Doctoral Thesis

Pictorial and Iconographic Reflexivity

Images-within-Images in Italian Painting (1278-1348)

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Introduction

In the discussion of the history of painting in his *Natural History*, Pliny the Elder, after asserting that painting was invented in Greece and not in Egypt, wrote that the first image ever made was a monochrome outline of a human shadow on the wall.[1] Some paragraphs later, in the context of the invention of sculpture, he added that it was a girl who outlined the shadow of her beloved on the wall by the light of a lamp since he was about to leave for foreign lands.[2] Pliny clearly stated that it was not his intention to discuss the origins of painting since it was uncertain, nevertheless, the story he reported became the foundation myth of visual arts. By defining the origins of painting in terms of remembrance and as a response to separation, absence and death his proposition went far beyond the question of empirical chronology.[3]

While providing an answer to the existence of pictorial representations and shortly establishing their history, Pliny did not address the question of whether representations and the act of representing could themselves become the topic of a representation, and if so, how and why. This question admittedly has secondary relevance in comparison to the origin of representation. The question of the origin of representing asks how and why the perception of reality can produce images reflecting this reality. The problem inherent to representation-within-representation is how images, besides mirroring a physical or meta-physical reality, can incorporate reflection on themselves. In this sense, the question addresses the phenomenon of visual self-reflexivity, something that can be paralleled to some extent to the relationship between the image and the world. Reflexivity denotes here that the spontaneous and unilateral process of producing "an image representing something" is broken, giving way to "an image representing an image."

Pliny's silence about this phenomenon may imply various things, for instance that he neither knew of such representations nor consider them relevant. However, an example from Pompeii, dated between 1st century BC and 1st century AD shows a female painter in her studio painting a panel after a model standing in front of her.[4] [Fig.0.1 and Fig.0.2] Since the fresco is damaged, it cannot be asserted whether the difference between the color of the dress on the model (yellow) and on the panel (red) was in line with the original intention of the painter and if so, whether the painter was making a deliberate reference to a discrepancy

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[1] "Umbra hominis lineis circumducta." Plinius Maior Secundus, *Naturalis Historia*, vol. 5, ed. C. Mayhoff (Leipzig: Teubner, 1892-1909), 233 (XXXV, 15).

[2] "Quae capta amore iuuenis, abeunte illo peregre, umbram ex facie eius ad lucernam in pariete lineis circumscripsit." Plinius Maior Secundus, *Naturalis Historia*, vol. 5, 285 (XXXV, 151).

[3] Hans Belting, *Bildanthropologie: Entwürfe für eine Bildwissenschaft* (Munich: Fink, 2001), 143-188, esp. 181-184.

[4] Carol C. Mattusch (ed.), *Pompeii and the Roman villa: Art and culture around the Bay of Naples* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2008), 157-159.

between reality and representation. Despite these uncertainties, and notwithstanding Pliny's silence, the contents of the fresco displays an interest in the process of painting and thus, testifies to the presence of pictorial reflexivity in Antiquity. The fact that a female painter was depicted here at work might not mean necessarily that women were the first to explore this reflexivity, but it definitely shows that their importance extended way beyond the single paragraph Pliny dedicated to them.[5]

The painter in Pompeii is an early occurrence of the theme that can be labeled the artist in the studio. This theme can be regarded as the most developed form by which a painting (representation) makes itself its own topic. The lady from Pompeii lies somewhere near the beginning of a series of works created over the centuries in which painters not depicted only what they saw, but represented themselves while creating an image. The real heyday of this iconographic motif in Western art started in the Renaissance reaching its peak later in works such as the *Las Meninas* by Velazquez or the *Painter in his Studio* by Courbet. [Fig.0.3] Although throughout the Middle Ages this theme was rather marginal, it was implied in subjects like *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* or the *Three Magi Painting the Virgin*.

This dissertation on images-within-images should be understood in this broad context of representation becoming the theme of representation. Yet, in the dissertation I will not deal with the straightforward theme of the painter in the studio and will only briefly touch upon the rich topic of painting-within-painting. In addition to the fact that the historical development of this iconographic *topos* has largely been clarified (though no exhaustive monograph has yet been dedicated to it), there are two main reasons for this. First, the privileged focus on the painter in the studio resulted in scant attention being paid to other types of images-within-images, and this led to the neglect of such reflexive types as a picture containing depictions of mosaics, statues, reliefs or frescoes. The term image-within-image, used instead of the term picture-within-picture, aims to highlight this difference. Picture-within-picture denotes here framed paintings represented in framed paintings. Image-within-image is more broadly defined in comparison. It denotes figurative representations (including but not limited to mosaics, panels, statues, reliefs or frescoes) depicted in a representation (in the dissertation this will be limited to mural and panel painting). By shifting the attention from pictures-within-pictures to images-within-images it is possible to investigate the problem of reflexivity within a much richer visual material.[6]

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[5] "Pinxere et mulieres: …" Plinius Maior Secundus, *Naturalis Historia*, vol. 5, 284 (XXXV, 147).
[6] The general use of the term "image-within-image" is justified to a certain extent by the similarly general use of the term "image" in Greek (*eikon*), Roman (*imago*) and medieval (*imago* and *imagines*) times. In all cases, "image" included sculpture as well besides two-dimensional representations. For Greek and Roman usage see: Peter Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 20-25. For medieval usage: Jean Wirth, *L'image à l'époque romane* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1999), 27-29.

The second reason is that the theme of the painter in the studio is not only restrictive with regard to the represented medium (it favors framed paintings over other visual arts), but also reinforces a limited understanding of these details within the general pictorial and iconographic organization of the works. In the context of the painter in the studio, the depicted painting usually appears strictly tied to the main action of the picture: the panel is being painted or contemplated by the artist. The depicted picture is integrated into the action of the picture and becomes part of the main iconographic content. Again, this integration of the represented picture into the main action is a sign of the importance accorded to the problem although it overshadows those cases in which images-within-images are placed somewhat far from the focus of the work. Statues and reliefs on buildings in the background can be shown without being involved in the narrative core of the picture. They are marginalized in terms of the main iconographic content. Instead of being integrated elements they are distanced. The central question of my dissertation is: What happens to these marginalized images-within-images? Does this distance from the narrative core of the picture necessarily mean that the detail becomes irrelevant, or does it retain its reflexive implications? What can these images-within-images tell us about the problem of representation?

It is not the aim of the dissertation to provide a universal and definite answer to these questions. The possibility of such an answer in view of the heterogeneity, magnitude and context-dependent nature of the material would, in any case, be quite unlikely. Neither is the aim here to reveal the historical-empirical origins of images-within-images. Rather, my research goal is to focus on the phenomenon in a particular historical period, the first half of the Italian Trecento. The chronological boundaries extend from the workshop activity of Cimabue in the Upper Church at Assisi (around 1278) to the death of Ambrogio Lorenzetti and the outbreak of the Black Death (around 1348). These two dates should not be regarded as an absolute beginning and end. Nevertheless, they circumscribe a period of seventy years which differs fundamentally from the period prior to it, and during which the general principles shaping Western visual culture were set.

The choice of period is therefore not arbitrary in two respects. First, during these seventy years, the visual language of the Western world went through a deep transformation. Broadly speaking, the large-scale picture, previously seen as a two-dimensional surface and aiming at the transmission of the essence of a biblical or hagiographic content, was transformed into a three-dimensional pictorial space making references to the reality surrounding the contemporary viewer and emphasizing the emotional aspects of human encounters. In short, during this period, even if the proper mathematical model of linear perspective was still lacking, the picture became a window on another world, as Alberti

formulated more than one hundred years later.[7] The second reason, which is of special importance for my analysis, is the fact that it was just in this period that images-within-images not strictly associated with the main theme of the picture started to appear in a large numbers.

These two developments were interrelated. The realistic turn of the picture implied that it was not enough to briefly sketch the basic incidents in a story. The story needed to be staged realistically, including the detailed costume and body of the figures, their carefully tailored gestures, the three-dimensional spatial setting together with natural components such as trees or hills and man made ones such as buildings or furniture. All these additional details, which were not strictly required by the core of the depicted narrative, contributed to the reality-effect of the picture. Images-within-images appeared in large numbers as concomitant elements of the architectural setting serving as a background to the events depicted in the picture. Thus, they were, in fact, an intrinsic part of the realistic turn of the picture in this period. A central claim of my dissertation is that their basic role was to increase the building-like effect of the depicted architectural setting. The two main sources of these images-within-images were contemporary buildings and architectural representations found in Classical Roman painting. In this respect, the problem is partially intertwined with the problem of depicted architecture.[8]

There is only limited and circumstantial written evidence at our disposal on the question of architectural decoration in the period. Cennino Cennini, in chapter 87 of his "Il Libro dell'Arte," briefly discussed the problem of how to depict buildings, elaborating on their decoration thus:

> Then make a long ruler, straight and fine; and have it chamfered on one edge, so that it will not touch the wall, so that if you rub on it, or run along it with the brush and color, it will not smudge things for you; and you will execute those little moldings [*cornicette*] with great pleasure and delight [*con gran piacere e diletto*]; and in the same way bases [*base*], columns [*colonne*], capitals [*capitelli*], façades [*frontispizi*], fleurons [*fiorini*], canopies [*civori*], and the whole range of the mason's craft, for it is a fine branch of our profession, and should be executed with great delight [*con gran diletto*].[9]

There is debate over whether Cennini's account, presumably compiled before 1398, corresponds to the actual practice of fresco painting at the beginning of the 14th century in

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[7] "Let me tell you what I do when I am painting. First of all, on the surface on which I am going to paint, I draw a rectangle of whatever size I want, which I regard as an open window though which the subject to be painted is seen…" Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, tr. Cecil Grayson (London: Penguin, 1991), 54 (I, 19).

[8] The primary focus of these approaches is how the building achieves the illusion of three-dimensionality. Bettina Erche, "Architekturdarstellung in der florentiner und sieneser Malerei des Trecento," Ph.D. dissertation, Johann Wolfgang Goethe University (Franfurt am Main, 1990). Recently, Felicity Ratté merged this approach with a reevaluation of the represented architecture's symbolic and ritual role. Felicity Ratté, *Picturing the city in medieval Italian painting* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2006).

[9] Cennino d'Andrea Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook*, tr. Daniel V. Thompson Jr. (New York: Dover Publications, 1954): 57; and Cennino Cennini, *Il Libro dell'Arte o Trattato della Pittura*, ed. Fernando Tempesti (Milan: Longanesi, 1975): 82.

Italy.[10] Cennini presented himself as the third generation heir to Giotto in the preface (through Taddeo and Agnolo Gaddi).[11] The passage does not include mention of images, reliefs or statuettes on the buildings depicted. I would argue, nevertheless, that these figural details similarly belonged to the "mason's craft" to be depicted on the picture. Cennini's emphasis on pleasure and delight while preparing these details, and his statement that it is a "fine branch of our profession" imply that their careful execution was an important part of the pictorial repertory. The lack of comment on images-within-images certainly limits the strength of this conclusion. In this respect studies of these issues have had to rely primarily on visual evidence, similarly to research on other decisive pictorial problems of Italian painting in the 14th century.

Keeping in mind this limitation, it should be added that the contribution to the reality-effect of the pictures did not remain the single most important function of images-within-images in this period and did not lead to a mechanical reproduction of contemporary or Classical models.[12] The guiding hypothesis of the dissertation is that in certain cases the function of these images-within-images was further enhanced from two significant points of view. From time to time, they indicate a visual reflection on the modalities and the boundaries of representation as such. The embedded image reinforced the distinction between the live, flesh and bone, figures in a picture and monochrome components. In this manner, they introduced a play between the various reality-registers within these images. They facilitated the development of a visual reflexivity, whose task was to refine the division of the "real" and the "represented" within the picture itself. In this dissertation, this phenomenon is called pictorial reflexivity. The other fundamentally important role of these images-within-images was that from time to time by virtue of their content they interacted with the main iconographic content of the pictures. Certain details in the decoration ceased to be mere ornament and started to reflect on or relate to the meaning of the work. In the dissertation this phenomenon is called iconographic reflexivity. Because of these two aspects, during the first half of the Trecento, images-within-images, instead of being mere auxiliaries of the depicted

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[10] Tintori and Meiss questioned the validity of Cennini's account, but Zanardi maintained its importance and relevance. Leonetto Tintori and Millard Meiss, *The Painting of The Life of St. Francis in Assisi* (New York: University Press, 1962), 13-34; and Bruno Zanardi, *Giotto e Pietro Cavallini. La questione di Assisi e il cantiere medievale della pittura a fresco*, (Milan: Skira, 2002), 54-77.

[11] He also named Giotto as being responsible for the transition from the Greek painting technique to the Latin one. Cennino d'Andrea Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook*, 1-2.

[12] Roland Barthes introduced the concept of the reality effect to literary theory. For Barthes it denoted the presence of "insignificant" details in the narration, which, in turn, became the preeminent signs of the "real," since they resisted the all-encompassing meaning of the text. Roland Barthes, "The reality effect," in *French Literary Theory Today: a Reader*, ed. Tzvetan Todorov, tr. R. Carter (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1982), 11-17. See as well: Keith Moxey, "Reading the reality effect," in *Pictura quasi fictura: die Rolle des Bildes in der Erforschung von Alltag und Sachkultur des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996), 15-21, esp. 15-18.

buildings, can be inscribed into a wider and complex network of visual and semantic associations.

The aim of the dissertation is to present a comprehensive survey of images-within-images in their historical context and to show how they were grounded in the realistic turn of the picture itself and contributed to two seemingly quite different tendencies. The problems of pictorial reflexivity relate to the immediate visual layer of the work focusing on how the picture can affect and charm the viewer. What matters in this respect is how the picture is seen and should be organized to further enhance its perceived "reality." The problem of iconographic reflexivity, on the other hand, relates to the meaning-structure of the work focusing on the way a picture can convey complex and multi-layered messages. What matters in this respect is how the picture was understood.

Either the pictorial or the iconographic aspect alone would already make the problem of images-within-images in the Trecento interesting. Yet, what makes the phenomenon particularly intriguing in the period is that the visual and semantic tendencies appear interrelated, tied to the same phenomenon. Furthermore, in certain cases, apparently the same image-within-image may indicate simultaneous engagement both with the pictorial and the iconographic aspects. The combination of the two testifies to the relevance of the phenomenon in the investigation of representational reflexivity and, furthermore, may help bridge the gap between the broadly understood discipline of visual studies and traditional iconography.

Images-within-images were not an isolated visual phenomenon, but were rooted in the first half of the Trecento. The two main milieus responsible for their use were the Tuscan workshops and their patrons, that is, those who painted them and those who commissioned them and thus, had a first-hand interest in their content. Due to the scarcity of archival evidence it is extremely difficult to trace interactions between these two groups. Accepting this major difficulty in the dissertation, the problem of images-within-images is discussed in the context of both workshops and patrons. In terms of the workshops, this train of thought leads to the reconsideration of the art of Giotto di Bondone and the influence he had on the numerous masters in his orbit like the Rimini masters, Taddeo Gaddi, Bernardo Daddi, or the Lorenzetti brothers. This problem is primarily the problem of painters interested and engaged in perfecting the same pictorial phenomenon. In terms of the commissioners, this means reconsideration of the art of the Franciscan order, primarily in the Upper and Lower Church together with San Damiano and Santa Chiara in Assisi, in Santa Croce in Florence, but also in San Francesco in Figline, Lodi, Pisa, Pistoia, Rieti and Siena. Besides the Franciscans, other religious orders played an important role as well such as the Carmelites of Florence, the

Augustinians of Tolentinto and Rimini, and the Benedictines of Pomposa. Other institutions that were involved include the Cathedral of Siena, the churches of Santa Cecilia and Santa Felicità in Florence, and last, but definitely not least, the Arena chapel in Padua.

The interaction between masters and commissioners is unclear. Throughout the dissertation I will adopt the position that the use of images-within-images was to a large extent the affair of the masters and related to workshop practices although this did not exclude the possibility that in certain cases the patrons, as part of a visual propaganda or even self-fashioning impulse, could influence the content of these details. This hypothesis determined the organization of the chapters, which follows, to a certain extent, the main art historical narrative of the Trecento.

It would have been tempting, as a proper binary opposition, to state that the pictorial aspect of the problem reflects the concern of the painters, and those cases where strong iconographic implications can be detected should be assigned to the patron. This would have meant that the pictorial or the iconographic reflexivity marking these images-within-images had two distinct and palpable origins. Yet, this demarcation line seems to be less evident, since from time to time the masters, as I will attempt to show, also exploited the content-related possibilities of the phenomenon. And vice versa. There are times when the reason for creating a realistic representation may have been the agenda of the commissioner and not the aspirations of the master to perfect the pictorial code. Thus, on a general level in the dissertation, the pictorial and iconographic use of images-within-images is described as an interdependent achievement by the aforementioned two groups.

The analysis of this interdependence may indicate the way an emerging possibility in painting was simultaneously exploited for pictorial and iconographic purposes, therefore showing in the case of this specific phenomenon, how the visual enrichment of the image went together with its growing semantic complexity. Chapter 1 sets up in detail the theoretical framework of the dissertation. This discussion is combined with analysis of the *Allegory of Obedience* from the Lower Church in Assisi, which is one of the most complex examples from the period. Chapter 2 deals with the complex question of how images were perceived and used in the Middle Ages prior to the Trecento. The aim is to create a historical framework in which the realistic turn around the 13th century and the emergence of images-within-images can be interpreted. Chapter 3 addresses the beginnings of images-within-images in the Trecento. These beginnings will be treated under the name of Giotto di Bondone, even if I leave open the question of whether he was responsible or not for the *Legend of St. Francis* in the Upper Church at Assisi. In Chapter 4 I concentrate on the emblematic motif of the depicted statuette. The motif simultaneously incorporates the influences of contemporary

architecture and Classical wall painting. Furthermore, the purely decorative function of depicting architectural statuettes is transcended many times in order to express typological relationships. In addition to the cross-section provided by the discussion of statuette imagery in Chapter 5 I focus on the pseudo-sculptural decoration of the throne of the Virgin. Most of the images-within-images in the period appear on narrative paintings which might give the distorted impression that the phenomenon was limited to the *historia*. The aim of the chapter is to demonstrate how images-within-images found their way to the *imago* as well and became integrated elements within the traditional iconography of the *Virgin and the Child*. Following these two comprehensive chapters on the statuette and the throne of the Virgin in Chapter 6 I return to the more monographic treatment of the subject and analyze the relationship of the Lorenzetti brothers to the phenomenon. In Chapter 7 I briefly touch upon the question of the diffusion and afterlife of the phenomenon. The images-within-images reflecting on the visual and iconographic organization of the picture apparently first showed up outside Italy around 1330 in the Augustinian abbey of Klosterneuburg.

I hope that by the time the Reader gets to the conclusions the contribution of Trecento images-within-images to representational reflexivity, together with their breathtaking beauty and playful complexity, will have been credibly presented.

1. Picture-within-Picture and Disguised Symbolism

In his fundamental book on "meta-painting" at the "dawn of modern times" Victor I. Stoichita gave a comprehensive account of various correlating pictorial phenomena between 1522 and 1675: windows, doors, pictures-within-pictures, trompe l'œil, studio paintings, and self-portraits of the artist.[13] He convincingly argued that all these phenomena together constituted a pictorial reflection on the nature of the picture itself leading to the establishment of the picture as such and the establishment of the modern condition of art. What follows from this thesis is that certain details of a painting and certain types of painting addressing the general question of representation can and should be regarded as the sign of pictorial reflexivity constituting the cutting edge of artistic creation. In this context, I propose here to evaluate an example which predates by more than two centuries the developments discussed by Stoichita, and which has been neglected in the on-going debates on questions of representation.

This example can be found on the vault of the crossing in the Lower Church at Assisi, presumably decorated before July 1311.[14] This decoration consisted of the Glorification of St. Francis and the allegories of the fundamental vows of the Franciscans: Chastity, Poverty and Obedience. Here, at the *caput et mater* of the Franciscan order a unique solution was adopted to enrich and complement the *Allegory of Obedience*. [Fig.1.1] A sketch of the Crucifixion may be seen behind the rectangular halo of the winged figure, on the wall of the building accommodating her. [Fig.1.2] This sketch within the context of the fresco is perceived as being a different mode of reality than the "flesh and bone" personages in the allegory (such as Obedience or Humility); it is, in fact, a representation within the representation.

I propose that this example displays the general features of pictorial reflexivity. The difference between the preparatory drawing and the finished work denoted the difference between the two levels within the picture, the "real" and the "represented." This reflexivity at Assisi is an early occurrence of the meta-pictorial work of the 16th and 17th century described by Stoichita. However, in order to grasp the significance of this achievement in its full

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[13] Victor I. Stoichita, *L'instauration du tableau: Métapeinture à l'aube des Temps modernes* (Paris: Méridiens Klincksieck, 1993).

[14] On the basis of technical evidence, Maginnis argued that the decoration of the transept proceeded from right to left and there is a significant break between the crossing and the left arm of the transept. Hayden B. J. Maginnis, "Assisi Revisited: Notes on Recent Observations," *The Burlington Magazine* 117 (1975): 512-515. Furthermore, the left arm attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti was presumably finished before the Ghibelline sack of the convent when the papal treasury was carried off (on the 29th September 1319; the uprising was lead by Munzion of Ser Francesco). Hayden B. J. Maginnis, "Pietro Lorenzetti: A Chronology," *The Art Bulletin* 66 (1984): 208. In light of this, the Giotto workshop may have left Assisi in July 1311, which can thus be regarded as the *ante quem* for the *vele*. Elvio Lunghi argued that this was the year the basilica was flooded and the *padre custode*, together with the convent, petitioned the authorities to get rid of the rainwater threatening the decoration. The humidity in the walls may have made the work impossible for a significant amount of time. Elvio Lunghi, "Per la fortuna della Basilica di S. Francesco ad Assisi: I corali domenicani della Biblioteca Augusta di Perugia," *Bollettino della Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria* 88 (1991): 66. Zanardi complemented Lunghi's argument with considerations regarding the St. Martin chapel in the Lower Church. Zanardi, *Giotto e Pietro Cavallini*, 201-206.

complexity, it was necessary for me to modify two principles underlying Stoichita's work. First, I had to broaden the restricted limits of the category of picture-within-picture relegating it to a mere subunit of images-within-images. Secondly, I had to assign a more important role to iconography, since in Assisi the question of iconographic content has proven to be more central than in later periods. This led me to reassess Erwin Panofsky's theory on disguised symbolism and to reconsider the relation between pictorial and iconographic modes of representation.

1.1. Reflexivity and Picture-within-Picture

So far, I have deliberately avoided using the term picture-within-picture as a designation for the sketch of the Crucifixion in Assisi in order to highlight the difficulties inherent in using such a term. The question is what does the term "picture" stand for in the term picture-within-picture. Generally speaking, picture (and image) denotes any kind of visual representation on a two-dimensional surface. The term picture-within-picture therefore stands for the representation of any two-dimensional surface within another, like a mosaic depicted within a mosaic or a painting depicted within a painting. In this sense, the sketch of the Crucifixion, being a fresco within a fresco, would undoubtedly qualify as a picture-within-picture.

Although the usual meaning of the word 'picture' in English also encompasses the frescoes (fresco is a subdivision of picture), the term picture-within-picture does not subsume the fresco-within-fresco (fresco-within-fresco is not a subdivision of picture-within-picture). The reason for this is that the word picture in the term picture-within-picture is used in a restricted sense conforming to the meaning of the French *tableau* or the Italian *quadro*: it is a framed two-dimensional surface (canvas or panel), which can be detached from the wall.[15] As a result, the term picture-within-picture designates pictures that are, in fact, paintings in the sense that the term has been used in the context of Western Art since the Renaissance.

This restriction is not wordplay or a terminological contingency, but a fundamental feature of research on the concept of the picture-within-picture. The first widely known article on the subject, the groundbreaking contribution of André Chastel, was organized around this framework.[16] His work concentrated on the history of the phenomenon between the 15th and

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[15] The same process can be detected in the German *Bild im Bild*: in this expression the term *Bild* is restricted to the meaning of the *Gemälde* or *Tafelbild*. For the problem of the differences between *tableau, quadro, Gemälde* and picture see: Victor I. Stoichita and Didier Martens, "Review of *Die Erfindung des Gemäldes: Das erste Jahrhundert der niederländischen Malerei* by Hans Belting; Christiane Kruse," tr. Joseph Koerner and F. T. Nick Nesbitt, *The Art Bulletin* 78 (1996): 733.

[16] André Chastel, "Le tableau dans le tableau," in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes. Akten des 21. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte in Bonn 1964. Band 1: Epochen Europäischer Kunst* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1967), 15-29. The exhibition *Pictures within Pictures* at the Wadsworth Atheneum in 1949 predated Chastel's article. However, it remained mostly within this framework by dealing primarily with studio

the 20th centuries. He divided the development into four steps: as an element for the consecration of the real (15th and beginning of the 16th century); as a bearer of iconographic and morphologic values (16th century); as a determining factor of style and sophisticated expression (17th century); and as part of the extremely subjective character of painting (19th century).[17] In the first phase, he took into account mirrors and open windows as materials for comparison, but his main argument focused on the picture (*tableau*).[18] His most far-reaching insight was the discovery of common ground for the possible uses of the picture-within-picture. Both in the context of increasing the reality-effect of the picture, or the social self-promotion and subjective self-expression of the artist, it was connected to the essence of art and therefore the artist's self-reflection.[19]

Chastel genuinely grasped the two vital components of the problem: he unambiguously defined the picture (as *tableau*) and clearly stated its function (as being related to the essence of art and the self-reflection of the artist).[20] The research history of the picture-within-picture has been shaped by positions adopted vis-à-vis these two principles. This history can be broken down into three subsequent phases: 1) full acceptance; 2) full rejection; 3) partial revision.

The first and most far-reaching reaction was full acceptance.[21] Two of Chastel's disciples organized the exhibition *La peinture dans la peinture* in Dijon in 1982 and dedicated

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and gallery paintings, or 'cabinet picture' as formulated in the foreword. See: *Pictures within Pictures* (Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1949), 3. The importance of Chastel's lecture can also be measured by the fact that Vitale Bloch had already mentioned it in a short note before he had access to the published version. Vitale Bloch, "Pictures within Pictures," *The Burlington Magazine* 111 (1969): 517.

[17] Chastel, "Le tableau dans le tableau," 16.

[18] Chastel, "Le tableau dans le tableau," 16-18.

[19] Chastel, "Le tableau dans le tableau," 27-29. This idea also dominated the short discussion of the picture-within-picture in *Le Grand Atelier*: the subtlety of Carpaccio in comparison to the painters of the Northern Renaissance, who openly promoted the theme of St. Luke painting the Virgin and thus, the importance and sacred origin of their art, consisted of a modest display of a small icon depicting the Virgin with the Child in the background. This modest icon, nevertheless, underscored the same idea of the elevated status and self-affirmation of the painter. André Chastel, *Le Grand Atelier d'Italie, 1460-1500* (Paris: Gallimard, 1965), 177-179.

[20] In 1978, Chastel wrote a foreword to this article in *Fables, formes, figures*. Here, he emphasized that the term *tableau-dans-le-tableau* was much more appropriate than the art historical reprise of Gide's *mise en abyme*, which referred to the embedding of a literary work within another. André Chastel, *Fables, formes, figures 2* (Paris: Flammarion, 1978), 73-74. Chastel may have been right to underline these differences, since *mise en abyme* primarily concerned duplication of the action, although it is much more comprehensive in terms of medium than *tableau-dans-le-tableau*.

[21] The first response, a book by Julian Gállego, was so positive that both Chastel and his disciple, Pierre Georgel, suspected plagiarism. See: Chastel, *Fables, formes, figures 2,* 73; Julian Gállego, *El cuadro dentro del cuadro* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1978); *La peinture dans la peinture*[1], ed. Pierre Georgel and Anne-Marie Lecoq (Dijon: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1982), ix. I do not want to enter into the philological discussion of the issue, but simply note that Gállego had already adopted the same interpretative strategy in 1968, in the closing part of *Vision et Symbols*, where he opened his remarks by making a distinction between the picture, the mirror and the open window. Julian Gállego, *Vision et Symbols dans la Peinture Espagnole de Siècle d'Or* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1968), 250.

it to him.[22] Here, the picture-within-picture was absorbed by the topic of the painting within painting, and the focus shifted towards the personification, mythological origins and allegories within painting.[23] In parallel, Chastel's two principles had been already anticipated by extensive research on a specific subcategory of picture-within-picture: gallery paintings.[24] Matthias Winner showed that the most important element in these paintings by far was the representation of the allegory of painting; he later published extensive analyses of Courbet's and Poussin's art theory as found in their works.[25] This general framework influenced subsequent works dealing with the subject. In the *Malerei als Thema der Malerei*, the topic-based analysis gave place to a compound approach: the various mythological stories, topics and genres were organized in a historical narrative.[26] The question of *paragone*, the competition between painting and sculpture, served as the basis for a discussion of picture-within-picture in the exhibition catalogue *Wettstreit der Künste. Malerei und Skulptur von Dürer bis Daumier*, thus, emphasizing the relevance of these representations for artistic self-

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[22] The exhibition catalogue was published in 1982 (*La peinture dans la peinture*[1]). A second, extended edition appeared in 1987. (*La peinture dans la peinture*[2], ed. Pierre Georgel and Anne-Marie Lecoq (Paris: Adam Biro, 1987).

[23] The last chapter was dedicated to the problem of the images of pictures (*Images du tableau*), however, even examples from earlier periods, or examples not strictly connected to the question of painting, were perceived within the context of the self-representation of painting. (*La peinture dans la peinture*, 219-273.) The partially reworked foreword of the second edition opened with an allusion to the Stefaneschi Polyptych as the most beautiful example of *mise en abyme*. This example was intended to strengthen the historical orientation of the book (connecting the topic to Giotto himself), and it was understood solely in a context where art itself became a topic. *La peinture dans la peinture*[2], 9-10.

[24] The interest in gallery paintings goes back to the end of the 19th century. Theodor von Frimmel, under the title "painted galleries" (*Gemalte Galerien*), provided a collection of paintings displaying picture galleries and he mentioned the duplication of the representational levels by alluding to the embedded theater in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Theodor von Frimmel, *Gemalte Galerien*, 2nd edition (Berlin, Georg Siemens, 1896), 1-2. Wilhelm Martin discussed the Dutch studio paintings as sources for daily life and the practice of the Dutch artist. Wilhelm Martin, "The life of a Dutch Artist in the Seventeenth Century," *The Burlington Magazine* 7 (1905): 125-132, 416-427; 8 (1905): 13-24.

[25] Matthias Winner, "Die Quellen der Pictura-Allegorien in gemalte Bildergalerien des 17. Jahrhunderts zu Antwerpen," PhD dissertation (Cologne, 1957); Matthias Winner, "Gemalte Kunsttheorie: zu Gustave Courbets 'Allégorie réelle' und die Tradition," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 4 (1962): 151-185; ibid, "Poussins Selbstbildnis im Louvre als kunsttheoretische Allegorie," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 20 (1983): 417-449. He also edited the proceedings of the symposium in 1989 (Hertziana, Rome) dedicated to the problems of the self-representation of the artist. *Der Künstler über sich in seinem Werk*, ed. Matthias Winner (Weinheim: VCH, Acta Humaniora, 1992). Zirka Zaremba Filipczak reassessed the Antwerp school, demonstrating that studio paintings were not faithful representations of everyday realities for the artists. He also connected this discrepancy with the artists' self-promotion. Zirka Zaremba Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp 1550-1700* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1987).

[26] Hermann Ulrich Asemissen and Gunter Schweikhart, *Malerei als Thema der Malerei* (Berlin: Akademie, 1994). As has been emphasized, the picture-within-picture was present in almost each segment of this historical narrative; however, the authors felt the need to highlight four specific examples (self-portrait, landscape in the interior and quoted picture and pictorial commentary). This thematic chapter, situated near the end of the historical narrative, was conceived of more as a supplement to the discussion of those picture-within-pictures not accommodated in the main story then a systematic analysis of the picture-within-picture itself. Asemissen and Schweikhart, *Malerei als Thema der Malerei*, 216-235.

promotion.[27] The exhibition catalogue, *Pictures within Pictures*, contained a discussion of the role of mass production and graphic arts in the dissemination of these ideas.[28]

These developments on the one hand, represent a wonderful expansion of Chastel's original idea and have added significantly to our understanding of self-reflection and self-promotion in painting. On the other hand, however, the preeminence of the *tableau* over any other kind of two-dimensional depicted surface and the importance of its role in artistic reflexivity became an obstacle to research on picture-within-picture in periods such as the Middle Ages because these works were based on different principles than later works.[29] In a comprehensive article dealing with pictures-within-pictures in the Middle Ages before 1990, Jean Wirth completely abandoned Chastel's framework and used the term image-within-image (*l'image dans l'image, l'image de l'image* and *l'image par l'image*) instead of picture-within-picture (*tableau dans le tableau*).[30] Wirth conceived the shining and rectangular halo of the saints together with the *imago clipeata* and the *mandorla* as images-within-images displaying distinctions between different levels of reality, whose origins could be traced back to Late Antiquity.[31] Furthermore, he reconstructed the historical and theological context which might have influenced the adoption or renunciation of these images-within-images.[32] In this sense, Wirth provided a different definition of the picture since he saw it as an *image* instead of a *tableau*, locating its function, not in the reflexivity of art, but in possibly rendering of theological distinctions.[33]

Wirth's attempt was a solitary example in mainstream research on picture-within-picture, presumably because of the strong divisions it introduced. A more comprehensive revision came after 1990. It was only a partial solution in which the formal-material definition of the picture (as a framed, two-dimensional depicted surface, which can be detached from the wall) was retained but the preeminence of artistic reflexivity as its most important functional

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[27] *Wettstreit der Künste. Malerei und Skulptur von Dürer bis Daumier*, ed. Ekkehard Mai and Kurt Wettengl (Wolfratshausen: Minerva Hermann Farnung, 2002).

[28] *Pictures within Pictures. The Artist and the Public over Five Centuries of Graphic Art from Burgkmair to Picasso*, ed. Zsuzsa Gonda (Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 2005).

[29] For the sake of a long paragraph, Chastel himself tried to come to grips with this problem. He discussed similar solutions in Japanese art, focusing on the representations of paravans on paravans. Chastel, "Le tableau dans le tableau," 20-21.

[30] Jean Wirth, "La représentation de l'image dans l'art du Haut Moyen Age," *Revue de l'Art* 79 (1988): 9. The only contribution in this context is the short article of Karsten Kelberg focusing on the Late Middle Ages in which some important works are discussed. Though Kelberg even broadened the restricted framework of picture-within-picture to sculpture within painting or mosaic within mosaic, and emphasized the importance of the iconography, the shortness of the account meant the article did not have far-reaching influence. Karsten Kelberg, "Bilder im Bilde: ikonographische Details auf spätgotischen Tafelbildern," *Das Münster* 39 (1986): 144-148.

[31] Wirth, "La représentation de l'image dans l'art du Haut Moyen Age," 9-12.

[32] Wirth, "La représentation de l'image dans l'art du Haut Moyen Age," 15-19.

[33] Wirth also developed a theory that the medieval picture had its own logic which cannot be reduced to the text and/or to the principle of mimesis. Relying on this theory he wrote a history of the medieval picture that was not restricted to the *tableau*. See: Jean Wirth, *L'Image Médiévale: Naissance et développements, VIe-XVe siècle* (Paris: Méridiens Klincksieck, 1989), 14-45 and 343-345.

aspect was abandoned. This revision was made possible by the increasing interest in the differing media of art affecting the concept of picture. In *Bild und Kult*, Hans Belting demonstrated that the painted panel, the icon, as the forerunner of the modern *tableau* in its material sense, should be analyzed in its religious context where it was seen as a cult object.[34] Belting wrote a history of the icon as picture deprived of art, since the context of the icon in the era of devotion is not equivalent in any sense to the *quadro* or *tableau* in the era of art. Therefore, he managed to separate the concept of the picture from the modern condition of art. To some extent Stoichita's book already relied on Belting's results: since the picture understood as *tableau* was not always understood as such in the History of Art where in the Middle Ages something like the *tableau* was, in fact, an icon so that there must have been a period when the *tableau* was actually invented.[35]

This historization of the *tableau* and the limits of its "artistic" meaning also had an impact on ideas about picture-within-picture. This change of paradigm opened up possibilities especially for research on the phenomenon in late medieval art. Klaus Krüger showed how the play with the insertion of a picture and the transgression of its frame could highlight and negate the medial nature of the picture.[36] He also insisted on the importance of whether the supernatural is depicted as a picture or as a vision belonging to the same space. Thus, he showed that the picture-within-picture might have had a significant role in the aesthetical aspects of the religious experience.[37] Stefan Horsthemke wrote a history of the picture-within-picture in the Italian Renaissance, where he emphasized how the embedded picture, no longer fully dependent on the textual source, was integrated into the religious experience and functioned as the mediator between earthly and heavenly spheres.[38]

These developments after 1990 successfully opened up the previously narrow concept of picture-within-picture and extended research into Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Art. However, it is clear that this is insufficient as regards the Assisi sketch: as a fresco within a fresco this example is far from being compatible with the formal-material definition of the

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[34] Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult: eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Munich: Beck, 1990). Though it was the *Bild und Kult* which became paradigmatic, Belting's project had already been laid out in the first chapter of his monograph on Bellini in 1965 and in 1981 on the Man of Sorrows. See: Hans Belting, *Giovanni Bellini Pietà. Ikone und Bilderzählung in der venezianischen Malerei* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1985), 5-8; ibid, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter: Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1981), 25-47.

