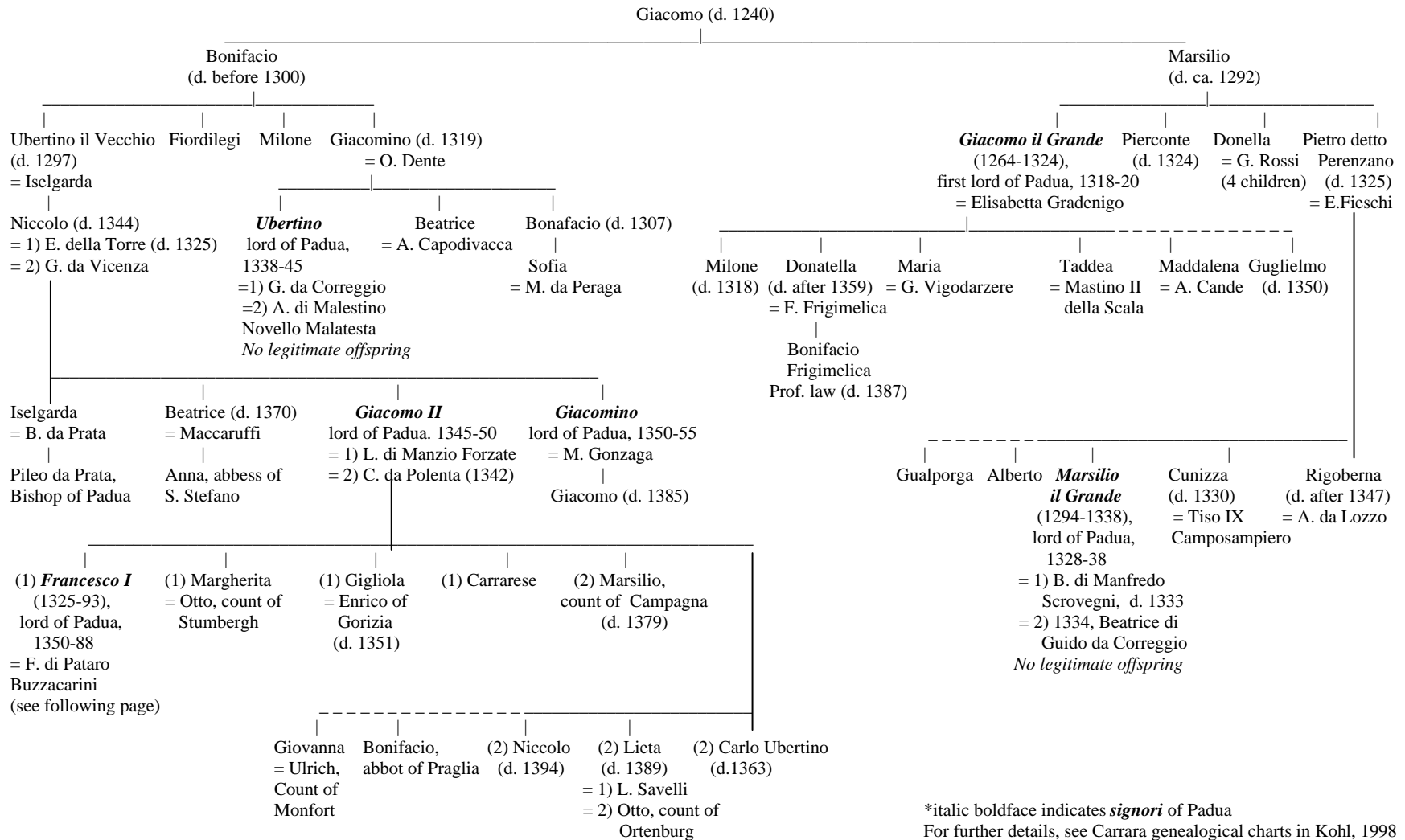
<sup>20</sup> See Alain Touwaide, "La Thérapeutique médicamenteuse de Dioscoride à Galein: du Pharmacocentrisme au médico-centrisme," in *Galen on Pharmacology: Philosophy, History, and Medicine*, ed. A. Debru (New York: Brill, 1997), 255-282 and Jerome Bylebyl, "The Medical Meaning of Physica," *Osiris*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, Vol. 6, Renaissance Medical Learning: Evolution of a Tradition (1990): 16-41.

<sup>21</sup> See Serapion the Younger, *El libro agregà de Serapiom, volgarizzamento di Frater Jacobus Philippus de Padua*, vol. 1, testo, ed. Gustav Ineichen (Venice and Rome: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1966).

<sup>22</sup> See Dilg, 221-231.

In the *Carrara Herbal* only the second book was reproduced, and within it the section on minerals is absent and the section on animals and animal products is not illustrated.

**Appendix B: Abbreviated Genealogy of the Carrara Family\***



\*italic boldface indicates *signori* of Padua  
For further details, see Carrara genealogical charts in Kohl, 1998



### *Appendix C*

List of the 61 manuscripts from Francesco Zago's Inventory, 1404  
(per Lazzarini)

*List of 57 books given to the gastaldo camerlengo on May 9, 1404*

1. Primus liber Rasis (Rhazes, ca. 854-925 or 935), de capite
2. Secundus liber Rasis, de oculis
3. Tertius liber Rasis
4. Quartus liber Rasis
5. Quintus liber Rasis, de stomacho
6. Sextus liber Rasis, de euacuationibus
7. Septimus liber Rasis
8. Octauus liber Rasis
9. Nonus liber Rasis
10. Decimus liber Rasis
11. Undecimus liber Rasis
12. Duodecimus liber Rasis, de podagra (gout)
13. Tertius decimus liber Rasis
14. Quartus decimus liber Rasis
15. Decimus sextus liber Rasis
16. Decimus septimus liber Rasis
17. Decimus octauus liber Rasis
18. Decimus nonus liber Rasis
19. Vigessimus liber Rasis
20. Vigessimus liber primus Rasis
21. Vigessimus secundus liber Rasis
22. Vigessimus tertius liber Rasis
23. Vigessimus quartus liber Rasis
24. Vigessimus quintus liber Rasis
25. Tertia pars Auicene (Avicenna, 980-1037)
26. Prima pars Nicolai
27. Secunda pars Nicolai<sup>1</sup>
28. Liber de remedijs utriusque fortune<sup>2</sup>
29. Libro de multi remedij per le gotte, cum .ij. croxe negre su.<sup>3</sup>
30. Libro de le passione de zonture, cum una stella rossa.<sup>4</sup>
31. Cronica del Mussato per letra<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Likely both works by Nicolai derive from the *Antidotarium Nicolai*, by Nicholas of Salerno (fl. ca. 1150). The compilation became compulsory reading at Paris during the thirteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> Petrarch's *De remedijs utriusque fortunae*, the Remedies for Fortune Fair and Foul, is the sole Petrarchan text in Zago's inventory.

<sup>3</sup> This book of remedies for gout contained an insignia of a black cross.

<sup>4</sup> This book on arthritis contained an insignia of a red star.

<sup>5</sup> An account of communal Padua and its citizens by Alberto Mussato (1261-1329).

32. Primus liber Auicene, copertus curamine albo
33. Libro del chataro<sup>6</sup>
34. Libro del le consolatione de le medixine, in carta de banbaxina
35. Libro de diuersi vini medicinale
36. Libro del coneyo de maist. Marsilio de Sancta Sofia
37. Libro de Constantino<sup>7</sup>
38. Libro de li dicti de maist. Piero da Pernumia
39. Libro de menerijs
40. Libro grande de le ribaldarie
41. Libro pecenin de le ribaldarie
42. Methaura de Aristotile<sup>8</sup>
43. Libro de la raxon de la luna (Alchemical treatise)
44. Libro de li nomi de li Magni. Signore da Carrara<sup>9</sup>
45. Liber Introitus Magni. Dominj<sup>10</sup>
46. Liber Cimeriorum dominorum de Carraria
47. Libro de Mauricio in franzoxe<sup>11</sup>
48. Serapiom in volgare<sup>12</sup>
49. El segundo de Auicena in volgare
50. Libro grande da la croxe<sup>13</sup>
51. Libro da li inçegni
52. Libro di morti
53. Tesauro pauperum in volgare
54. Extrato de Auicena, pecenin, couerto de rosso
55. Libro de la generale cura del stomago, couerto de carta de caureo
56. Cura cólere frigide, copertus de carta capreti
57. Quaderno uno de cançon destexe, couerto de carta de caureo

*Books added to inventory by the priest "Christoforus"*

58. Quinterni .vj. de Auicena nuouo
59. Libro quinto de Auicena nuouo – R[ecepi] die xij Jullij.
60. Libro che se chiama psalmista – R. die xvj augusti
61. a Bresano R. Quinterni .v. del libro de infantia Saluatoris – R. die ultimo augusti

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<sup>6</sup> Likely the chronicle of seigniorial Padua by Galeazzo Gataro (d. 1405).

<sup>7</sup> Likely a book by the influential Salernitan doctor, Constantine the African.

<sup>8</sup> *Methaura* is a fourteenth-century vernacular redaction of parts of Aristotle's *Meteorologica*, mostly derived from commentaries on the original Aristotelian text by Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus.

<sup>9</sup> Likely the Pier Paolo Vergerio's *Liber de Principibus Carrariensibus et gestis eorum*, an illustrated book of the Carrara genealogy stolen from Venice's Room of Arms in 1481.

<sup>10</sup> Likely the *Gesta magnifica domus Carrariensis*.

<sup>11</sup> This book is the sole French treatise in the collection.

<sup>12</sup> The *Carrara Herbal*.

<sup>13</sup> Perhaps a devotional book on the cross.

### *Appendix D*

Pietro d'Abano, "Propter quid imagines faciei faciunt," from *Expositio problematum Aristotelis*.<sup>1</sup>

Why do (men) make images of the face? Either because this (i.e. the face) shows what kind of people they are, or because these images allow us to recognize them best.