[35] The posthumous work of Chastel on the retable was heading in that direction as well. André Chastel, *La Pala ou le retable italien des origins à 1500*, ed. Christiane Lorgues-Lapouge (Paris: Liana Levi, 1993).

[36] Klaus Krüger, "Mimesis als Bildlichkeit des Scheins – Zur Fiktionalität religiöser Bildkunst im Trecento," in *Künstlerischer Austausch – Artistic Exchange*, Akten des XXVIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte 2, Berlin, 1992, ed. Thomas W. Gaehtgens (Berlin: Akademie, 1993), 423-437.

[37] Klaus Krüger, "Bild im Bild: Der kontrollierte und der freigesetzte Blick," *Das Bild als Schleier des Unsichtbaren. Ästhetische Illusion in der Kunst der frühen Neuzeit in Italien* (Munich: Fink, 2001), 133-144.

[38] Stefan A. Horsthemke, *Das Bild im Bild in der italienischen Malerei: zur Darstellung religiöser Gemälde in der Renaissance* (Glienicke: Galda und Wilch, 1996), 173-176.

picture; it is a image-within-image without being a framed two-dimensional surface, which can be detached from the wall.[39] Therefore, I need to go one step further by discarding the formal-material definition of the picture (whether it was a *tableau* or an icon), and consider any kind of duplication of two-dimensional depicted surfaces as belonging to the same group – to the overarching group of images-within-images.[40] Parallel to this I have tried to retain the relevance of artistic reflexivity, not in the sense that the embedded representation would necessarily be part of the open display and self-promotion of the arts, but as a possible sign of meta-pictorial work on the part of the master on the ways and means of representing.[41] The duplication of the representational levels in itself contains the possibility of pictorial reflexivity.[42]

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[39] W. J. Thomas Mitchell proposed a distinction between image and picture by reserving the latter for the concrete material object and the former for the virtual phenomenon. W. J. Thomas Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 4, note 5. Belting considered this a fruitful concept and even regretted that the German *Bild* did not permit such fine distinctions to be made. Belting, *Bildanthropologie*, 15. For the sake of a clearer presentation of my argument I will disregard this theoretical distinction and consider the "image" and "image-within-image" in a broad but still concrete material sense denoting figural representations which are images of something.

[40] This overarching group of images-within-images had a precedent which remained marginal in the art historical discourse: the theory of different levels of reality. It is more concerned with the reality-character of separate pictures, not with relationships within a representation. Wölfflin used the term different degrees of reality (*einen andern Grad von Realität*) for describing the difference between the portraits of the Prophets and the Sibyls on the one hand and the narrative paintings on the other on the ceiling of the Sistine chapel by Michelangelo. Heinrich Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst. Eine Einführung in die italienische Renaissance* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1899): 56. Dagobert Frey discussed the degrees of reality in a representation. Dagobert Frey, "Der Realitätscharakter des Kunstwerkes," *Kunstwissenschaftliche Grundfragen. Prolegomena zu einer Kunstphilosophie* (Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1946), 107-149. Sven Sandström developed a comprehensive theory of extra- and intra-picture relations. Sven Sandström, *Levels of unreality. Studies in Structure and Construction in Italian Mural Painting during the Renaissance* (Uppsala: Almqvist&Wiksell, 1963), especially 13-38.

Paul Philippot attempted to apply this theory to grisaille painting. Paul Philippot, *Pittura fiamminga e Rinascimento italiano*, tr. Paola Argan (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1970), 18-21. In the reworked French edition of the book in 1994 he remained partially faithful to this project, but the reference to Sandström has been left out. Paul Philippot, *La Peinture dans les anciens Pays-Bas XVe-XVIe siècles* (Paris: Flammarion, 1994), 20-22, note 26 and note 29. The question of grisaille in early Netherlandish painting remained, however, central. This also meant the problem of the different levels of reality continues to surface from time to time. Michaela Krieger reassessed the secondary literature and offered a historical development of the grisaille. Michaela Krieger, *Grisaille als Metapher: zum Entstehen der Peinture en Camaieu im frühen 14. Jahrhundert*, (Vienna: Holzhausen, 1995); ibid, "Grisaille," in *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 13, ed. Jane Turner (New York: Grove, 1996), 672-677; ibid, "Die niederländische Grisaillemalerei des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Kunstchronik* 12 (1996): 575-588.

[41] Wolfgang Kemp analyzed embedded representations as elements of the narrative structure of early Netherlandish interiors. Wolfgang Kemp, *Die Räume der Maler: zur Bilderzählung seit Giotto* (Munich: Beck, 1996), 100-103. For case studies on Jan van Eyck and Lukas Moser see: Wolfgang Kemp, "Praktische Bildbeschreibung. Über Bilder in Bildern, besonders bei Van Eyck und Mantegna," in *Beschreibungskunst – Kunstbeschreibung: Ekphrasis von der Antiken bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Boehm, Gottfried and Helmut Pfotenhauer (Munich: Fink, 1995), 99-119; ibid, "Lukas Mosers Magdalenenaltar in Tiefenbronn. Eine Raumgeschichte," in *Vorträge aus dem Warburg-Haus 2*, ed. Wolfgang Kemp, Gert Mattenklott, Monika Wagner and Martin Warnke (Berlin: Akademie, 1998), 39-85.

[42] The extent of this reflexivity and the level of self-awareness on behalf of the master can vary significantly. David Carrier argued that the duplication of the representational levels necessarily implies self-aware reflexivity. Appropriating and transforming Danto's definition of knowing he wrote: "Representations within representations could only have arisen … when men came to be self-conscious about representation." David Carrier, "On the Depiction of Figurative Representational Pictures within Pictures," *Leonardo* 12 (1979): 199. During the subsequent debate on the article, the significance of this viewpoint and the idea of Western

1.2. Pictorial Reflexivity in Assisi

The broadening of the concept of picture-within-picture to image-within-image immediately affects the question of basic identification. In the case of the *tableau*, it is the frame which clearly signals to the viewer that this picture depicts or contains another one. The duplication of the representational levels is controlled and defined by adding an element to the embedded picture – something that made it a picture, which was the frame.[43] In the case of the images-within-images, however, another way had to be found to signal this duplication. The importance of the sketch of the Crucifixion has a complex connection towards this difficulty.

An already established solution was used on the *vele* at Assisi, since the embedded representation appeared as part of the building. Thus, the distinction of the "real" and the "represented" was already achieved by the fact that the Crucifixion is displayed as part of the decoration of the building in which Obedience is sitting; therefore it is a representation within the space of the "flesh and bone" personification of the allegory. This solution became widely used with the emergence of empirical three-dimensional spatial representation, which was, to a large extent, the result of a building being set obliquely to the picture plane.[44] The picture was conceived of as a representation of a world similar to our own, not necessarily copying it faithfully, but providing a realistic parallel to it and obeying general rules governing empirical space.[45] This change laid the foundation for images-within-images, since, if the representation was in fact a window to another similar world, then within that world, distinguishing between the "real" and the "represented" was also plausible.[46]

Modernity have been questioned. John F. Moffitt, Sheldon Richmond, and David Carrier, "On Pictures within Pictures," *Leonardo* 12 (1979): 350-351; and Mark David Gottsegen, "On Pictures within Pictures (Continued)," *Leonardo* 14 (1981): 172. I would add that Carrier's remark grasped an important component of the problem by emphasizing the centrality of reflexivity, but it is an open question whether this component is always present with the same intensity.

[43] Stoichita discussed the polyphonic meaning of the *tableau* in the preface: it can refer to a framed painting and, at the same time, a framed opening in the wall (like a door or a window). This polyphony underlines the importance of *framing* in the creation of the modern concept of the picture. Stoichita, *L'instauration du tableau*, 7-9. For the wider significance of framing see: Paul Duro (ed.), *The rhetoric of the frame: essays on the boundaries of the artwork* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996). It should be added, however, that the word *tableaux* already appears in court inventories during the second half of the 14th century. It designated small portable (sometimes foldable) objects made of various materials. Susie Nash, *Northern Renaissance art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 229-238.

[44] John White, *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space* (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), 19-56.

[45] As stated by Panofsky in the way he rephrased and exploited Alberti's definition. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character 1* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953), 140-141.

[46] Here, Panofsky partially relied on the theory of different levels of reality developed by Wölfflin. He must have been familiar with it since he had even quoted from him thirty-two years previously. (Erwin Panofsky, *Die Sixtinische Decke* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1921), 6.) He transformed, however, the parallel representation-representation relations of Wölfflin into the subordination of representation-within-representation. (Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 140.)

The first surviving large-scale monument where a significant number of images-within-images can be found is the *Legend of St. Francis* in the Upper Church at Assisi.[47] These examples appear as concomitants to the displayed buildings and interiors, mostly as pseudo-sculptural decorations. On a general level this may be connected to a wish to portray greater reality in the depicted buildings, that is, to increase their reality-effect.[48] Parallel to this idea, many ideas have been offered to allow scholars to come to grips with some of the additional triggers of these details.[49] There are four medallions in the *Allegory of Obedience* between the arches; they are partially masked by the columns of the building. These four medallions have the general characteristics of images-within-images: they are part of the building, and their actual content is not specified since their role was to increase the building-like effect of the architectural setting.

In comparison to these medallions, the sketch in the Lower Church at Assisi presents a more complex problem. The distinction between the "real" and the "represented" is pushed further since the Crucifixion scene is not only part of the building, but rather it was displayed as an unfinished work. The two figures on the sides are not grisaille paintings but rather minimal drawings with only the basic contours of the clothed bodies shown. Christ's torso is more detailed since the light brown color of the naked body is contrasted with the white of his tunic and the red of his erupting blood, but it is still conceived as an unfinished and deliberately truncated work. The "unfinished" nature of this detail in comparison to the other "finished" parts of the fresco reinforces the difference between them, and thus, emphasizes that the Crucifixion is an embedded representation. Since the detail appears on the same *intonaco* (final layer of plaster), as with the other parts of the fresco, it represents the intended

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[47] No images-within-images can be seen on the watercolor copies of Cavallini's frescoes. John White, "Cavallini and the Lost Frescoes in S. Paolo," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 19 (1956): 84-95, and John White, *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space*, 47-52.

[48] For the concept of reality-effect see: Barthes, "The reality effect," 11-17; and Moxey, "Reading the reality effect," 15-18.

[49] Erwin Panofsky regarded them as forerunners of disguised symbolism. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 141; and ibid, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (New York: Icon, 1972), 141-142. Irene Hueck proposed that at Assisi the execution of these details might have been assigned to young wandering painters to test their capacities without risking the overall outcome of the fresco. Irene Hueck, "Frühe Arbeiten des Simone Martini," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 19 (1968): 29-30 and 57, note 5-6. Janetta Rebold Benton saw them as a derivation of Late Antique wall painting. Janetta Rebold Benton, "Some Ancient Mural Motifs in Italian Painting around 1300," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 48, (1985): 151-157. Michaela Krieger argued that they should be understood in the context of the growing interest in material specificities and the emergence of grisaille painting together with illusionist sculpture. She also emphasized the importance of Byzantine manuscript illumination. Krieger, *Grisaille als Metapher*, 54-67. Ernő Marosi regarded it as part of the revival of Antiquity, which led as well to the placing of free-standing statues on the pinnacles and the gables on Gothic cathedrals. Ernő Marosi, "A propos des figures placées sur des pinacles ou des gâbles dans l'architecture gothique," in *De l'art comme mystagogie: iconographie du Jugement dernier et des fins dernières à l'époque gothique*, ed. Yves Christe (Poitiers: Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, 1996), 211-219, esp. 214-219. Felicity Ratté assigned a double role to them in emphasizing the historical actuality of St. Francis' life and its universal importance at the same time. Felicity Ratté, "Re-presenting the Common Place: Architectural Portraits in Trecento Painting," *Studies in Iconography* 22, (2001): 87-110.

final form of the work. As the entire allegory was otherwise neatly done, in my view the possibility that this part of the fresco was left unfinished by chance is rather limited.[50] Furthermore, to leave such an unfinished area in the center of the fresco without the consent of the commissioner in medieval times might have been regarded as a breach of contract. To highlight the different levels of pictorial reality using the contrast between the preparatory sketch and final fresco is a sign of reflexivity: the potential for representing the different steps of the artistic process are distinguished and exploited for aesthetic purposes.

This reflexive solution may be contextualized in the contemporary challenges related to mural painting. Around the end of the 13th century, a keen interest in the various preparatory sketches and drawings can be presumed, especially within the context of the fresco. In Rome and in the Upper Church at Assisi a transition from *secco* (painting on dry plaster) to *fresco* (painting on wet plaster) is found.[51] The reason for this change may have been the better quality and durability of *fresco* compared to *secco*. Besides this, however, the transition also caused a necessary acceleration in the final execution. Since the colors on *fresco* had to be applied on the *intonaco* (the final layer of plaster) before it dried, the final execution had to be quick and well organized.[52] Hence the importance of different kinds of preparatory drawings, which helped in the planning, regulation and increasing the speed of the execution. Such preparatory drawings included the *disegno di progetto* (small project design), the *disegno di modello* (full-scale project design), the *sinopia* (red earth preparatory drawing on the wall) and the *disegno esecutivo* (geometric executive drawing on the *intonaco*).[53]

I suggest that the sketch at Assisi is connected to the preparation of the fresco, perhaps to the *sinopia* itself.[54] According to the manual of Cennino Cennini, the preparation of the *sinopia* can be divided into three phases on the basis of the pigments:

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[50] The detail was seen and described by Brother Ludovico of Pietralunga in the second half of the 16th century. "Fra il volto della loggia et il capo della prudentia e fra le ditte lettere gli è un Christo a foggia di un Crucifixo, solo se vede il corpo, cioè dal mezzo del petto in su se asconde doppo la diadema quale resta in aguzzo che la ponta quasi par che tocchi le parte vergognose con un sigatoio fasciato sicome se acustuma alli Crucifixi. La piaga getta gran raggio di sangue." Beda Kleinschmidt OFM, *Die Basilika San Francesco in Assisi*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1928), 16.

[51] Robert Oertel, "Wandmalerei und Zeichnung in Italien: Die Anfänge der Entwurfszeichnung und ihre monumentalen Vorstufen," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 5 (1940): 276-283; Tintori and Meiss, *The Painting of The Life of St. Francis in Assisi*, 7-11.

[52] Ugo Procacci, *Sinopie e Affreschi* (Milan: Electa, 1961): 7-19; Zanardi, *Giotto e Pietro Cavallini*, 77-79.

[53] Tintori and Meiss argued against the existence of most of these techniques. Tintori and Meiss, *The Painting of The Life of St. Francis in Assisi*, 13-34. A detailed discussion and evolution of the meaning of the sources (or the lack of sources) has been carried out by Zanardi, who pointed out that presumably all these components were present around the end of the 13th century. Zanardi, *Giotto e Pietro Cavallini*, 54-77. For the project designs see also: Bruno Zanardi, "Giotto and the St. Francis Cycle at Assisi," in *The Cambridge companion to Giotto*, ed. Derbes, Anne and Mark Sandona (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 46-49.

[54] The term *sinopia* originally referred to a specific type of red earth pigment, the sinoper imported from town of Sinop by the Black Sea; presumably it was only after World War II that the term started to be comprehensively

> Then when you want to work, remember first to make this plaster quite uneven and fairly rough. Then when the plaster is dry, take a charcoal [*il carbone*], and draw and compose according to the scene or figures which you have to do; and take all your measurements carefully, snapping lines first, getting the centers of the spaces. […] Then compose the scenes or figures with charcoal [*il carbone*], as I have described. […] Then take a small painted brush, and a little ocher without tempera [*un poco d'ocria, senza tempera*], as thin as water; and proceed to copy and draw in your figures, shading as you did with washes when you were learning to draw. Then take a bunch of feathers, and sweep the drawing free of the charcoal. Then take a little sinoper [*sinopia*] without tempera, and with a fine pointed brush proceed to mark out noses, eyes, the hair, and all the accents and outlines of the figures.[55]

This means that the *sinopia* starts with a black charcoal sketch of the compositional lines and that of the figures. Following this the contours of the figures would be redrawn with ocher and the charcoal would be swept away with a brush. It is only then that the master reworked the outline of the contours with the red earth painting. All the three steps are related in fact to the depiction of a "sketch" on the wall, understood as a preparatory phase of the final work.

The sketch of the two figures in the Crucifixion group can possibly be understood as part of the growing interest in different preparatory drawings. This does not mean that the use of the sketch is a strict derivative of the transition from *secco* to *fresco*, but it does mean that there is a link between the mechanical process planning and regulating the work on the one hand and the recognition and use of the representational potentials of this preparatory phase on the other, since the former facilitates the emergence of the latter. The primary visual environment of a Trecento master standing on a scaffold in front of a *sinopia* and day after day finalizing new patches of the work must have been the contrast presented by the sketch and the finished fresco.

Thus, in the Lower Church at Assisi, a phase in the preparation of the fresco appears on the final work itself. As I have argued, the reason for this may have been to highlight for the viewer that the Crucifixion group is a representation within a representation, that Christ is not being crucified just at that moment behind Obedience and the event is only being recalled on the wall of the building. Here, the reflexive act was that to reinforce the impact of this distinction a particular phase of the particular operational chain was presented, one that lead to the final work.[56] Thus, the process of representing is not immediate and spontaneous, and its phases are distinguished from each other; furthermore they are even utilized to convey

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referred to in professional circles as the red earth preparatory drawing itself on the *arriccio* (the coarse layer of plaster under the *intonaco*) for which it was used. Procacci, *Sinopie e Affreschi*, 7-8, and Zanardi, *Giotto e Pietro Cavallini*, 277. Alessandro Conti defining the *sinopia* stated that "it refers to the red ochre which, unusually, was used for the drawing, although it could also be executed in yellow ochre or black." Alessandro Conti, *A History of the Restoration and Conservation of Works of Art*, tr. Helen Glanville (Oxford: Elsevier, 2007), 422.

[55] Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook*, 42-44; and Cennini, *Il Libro dell'Arte o Trattato della Pittura*, 68-69.

[56] The representation of a preparatory phase in the final work appears in other media of medieval art. See for instance folio 8r of the *Toledo Bible Moralisée* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 240), where the commission together with the theological and material preparation of the book was integrated in a single page. John Lowden, "Reading' the *Bibles moralisées*: Images as Exegesis and the Exegesis of Images," in *Reading Images and Texts: Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication*, ed. Mariëlle Hageman and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005): 495-525, esp. 507-511.

different representational qualities. The fresco-within-fresco structure is further emphasized, not by means of framing as in the picture-within-picture, but by contrasting a preparatory phase of the work with its final phase. This image-within-image at Assisi is in my view a marker of a meta-pictorial work. It cannot be asserted whether it was planned from the beginning or the idea emerged while preparing the actual fresco.

In order to further contextualize this reflexivity related to the various stages of preparing a fresco I would like to allude briefly to an example discussed recently by Lars Raymond Jones in his PhD dissertation. Ugo Panziera (died before 1330), a Franciscan friar from Prato, referred to the preparation of an image in his *Tractato della Perfezione* while defining mental actions.[57] I quote at length:

> In the first moment when the mind begins to think about Christ, Christ appears written [*scritto*] in the mind and in the imagination. In the second he appears outlined [*disegnato*]. In the third he appears outlined and shaded [*disegnato e ombrato*]. In the fourth colored and incarnate [*colorato e incarnato*]. In the fifth appears incarnate and in relief [*incarnato e rilevato*].[58]

Putting aside the fact that Ugo Panziera also referred to Christ, the passage indicates an understanding of the operational chain of a picture (whether panel or fresco). He clearly distinguished the preparatory phase, when the image is outlined or drawn. The author was a Franciscan friar and the passage was contemporary or only slightly later then the *Obedience* fresco. As it shows a conscious metaphorical use of this operational chain, it implies at least that a similar and self-aware reflection on its representational potentials was entirely possible on the part of the master as well.

Furthermore, the same engagement with the problem of how a fresco within a fresco should be depicted can be observed by the fact that as part of an audacious decision Christ's head was "cut off," since it is covered by the roof of the building. This solution is entirely plausible in terms of the perspective and spatial organization of the work: the uppermost part of Christ's body lies behind the arcade and therefore it cannot be seen. On the other hand, this signaled yet again to the viewer on a basic and immediate level of perception that the Crucifixion is only a fresco depicted on the wall of the building. Apparently the intention of creating a realistic display of the building with the cross was so strong that it permitted a visual truncation of Christ.

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[57] Ugo Panziera was a missionary of the Order to the Eastern Mediterranean. Twelve tracts survived in a manuscript collection from 1429 (which is now lost) and Antonio Miscomini published it in 1492. See: Ugo Panziera, *Tavola di questo libro di Ugo Panziera Dell'Ordine de fratri minori*, ed. Antonio Miscomini (Florence, 1492). For Ugo Panziera and the text see: Lars Raymond Jones, "Visio divina, exegesis, and beholder-image relationships in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: indications from donor figure representations," PhD dissertation, Harvard University (Cambridge, 1999), 135-154.

[58] For the passage see: Ugo Panziera, *Tavola di questo libro di Ugo Panziera Dell'Ordine de fratri minori*, 65v. I modified Jones translation. Compare: Jones, "Visio divina, exegesis, and beholder-image relationships in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance," 137.

This solution had some partial precedents. Already in the *Legend of St. Francis* in the Upper Church at Assisi a painted cross (*croce dipinta*) was represented three times.[59] A *Christus patiens* appears in full view in the *Prayer at San Damiano*, a *Christus triumphans* and in the *Verification of the Stigmata*.[60] [Fig.3.1.22] More importantly, on the *Miracle at Greccio* the back of a painted cross can be seen on the beam. [Fig.3.1.12] This cross was definitely an element of the generic realistic decoration of the church interior.[61] Here it is not truncated. Nevertheless the decision to depict it from behind displaying the woodwork shows that the same preference was given to the realistic organization of the picture over the full view of the frontal Crucifix.

A partial cross appears on the main panel of the *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, formerly painted for San Francesco in Pisa (today in the Louvre).[62] [Fig.1.3] Through the entrance of the small chapel at the feet of St. Francis one can see the right arm of a painted cross representing the Virgin Mary.[63] [Fig.1.4] This detail definitely stands for the entire Crucifix, and perhaps underlines Francis' imitation of the cross.[64] Furthermore, in this case the partial view of the painted cross generates the sense of depth in the chapel's interior. It definitely shows that providing only a truncated view of the Crucifixion was part of the realistic pictorial repertory, and the headless Christ on the *vele* in the Lower Church can be regarded as a further and perhaps more radical visual experiment with the motif.[65]

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[59] The *Legend* was presumably commissioned under the first Franciscan pope, Nicholas IV and painted during the last decade of the 13th century. On the questions of Nicholas' patronage see: Donal Cooper and Janet Robson, "A great sumptuousness of paintings: frescoes and Franciscan poverty at Assisi in 1288 and 1312," *The Burlington magazine* 151 (2009): 656-662.

[60] On the *Prayer at San Damiano* its appearance was motivated by the narrative context highlighted in the inscription of the fresco, as St. Francis was praying in front of the "image of the crucifix" (*oraret ante imaginem crucifixi*). Giorgio Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2002), 524. On the *Verification of the Stigmata* it alluded perhaps to the interior of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Porziuncola and might even recalled the actual interior of the Upper Church. Chiara Frugoni, "L'ombra della Porziuncola nella Basilica Superiore di Assisi," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 45 (2001): 368-371; Pietro Scarpellini, "Assisi e i suoi monumenti nella pittura dei secoli XIII-XIV," in *Assisi al tempo di san Francesco* (Assisi: Società Internazionale di Studi Francescani, 1978), 108-111.

[61] For the role of the painted cross in the reality effect of this picture see: White, *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space*, 37-39. Rosenthal suggested the church is Santa Maria Maggiore. Erwin Rosenthal, "The Crib of Greccio and Franciscan realism," *The Art Bulletin* 36 (1954): 57-60. Scarpellini proposed that the interior portrays the Lower Church. Scarpellini, "Assisi e i suoi monumenti nella pittura dei secoli XIII-XIV," 101-108.

[62] The panel is attributed to Giotto on the basis of the inscription "Opus Iocti Florentini." It is dated before 1307. See: Julian Gardner, "The Louvre Stigmatization and the problem of the narrative Altarpiece," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 45 (1982): 217-247; and Luciano Bellosi, *La pecora di Giotto* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1985), 80-85.

[63] There is also a fully-displayed mosaic or fresco of the Virgin and Child in the tympanum of the building.

[64] Gardner, "The Louvre Stigmatization and the problem of the narrative Altarpiece," 225-226.

[65] Yet again, without entering into questions of attribution, I wish to highlight that the *Louvre Stigmatization* and *Legend of St. Francis* in the Upper Church may be connected to Giotto.

1.3. Iconographic Reflexivity in Assisi

Besides these questions of pictorial reflexivity, the Crucifixion behind Obedience generates a series of questions related to the iconography of the work. In the first place, though the building in which Obedience sits is detached from its context it is nevertheless recognizably a chapterhouse (*sala capitolare*).[66] The representation of a Crucifixion was a standard element in chapterhouses.[67] In this sense, the Crucifixion appears on the wall of the building behind Obedience in order to mark and identify the building as a chapterhouse.[68] This detail makes the building recognizable and, to some extent, increases its reality-effect by showing, not only the walls, but the usual decoration as well.

There is another example from the period showing a chapterhouse with a Crucifixion. The *vele* itself was a unique pictorial creation and was not copied extensively. Yet, in the Bardi chapel in Santa Croce, Florence, on the *Apparition at the Chapter of Arles*, on the wall behind St. Francis, there is a pseudo-fresco representing Christ on the cross.[69] [Fig.1.6] This part of the fresco is heavily damaged. It cannot be determined whether it was intended to be a sketch, and thus display the same kind of pictorial reflexivity as in Assisi.[70] [Fig.1.7] From Bonaventure's account we know that the apparition happened inside the chapterhouse: while St. Anthony was preaching on the Crucifixion, brother Monaldus saw St. Francis appear with his arms outstretched as if he was on the cross.[71] Here, the representation of the cross is

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[66] Joachim Poeschke, *Die Kirche San Francesco in Assisi und ihre Wandmalereien* (Munich: Hirmer, 1985), 107.

[67] Julian Gardner, "Andrea di Bonaiuto and the chapterhouse frescoes in Santa Maria Novella," *Art History* 2 (1979): 115-116; Miklós Boskovits, "Insegnare per immagini: dipinti e sculture nelle sale capitolari," *Arte cristiana* 78 (1990): 123-142. See as well: Yvonne El Saman, "Studien zu Kapitelsaalprogrammen zwischen 1250 und 1450 in ober- und mittelitalienischen Klöstern," PhD Dissertation, Albert-Ludwigs University (Freiburg, 2000), esp. 183-198.

[68] Max Seidel remarked as well that the former chapterhouse in Assisi (today: Chapel of the Relics) has a fresco of a Crucifixion, though the group on the sides has more numerous figures. Max Seidel, *Italian art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, vol. 1: Painting (Venice: Marsilio, 2003), 379 and 397 note 217. This fresco, dated to the 1340s and attributed to Puccio Capanna, is ulterior to the *vele* and was placed in the lunette not on the wall. Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, 631-632. (Roberto Paolo Novello.)

[69] The Bardi chapel was decorated definitely after 1310, perhaps after 1317, for the canonization of St. Louis of Toulouse. For a reassessment of the different dates see: Nancy M. Thompson, "Cooperation and conflict: stained glass in the Bardi chapels of Santa Croce," in *The art of the Franciscan Order in Italy*, ed. William R. Cook (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 257-261; and Joachim Poeschke, *Wandmalerei der Giottozeit in Italien 1280-1400* (Munich: Hirmer, 2003), 227-229. I will not enter into the discussion of the historical connections between the two works. Yet, it is important to note that the Bardi fresco: a) was also presumably executed by Giotto and his workshop; b) it presumably postdated the *vele* in Assisi. Therefore, it could be argued that the Crucifixion depicted in the Bardi fresco might be a retake of the motif originally developed for the *vele* in Assisi.

[70] Bruce Cole, "Giotto's Apparition of St. Francis at Arles: the case of the missing crucifix?" *Simiolus* 7 (1974): 163-165. Here, the Crucifixion is definitely not truncated, which may also mean that it was displayed as a finished work. Gardner proposed that the cross is reminiscent of the *croce dipinta* by Cimabue in Santa Croce. The actual state of the fresco does not permit such conclusions to be drawn. Gardner, "Andrea di Bonaiuto and the chapterhouse frescoes in Santa Maria Novella," 116.

[71] "For the outstanding preacher, who is now a glorious confessor of Christ, Anthony was preaching to the brothers at the chapter of Arles on the inscription on the cross: Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews. As he glanced at the door of the chapter, a brother of proven virtue, Monaldo by name, moved by a divine reminder,

related to both the function of the building (a chapterhouse), the topic of St. Anthony's preaching (the Crucifixion), and the actual pose of Francis (as if he was being crucified).[72] On the one hand, the Crucifixion in the Bardi chapel may have served to increase the realism of the chapterhouse. Yet it is quite probable that the detail was appreciated in its iconographic and narrative contexts as well.[73]

Since the crucifixion in the Bardi chapel may extend beyond it as an appropriate but insignificant decoration of the architectural setting it is also very likely that in Assisi this detail may have had iconographic implications, something confirmed by the inscription on the fresco. The first part on the two banderols in the hands of the kneeling angels on the roof of the building mentions the link between obedience and the cross of penance: "Put on you the yoke of obedience – it is attached to the (holy) cross of penance."[74] The two angels point to St. Francis, who shows prominently the stigmata to the viewer. Since the scene beneath depicts a friar having a yoke put on him, the Crucifixion can be understood as a reference to

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saw with his bodily eyes blessed Francis lifted up in the air with his arms extended as if on the cross, blessing the brothers." Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," in *The Founder. Francis of Assisi: Early Documents 2*, tr. Regis J. Armstrong et al., ed. Regis J. Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellmann and William J. Short (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2000), 557.

[72] Cole, "Giotto's Apparition of St. Francis at Arles: the case of the missing crucifix?" 163-165.

[73] Smart proposed that the Crucifixion on the wall underlines the conformity of St. Francis to Christ, as may be seen as well on frescoes XVIII and XIX in the Legend of St. Francis in the Upper Church of Assisi. Alastair Smart, *The Assisi Problem and the Art of Giotto. A Study of the Legend of St. Francis in the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 195-196, 200-201. In the case of the Upper Church, the argument is strengthened further by the placement of the frescoes themselves: while in the *Major Legend* the *Chapter of Arles* can be found in chapter four, in the cycle it appears next to the Stigmatization which is the subject of chapter twelve. The reason for dissociating the Chapter of Arles from its original place in the narrative might have been to place it next to the Stigmatization. This implies that there was an intended connection between Francis receiving the Stigmata and Francis appearing in front of and even taking the place of the Cross. However, in the Bardi chapel, the allusion to the Stigmatization is less compelling.

[74] "TOLLITE JUGUM OBEDIENTIE SUPER VOS – JAM FIXUS SUM [SANCTAE] CRUCI POENITENTIAE." Beda Kleinschmidt OFM, *Die Basilika San Francesco in Assisi* (Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1926), vol. 2, 181-182. Poeschke mentioned the banderols, but did not transcribe the texts. Poeschke, *Die Kirche San Francesco in Assisi und ihre Wandmalereien*, 107. The source of this inscription is unknown; since the pictorial program had to be invented, it cannot be excluded that the inscription was a genuine piece of text written exclusively for the *vele*. Elvio Lunghi, "L'influenza di Ubertino da Casale e di Pietro di Giovanni Olivi nel programma iconografico della chiesa inferiore del S. Francesco ad Assisi," *Collectanea Franciscana* 67 (1997): 187. The passage harks vaguely back to Matthew 11, 29 (*Tollite iugum meum super vos*), yet in this passage Jesus emphasizes the uselessness of prudence in understanding the revelation while in Assisi, Prudence is glorified next to Obedience. The correspondence between the yoke of obedience and the cross of penance appears in a vision of Brother Leo reported in *The Deeds of Blessed Francis and his Companions*. Brother Leo saw friars crossing a river in his vision: some of the friars carrying heavy burdens drowned, but others, "*in whom only most holy poverty was shining*," crossed without problems. St. Francis explained to Brother Leo that those brothers, who managed to cross the river, are "*following Christ naked on the cross, they daily embrace the burden of His Cross and the yoke of His obedience, which are light and sweet.*" Ugolino Boniscambi of Montegiorgio, "The Deeds of Blessed Francis and his Companions," in *The Prophet. Francis of Assisi: Early Documents 3*, tr. Regis J. Armstrong et al., ed. Regis J. Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellmann and William J. Short (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2001), 550. The *Deeds* was presumably written between 1328 and 1337. Thus, it postdates the frescoes of the transept. However, this does not exclude the anecdote having been available at least as part of an oral tradition or in a compilation. See: *The Prophet. Francis of Assisi: Early Documents 3*, 429. It should be added that an account of this vision can also be found in the *Chronicle of the Twenty-four Generals*, although from the explanation given by St. Francis, this sentence emphasizing the yoke of obedience appears to have been omitted. "Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum," in *Analecta Franciscana 3*, ed. Friars of College St. Bonaventure (Florence: Quarrachi, 1897), 69.

the cross of penance. This reference is inscribed in a wider network of allegoric meanings on the fresco. The script continues on the vault and mentions other parts of the allegory.[75] It elaborates on the devastating and enlivening aspects of the yoke of Christ, which is intensified by the virtue of obedience and vice versa. It explains that the role of Prudence, who can see the past, the present, and the future, is to regulate what should be done and to hold back Obedience from excesses through the mirror of virtue. Paralleling Humility's task, by the light represented as a torch, is to stop Presumption.[76] The inscription also mentions that the silent tongue clears the heart: the index finger in front of the lips of Obedience might relate to this sentence.[77]

Furthermore, it has been argued that the Crucifixion sketch may have been integrated into the larger iconographic program of the Lower Church. The three segments of the crossing displaying the allegories of three basic Franciscan vows correspond to the three sections of the church: to the two arms of the transept and to the nave. The narrative scenes in these sections correspond to the Allegories: *Chastity* is linked to the Infancy of Christ; the decoration of the nave, showing the Ministry of Christ and thus, complementing the *Allegory of Poverty*, was never started; and *Obedience* was related to the Passion of Christ. The sketch of the Crucifixion therefore may already signal the main theme of the narrative scenes within the allegory in the left arm of the transept.[78] This could possibly highlight the iconographic

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[75] For the text and its interpretation see: Poeschke, *Die Kirche San Francesco in Assisi und ihre Wandmalereien*, 107. "VIRTUS OBEDIENTIE / IUGO CHRISTI PERFICITUR / CUIUS IUGO DECENTIE / OBEDIENS EFFICITUR / ASPECTUM HUNC MORTIFICAT / SET VIVENTIS SUNT OPERA / LINGUAM SILENS CLARIFICAT / CORDE SCRUTATUR OPERA / COMITATUR PRUDENTIA / FUTURAQUE PROSPICERE / SCIT SIMUL AC PRAESENTIA / IN RETRO IAM DEFICERE / QUASI PER SEXTI CIRCULUM / AGENDA CUNCTA REGULAT / ET PER VIRTUTIS SPECULUM / OBEDIENTIE FRENULAT / SE DEFLECTIT HUMILITAS / PRESUMPTIONIS NESCIA / CUIUS IN MANU CLARITAS / VIRTUTUM SISTIS CON[SCIA]."

[76] Poeschke proposed that the centaur might represent Presumption (Anmassung), Arrogance (Hochmuts), or Foolhardiness (Vermessenheit). Poeschke, *Die Kirche San Francesco in Assisi und ihre Wandmalereien*, 107.

[77] The exact interpretation of this gesture is not as straightforward as seems. Creighton Gilbert argued in relation to the fresco by Fra Angelico of St. Peter Martyr in San Marco, Florence, that the meaning of this gesture in sign language is to ask permission to speak. Gilbert justified this interpretation by a sentence from the *Commentary on the Rule of the Order of Preachers* and *Rule of the Novices* written by the Dominican Humbert of Romans in the second half of the 13th century. Apparently Dominican novices had to request permission to speak by putting their index finger to their lips. "Digito ori superpositio sciant petere licentiam loquendi." Creighton Gilbert, "A sign about signing in a fresco by Fra Angelico," in *Tribute to Lotte Brand Philip: art historian and detective*, ed. William W. Clark, Colin Eisler, William S. Heckscher and Barbara G. Lane (New York: Abaris, 1985), 66-67, note 8; Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, vol. 2, ed. Joachim Joseph Berthier (Rome: Befani, 1889), 218, 536. Humbert's text might have been available to the Franciscans as well. Whether the *linguam silens* clarifying the heart in the inscription should be understood as the silent tongue and thus, the gesture is one of silencing, or as silent language and thus the gesture represents a demand for permission to speak remains open.

[78] Almamaria Tantillo Mignosi, "Osservazioni sul transetto della Basilica Inferiore di Assisi," *Bollettino d'Arte* 60 (1975): 133; Guy Lobrichon, *Francesco d'Assisi: gli affreschi della basilica inferiore*, tr. Bruno Pistocchi (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1987), 81-82; Elvio Lunghi, *The Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi*, tr. Christopher Evans (Florence: Scala, 1996), 106-111; Janet Robson, "Judas and the Franciscans: Perfidy Pictured in Lorenzetti's Passion Cycle at Assisi," *The Art Bulletin* 86 (2004): 44; and ibid, "The Pilgrim's Progress: Reinterpreting the Trecento Fresco Programme in the Lower Church at Assisi," in *The Art of the Franciscan Order in Italy*, ed. William R. Cook (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 43-44. It should be noted that in the *Preaching to the*

importance of the detail in its role of epitomizing the narrative program within the allegory in the left arm of the transept (Passion of Christ).

Whether this was the intended message or not, I would like to emphasize here that both the Crucifixion sketch behind Obedience and the linking of Obedience to the Passion of Christ (and not to his infancy or to the ministry cycle) may well be derived from the same theological idea. On a general level, there is a clear connection between Obedience and the most obedient act of Salvation: Christ's death on the cross.[79] This idea goes back to the letter of St. Paul to the Philippians (2:8): "*Christ humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even death on cross.*"[80] In this sense, whoever looked at the detail understood that the allegorical figure of Obedience had a specific meaning, comparable to the self-sacrifice of Christ. The iconographic orientation of the detail is visually reinforced by the vertical axis of the allegory with the friar shown receiving the yoke from Obedience. Above and behind Obedience there is a sketch of the Crucifixion on the wall while St. Francis stands on the top of the building again bearing a yoke around his neck and exhibiting the stigmata to viewers.[81] This central vertical axis brings together the theme of obedience, the death of Christ being the ultimate form of such obedience, and St. Francis, conforming to Christ and marked by the stigmata.[82]

It should be added that, although the representation of the Crucifixion and St. Francis does not strictly speaking display the *Stigmatization*, the fresco might contain a reference to

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Birds in the nave of the Lower Church a friar was depicted next to Francis. This addition postdated the partial destruction of the frescoes in the nave, and perhaps represents an attempt to save and reintegrate the remains into a restored sequence. Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, 330.

[79] Schönau mentioned this possible reading, emphasizing that Christ's obedience was an example for monastic obedience. D. W. Schönau, "The 'Vele' of Assisi: their position and influence," in *Franciscanism, the Papacy, and Art in the Age of Giotto*, ed. Andrew Ladis, Giotto and the World of Early Italian Art 4 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 327. Gerhard Ruf underlined that the death on the cross should be the model of obedience. Gerhard Ruf, *Das Grab des hl. Franziskus: die Fresken der Unterkirche von Assisi* (Freiburg: Herder, 1981), 142.

[80] Lobrichon mentioned the connection between the verse of Paul on the death of Christ and the obedience of St. Francis, but in the context of the Stigmatization, not in the allegory. Lobrichon, *Francesco d'Assisi: gli affreschi della basilica inferiore*, 118-119 and 134-136.

[81] For a detailed analysis of the planimetrical system of the *vele* see: Jean-Pierre Cottier, *Le vele nella basilica inferiore di Assisi: saggio di analisi*, tr. Gianni Guadalupi and Fiorella Cottier-Angeli (Florence: Edam, 1981). Though some of Cottier's propositions might be far-fetched, the existence and importance of this particular vertical axis is beyond doubt.

[82] The Crucifixion in this context perhaps represents a clear allusion to the Stigmatization of Francis. Again, although I would not exclude the possibility of such reading, to my mind the cross and the stigmatized figure of Francis are not displayed together in order to make an allusion to the La Verna. Rather, the display is intended to be the one of the Crucifixion and there is no allusion to the seraph, the form in which Christ appeared to Francis on the La Verna. The two side actors (Mary and John?) again reinforce the original narrative context of the Crucifixion. On the question of the stigmata see: Chiara Frugoni, *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate. Una storia per parole e immagini fino a Bonaventura e Giotto* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1999), 3-104, 137-201; Octavian Schmucki, OFM, *The Stigmata of St. Francis of Assisi. A Critical Investigation n the Light if Thirteenth-Century Sources*, tr. Canisius F. Connors, OFM, Franciscan Institute Publications, History Series 6, ed. Jason M. Miskuly, OFM (St. Bonaventure: The Franciscan Institute, 1991), 182-186; Arnold Davidson, "Miracles of Bodily Transformation, or, how St. Francis Received the Stigmata," in *Picturing Science, Producing Art*, ed, Caroline A. Jones and Peter Galison (New York: Routledge, 1998), 101-124.

the problem of the stigmata.[83] Red blood erupts visibly from the side-wound of Christ on the fresco, and above there is an emphasis on the side-wound of St. Francis as well. Already Elias of Cortona in his letter after the death of Francis on the discovery of the stigmata mentioned that "his side appeared to be pierced by a lance and often emitted blood."[84] The discovery of the side-wound became in fact the most important and debated proof for the stigmata.[85] The decision to highlight the bleeding side of Christ on the embedded fresco and the side-wound of St. Francis might have been intended to reinforce the visual connection between the sacrifice of the Savior and its imprint on the Poverello. Furthermore, the intentionally realistic display of the flowing red blood may have triggered the decision to depict the body of Christ in color and not as a monochrome sketch like the side figures.

With or without this reference to the stigmata, there is an apparently intentional juxtaposition of the Crucifixion and the vow of Obedience on the fresco. This solution, emphasizing the evangelical roots of obedience, had an existing textual tradition.[86] On the other hand, there was no established tradition for its iconography. The closest representation where the Crucifixion is connected to the virtue of Obedience is found on a Mosan cross from the 12th century.[87] Here, the winged, angel-like figure of Obedience appears at the bottom of the cross with a Greek cross on its chest. [Fig. 1.8] Since the other virtues around Christ, Innocence, Hope and Faith, also appear holding their attributes, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the cross, in the case of Obedience, fulfilled the same role.[88] In this sense, this Mosan cross displays the same theological connection between the Crucifixion and obedience as expressed in the Phil 2:8. Nevertheless, there is only a limited chance that this or a similar

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[83] For the question of the stigmata see: Chiara Frugoni, *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate. Una storia per parole e immagini fino a Bonaventura e Giotto* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1999), 3-104, 137-201; Octavian Schmucki, OFM, *The Stigmata of St. Francis of Assisi. A Critical Investigation in the Light if Thirteenth-Century Sources*, tr. Canisius F. Connors, OFM, Franciscan Institute Publications, History Series 6, ed. Jason M. Miskuly, OFM (St. Bonaventure: The Franciscan Institute, 1991), 182-186; Arnold Davidson, "Miracles of Bodily Transformation, or, how St. Francis Received the Stigmata," in *Picturing Science, Producing Art*, ed, Caroline A. Jones and Peter Galison (New York: Routledge, 1998), 101-124.

[84] "Latus vero eius lanceatum apparuit et saepe sanguinem evaporavit." Elias of Cortona, "Epistola encyclica de transitu Sancti Francisci," in *Fontes Franciscani. Testi 2*, ed. Enrico Menestò and Stefano Brufani (Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1995), 254.

[85] On this see: Frugoni, *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate*, 51-87, esp. 52-60.

[86] Jean-Marie-R. Tillard, "Obéissance," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique: doctrine et histoire 11*, ed. Marcel Viller, F. Cavallera and J. de Guibert (Paris: Beauchesne, 1982), 535-563.

[87] The cross is owned by the Walters Gallery, Baltimore. See: Philippe Verdier, "Emaux mosans et rheno-mosans dans les collections des États-Unis," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 44 (1975): 27-32; Nigel Morgan, "Iconography of Twelfth Century Mosan Enamels," In *Rhein und Maas: Kunst und Kultur 800-1400 2*, ex. cat. (Cologne: Schnütgen Museum, 1973), 263-264.

[88] Verdier interpreted the Greek cross as a relic containing part of the True Cross. Furthermore, he argued that Obedience was placed at the bottom of the cross as an allusion to Phil 2:8, since Christ abased or humbled himself (*humiliavit semetipsum*). Philippe Verdier, "Monument inédit de l'art mosan du XIIe siècle: Le Crucifixion symbolique de Walters Art Gallery," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 30 (1961): 128, 153. The Greek cross might refer to a relic of the True Cross, although as an attribute of Obedience it seems to be connected to the unlimited obedience of Christ towards the Father.

object influenced the Assisi fresco, since the visual-pictorial organization of the work is quite different.

The solution in Assisi does not seem to be derived from the traditional visual personification of Obedience either. From the 12th century, Obedience appears repeatedly, mostly in illuminated manuscripts, in connection with the Crucifixion as one of the virtues nailing Christ to the cross. The theological content and the pictorial organization of these representations are too different to have provided an inspiration.[89] [Fig.1.9] The gap with regard to the iconographic tradition in the Gothic cathedrals is even greater. Obedience in those buildings usually carries a bowing camel on her shield, possible an allusion to the obedient nature of the animal, as described in the *Bestiary*.[90] [Fig.1.10]

I believe that the connection between the Crucifixion and the vow of Obedience is concerned with Franciscan exegesis on the fundamentals of the Order. In certain Franciscan texts in the second half of the thirteenth century, the obedience of Christ towards the Father in even accepting death on the cross became associated with Franciscan obedience.[91] This is found in various commentaries on the Franciscan Rule.[92] Francis of Assisi himself did not rely on this metaphor while formulating the three fundamental vows of the order.[93] With reservations it may be suggested that he primarily had a pragmatic-institutional view of

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[89] The visual representation of the virtues crucifying Christ is presumably based on a sermon of Bernard of Clairvaux on the Passion. See: Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the virtues and vices in mediaeval art from early Christian times to the thirteenth century*, tr. Alan J.P. Crick (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964), 38-39; Hilarius M. Barth OP, "Liebe – verwundet durch Liebe. Das Kreuzigungsbild des Regensburger Lektionars als Zeugnis dominikanischer Passionsfrömmigkeit," *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg* 17 (1983): 233-239.

[90] The motif appears in Paris (Notre-Dame, West façade, central portal, right socle), Chartres (Notre-Dame, South façade, porch, third pier), and in Amiens (Notre-Dame, West façade, portal embrasures). See: Willibald Sauerländer, *Gothic sculpture in France 1140-1270*, tr. Janet Sondheimer (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1972), 454 and 463.

[91] This was not limited to the Franciscans. For instance, the Dominican Humbert of Romans started his letter on the three substantial vows of religion by stating that obedience means conformity to Christ's obedience to the Father on the cross. "Diligenti studio, fraters charissimi, satagamus virtutum exercitiis insistere, quibus Christo conformemur, et ad perfectionis semitam informemur, atque per gloriam reformemur. Et quis ambigat obedientiam talem esse? Hanc etenim Salvator noster in tantum amplectitur, quod usque ad mortem factus Patri obediens, crucis supplicio condemnetur." Humbert of Romans, "Epistola de tribus votis substantialibus religionis," in Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, vol. 1, ed. Joachim Joseph Berthier (Rome: Befani, 1888), 2.

[92] For a detailed summary of the problem of the various early commentaries on the Franciscan Rule see: David Flood, "Introduction," in *Peter Olivi's Rule Commentary*, ed. David Flood (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972), 92-103. See also: Livarius Oliger (ed. and pr.), *Expositio Quatuor Magistrorum Super Regulam Fratrum Minorum* (Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 1950), 77-100.

[93] In the earlier version and in a later, confirmed version of the Rule he stated that the life of Lesser Brothers is "*to observe the Holy Gospel of Our Lord Jesus Christ by living in obedience, without anything of one's own, and in chastity.*" Francis of Assisi, "The Later Rule," in: *The Saint. Francis of Assisi: Early Documents 1*, tr. Regis J. Armstrong et al., ed. Regis J. Armstrong, J. Wayne Hellmann and William J. Short (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 1999), 100. The earlier version of the rule was slightly different here: "*to live in obedience, in chastity, and without anything of their own, and to follow the teaching and footprints of our Lord Jesus Christ.*" Francis of Assisi, "The Earlier Rule," in *The Saint. Francis of Assisi: Early Documents 1*, 63-64. The earlier Rule here continues with four evangelical references elaborating on the meaning of the teachings of Jesus and thus, defining what this evangelical life should be. This passage has been omitted from the later version.

obedience referring more to life in community under the command of the superior and insisting less on ideal obedience to Christ.[94] The reference to the self-sacrifice of Christ surfaces in the *Letter to the Entire Order*, but without specifying the crucifixion.[95] The institutional orientation remained characteristic of various papal bulls and letters addressed to the order.[96] It did not appear in the first official commentary on the Rule in 1241 requested by Haymo of Faversham.[97]

The first appearance of the connection between the vow of obedience and the death of Christ on the Cross is in the Rule commentary by Hugh of Digne, dated between 1245-1256.[98] The Crucifixion appears in the tenth chapter, where Hugh discusses obedience towards the superior and states that the novice is received within that obedience of which the model is

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[94] In this sense, the vow of obedience was put forward to assure the basic institutional structure of the emerging order. Grado Giovanni Merlo, *Tra eremo e città: Studi su Francesco d'Assisi e sul francescanesimo medievale* (Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1991), 40-43. For the discussion of the problem from the angle of power see: Jacques Dalarun, *François d'Assise, ou le pouvoir en question: principes et modalités dans l'ordre des Frères mineurs* (Paris: DeBoeck Universitý, 1999), esp. 9-39. Francis himself extensively used the term in the Testament in order to impose his last will on the order, emphasizing that the content of the Testament not only represented his last words but a series of precepts commanded "through obedience." Francis of Assisi, "The Testament," in *The Saint. Francis of Assisi: Early Documents 1*, 124-127. The usual formulation is to command "through obedience" (*per obedientiam*).

[95] "I do not consider those brothers who do not wish to observe these things Catholics or my brothers: I do not even wish to see or speak with them until they have done penance. I even say this about all those who wander about, having put aside the discipline of the rule, for our Lord Jesus Christ gave His life that He would not lose the obedience of His most holy Father." Francis of Assisi, "A Letter to the Entire Order," in *The Saint. Francis of Assisi: Early Documents 1*, 120. Ubertino of Casale, who during the time of the decoration of the *vele* was unquestionably the spokesman for the spiritual wing of the Order, quotes the letter, including this passage, in the *Arbor Vitae*, compiled in 1305 at the La Verna. See: Ubertino of Casale, *Arbor Vitae Crucifixae Jesu*, ed. Andrea de Bonetis (Venice, 1485), repr. and intr. Charles T. Davies (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1961), 451b. See as well: Gian Luca Potestà, *Storia ed escatologia in Ubertino da Casale* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1980), 22-24 and 109.

[96] In the *Quo elongati* of Gregory IX, the discussion of the opening line of the Rule was limited to the question whether all Gospel counsels or only those explicitly mentioned in the Rule should be observed. Gregory IX, "Quo elongati, 28th September, 1230," in *The Saint. Francis of Assisi: Early Documents 1*, 571-572. In the *Exiit qui seminat*, the discussion of the first article, just as in the case of the *Quo elongati*, focused on the problem of the comprehensive or limited observance of the Gospel counsels. Nicholas III, "Exiit Qui Seminat, 14th August, 1279," in *The Prophet. Francis of Assisi: Early Documents 3*, 742-744. Clement V explicitly stated that with regard to the first article containing three fundamental vows he relied on his predecessors, Gregory IX and Nicholas III. Clement V, "Exivi de Paradiso, 6th May, 1312," in *The Prophet. Francis of Assisi: Early Documents 3*, 770-771. Furthermore, John XXII facing internal controversy within the Order, attempted to resolve the problem in 1317 with a call to their vow of obedience. Yet, neither in the *Quorundam exigit* nor in the *Gloriosam ecclesiam* did he strengthen his request with an allusion to the self-abasement of Christ. John XXII, "Quorundam exigit, 7th October 1317, Avignon," in *Bullarium Franciscanum 5*, ed. Conrad Eubel (Rome: Vatican, 1898), 130; and John XXII, "Gloriosam ecclesiam, 23rd January 1318, Avignon," in *Bullarium Franciscanum 5*, 140.

[97] The written result of this revision, known as the *Exposition of the Four Masters* was presented to the general chapter at Bologna on 7 June 1242 *Expositio Quatuor Magistrorum Super Regulam Fratrum Minorum*, 11-17. The first two chapters commenting on the vows did not enter into the detail of biblical parallels. *Expositio Quatuor Magistrorum Super Regulam Fratrum Minorum*, 125-128.

[98] *Hugh of Digne's Rule Commentary*, ed. David Flood (Grottaferrata: St. Bonaventure College, 1979), 50-54. For the date see also: *Expositio Quatuor Magistrorum Super Regulam Fratrum Minorum*, 78. Hugh was renowned for initiating Salimbene into Joachimism. The principal target of the commentary may have been the Franciscans themselves and in this sense, Hugh prepared more of an introductory manual then a piece of polemics. *Hugh of Digne's Rule Commentary*, 64-69.

Christ.[99] The reference to the friar is highly relevant since the *Allegory of Obedience* in Assisi depicts the exact moment when the kneeling friar receives the yoke from the hand of Obedience.

Bonaventure of Bagnoregio expressed the idea as well that the sacrifice of Christ was the model for Franciscan obedience.[100] In the *Rule of the Novices* he advised young members of the order that if they find it difficult to obey, they should think immediately of Jesus and his obedience on the cross.[101] As in the case of Hugh of Digne, the targeted audience for this text was the Franciscans themselves, especially the friars represented on the fresco receiving the yoke.

A somewhat extended version of this idea is found in the writings of John Pecham.[102] He referred to it in his *Exposition on the Rule of the Lesser Brothers*.[103] The fundamental

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[99] "… anno probationis recipiantur ad obedientiam. Huius exemplar est Christus, qui factus est Patri obediens usque ad mortem." *Hugh of Digne's Rule Commentary*, 181.

[100] He mentioned it in his *Sermon on the Rule of the Lesser Brothers* in the context of obedience towards their superiors. Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, "Sermo super Regulam Fratrum Minorum," *Opuscula Varia ad Theologiam Mysticam et Res Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Spectantia*, Opera Omnia 8 (Florence: Quaracchi, 1898), 445-446. Bonaventure drew upon this connection between Christ on the cross and obedience in other contexts as well. It already appeared in his commentary on Peter of Lombardy in the context of various vows and their hierarchy. Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, *Commentaria in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum Magistri Petri Lombardi in Secundum Librum Sententiarium*, Opera Omnia 2 (Florence: Quaracchi, 1885), 1013. He also discussed the vows in light of the question of whether the Pope was allowed to dispense them or not. Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, *Commentaria in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum Magistri Petri Lombardi in Quartum Librum Sententiarium*, Opera Omnia 4 (Florence: Quaracchi, 1889), 822-824. He also quoted the key passage of the Philippians 2:8 in his sermon on the feast of Saint Francis (4th October, 1262, Paris). He emphasized the challenges of being a Lesser Brother and related the saint and the humility of Christ on the cross: "A great burden has been placed on us by the name we bear: Lesser Brothers, because it obliges us to account ourselves worse and more sinful then the others. … All this is abundantly clear from the fact that Christ's cross is above all the sign of humility. Listen to Saint Paul: 'Christ humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even death on cross.' Christ's cross is the sign of the most perfect humility and self-abasement because on the cross he humbled and abased himself to such an extreme for our sake. So again, how right is to find this sign on Saint Francis who possessed the greatest humility and reckoned himself the lowest and meanest of sinners." Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, "The Evening Sermon on Saint Francis, Paris, October 4, 1262," in *The Founder. Francis of Assisi: Early Documents 2*, 725-726.

[101] "Et quamcumque aliqua gravis obedientia te conturbat, citissime cogita de Iesu, qui, cum esset 'Rex regnum et Dominus dominatium,' 'humiliavit semetipsum' teste Paulo, 'factus obediens usque ad mortem.'" Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, "Regula Novitiorum," *Opuscula Varia ad Theologiam Mysticam et Res Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Spectantia*, Opera Omnia 8 (Florence: Quaracchi, 1898), 488. The text has been always considered an autograph because of the large number of the manuscripts attributing it to Bonaventure. Jacques Guy Bougerol, *Introduzione a S. Bonaventura*, tr. Abele Calufetti (Vicenza: L.I.E.F, 1988), 256.

[102] The connection between Bonaventure and Pecham was presumably strong. During the time interval between 1257 (1259?) and 1271 (1272?) Pecham was in Paris as a Franciscan lector and as regent master in theology for the later period. This largely coincides with the generalship of Bonaventure (1257-1274), who spent much time in Paris as well. See: Decima L. Douie, *Archbishop Pecham* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952), 8-9. Following the strong attack on Franciscan identity by Gerard of Abbeville in 1269, it was Pecham and Bonaventure, who responded publicly to the charges. Conrad Harkins, "The Authorship of a Commentary on the Franciscan Rule Published among the Works of Saint Bonaventure," *Franciscan Studies* 29 (1969), 157-159. See as well: Girard Etzkorn, "John Pecham ofm: A Career of Controversy," in *Monks, Nuns, and Friars in Mediaeval Society*, ed. Edward B. King, Jacqueline T. Schaefer and William B. Wadley (Sewanee: University of the South, 1989), 71-76.

[103] For a long time it was thought that this work had been written by Bonaventure himself. See: Harkins, "The Authorship of a Commentary on the Franciscan Rule Published among the Works of Saint Bonaventure," 157-248. Here, Pecham took various entries of the Franciscan Rule and thoroughly discussed them one by one. About the sentence related to the vow of obedience he stated that real obedience does not come from necessity, but

passage appears in the *Canticle to Poverty*. Here, Pecham explained that the six fundamental virtues originated in the six wings of the Seraphim marking Francis with the stigmata. He considered obedience the first virtue and insisted again that it should conform to Christ obeying the Father and accepting death on the cross. It reads:

> This I explain to you in a sixfold perfection, which I think of as represented in the six wings of the Seraph who, as one crucified, appeared to Blessed Francis. The rule states the first virtue is obedience, not any obedience, but an obedience which copies the obedience of Our Lord just as his human weakness suffered when he humbly obeyed the Father even to death. While, therefore, others are accustomed to obey within the limits of stability of place, not according to a rule vowed, know, you will have no right to any place, nor can any place be beyond the demands of obedience. Know that you will not be able to claim with validity that anything is above the duty to obey, unless it be contrary to the rule, or to your salvation in general, or from some evident special reason.[104]

Here, Pecham not only connected the obedience of Christ on the cross with the vow of obedience of a Lesser Brother, but he situated it within the larger monastic context by comparing it to the vow understood in terms of stability. In this sense, Pecham saw the essential, Christ-like obedience of the Franciscans as their distinctive quality and, thus, part of their core identity.

This idea is extended in *Meditation in Solitude of One Who Is Poor*.[105] The work has recently been attributed to John of Wales, who acted as an envoy to Llewellyn of Wales for Pecham, who was at that time Archbishop of Canterbury.[106] Regardless of the attribution, it is important that the text of the *Meditation* referring to the servants of God turns into a discussion of the obedience of a Lesser Brother. The aforementioned passage from the *Canticle to Poverty* is quoted extensively, word for word.[107] Amy Neff recently connected the

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followed the example of Christ. See: Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, "Expositio super Regulam Fratrum Minorum," *Opuscula Varia ad Theologiam Mysticam et Res Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Spectantia*, Opera Omnia 8 (Florence: Quaracchi, 1898), 394. In the tenth chapter (*In quo repelluntur impie calumpnie iactate tam in vitam quam in regulam fratrum minorum*) of the *Treaty on Poverty* (*Tractatus pauperis*) he did not use Phil 2:8 when he commented on the opening lines of the Franciscan Rule. John Pecham, "Tractatus Pauperis," ed. A.G. Little, in *Tractatus Tres de paupertate*, ed. C.L. Kingsford, A.G. Little and F. Tocco (Aberdeen: Typis Academicis, 1910), 32-34.

[104] I quote the passage from the translation of Campion Murray (URL: http://www.franciscans.org.au/spirituality/campion/Love%27s%20Prompting/A%20Canticle%20to%20Poverty. htm; last accessed: 9th June 2009). See: "Hoc in sexcupartita tibi perfectione declaro, quam puto in sex alis seraphim significatam fuisse, qui beato Francisco apparuit crucifixus. Primam tibi virtutem praefert regula obedientiam, nom quamcumque, sed quae ilam Domini nostri aemuletur, ut patitur humana fragilitas, qui usque ad mortem Patri humiliter obedivit. Cum igitur obedientes alii soleant obedire salva stabilitate ad locum et non supra regulam, quam voverunt, scito, tibi nullum ius esse in loco, nec tibi in aliquo loci ambitu obedientiam terminari. Scito, te nihil tolerabile posse asserere supra ius obediendi esse, nisi sit contrarium regulae et saluti tuae generaliter vel ex evidenti causa aliqua speciali." John Pecham, *Canticum Pauperis pro Dilecto* (Florence: Quaracchi, 1949), 197-198.

[105] The link between the Crucifixion and obedience appears in two places. See: *Meditatio Pauperis in Solitudine*, ed. Ferdinand Delorme (Florence: Clara Aqua, 1929), 71, 111-112.

[106] David Flood, "John of Wales' Commentary on the Franciscan Rule," *Franciscan Studies* 60 (2002): 93-94. There was no reference to the Crucifixion in the Commentary in the context of the vow of obedience. On John of Wales see: Jenny Swanson, *John of Wales: a Study of the Works and Ideas of a Thirteenth-Century Friar* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1989), 1-14.

[107] *Meditatio Pauperis in Solitudine*, 255-256.

Meditation with the Old Testament cycle in the nave of the Upper Church arguing that the text may be one of the sources for the iconography.[108]

Parallel to these mainstream and prominent Franciscan authors, the connection between the vow of obedience and the Crucifixion also appears in the writings of Peter of John Olivi.[109] At the beginning of the *Question of Evangelic Obedience*, he quoted from Philippians 2:8 among other biblical references as representing the basis for obedience.[110] The way Olivi introduces the biblical quotation is especially telling, pointing out the way obedience was preached and, more importantly, practiced by Jesus.

These contemporary Franciscan texts can provide the context for the Crucifixion sketch behind the Allegory of Obedience at Assisi. On the one hand, writings such as the widespread *Rule of the Novices* by Bonaventure or the *Canticle to Poverty* by Pecham represent the mainstream position and core identity of the order at that time. The allusion in Olivi's work may signal that the connection between the cross and obedience might have been accepted within the "spiritual" circles as well.[111] In the light of this, it can be presumed that the correlation between the sketch of the Crucifixion and Obedience was actually the intended message of the iconography. Whoever it was that compiled the pictorial program of the *vele*, relied on the basic knowledge of the viewer, while integrating this allusion into the

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[108] The two surviving manuscripts of the text from the beginning of the fourteenth century are from Assisi. Amy Neff, "Lesser Brother: Franciscan Mission and Identity at Assisi," *The Art Bulletin* 88 (2006): 676-706, esp. 681-682.

[109] Olivi commented twice on the Rule: in a more theoretical way in the *Questions on Evangelic Perfection* and in more practical terms in the *Exposition on the Rule of the Lesser Brothers*. As he mentioned in the introduction to the *Exposition*, Olivi himself regarded the two works as being intertwined. Flood (ed. and pr.), *Peter Olivi's Rule Commentary*, 76-81 and 114-115. The *Commentary* can be dated to around 1288. Flood (ed. and pr.), *Peter Olivi's Rule Commentary*, 76. The date of composition of the *Question of Evangelic Obedience* is unclear; it does not belong to the first ten parts of the *Questions*, which were presumably written before 1279. This may mean that they were composed after 1279. See: *Peter of John Olivi on the Bible*, ed. David Flood and Gedeon Gál (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 1997), 367-368. David Burr proposed that they must have been written before 1283, the time of the censure of Olivi. Petrus Ioannis Olivi, *De Usu Paupere: The Quaestio and the Tractatus*, ed. David Burr (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1992), ix-xviii. In the Rule commentary, the question of obedience and the crucifixion surfaced in the context of begging and humility. Flood (ed. and pr.), *Peter Olivi's Rule Commentary*, 118-120 and 173. This passage may have influenced Angelo of Clareno's *Commentary of the Rule*, written between 1321-1322, who insisted that the true disciples of Christ could find support in his cross. The reference occurs in the commentary on the sixth chapter of the Rule, just as in the case of Olivi. "Blessed Francis used to say, 'It is necessary for every disciple of Christ to look on Christ and his Cross, and to be strengthened in spirit running after Him by the narrow gate and the hard way, and to be perfect not only outside love and possession of all things which are under heaven, but forgetful of them, so that he might pass over into the inheritance of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who humbled Himself and emptied Himself, being made for us obedient unto death, and to death on the cross." Angelo Clareno, "Exposition of the Rule of the Lesser Brothers," in *The Prophet. Francis of Assisi: Early Documents 3*, 817 and 821.

[110] "Si quis autem quaerat in quibus locis Christus hoc consilium docuerit aut in se ipso observaverit, sciendum qoud antequam assumeret statum praelati et magistri, erat subditus parentibus, prout refertur Lucae 2, 51. Postmodum autem factus est oboediens usque ad mortem crucis, prout habetur Ad Philippenses 2, 8." Peter of John Olivi, "Quaestio de oboedientia evangelica," in *Peter of John Olivi on the Bible*, ed. David Flood and Gedeon Gál (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 1997), 379.

[111] For the use of the term spiritual see: David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: from Protest to Persecution in the Century After Saint Francis* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University, 2001), especially vii-xi.

program.[112] For a pilgrim visiting the shrine of Francis this may have meant having some familiarity with Phil 2:8 and its implications for monastic life; for Franciscans this might have served as a reference to the basic texts and manuals in the way it commented on and explained the Rule.

The targeting of various audiences and playing with different levels of meaning was not unheard of in Assisi. The decoration of the western side of the Lower Church was conceived as a play in various registers. As Elvio Lunghi has argued, the lost decoration of the apse, now known only from a description by Ludovico of Pietralunga, can be closely related to the *Arbor vitae* of Ubertino, although this work does not explain all the details of the iconography.[113] Janet Robson insisted that the iconography of the *Allegory of Poverty* avoided controversial points. Thus, presumably, the developers aimed at arriving at an acceptable compromise for everybody.[114] In parallel, the planners took into account pilgrims approaching the shrine of St. Francis by creating visual repetitions and connections within various parts of the program.[115] In this context the sketch of the Crucifixion behind Obedience perhaps contributed to the program by recalling the Christological origins of the vows.[116]

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[112] The circumstances of the commission are unclear. With various shadings it was stated that the program reflected the mainstream moderate position of the Franciscan Order represented by Michel of Cesena (elected minister general in 1316), and expressed in the *Quorundam exigit* of John XXII in 1317. Mignosi, "Osservazioni sul transetto della Basilica Inferiore di Assisi," 137-139; Bram Kempers, *Painting, Power and Patronage: the Rise of the Professional Artist in the Italian Renaissance*, tr. Beverly Jackson (London: Penguin, 1992), 32-33. Yet, in light of the *terminus ante quem* (July 1311) proposed by Elvio Lunghi and based on technical and archival evidence it seems that the decoration of the *vele* was finished before the ministry of Michel of Cesena. See note 2. The advancement of the *terminus ante quem* makes it likely that Napoleon Orsini, cardinal protector of the Order, was the patron of the apse and the transept, an idea formulated by Schönau and further developed by Lunghi. D. W. Schönau, "A New Hypothesis on the Vele in the Lower Church of San Francesco in Assisi," *Franziskanische Studien* 67 (1985): 338-343; Elvio Lunghi, "La perduta decorazione trecentesca nell'abside della Chiesa Inferiore del S. Francesco ad Assisi," *Collectanea Franciscana* 66 (1996): 505-510.

[113] The *Arbor vitae* was inspired largely by the apocalypse commentary of Peter of John Olivi. Kleinschmidt, *Die Basilika San Francesco in Assisi*, vol. 2, 198-204; Lunghi, "La perduta decorazione trecentesca nell'abside della Chiesa Inferiore del S. Francesco ad Assisi," 507 and Elvio Lunghi, "L'influenza di Ubertino da Casale e di Pietro di Giovanni Olivi nel programma iconografico della chiesa inferiore del S. Francesco ad Assisi," *Collectanea Franciscana* 67 (1997): 184. The personal involvement of Ubertino is highly questionable. On the one hand, he was in the services of the cardinal when the work may have been commissioned and planned. Yet, as it has been variously noted, Ubertino himself was strongly opposed to the idea of lavish paintings in the Franciscan context: in January 1310 he complained before Clement V about abuses in church decoration. Lunghi, "La perduta decorazione trecentesca nell'abside della Chiesa Inferiore del S. Francesco ad Assisi," 509-510; Donal Cooper and Janet Robson, "Pope Nicholas IV and the Upper Church at Assisi" *Apollo* 157, no. 492 (2003), 32-34; Robson, "Judas and the Franciscans," 41.

[114] Robson, "Judas and the Franciscans," 42 and 46. In this respect, the strategy seems to be similar to one adopted in the Legend of St. Francis in the Upper Church, where special attention was paid to the real "successors" of Francis. Serena Romano, "La Morte di Francesco: Fonti francescane e storia dell'Ordine nella basilica di S. Francesco ad Assisi," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 61 (1998): 360-362.

[115] Robson, "The Pilgrim's Progress," 44-49.

[116] This solution in Assisi had only a limited influence on subsequent Franciscan representations, presumably for reasons of space. The same themes (Glorification of St. Francis, Chastity, Poverty, and Obedience) appear in medallions on the vaulting of the Bardi chapel in Santa Croce in Florence. Even some of the attributes, such as the castle of Chastity or the silencing gesture of Obedience are there although the reduced format excluded the possibility of a detailed retake. The same is true for Pistoia, where a monk placing a yoke on the neck of a kneeling novice replaced the sitting figure of Obedience. See: Schönau, "The 'Vele' of Assisi: their position and influence," 327-329. The retake, however limited, of the motif can be seen as part of the Franciscan

1.4. Interdependence of Pictorial and Iconographic Aspects

My argument has so far focused on two distinct characteristics of the sketch of the Crucifixion at Assisi: 1) it is an eminent meta-pictorial work; 2) its iconographic content is related to the main theme of the allegory and therefore it plays a role in the "meaning" of the fresco. I would like to restate here that neither of these propositions is conclusive: it could be that the Crucifixion group was left unfinished by chance and it was depicted as a typical decoration of a chapterhouse. I would also like to add that in view of the otherwise neat pictorial execution of the entire fresco-cycle and the repeated insistence on the connection between the sacrifice of Christ and the vow of Obedience in contemporary Franciscan Rule commentaries, these interpretations seem to hold water. I propose here to evaluate the implication of the *simultaneous* occurrence of these two likely characteristics.

Broadly speaking, the solution displayed on the *vele*, the representation of an important iconographic element as decoration for the chapterhouse, is something that one might tentatively label disguised symbolism. This concept was introduced by Erwin Panofsky in two articles and developed into a main characteristic of early Netherlandish painting twenty years later in a chapter in his monograph, dedicated to the aforementioned period.[117] It states that parts of a figurative painting depicting details of everyday life are not simple and transparent displays of reality, but have important meaning and therefore should be regarded as disguised symbols. Furthermore, he provides a narrative-historical justification for the emergence of disguised symbolism. It was seen as a conscious solution on behalf of the artists to harmonize medieval non-realistic symbolic systems with the exigencies of the realistic-imitative picture considered a window onto another world.[118] Though he focused on the Netherlandish period, Panofsky himself located the origins of this tendency in the Trecento and pointed out that it was a practice engineered by a turn towards a concept of more realism within painting.[119]

In the context of early Netherlandish painting, Panofsky's theory attracted severe criticism from the beginning, and it has never been discussed systematically in the context of early Trecento painting. Major objections can be grouped under three headings. 1) Some

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'Ordenspropaganda,' although Blume did not discuss it. Dieter Blume, *Wandmalerei als Ordenspropaganda: Bildprogramme im Chorbereich franziskanischer Konvente Italiens bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Worms: Werner'sche, 1983), 49-53 and 59-63.

[117] Erwin Panofsky, "Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait," *The Burlington Magazine* 64 (1934): 117-127; ibid, "The Friedsam Annunciation and the Problem of the Ghent Altarpiece," *The Art Bulletin* 17 (1935): 433-473; ibid, "Reality and Symbol in Early Flemish Painting: 'Spiritualia sub Metaphoris Corporalium'," *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 131-148.

[118] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 140-141.

[119] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 141; and ibid, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (New York: Icon, 1972), 141-142.