- (§1) This is the 36th part where [Aristotle] speaks about problems concerning the passions of the face, of which we have also touched quite a bit in the second Problem,
- (§2) He asks: Why do men make images mostly representing the face of a man, for they paint or sculpt them by preference as the 'oboli' [Greek coin or small coin] show in which the faces of Roman emperors such as Caesar, Nero and the like are found sculpted.
- (§3) Either [because this shows what kind of people they are]. He gives two solutions saying first: the reason is that by means of images of the face is represented the kind of constitutional arrangement of that person, whose image it is, and most of all, (1) when it is painted by a painter capable of producing a likeness in all respects—for example by Giotto—so that we reach by means of this (i.e. the image) the knowledge of him (i.e. of whom the image is made) in such a way that if he met (us) he would be recognized through it (i.e. the painted image), or (2) when the image is sculpted, as the 'oboli', mentioned before, or the statue made by Zeuxis of Crotoniates (sic), of which Cicero (wrote) in the *Rhetoric*, book 2.
- (§4) But because one could object that it is not through an image of the face (alone) that one can grasp what kind of man somebody is, rather also through that (image) which is one of the whole body; therefore he adds a firmer reason:
- (§5) Or [because by means of these (images) they can be recognized most], saying that one makes the image of the face for the reason that through this it happens more easily that the individual depicted is recognized because (the face) is most articulated and well defined, through which characteristic difference is perceived and regarded as familiar and disclosed—in a way that is not true of an image of other parts, as they are not so articulated or seen uncovered. This is suggested by the physiognomists, who attend more to the signs which are taken from the face and especially from the eyes rather than to the others, as I explained in my edition of the *Physiognomy*.
- (§6) That someone can be truly recognized through a well marked image for what kind of man he is not only insofar as the body but also the soul, is shown by the story in the physiognomy in the Book *De regimine principum*, written for Alexander by Aristotle about the figure of Hippocrates on a parchment and shown to Philemon, the great Physiognomist.

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<sup>1</sup> Trans. J. Thomann, "Pietro d'Abano on Giotto," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991): 242-43.

[*Propter quid imagines faciei faciunt: Utrum quia hec ostendit quales quidam sunt aut quia his maxime cognoscuntur.*

- (§1) Particula hec est 36a, ubi ait de proleatibus circa passiones faciei, de quibus etiam tactum est non parum 2a.
- (§2) Querit: Quare homines faciunt imagines representantes faciem hominis maxime; pingunt enim aut sculpunt eas precipue, ut ostendunt oboli in quibus reperiuntur facies imperatorum insculpte Romanorum ut Cesaris, Neronis et talium.
- (§3) *Utrum ...* Solvit dupliciter dicens primo causam esse quia per imagines faciei representatur qualis fuerit disposition ipsius cuius est imago, et maxime cum fuerit depicta pictore sciente per omnia assimilare, puta Zoto [Giotto], ut ea deveniamus in cognitionem illius ita, ut occurrens is cognoscatur ipsa vel sculpta, ut oboli denotant pretacti, vel statua per Ceusim facta Crotoniate, de qua Tullius Rhetorice veteris 20.
- (§4) Quia vero posset aliquis cavillare quod non per faciei imaginem deprehenditur qualis sit, immo etiam per eam que totius corporis; ideo subdit certiore causa:
- (§5) *Aut ...* dicens ideo facere faciei imaginem, quia per ipsam magis contingit cognosci eum cuius est, cum ea sit dearticulata et distincta potissime, quo percipitur differentia, distincta et conspicitur ut assueta et delecta, non autem per imaginem aliarum partium ita, cum non sint adeo dearticulate ac inspecte detecte, quod indicant physionomi attendentes magis ad signa que accipiuntur a facie ac ab oculis proprie, quam ad reliqua, ut in editione mea physionomie declaravi.
- (§6) Quod autem quis imagines qualis sit recte cognoscatur expressa non solum quantum ad ea que corporis, verum etiam anime monstratur ex historia physionomie libri 'de regimine principum' Alexandro ab Aristotele conscripti, de figura Hippocratis in pergameno depicta et Philomoni ingenti physionomo monstrata.]



## *Appendix E*

### *Textual Comparison between Dioscorides and Serapion*

I have translated a typical passage from the *Carrara Herbal* in order to compare it with a translation of the same entry in Dioscorides' *De materia medica*. Both Serapion's entry for Melissa (lemon balm) and Goodyer's seventeenth-century translation of the entry from the Greek Dioscorides, list synonyms of the plant names, compare their virtues with another simple that has similar properties, and list the types of preparation and their targeted illnesses. Serapion, who quotes Dioscorides directly in his text, depended on his predecessor's work. Note that I have added modern medical terminology for clarity.<sup>1</sup>

Melissa (Lemon Balm, *Melissa officinalis*, L., fol. 18v), chapter 28 of Serapion's *Liber aggregatus*, reads:

Melissa is called *citraria* according to others. Dioscorides says that melissa is an herb over which the bees delight. The stem of melissa and its leaves resemble the stem and the leaves of *marubio savègo* (common horehound, *Marrubium vulgare*, L.). And its branches and its stems are quadrangular, so that it has four cantons (quarters/corners). And the leaves themselves are greater [i.e.: larger], which is not like the leaves of the *marubio savègo*, nor are they [the leaves] completely hairy like the leaves of the *marubio*. Melissa has a characteristic scent of lemons, and for this it is called *citraria*. The primary virtue of this herb is hot and dry in the first degree. Galen says that the virtue of this [plant] is like the virtue of *marubio*. But it is of more minor virtue. Dioscorides says that when one drinks the leaves [steeped] in wine, or when they are made into a poultice, the sting of the scorpion and the bite of a spider called *rotella* are lessened. And so when the decoction of this herb is thrown over the painful bite, it does the same thing. And when women consume [it] in this decoction it will provoke menstruation. And apply a wash to the mouth, and it lessens pain in the teeth. And when the leaves are mixed with *nitro* (sodium carbonate), it lessens the ulceration of the intestines.

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<sup>1</sup> My translation and my broader understanding of the language used in the *Liber aggregatus* are deeply indebted to linguist Gustav Ineichen's comprehensive study of the Paduan dialect and medical terminology used in the Carrara Herbal. See G. Ineichen, *El libro agregà de Serapiom: volgarizzamento di Frater Jacobus Philippus de Padua*, parte I (testo), ed. G. Ineichen (Venezia e Roma: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1966).

And made into an electuary [lozenge], [it helps] those who can neither pull the air into themselves nor send it away [i.e.: who have difficulty breathing]. And when it is made into a poultice with salt, it resolves scrofula and ulceration. And when a poultice is made of this herb, it lessens the pain of contusion (bruising). Another author says that it has the property to alleviate anaemia and comfort a weak heart. And when it is made into a decoction it soothes the cold and humid stomach and helps it digest fatty food. And [it] helps the obstruction of the brain. And [it] lessens fear and the maladies caused by the melancholic humour and burning phlegm.

Compare the above translation to that of the Greek Dioscorides' entry for Melissophullon

(Lemon Balm, *Melissa officinalis*):

Apiastrum, which some call Melittena, some call it Melitteon, some Meliphyllon, some Erythra, some Temele, the Romans Apiastrum, some Citrago, the French Merisimorion because the bees do delight in this herb. But the leaves of it and the little stalk are like to the aforesaid Ballota, but there are greater, and thinner, and not so rough, but smelling of Pome-citron. But the leaves being drank with wine, and also applied are good for the Scorpion-smitten, and the Phalangium-bitten [type of spider], and the dog-bitten and the decoction of them, but way of fomentation for the same purposes. And it is fitting for women's insessions [baths] for the moving of the menstrua and a collution [colation, strained or filtered] for teeth pains, and a glyster [an enema] for the dysentericall [dysentery], and the leaves being drank with nitre [sodium carbonate] do help those which are strangled of mushrooms, and the Torminosi [tormina, colicky pains, gripe]. And taken in a Lohoc [lozenge] helps the Orthopnoeici [Orthopnoea: difficulty breathing] but being applied with salt they dissolve the strumas [goiter], and it cleans ulcers. And being smeared on they assuage the pains of the goutie [gout].<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Dioscorides, "Melissophullon," in *The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides: Illustrated by a Byzantine A.D. 512. Englished by John Goodyer A.D. 1655, edited and first printed A.D. 1933*, Book III, ed. Robert T. Gunther (New York: Hafner Publishing, 1959), 348.

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### ***Conference Papers***

MacLaren, Shelley. "Giotto's Envy and Francesco da Barberino's Renown: Naturalism, Personification, and Artistic Innovation." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the College Art Association, Chicago, Illinois, February 10-13, 2010.