"symbols" detected by Panofsky are in fact misinterpretations while the method of disguised symbolism in itself is hardly transparent or controllable.[120] 2) The symbolic or ceremonial component of depicted reality was forgotten since the focus was on the symbolism of the image.[121] 3) The artist was increasingly engaged with more as a sophisticated theologian or intellectual rather than a playful creator. The need to detect a concealed meaning makes the work of the art historian that of a decipherer and ignores the question of stylistic development and pictorial execution.[122]

All these objections are valid. Yet, to better understand what happened on the *vele*, two parts in Panofsky's theory are worth reconsideration. With regard to the problems of methodology it should be noted that in comparison to the details of everyday life, embedded representations such as the Crucifixion sketch on the *vele*, are different since they display something: an event or a saint etc. They are figurative works in themselves. Therefore, while an unspecified detail like a shoe can only be speculatively connected to the main theme of the picture, an image-within-image clearly displays an iconographic content which may or may not interact with the main theme. Therefore there are arguments both for and against relating images-within-images to the chief content of the work. In this sense, images-within-images are less exposed to those critical remarks where disguised symbolism is dismissed because it seems lacking in proper methodological control.[123]

Panofsky himself was sensitive to this special status of the embedded representations but did not elaborate on them. In an article on the Friedsam Annunciation he even tried to define them as obvious symbolism in contrast to disguised symbolism.[124] In *Early*

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[120] Jan Baptist Bedaux, *The Reality of Symbols: Studies in the Iconology of Netherlandish Art 1400-1800* (Hague: Gary Schwartz – SDU, 1990), 10-12, 34 (for the dog) and 48-53; Edwin Hall, *The Arnolfini Betrothal: Medieval Marriage and the Enigma of van Eyck's Double Portrait* (Berkeley: University of California, 1994), 114-122.
[121] Bedaux, *The Reality of Symbols*, 25-53;
[122] Otto Pächt, "Panofsky's 'Early Netherlandish Painting' 1-2," *The Burlington Magazine* 98 (1956): 275-279; Hall, *The Arnolfini Betrothal*, 123-129.
[123] Walter Gibson reviewing *The Arnolfini Betrothal* by Hall mentioned that the sophisticated play of images within images such as parts of furniture, tiles may be exactly those moments of iconographic importance. This does not invalidate Hall's general argument rejecting disguised symbolism. Walter Gibson, "Review: Edwin Hall, *The Arnolfini Betrothal: Medieval Marriage and the Enigma of van Eyck's Double Portrait* (Berkeley: University of California, 1994)," *Speculum* 72 (1997): 480. Otto Pächt also accepted the possible symbolic reading of representation-within-representation. Otto Pächt, *Van Eyck and the Founders of Early Netherlandish Painting*, ed. Maria Schmidt-Dengler, tr. David Britt (London: Harvey Miller, 1994), 65. To some extent this iconographic "resistance" may even be detected on the Arnolfini betrothal: after various attacks on Panofsky's comprehensive symbolical interpretation, the tiny carving of the bed displaying St. Margaret of Antioch, patron saint of pregnant women, can be still regarded as a detail that broadly reflects the main theme of the painting, the betrothal. Linda Seidel gave a more specific meaning to it within the framework of her comprehensive theory on Giovanna's unwillingness to marry, since Margaret was also tortured for her disobedience to male authority. Linda Seidel, *Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait – Stories of an Icon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1993), 119. The statue is usually omitted from the discussion attacking the "symbols" in the painting. Bedaux formulated the connection, but then dismissed it without refuting it. Bedaux, *The Reality of Symbols*, 46-47. Hall only discussed the dog, the candle and the mirror. Hall, *The Arnolfini Betrothal*, 114-122.
[124] Panofsky, "The Friedsam Annunciation and the Problem of the Ghent Altarpiece," 446-453.

Netherlandish Painting, however, he abandoned this conceptualization and applied obvious symbolism to non-realistic symbolic systems and disguised symbolism to those aspects that conformed to the realistic-imitative concept of the picture.[125]

This partial methodological rehabilitation means that in the case of image-within-image it is possible to investigate their iconographic importance and hence the symbolic potentials of the detail. This does not necessarily mean that each and every image-within-image has iconographic relevance. In the case of the Crucifixion scene behind Obedience it is possible to see the iconographic motivation behind the detail. Yet, on the very same fresco, there are four medallions covered by the columns of the building. These are perfect examples of image-within-image without iconographical implications since the content is not visible. The presence of the medallions is signaled, but their actual content is disregarded. Thus, their role is limited to being a realistic decoration for the building. In this sense, the iconographic relevance of image-within-image is not a permanent and necessary given but only a possibility.

The other reconsideration regards the narrative-historical justification which Panofsky proposed for the emergence of disguised symbolism; namely there was still a need to display symbols within a realistic space and this need led to the invention of disguised symbolism.[126] Panofsky, in fact, argued that painters had to save the symbolic richness of the non-realistic medieval visual system. Therefore, they accommodated the theological and typological meanings in the form of everyday objects. Otto Pächt and Benjamin Lloyd already noted that the primary interest of painters must have lain in perfecting the emerging pictorial practice of realistic space representation making it hard to imagine that they were concerned with the survival of symbolic contents.[127] At the beginning of the Trecento, in the case of images-within-images, it is more plausible that interest in increasing the reality-effect of a building alone can be regarded as an impetus to their development, sometimes together with a desire to document everyday reality or to recreate a Classical reality, but a reality that was definitely without symbolic overtones.

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[125] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 140-141. In both cases, it is precisely the Dijon Annunciation by Melchior Broederlam, which illustrates this strain of thought, regarded in 1935 as obvious and then in 1953 as disguised symbolism. Yet, a page later in a methodological remark he wrote that "*where the Prophet remains a Prophet even though converted into a statue […] there can be no doubt as for the artist's intention.*" Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 142. He, therefore, retained the methodological distinction between representations-within-representations and other types of disguised symbolism.

[126] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 140-141.

[127] Pächt, "Panofsky's 'Early Netherlandish Painting' 1-2," 275-276 (also note 39); and Benjamin Lloyd, "Disguised Symbolism Exposed and the History of Early Netherlandish Painting," *Studies in Iconography* 2 (1976): 15-17. I attempted to show this by analyzing the representations-within-representations in the *Legend of St. Francis* in the Upper Church at Assisi.

Now, in light of the "pictorial" hypothesis for the emergence of image-within-image, it still has to be considered that there were times when the embedded representations acquired iconographic importance. If image-within-image was merely a "pictorial" practice and not a "symbolic" one, how and why did it develop sporadic iconographic implications as well? For the particular case of the Crucifixion at Assisi this question may be of special importance. Here, apparently an intention to create an effective realistic display by using a sketch was coupled with the iconographic incorporation of the detail. Someone had a strong interest in exploiting this realistic pictorial practice for iconographic purposes as well. The embedded representation became integrated in the overall program of the allegory and the iconographic implications of the detail must have been tailored and developed by the inventor of the iconography. Given the significance of the detail for the Franciscans it is improbable that this inventor was the executing master. I would argue that in this specific case, the strong iconographic orientation of the detail is presumably the result of Franciscan intervention. This hypothesis simultaneously explains the sophisticated play on the *vele* with various levels of visuality and the complex Franciscan message of the detail. The pictorial reflexivity may have been an internal affair for the executing master while the iconography originates from the concerns of the commissioner. This hypothesis implies that we have to accept that the program designer in Assisi had a strong influence even on such seemingly marginal details as the decoration on the building serving as the backdrop to the allegory. If iconographic concerns can be detected in those marginal areas, this undermines the staging of the executing master as the single most important "author" of the fresco. The hypothetical authorship of the sketch of the Crucifixion behind Obedience can be divided between the master perfecting the pictorial display of the detail and the designer of the program tailoring its contents. Therefore, instead of originating from the mind of a single genius, the detail may well be the fruit of an interdependent collaboration between at least two distinct agents.[128]

This specific case study has implications for the general question of images-within-images. There has always been a tendency to underplay the importance of iconography in images-within-images and emphasize the pictorial aspect. This controversy of the pictorial and the iconographic peaked paradigmatically in the context of Dutch Art.[129] Eddy de Jongh

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[128] Joanna Cannon has already implied that the *vele*, as a milestone in the history of allegorical painting, was the common achievement of Giotto, his associates, his patrons and advisors. Joanna Cannon, "Giotto and Art for the Friars: Revolutions Spiritual and Artistic," in *The Cambridge companion to Giotto*, ed. Anne Derbes, Mark Sandona (Cambridge: Cambridge University: 2004), 130.

[129] For a reassessment see: Eddy de Jongh, "The Iconological Approach to Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting," in: *The Golden Age of Dutch Painting in Historical Perspective*, ed. Frans Grijzenhout and Henk van Veen, tr. Andrew McCormick (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1999), 200-224; Wayne Franits, "Introduction," in *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art. Realism Reconsidered*, ed. Wayne Franits

advocated an emblematic-iconological reading of genre paintings focusing on their abstract content or meaning.[130] Svetlana Alpers argued against this view in favor of the importance of the pictorial mode, emphasizing that *"painters make paintings, not meanings."*[131] The problem of images-within-images has never been in the focus of this debate, yet the general disposition towards this alternative determines the position taken towards the duplication of representational levels as well.

In light of the Assisi example, the following tentative conclusions can be proposed. Images-within-images are potentially open to both pictorial and iconographic reflexivity. Since this means embedding one representation in another, it allows and facilitates visual reflection on the nature of these representations. The actual execution, as this reflexivity is achieved through duplication of the levels of representation, can display surprising variety (and the reduction of image-within-image to picture-within-picture can prove an obstacle to the appreciation of this variety). Furthermore, images-within-images, by simple virtue of having one work embedded in another, necessarily offer the possibility of broadly understood iconographic (semantic) interplay between the two, even in those cases when otherwise pictorial concerns dominate the execution. In other words, the phenomenon of image-within-image can be understood as the place where primarily pictorial concerns could come together with iconographic ones, where the visual execution could transform into cognitive association. The actual realization of this interplay, and whether the pictorial or the iconographic orientations dominated, was (is) context dependent. In the case of the Lower Church at Assisi, it seemingly happened by the coming together of a master perfecting the practice of realistic pictorial display and the designer of the program reflecting on the Christological roots of the Franciscan vow of obedience.

1.5. Art for the Franciscans?

The intensity of the interaction between the master and the broadly understood commissioner is not a marginal question, but a ubiquitous problem for the study of Medieval Art. Since

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(Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1997), 1-7; and Mariët Westermann, "After Iconography and Iconoclasm: Current Research in Netherlandish Art, 1566-1700," *Art Bulletin* 84 (2002): 351-372.

[130] Eddy de Jongh, "Realism and Seeming Realism in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting," tr. Kist Kilian Communications, in: *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art. Realism Reconsidered*, ed. Wayne Franits (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1997), 21-57, especially 21-22 and 55-56; see also: Eddy de Jongh, "Opinions and Objections," in: *Questions of Meaning: Theme and Motif in Dutch Seventeenth Century Painting*, tr. and ed. Michael Hoyle (Leiden: Primavera Press, 2000), 9-21.

[131] Svetlana Alpers, "Picturing Dutch Culture," in: *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art. Realism Reconsidered*, ed. Wayne Franits (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1997), 57. See also: Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1983), 229-233. In 1970-1971, Otto Pächt also took this position in his lecture series, emphasizing that the task of art history is related to the imagery of the image and not to the hunt for textual references. Otto Pächt, *The Practice of Art History. Reflections on Method*, tr. David Britt (London: Harvey Miller, 1999): 84-86.

masters in the Middle Ages were far from having full status as artists, free to determine the content of their work, the question of whether the patron shaped the contents of a given piece of art is legitimate in almost all cases. One extreme answer, suggests that even in the Middle Ages the master should get full credit for the contents of a work of art with the patron dictating only the general content of the work. For instance, while the available funding for a *Birth of Jesus* came from the patron the master made all further content decisions. The other extreme of opinion sees the commissioner sometimes overseeing and determining the tiniest details of the work with the master no more than a tool for executing a particular aim. This antagonism between these two poles of thought is manifest in the historiography of the first half of the Trecento.

In the studies by Ghiberti and Vasari, the early Trecento and more specifically the art of Giotto was regarded as the starting point of a pictorial development leading to the Renaissance.[132] Nevertheless, in *The Civilization of the Renaissance In Italy* by Jacob Burckhardt, the Trecento was practically phased out as an important step in artistic development in the Middle Ages. This approach also characterized Heinrich Wölfflin's *Die klassische Kunst* and more importantly was the focus of his *Grundbegriffe* as well.[133] As a reaction to Burckhardt's thesis on the Renaissance, Henry Thode reclaimed the importance of the Trecento and emphasized in this development the role of the single most important person and institution of the time: Francis of Assisi and the order of Lesser Brothers.[134] Thode's main point was not that the Franciscan order acted as the patrons of these works. Rather, he argued that the origins of the realistic turn in painting must be sought in the legacy of Francis, who advocated such a turn towards nature, the bodily passion of Christ and the poor. Thode therefore defended the Vasarian art historical narrative of Western Art, and furthermore, he offered an alternative origin for it, where the trigger of the development was not an internal affair of the artists, but it was rooted in the revolutionary mentality of the Franciscans.

Thode was certainly successful in shifting attention to the age of Giotto; the second part of his thesis has remained, however, debated. The conflict between whether the Trecento should be regarded as the art of Francis or the art of Giotto was further deepened by the problem of chronology and attribution, since disagreement on such basic questions of whether the decoration of the Arena-chapel in Padua predated or not the *Legend of St. Francis* cycle in

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[132] Lorenzo Ghiberti, *I commentarii*, Lorenzo Ghibertis Denkwürdigkeiten 1, ed. Julius von Schlosser (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1912), 35-51; Giorgio Vasari, *Opere 1*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Florence: Sansoni, 1973), 247-694.
[133] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance In Italy*, tr. S. G. C. Middlemore (New York: Modern Library, 1954); Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst*; and ibid, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1915).
[134] Henry Thode, *Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien* (Vienna: Phaidon, 1934).

the Upper Church in Assisi and whether Giotto can be regarded the author of both or not fundamentally affects the answer to the question of origin. Despite Thode's heroic efforts, the art historical narrative prevailed until the end of the 1970s for two main reasons. First, stylistic analysis became dominant within the discipline of art history itself. Especially in its positivistic version, this approach necessarily meant focusing on the materiality of the work and a quest for the hand of the artist. The question of Franciscan influence was therefore marginalized. Second, and this reason turned out to be more substantial, research on the true nature of the visual revolution before 1300 confirmed the crucial influence of Classical sculpture and wall-painting, and thus, offered a plausible reconstruction for the chain of events.[135] Though this realization did not exclude the important role that Franciscans played in the promotion of the "new art," today it seems generally accepted that the shaping of the imagery of the image and the refining of its visual code remained in the hands of Giotto's generation. This hypothesis was further strengthened by studies pointing out how sensitive Giotto, Duccio and the others in their artistic orbit were to the conflict between the two-dimensional and three-dimensional values of the picture and the implications of the pictorial space to storytelling.[136]

Yet, this independence of pictorial development did not discredit the relevance of the influence of the Franciscan commissioners for two reasons. Even if the rebirth of pictorial space and everything this might have implied for Western visuality was the achievement of the Trecento masters, these works found their place in a Franciscan environment. The Franciscans acted as the most important commissioners and promoters of this new type of imagery. Furthermore, the role of the Franciscan order was apparently not limited to commissioning these works; the level of their involvement in content-related planning of the images may have been quite far-reaching. Content here should be understood in a broad sense. Although it certainly encompasses the main iconographic theme of the picture, it can extend even to such bodily aspects as posture or haircut. Even if refining the realistic representation was the main concern of the masters, the ideological message transmitted with the help of the newly refined media reflected to a certain degree the Franciscan ideological agenda.

This acknowledgment of the involvement of the Franciscans will certainly not provide a final answer to the question of the interdependent cooperation between master and patron mostly because the level of Franciscan involvement did not remain constant over time and space. During the time of first Franciscan pope, Nicholas IV, when the *Legend of St. Francis*

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[135] White, *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space*, 19-56.
[136] Max Imdahl, *Giotto Arenafresken: Ikonographie, Ikonologie, Ikonik* (Munich: W. Fink, 1988); Kemp, *Die Räume der Maler*, 9-65.

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was presumably painted in the Upper Church at Assisi, this Franciscan involvement must have been more intensive than it was in Lodi around the end of the 1310s for instance. Thus, the acknowledgement of Franciscan involvement does not answer the question but only opens up an immense field of research. It is legitimate to question, case by case, whether the visual execution of a particular work of art came together as the result of thoughtful or less thoughtful ideological planning. The title of the subchapter, "Art for the Franciscans" aims to capture this dynamism. We can no longer speak of the art *of* the Franciscan order, since this would mean discarding the visual contribution of Giotto but neither is it simply art *for* art's sake, since this would be an anachronism. Rather, it is art that was primarily produced *for* the Franciscans.[137] Even if the Franciscans were not the only commissioners of the time and the mechanisms of Franciscan patronage may well include other actors, their role in the promotion of the "new art" and being a model of late-medieval Italian patronage remains paradigmatic.

Since the 1970s a number of studies have explored various levels of this problem. Gerhard Ruf showed how the fresco program in the Upper Church at Assisi followed Bonaventure's version of the life of Francis.[138] In a series of articles, Julian Gardner emphasized the importance of papal patronage in Rome and Hans Belting extended this question to Assisi.[139] Dieter Blume offered a reconstruction of how the pictorial program of the *Legend* in the Upper Church at Assisi became an official visual propaganda for the order influencing subsequent representations.[140] Klaus Krüger focused on the early images of Francis and the liturgical use of these panels.[141] Anne Derbes discussed the role of the Order in developing and promoting a new type of understanding of the Passion.[142] Chiara Frugoni and Arnold Davidson explored the interrelated history of the various texts and images reporting on the stigmata of Francis.[143] Louise Bourdua, drawing on archival records from Verona, Vicenza and Padua, gave a systematic account of the mechanism of Franciscan

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[137] For the term "for" in the Medieval context of patronage see: Richard Marks, "An Age of Consumption: Art for England c. 1400-1547," in *Gothic: Art for England 1400-1547*, ed. Richard Marks and Paul Williamson (London: V&A, 2003), 12-25.

[138] Gerhard Ruf, *Franziskus und Bonaventura: die heilsgeschichtliche Deutung der Fresken im Langhaus der Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi aus der Theologie des Heiligen Bonaventura* (Assisi: Casa Editrice Francescana, 1974); and Ruf, *Das Grab des hl. Franziskus*.

[139] Julian Gardner, *Patron, Painters and Saints* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1993); and Hans Belting, *Die Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi: ihre Dekoration als Aufgabe und die Genese einer neuen Wandmalerei* (Berlin: Mann, 1977).

[140] Blume, *Wandmalerei als Ordenspropaganda*.

[141] Klaus Krüger, *Der frühe Bildkult des Franziskus in Italien: Gestalt- und Funktionswandel des Tafelbildes im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Mann, 1992).

[142] Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy. Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[143] Frugoni, *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate*; and Arnold Davidson, "Miracles of Bodily Transformation, or, how St. Francis Received the Stigmata."

patronage in those cases.[144] William R. Cook complied an exhaustive catalogue of the images of Francis and edited the volume on *The Art of the Franciscan order in Italy* containing a series of case studies on works commissioned by the Order.[145] Rosalind Brooke wrote a combined history of text and images on the changes undergone by the "image" of St. Francis from its beginnings to the decoration in the Upper Church in Assisi.[146] Joanna Cannon pointed out how interrelated the "artistic" and "spiritual" revolution was at the beginning of the fourteenth century.[147] Janet Robson and Donal Cooper took a decisive step in linking the decoration of the nave in the Upper Church at Assisi to Pope Nicholas IV.[148]

This short and in no way exhaustive summary shows the complexity and richness of the "Franciscan question" in art.[149] Building on the results of these works I would like to highlight three problematic areas which are inherent, unresolved and will have a huge impact on the investigation of images-within-images as well. The first problem is the Franciscan question in general. Since the groundbreaking study of Paul Sabatier, historians writing about the first century of the Order faced the difficulty of a multiple history. The "official" version of the life of Francis by Bonaventure turned out to be a *vita* that aimed to replace the previous, sometimes controversial accounts of the deeds of the founder. The differences between the various redactions were not only differences of literary style, since at stake was a true understanding of the life of Francis and its implications for the institutional and spiritual organization of the emerging order. These competing visions of Francis and the Order, the necessity to harmonize or discard them, left their mark not only on hagiographic texts but on the images as well. Therefore whenever the question of Franciscan ideological influence arises, by its very nature it contains a complex implication as a political statement on Francis' legacy and coeval institutional controversies of the Order. Thus, pictorial references to texts, when and if detected, are ambiguous and can mask various agendas. Images-within-images by virtue of juxtaposing two iconographic contents next to each other may facilitate the creation of such complex messages and are therefore related to the ideological construction of the image.

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[144] Louise Bourdua, *The Franciscans and Art Patronage in Late Medieval Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2004).

[145] William R. Cook, *Images of St Francis of Assisi in painting, stone and glass from the earliest images to ca. 1320 in Italy: a catalogue* (Florence: Olschki, 1999); and ibid. (ed.), *The art of the Franciscan Order in Italy* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

[146] Brooke, *The image of St Francis*.

[147] Cannon, "Giotto and Art for the Friars: Revolutions Spiritual and Artistic."

[148] Cooper and Robson, "Pope Nicholas IV and the Upper Church at Assisi," and ibid. "A great sumptuousness of paintings: frescoes and Franciscan poverty at Assisi in 1288 and 1312."

[149] For the problem see: Edith Pásztor, *Francesco d'Assisi e la questione francescana* (Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 2000).

The second area is connected to the question of authorship. Despite the numerous efforts of many researchers, there is still no definite answer to the question of extent to which the Franciscan commissioners were involved in shaping the basic components of the image. This is clearly visible with the problem of the *Stigmatization*. As Frugoni showed in the Upper Church in Assisi, a new and genuine representation of the event was developed, since the moment of the stigmatization was displayed as rays connecting the corresponding body parts of the seraph-Christ and Francis.[150] This was a revolutionary visualization of the miracle, aligned with Bonaventure's intention and aligned with the ongoing realistic turn of the image as well. Who should get the credit for it: the friars of the convent (or even the Franciscan pope Nicholas IV, Jerome of Ascoli, a former minister general of the Order) or the executing master (Giotto, Cavallini or someone else)? Who had the idea that the rays should connect the two bodies? Frugoni named Giotto and regarded him as the true counterpart to Bonaventure in the field of images. But is this really so evident? This problem will remain inherent in the case of images-within-images as well, since they occupy a liminal space between being a pictorial bravura and a sophisticated iconographic invention.

The third problem concerns the mechanism of Franciscan patronage. There have been two major models offered so far in the understanding of this mechanism. Dieter Blume argued that the samples used in the decoration of the Upper Church at Assisi were sent to and copied in the other Franciscan convents.[151] This model solves the question of design by envisaging a single starting point, the *Legend of St. Francis* in the Upper Church, which was then imposed on the other convents by means of automatic transmission. Since in certain cases the executing workshops were the same, the diffusion of the model can equally be regarded as the result of a centralized *Ordenspropaganda* and the practice of the workshops themselves. Many of the examples relevant for the questions of images-within-images are related to the dissemination of the imagery of the Upper Church. Unfortunately, in these cases the archival evidence revealing the actual mechanism of patronage is extremely thin on the ground. Louise Bourdua provided the most systematic answer in addressing this major difficulty. Stepping back from the main Tuscan narrative of Trecento art, she focused on the decoration of those Franciscan convents where extensive archival documentation exists such as San Lorenzo in Vicenza and Sant'Antonio in Padua. She showed how and to what extent the friars were involved to the promotion, crafting and even the beneficing of these works.[152]

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[150] Frugoni, *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate*, 137-201.
[151] Blume, *Wandmalerei als Ordenspropaganda*, 1-4.
[152] Bourdua, *The Franciscans and Art Patronage in Late Medieval Italy*, 148.

The most problematic and important actor in this chain of artistic production, as Bourdua pointed out, is the theological adviser or program designer.[153] On the one hand, the program designer represents the necessary link between the aspirations and ideas of the commissioners to the visual execution of the work. On the other hand, too much emphasis on the role of the designer would promote him or her as the real author of the work and disregard completely the contribution of the master.[154] Given the lack of direct written evidence and in light of the pictorial-iconographic complexity of the Obedience fresco in Assisi, I will adopt a position which allows for a significant influence of the commissioning environment but only as a complement of the masters' concern to create a realistic image (not excluding the possibility that this realistic image was appreciated by the commissioners themselves). Images-within-images are therefore described here as an interdependent achievement by those two hypothesized agents. It is against this combined background of the realistic turn and Franciscan patronage and design that the problem of pictorial and iconographic reflexivity will be discussed. In the dissertation, this model of interaction will be extended to other religious institutions such as the Augustinian Hermits or the Cathedral of Siena and even to private benefactors. The main focus of the investigation will remain how the visual and the intellectual design of the works might reflect or integrate the aspirations of the commissioner within a shifting paradigm of visual expression.

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[153] Bourdua, *The Franciscans and Art Patronage in Late Medieval Italy*, 148-151.
[154] As pointed out by Charles Hope for the Renaissance. Charles Hope, "Artists, Patrons, and Advisers in the Italian Renaissance," in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, ed. Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (Princeton: Princeton University, 1981), 293-343.

2. The Image in Medieval Art

The status and structure of images in the Middle Ages provides the context for the emergence of images-within-images in the Trecento. As has been noted, a certain distance from the narrative core of the work characterized the Trecento examples. It is this distance that distinguishes them from other images-within-images in the Middle Ages prior to 1300, in which the embedded image is either venerated by the faithful, destroyed by the saint or offered by the donor. There has been no comprehensive study yet dedicated to this problem. The fundamental problem of idolatry and veneration of images has been the subject of Michael Camille's study, but any comprehensive discussion of the problem is still missing.[155]

There is little doubt that these images-within-images were, to a certain extent, predecessors of the Trecento examples, however, the changing narrative status within the picture contests any suggestion of strong continuity between these two groups. This chapter, therefore, does not focus on the examples of images-within-images prior to the Trecento but addresses two things. 1) What had happened to the "medieval image" that allowed the birth of images-within-images disengaged from the narrative core? 2) Did the "medieval" structures and modes of perception have an impact on these images-within-images, and if so, how?

This brief reconstruction of the medieval context is based on the limited written evidence concerning images. The discussion is centered on three decisive dichotomies within medieval art. 1) The work of art as an assemblage of valuable materials versus the work as a figurative representation. 2) The image embodying a supernatural being (and therefore to be venerated) versus the image as a representation (or illustration) of something (and therefore to be gazed at). 3) The image as something to be read (its comprehension is a series perceptive acts and their synthesis) versus being seen (its comprehension is a single perceptive act). Ultimately, my aim is to show how and why the emergence of images-within-images around the end of the 13th century (and the pictorial and iconographic reflexivity they indicate) has coherence with the historical context of the image itself.

2.1. The Material and the Figurative

On a basic level, the dichotomy of the material and figurative aspects of the work denotes the problem of whether an object was appreciated for the value of its materials (gems and gold) or for the "figurative content" of the representation. Although the second option was favored in the subsequent history of western art, the response to this question was neither evident in the

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[155] Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1991). For the discussion of the Trecento examples and the question of idolatry see: Chapter 4. The Problem of the Statuette: Typology or Idolatry?

Middle Ages nor today. Shiny and bright surfaces definitely function as eye-catchers, and the economic value tied to these materials (certainly not unconnected to their "beauty") assures their widespread recognition in everyday life. In this respect, the disinterested aesthetic experience of these objects was certainly complemented with a vested interest in their material value.[156]

A unique insight into this medieval attitude is provided in the writings of Suger, abbot of St. Denis near Paris between 1122 and 1151, who dedicated his life to the renovation of a strong, centralized French monarchy and the abbey of St. Denis.[157] The reconstruction of the western and eastern parts of the church were undertaken under Suger, and the technical innovations, perhaps not independently from his theological perspective, led to the emergence of the Gothic style. Suger was well aware of the economic value of the materials with which he decorated various parts of the church. Writing about the golden altar frontal in the upper choir he meticulously enumerated the amount of gold and the types of gems they had integrated into it (and he told even the story of how he came into the possession of these gems).[158] In Suger's view this great wealth not only served the purpose of venerating but also of approaching God. In a passage which became fundamental for the understanding of medieval aesthetics, he straightforwardly explained that by the contemplation of these beautiful surfaces he could transcend his worldly situation and rise to a higher world:

> Often we contemplate, out of sheer affection for the church our mother, these different ornaments both new and old … Thus when – out of my delight in the beauty of the house of God – the loveliness of the many-colored gems has called me away from external cares, and worthy meditation has induced me to reflect, transferring that which is material to that which is immaterial, on the diversity of the sacred virtues: then it seems to me that I see myself dwelling, as it were, in some strange region of the universe which is neither exists entirely in the slime of the earth nor entirely in the purity of Heaven; and that, by the grace of God, I can be transported from this interior to that higher world in an anagogical manner.[159]

In Suger's proposition many different types of objects were brought together to serve the same experience including relics, figurative representation like golden panel and crosses, but also treasures and gems. Possibly the ascribed magical qualities of precious stones, witnessed in the *Physica* of the contemporary Hildegard of Bingen, also influenced the interest in their transcendental power.[160]

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[156] Umberto Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages*, tr. Hugh Bredin (New Haven: Yale University), 11-15.

[157] Abbot Suger, *On the abbey church of St.-Denis and its art treasures*, ed. and tr. Erwin Panofsky, 2nd edition Gerda Panofsky-Soergel (Princeton: Princeton University, 1979), 1-37.

[158] "Into this panel, which stands in front of his most sacred body, we have put according to our estimate, about forty-four marks of gold; [further] a multifarious wealth of precious gems, hyacinths, rubies, sapphires, emeralds and topazes, and also an array of different large pearls – [a wealth] as great as we had never anticipated to find." Abbot Suger, *On the abbey church of St.-Denis and its art treasures*, 55

[159] Abbot Suger, *On the abbey church of St.-Denis and its art treasures*, 63-65.

[160] For the precious stones in the writings of Hildegard of Bingen see: Sabina Flanagan, *Hildegard of Bingen, 1098-1179: A Visionary life* (London: Routledge, 1990), 86-87.

This appreciation of the aesthetic qualities of matter did not prevent the appreciation of the "artistic" quality of the works. In the same passage, while writing about the back of the main altar, Suger stated that the relief used was admirable for its form in a way that it was admirable for its material:

> But the rear panel, of marvelous workmanship and lavish sumptuousness (for the barbarian artists were even more lavish than ours), we ennobled with chased relief work equally admirable for its form as for its material, so that certain people might be able to say: The workmanship surpassed the material.[161]

This emphasis on the primary aesthetic qualities of the material and its role in the religious experience has usually been interpreted in the context of Bernard of Clairvaux's apology to William, abbot of St. Thierry in Reims.[162] The *Apologia* was written around 1125 on the request of William, when Bernard was already the abbot of Clairvaux.[163] Bernard mainly reproached two things with regard the decoration of churches. On the one hand, he stated that the use of expensive materials served financial purposes (to solicit alms):

> Let me speak plainly. … It is possible to spend money in such a way that it increases; it is an investment which grows, and pouring it out only brings in more. The very sight of such sumptuous and exquisite baubles is sufficient to inspire men to make offerings, though not to say their prayers. In this way, riches attract riches, and money produces more money. For some unknown reason, the richer a place appears, the more freely do offerings pour in.[164]

Besides this attack on lavish decoration, Bernard formulated a harsh critique of figurative representations as well. In the context of fantastic decorations placed in the cloister he argued that they distracted the monks and their presence could hardly be justified by any religious purposes:

> What excuse can there be for these ridiculous monstrosities in the cloister where the monks do their reading, extraordinary things at once beautiful and ugly? Here we find filthy monkeys and fierce lions, fearful centaurs, harpies, and striped tigers, soldiers at war, and hunters blowing their horns. Here is one head with many bodies, there is one body with many heads. Over there is a beast with a serpent for its tail, a fish with an animal's head, and a creature that is horse in front and goat behind, and a second beast with horns and the rear of a horse. … One could spend the whole day gazing fascinated at these things, one by one, instead of meditating on the law of God.[165]

In all probability Suger's justification of the use of beautiful materials was meant as an answer to the criticism of Bernard, of which he was aware. In this respect, it indicated an interest in the material-aesthetic qualities of the works, and thus, revealed an important aspect of the medieval attitude. This interest, as is clear from these texts, ranged from an awareness

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[161] Abbot Suger, *On the abbey church of St.-Denis and its art treasures*, 61-63.
[162] Abbot Suger, *On the abbey church of St.-Denis and its art treasures*, 13-15.
[163] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia to Abbot William*, tr. Michael Casey, Cistercians and Cluniacs, intr. Jean Leclercq (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1970), 3-8. On Bernard see as well: Georges Duby, *The Age of the Cathedrals: Art and Society, 980-1420*, tr. Eleanor Levieux and Barbara Thompson (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1981), 118-126.
[164] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia to Abbot William*, 65.
[165] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia to Abbot William*, 66.

of economic value through the disinterested aesthetic appreciation of the integration into the religious experience. This material layer of the relation to images was certainly a major component of any visual experience in the Middle Ages. However, Bernard's second complaint shows that images were judged as well on the basis of what they represented. In this respect they were part of a system of values, which beyond the materials used and the quality of expression, focused on the content of the representation. The problem of images-within-images relates to this figurative paradigm and therefore this will be discussed in detail below. In some scattered cases however, only the embedded image – a statuette, for instance – received gold decoration in the picture. This was usually motivated by the narrative context, but the use of gold resulted in the gaze of the viewer being attracted strongly to the detail. This may indicate that the materiality of medieval aesthetics also permeated the phenomenon of images-within-images.

2.2. Representation: Presence or Illustration

Another fundamental question surrounding the image in the Middle Ages was connected to its cult status. In the first place, images were not objects of disinterested contemplation, but rather constitutive elements of Christian liturgical performance including procession, prayers and different forms of veneration. Because of this integration into a cultic context it is not enough to define the image as a representation (versus a valuable material object) but the ontological status of this representation should be stated as well. Without addressing the question of chronology at this stage, I would like to point out that the basic theoretical position vis-à-vis images in the Middle Ages defined them either as something incorporating the presence of the depicted entity or as a source of knowledge on the Salvation. This basic distinction is further complicated by the question of to what extent the image was able to present the "real" presence of the represented entity.

One extreme of the alternative was when the image itself was regarded as containing the supernatural power. In this sense, it ceased to be a mere representational sign alluding to the divine and rather became the very presence of the divine performing miracles. A possible consequence of this transformation was that the image, the material object itself, could become an object of worship, and this implied idolatry in a Christian context. A straightforward formulation of this problem can be found among the decrees of the Second Council of Nicaea (AD 787), held after the first period of Byzantine iconoclasm.[166] This

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[166] See: Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence. A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, tr. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1994), 144-163.

council, as a response to the charges of the iconoclasts, distinguished between two types of relationships with targets of worship:

> Given this state of affairs and stepping out as though on the royal highway, following as we are the God-spoken teaching of our holy fathers and the tradition of the catholic church – for we recognize that this tradition comes from the holy Spirit who dwells in her – we decree with full precision and care that, like the figure of the honoured and life-giving cross, the revered and holy images, whether painted or made of mosaic or of other suitable material, are to be exposed in the holy churches of God, on sacred instruments and vestments, on walls and panels, in houses and by public ways; these are the images of our Lord, God and saviour, Jesus Christ, and of our Lady without blemish, the holy God-bearer, and of the revered angels and of any of the saintly holy men. The more frequently they are seen in representational art, the more are those who see them drawn to remember and long for those who serve as models, and to pay these images the tribute of salutation and respectful veneration. Certainly this is not the full adoration in accordance with our faith, which is properly paid only to the divine nature, but it resembles that given to the figure of the honoured life-giving cross, and also to the holy books of the gospels and to other sacred cult objects. Further, people are drawn to honour these images with the offering of incense and lights, as was piously established by ancient custom. Indeed, the honour paid to an image traverses it, reaching the model; and he who venerates the image, venerates the person represented in that image.[167]

The decree distinguished between the adoration of something and its veneration. Adoration denoted the full and unreserved worship of its target, in this case, divine nature. Veneration denoted a sort of limited worship, where the target was honored but not adored. The second sort of relationship was permitted towards images as well, with the further assertion that the veneration aims not at just the image itself, but rather the image represented on it. On the one hand, therefore, the decree allowed the image to be understood as being related to the supernatural sphere, but on the other hand, attempted to distinguish it from the other – pagan – type of worship of material objects.

Regardless of the theological subtleties of this solution, it inherently contained a possible violation of the boundary between these two types of worship. This was expressed in the *Libri Carolini*, the Carolingian response to the decrees of the council, presumably compiled by Theodulf on the order of Charlemagne.[168]

> For we reject nothing except the adoration of images … and permit images in churches as reminders of the deeds of salvation and as decoration for the walls. … The Greeks worship walls and painted panels and so are at the mercy of painters. To be sure, some more learned people can avoid worshiping the images themselves and can venerate that to which they refer. But for the ignorant they constitute a scandal, for they worship only what they see.[169]

This passage pointed out that understanding the difference between the image and what it represented and, more importantly, which deserved veneration, required a certain level of literacy. Therefore it did not provide an unambiguous solution. In this respect the decree of the Second Council of Nicaea depended on two fragile distinctions: the distinction between adoration and veneration and the distinction between the veneration of an image or its

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[167] For the passage see the English edition of Hans Belting's study. Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 506.
[168] On the context of the *Libri Carolini* see: Wirth, *L'Image Médiévale: Naissance et développements,* 113-166.
[169] Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 534.

represented. Thus, it was suggested, whenever these two distinctions were forgotten, the image immediately assumed the role of a supernatural presence and was worshipped.

Certainly, the entire problem of veneration or adoration already turned around the problem of representation. The justification of veneration was possible because the image represented a holy figure (whether Christ, the Virgin Mary or a saint). This representational relationship, however, was fundamentally different from the understanding of the image as an illustration of a story. In both cases, the image depicted something, but in the first case this lead to the veneration of the represented figure and in the second case to a visual commentary. This visual commentary was still integrated into the Christian liturgical-theological context but was not the primary target of the worship. This illustrative function of images was expressed in a letter of Pope Gregory the Great to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles (July 599).[170]

> Furthermore, we indicate that it has recently come to our attention that your Fraternity saw some people adoring images, and you smashed those images and threw them out of the churches. And we certainly applauded you for having had the zeal not to allow anything made by human hands to be adored, but we judge that you ought not to have smashed those images. For a picture is provided in churches for the reason that those who are illiterate may at least read by looking at the walls what they cannot read in books. Therefore, your Fraternity should have preserved them and should have prohibited the people from their adoration, so that both the illiterate might have a way of acquiring a knowledge of history, and the people would not be sinning at all in their adoration of a picture.[171]

In this passage, Gregory the Great reacted to an iconoclast move by Bishop Serenus, who destroyed an image which had been worshiped by certain members of his church. Importantly, the passage did not attempt to justify the veneration of images, but straightforwardly defined them as sources of knowledge for the history of salvation. Furthermore, Gregory the Great saw the great potential of images in reaching out to the less learned strata of the medieval society, to the illiterate. In this respect, he proposed a comprehensive solution to the role of images in Christianity. The great strength of this solution was that it did not threaten the fundamental rejection of idolatry. Once the theological distinctions between the worship of images were forgotten, the act almost inevitably became idolatrous. In case of the illustrative role of the representation, however, the worst possible outcome was that the message was not understood. This was certainly not a minor issue, since teaching did not reach the faithful, although nevertheless it was not a breach of a commandment.

Both orientations, the image as a central element of worship and as a visual source for knowledge of Salvation, were fundamental to the medieval understanding of images.

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[170] On the relevance of passage and for further bibliography see: Michael Camille, "The Gregorian definition revisited: writing and the medieval image," in *L'image: fonctions et usages des images dans l'Occident medieval*, ed. Jérôme Baschet and Jean-Claude Schmitt (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 1996), 89-101.

[171] Gregory the Great, *Letters*, tr. John R. C. Martyn (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies), 674 (9.209).

Similarly to the dichotomy between the material and figurative aspects, they were omnipresent, and with alternating emphasis determined the relationship towards images throughout the Middle Ages. The phenomenon of images-within-images related more to the illustrative function of representations. (This could include the representation of people venerating or destroying the embedded image.) By increasing the reality-effect or complementing the meaning of the work, images-within-images contributed the positioning of the image as something to be seen and understood in the first place, instead of being something to be worshipped. Keeping this general orientation in mind it should be added that images-within-images appeared on cult images as well (primarily the *Virgin and Child*). The two types of representation had seemingly contradictory implications: 1) It showed that besides narrative paintings where images-within-images contributed to the reality-effect, it was possible to integrate the motif into a cultic context, in which case it strengthened the liturgical performativity of the work. 2) The embedded details, usually serving as decorations on the throne of the Virgin, contributed to the realistic turn of cult image as well.[172]

2.3. Reading and Seeing

The third fundamental dichotomy of the image to be discussed here lies between two basic modes of perception. At first sight, it seems evident that the perception of an image is a single, immediate act. The gaze of the viewer absorbs the image at once in its entirety. This ideal immediacy of comprehension may allow the layers of density and paint on the picture to be mapped, but the movements of the eye were considered constituents of the same undivided act. This understanding of perception implies that the image is organized in such way that it can be perceived immediately as well. It should not be dispersed or composed of several unrelated parts. It should be a self-sufficient and graspable unity. This definition of the image to a large extent follows the modern definition of the picture as a framed and depicted canvas. Since this modern definition of the image was not self-evident before the Renaissance, the definition of perception based on this modern concept of the image may prove inadequate for the Middle Ages, even for figurative works with illustrative purposes.

On a theoretical level the binary opposite of immediate and self-contained perception would be a sort of delayed and composite perception. This means that the relationship with an image is necessarily combined with its relationship with other images. Without perceiving other images, comprehension of the image can only be fragmented. In other words: the image is part of a larger whole, which cannot be comprehended at once and therefore needs to be constructed from a series of partial perceptions. I would tentatively distinguish these two

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[172] On this problem see Chapter 5.

types of perception as "seeing" and "reading." Seeing refers here to immediate and self-sufficient comprehension while reading denotes complex comprehension, composed from several deficient acts of seeing.

Perception understood as reading appears particularly relevant for medieval art. Many medieval forms of art were by definition composite. Not only were large numbers of images juxtaposed to each other, but also the intended meaning of these works was revealed only in relation to the others. A fundamental reason for the structuring of images in such a way was the typological understanding of the Old and New Testament, by which the episodes and personages of the Old Testament prefigured those of the New.[173] Bede, the Venerable formulated this typological relationship underlying images, the *concordia veteris et novi testamenti*, in the life of Benedict, abbot of Wearmouth Abbey.[174] Bede wrote that the images on the walls of the St. Paul's basilica in Rome were composed following the logic of harmonizing the Old and the New Testament. His description revealed that there was "harmony" between these images, and that the various scenes were "compared" to each other. This way of composing and regarding images remained fundamental in the later Middle Ages. Perhaps a key monument of this typological understanding was the inscription accompanying the enamel plates of the Klosterneuburg pulpit from 1181.[175] The enamel plates on this monument were organized into three rows. The upper row contained images of events that happened before the Law (*ante legem*), the lower row images of evens that occurred under the Law (*sub lege*), covering the Old Testament. Episodes from the New Testament were placed in the middle section (the events that happened under Grace, *sub gratia*). Because of the arrangement, it was possible to read the work horizontally (following the narrative logic of the rows) and vertically (comparing the two Old Testament types with the New). Furthermore, the first line of the inscription speaks of the "sacred harmony" between the

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[173] On the phenomenon of "typology" see: Jean Daniélou, *Sacramentum futuri: Études sur les origines de la typologie biblique* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1950).

[174] "Nam et tunc dominicae historiae picturas quibus totam beatae Dei genitricis, quam in monasterio majore fecerat, ecclesiam in gyro coronaret; imagines quoque ad ornandum monasterium ecclesiamque beati Pauli apostolic de concordia veteris et novi testamenti summa ratione compositas exhibuit: verbi gratia, Isaac ligna quibus immolaretur portantem, et Dominum crucem in qua pateretur aeque portantem, proxima super invicem regione, pictura conjunxit. Item serpenti in eremo a Moyse exaltato, Filium hominis in cruce exaltatum comparavit." Bede, the Venerable, "Vita quinque sanctorum abbatum," in *Patrologia Latina 94*, ed. J.-P. Migne, (Paris, 1862), 720.

[175] "QUALITER ETATUM SACRA CONSONA SINT PERARATUM / CERNIS IN HOC OPERE MUNDI PRIMORDIA QUERE / LIMITE SUB PRIMO UMBRE LEGIS IN IMO INTER UTRUMQUE SITUM DAT TEMPUS GRACIA TRITUM / QUE PRIUS OBSCURA UATES CECINERE FIGURA ESSE DEDIT PURA NOUA FACTORIS GENITURA UIM PER DIUINAM UENIENS REPARARE RUINAM QUE PER SERPENTEM DEIECIT UTRUMQUE PARENTEM / SI PENSAS IUSTE LEGIS MANDATA UETUSTE OSTENTATA FORIS RETINENT NIL PENE DECORIS UNDE PATET UERE QUIA LEGIS FORMA FUERE QUAM TRIBUIT MUNDO PIETAS DIUINA SECUNDO." Hermann Fillitz, "Flügelaltar," in *Früh- und Hochmittelalter*, ed. Hermann Fillitz, Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich, vol. 1 (Munich: Prestel, 1998), 575-576.

periods. The interrelatedness of the enamel images was the organizing principle of the program, forcing the work to be understood sequentially instead of being comprehended immediately.

The model of images created for sequential reading can be found in many areas. The various images on reliquaries and liturgical vestments were based on this model.[176] The sculptural programs of the portals in Gothic cathedrals created complex semantic structures reflecting on Christ's second coming in light of the history of Salvation, the Old Testament, the labors of the months or the cycle of the zodiac.[177] Creating complex structures not only influenced the sculptural decoration, but it also determined the other monumental medium in cathedrals, the stained glass windows. Even the composite structure of the window had an impact on the multi-layered organization of the pictorial narrative.[178]

The use of composite structures was not limited to religious works. Cohabitation of theological and secular content was adopted in illuminated manuscripts, in the phenomenon of the *drôlerie*. The decorations on the margins could function as juxtaposition of a text and an image or an image and an image. The strength of the relation between these two units could vary, but they were definitely intended to play off each other.[179] In music, the mechanisms of reading and the search for composite structures – religious and vernacular – are manifest in the case of the motet. The motet, developed in Paris as a composition for several voices, often meant the merger of the main liturgical song with vernacular love poetry.[180] Perhaps the York, Towneley or Chester *Corpus Christi* plays in 14th century England, where each portion of the story (a *pageant*) was assigned to a guild, can be regarded as another example of this tendency, since certain moments of Christ's drama were staged in a rather secular wrapping including discussions of how to nail Christ to the cross or a soldier's complete neglect of Christ's sufferings.[181]

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[176] See: Anton von Euw, "Liturgische Handschriften, Gewänder und Geräte," in *Ornamenta Ecclesiae: Kunst und Künstler der Romanik 1*, ed. Anton Legner (Cologne: Stadt Köln, 1985), 385-414; and Anton Legner (ed.), *Ornamenta Ecclesiae: Kunst und Künstler der Romanik 3* (Cologne: Stadt Köln, 1985), 19-185.

[177] For this complex semantic structure see: Jean Wirth, *L'image à l'époque gothique: 1140-1280* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2008), 79-115.

[178] Wolfgang Kemp, *The narratives of Gothic stained glass*, tr. Caroline Dobson Saltzwedel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 3-88. This composite structure in stained glass windows was coupled with the primary and unifying effect of their colors and therefore their impact reached the viewer through more than one channel. Georges Didi-Huberman, *Confronting Images: Questioning the Ends of a Certain History of Art*, tr. John Goodman (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2005), 30-31.

[179] See: Michael Camille, *Image on the edge: the margins of medieval art* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1992); and Jean Wirth, *Les marges à drôleries des manuscrits gothiques* (Genève: Droz, 2008).

[180] Margaret Bent, "The late-medieval motet," in *Companion to medieval and renaissance music*, ed. Tess Knighton and David Fallows, (Oxford: Oxford University, 1997), 114-119; and Richard Crocker, "French polyphony of the thirteenth century," in *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ed. Richard Crocker and David Hiley, The New Oxford History of Music 2 (Oxford: Oxford University, 1990), 636-678.

[181] Richard Beadle (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1-108.

Reading as the model for medieval perception was not omnipresent, works were also made for seeing, and viewers did not necessarily care about the network of relationships between images, enjoying the images for their own sakes. People saw and read images in the Middle Ages the same way they do today. A typological understanding of the Bible, however, provided an interpretative framework, which perhaps helped facilitate the creation and reading of complex interrelated sequences more than after the Renaissance. Image-within-images are caught in this dichotomy. On the one hand, they contribute to the reality-effect of a picture, thus increasing its immediate impact. On the other hand, possible connections between the content of the embedded image and the main iconographic content of the work are complex, sometimes requiring a sort of reading, or at least a second, more careful look. This simultaneous call for seeing and reading epitomizes the pictorial and iconographic aspects of images-within-images in the first half of the Trecento.

2.4. Image and Tendencies in Medieval Art

The complexity of attitudes towards images reconstructed above already signals the many facets of the problem in Medieval Art. This complexity is further increased if one wishes to analyze the problem of the image in its temporal dimension. These attitudes remained present in the Middle Ages. Therefore the history of the image is not an evolution from one attitude to another. The image in the Middle Ages always functioned in a pluralistic environment, where quite different acts of reception were possible simultaneously. Discussion of the temporal dimension does not imply construction of an uninterrupted and universal development. It does encompass, however, a reconstruction of the shifting dominance of different aspects.

Western Christian art inherited from the late antique period an illustrative understanding of images and this remained its most determining aspect throughout the Middle Ages.[182] This illustrative understanding incorporated both the genre of *imago* and *historia*. Western visual strategy relied both on the use of frontal representations of single figures and continuous narrative sequences. This position was retained and further strengthened during the time of Byzantine Iconoclasm. Although it would have been possible to move towards a more aniconic or iconophile position, both possibilities were rejected in the *Libri Carolini*. Despite the fact that this decision directly concerned what were presumably only a few centers and did not lead to a great increase in image-production, on a theoretical level it did create a favorable situation for the illustrative understanding of images.[183]

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[182] Wolfgang Kemp, *Christliche Kunst: ihre Anfänge, ihre Strukturen* (Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 1994).
[183] Wirth, *L'Image Médiévale: Naissance et développements,* 139-154.

This situation determined the sporadic image-production in Western Europe, but it did not reach a critical mass of works resulting in an unbroken artistic tradition after the disintegration of the Carolingian empire. Image-production reached this critical level only in the 11th century as a consequence of the political and economic stabilization of the continent.[184] The stylistic term denoting this period is Romanesque art.[185] This art, though with different regional and medial distributions, promoted monumental images belonging to the genre of *imago*. Parallel to this, it relied on narrative art as well despite the fact that such works were definitely of minor importance. Their reduced importance was expressed in their size and placement within the architectural context and even while depicting a narrative scene the representation also emphasized the central figure and turned it into an *imago* within the *historia*. Images can be generally characterized as minimalist in the sense that the number of additional decorative details was extremely limited and the few components were entirely subordinated to the successful transmission of the theme. Romanesque representational art was therefore illustrative, but it was far from being a detailed and realistic representation. It functioned more as an indication.

From the middle of the 12th century until the middle of the 13th century at least three major changes occurred which impacted on the subsequent history of the image in Western art. Abbot Suger in his writings defined the material value of art objects as a constitutive element of religious experience. With this move he presumably formulated already existing aspects of devotion, but his intervention provided institutional grounds for the appreciation of valuable materials. Since this experience relied on the sheer aesthetic qualities of the works, it may have been possible that medieval image-production turned in a non-representational direction neglecting the content of the works. The tension between these two tendencies was pronounced for instance in the case of the stained-glass windows, which simultaneously displayed complex sequences and provide an unparalleled experience of light and color. It is fundamental that this non-representational tendency did not replace but only complemented the figurative one so that Western art remained illustrative.

In all probability there was a new rise in devotional painting in Western Europe, especially in Italy, under the influence of Byzantine icons.[186] The emerging Franciscan order was perhaps a key actor in this development.[187] Although the veneration of relics (and reliquaries) throughout the Middle Ages had already created a favorable context for the veneration of an image, the introduction of the painted panel produced a new situation where

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[184] Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Europe*, tr. Janet Lloyd (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 40-98.
[185] Wirth, *L'image à l'époque romane*.
[186] Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 330-349.
[187] Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy*, 12-34.

not the relic but also an image was worshipped.[188] Importantly for the later development, this new type of piety did not turn the viewer relationship towards any kind image into veneration but rather the illustrative function of images was maintained parallel with the intermediary status of the painted panel. In short, although the arrival of icons into the West contained the possibility of an iconophile turn in devotion, the representational-illustrative fundamentals of Western Art retained their dominant role.

Besides these two important but partial influences – the appreciation of material aspects and the rise in devotion – the major direction of development remained the transition from Romanesque to Gothic art. This transition, in a nutshell, meant that the medieval sculpture and painting became increasingly realistic and thus, both storytelling and frontal images became more detailed and dynamic. The intensification of these aspects assured that representations had a stronger impact on the viewer and found favor in almost every strata of medieval society.[189] Notwithstanding the growing realism of the details, Gothic art still retained the composite framework of image-construction which it had inherited from Romanesque art.[190] This resulted in a situation in which the individual details of the works successfully claimed the viewer's immediate attention although the over all organization of the works could remain quite complex and required a long and thoughtful reception. In this respect the realistic turn in Gothic art was only partial. The realism of the single elements increased, but their meaning remained dependent on the larger whole. This situation reflected to some extent the historical context of these works. The development of realistic display in the various workshops took place in a social milieu marked by the "rise" of the intellectual in the 13th century.[191]

Generally speaking the realistic image was to fully achieve this independence only in the Renaissance by successfully merging the medium of the painted panel (which had previously served for the icon) and the detailed realism of Gothic art. The beginnings of this tendency can be found in Italian painting. From the second half of the 13th century attempts can be detected to increase the independence and realism of individual images both in mural and panel painting.[192] The breakthrough of the "realistic turn" in Assisi crowned this development. In addition to Gothic sculpture it was perhaps based on first hand contact with

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[188] On the veneration of relics in Western Europe see: Edina Bozóky and Anne-Marie Helvétius (ed.), *Les reliques: Objets, cultes, symboles* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999).

[189] Jacques Le Goff, *Medieval Civilization*, tr. Julia Barrow (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), 352-353.

[190] Wirth, *L'image à l'époque gothique: 1140-1280*, 79-203.

[191] Jacques Le Goff, *Intellectuals in the Middle Ages*, tr. Teresa Lavender Fagan (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1993). Even if Le Goff himself denied the significance of complex programs. Le Goff, *Medieval Civilization*, 353.

[192] For murals see: White, *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space*, 19-71. For the panel see: Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 349-408.

Classical mural painting.[193] A sign of these tendencies was also the central importance accorded to monumental narratives and allegories.[194] The close connection between the stylistic developments in panel and mural painting indicates that the realistic tendency reached both kinds of painting, and perhaps the independence of the panel served as a model to some extent for wall-painting as well.

Therefore images-within-images re-appeared in Italian painting in a transitional moment, when medieval models of composition and reception of art works were definitely still in place. This was manifest in the composite structure of the works created for a sort of visual synthetic "reading" of the different parts. It was manifest also in the strong devotional relationship exhibited toward images, especially to the painted panel. On the other hand, painting was moving towards an increasingly realistic and independent understanding of the image, conceived as three-dimensional space and composed to give an impressive immediate view for the audience. The subsequent analysis of image-within-images presupposes these multi-facetted functions and the transitory situation of images in medieval art around the end of the 13th century.

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[193] White, *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space*, 26-30.
[194] Hans Belting, "The New Role of the Narrative in Public Painting of the Trecento: Historia and Allegory," in *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler and Marianna Shreve Simpson (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1985), 151-168.

3. Giotto di Bondone

In this chapter the appearance images-within-images in Italian painting will be analyzed. The notion of 'beginning' is problematic for many reasons. It is not a beginning "ex nihilo" since complex images-within-images already appear sporadically before the period in question. What happens in the Trecento is: a) the number and the interconnectedness of the examples increases significantly; b) this increase is connected and engineered by the realistic turn of the picture. Due to loss of materials and the insecurities of the chronology, much of the analysis must remain in the realm of the hypothetical. In this chapter I will provide a hypothetical reconstruction of the 'beginning' based on the central role of the *Legend of St. Francis* in the Upper Church at Assisi and the painter, Giotto di Bondone.[195] The major pitfall inherent to this decision should already be highlighted here. Nothing is less secure or more debated than the question whether Giotto was involved or not at any level in the painting of the *Legend* at Assisi. Was he responsible only for the two Isaac frescoes, or only for the *Legend*, or for both or neither? Images-within-images will not give a definite answer to these questions, yet together with the analysis of Giotto's work in Padua and the Lower Church at Assisi they should add yet another bit of circumstantial evidence to the discussion.

Bearing these difficulties in mind, the chapter deals with the characteristics of images-within-images around the turn of the 13th century. This early period can be broken down into three phases: 1) the realistic turn of the image itself on the frescoes in the Upper Church in Assisi; 2) the refining of pictorial and iconographic modes in the Arena chapel in Padua through the central role of contrast; 3) the symbolism of architecture in the Lower Church in Assisi. These three major phases are complemented with a discussion of the Stefaneschi-polyptych.

3.1. The Upper Church in Assisi

The realistic turn of the image and the appearance of images-within-images was a gradual process in the Upper Church at Assisi. In order to understand the various factors contributing to this process it is necessary to briefly outline the ecclesiastical-political situation in Assisi. San Francesco was founded as the shrine for the body of St. Francis by Pope Gregory IX on

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[195] In the 14th and 15th century literary or historical references to Giotto, there is no mention of images-within-images. The repeated insistence on his genius could certainly be understood in this context as well, but the analysis cannot use this as evidence, even if certain examples might resonate with this statement. I would also like to add that due to the loss of his work in Florence (*Commune Rubato* and *Allegory of Christian Faith*) and in Milan (*Gloria Mondana*) we have no longer access to many of his innovative works. On this question see: Peter Ujvári, "Giotto's doctrina and the Demand for a Theory of Art," in *A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria Évkönyve 1997–2001*, ed. Erzsébet Király (Budapest: MNG, 2002), 15-30.

July 17, 1228. The building was presumably finished in 1253 under Pope Innocent IV.[196] Though the most fervent advocate for the building of the basilica was Elias of Cortona, one of the early companions of Francis, strictly speaking the basilica was not a Franciscan project.[197] As early as April 22, 1230, Pope Gregory IX proclaimed the place to be the property of the Holy See and the church became a papal basilica. The papal status of the church was a skillful way to safe-keep the vow of poverty of the Franciscans without the church having to submit to the local ecclesiastical authorities. However, besides this legal-technical aspect, the church as a papal basilica implied that the Holy See had a determining influence on the building and the decoration.[198] The Franciscan Order presumably could have had a say in these matters, mostly through two institutional channels: through the cardinal protector and the minister general of the order.

The commissioning of the decoration thus occurred within this dual or tripartite system, presumably depending on whether the leading role in the actual constellation was taken by the pope, the cardinal protector or the minister general.[199] This rather complex context of the commissioning is further complicated by the fact that the decoration of the basilica was not carried out by a single permanent workshop. Rather, various workshops were hired for specific tasks over a period of almost a hundred years. The decoration of the church was therefore constantly and dynamically transformed in a changing commissioning and executing environment. It is in this context that the cycle comparing the life of St. Francis to the life of Christ and the stained-glass windows in the Upper Church were prepared in the nave of the Lower Church during the papacy of Alexander IV (1254-1261) and/or when Bonaventure of Bagnoregio was minister general (1257-1274).[200] Presumably there was a similar commissioning context when the fragmentary mural decoration of prophets in the

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[196] The construction of the church is well documented. St. Francis, the founder of the Franciscan order, died on October 3, 1226. Two years later, Gregory IX, his friend, the former cardinal protector of the Lesser Brothers, Ugolino of Segni, canonized him on July 16, 1228. Already before the canonization, on March 29, 1228, land was purchased outside the town walls of Assisi, and on the day following the canonization Gregory IX laid the first foundation stone of the basilica. The body of Francis was translated to the Lower Church on May 25, 1230. Innocent IV consecrated the altars of the Upper Church on May 25, 1253, and he issued a papal bull authorizing the expenditure of the eleemosynary on the decoration for twenty-five years. Therefore, this date probably represents the end of the building phase. Silvestro Nessi, *La Basilica di S. Francesco in Assisi e la sua documentazione storica* (Assisi: Casa Editrice Francescana, 1982), 385-386. About the interpretation of these dates see: Antonio Cadei, "Studi sulla Basilica di S. Francesco ad Assisi. Architettura 1," *Arte Medievale* 2 (1988): 82-97.

[197] Rosalind B. Brooke, *The image of St Francis: responses to sainthood in the thirteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 51-68.

[198] For the most comprehensive account on the consequences of this for the decoration of the church see: Belting, *Die Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi*. See as well: Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 60.

[199] Brooke, *The image of St Francis*, 280-281. The chain of command through which the commissioners manifested their interest remains completely obscure. For the few bits of written evidence see: Serena Romano, *La basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi: pittori, botteghe, strategie narrative* (Roma: Viella, 2001), 179-181.

[200] Joanna Cannon, "Dating the frescoes by the Maestro di S. Francesco at Assisi," *The Burlington magazine* 124 (1982): 65-69; Elvio Lunghi, *La Basilica di San Francesco di Assisi* (Antella: Scala, 1996) 20-25; Romano, *La basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, 15-48.

northern transept of the Upper Church was prepared by the "oltremontani" under Clement IV (1265-1268), whose coat of arms were placed on the corresponding archivolts.[201] Images-within-images appear after these developments on the frescoes executed under two distinct, equally important and to some extent interconnected popes: Nicholas III and Nicholas IV.[202]

3.1.1. Reality-Driven Images-within-Images: Nicholas III and Cimabue

The first images-within-images can be linked to the period of the decoration which encompassed the frescoes of the chancel and the transept. This was presumably the period of Pope Nicholas III (1277-1280) and the painter Cimabue. Gian Gaetano Orsini, later Nicholas III, was cardinal protector of the Franciscan order under Alexander IV.[203] Besides Assisi, his short papal reign was marked by extensive artistic patronage in Rome (Sancta Sanctorum and the basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura) as well.[204] The images-within-images can be found on the *Peter Healing the Disabled* and on the *Ytalia* next to representation of *St. Mark Evangelist*. I will start with an analysis of the *Ytalia*, since it is not only relevant to the problem but also represents one of the most important artistic landmarks in the dating and attribution of the frescoes.

The representations of the four evangelists can be found on the four sections of the crossing's vaulting. [Fig.3.1.1] The evangelists were depicted sitting on their thrones and writing the Gospels. Each evangelist was represented together with a segment of the world identified with an inscription, where he was said by tradition to have written his gospel. Matthew is shown in Judea (*Iudea* – badly damaged in the earthquake of 1997), Mark in Italy (*Ytalia*), Luke in Greece (*Ipnacchaia*) and John in Asia minor (*Asia*).[205] The representation of *Ytalia* is, in fact, a portrait of the city of Rome with some of her emblematic buildings. The art historical importance of this representation comes from the fact that one of the buildings, the Palace of the Senate, is shown with the Orsini coat of arms on its façade. [Fig.3.1.2] Maria Andaloro has proposed that the representation of this coat of arms must refer to the period between 1278-1279 when the Orsini pope, Nicholas III together with his brother Matteo

[201] Lunghi, *La Basilica di San Francesco di Assisi*, 26; Romano, Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 49-76.

[202] For a summary of this situation see: Romano, *La basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, 9-11.

[203] For Gian Gaetano Orsini see: Brooke, *The image of St Francis*, 287-288.

[204] Julian Gardner, "Nicholas III's oratory of the Sancta Sanctorum and its decoration," *The Burlington magazine* 115 (1973): 283-294; Julian Gardner, "S. Paolo fuori le mura: Nicholas III and Pietro Cavallini," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 34 (1971): 240-248; Ratté, *Picturing the city in medieval Italian painting*, 18-47

[205] Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 622. There have been attempts to connect these parts of the world with targets of Franciscan missionary activity. However, Frugoni convincingly argued that Isidore of Seville had already noted the correspondence of the evangelists with these areas in the *Etymologies*. For further references and previous debate see: Chiara Frugoni, "L'Ytalia di Cimabue nella basilica superiore di Assisi: uno sguardo dal transetto alla navata," in *Imago urbis: l'immagine della città nella storia d'Italia*, ed. Francesca Bocchi and Rosa Smurra (Roma: Viella, 2003), 33-34.

Rosso assumed the position of senator in Rome, and when this coat of arms would have been displayed on the Senatorial Palace.[206]

The pictorial and the ideological components of this representation must be highlighted here even if at the risk of circularity since these components were used to date and attribute the fresco. However, it seems that the representation of *Ytalia* was conceived as a topographical portrait of Rome, which may imply that Cimabue, perhaps at the request of the commissioner, created a recognizable image of the Senatorial Palace. In other words, it was a realistic representation referring to a contemporary prototype.[207] Furthermore, this image was charged with a heavy ideological message since it proclaimed the political domination of the Orsini pope over the city.

It seems that this realistic-ideological orientation marked another detail of the *Ytalia* containing an image-within-image. There is a façade of a church next to the Senatorial Palace. It represents Christ enthroned in the middle together with the Virgin Mary on his right and St. Peter on his left. [Fig.3.1.3] It is a beautiful grisaille sketch, though, like the coat of arms, would barely have been visible from the ground. Again, it was Maria Andaloro who demonstrated that this church must be the old St. Peter basilica in the Vatican.[208] On the one hand, this representation clearly follows the traditional iconography of the *Deesis*, where the Virgin and St. John accompany Christ although here St. Peter replaced St. John. The reason for this change was that the titular saint of the church was St. Peter, a fact that identifies the represented building as the old St. Peter basilica in the Vatican. Further argument in favor of this proposition is that under the papacy of Gregory IX its façade was renewed and received this unorthodox *Deesis*.[209]

Like the Palace of the Senate, the basilica was portrayed realistically and its representation received an ideological charge as well. Nicholas III regarded the basilica dedicated to the leader of the apostles as the source of papal authority. After his election he

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[206] For a discussion of the historiography and the argument see: Maria Andaloro, "Ancora una volta sull'Ytalia di Cimabue," *Arte Medievale* 2 (1984): 143-150. Andaloro's thesis was confirmed by Romano, *La basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, 105; Frugoni, "L'Ytalia di Cimabue nella basilica superiore di Assisi," 35-36, and Cooper and Robson, "Pope Nicholas IV and the Upper Church at Assisi," 35, note 30. While accepting the attribution to Cimabue, Bellosi recently proposed that this fresco and the entire decoration of the transept were executed under Nicholas IV. Luciano Bellosi,"Nicolaus IV fieri precepit: una testimonianza di valore inestimabile sulla decorazione murale della Basilica Superiore di San Francesco ad Assisi," *Prospettiva* 126/127 (2007): 2-7.

[207] For a succinct statement of pictorial value of the representation see: Bellosi,"Nicolaus IV fieri precepit," 3. See as well: Romano, *La basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 106-107.

[208] Maria Andaloro, "Ancora una volta sull'Ytalia di Cimabue," *Arte Medievale* 2 (1984): 154-157.

[209] As reported for the drawings of Tasselli and the description by Grimaldi. Andaloro, "Ancora una volta sull'Ytalia di Cimabue," 155-156; Giacomo Grimaldi, *Descrizione della basilica antica di S. Pietro in Vaticano: codice Barberini latino 2733*, ed. Reto Niggl (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1972), 133v-134r.

moved the Holy See from St. John in the Lateran to the St. Peter basilica in the Vatican.[210] In the light of the ecclesiastical-political importance accorded to the St. Peter basilica it can be understood that the church represented together with its façade and unorthodox *Deesis* on the *Ytalia* was precisely aimed at highlighting the primacy of the St. Peter basilica in the Vatican over the St. John basilica in the Lateran. Together with the Senatorial Palace, the *Deesis* shown on the St. Peter basilica sent a clear message, heralding the political (Orsini senators) and ecclesiastical (St. Peter as the center of Christendom) domination of Rome by the Orsini pope.[211] This image-within-image out of the Cimabue workshop therefore appears simultaneously as a strict reference to contemporary reality in Rome and as a straightforward ideological message broadcasting the success of the commissioner, Nicholas III.[212] This political exploitation of Rome's topography on behalf of the pope reflected the century-long engagement of the papacy in restoring and displaying the city's Classical heritage.[213]

The significance of this achievement can be further appreciated if we compare it to another, less well known, example of the Cimabue workshop. It is an image of a golden eagle opening its wings which can be found on the tympanum of a centrally-planned (octagonal?) temple in the background of *Peter Healing the Disabled* in the northern arm of the transept. It was placed right in the center of the fresco and is visible from the ground. [Fig.3.1.4 and Fig.3.1.5] The building can be identified as the Temple of Jerusalem since in Acts 3: 1-10 it is said that the miracle took place in front of the Temple and there is a similar representation of an octagonal building in the *Iudea* next to Matthew the evangelist on the vaulting.[214] It cannot be established whether the fresco followed an earlier Roman model since this scene is not among the nine sketches in Grimaldi's manuscript about the ancient basilica St. Peter, although it was presumably depicted on the inner side of the portico.[215]

At first sight the eagle appears as a rather untraditional and implausible decoration for the Temple. However, Peter Seiler proposed recently that the eagle on the tympanum might refer to the golden eagle which Herod caused to be placed there in order to please the

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[210] Andaloro, "Ancora una volta sull'Ytalia di Cimabue," 156-157; Frugoni, "L'Ytalia di Cimabue nella basilica superiore di Assisi," 37-38.

[211] Frugoni, "L'Ytalia di Cimabue nella basilica superiore di Assisi,"38.

[212] Belting, *Die Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi*, 89-92. See as well: Romano, *La basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, 107-114.

[213] Felicity Ratté provided a detailed discussion of these developments. Ratté, *Picturing the city in medieval Italian painting*, 17-48.

[214] Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 596. Poeschke interpretation of the building as the Pantheon is presumably a misreading. Poeschke, *Die Kirche San Francesco in Assisi und ihre Wandmalereien*, 74. The octagonal building on the *Iudea* does not have an eagle on it.

[215] Ratté, *Picturing the city in medieval Italian painting*, 41-47; and 51. Jens T. Wollesen, *Pictures and reality: monumental frescoes and mosaics in Rome around 1300* (New York: Lang, 1998), 151-165. The scene was represented in San Piero a Grado near Pisa. Wollesen hypothesized the same Roman source for both representations. Wollesen, *Pictures and reality*, 161-162. However, there is no eagle on the building in San Piero a Grado which widens the gap between the two frescoes and their strict dependence on Roman models.

Romans.[216] Peter Comestor reported this event in *Scholastic History*: "Posuit, et aquilam auream super speciosam portam templi immensi ponderis in honorem Romanorum, Judaeis id aegreferentibus."[217] This insight can be further complemented with the fact that the "beautiful door" (*speciosa porta*) mentioned in the *Historia scholastica* appears twice in the account (Acts 3:2; 3:10) as a proper topographical designation of the place where the disabled person usually begged, and thus, as the topographical landmark for the miracle. The eagle therefore was not a random detail on the façade, but a carefully selected reference to the former historical reality of the Temple.

The existence of these two works is probably not enough to establish any far-reaching conclusions, yet certain similarities between them are worthy of note. These images-within-images seem to have had the clear purpose of increasing the resemblance of the representation to reality. They have an almost documentary relationship with their prototypes. The untraditional *Deesis* documents the St. Peter basilica and the golden eagle documents the Temple of Jerusalem at the time of the miracle. In this respect these images-within-images not only reinforce the reality-effect but also the reality-reference of the depicted buildings. This engagement of the details with the verisimilitude of the representation suggests that their inventor was Cimabue, who wanted to increase the resemblance of these buildings to reality. However, in the case of the façade of St. Peter's, the representation was not only aligned with but also commemorated the achievements of Nicholas III. Furthermore, the eagle on the temple presupposes a certain level of familiarity with Classical history. This may mean that, although the intention to increase the reality-reference of the works was a "pictorial" concern, this preoccupation was situated in a wider context, if not its very *raison d'être*, in the aspirations and agenda of the commissioner.

3.1.2. Liberation from the Prototype: Nicholas IV and the Isaac Master

These two examples from the oeuvre of Cimabue may therefore mark the beginning of images-within-images in the period. This beginning, as it has been noted, was characterized by a strong reality-reference where images-within-images recall the decoration of existing or reported buildings and follow faithfully their prototypes in order to facilitate recognition. In this respect the practice introduced by Cimabue contained the possibility of a pictorial practice, where images-within-images in the picture are neither more nor less than straight copies of examples existing in the contemporary world (reflecting perhaps a political agenda tied to the display of these works). Now, it is neither within the competence of nor the task of

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[216] Peter Seiler, "Duccios Tempelgötzen. Antijüdische Kritik oder mittelalterliches Wissen über römische Götter- und Kaiserstatuen im biblischen Jerusalem?" *Pegasus* 3 (2001): 97-98.
[217] Peter Comestor, "Historia Scholastica," in *Patrologia Latina 198*, ed. J.-P. Migne, (Paris, 1855), 1536.

the dissertation to decide whether this pictorial practice was a good one, but it has to be clearly seen that the development of images-within-images in the Upper Church at Assisi had already taken a different path.

Nicholas III died in 1280. The prolonged permission given by Innocent IV to spend the alms on the decoration of the church expired in 1281 as well.[218] The coincidence of these dates suggests that the works in the Upper Church were suspended for a certain period of time and Cimabue left Assisi.[219] The mural decoration of the transept must have been finished at that time. In all probability, the decoration of the nave began in 1288 when Jerome of Ascoli, minister general of the order under Nicholas III and successor in spiritual and institutional terms of Bonaventure, became the first Franciscan pope.[220] By choosing the name Nicholas IV he expressed his engagement with the policies of Nicholas III. Furthermore, after his election on 14th May 1288 he renewed authorization for the spending the alms left at Porziuncola and at San Francesco in Assisi on "conserving, repairing, building, improving, enlarging, furnishing and decorating" the Upper and Lower Churches and the Convent.[221] As a prolific patron of arts in Rome, Nicholas IV was strongly and personally interested in San Francesco as well. A gold chalice with enamel decoration, the work of the Sienese goldsmith Guccio of Mannaia, remains from among his numerous gifts.[222]

It is unclear how much of the actual decoration of the nave in Upper Church was completed during the four years of his pontificate. It is unclear as well whether or not the decoration of the nave followed a pre-established plan already developed under Nicholas III (in the development of which as Jerome of Ascoli he could also have participated). Nevertheless, his crucial role as the main patron of the decoration is confirmed by a unique historical testimony. In late 1311 or early 1312, Bonagratia of Bergamo and Raymond of Fronsac, spokespersons of the Franciscan order, were accused before Clement V by Ubertino

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[218] Innocent the IV granted this permission for twenty-five years in 1253. Clement IV prolonged it for another three years in 1266. Lunghi, *La Basilica di San Francesco di Assisi*, 48.

[219] Belting argued that the works were continued in the 1280s. He based his argument on the role of Matteo Rosso Orsini, nephew of Nicholas III and cardinal protector of the Franciscan Order from 1279 until 1305. Belting, *Die Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi*, 93. For the significance of the suspension of the alms see: Romano, "La Morte di Francesco," 363, note 112 and 364, note 114; and Romano, *La basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, 188.

[220] On Jerome see: Antonino Franchi, *Nicolaus Papa IV: 1288-1292*, ed. Franca Maroni Capretti (Ascoli Piceno: Porziuncola, 1990); and Brooke, *The image of St Francis*, 439-440.