## Illustrations



Fig. 1. Frontispiece with the Carrara stemmi,  
Lemon Tree (citron), *Carrara Herbal*,  
British Library, Egerton 2020, fol. 4r, ca. 1390-1400, Padua



Fig. 2. Marshmallow (malbavisco), *Carrara Herbal*,  
 British Library, Egerton 2020, fol. 52v,  
 ca. 1390-1400, Padua



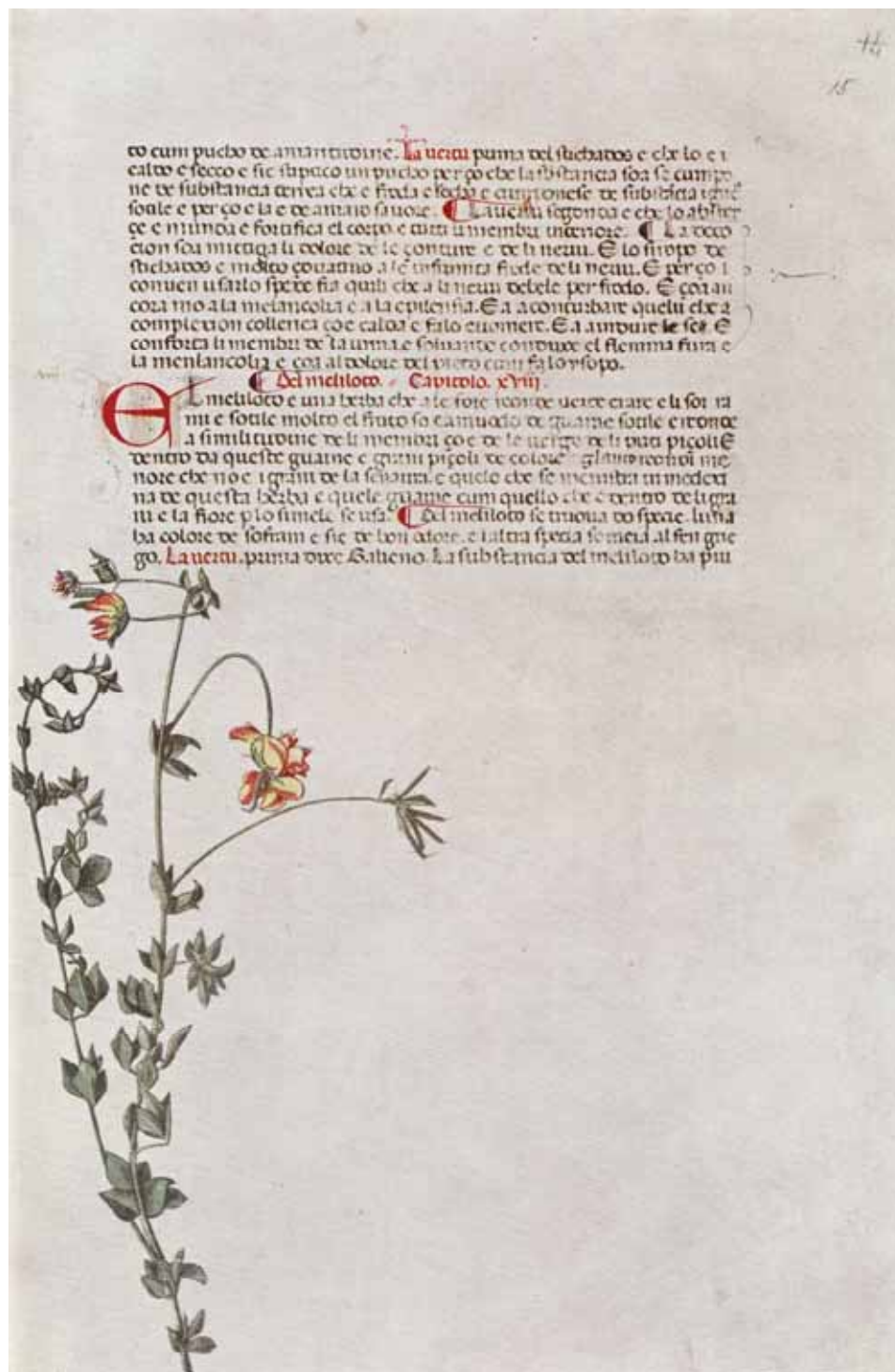


Fig. 3. Bird's foot trefoil (meliloto), *Carrara Herbal*,  
British Library, Egerton 2020, fol. 15r,  
ca. 1390-1400, Padua



Fig. 4. Marine sponge (spongia marina), *Carrara Herbal*,  
British Library, Egerton 2020, fol. 14r,  
ca. 1390-1400, Padua

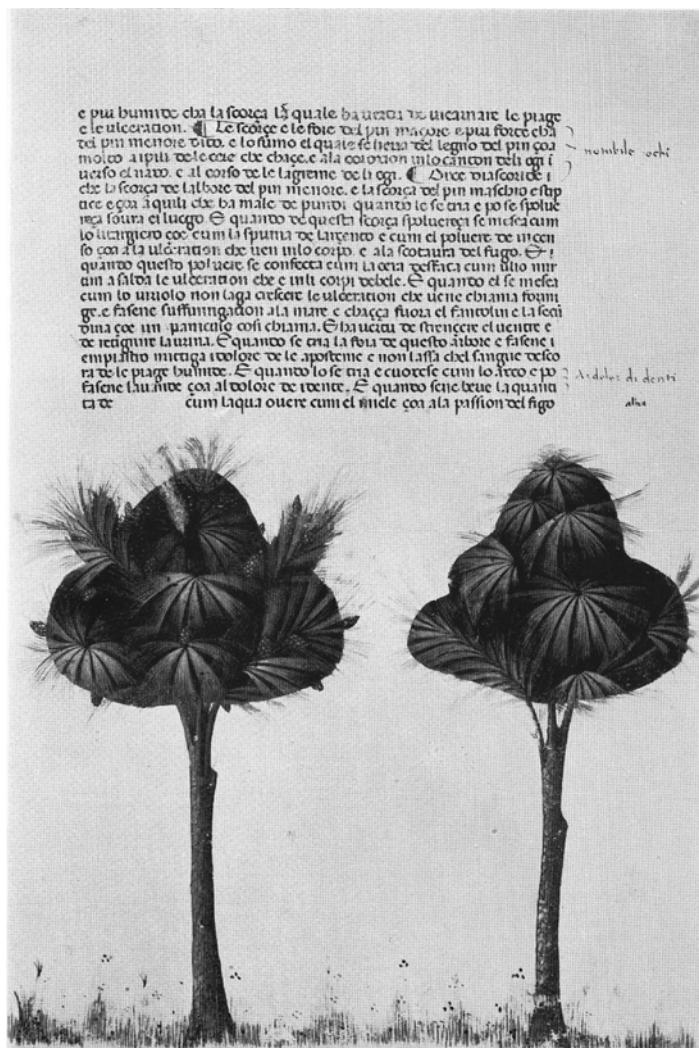


Fig. 5. Pine (pino), *Carrara Herbal*,  
British Library, Egerton 2020, fol. 46r,  
ca. 1390-1400, Padua

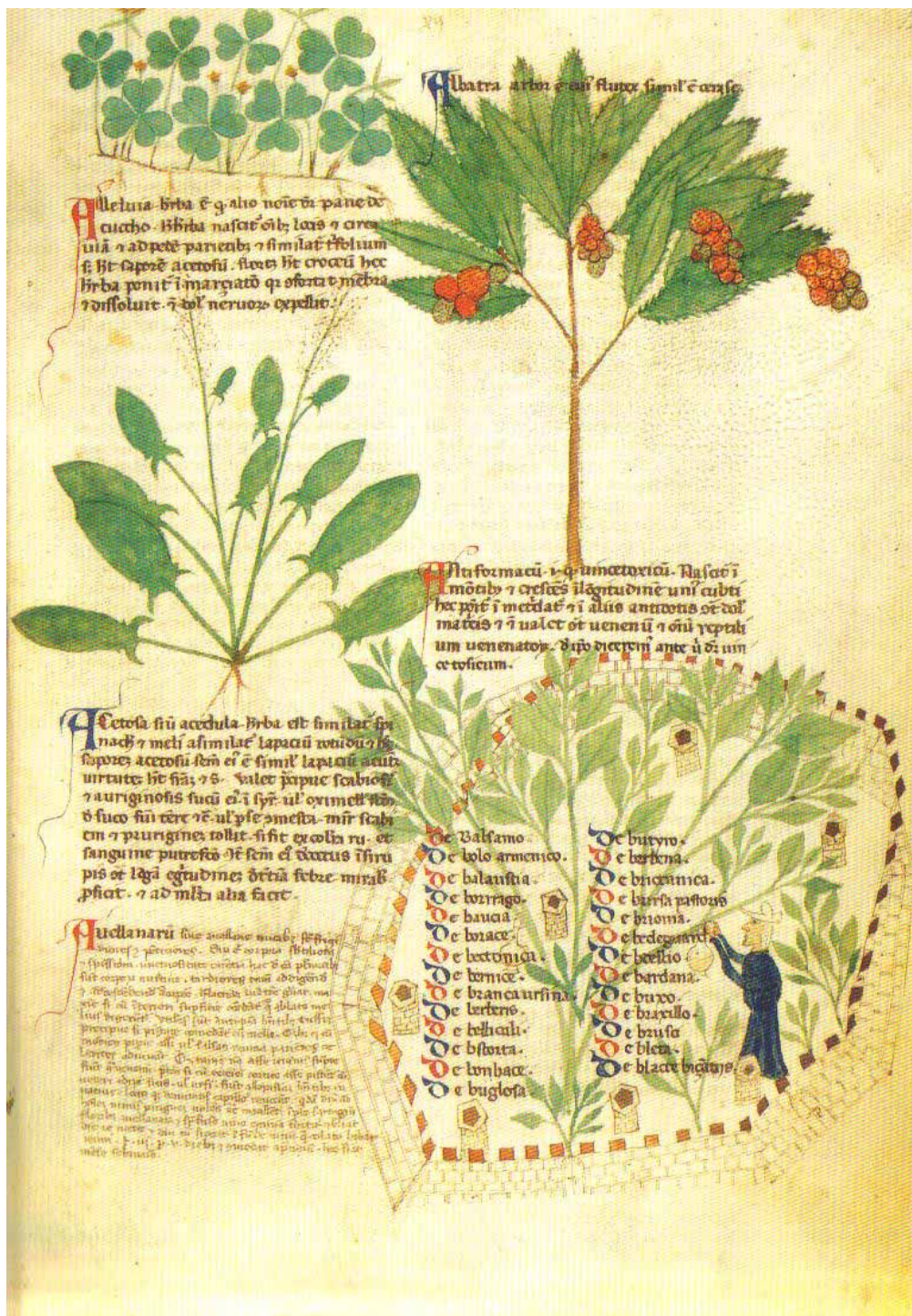


Fig. 6. Wood sorrel (alleluia), Sorrel (acetosa),  
 Strawberry tree (albatra), and Balsam (balsamus),  
*Tractatus de herbis*, British Library, Egerton MS 747, fol. 12r,  
 ca. 1280-1310, Salerno