[221] Nessi, *La Basilica di S. Francesco in Assisi e la sua documentazione storica*, 388; Cooper and Robson, "Pope Nicholas IV and the Upper Church at Assisi," 32.

[222] For the artistic patronage of Nicholas IV see: Julian Gardner, "The artistic Patronage of Pope Nicholas IV," in *Oreficerie e smalti in Europa fra XIII e XV secolo*, ed. Anna Rosa Calderoni Masetti (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1997), 1-8; Julian Gardner, "Pope Nicholas IV and the decoration of Santa Maria Maggiore," Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 36 (1973): 1-50; Maria Grazia Ciardi Duprè Dal Poggetto, "La committenza e il mecenatismo artistico di Niccolò IV," in *Niccolò IV: un pontificato tra Oriente ed Occidente*, ed. Enrico Menestò (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1991), 193-222. San Francesco is omitted from these discussions.

of Casale of authorizing "pictorial curiosities" in Franciscan churches that represented a breach of the Rule. They answered that: "nor we have seen large, sumptuous pictures in the churches of the friars, except in the church at Assisi, and these pictures were commissioned by lord Nicholas IV out of the reverence to the Saint whose relics are buried there."[223] Though the sentence names Nicholas only as the commissioner of the large, sumptuous pictures, this statement refers in all probability to the pictures in the nave.[224] Nicholas IV perhaps delegated the actual duties to Matthew of Acquasparta, minister general of the order (1287-1289) and leading theologian of the epoch after Bonaventure.[225]

The creation of the first workshop painting in the nave of the Upper church was probably overseen by the Roman master Jacopo Torriti. A celebrated mosaic-maker of his time, Torriti worked for Nicholas IV on the portico of St. John in Lateran and the apse mosaic of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome.[226] However, judging by his surviving work, Torriti did not create any images-within-images in the Upper Church or elsewhere. Images-within-images reappeared after he left, during the decoration of the third section of the nave, more specifically during the preparation of the two Isaac scenes, when a new master entered the scene. It is to this master that the realistic turn of the picture and thus, a new pictorial paradigm of Western visuality, can be connected.

The identity of the Isaac master entails a series of questions central to Trecento art. Was he the young Giotto (other options would be Pietro Cavallini or Arnolfo of Cambio)? Was he responsible not only for the Isaac frescoes, but also for the twenty-eight episodes of the life of St. Francis as well? I will address this complex question after the analysis of the images-within-images in the *Legend* in Assisi and the Arena chapel in Padua. For the sake of a clearer presentation of my argument I will postpone the discussion of the first image-within-image of the Isaac master in Assisi, a tiny relief of a centaur on the *Isaac blessing Jacob*

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[223] "Nec vidimus in ecclesiis fratrum sumptuositatem magnam picturarum nisi in ecclesia Assisii, quas pictures dominus Nicolaus IV fieri precepit propter reverentiam Sancti, cuius reliquie iacent ibidem." Cooper and Robson, "Pope Nicholas IV and the Upper Church at Assisi," 32-33. It is the merit of Janet Robson and Donal Cooper to bring this document, with all its implications, to the attention of the community of art historians. For a reconsideration of the text see: Cooper and Robson, "A great sumptuousness of paintings: frescoes and Franciscan poverty at Assisi in 1288 and 1312," 656-662; and Brooke, *The image of St Francis*, 439-453.

[224] Cooper and Robson, "Pope Nicholas IV and the Upper Church at Assisi," 33-34.

[225] He was the addressee of the bull authorizing the spending of the alms on the church. Lunghi, *La Basilica di San Francesco di Assisi*, 56-57; Zanardi, *Giotto e Pietro Cavallini*, 228-229; Cooper and Robson, "Pope Nicholas IV and the Upper Church at Assisi," 32.

[226] Alessandro Tomei, *Iacobus Torriti pictor: una vicenda figurativa del tardo Duecento romano* (Rome: Argos, 1990), 45-127. It might shed some light on the situation at Assisi as well that in the letters of Nicholas IV to Jacopo Colonna, cardinal deacon of Santa Maria Maggiore, there are explicit statements about the theology of the Virgin, which appear on the apse decoration of the church. Tomei, *Iacobus Torriti pictor*, 103. In a later article Tomei concluded that instead of regarding him as a mere provincial puppet of the Colonna, in view of these letters the leading role of Nicholas IV in shaping the commissions executed under his tenure should be acknowledged. Alessandro Tomei, "Dal documento al monumento: le lettere di Niccolò IV per Santa Maria Maggiore," *Studi medievali e moderni* 1 (1997): 73-92, esp. 87.

scene.[227] My main effort in the rest of this subchapter therefore will be to present the characteristics of images-within-images used in the *Vaulting of the Doctors* and the *Legend*.

The *Vaulting of the Doctors* can be found in the last bay of the Upper Church in Assisi. Each of the four doctors in the church (St. Gregory the Great, St. Augustine, St. Jerome and St. Ambrose) together with their scribes was placed in a composite building-structure of thrones and pulpits representing their studios. [Fig.3.1.6] Although the architectural setting is not strictly speaking a building, because of its complexity and role in the creation of the three-dimensional illusion of the picture these studios are definitely the vehicles of its reality-effect. No image-within-image appears in the sections for St. Augustine and St. Ambrose. However, at the two ends of St. Jerome's studio there are images of two pairs of winged caryatid statues each shown supporting an arcade. On the section for Gregory the Great, in the same place, a lion was depicted on each side. [Fig.3.1.7] Nine lion heads also ornament his pulpit and there are two statuettes of winged nudes on top of the building where his scribe sits. [Fig.3.1.8] The motifs of the caryatids and the statuettes may follow Classical prototypes, but in the case of the lions no such Classical derivation seems plausible.[228]

These images-within-images do not seem to follow any existing prototypes and it is hard to see why St. Gregory and St. Jerome received such Classical decoration while St. Ambrose and St. Augustine did not since all of them were active in the same distant historical period. Furthermore, it is unclear what links St. Jerome to the caryatids or St. Gregory to the lions. The lions would be an appropriate attribute for St. Jerome and yet, they accompany St. Gregory, as if there was no intention to create such a correspondence. The emerging conclusion is to regard them as elaborate decorative details lacking any portraying or iconographic agenda. The details are there because they can increase the sumptuousness of the décor and add to the authority of the doctors. It is worthy of note that every motif is doubled by a mirror effect; this symmetrical composition is a further argument for interpreting them as decorative details.

In comparison to the works by Cimabue, these frescoes display a rather different handling of images-within-images. Their role is no longer to introduce a reference to reality, such as the golden eagle or the *Deesis*, but they rather function as floating decoration. The caryatids, lions and angels are not copies of an existing real prototype, but rather they are decorative additions to the setting. They increase the reality-effect of the studio without

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[227] Bellosi described the centaur first (a photograph of the detail was shot during the restoration campaign by the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence in 1977). See Luciano Bellosi, *La pecora di Giotto* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1985), 73.
[228] Benton has already noted the antique connections of the winged figures and compared them to the decoration of the Farnesina House and the House of Livia. Benton, "Some Ancient Mural Motifs in Italian Painting around 1300," 157-158.

having a strong reference to an actual reality. In this manner, images-within-images were liberated in the sense that they could be constructed only to increase the reality-logic of the picture. The embedded image did not have to be part of the building *in reality*, but it could still be a realistic element of the architectural setting *in the picture*. I would argue that this fundamentally different attitude, by which images-within-images are no longer tied to a prototype but can be introduced freely as realistic decoration to the picture, was the real starting point of their "new" use around the end of the 13th century. The subsequent flourishing of the phenomenon was the result of this shift in emphasis.

The occurrence of such an artistic shift is further confirmed by the twelve frescoes of the *Legend* which contain an image-within-image. In the *Legend*, as in the case of the two Cimabue examples, one can see a strong tendency to use the architectural settings of the pictures to document the familiar everyday reality of the life of St. Francis. This desire to commemorate the most important locations in the story of the Poverello must have originated from Nicholas IV himself. However, the various images-within-images of the depicted architectural settings were not used to reinforce the connection between reality and representation.[229] The depicted buildings have a clear reference to the everyday reality of Assisi for instance. Nevertheless, the images-within-images remain free with regard to their prototypes, that is, they have the same playfulness that can be seen in the *Vaulting of the Doctors*. I believe that in the end this freedom and playfulness within the strong context of the memory of Francis is the ultimate proof that the practice of images-within-images was not reality-driven but respected only the inner pictorial logic of the picture.

At the end of the subchapter I will return to the question of how and why this playfulness might have been possible under the patronage of Nicholas IV (or the supervision of Matthew of Acquasparta). My preliminary hypothesis is that the aim of the changes was to recreate *and* modernize the settings of the life of Francis. I would like to make three points here. First, the various images-within-images were introduced in order to recreate the settings of the event and increase the reality-effect of the representation. However, these images-within-images had no prototypes and cannot be found in the narrative accounts (lions in the *Vision of the Thrones*, the palace and the throne of the sultan in *The Ordeal by Fire*, the ciborium in the *Miracle at Greccio*, and the emerging tonsured head in the *Confirmation of the Rule by Honorius III*). Secondly, this paradigm proved to be so pervasive that even when there were attempts to portray an existing prototype the representation does not copy it faithfully (the Temple of Minerva in the *Francis Honored by a Simple Man of Assisi*, the

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[229] Felicity Ratté formulated this problem succinctly. Ratté, "Re-presenting the Common Place: Architectural Portraits in Trecento Painting," 87-110.

church on the *Expulsion of the Devils from Arezzo*, the cross on *The Prayer in San Damiano*, and the church of San Damiano on the *St. Clare Mourning St. Francis*). Thirdly, in certain cases this freedom found in the images-within-images might have been pushed further in order to reflect on the narrative content of the frescoes as well (the gesturing angel in the *Dream of Innocent III*, the enigmatic statues in the *Vision of Brother Augustine*, the icons on the rood-screen in the *Verification of the Stigmata*, and the row of prophets together with the narrative frieze of the column in the *Liberation of the Repentant Heretic*).

3.1.3. The Legend of St. Francis: Decorations

The generic decorative use of images-within-images can be seen best in *The Vision of the Thrones.* As is specified in the inscription, the fresco depicts the moment when a brother in the company of Francis had a vision and an angel showed him the empty thrones of the fallen angels which would be given to Francis.[230] [Fig.3.1.9] In the *Major Legend* Bonaventure mentioned that Francis and his companions entered a deserted church (*ecclesia deserta*) together.[231] This abandoned church was rendered on the fresco as a reduced building comprised of an apse with an altar where mirror statuettes of two recumbent lions appear on the wall. [Fig.3.1.10 and Fig.3.1.11] The lions gaze at each other and perhaps hold a prey under their paws. Already the chapel is depicted as more of an assemblage of various elements such as the altar and the apse, instead of being a copy an existing building. Furthermore, this chapel with its white polished walls, its blue apse and tidy altar appears as a solemn construction for an abandoned church. The statuettes of the lions add to this effect. On the one hand, they are generic elements of church entrances and on the other hand they represent carefully carved marble statues, thus, increasing the reality-effect of the décor.

Presumably there were similar motivations for depicting the various details of the church-interior in *The Miracle at Greccio*. A painted cross depicted from behind can be seen on the top of the choir screen and there is a ciborium shown within the sanctuary. [Fig.3.1.12] Again, these details are mentioned neither in the inscription nor in the corresponding account of the *Major Legend*.[232] The decoration of the ciborium consists of a symmetrical composition

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[230] "Cum uni fratri visio coelitus ostensa monstravit multas in coelo sedes et unam praeceteris digniorem omni gloria refulgentem et audivit vocem dicentem sibi: sedes ista unius de ruentibus angelis fuit, et nunc humili servatur Francisco." Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 528. The actual text is fragmentary; it is reported by an anonymous source from the seventeenth century. Already at that time it was hardly visible. See: Bonaventura Marinangeli, "La serie di affreschi giotteschi rappresentanti la vita di S. Francesco nella Chiesa Superiore di Assisi," *Miscellanea Francescana* 13 (1911): 97-112.

[231] Bonaventure, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," 573 (VI, 6).

[232] "Quomodo beatus Franci (scus I) n (memo) riam (natalis Christi fecit praeparari praesepium, apportari) foenum, bovem et asinum adduci, et de nativitate pauperis Regis praedic (av) it, (it) emque sancto vi (ro ora) tionem habente, miles quidem vidit puerum Jesum loco illius quem sanctus (attulerat)." Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 531-532; Bonaventure, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," 610 (X, 7). For a detailed discussion of the relationship between the fresco and Franciscan devotion see: Beth A. Mulvaney,

of mirrored Victories (or putti?) carrying laurel wreaths. [Fig.3.1.13] The Victories, except for a scarf, are naked and their genitals are visible. Under them there is a relief of an eagle represented in *contrapposto*. The ciborium with its ornamentation, as various scholars have noted, recalls the ciboria made for the churches of Santa Cecilia and San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome by Arnolfo of Cambio.[233] However, the Gothic arches in Arnolfo's solution were omitted while the fresco in Assisi adopts a more straightforward approach towards nudity. These two changes definitely gave a Classical effect to the entire design. The design of the ciborium and the entire organization of the architectural setting aimed to create a solemn church interior for the miracle.[234]

Before entering into the discussion of those examples where the depicted building had a stronger reference to reality, I would briefly highlight two other examples conforming to the practice discussed above. One is a tonsured head emerging out of the floral decoration on the top of the building in *The Preaching before Honorius III*, which is presumably an ornamental play with the marble-floral decoration of the Curia.[235] [Fig.3.1.14 and Fig.3.1.15] The other is the decoration on *The Ordeal by Fire*, where images-within-images were used to create a setting appropriate to a powerful Saracen ruler.[236] [Fig.4.11-14]

3.1.4. The Legend of St. Francis: Image and Prototype

The most emblematic example of those frescoes, where there is stronger reference to the contemporary world of St. Francis, is the first in the narrative order.[237] The *St. Francis Honored by a Simple Man of Assisi* takes place on the main square of Assisi highlighted by the Classical building of the Temple of Minerva in the center and the Palazzo Pubblico on its right side.[238] [Fig.3.1.16] The buildings still stand on the main square of Assisi and so can be compared to the representation, although the tower of the palace collapsed in 1305.[239] [Fig.3.1.17] It becomes clear that the representation of the building was altered. The number

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"The beholder as witness: the Crib at Greccio from the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi and Franciscan influence on late medieval art in Italy," in *The art of the Franciscan Order in Italy*, ed. William R. Cook (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 169-188.

[233] Decio Gioseffi, *Giotto architetto* (Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 1963), 30; Valerio Mariani, "Giotto nel ciclo della 'Vita di San Francesco'," in *Giotto e i giotteschi in Assisi*, Il miracolo di Assisi. Collana di studi sull'arte assisana 1, ed. Giuseppe Palumbo (Rome: Canesi, 1969), 88; Smart, *Assisi*, 41.

[234] There were attempts to tie this generic interior to a specific church. Rosenthal suggested Santa Maria Maggiore, partly because of the ciborium of Arnolfo. Erwin Rosenthal, "The Crib of Greccio and Franciscan realism," *The Art Bulletin* 36 (1954): 57-60. Scarpellini suggested that the interior portrays the Lower Church. Scarpellini, "Assisi e i suoi monumenti nella pittura dei secoli XIII-XIV," 101-108.

[235] The proposition that the tonsured head may allude to beginnings of the Franciscan Order as a religious institution which was confirmed by the pope seems to be far-fetched.

[236] This example is analyzed in the detail in the chapter on the statuette.

[237] Although it was the last one to be executed. Zanardi, *Giotto e Cavallini*, 85.

[238] The inscription does not specify the location. Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 521-522. In the *Major Legend* Bonaventure mentioned that this event took place within the city. Bonaventure, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," 531 (I, 1).

[239] Scarpellini, "Assisi e i suoi monumenti nella pittura dei secoli XIII-XIV," 97.

of columns was reduced, their proportions changed, and there is no door just two barred windows. Furthermore, there is a huge relief in the tympanum which represents two dressed Victories carrying a garland and bracketing a rosette in the center. They have more trace of an Arnolfian than antique influence.[240] [Fig.3.1.18] They resemble the ciborium in *The Miracle at Greccio*, but here the Victories are not naked (and if such distinctions are possible they look more feminine).

These discrepancies between reality and its pictorial representation can be seen in different ways. Chiara Frugoni, following the results of Pietro Scarpellini, argued that the antique temple was transformed into a church during the Middle Ages and part of it was used as a prison. The decoration of the building alludes to both functions. The two barred windows in the front without a door are signs of a prison while the relief with the rosette on the tympanum is a sign of the church. Thus, the image-within-image serves as an indication of the role of the building.[241] Ruth Wolff interpreted the relief as an allegory of the victory of Christianity over Antiquity (Gothic elements introduced to a Classical building) and as a veneration of Francis by the Victories for his future martyrdom.[242] Felicity Ratté proposed that the reduction in the number of columns from six to five might allude to the five wounds of the stigmata Francis would receive.[243]

Though none of these propositions can be excluded, it is also plausible that the relief in the tympanum, which was definitely not part of the actual building, was added for decorative purposes in order to increase the solemn aspect of the city. In this case the image-within-image would have had no iconographic implication but "only" served a decorative purpose. Be that as it may, the fact that the decoration of the building, which otherwise makes a strong topographical reference to the contemporary reality of Assisi, was altered, highlighting once again the detachment of these images-within-images from their prototypes.

The church in the *Expulsion of the Devils from Arezzo* might have had a similar function. In terms of its architectural setting the scene was divided into two parts. On the left the city represented with demons flying through the air.[244] [Fig.3.1.19] There is a relief of a

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[240] Smart, *The Assisi Problem and the Art of Giotto*, 97; Wollesen, *Pictures and reality*, 177.

[241] Scarpellini, "Assisi e i suoi monumenti nella pittura dei secoli XIII-XIV," 96-99; Pietro Scarpellini, "Commentario critico," in Ludovico of Pietralunga, *Descrizione della Basilica di S. Francesco e di altri Santuari di Assisi*, ed. Pietro Scarpellini (Treviso: Canova, 1982), 459-460; Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 66.

[242] Ruth Wolff, *Der Heilige Franziskus in Schriften und Bildern des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1996), 238.

[243] Ratté, *Picturing the city in medieval Italian painting*, 101-102.

[244] Wollesen suggested that the scene is a remake of the *Flight of Simon Magus* figured in the transept. Wollesen, *Pictures and reality*, 176. Even if the composition was reused, the fresco went further by adding a more complex architectural setting.

lion on a console above the gate, which is common for the iconography of city gates.[245]
[Fig.3.1.20] On the right there is a church, situated outside the city and viewed from the apse.
The church is elaborately decorated. [Fig.3.1.21] Pendant reliefs of two male nudes holding a
spear bracket the roof. Above them there is a head emerging from a leaf. In the tympanum, a
naked *putto* holds two birds (swans or geese?) by the neck. The birds were conceived as
mirror images of each other. The entire composition has a decorative Classical effect, an
effect further strengthened by its symmetrical structure.[246]

The crucial question in the fresco is the identity of the building. On the one hand, the
polygonal Gothic apse connects it to the Cathedral of Arezzo although the actual cathedral lay
inside the city.[247] In the *Major Legend* Bonaventure wrote that Francis and brother Sylvester
were staying in the suburbs of Arezzo, and in the fresco they are clearly depicted outside the
city, something highlighted by the wall and the lion over the gate.[248] It has been already
proposed that the church might refer to the old, early Christian cathedral of Arezzo
demolished in 1561, which stood outside the walls of the town.[249] Though this was a centrally
planned building, and it is unlikely that it had a decoration similar to the one on the fresco, the
reference to the late antique building might explain why the church was given a Classical
decoration. Furthermore, it may be that Francis during his visit spent the night close to this
early Christian Cathedral, in Maccagnolo, where there was a small house of a Franciscan
community.[250] This shelter was the first Franciscan house in the area of Arezzo. The brothers
moved from here to Poggio del Sole in 1232. Here they constructed their first convent, still
outside the walls of the city.[251] The Commune of Arezzo invited them to the city in 1290,
shortly before the fresco was painted.[252]

The Classical elements alluding to the Old Cathedral may have been a way to
commemorate the topographical circumstances of the miracle. The Gothic polygonal apse
alluding to the New Cathedral might have been painted to facilitate recognition of the

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[245] Ratté interpreted the motif as a curious coat of arms, but she also admitted that the coat of arms of Arezzo would be a horse not a lion. Felicity Ratté "Architectural Invitations: Images of City Gates in Medieval Italian Painting," *Gesta* 38 (1999): 147-148 and 153, note 44. For the city gate see also: Julian Gardner, "An Introduction to the Iconography of the Medieval Italian City Gate," in *Studies on Art and Archeology in Honor of Ernst Kitzinger on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, ed. William Tronzo and Irving Lavin (Dumbarton Oaks Papers 41. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1987), 199-213.

[246] Panofsky explained this classical aura in the décor as being connected to the Classical remains around Arezzo. Panofsky, *Renaissance*, 148, note 3.

[247] For both the comparison with the cathedral and the problems of the location see: Ratté, *Picturing the city in medieval Italian painting*, 102.

[248] Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 529; Bonaventure, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," 574 (VI, 9).

[249] For the suggestion see: Scarpellini, "Assisi e i suoi monumenti nella pittura dei secoli XIII-XIV," 101.

[250] Umberto Tavanti, *La chiesa di S. Francesco in Arezzo e i suoi restauri incominciati nel 1900* (Arezzo: Società Tipografica Aretina, 1930), 7.

[251] Mario Salmi, "Un'antica pianta di San Francesco in Arezzo," *Miscellanea Francescana* 21 (1920): 101.

[252] Salmi, "Un'antica pianta di San Francesco in Arezzo," 102.

building as a church.[253] In this sense, images-within-images as a generic classical allusion, were used to visualize the landmark, which located the place of the miracle.[254]

There are two other frescoes in the *Legend* where the problem of the reality-reference of images-within-images is manifest: *The Prayer in San Damiano* and *St. Clare Mourning St. Francis*. These two examples are further intertwined, since both events took place in or at the church of San Damiano.

Before discussing the representations of the architectural setting I will now turn to the painted Crucifix in *The Prayer in San Damiano*. [Fig.3.1.22 and fig.3.1.23] Unlike many other images-within-images analyzed so far, this detail was displayed because of the narrative accounts of the event. Both the inscription and Bonaventure explicitly say that Francis prayed before of the "image of the crucifix" (*oraret ante imaginem crucifixi* and *prostratus ante imaginem Crucifixi*) in the ruined church of San Damiano.[255] In this respect, the cross is not a decorative addition but rather a necessary element in the narrative.

The written accounts did not specify the exact appearance of the cross, and as the original cross of San Damiano is still preserved and guarded as a relic in the monastery of Santa Chiara it is possible to assess to what extent the representation followed the prototype. [Fig.3.1.24] The fresco conformed to the original type of cross (it is *Christus triumphans*), but the large number of side-actors was reduced to St. John and the Virgin Mary.[256] The simplification may have pictorial considerations, as the detailed side actors would have been undistinguishable, and it was enough to establish a general correspondence with the original cross. Furthermore, this reduction of the figures together with the stronger anatomical details of the body can be regarded as a refashioning or modernizing of the old genre of the *Christus triumphans*.[257]

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[253] Ratté went further and suggested that the combination of the location outside the city walls and the Gothic elements of the New Cathedral were part of a conscious strategy to remind pilgrims of both the city and the actual place of the miracle. Ratté, *Picturing the city in medieval Italian painting*, 104.

[254] Ratté proposed that the nudity of the models could symbolize the vice of pride and thus allude to the origins of the conflict that forced Francis to exorcise the demons. Ratté, *Picturing the city in medieval Italian painting*, 104. However, Frugoni has already pointed out that the church provides the setting for the group of Sylvester and Francis so that if any symbolical reference was encoded, it must target them. Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 160. Furthermore, on the ciborium in the *Miracle at Greccio* there are naked Victories as well, and there is no allusion in this scene in the narrative context to pride or any other vice. These points make the reference to pride unlikely.

[255] Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 524; Bonaventure, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," 536 (II, 1).

[256] Although the pictorial material has been lost, the underdrawing allows identification of the main iconographic elements. Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 96. In the fresco only the Virgin and St. John are represented on the side fields as opposed to the more numerous group of actors on the cross: the Virgin, John, the two Mary, Longinus, the centurion, and Stefatus on the cross. Smart, *Assisi*, 162, and Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 98. For the original cross of San Damiano see Edward B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1949), 183.

[257] Scarpellini, "Assisi e i suoi monumenti nella pittura dei secoli XIII-XIV," 100-101.

The choice of a triumphant type of Christ (*Christus triumphans*) instead of a suffering Christ (*Christus patiens*) on the fresco might have had further implications. For Gerhard Ruf, this triumphant Christ on a cross is more appropriate since with its slightly open mouth it appears to be addressing Francis.[258] Chiara Frugoni argued that the use of the triumphant type here might also have had a symbolic motivation. She paralleled the scene with the *Stigmatization* regarding the triumphant cross as a pictorial anticipation of the apparition of the seraph-Christ.[259] For Alessio Monciatti it implies a sense of history and cherishing of the past, since around the end of the thirteenth century in Italy, especially in the Franciscan order, the preferred type of the *croce dipinta* was the suffering one, which replaced the triumphant one around the middle of the century.[260]

However tempting these interpretations are, it should be underlined that the use of the triumphant type cross can be explained as a reference to the original cross, even if the number of the side actors was altered. Furthermore, this scene was quite accurately copied for the choir of San Francesco in Pistoia.[261] However, in Pistoia a *Christus patiens* was depicted in the apse. I believe that the alteration of the type of cross signals that there was no specific iconographic implication attached to it and the triumphant type in Assisi was the result of the attention paid to the original cross in San Damiano. This would conform to the practice of images-within-images in the Upper Church where there was clearly a recognizable reference to a real prototype although certain details were somewhat freely handled.

This painted cross is depicted on the altar of the ruined San Damiano. The bad state of the building is explained by the narrative context.[262] This ruined church reappears completely altered later in the cycle on the *St. Clare Mourning St. Francis*. [Fig.3.1.25] Though the inscription does not mention it, Bonaventure says that during the translation of Francis' body the crowd stopped before the church of San Damiano in order to let St. Clare kiss the body

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[258] Ruf, *Franziskus und Bonaventura*, 140.

[259] Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 96. I am not debating the general correspondence between the two scenes, but I have doubts whether the use of the triumphant type here has anything to do with the seraph-Christ. The idea of a parallel between the *San Damiano* scene and the *Stigmatization* has been developed for the Louvre *Stigmatization*, where, indeed, a part of a *croce dipinta* (the Virgin) can be seen inside a chapel, and as Gardner has noted, it could suggest a pictorial connection between the two events and emphasize the "Franciscan" Christology of Bonaventure. See Frugoni, *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate*, 212; and Julian Gardner, "The Louvre Stigmatization and the problem of the narrative Altarpiece," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 45 (1982): 225-226.

[260] Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 524. For the development, classification and iconography of the painted cross see: Evelyn Sandberg-Vavalà, *La croce dipinta italiana e l'iconografia della Passione* (Verona: Apollo, 1929).

[261] The cycle is attributed to Pseudo-Dalmasio and is dated before 1343. Enrica Neri Lusanna, "Le arti figurative e gli Ordini mendicanti a Pistoia nel Duecento e nel Trecento," in *Gli ordini mendicanti a Pistoia (secc. XIII-XV)*, ed. Renzo Nelli (Pistoia: Società Pistoiese di Storia Patria, 2001), 88-90.

[262] Bonaventure mentions that the church being very old was close to collapse (*ecclesiam Sancti Damiani, quae minabatur prae nimia vetustate ruinam*). Bonaventure, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," 536 (II, 1).

(*per ecclesiam Sancti Damiani*).[263] The church here has a lavishly decorated façade, which is considered the pseudo-sculptural highlight of the cycle.[264] The two prophets with their scrolls on the top tympanum refer to the Old Testament. [Fig.3.1.26] The four statues in the ciboria on the corners are not very visible but some minor details suggest that they represent the four evangelists.[265] The statue of Christ attended by staggered groups of angels stands at the center of the façade.[266] [Fig.3.1.27] The face of the saint on the relief above the door with the two kneeling angels is lost; Alastair Smart proposed identifying it with St. Damian.[267] [Fig.3.1.28] This decoration, however, does not correspond at all to the real façade of San Damiano, it was given an elaborate, but still generic Gothic façade.[268]

I believe that this elaborate façade on a basic level was meant to contrast with the ruined version of the church and the various images-within-images reinforce this perception. San Damiano had already been repaired by the time of the translation of the body. However, in order to increase the impact of the comparison this lavish façade was adopted. Jens Wollesen proposed that this parallel functioned on a metaphorical level as well. Francis not only repaired the church of San Damiano, but renewed the entire Holy Roman Church.[269] For Serena Romano the grandiose façade of San Damiano together with the solemn interior of Porziuncola were intended to show due respect towards the two crucial churches in the life of Francis.[270] Felicity Ratté argued that the Gothic façade of the church directed the pilgrim's attention to the basilica of Santa Chiara, the new home of the convent of San Damiano.[271]

I wish to emphasize again that although these interpretations may be valid, the lavish decoration can be explained by an intention to provide a visual impact by showing a renovated church. In achieving this impact, the free play of images-within-images, not tied to

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[263] Bonaventure, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," 647 (XV, 5).

[264] Tintori and Meiss, *Painting*, 139-143.

[265] It appears that the figure in the top left corner carries a spear while the figure in the top right corner holds a book. It would be tempting to conceive of them as the evangelists St. Matthew and St. John; and in that case the remaining two figures in the lower corners would be St. Luke and St. Mark. Kaftal, *Iconography*, 617, 712, 744, and 776.

[266] Ruf, *Franziskus und Bonaventura*, 210; Beda Kleinschmidt OFM, *Die Basilika San Francesco in Assisi 2 – Die Wandmalereien der Basilika*, ed. Remigius Boving OFM (Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1926), 140. Smart identified it as St. Peter, but there is no attribute to support this proposition. Smart, *Assisi*, 216.

[267] This plausible proposal would mean that the identity of the church is confirmed by the presence of its titular saint above the door. Smart, *Assisi*, 216.

[268] Gioseffi and Smart argued that the façade decoration might follow the plans of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence designed by Arnolfo di Cambio. Gioseffi, *Giotto architetto*, 30, and Smart, *Assisi*, 138. This suggestion is based on a drawing by Bernardino Poccetti from 1587; however, the differences are quite significant. Franklin K. B. Toker, "Florence Cathedral: The Design Stage," *The Art Bulletin* 60 (1978): 214-215. Scarpellini, "Assisi e i suoi monumenti nella pittura dei secoli XIII-XIV," 112-113.

[269] Wollesen's proposition is further strengthened by the fact that the inscription under the Prayer in San Damiano deviated from Bonaventure's version. It states that the request of the Crucifix regarded the Roman Church, *per hoc r(omana)m (sig)nificans (ecclesia)m*. Wollesen, *Pictures and reality*, 182-183. See as well: Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, 524.

[270] Romano, "La Morte di Francesco," 360-362.

[271] Ratté, *Picturing the city in medieval Italian painting*, 104-105.

any real prototype, resulted in this elaborate exterior. Therefore, as in the three previous cases, I would opt for the model where the richness of images-within-images is explained by a detachment from the reality-referent while creating an impressive reality-effect in the frescoes.

3.1.5. The Legend of St. Francis: Iconographic Reflexivity

A thin line divides the last four images-within-images from the *Legend* and the previous ones. In the previous cases, my argument focused on the reality-effect of the details and I attempted to exclude any further iconographic or symbolic interpretations. In the subsequent four cases, however, I will try to show that there are some puzzling aspects to them, which suggest there should be a stronger iconographic reading of the images-within-images. I do not want to deny the rather subjective character of this division. For some researchers certain previous examples would probably be more than mere tools of the reality-effect of the building, for some others even those examples I am about to discuss should be reduced to that.

Precisely because of this subjective component I would like to start with the most straightforward image-within-image in the *Legend* where there can be no doubt that the detail was integrated into the over all iconographic structure of the fresco. It is a statuette of an angel standing on the roof of the papal chamber in the *Dream of Innocent III*. [Fig.3.1.29] St. Francis, represented with a halo around his head, supports the collapsing Lateran with his right shoulder. On the right, Innocent III lies dreaming on a bed in his chamber with two old men sitting before his bed. The fresco thus represents the pope while having the vision and the vision itself.

Almost the entire façade of the Lateran has been lost while only a mosaic representing the bust of a man remains of the portico near St. Francis' head.[272] Though the façade is lost, traces of a pseudo-mosaic, perhaps a wing, remains on the left part suggesting that it was decorated.[273] This decoration may have been similar to the one that appears on the predella of the *Louvre Stigmatization* representing an image of the Savoir between two archangels, conforming to the description of John the Deacon.[274] [Fig.1.5] The Lateran basilica on the fresco was therefore a recognizable representation of the real prototype.

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[272] The medallion presumably derives from the decoration of the portico of the Lateran basilica renewed under Nicholas IV Peter Murray, "Notes on Some Early Giotto Sources," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16 (1953): 72-73.
[273] Gioseffi, *Giotto architetto*, 107.
[274] Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 526. For the inscription see: Ph. Lauer, *Le palais de Latran: étude historique et archéologique* (Paris: Leroux, 1911), 401, note 10.

The papal chamber is somewhat different. Five statuettes can be seen depicted on the roof: three on its corners, the others on the two ends of the top of roof.[275] Three of the statuettes certainly have wings. The statuette standing on the back left corner of the roof near the collapsing Lateran may have also wings and it has a piece of cloth (toga?) around its breast. [Fig.3.1.30] The genitals are obscured and it is not even clear whether or not they are covered. Judging from the face the figure seems to be male. It might be an angel or a Victory.[276] He makes signs with his hands: with his left hand he points to the tower of the Lateran and with his right he points to the papal chamber below. His head is shown turned back looking up over his left shoulder. This is the best preserved of the five, since the original gold ornamentations on the statues are now lost; only the red preparatory drawing remains on the *intonaco*.[277]

This gesture is an explanatory one. The statuette is explaining what is otherwise happening on the picture. Innocent lies dreaming on the right and the "content" of his dream can be seen on the left.[278] Because of this the statuette is no longer a decorative detail increasing the reality-effect of the picture. It has an iconographic implication, a reflexive role within the meaning of the fresco. It is part of the fresco, but it is also a commentary, explaining what is otherwise represented in the fresco. Since it looks in the direction of the other statues, the commentary is presumably meant to be seen as communication between the statuettes; however, the explanatory gesture reaches the viewer as well.

The iconographic implication of the motif can be regarded as a play with the meaning by the master. However, there is a further detail in this fresco which may indicate that the exact layout of this representation was not self-evident. Luciano Bellosi has called attention to the fact that while the inscription tells us that Francis supported the Lateran with his back, on

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[275] Tintori and Meiss counted only four. Tintori and Meiss, *Painting*, 94. Zanardi also mentions five Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 120.

[276] As did Panofsky. Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, 148, note 3. Benton compared them to the decoration in the House of the Cryptoporticus (Pompeii) and the House of Livia (Rome). Benton, "Some Ancient Mural Motifs in Italian Painting around 1300," 158.

[277] Tintori and Meiss, *Painting*, 94. With the exception of the upper part of the top right figure the statuettes belong to one huge *giornata* (31). The aforementioned upper detail is part of the *giornata* (24) containing the border ornamentation. Zanardi emphasized the importance of this division of the figure. The upper *giornata* at Assisi is basically for the border ornamentation, it usually does not contain figurative details. Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 120.

[278] Tintori and Meiss were sensitive to the oddness of this statue; they provided a full-page illustration of it. Tintori and Meiss, *Painting,* 97. Burkhart wrote down its possible implication: "*Sie zeigt mit sich überkreuzenden Armen nach oben zu dem Turm der Basilika, nach untem auf den schlafenden Papst und schafft so eine Verknüpfung zwischen beiden Bildteilen.*" See: Peter Burkhart, *Franziskus und die Vollendung der Kirche im siebten Zeitalter: Zum Programm der Langhausfresken in der Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1992), 108. Independently, Monciatti repeated the same proposition. See: Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 526.

the fresco he is shown holding it on his right shoulder.[279] The inscription conformed to the established Franciscan narrative of the event, since Bonaventure in the *Major Legend* referred to Francis' back.[280] The early Franciscan visual representation of the event in the Lower Church followed these accounts.[281] The use of the shoulder appears first in the competing Dominican version of the vision, where Dominic supported the Lateran with his shoulder.[282]

The change from the back to the shoulder in the Upper Church might be regarded as a reaction to the Dominican challenge on behalf of Nicholas IV. The fragmentary mosaic of the Franciscan headquarters of Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Rome, commissioned during the tenure of Nicholas IV, depicted Francis supporting the Lateran with his hand.[283] This work, executed in a Franciscan context, already stepped away from the canonical Franciscan version. Furthermore, during his reign, Nicholas IV had the apse and the portico of the Lateran basilica restored.[284] In a long dedicatory inscription he made it explicit that this restoration was undertaken in order to fulfill the dream of Innocent III and in this inscription he referred to Francis as holding up the Lateran with his shoulder.[285] This sentence, together with the

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[279] Bellosi, *La pecora di Giotto*, 25-30. "Quomodo Papa videbat Lateranensem Basilicam fore proximam ruinae quam quidem pauperculus, scilicet beatus Franciscus, *proprio dorso submisso*, ne caderet, sustentabat." Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 526.

[280] "He saw in a dream, as he recounted, the Lateran basilica almost ready to fall down. A poor little man, small and scorned, was propping it up with his own back bent so that it would not fall." Bonaventure, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," 548 (III, 10).

[281] Bellosi, *La pecora di Giotto*, 26; See as well: Maria Andaloro, "Il sogno di Innocenzo III all'Aracoeli, Niccolò IV e la basilica di S. Giovanni in Laterano," in *Studi in onore di Giulio Carlo Argan* ed. Silvana Macchioni (Rome: Multigrafica, 1984), 29-30.

[282] It appears both in the work of Constantine of Orvieto and in the Legenda Aurea by Jacob of Voraigne. "Sicut enim plerisque fide dignis compertum est, quadam nocte idem summus pontifex, Deo sibi revelante, videbat in somnis, quod Lateranensis ecclesia quasi suis compaginibus resolutis gravem subito minaretur ruinam. Quod dum tremens simul ac merens aspiceret, ex adverso vir Dei Dominicus occurebat *humerisque suppositis* totam illam casuram frabricam sustentabat." Constantine of Orvieto, "Legenda S. Dominici," ed. D. H.-C. Scheeben, in *Monumenta Historica Sancti Patris Nostri Dominici 2* (Rome: Institutum Historicum FF. Praedicatorum, 1935), 301. And: "Qui cum aliquantulum se difficilem exhiberet, nocte quadam idem pontifex uidebat in sompnis quod Lateranensis ecclesia grauem subito minaretur ruinam. Quod dum tremens aspiceret, ex aduerso uir dei Dominicus occurrebat *humerisque suppositis* totam illam casuram fabricam sustentabat." Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Florence: Sismel, 1998), 722; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend, vol. 2,* tr. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University, 1993), 46.

[283] Andaloro, "Il sogno di Innocenzo III all'Aracoeli, Niccolò IV e la basilica di S. Giovanni in Laterano," 29, and 32-34.

[284] Tomei, *Iacobus Torriti pictor*, 77-98.

[285] "Tertius ecclesiae pater Innocentius hora qua sese dederat sompno, nutare ruina hanc videt ecclesiam: mox vir pannosus et asper despectusque, *humerum supponens*, sustinet illam. At pater evigilans Franciscum prospicit atque vere est hic inquit quem vidimus; iste ruentem ecclesiamque fidemque feret. Sic ille, petitis cunctis concessis, liber letusque recessit. Francisci proles primus de sorte Minorum Hieronimus quarti Nicolai nomine surgens Romanus presul partes circumspicit huius ecclesiae certam iam dependere ruina. Ante retroque levat destructa reformat et ornate et fundamentis partem componit ab ymis. Postrema quae prima Dei veneranda refulsit visibus humanis facies, hec integra sistens, quo fuerat steteratque situ relocatur eodem. Presulis ecce tui, Deus, hec amplectere vota que tibi persolvi, domus huius amando decorum. Serva, vivifica, celo terraque beatum effice nec manibus tradas hunc hostis iniqui. Ingrediens populus devotus munera sumat que bonus hic pastor dedit indulgendo benigne et larga pietate pater peccata remittens. Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi M. CC.XCI pontificatus euisdem Domini Niccolai Papae IIII anno III." Tomei, *Iacobus Torriti pictor*, Torriti, 77-79. For the interpretation: Bellosi, *La pecora di Giotto*, 27; Andaloro, "Il sogno di Innocenzo III all'Aracoeli, Niccolò IV e la basilica di S. Giovanni in Laterano," 31-31.

fresco in the Upper Church, represents the first occurrence of Francis supporting the Lateran with his shoulder in a Franciscan context.

Given that these occurrences were contemporary and that Nicholas IV was presumably the main commissioner of the *Legend* in the Upper Church as well, it is tempting to see the use of the shoulder on the fresco as a result of his direct intervention.[286] This might mean that the entire fresco, and thus the gesturing statuette as well, resulted from a thorough iconographic plan. In this way, the statuette may have been used to clarify as far as possible the meaning of the fresco. However, even if this direct intervention might be contested, the fresco shows a clear preoccupation with the iconography of the reported event. The statuette displays a narrative reflexivity which undoubtedly transcends the mere decorative use of images-within-images and makes it part of this iconographic inquiry. Here the detachment from a real prototype not only resulted from the decorative proliferation of the details but integrated these elements into the over all iconographic structure of the fresco.

In light of the statuette's role in the narrative structure it is perhaps possible to consider the iconographic relevance here of other images-within-images in the cycle. On *The Vision of Friar Augustine and the Bishop of Assisi* there are three statuettes depicted on the roof of the building. [Fig.3.1.31] The topographical organization of this fresco is rather complex, since it merges two events related to the death of St. Francis.[287] The provincial minister of Terra di Lavoro, friar Augustine, while having a vision of Francis on his deathbed cried aloud: "Wait for me, father, wait! Look, I am coming with you!"[288] This event is represented in a three-aisle church, which the statuettes stand on top of. As an odd addition to this building there is a chamber which houses the other event. Guido II, the bishop of Assisi, was at that time at the Mount of St. Michael (Mount Gargano) and Francis appeared to him saying: "Behold, I am leaving the world and am going to Heaven."[289] St. Francis, the protagonist of these visions is not represented on the fresco, but both friar Augustine and bishop Guido are shown oriented towards the *Death of St. Francis*, the previous scene in the cycle where Francis can be seen being brought up to Heaven.

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[286] However, two considerations soften this conclusion: why does the text under the fresco still refer to the Francis' back and why was yet a third version adopted on the façade of Santa Maria in Aracoeli? Although the reasons for depicting both versions can be countered (somehow the text was not updated, it was just that the master received his instructions and at the time of the decoration of the Aracoeli Nicholas IV had not yet made up his mind). However, they clearly signal the limits of the proposition.

[287] Barbara Buhler Walsh, "A note on Giotto's 'Visions' of Brother Agostino and the Bishop of Assisi," *The Art Bulletin* 62 (1980): 20-23.

[288] Bonaventure, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," 644 (XIV, 6). The inscription contains the sentence: *exspecta me, pater, ecce venio tecum*. See: Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 539. In Bonaventure's account, before dying, Augustine asks the friars around his deathbed whether they could not see Francis rising up to Heaven (*Nonne videtis patrem nostrum Franciscum, qui vadit ad caelum?*).

[289] Bonaventure, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," 644 (XIV, 6). The inscription contains the sentence: *ecce vado ad coelum.* Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 539.

Alastair Smart considered the statuettes prophets, which they presumably are not since they lack scrolls.[290] The figure on the left may be identified with St. Anthony the Hermit because of the crutch in his hands.[291] [Fig.3.1.32] The other two statuettes do not have any such specific attributes but as they wear togas and do not have a scroll they may represent apostles. [Fig.3.1.33] The one in the front right corner represents a beardless youngster while the figure behind him is an older man with a long beard. This supports identification with the apostles St. John and St. James or St. Andrew. However, without the confirmation of attributes this identification can only be tentative. The statuettes can be regarded as a generic element of a church façade.[292] It has to be emphasized that contrary to the images-within-images analyzed so far in the cycle, these statuettes display a high level of individuality. They differ in their hairstyles, their beards and their accessories. Furthermore, they are not mirror images of each other. It remains an open question whether this high level of individuality is the result of the playfulness of the master exploring the possibilities of realistic representation or whether the statuettes have content related importance as well.[293]

Similar questions can be raised with regard to the images-within-images in the *Verification of the Stigmata*. Both the inscription and Bonaventure say that while the saint was still lying in Porziuncola, the citizens of Assisi arrived and one of them, Jerome, moved the nails in the dead body.[294] [Fig.3.1.34] The fresco represents the crowd of citizens and friars in a church interior. The upper part of the scene was allocated to three painted panels which stand on the beam. The right one is a *Virgin and Child*, in the middle there is a painted cross (*Christus patiens*), and on the left an icon of *St. Michael Killing the Dragon*. All three panels are huge and extremely elaborate down to the last detail. [Fig.3.1.35-37]

The recent restoration has revealed traces of a beam in the chapel of Porziuncola between the apse and the nave as well as traces of junctions in the vaulting of the apse which may imply the presence of a painted cross in the church.[295] The presence of a cross at Porziuncola (not necessarily on the beam) is confirmed in the written sources.[296] However, it is unlikely that the two other panels, especially in that size and on the beam, were as well

[290] Smart, *Assisi*, 210-211. The different descriptions of the frescoes usually neglect them.

[291] George Kaftal, *Saints in Italian Art: Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting* (Florence: Sansoni, 1965), 76.

[292] As Monciatti proposed. Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 539.

[293] I still cannot provide a satisfactory iconographic explanation for the display of these three statuettes but I would like to leave open the possibility for one.

[294] Bonaventure, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," 646 (XV, 4). "In Portiuncula et cum iaceret beatus Franciscus mortuus, dominus Hieronymus doctor et literatus celeber movebat clavos, sanctique manus pedes et latus manibus propriis contrectabat." Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 540.

[295] Bernardino Sperandio, "Il restauro della Santa Cappella della Porziuncola in Santa Maria degli Angeli," in *I lunedì della galleria*, ed. Rosaria Mencarelli (Perugia: Gramma, 1995), 64-65.

[296] Thomas of Celano mentioned it. Thomas of Celano, "The Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul," in *The Founder. Francis of Assisi: Early Documents 2*, 290 (XXXV, 65). See: Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 292.

placed in the chapel.[297] As the inscription and Bonaventure emphasized that the event took place in Porziuncola, the fresco may allude to the original settings, however with a freer handling of the decorative elements, adding significantly larger panels and introducing an updated *Christus triumphans* like the painted cross.[298] Alternatively it may be that the scene recalled the beam closing the nave in the Upper church.[299] Recently Donal Cooper argued that until 1623 three panels painted by Giunta Pisano were placed on it including a *Crucifix*, a *Pentecost* and a *St. Michael killing the Devil*, referring presumably to the two side altars of the transept.[300] Two of these correspond to the panels on the fresco. The reason for the replacement of the *Pentecost* with the *Virgin and Child* might have been to make reference to the stained-glass window above the scene displaying the *Virgin and Child* as well. Images-within-images in this sense created a topographical reference to the actual space within the church and, as Cooper proposed, mirrored its decoration.

Chiara Frugoni presented another interpretation. She regarded the three panels as a liturgical reiteration of the Fast of St. Francis.[301] The order of the images corresponds to the three decisive dates of the Fast of St. Francis at La Verna in 1224 when he received the stigmata. He started the Fast before the *Assumption of the Virgin*, he wanted to finish it on the day of *St. Michael*, and he had the vision of the seraph-Christ on the day of the *Exaltation of the Cross*.[302] In this interpretation, the three images would reiterate the terms (the feast of the Virgin and St. Michael) and central event of the Fast. As the stigmata are being verified on the fresco a sophisticated reference to the date and circumstances of the miracle would perhaps make sense. Even if the correspondence between the sequence of the panels and the liturgical terms might appear esoteric, targeting only a learned audience, the strong parallel between body of Francis lying dead on the ground and the crucified dead body of Christ on the painted cross creates a visual metaphor which strikes the viewer even today. Here the stigmatized body of the saint is compared to the body of Christ on the cross. In this respect, besides being a topographical reference, this image-within-image enriches the meaning of the action taking place on the fresco.

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[297] Sperandio mentioned that they must have had been significantly smaller and the cross was probably accompanied by two lamps on the side. Sperandio, "Il restauro della Santa Cappella della Porziuncola in Santa Maria degli Angeli," 65.

[298] Frugoni tried to tie the fresco more strongly to the prototype. Frugoni, "L'ombra della Porziuncola nella Basilica Superiore di Assisi," 368-371.

[299] Scarpellini, "Assisi e i suoi monumenti nella pittura dei secoli XIII-XIV," 108-111.

[300] I am grateful to Donal Cooper for sharing his manuscript with me: "La croce perduta di Giunta Pisano e la decorazione affrescata della Basilica di San Francesco" (read on 29 January 2009 in Siena).

[301] Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 292. In the later publication, she placed a greater emphasis on the correspondence between the original decoration and the fresco and the three images a symbolic sequence already present in Porziuncola. See Frugoni, "L'ombra della Porziuncola," 392, note 194.

[302] The terms are reported in the *Assisi Compilation*. "The Assisi Compilation," in *The Founder. Francis of Assisi: Early Documents 2*, 226 (CXVIII). Bonaventure says that the vision of the seraph took place on the day of the *Exaltation of the Cross*. Bonaventure, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," 632 (XIII, 3).

Although in a different manner, the iconographic exploitation of images-within-images may take place in the *Liberation of the Repentant Heretic*.[303] The scene represents the liberation of the heretic Peter of Alfile, who was imprisoned by the bishop of Tivoli (Jacob of Colonna?) on the order of Gregory IX. On the vigil of St. Francis, Peter devoutly fasted and the saint liberated him.[304] [Fig.3.1.38] Two distinct architectural units appear on the scene. On the left, as the background for the liberated heretic there is a composite building with a round structure and a column. [Fig.3.1.39] The lower part has a red balustrade divided into two parts decorated with reliefs of seven angels (in groups of three and four). The upper part has a relief that winds around the column in a spiral, of which two scenes are visible. The lower depicts a man standing on a stone. He turns to a group of soldiers on the left and raises his right hand. Behind him there is another group of soldiers shown with two camels on the far right. The upper part represents an equestrian battle. The building on the right is also composed of two main elements. [Fig.3.1.40] There is a polygonal tower on the upper part of the building. The lower part shows a rectangular building which partly follows the polygonal ground plan of the tower. There are nine statuettes or reliefs of prophets shown in the gallery of the building although the symmetrical logic of the building implies that there should have been three more, altogether twelve.[305]

An inherent ambiguity characterizes the interpretations of both the buildings and the images-within-images. The building on the right was long regarded as the reshaping of the *Septizonium* and has recently been connected to the *Domus Aguliae*. In fact neither of these

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[303] In the last two decades the fresco was in the focus of lively exchange, three monographic articles were dedicated to it. Gerhard Ruf, "Das Säulenmonument, die Engel- und Propheten-darstellungen im letzten Bild der Franzlegende: 'Die Befreiung des Häretikers Petrus von Alfile' in der Oberkirche San Francesco in Assisi," *Wissenschaft und Weisheit* 59 (1996): 243-259; Ruth Wolff, "La liberazione dell'eretico Pietro. Considerazioni su un affresco nella Chiesa Superiore di San Francesco ad Assisi," *Arte cristiana* 84 (1996): 361-373; Chiara Frugoni, "Edifici e colonne nella Roma della 'Liberazione di Pietro di Alfile' ad Assisi," in *Domus et splendida palatia. Residenze papali e cardinalizie a Roma fra XII e XV secolo*, ed. Alessio Monciatti (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2004), 107-133.

[304] The inscription reports the main events of the miracle: "Beatus Franciscus liberavit istum captivum accusatum de haeresi et de mandato domini Papae recommendatum sub poena episcopatus episcopo Tiburtino, et hoc fuit in festo ipsius beati Francisci cuius vigiliam ipse captivus de more Ecclesiae ieiunaverat." Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 545-546. Bonaventure specified the name of the heretic: Bonaventure, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," 667 (Miracles V, 4). The identity of the bishop results from gloss introduced to the *Major Legend* by Nicholas IV. Frugoni, "Edifici e colonne nella Roma della 'Liberazione di Pietro di Alfile' ad Assisi," 108 and 116. For a detailed discussion of the various texts reporting this event and their connection to Nicholas IV see: Frugoni, "Edifici e colonne nella Roma della 'Liberazione di Pietro di Alfile' ad Assisi," 107-122.

[305] Only van Os considered them apostles. Henk W. van Os, "Idolatry on the gate: antique sources for an Assisi fresco," *Simiolus* 15 (1985): 171-173. Otherwise the literature unanimously regards them as prophets. Smart, *Assisi*, 230, and Irene Hueck, "Frühe Arbeiten des Simone Martini," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 19 (1968): 29; Frugoni, "Edifici e colonne nella Roma della 'Liberazione di Pietro di Alfile' ad Assisi," 128. The first figure with the pointed cap is especially difficult to be identified it as an apostle. Wolff and Monciatti argued that the building was intended as a partial representation of a symmetrical one with twelve prophets. Wolff, "La liberazione dell'eretico Pietro," 366; Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 546. It is clearly visible that the pattern is not closed after the ninth.

propositions convincingly match the records of the presumed prototype.[306] The top of the building on the left is definitely reminiscent of the Traian's column although the reliefs do not correspond to it.[307] The base of the building has tentatively been connected to the Castle Sant'Angelo.[308] It was suggested that the column itself refers to the coat-of-arms of the Colonna family.[309] Besides the insecure identifications of the buildings, the images themselves are ambiguous. The image of the preacher especially has been the basis of various interpretations. He has been seen as an allusion to the peaceful mission of St. Francis to the East.[310] He has been identified with the Antichrist.[311] Along with the angels and the prophets he has been connected to Moses and the service of the Lord.[312]

Though the elaborate nature of these details suggests some meaning must have been attached to them, they are also plausible as a proliferation of the decoration. The closeness of Tivoli to Rome, or the fact that Gregory IX ordered the imprisonment of the heretic can explain the reference to Traian's column, which in turn explains the lavish reliefs. Similarly, the gallery of the row of prophets appears as an appropriate background for the ecclesiastical group on the fresco. In this manner, the two distinct groups of protagonists, the clergy and the prisoner together with the guards, are shown in an appropriate architectural setting. The detailed images-within-images contributed to the mise-en-scene of the confrontation. I would suggest that the strict reference to any given topographical landmark did not govern the actual choice of the buildings and their decoration but rather followed the dramatic logic of the fresco. In this respect, not only were the images-within-images, detached from the reference to reality but the architectural setting as well, respecting only the reality-effect of the picture.

However, as in the case of the three statuettes in the *Vision of Brother Augustine*, I would like to leave open the possibility that we may some day better understand the relationship between the images of these two wonderfully carved reliefs and the main content of the fresco. In addition to this I would like to point out one detail which may signal that the iconographic potentials of images-within-images were used in this fresco. The angel on the left balustrade calls attention to the others and therefore the viewer to the flying figure of St.

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[306] The identification with the Septizonium goes back to Roger Fry. Roger Fry, "Giotto, the Church of St. Francesco at Assisi," *Monthly Review* (February 1901): 96. Wolff stated that the question cannot be decided (Wolff, "La liberazione," 365); Frugoni argued for the domus Aguliae (Frugoni, "Edifici," 128).

[307] Fry, "Giotto, the Church of St. Francesco at Assisi," 96.

[308] Wolff, "La liberazione dell'eretico Pietro," 365-366. Frugoni rejected this interpretation: Frugoni, "Edifici e colonne nella Roma della 'Liberazione di Pietro di Alfile' ad Assisi," 129, note 67.

[309] Paul Binski, "The patronage and date of the Legend of St Francis in the Upper Church of S. Francesco at Assisi," *The Burlington Magazine* 151 (2009): 663-665. It is certainly telling how the supposed Colonna bishop gazes at the column while kneeling. Whether this may be a sign of the Colonna patronage of the cycle is unclear.

[310] Smart, *Assisi*, 230-231.

[311] Burkhart, *Franziskus und die Vollendung der Kirche im siebten Zeitalter*, 170-171; Wolff, "La liberazione dell'eretico Pietro," 366-368.

[312] Ruf, "Das Säulenmonument, die Engel- und Propheten-darstellungen im letzten Bild der Franzlegende," 253-254.

Francis. Thus, similarly to the angel in the *Dream of Innocent III* it clarifies the meaning of the fresco and reflects on its content.

3.1.6. The Legend of St. Francis: Conclusions

In view of the above, the following conclusions can be proposed concerning the use of images-within-images in the Upper Church. The Italian re-emergence of the motif, detectable in the work of Cimabue, started with a reality-driven concept of these details. The images-within-images including the unorthodox *Deesis* of the St. Peter basilica or the golden eagle of the Temple, refer to an already existing prototype and facilitate recognition of the building. In the case of the *Deesis* of St. Peter's basilica it may be that the reproduction of reality was aligned with the agenda of Nicholas III so that the initiative for these images-within-images may have come from the commissioner. This prototype-driven use, however, soon gave place to a different approach. After the entry of the Isaac master to the scene, presumably under Nicholas IV, images-within-images appear as constitutive elements of the reality-effect of the buildings; they make them more real, but without having a model in reality. This freedom given to images-within-images and their detachment from reality was so explicit that even in those cases when a real building was actually portrayed, the addition of images-within-images altered the decoration of this building.

Some of these alterations included the addition of Classical decorative details, and some of the alterations involved the adoption of Gothic elements. What was common in all cases is that the solemnity of the architectural setting and the sumptuousness of the décor were increased through the changes. Although during my analysis of the frescoes I sometimes found myself in contradiction to Pietro Scarpellini's fundamental article, his concluding statement that the painter interpreted the monuments through a stylistic update can be accepted for the images-within-images as well.[313] This update, simultaneously Classical and Gothic, might have played a role, as Felicity Ratté argued recently, in the pilgrim's topographical experience while visiting Assisi.[314]

The most plausible interpretation for this increase in the display of solemnity seems to me that Nicholas IV wished to honor in every way possible the founder of his order. The *Legend of St. Francis* in the Upper Church was therefore conceived from the beginning to be a modern and breathtaking commemoration of the life of the Poverello. The Classical elements recalling Roman prototypes, just entering into fashion again and the reference to contemporary Gothic examples signal that the cycle had to be modern, the best available. This

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[313] "Interpreta poi i monumenti attraverso una sorta di aggiornamento stilistico condotto su esempi moderni di suo gradimento." Scarpellini, "Assisi e i suoi monumenti nella pittura dei secoli XIII-XIV," 99.
[314] Ratté, *Picturing the city in medieval Italian painting*, 105.

aspiration of the commissioner in a unique historical constellation coincided with the emergence of a painter (or a workshop) capable of rising to such heights. The freer handling of images-within-images was therefore possible and even welcomed, since they actually served to modernize the frescoes and functioned as an explicit element in this process.

As noted previously, the detachment of some images-within-images from the prototype not only resulted in proliferation of the decoration but acquired content-related relevance as well. The explanatory gestures of the statuettes on the *Dream of Innocent III* and the *Liberation of the Repentant Heretic* can be regarded as a reflection on the narrative. Whether they should be ascribed to the painter exploring the narrative potentials of the phenomenon or whether the commissioner might have had a say in their appearance must remain unknown. The painted cross on the beam on the *Verification of the Stigmata* created a strong visual connection between the death of Christ on the cross and the dead body of St. Francis marked by the stigmata. Perhaps the sequence of the panels even reiterated the crucial dates of the fast of Francis on the La Verna. These examples suggest that already in the *Legend* images-within-images had acquired a content-related importance. These details are apparently the first signs of iconographic reflexivity, where the meaning of the embedded image relates to or reflects on the main meaning of the work.

This transformation is not as abrupt and clear as it was in connection with the change from the reality-driven use of images-within-images to their freer decorative application. While the former correlated with the change in the identity of the commissioner (Nicholas III was replaced by Nicholas IV) and the executing master (Cimabue was replaced by the Isaac master) it does not seem to be the case for their use in iconographic reflexivity.[315] Furthermore, the iconographic use of images-within-images did not phase out their decorative use. Their iconographic reflexivity appeared *in addition to* the decorative function of the

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[315] I will enter to the question of the heterogeneity-homogeneity of the St. Francis cycle. Based on certain stylistic differences between the frescoes from time to time a segmented reading has been given to the cycle where the differences were explained by changes in workshop or suspension of the work. (See: Richard Offner, "Giotto, non-Giotto," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 74 (1939): 267, note 10; Alastair Smart, "The St. Cecilia Master and His School at Assisi," *The Burlington Magazine* 102 (1960): 406; Giovanni Previtali, *Giotto e la sua bottega* (Milan: Fratelli Fabbri, 1967), 50-52.) This attitude marked the technical investigations as well, although the breaks he detected did not always correspond to the stylistic breaks. (Tintori and Meiss, *The Painting of The Life of St. Francis in Assisi*, 44-45; Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 35-50; Zanardi, *Giotto e Cavallini*, 85-113.) However, there is no conclusive evidence showing whether the transformations happened within the framework of the same workshops or whether the workshop was replaced. Some years ago I believed that it could be possible to give a reading to the *Legend* where the emergence of the iconographic use of image-within-image would correspond to a change in or reorganization of the workshop. (See: Peter Bokody, "Between Reality and Symbol: 'Images-within-Pictures' in the Upper Church at Assisi." *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 13 (2007): 75-96.) I no longer believe this. Certainly when and if we have an unequivocal absolute and attributed sequence for the *Legend*, it would be worthwhile returning to the question of when and why images-within-images were crafted with content-related importance. For the time being I consider the *Legend* as a whole marked by the free decorative use of images-within-images, in which iconographic references appeared sporadically as well.

motif. In my view, the appearance of iconographic reflexivity was in fact related to the "free" and decorative use of images-within-images. The prototype-driven understanding of these details would have strictly determined the images that could be depicted on architectural settings. As it was possible to include images-within-images respecting only the reality-logic of the work, but not necessarily adhering strictly to the actual prototype, it was only a short step to relate them to the meaning of the work itself. In this reconstruction images-within-images serving solely the reality-effect of the picture in fact prepare the ground for solutions where decorative use is complemented with meaning-driven forms.

3.2. The Arena Chapel

The next central work to be discussed in the story of images-within-images is the mural decoration of the Arena chapel in Padua. If in the *Legend* the decisive change was the emergence of iconographic reflexivity, the Arena chapel has a double importance. On the one hand, some of the examples display further refining of iconographic solutions. In addition to these experiments in iconographic reflexivity, attention was paid to the exploring of visual richness of monochrome details. This attention went so far as to contrast the expressive potential of different pictorial idioms. In short, some of the examples can also be interpreted as indications of pictorial reflexivity.

There is general agreement with regard to the basic chronology of the project. Enrico Scrovegni purchased the land of the ancient Roman Arena on 6 February 1300.[316] The chapel was part of a larger project also comprising the building of a new palace for the Scrovegni family.[317] According to a now lost dedicatory inscription, the chapel was consecrated in 1303 "when March joined with Palm Sunday on the feast of the Virgin," referring presumably to 25 March 1303.[318] Another consecration took place 25 March 1305, again on the feast of the Annunciation to the Virgin.[319] The reason for the second consecration may have been the addition of the presbytery and the fresco decoration.[320]

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[316] The document of sale was transcribed on 4 September 1320. This parchment was published by Antonio Tolomei (Antonio Tolomei, La Chiesa di Giotto, 29-31). Its present location is unknown. For the document see: Laura Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel: art, architecture and experience* (London: Harvey Miller, 2008), 350-353.
[317] Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 13-35.
[318] Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 382-385; Claudio Bellinati, *Nuovi studi sulla cappella di Giotto all'Arena di Padova* (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2003), 32-36.
[319] Jacobus pointed out that though the absolute *ante quem* is 8 August 1307, 25 March 1305 is a more plausible date. Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 32-33. Bellinati argued for 25 March 1305 in the light of a document recording the money spent on the feast of the Annunciation. Bellinati, *Nuovi studi sulla cappella di Giotto all'Arena di Padova*, 36.
[320] Bellinati, *Nuovi studi sulla cappella di Giotto all'Arena di Padova*, 19. Frugoni proposed that the decoration might already have been finished by 1 March 1304, when Benedict XI granted indulgences to the faithful

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In his *Compilatio chronologica* written before 1313, Riccobaldo of Ferrara named Giotto as the painter of the Arena chapel in Padua: *Joctus pictor eximius florentinus agnoscitur. Qualis in arte fuerit testantur opera facta per eum in ecclesiis minorum Assisii Arimini Padue et in ecclesia Arene Padue.*[321] The authorship of Giotto is generally accepted with regard to the pictorial decoration, however, the extent to which he was involved in the planning of the building itself and to what extent he delegated the pictorial execution to his workshop is still debated.[322]

Perhaps the single most important question related to the genesis of the chapel is what was Enrico Scrovegni's main intention with it. A largely accepted answer is that Enrico wished to show his repentance for his own and his father Rainaldo's sins as usurers by founding the chapel. This explanation was based on the fact that in the *Divine Comedy* Dante placed Rainaldo Scrovegni in the seventh circle of Hell, among the group of usurers with sumptuously decorated purses.[323] The building of the chapel and its pictorial decoration was understood therefore in the context of repentance for the father's sins, as Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona have forcefully restated it recently.[324]

At the same time, the validity or at least the monocausal nature of this answer has been questioned, especially by Laura Jacobus although Chiara Frugoni and Eva Frojmovič have expressed similar opinions.[325] The main arguments against the usury-explanation are: 1) Dante's statement postdated the decoration of the chapel, thus, the chapel cannot be regarded as a response to the charges in the Divine Comedy; 2) as Rainaldo died in 1289, the generous foundation of the St. Ursula convent on the behalf of Enrico in 1294 was already supposed to secure the family's salvation. Jacobus further pointed out that the Arena chapel was

visiting the chapel during the four feasts of the Virgin. Chiara Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico. Giotto e la Cappella Scrovegni* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 2008), 37-38.

[321] Riccobaldo of Ferrara, "Compilatio Chronologica," in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores 9*, ed. Ludovicus Antonius Muratorius (Milan: Typographia Societatis Palatinae in Regia Curia, 1726), 255a. From the different manuscripts Gnudi reconstructed this "original" version. Cesare Gnudi, "Il passo di Riccobaldo Ferrarese relativo a Giotto e il problema della sua autenticità," in *Studies in the History of Art Dedicated to William E. Suida on his Eightieth Birthday*, (London: Phaidon, 1959), 28. Smart translated the passage in the following way: "Giotto is acknowledged to be the outstanding Florentine painter. The works executed by him in the churches of the Friars Minor at Assisi, Rimini and Padua and in the church of the Arena at Padua testify to what he was in his art." Smart, *The Assisi Problem and the Art of Giotto*, 60. Gnudi has argued that the sentence belongs to the last part of the *Compilatio*, which is in fact, a continuous narrative of contemporary events from 1305 until the beginning of 1313. Since the last events mentioned are from 1313, it can be presumed that the text with the testimony on Giotto was written around 1313. A later dating, for reasons of the relative chronology of Riccobaldo's writings, is not likely. Gnudi, "Riccobaldo," 27.

[322] A thoughtful summary of these problems can be found: Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 101-152.

[323] "Besides him sat, who on his wallet white / Showed a blue sow in farrow; this one cried / To me … 'I'm a Paduan myself' … " Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, vol. 1: Hell, tr. Dorothy Sayers (London: Penguin, 1949), 176 (XVII, 64-66 and 71). Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 6. Rainaldo is not named here, but he is identified on the basis of his Paduan origin and the coat-of-arms on his purse.

[324] Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona, *The usurer's heart: Giotto, Enrico Scrovegni, and the Arena Chapel in Padua* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 13-17.

[325] Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 7-10; Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico*, 15-18; Eva Frojmovič, "Giotto's Circumspection," *The Art Bulletin* 89 (2007): 195-197.

presumably conceived to function in multiple contexts.[326] The original foundation, as testified in the petition of the Augustinian friars of the Eremitani convent from 1305, envisaged a "small church almost in the manner of an oratory," meant to serve exclusively as the family chapel of the Scrovegni.[327] Probably because of the involvement of Enrico in a religious confraternity, the *Militi della Beata Maria Gloriosa* (or Cavalieri Gaudenti), the chapel was also envisaged as a confraternal oratory.[328] And last but not least, on 1 March 1304 Benedict XI granted indulgences to those who visited the Arena chapel, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary of Charity, on the feast days of the Nativity and the Annunciation, Purification and Assumption of the Virgin, thus, assuring a continuous flow of pilgrims to the chapel.[329] This might have been related to the fact that documents from 1278 and 1298 testify to the existence of processions on the Feast of the Annunciation from the Cathedral of Padua to the ancient Arena.[330]

These other contexts do not necessarily discredit the role of usury or money handling as one of the constituting themes in the iconography. However, they do signal that the Arena chapel was a multilateral project, envisaged to function in multiple contexts. In the following pages, while analyzing the images-within-images in the chapel, I will try to come to terms to all these factors.

To start with, the decoration-driven practice established in Assisi continued in the Arena chapel. On the *Cleansing of the Temple*, the building in the background is a mixture of contemporary elements. [Fig.3.2.1] Its generic structure with the domes and its portico recalls San Marco cathedral in Venice and the Cathedral of Siena. It is also unprecedented in the iconography of the subject.[331] The four statues on the façade (two lions on the side and two horses in the middle) reinforce these correspondences. There were horses and lions on the façade of the Cathedral of Siena and there were four horses (quite similar to the ones on the

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[326] Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 17-35.
[327] For the petition see: Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 356-358.
[328] Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 24-30.
[329] For the document see: Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 355.
[330] For the two statutes see: Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 349-346.
[331] For the iconography of the Cleansing of the Temple see: Lauree Jean Sails, "Giotto's 'Cleansing of the temple' and 'Pact of Judas': iconography and meaning in the Scrovegni Chapel," PhD Dissertation, University of Maryland (College Park, Maryland, 2004), 79-99. For the identification with San Marco see: Giuliano Pisani, *I volti segreti di Giotto* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2008), 97; Sails, "Giotto's 'Cleansing of the temple' and 'Pact of Judas': iconography and meaning in the Scrovegni Chapel," 99; Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico*, 196-197; Derbes and Sandona, *The usurer's heart*, 113. The question has been raised that the portico recalls the Western façade of the Arena chapel itself which had a portico during the Middle Ages that is still visible on Marin Urbani's drawing from around 1790. Sails, "Giotto's 'Cleansing of the temple' and 'Pact of Judas': iconography and meaning in the Scrovegni Chapel," 99-100. However, this portico does not figure on the model of the church offered by Enrico Scrovegni to the Virgin implying that it was added to the building after Giotto had painted the fresco (it was mentioned first in 1421, in Maddalena Scrovegni's will). Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 75.

fresco) on the façade of San Marco.[332] [Fig.3.2.2] The fresco alludes therefore to two well-known contemporary buildings, without presenting as exact copies.[333] The images-within-images, as in Assisi, were used here to increase the sumptuousness of the décor without strictly following the prototype.

It has been proposed that the horses' presence referred to the cleansing of the Temple under King Josiah. He was forced to remove statues of horses from the Temple which were being venerated as idols (4 Kings 23:11).[334] Though this episode is not a standard prefiguration of Christ's cleansing, it is mentioned in a sermon by St. Anthony of Padua in relation to the penitent cleansing his heart.[335] The interpretation of the horses as an allusion to Josiah's cleansing would strongly connect them to the theme of usury. However, again, it is unclear why lions replaced two of the horses.

Other examples in the Arena chapel show an interest in the use of the lion imagery as well. The courtyard of Pilate in the *Mocking of Christ* has two statuettes of lions at the top of the fresco, presumably strengthening his status as a ruler.[336] [Fig.6.18-19] The elaborate throne of God the Father is decorated with tiny reliefs of lion heads which may allude to the throne of Wisdom.[337] [Fig.3.2.3 and Fig.3.2.4] The soldier standing for the allegory of *Bravery* (*Fortitudo*) has a carving of a lion on his shield.[338] [Fig.3.2.5] In the case of these images-within-images the aim to increase the reality-effect of the representation appears together with, more or less, explicit semantic references to the content.

Besides these works conforming to the use of images-within-images as witnessed in Assisi, there are three phenomena which show the crucial importance of the Arena chapel. First, there is a new sensitivity of the different media and their expressive potentials, which was not only recognized but also massively used in the chapel. The clear manifestation of this is that on the base level Giotto painted the sequence of the Virtues and Vices in monochrome

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[332] Michael Jacoff, *The Horses of San Marco & the Quadriga of the Lord* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 117-118.

[333] Frugoni proposed that the representation of the Temple as San Marco cathedral was a homage on behalf of Enrico towards the city with which he had lucrative business connections. Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico*, 196. If this homage was intended I cannot then see why lions replaced two of the horses.

[334] Jacoff, *The Horses of San* Marco, 119-121.

[335] Derbes and Sandona, *The usurer's heart*, 113.

[336] Or perhaps it alluded to the tormentors of Christ. I will revisit the problem in subchapter "6.1. The Passion Cycle in the Lower Church at Assisi."

[337] I will revisit the problem of the throne of wisdom in subchapter "5.2. Throne of Solomon – Franciscans and the Virgin Mary."

[338] This lion on the shield probably alludes to the brave heart of Fortitude. However, it is not mentioned in the remaining part of the inscription under the allegory. The inscription elaborates on the lion skin worn by the figure: "Cuncta sternit fortitudo … superando / … / Et armata clavam gerens, prava quoque deprimit. En occidit vi leonem / eius pelle tegitur. Omnem superat agonem et in nullo frangitur." (Fortitude casts down everything … overcoming / … / And armed carrying a mace, she also comes down on depravity. / Behold, she has killed a lion by force / [and] wears its skin. She wins in every contest and is subdued in none. Translation by Joseph Spooner.) Translation by Joseph Spooner. See: Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 361.

gray (*en grisaille*) providing the impression of sculpted marble, and thus, deliberately distinguished various reality-registers in the decoration in the context of the chapel itself. The first subchapter explores this pictorial novelty.

Furthermore, I believe that the same sensitivity marked the allegories of *Justice* and *Injustice*, the only Virtue and Vice which had a narrative predella added to the imago. There is an important difference between the two. The image under *Justice* is displayed as a fine relief while the other image beneath *Injustice* is a "proper" spatial representation. The aim of the second subchapter is to evaluate the pictorial sources and the iconographic significance of this difference.