Fig. 7. Mugwort (*Artemisia leptafillos*) with portraits of Chiron the Centaur and the goddess Diana, *Herbarius of Apuleius Platonicus*, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 73. 41, fols. 22v-23r, early ninth century, Montecassino

Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ms. Plut. 73.41, IX secolo, Montecassino

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Fig. 8. Chamomile (camemelon), *Herbarius of Apuleius Plonicus*,  
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Lat. 6862,  
 fols. 39v-40r, late ninth century, Metz or Tours

For image see Cesira Gasparotto, 1966-67, fig. 2

Fig. 9. Loggia of the Palazzo di Ponente, formerly part of the Reggia Carrarese, Accademia Galileiana di Scienze Lettere ed Arti, ca. 1340s, Padua

For image see Cesira Gasparotto, 1966-67, fig. 13

Fig. 10. Anon, Carrara shields, fresco, in the former Camera dei Cimieri of the Reggia Carrarese (now Accademia Patavina), ca. 1340-43, Padua

For image see Diana Norman, 1995, ch. 8, v. I, plate 167

Fig. 11. Anon, Carrara emblems, fresco, in the former Anticamera dei Cimieri of the Reggia Carrarese (now Accademia Patavina), ca. 1340-43, Padua



For image see Gian Lorenzo Mellini, 1965, tav. 321 and p. 105

Fig. 12. Jacopo da Avanzo (attrib.), Scene from the fourth book of Statius' *Thebaid*,  
Chester-Beatty Library, Dublin, MS 76, ca. 1370s, Padua

For image see Diana Norman, 1995, ch. 8, v. 1, plate 174

Fig. 13. Domenico Campagnola and Stefano dall'Arzere,  
View of Sala dei Giganti, fresco, ca. 1540, Padua

For image see Diana Norman, 1995, ch. 8, v. 1, plate 175

Fig. 14. Altichiero (?), Portrait of Petrarch, Sala dei Giganti, fresco,  
ca. 1374-79 (extensively repainted), Padua

For image see Lucio Grossato (ed.), 1974, exh. cat. 59

Fig.15. Jacopo da Verona, Death of the Virgin, fresco, Bovi Chapel,  
Church of San Michele, ca. 1379, Padua

For image see Lucio Grossato (ed.), 1974, exh. cat. 59 (detail)

Fig.15a. Details of Portraits of Petrarch, Francesco il Vecchio, Francesco Novello,  
and Pietro (?) Bovi from Death of the Virgin fresco

For image see Benjamin Kohl, 1998, fig. 34

Fig. 16. Jacopo da Verona, Detail from Adoration of the Magi with portraits of  
Francesco il Vecchio and Francesco Novello, fresco, Bovi Chapel,  
Church of San Michele, 1397, Padua

For image see Lucio Grossato (ed.), 1974, exh. cat. 119-122

Fig. 17. Selection of currency produced under Francesco il Vecchio  
(*ducato* of gold, 2 Carrarese coins worth four *soldi*, a Carraraese coin worth a *soldo*)

For image see Lucio Grossato (ed.), 1974, exh. cat. 124-129

Fig. 17a. Selection of currency produced under Francesco Novello  
(*carrarino* worth two *soldi*, a *quattrino* with one of Francesco's personal impresa, a *quattrino* worth four *denari*, a *sestino* with the Moor's head emblem, a small *denaro*, and a *quattrino* worth two *denari*)

For image see Lucio Grossato (ed.), 1974, exh. cat. 131-136

Fig. 17b. Selection of portrait medals produced during the reign of Francesco Novello,  
ca. 1390-1405

Note the central medal bears the portrait of a younger Francesco il Vecchio  
similar to that painted by Altichiero in the Oratory of Saint George

For image see Diana Norman, 1995, ch. 8, v. 2, plate 233

Fig. 18. Altichiero, Council of King Ramiro, fresco, Chapel of Bonifacio Lupi, Sant'Antonio, ca. 1373-79, Padua

For image see Diana Norman, 1995, ch. 8, v. 2, plate 234

Fig. 18a. Detail of portraits of Lombardo della Seta, Petrarch, Francesco il Vecchio and Francesco Novello da Carrara from the Council of King Ramiro fresco



For image see Daniela Bobisut and Lidia Gumeriro, 2002, p. 77

Fig. 19. Altichiero, Detail of portraits of Francesco il Vecchio and Francesco Novello, Judgment of Saint Lucy, fresco, Oratory of Saint George, ca. 1379-84, Padua

For image see John Richards, 2000, plate III

Fig. 20. Altichiero, Saint George baptizes King Sevio and his Court, fresco,  
Oratory of Saint George, ca. 1379-84, Padua

For image see John Richards, 2000, plate III (detail)

Fig. 20a. Detail of portraits of Lombardo della Seta, Francesco il Vecchio,  
and Petrarch from the Baptism of King Sevio fresco

For image see John Richards, 2000, plate IV

Fig. 21. Altichiero, Detail of Martyrdom of Saint George showing portrait of Francesco il Vecchio in background with heraldry on vest, fresco, Oratory of Saint George, ca. 1379-84, Padua

For image see Gian Lorenzo Mellini, 1965, p. 75 (detail)

Fig. 22. Altichiero, Detail of Adoration of the Magi showing portrait of Francesco il Vecchio in yellow helmet behind the second king, fresco, Oratory of Saint George, ca. 1379-84, Padua

For image see Diana Norman, 1995, ch. 8, v. 1, plate 181

Fig. 23. Giusto de' Menabuoi, Christ Healing the Sick, fresco,  
Baptistery, ca. 1370s, Padua

For image see Diana Norman, 1995, ch. 8, v. 1, plate 181 (detail)

Fig. 23a. Detail of Portraits of Francesco il Vecchio, Fina da Buzzacarini,  
Fina's sister Anna, and Petrarch from the scene of Christ Healing the Sick

For image see Benjamin Kohl, 2001, "Fina da Carrara," fig. 4

Fig. 24. Giusto de' Menabuoi, Birth of the Virgin, fresco,  
Baptistery, ca. 1370s, Padua

For image see Benjamin Kohl, 2001, "Fina da Carrara," fig. 5

Fig. 24a. Detail of portraits of Fina da Buzzacarini and her daughters from  
Birth of the Virgin fresco

For image see Giordana Mariani Canova, 1994, fig. 4

Fig. 25. Anon, illustration of the Giacomo da Carrara defying Ezzelino da Romano,  
*Gesta magnifica domus Carrariensibus*, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana,  
Venice, MS Lat. X, 381 (=2808), fol. 1v, ca. 1390, Padua

For image see Giordana Mariani Canova, 1994, fig. 5

Fig. 26. Anon, illustration of the execution of Giacomo da Carrara in 1240,  
*Gesta magnifica domus Carrariensibus*, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana,  
Venice, MS Lat. X, 381 (=2808), fol. 1v, ca. 1390, Padua

For image see Giordana Mariani Canova, 1994, fig. 6

Fig. 27. Anon, illustration of the election of Giacomo “il Grande” in 1318,  
*Gesta magnifica domus Carrariensibus*, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana,  
Venice, MS Lat. X, 381 (=2808), fol. 3v, ca. 1390, Padua



For image see Giordana Mariani Canova, 1994, fig. 7

Fig. 28. Anon, illustration of the election of Marsilio “il Grande” in 1337,  
*Gesta magnifica domus Carrariensibus*, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana,  
Venice, MS Lat. X, 381 (=2808), fol. 5v, ca. 1390, Padua

Fig.29. After Altichiero (?), Portrait of Giacomo “il Grande” da Carrara,  
*Liber de Principibus Carrariensibus*, Biblioteca Civica, Padua, fol. 4v,  
ca. 1402, Padua

For image see Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti, 1972, fig. 88

Fig. 30. After Altichiero (?), Portrait of Marsilio 'il Grande' da Carrara,  
*Liber de Principibus Carrariensibus*, Biblioteca Civica, Padua, fol. 16v,  
ca. 1402, Padua

For image see Giordana Mariani Canova (ed.), 1999, exh. cat. 53

Fig. 31. After Altichiero (?), Portrait of Ubertino da Carrara,  
*Liber de Principibus Carrariensibus*, Biblioteca Civica, Padua, fol. 26v,  
ca. 1402, Padua

Fig. 32. After Altichiero (?), Portrait of Niccolò da Carrara,  
*Liber de Principibus Carrariensibus*, Biblioteca Civica, Padua, fol. 10v,  
ca. 1402, Padua

For image see Giordana Mariani Canova (ed.), 1999, exh. cat. 53

Fig. 33. After Altichiero (?), Portrait of Giacomo II da Carrara,  
*Liber de Principibus Carrariensibus*, Biblioteca Civica, Padua, fol. 41r,  
ca. 1402, Padua

For image see Benjamin Kohl, 1998, fig. 12

Fig. 34. Anon, Portrait of Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara,  
*Liber de Principibus Carrariensibus*, Biblioteca Civica, Padua, fol. 64v,  
later fifteenth-century addition, Padua

For image see Benjamin Kohl, 1998, fig. 33

Fig. 35. Anon, Portrait of Francesco Novello da Carrara,  
*Liber de Principibus Carrariensibus*, Biblioteca Civica, Padua, fol. 65r,  
later fifteenth-century addition, Padua



For image see Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti, 1972, fig. 89

Fig. 36. Anon, Portrait of Giacomino da Carrara,  
*Liber de Principibus Carrariensibus*, Biblioteca Civica, Padua, fol. 37r,  
Later 15<sup>th</sup> century addition, Padua

Fig. 37. Anon, Portrait of Marsiglietto Papafava (da Carrara),  
*Liber de Principibus Carrariensibus*, Biblioteca Civica, Padua, fol. 34v,  
later fifteenth-century addition, Padua

For image see Claudio Bellinati, 2006, p. 137

Fig. 38. Giotto, Detail, Personification of Envy, fresco,  
Scrovegni Chapel, ca. 1305, Padua

For image see Claudio Bellinati, 2006, p. 135

Fig.39. Giotto, Detail, Personification of Folly, fresco,  
Scrovegni Chapel, ca. 1305, Padua

For image see Claudio Bellinati, 2006, p. 136

Fig. 40. Giotto, Detail, Personification of Injustice, fresco,  
Scrovegni Chapel, ca. 1305, Padua

For image see Claudio Bellinati, 2006, p. 132

Fig. 41. Giotto, Detail, Personification of Prudence, fresco,  
Scrovegni Chapel, ca. 1305, Padua

For image see Claudio Bellinati, 2006, p. 132

Fig. 42. Giotto, Detail, Personification of Fortitude, fresco,  
Scrovegni Chapel,, ca. 1305, Padua

For image see Claudio Bellinati, 2006, p. 133

Fig. 43. Giotto, Detail, Personification of Temperance, fresco,  
Scrovegni Chapel, ca. 1305, Padua





Fig. 44. Andriolo de' Santi, Tomb of Ubertino da Carrara, Church of the Eremitani, 1345, Padua (photo author)



Fig. 45. Andriolo de' Santi, Tomb of Giacomo II da Carrara, Church of the Eremitani, 1350, Padua (photo author)

For image see Howard Saalman, 1987, fig. 7

Fig. 46. Pre-World War II photograph showing Andriolo di Santi's tomb of Giacomo II with donor portraits and Coronation of the Virgin fresco fragments above, Church of the Eremitani, ca. 1350, Padua

For image see Diana Norman, 1995, ch. 1, vol. 1, plate 6

Fig. 47. Giusto de' Menabuoi, Detail from Saint Anthony of Padua appearing to a local *beato*, Luca Belludi, fresco, Conti Chapel, "Il Santo," ca. 1378, Padua



Fig. 48. Rose (rhodon), Dioscorides, *De materia medica*,  
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek,  
*Codex Vindobonensis*, medicus graecus 1, fol. 282r,  
512 AD, Constantinople



Fig. 49. Asphodel (asphodelos) showing later annotations in Greek and Arabic, Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *Codex Vindobonensis*, medicus graecus 1, fol. 26v, 512 AD, Constantinople



Fig. 50. Frontispiece Portrait of Juliana Anicia,  
 Dioscorides, *De materia medica*,  
 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek,  
*Codex Vindobonensis*, medicus graecus 1, fol. 6v,  
 512 AD, Constantinople

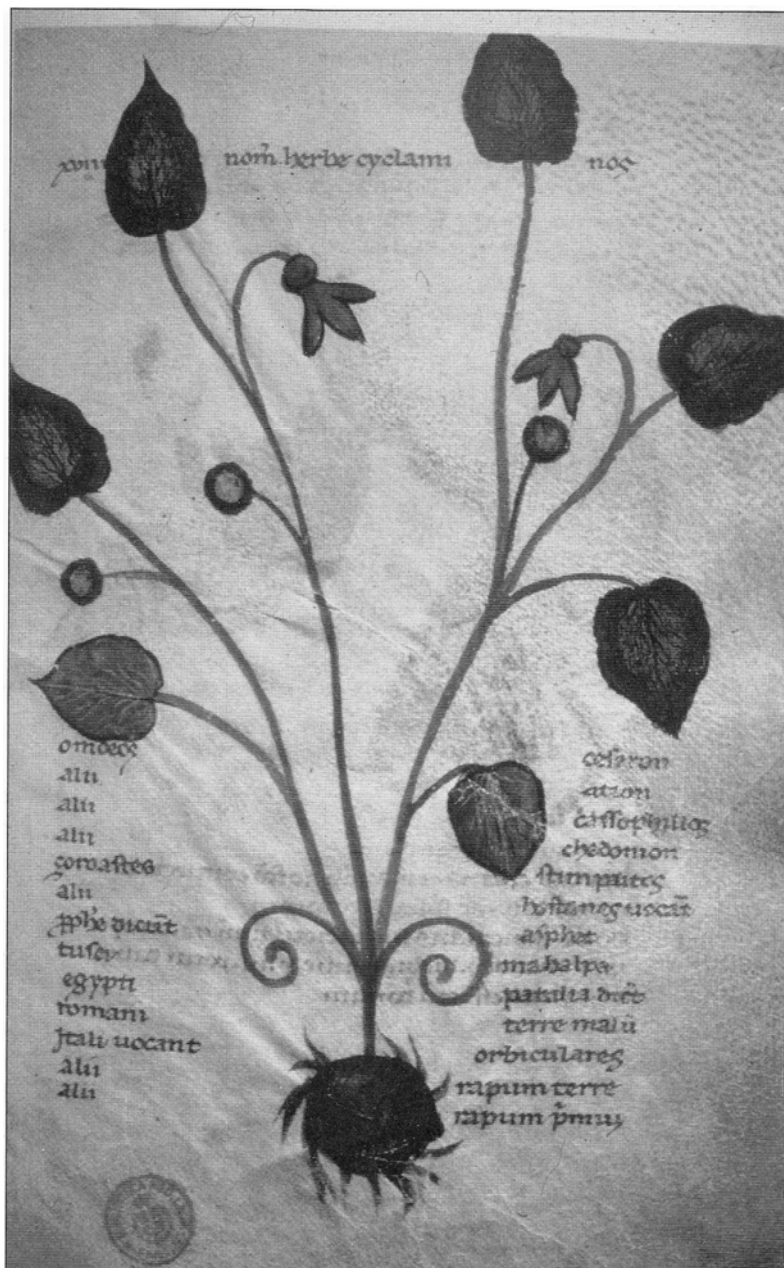


Fig. 51. Cyclamen (cyclaminos), *Herbarius of Apuleius Plonicus*, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plut. 73.16, fol. 49r, ca. 1220-1250, Southern Italy

Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ms. Plut. 73.16,  
c.1220-1250, Italia meridionale

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Fig. 52. Sweet Flag (achorus), *Herbarius of Apuleius Plonicus*,  
 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Lat. Cod. 93,  
 fol. 19r, ca. 1220-1266, Sicily





Fig. 53. Aesculapius finding the Betony Plant,  
*Herbarius of Apuleius Platonius*,  
 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek,  
 MS Lat. Cod. 93, fol. 5v, ca. 1220-1266, Sicily



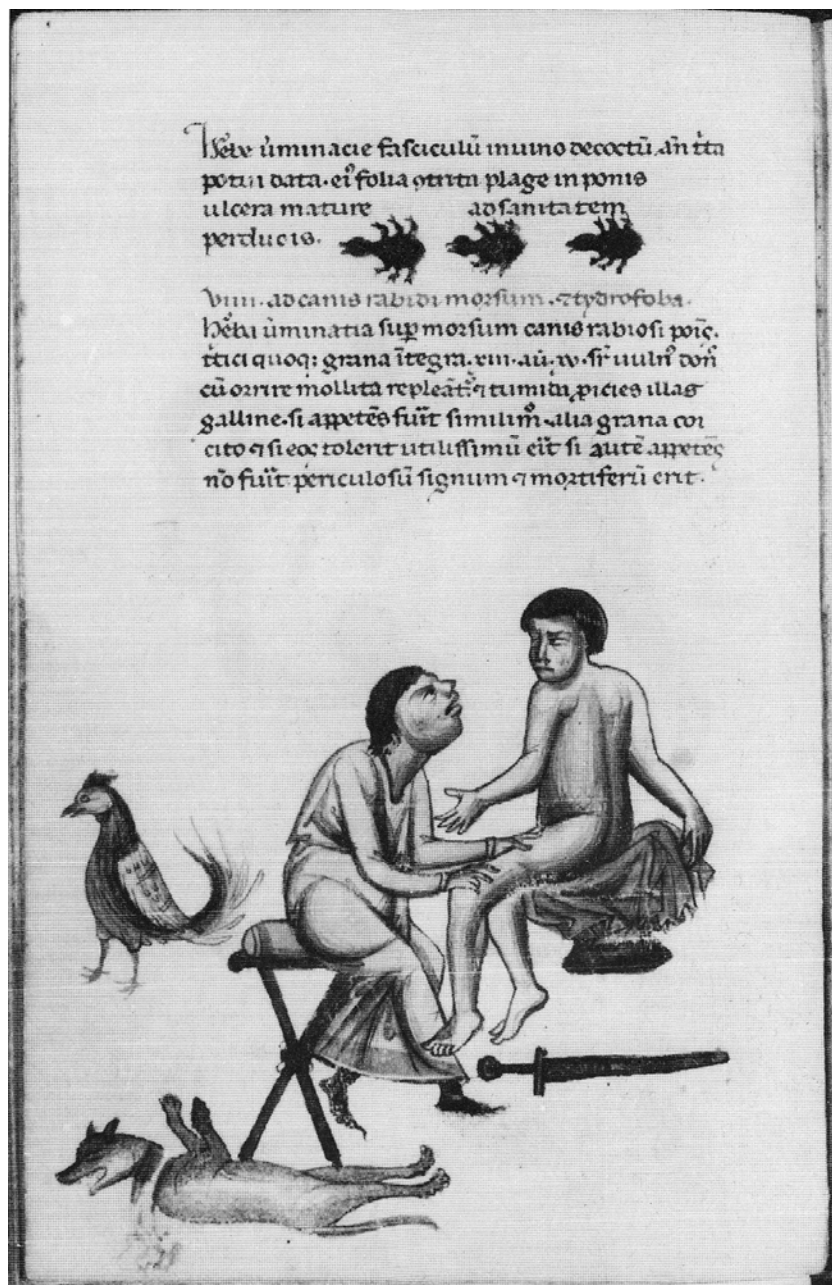


Fig. 55. Illustration of the cure for rabid-dog bite,  
 Vervain (*Verminatia*, *Verbena officinalis*, L.),  
*Herbarius of Apuleius Platonicus*,  
 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plut. 73.16, fol. 34v,  
 ca. 1220-1250, Southern Italy

Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ms. Plut. 73.16,  
 c.1220-1250, Italia meridionale

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Fig. 56. Portrait of Hippocrates, *Herbarius of Apuleius Platonicus*,  
 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plut. 73.16, fol. 17v,  
 ca. 1220-1250, Southern Italy

Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ms. Plut. 73.16,  
 c.1220-1250, Italia meridionale

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Fig. 57. Apuleius Platonicus, Hippocrates, and Dioscorides with two students, *Herbarius of Apuleius Platonicus*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Lat. Cod. 93, fol. 27v, ca. 1220-1266, Sicily

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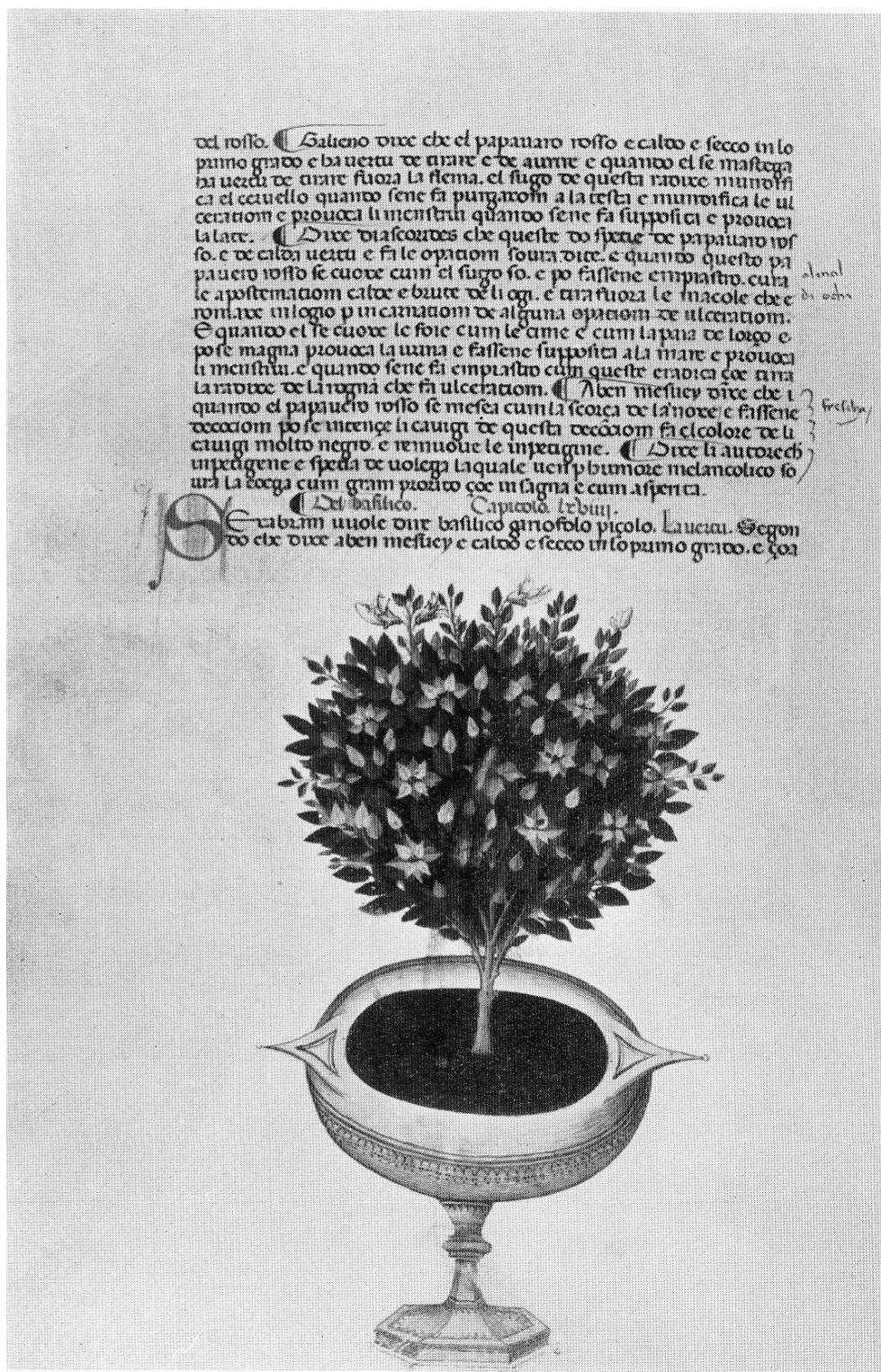


Fig. 58. Basil (basilicò), *Carrara Herbal*,  
 British Library, Egerton 2020, fol. 50v,  
 ca. 1390-1400, Padua

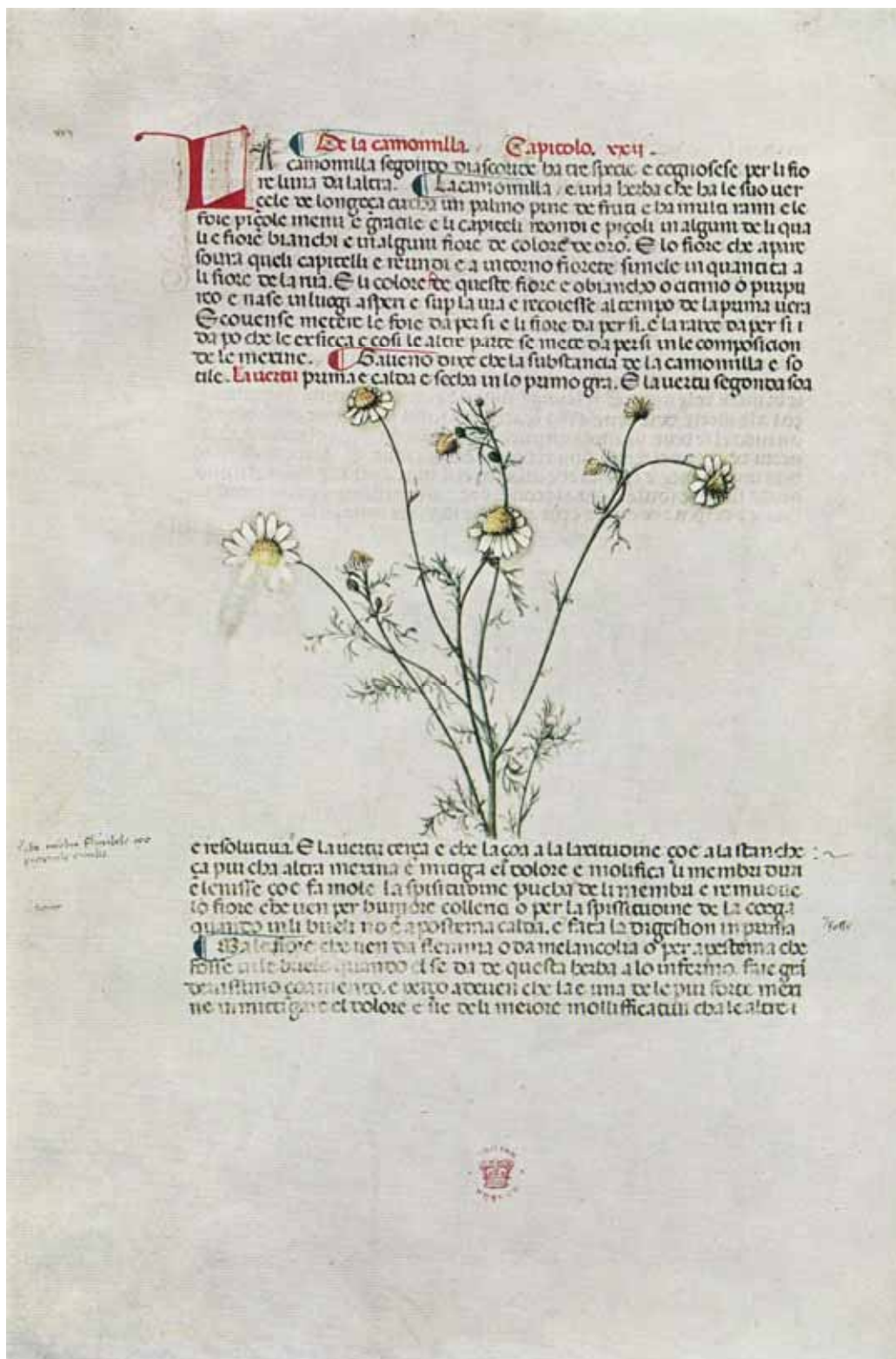


Fig. 59. Chamomile (camomilla), *Carrara Herbal*,  
 British Library, Egerton 2020, fol. 17v,  
 ca. 1390-1400, Padua



Fig. 60. Six-row barley (formento), *Carrara Herbal*,  
British Library, Egerton 2020, fol. 21r,  
ca. 1390-1400, Padua



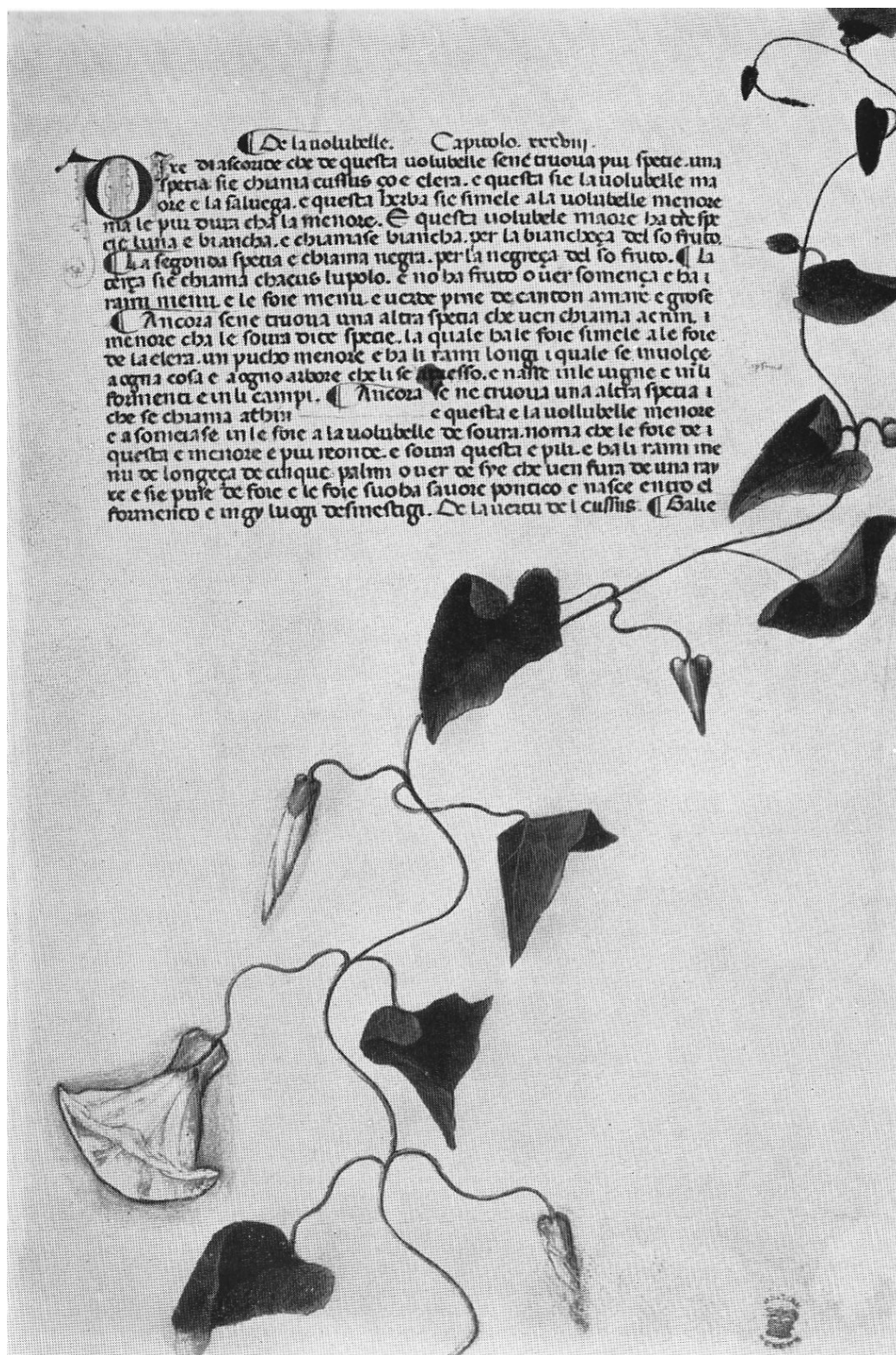


Fig. 61. Wild Morning Glory (volubelle), *Carrara Herbal*, British Library, Egerton 2020, fol. 33r, ca. 1390-1400, Padua

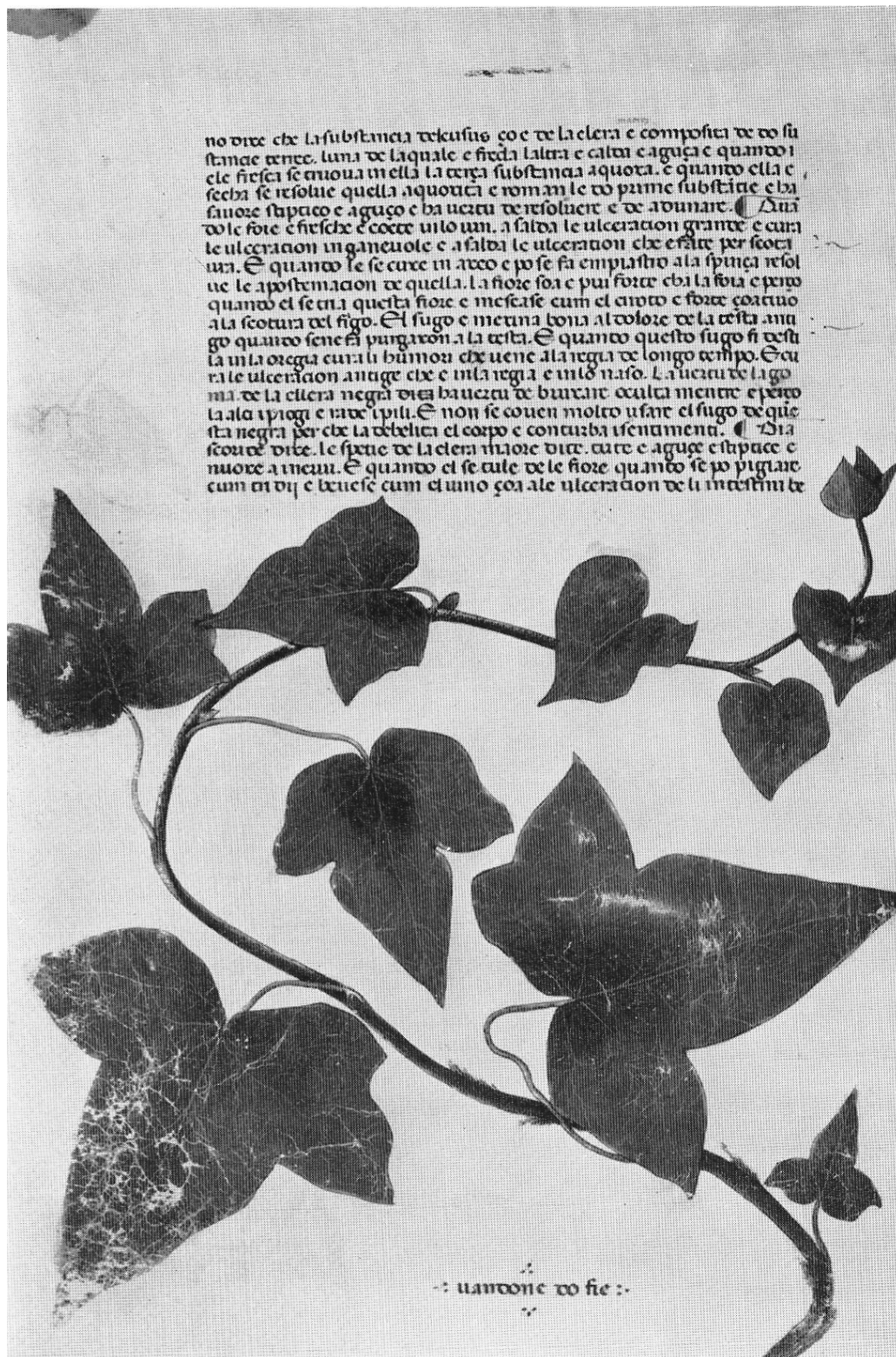


Fig. 62. Ivy (cussus), *Carrara Herbal*,  
 British Library, Egerton 2020, fol. 33v,  
 ca. 1390-1400, Padua

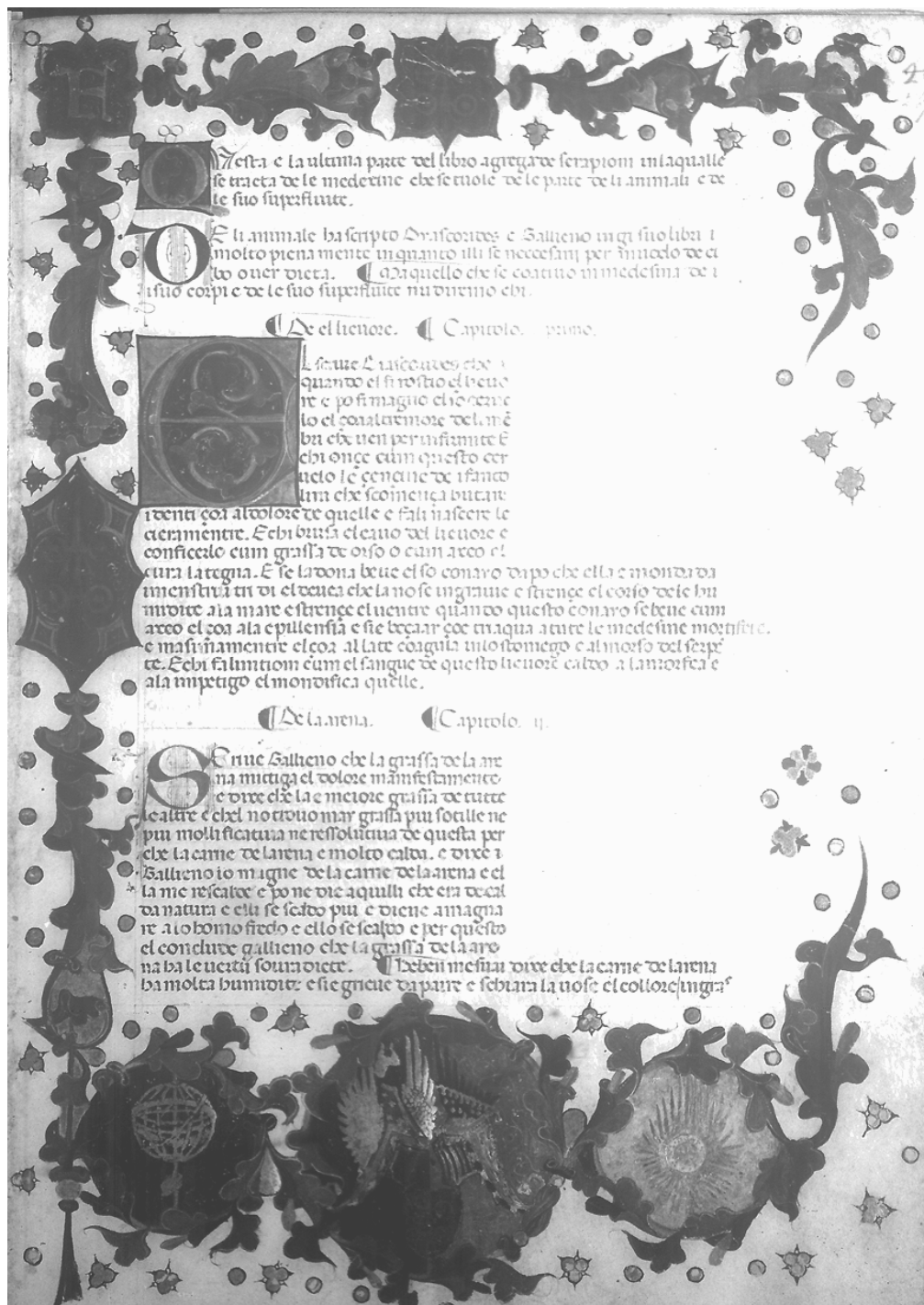


Fig. 63. Bestiary frontispiece with the Carrara stemmi, *Carrara Herbal*, British Library, Egerton 2020, fol. 267r, ca. 1390-1400, Padua

Fig. 64. Anon, Personal arms of Giacomo II da Carrara,  
*Liber cimieriorum dominorum de Carrara*,  
Biblioteca Civica di Padova, MS 124, XXII, fol. 19r,  
ca. 1390-1400, Padua

For image see Giordana Mariani Canova (ed.), 1999, exh. cat. 52

Fig. 65. Anon, Personal arms of Ubertino da Carrara, from  
*Liber cimieriorum dominorum de Carraria*,  
Biblioteca Civica, Padua, B.P. 124, XXII, fol. 16r,  
ca. 1390, Padua



Fig. 66. Frontispiece, detail of heraldic shields of arms and personal devices of Francesco il Vecchio and Francesco Novello, *Carrara Herbal*, British Library, Egerton 2020, fol. 4r, ca. 1390-1400, Padua

For multiple images of Boccaccio's trees see Ernst Hatch Wilkins, 1923

Fig. 67. One of Boccaccio's genealogical trees as recreated  
in a copy of the first printed edition of *Genealogia Deorum*,  
University of Wales Lampeter Library, INC. 13/14, 1472, Venice



Fig. 68. Example of Tree of Jesse from Book of Matthew, British Library, Egerton 2908, fol. 294r, ca. 1275, Bologna





Fig. 69. Cucumber (del citron picolo che si chiamà citrollo),  
*Carrara Herbal*, British Library, Egerton 2020, fol. 162v,  
 ca. 1390-1400, Padua

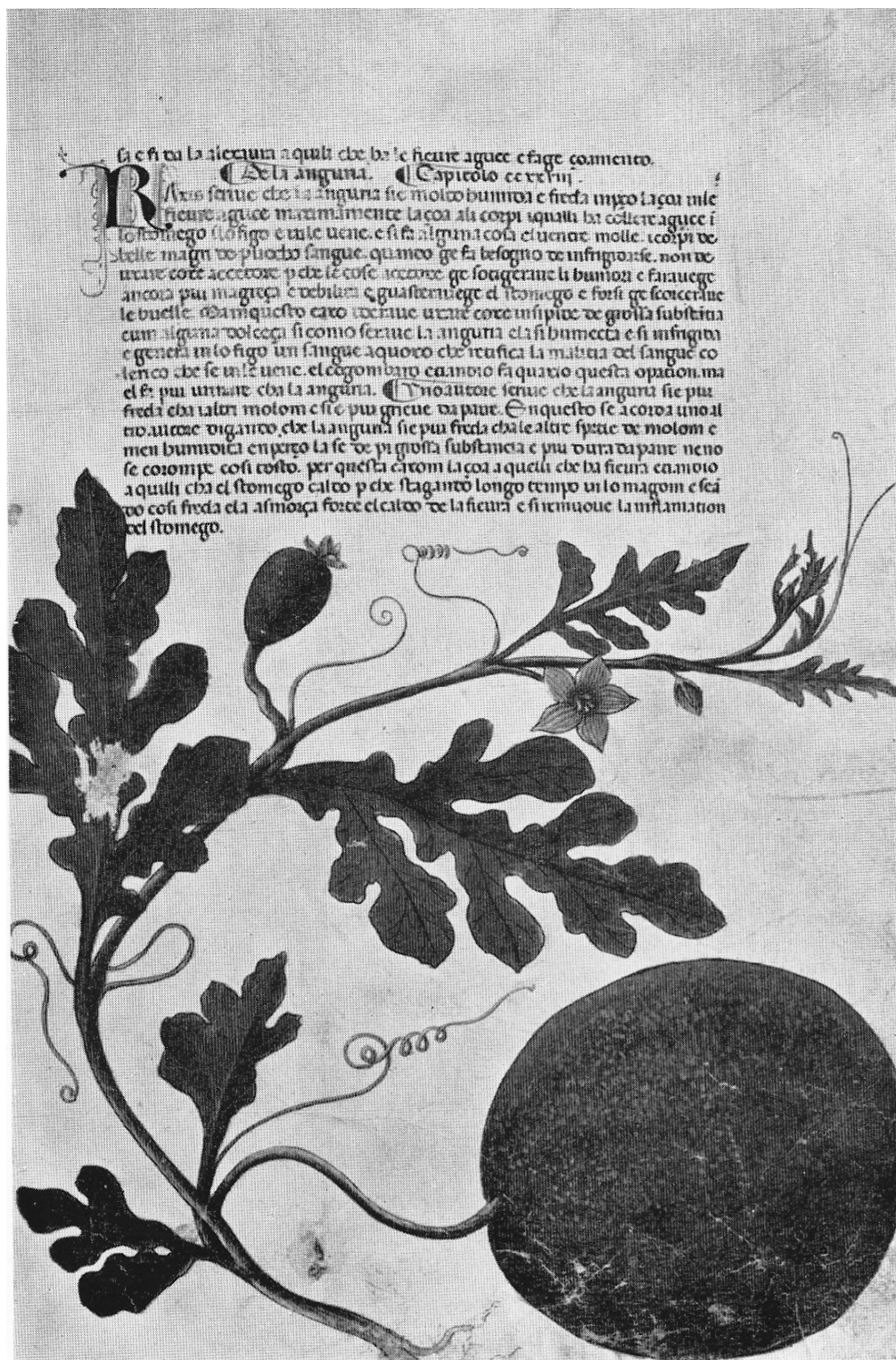


Fig. 70. Watermelon (de la angura), *Carrara Herbal*,  
 British Library, Egerton 2020, fol. 163r,  
 ca. 1390-1400, Padua



Fig. 71. Cucumber (de cucurbita), left, and Watermelon (de citrulis), right, *Tractatus de herbis* of Manfredus de Monte Imperiale, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 6823, fol. 42v, ca. 1330-40, Southern Italy







Fig. 74. Author Portrait Frontispiece,  
*Tractatus de herbis* of Manfredus de Monte Imperiale,  
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 6823, fol. 1r,  
 ca. 1330-40, Southern Italy



Fig. 75. Portraits of Hippocrates and Johannitius, and Hippocrates and Galen,  
*Tractatus de herbis* of Manfredus de Monte Imperiale,  
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 6823, fol. 1v,  
 ca. 1330-40, Southern Italy



Fig. 76. Portraits of Bartolomeo of Salerno and an unknown doctor, and Averroes and Porphyry, *Tractatus de herbis* of Manfredus de Monte Imperiale, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 6823, fol. 2r, ca. 1330-40, Southern Italy



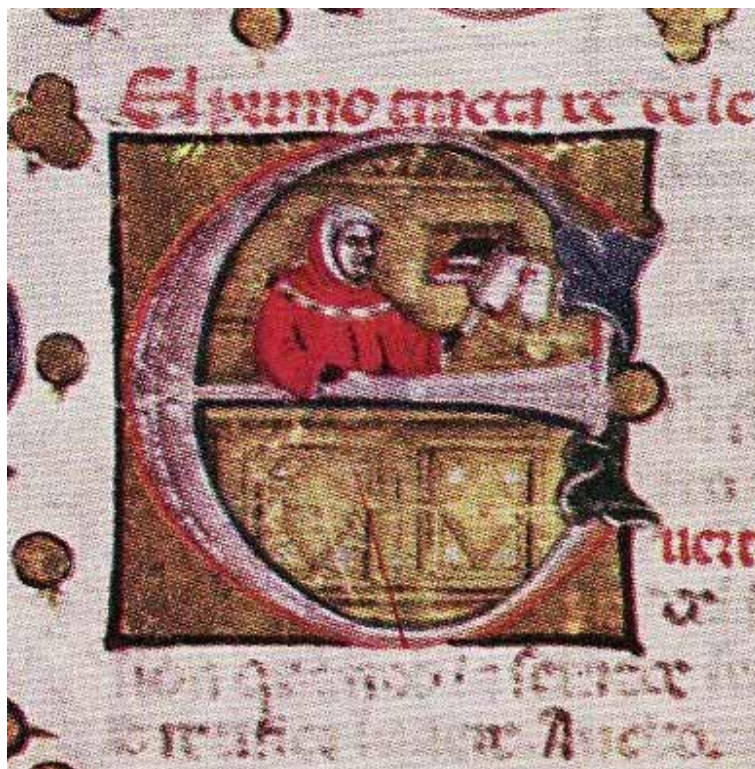


Fig. 77. Frontispiece, detail of figured initial,  
*Carrara Herbal*, British Library, Egerton 2020, fol. 4r,  
 ca. 1390-1400, Padua

For image see Lucio Grossato (ed.), 1974, exh. cat. 136

Fig. 78. Portrait Medal of Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara, obverse (top) and reverse,  
Museo Bottacin of Musei Civici, Padua, 1390

For image see Benjamin Kohl, 1998, fig. 31

Fig. 79. Portrait Medal of Francesco Novello da Carrara, obverse (top) and reverse,  
Museo Bottacin of Musei Civici, Padua, 1390