To some extent following this line of thought, the third subchapter focuses on two pairs of examples: the *Annunciation to Anna* together with the *Birth of the Virgin Mary*, and the *Last Supper* together with the *Washing of the Feet*. I argue that on each pair of frescoes almost perfectly similar architectural settings were displayed, yet seemingly unimportant details of the setting, the images-within-images, were altered. There are at least three common characteristics of these alterations. 1) They seem to be deliberate in the sense that no accident or any kind of mistake can account for their presence. 2) Their presence is not plausible in pictorial terms since they exactly undermine the coherence of the spatial-realistic organization of the frescoes, the maintenance of which is otherwise clearly the intention of Giotto. 3) There are strong reasons for giving an iconographic interpretation to the alterations in both cases. These alterations, as I will argue, represent the moments when the pictorial organization of the architecture reflects the meaning of the works, since the contrast between the two buildings acquires iconographic meaning.

This phenomenon appears in the Arena chapel only on these two pairs of frescoes although in this period there is another example: the architectural setting of the *Isaac blessing Jacob* and *Esau asking for a blessing* scenes in the nave of the Upper Church at Assisi. This work, which has been central for understanding the realistic turn in painting and which might play the same central role in the problem of images-within-images will be analyzed in the fourth subchapter. I will discuss the phenomenon in the context of Millard Meiss's argument concerning the Isaac master and the Arena chapel.

3.2.1. Levels of Reality

There is a complex relationship between the socle level in the Arena chapel and the problem of images-within-images in the Trecento. The lowest bands of the nave's two walls were covered with seven representations each of the virtues and vices painted in monochrome gray with segments of pseudo-marble between them. The unified pseudo-stone effect of this

monochrome socle level appears in strong contrast with the upper parts of the pictorial decoration containing the colored narrative paintings of the life of the Virgin and Christ.[339] [Fig.3.2.6] Giotto deliberately distinguished between two pictorial idioms: between the colored storytelling frescoes as windows onto the narrative and the monochrome gray images of the allegories appearing as statues and stepping, in fact, into the space of the viewer.[340] The contrast functions on at least three levels. The polychrome is set against the monochrome gray, deep or absorbing space against tactile or aggressive space, *historia* against *imago*. As a result of this juxtaposition of these two artistic idioms, the pseudo-marble allegories of the socle zone present themselves as having a different claim to reality than the narrative paintings.[341]

There is a general agreement that by adopting the contrast of these two pictorial idioms Giotto indeed invented something "new". The socle zone of the Arena chapel represents a milestone in, if not the actual beginning, of grisaille painting. Various sources of inspiration have been proposed for this solution. The coupling of statues of virtues with narrative reliefs appears on the pulpits of Nicola Pisano for the Baptistery of Pisa and Giovanni Pisano's pulpit for Sant'Andrea in Pistoia.[342] The Classical character of the representations might have its origin in the reliefs in the Forum of Nerva in Rome. The representations of the provinces (Nations - *Nationes*) submitting to the Empire at the *Colonacce* were still an important landmark in the city in Giotto's time.[343]

Besides these Classical and contemporary sculptural sources, the socle zone of the Arena can and should be regarded as a large-scale synthesis of the preceding use of images-within-images as well. A basic element of this effect, the contrast between the monochrome gray and the polychrome figurative elements, had already been tried out in the *Legend of St. Francis* in Assisi by using images-within-images as pseudo-sculptural decoration on the buildings depicted in the narratives.[344] The use of these image-within-images was on a smaller

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[339] For the discussion of this specific aspect of the Arena chapel see: Bruce Cole, "Virtues and Vices in Giotto's Arena Chapel Frescoes," in *The Arena Chapel and the genius of Giotto*, ed. Andrew Ladis (New York: Garland, 1998), 369-395, esp. 369-375; Georges Didi-Huberman, *Fra Angelico: Dissemblance and Figuration*, tr. Jane Marie Todd (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 63-66; Michaela Krieger, *Grisaille als Metapher: zum Entstehen der Peinture en Camaieu im frühen 14. Jahrhundert*, (Vienna: Holzhausen, 1995), 54-67; Romano, *La O di Giotto*, 213-249. For the specific question of pseudo-marble decoration see: Riccardo Luisi, "Le ragioni di una perfetta illusione: il significato delle decorazioni e dei finti marmi negli affreschi della cappella Scrovegni," in Chiara Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico. Giotto e la Cappella Scrovegni* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 2008), 377-397.

[340] Cole, "Virtues and Vices in Giotto's Arena Chapel Frescoes," 371.

[341] Wölfflin used the term different degrees of reality (*einen andern Grad von Realität*) for describing the difference between the portraits of the Prophets and the Sibyls on the one hand and the narrative paintings on the other on the ceiling of the Sistine chapel by Michelangelo. Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst*, 56.

[342] Cole, "Virtues and Vices in Giotto's Arena Chapel Frescoes," 372-373; Romano, *La O di Giotto*, 225-226.

[343] For this proposition see: Romano, *La O di Giotto*, 226-228.

[344] Krieger, *Grisaille als Metapher*, 62-65.

scale, as concomitants of an architectural setting, and in this sense are not comparable to the premeditated and central effect of the socle zone in the Arena-chapel.[345] However, as they operate with the same aesthetic impact, these sporadic images-within-images can be recognized as one of the crucial prefigurations of the lower register of the Arena chapel. In this respect the pseudo-marble representations of the socle zone, as an organizing principle of the entire decoration, created a synthesis of the previous pictorial experiments with images-within-images, and affirm the importance of meta-pictorial distinctions in the oeuvre of Giotto.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the contrast between the two registers had aims beyond a primary aesthetical effect. Bruce Cole proposed that the role of the narrative paintings was to display moments in the Salvation, while the monochrome pseudo-statues of the Virtues and Vices functioned as didactic signs for the viewer on the *way* to Salvation.[346] When Serena Romano referred to a passage by Sicardus, bishop of Cremona, on how statues can touch the heart of the believer, she was basically expressing the same opinion.[347] This proposition means that besides crafting a contrast between the two pictorial idioms, Giotto further exploited their expressive potentials and reserved the stronger effect of pseudo-sculpture for the representations of the Virtues and Vices. Giotto not only weighed the immediate visual significance of the representations, but also calculated on the impact this idiom would have on the iconographic organization of the work. Since the Virtues and the Vices have a different meaning for the viewer than the life of Christ and the Virgin Mary, they can be and perhaps should be depicted in a different pictorial idiom. Ultimately, the monochrome idiom used in the socle zone of the Arena chapel may signal that Giotto perceived pictorial distinction as one possible way to convey iconographic meaning.

There are two circumstantial examples supporting this proposition. In the *Divine Comedy*, in Song 10 of the *Purgatory*, the sinners of Arrogance (Superbia) are forced to look at the reliefs of the *Judgment of Traian*, the *David Dancing* and the *Annunciation*.[348] The didactic function of the reliefs is explicitly expressed. They represent stories exemplifying the virtue of Humility, the counterpart to Arrogance and thus, reinforce the penance of the sinners.[349] As the passage postdates the decoration of the Arena chapel it may represent a case

[345] Romano, *La O di Giotto*, 213.

[346] Cole, "Virtues and Vices in Giotto's Arena Chapel Frescoes," 373.

[347] Romano, *La O di Giotto*, 244. Sicardo was bishop of Cremona between 1185 and 1215. The passage can be found in: Sicardi Cremonensis Episcopi, "Mitrale, seu De Officiis Ecclesiasticis Summa," in *Patrologia Latina 213*, ed. J.-P. Migne, (Paris, 1855), 44.

[348] Romano, *La O di Giotto*, 245-246.

[349] Romano, *La O di Giotto*, 245-246. Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, vol. 2: Purgatory, tr. Dorothy Sayers (London: Penguin, 1955), 143-147 (X).

where a pictorial invention influenced literary creation.[350] However, even if there is no clear connection between the two works, Dante's solution highlights the fact that the idea that the didactic function could be attributed to statues was shared in the period. This shared view of statues further strengthens the proposition that Giotto deliberately reserved the pseudo-marble code for the Virtues and Vices.

The second example comes from the fresco cycle in the chapterhouse of the Benedictine monastery in Pomposa.[351] Under abbot Enrico (1302-1320) and definitely after the decoration of the Arena chapel, the building received new mural decoration.[352] This decoration adopted the differentiation between monochrome and polychrome registers and clearly assigned iconographic roles to them.[353] On the eastern wall there is a Crucifixion flanked by St. Peter and St. Paul, all painted in polychrome. On the southern and northern wall six-six monochrome figures ordered into pairs and a single polychrome figure appear. On the northern wall the polychrome figure of St. Benedict, founder the order, is followed by the monochrome representations of St. John the Baptist, Zechariah, Daniel, Ezekiel, Zephaniah and Amos. [Fig.3.2.8] On the southern wall, the polychrome figure of St. Guido, abbot of Pomposa, is followed by the monochrome representations of Moses, David, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Habakkuk and Joel. [Fig.3.2.7] The monochrome, marble-like pictorial code was given to the figures from the Old Testament (including St. John the Baptist), while the polychrome code was reserved for the figures from the New Testament (Christ on the Cross, St. Peter and St. Paul) and the two Benedictine saints.

In other words, the monochrome register was used to distinguish the era of Old Testament from the subsequent one. In this respect, the pictorial solutions worked out in the Arena chapel were fully integrated in Pomposa into the typological periodization of the history of the Salvation. This is definitely proof that the simultaneous use of distinct pictorial idioms was thought to highlight or add to the content of a work. Furthermore, this successful and iconographically charged adaptation in Pomposa may signal that in the Arena chapel the introduction of a second pictorial register in the socket-zone aimed at considerably more than enhancing the over all aesthetic impact of the decoration.

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[350] Romano, *La O di Giotto*, 247.

[351] Krieger, *Grisaille als Metapher*, 178-180; Romano, *La O di Giotto*, 244.

[352] Alessandro Volpe, "Pittura a Pomposa," in *Pomposa: storia, arte, architettura*, ed. Antonio Samaritani e Carla di Francesco (Ferrara: Corbo, 1999), 126-130; Cetty Muscolino, "Gli affreschi dell'aula capitolare dell'abbazia di Pomposa: restauri e ritrovamenti," *Quaderni di Soprintendenza* 5 (2001): 114.

[353] Muscolino, "Gli affreschi dell'aula capitolare dell'abbazia di Pomposa: restauri e ritrovamenti," 114-116.

3.2.2. Love and Rape

I believe that a similar merging of pictorial and iconographic reflection marked a smaller, yet highly significant, detail in the socle zone in the Arena chapel on the predellas of the allegory for *Justice* and *Injustice*. The southern wall was dedicated to the four cardinal virtues (Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance and Justice) and the three theological virtues (Faith, Charity and Hope). What are usually called vices was allocated for the northern wall, although these do not correspond to the seven deadly sins, of which only *Anger* and *Envy* are present.[354] The choice of vices was determined by the virtues, since they represent the counterparts to each other. This suggests that the guiding principal of the cycle was to show how the virtues overcame their counterparts and not to display a proper catalog of the seven deadly sins.[355] This idea of the virtues overcoming vices was already generally stated in the dedicatory inscription of the first consecration: "SUCCESSIT VITIIS VIRTUS DIVINA PROPHANIS / CAELICA TERRENIS QUAE PRAESTANT GAUDIA VANIS / CUM LOCUS ISTE DEO SOLEMNI MORE DICATUR."[356] In the row of allegories, *Justice* and its counterpart *Injustice* received the central place in the middle of the wall. [Fig.3.2.9 and Fig.3.2.10] Their importance is also highlighted by the fact that only they have additional narrative representations below each allegory.

The original idea of these two representations was to represent the allegory of *Justice* and *Injustice* and further enrich their meaning with a narrative scene on the predella.[357] Therefore, the representations constructed from the combination of an *imago* and a *historia* resulted in a reduced and reconsidered profane version of a *vita* icon.[358] In both cases, the connection between the allegory and the narrative lay in the display of the practical effects and consequences (as *historia*) of the allegory (of the *imago*). In the case of *Justice*, the

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[354] Selma Pfeiffenberger, "The iconology of Giotto's virtues and vices at Padua," PhD Dissertation, Bryn Mawr College (Pennsylvania, 1966), IV:1:1 - IV:3:19; Giuliano Pisani, "L'ispirazione filosofico-teologica della sequenza 'Vizi-Virtù' nella Cappella degli Scrovegni di Giotto," *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova* 93 (2004): 61-97.

[355] Pisani, *I volti segreti di Giotto*, 181-183.

[356] "Divine virtue replaced the profane vices [and] heavenly joys, which are superior to vain ones [replaced] earthly ones, when this place was dedicated to God in solemn manner." Translation by Joseph Spooner. Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 384-385. For the interpretation of the line see: Bellinati, *Nuovi studi sulla cappella di Giotto all'Arena di Padova*, 33.

[357] It has been proposed that St. Thomas Aquinas may have inspired the two scenes. The flourishing of the Common Good is the result of the pursuit of political justice while social disorder is the consequence of the pursuit of selfish ends. Jonathan Riess, "Justice and Common Good in Giotto's Arena Chapel Frescoes," *Arte Cristiana* 72, no. 701 (1984): 73.

[358] Romano stated that the predellas were placed there to visualize the *exempla* of the effects of the two allegories, and they are in fact two large Maestà, of the Good and the Bad. Romano, *La O di Giotto*, 218-219. Pfeiffenberger advanced the notion that the imago of *Injustice* may be the real portrait of a tyrant; she mentioned Ezzelino of Romano, Frederick II and Canagrande della Scala as possible candidates. Pfeiffenberger, "The iconology of Giotto's virtues and vices at Padua," V:24 and V:34. Frugoni, and also Derbes and Sandona argued further for Ezzelino of Romano. Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico*, 307-312; Derbes and Sandona, *The usurer's heart: Giotto, Enrico Scrovegni, and the Arena Chapel in* Padua, 89.

allegory was further complemented with two scenes staged in two pans on both her right and left sides displaying two of her functions: reward and punishment.[359] The punishment was conceived as a decapitation in which a male figure raises his sword above a kneeling figure with his hands tied behind his back. [Fig.3.2.11] The reward scene is damaged but it can be asserted that a winged female figure is shown about to crown someone sitting behind a bench, whose identity is unclear.[360] [Fig.3.2.12] Both the rewarding and the punishing figure display a Classical influence.[361]

The opposition of *Justice* and *Injustice* achieve their visual formulation within a pictorial-iconographic strategy contrasting almost every single element within the two representations.[362] In this respect the frontal representation of *Justice* contrasts with the profile display of *Injustice*; the feminine gender contrasts with the masculine; her blue background contrasts with the red of his; her fine Gothic baldachin contrasts with his fortified Romanesque rock-castle.[363] These references target an immediate visual layer of experience. In this sense, even if they had a symbolic meaning rooted in color iconography or symbolic architecture, this meaning is conveyed primarily though pictorial means in which they are shown in opposition to each other.[364]

There is a further contrast between the two predellas, which is the contrast of two pictorial idioms. The narrative scene complementing *Justice* is conceived of as a fine, framed relief separated from the imago, while the other scene under *Injustice* coheres to the space of

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[359] Panofsky pointed out that here the concept of justice conformed to that of *justitia distributiva* ignoring the aspect of *justitia commutativa*, as outlined by St. Thomas Aquinas. In this respect, the Buon Governo of Ambrogio Lorenzetti takes a further step forward since it merges the punishment and reward onto the right side while the commutative aspect appears on the left side. Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, 152, note 2. See as well: Eva Frojmovič, "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): 38-39 and 45.

[360] The identifications vary from scholar, to merchant, to artisan and to goldsmith. See: *La Cappella degli Scrovegni a Padova* 2, 222.

[361] Panofsky emphasized their Classical origin, interpreting them as Victory crowning the peaceful scholar and Jupiter threatening the evildoer with a thunderbolt. Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, 152. It should be noted that the man holds a sword, not a thunderbolt, which may undermine the identification with Jupiter. The inscription mentions Justice and Liberty as acting agents. Even if these undermine Panofsky's identifications, this does not change the validity of his statements on the Classical origins of the motifs.

[362] Derbes and Sandona highlighted that the use of contrast was one of the basic visual-rhetorical tools adopted by Giotto in the decoration of the chapel. Derbes and Sandona, *The usurer's heart: Giotto, Enrico Scrovegni, and the Arena Chapel in* Padua, 7-12. In the case of the allegories of *Justice* and *Injustice* this principle was apparently pushed to extremes.

[363] Selma Pfeiffenberger, "The iconology of Giotto's virtues and vices at Padua," PhD Dissertation, Bryn Mawr College (Pennsylvania, 1966), II:2:11-19 and V:19-37; Laurine Mack Bongiorno, "The theme of the old and the new law in the Arena Chapel," *The Art Bulletin* 50 (1968), 19; Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico*, 309.

[364] Frugoni regarded the contrast between the colors and the buildings as the sign of the opposition between paradise and hell. Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico*, 309. Meiss regarded the frontal-profile opposition as an established language of the visual arts in Italy. Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), 24.

the allegory, as signaled by the trees and the terrain shown on it.[365] [Fig.3.2.13 and Fig.3.2.14] The difference between the framed relief and the non-relief is further emphasized by the importance given to planar values and the lack of spatial regression on *Justice* and the pronounced three-dimensionality of the scene under *Injustice*, already highlighted on the drawings of Pietro Selvatico.[366] [Fig.3.2.15 and Fig.3.2.16] This distinction between the two is not a contrast like the one between the male and female figure, or between the blue and the red backgrounds which are differences within the same visual language. The two predellas differ in the manner of representing itself. The two scenes belong to two different pictorial idioms.

As the adoption of monochrome gray signifying pseudo-marble for the entire socle zone of the chapel was the result of a meta-pictorial reflection on the expressive potentials of representing, similarly this contrast of relief and non-relief bears the mark of pictorial reflexivity where the artist distinguished between various visual idioms he recognized as being different. Furthermore, I believe that the decision to adopt this specific contrast for the allegories was not accidental and connected to the meaning of the predellas and their relation to the main allegory.

On a general level, it was always clear that these scenes are opposed to each other in the sense that *Justice* is complemented with a peaceful scene while *Injustice* is provided with a violent representation. Nevertheless, further connections between the scenes have been difficult to grasp.[367] A source of the problem is that the inscription of *Injustice* is lost and the one under *Justice*, which is partially preserved, does not go into the heart of the allegory. It reads: "EQUA LANCE CUNCTA LIBRAT PERFECTA IUSTICIA / CORONANDO BONOS VIBRAT ENSEM CONTRA VICIA / CUNCTA GAUDENT LIBERTATE IPSA SI REGNAVERIT / AGIT CUM IOCUNDITATE QUISQUE QUIDQUID VOLUERIT / MILES [PROPTER H]ANC VENATUR C[AN]TATUR ET LUDITUR / MERCAT[ORI … ATUR] … ITUR."[368] The inscription is a versified description of the predella stating that

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[365] Pfeiffenberger has already pointed out this difference and stated that it contributes to the effect of the frescoes. Pfeiffenberger, "The iconology of Giotto's virtues and vices at Padua," II:2:12, II:2:18 and V:31-32. Frugoni denied the allegorical-metaphorical value of continuous space under *Injustice*. She considered that it played a role in the realistic narration. In the case of *Justice* she noted that it looks like a *riquadro*, but did not elaborate on its possible meaning. Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico*, 307.

[366] A. Bernati engraved the plates for the book. Pietro Estense Selvatico, *Sulla cappellina degli Scrovegni nell'Arena di Padova e sui freschi di Giotto in essa dipinti* (Padua: Tipi della Minerva, 1836), plate 7 and 14. It should be mentioned that Selvatico's book was a desperate attempt to commemorate the building which was threatened with total demolition by its legal owner, the Gradenigo family. Selvatico played an extremely critical role in getting the Commune of Padua to recognize the chapel as part of its own heritage. After long negotiations it became public property in 1880. Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico*, 6-8.

[367] Romano, *La O di Giotto*, 218-219. For a summary by Irene Hueck of the proposed interpretations see: *La Cappella degli Scrovegni a Padova* 2, 222-223.

[368] This transcription is based on a reading by Giovanna Gianola. See: Giovanna M. Gianola, "Sui ritmi che accompagnano le immagini giottesche delle Virtù e dei Vizi nella Cappella degli Scrovegni: primi ipotesi e

under the reign of Justice the knight can hunt; people can sing or play; and [perhaps] the merchant can do something.

This inscription, and all the inscriptions under the allegories, represent problematic cases. The key element of the problem is that they leave the viewer with a certain level of dissatisfaction since they do not explain the allegories but rather retell the visible content. At least two positions can be taken with regard to this issue. First, the inscriptions represent the program on the basis of which Giotto worked. The inscriptions predate the frescoes, and thus, the frescoes are, more or less, successful visualizations of the original idea. This would mean that nothing further was implied by the contents of the predella. There is no complex political or theological statement hidden beneath the surface in the essence of *Justice*. Or second, the inscription actually postdates the frescoes and they are in fact versified interpretations of the allegories. The versifier was no more than a "first reader" of Giotto's achievement and did not have access to the "original" idea only to the pictorial outcome. This position allows that Giotto and his advisors had a complex program in mind which was not fully grasped by the person who created the inscriptions. No conclusive evidence has been presented so far with regard to this issue.[369]

Here, I will offer an iconographic reading of the two narrative scenes which does not take the remaining inscription as its starting point. The core argument of this reading is that it

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congetture," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 47 (2006): 48-51. Jacobus version differs from it in two major points: 1) The "C[AN]TATUR ET LUDITUR" was rendered as "COMITATUR TRUDITUR." I compared the two versions with a HQ post-2001 photograph, and Gianola's proposition seems to be more acceptable, since it fits the space more closely and corresponds better to the fresco. 2) The "MERCAT[ORI … ATUR] … ITUR" was rendered as "MERCATORES IAM … PRODITUR." Here Gianola's version does not fill in the missing parts. Jacobus understands that the merchants bring something forth. I followed again Gianola's version, because I regarded Jacobus solution as only one possible interpretation. A tentative translation, which is based on the one by Joseph Spooner: "Perfect Justice weighs everything with balanced scales / And it being her duty to crown goodness, she wields her sword against vices / All things rejoice in freedom if she herself reigns / whoever acts with consideration acts with delight. / On account of Justice, the knight goes hunting, people sing and play. / The merchant does this and that." Compare: Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel: art, architecture and experience*, 362. I would also mention that Gianola in her translation of the inscription rendered "C[AN]TATUR ET LUDITUR" as "people sing and play." Compare: Gianola, "Sui ritmi che accompagnano le immagini giottesche delle Virtù e dei Vizi," 51, note 48.

[369] Pisani argued that they differ from the titles of the allegories in terms of execution (they are only painted and not carved like the titles) and in terms of the layout of the script itself; therefore they were later additions in the second half of the 14th century. Pisani, "L'ispirazione filosofico-teologica della sequenza 'Vizi-Virtù' nella Cappella degli Scrovegni di Giotto," 95. A slightly modified argument highlighting the discrepancies between the allegory of Charity and its inscription was restated. Pisani, *I volti segreti di Giotto*, 174-175. Gianola did not accept Pisani's conclusions and on the basis of a metrical analysis of the inscription she concluded that they predate the chapel. Gianola, "Sui ritmi che accompagnano le immagini giottesche delle Virtù e dei Vizi," 29, note 10; 58, note 58; and 64-65. Romano accepted Gianola's partial conclusions but argued for the independence of Giotto's design. Romano, *La O di Giotto*, 220-221, and 235, note 101. Jacobus straightforwardly postdated the inscriptions (but still placed them in the 14th century). However, her argument that the inscription under Infidelity misinterpreted the allegory does not hold, since "YDOLATRA" presumably did not stand for "idols" but for "idolater." Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel: art, architecture and experience*, 360 and 363. Compare further: Gianola, "Sui ritmi che accompagnano le immagini giottesche delle Virtù e dei Vizi," 45-48. I agree with Romano. Even if the verses predated the chapel, they definitely do not represent the source of the pictorial program.

is possible to further decipher the contrast between the two predellas and thus, understand the intended meaning of the frescoes. Instead of being simply a generic opposition of peaceful and violent activities, the two representations quite specifically contrast two kinds of love in the conduct of men towards women: the "honest," "fine" or "lawful" kind of love is contrasted to the brutal rape.

The first point regards the unity of each predella. In case of the scene under *Injustice*, though it has a seemingly tripartite organization, it has never really been questioned that it represents one single narrative unit. The actors shown in it are on the left a murdered rider lying on the ground, his horse is held by a soldier; in the center two soldiers are violently ripping the clothes from a lady; on the right two approaching soldiers appear.[370] [Fig.3.2.17] The main focus of the scene is undoubtedly the brutal and realistic preparation for the rape in the center although the man holding the horse on the left stares directly towards the middle of the scene and the two approaching soldiers on the right almost touch the bending figure with their halberds. The dense, remote forest where the scene takes place intensifies the terror of the scene further.[371] These are not three distinct moments within a story or even three different stories, but a single snapshot from the same narrative.

Unlike the scene under *Injustice*, the predella of the allegory of *Justice*, partially in light of the inscription, has usually been regarded as displaying three distinct units.[372] The result was that specific opposition to the violent rape scene was marginalized, since a tripartite scene was contrasted to a single one. Furthermore, given the contrast between the predellas, the focus shifted to the possible connections between the main allegory of *Justice* and the three distinct pictorial units shown beneath it. I believe that the three seemingly separate scenes are in fact parts of a single unit under the allegory of *Justice* and not three distinct elements. The broad aim of this representation is to display a fine or honest form of love and the various details on the predella are derivations of models which can be found in the context of profane or courtly love at the beginning of the 14th century.

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[370] The lady is perhaps pregnant, but it is hard to be sure. For the rest of my argument I will leave aside this question of pregnancy; I will consider the scene to be a rape scene. However, if one wished to pursuit the implications of pregnancy, there is certainly a possibility of regarding the gesture of the male figure as a preparation to cut out the fetus, thus an abortion. In my view this would bring us back yet again to the problem of love and marriage on a more radical level.

[371] For the menace of the forest and the importance of wide and open roads see: Seidel, *Italian art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, vol. 1: Painting, 276-278.

[372] See: Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 201. Partially in light of the inscription, the whole sequence was interpreted as a display of the tripartite structure of medieval society (those who pray, fight and work – *oratores*, *milites*, *laboratores*) with mention also of the traders (*mercatores*). Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico*, 304-306. In my view both the *oratores* and *laboratores* are missing from the predella.

On the left a woman and a man approach on horses. Two dogs sniff the path in front of them and the woman holds a falcon on her left hand.[373] [Fig.3.2.18] The scene displays the usual falconry motif found on ivory mirror cases which may have been part of a longer love series.[374] Ivory products, among them mirror cases, became fashionable and widespread by the end of the 13th century in Europe.[375] Randall suggested that this specific falconry iconography was borrowed from the depiction of May in the calendar series and might have been associated with the month of Love.[376] On an ivory from the Louvre a man carries the falcon and straightforwardly caresses the lady while between the legs of the horses a dog is shown chasing a hare.[377] [Fig.3.2.19] A comparable scene appears on a piece in the Victoria and Albert Museum where two servants accompany the couple.[378] [Fig.3.2.20] Although these two examples may postdate the Arena chapel, the basic motif of the riding couple was already in circulation around 1300, as the example from the Louvre shows.[379] [Fig.3.2.21]

Similarly to the riding couple, the dancing couple together with a second woman playing on a tambourine can be interpreted within the framework of profane love.[380]

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[373] The woman wears a cloak, and perhaps with her right hand holds its ribbon. With regard to the fresco of St. Elisabeth of Hungary by Simone Martini in the Lower Church at Assisi Max Seidel argued that the ribbon was a distinctive element of queens and princesses in France. Its depiction as part of the robe of St. Elisabeth in Assisi may have derived from royal iconography. Max Seidel, "La scoperta del sorriso: vie di diffusione del gotico francese (Italia centrale, 1315-25)," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 51 (2007): 74-75. Here, it might allude to the high status of riding lady. Furthermore, perhaps her dress is girdled underneath the breast. For the discussion of this solution (and its implication of prostitution) in a Sienese context around 1340 see: Seidel, *Italian art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, vol. 1: Painting, 294-296.

[374] Raymond Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français*, vol. 1 (Paris: A. Picard, 1924), 383-386. The knight (*miles*) mentioned in the inscription was understood as a reference to Scrovegni himself. Derbes and Sandona, *The usurer's heart*, 90-92.

[375] Richard H. Randall, Jr., *Masterpieces of ivory from the Walters Art Gallery* (New York: Hudson Hills, 1985), 178.

[376] Randall, Jr., *Masterpieces of ivory from the Walters Art Gallery*, 226; and Richard H. Randall, Jr., "Popular Romances Carved in Ivory," in *Images in ivory: precious objects of the Gothic age*, ed. Peter Barnet (Princeton: Princeton University, 1997), 63-79, esp. 75.

[377] It dates to the first half of the 14th century. Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires médiévaux: Ve-XVe siècle* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2003), 414, no. 171. See as well: Raymond Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français*, vol. 2 (Paris: A. Picard, 1924), 378-379, no. 1034.

[378] It dates to the first half of the 14th century. Margaret H. Longhurst, *Catalogue of carvings in ivory*, vol. 2 (London: Board of Education, 1929), 46, no. 222-1867.

[379] Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires médiévaux: Ve-XVe siècle*, 353, no. 128. A somewhat comparable example to falconry as a symbol of May appears on the *Fountain of Perugia* as well, though it is divided into two reliefs.

[380] There were attempts to identify this scene as displaying the life of peasants (even the feast after the harvest). Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 201. However, the single element connecting it to harvest time is the unidentified "structure" behind the tambourine player, which could be the collected hay (or perhaps a bivouac). There are no tools or baskets full of fruits or grains lying around. The dresses of the two female figures are to a large extent similar to the dress of the lady riding with the falcon: they wear a tunic (*tunica*, *sottana* or *gonnella*) and above it a long robe or cloak (*guarnacca*), which is open at the side (*finestrelle*). These items are part of the usual clothing worn by upper class women in the 13th and 14th century. For the clothes see: Rosita Levi Pisetzky, *Storia del Costume in Italia*, vol. 1 (Milan: Instituto Editoriale Italiano, 1964), 269-276; and Pisetzky, *Storia del Costume in Italia*, vol. 2, 93-93 and 100-108. Furthermore, the dresses are so long that they trail on the ground which would not have been practical for a peasant woman.

On the other hand, the musical scene under *Justice* was connected to Cicero. Cicero saw a strong connection between harmony in music and concord within the community, but this proposition does not take into account the predella as a whole. Eleonora M. Beck, "Justice and Music in Giotto's Scrovegni Chapel Frescoes,"

[Fig.3.2.22] The motif of playing on a tambourine and dancing appears as marginal decoration beside each other in folio 181v and 182r in the *Queen Mary's Psalter*, in the section which displays scenes dedicated to courtly life, among them the hare hunt and falconry as well.[381] [Fig.3.2.23-24] Similarly, in the *Italian Model Book* of the Morgan Library on leaf twenty one there is a dancer and on leaf twenty two a tambourine player appears.[382] [Fig.3.2.25-26] The leaves are dedicated to profane subjects.[383] They date to around 1360 and an Italian provenience is hypothesized.[384] In light of the marginalia in the *Queen Mary's Psalter*, which is almost contemporary with the Arena chapel but geographically dissociated, and the sketches of the *Italian Model Book*, which is geographically closer but postdates the chapel by decades, the dancers and the tambourine player can be interpreted as a manifestation of the visual discourse on profane love at the beginning of the fourteenth century.[385]

On the right side, the two men on horses have been regarded on the basis of the inscription and their baggage behind the saddles as merchants able to travel freely under the reign of Justice.[386] [Fig.3.2.27] The supposed merchants, similarly to the hunting couple, approach the dancers in the middle. There is a rod (perhaps blossoming, but definitely covered with leaves) in the right hand of the first merchant. It is not a staff or part of a whip and therefore it is presumably not related to horse riding. Tentatively I would propose that this rod might be interpreted in the visual context of the *Espousal of the Virgin* in the Arena chapel. [Fig.3.2.28] Altogether three scenes (*The Calling of Suitors*, *The Vigil of the Suitors*,

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Music in Art 29 (2004): 48-49. Beck gave a comprehensive analysis of depictions of music playing in Giotto's oeuvre. Eleonora M. Beck, *Giotto's harmony: music and art in Padua at the crossroads of the Renaissance* (Florence: European Press Academic Publishing, 2005), 131-167. I consider the reference to music and Cicero less compelling as for instance, no similar line of derivation can be proposed for the falconry motif for instance.

[381] *Queen Mary's Psalter: miniatures and drawings by an English artist of the 14th century*, reproduced from Royal ms. 2 B. VII in the British Museum, int. Sir George Warner (London: British Museum, 1912), 39-43 and plate 206. For falconry see: folio 151r (plate 188), 156v (plate 191), 177v (plate 204). For hare hunt see: 155v and 156r (plate 191), 170v (plate 200), 175r (plate 202). For other musical scenes see: 173v and 174r (plate 202), 177r (plate 203). The hill and the hares on the marginalia of folios 155v and 156r could be a clue as well to the item behind the tambourine player. The provenance and the date of the Psalter are unclear. It was presumably illuminated in London, between 1310 and 1320. For the manuscript see: Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic manuscripts: 1285-1385*, vol. 2 (London: Miller, 1986), 64-66. For this specific sequence see: Anne Rudloff Stanton, *The Queen Mary Psalter: A Study of Affect and Audience*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 91 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2001), 47-49.

[382] C. Fairfax Murray, *Two Lombard sketch books in the collection of C. Fairfax Murray: with a few drawings supplementing the previous volume* (London, 1910), plates 21 and 22.

[383] Paul F. Watson, *The garden of love in Tuscan art in the early Renaissance* (Philadelphia: The Art Alliance Press, 1979), 40-41.

[384] Robert W. Scheller, *Exemplum: model-book drawings and the practice of artistic transmission in the middle ages (ca. 900 - ca. 1470)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995), 256-264.

[385] It is a question whether the wide movements of the male dancer on the left are compatible with dancing in a courtly context; on the parallels proposed the gestures are more delicate.

[386] Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 201; Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico*, 304. In my view, the "things" behind the saddles, if they do represent baggage and not covers for instance, are rather small to carry merchandise.

and *The Espousal of the Virgin*) were dedicated to the selection of the groom and the marriage of the Virgin, where the rod played a central role. These frescoes were based on the narration of the events in the *Protevangelium of James*:

> And Joseph threw down his axe and went out to meet them. And when they were gathered together, they took the rods and went to the high priest. The priest took the rods from them and entered the Temple and prayed. When he had finished the prayer he took the rods, and went out again and gave them to them: but there was no sign on them. Joseph received the last rod, and behold, a dove came out of the rod and flew onto Joseph's head.[387]

In the *Espousal of the Virgin* the dove perches on the rod of Joseph. It is visible, however, that rod is covered with leaves and there is a flower at its top. These details were not mentioned in the apocryphal narrative. They relate to the selection of Aaron in the Old Testament (17:1-10) where rods were used in a similar fashion although the sign of Aaron having been chosen were the buds, blossoms, leaves and almonds: "He returned on the following day, and found that the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi, was budded: and that the buds swelling it hid bloomed blossoms, which spreading the leaves, were formed into almonds."[388] The merger of these two narratives already appear in the *Golden Legend*: "One of these branches will bloom and the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove will perch upon its tip … Therefore Joseph brought his branch forward, it flowered at once, and a dove came from heaven and perched upon it."[389]

It has been already pointed out that by giving a central role to the *domumductio* (the rite of transferring the bride from her father's house to the house of the bridegroom) on the subsequent scene Giotto introduced contemporary ceremonial elements to the biblical narrative.[390] On the predella, given the context of the chapel, the rider carrying the rod who may still be a merchant, might connect to this visual discourse on love and marriage. This would presuppose that as Giotto was willing to introduce such secular elements as the *domumductio* into the biblical narrative, similarly, he used apocryphal biblical elements in order to enrich the profane iconography of love. If this idea is accepted, then the two riders can also be understood as part of the secular-courtly iconography of love.

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[387] Wilhelm Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. 1, tr. R. McL. Wilson (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 1991), 429-430 (9,1). The passage in the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew is essentially the same.

[388] Derbes and Sandona interpreted the leaves on the rod as a sign of fecundity and thus, of divine grace. Derbes and Sandona, *The usurer's heart*, 56.

[389] Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 906; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend, vol. 2*, 153.

[390] Seidel, *Italian art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, vol. 1: Painting, 409-424. On the *Virgin's wedding procession* a somewhat larger leafy branch appears, interpreted by Cole as the sign of the Virgin's forthcoming pregnancy. Bruce Cole, *Giotto: the Scrovegni Chapel, Padua* (New York: George Braziller, 1993), 65. Derbes and Sandona proposed that it could be simultaneously understood in the context of a contemporary wedding procession and as a symbolic allusion to pregnancy and charity. Derbes and Sandona, *The usurer's heart*, 92-93.

In the light of these details it may be plausible to interpret the predella under *Justice* as a manifestation of fine, honest or lawful love, as a visual display of proper conduct among men towards women under the reign of Justice. This display incorporates elements such as falconry, hare hunting, singing, dancing and courting.[391] If accepted, then the scene under *Injustice*, where wandering soldiers undress and prepare to rape a lady, appears to be a genuine contrast to it.[392] The preparation for the rape is manifest in how the soldier holds the wrists of the lady, tying them together with her robe pulled over her head. Her entire body is uncovered – the brutal eroticism of the act is unparalleled, not only in Medieval Art, but its vulgar realism recalls the episodes of the *Last Judgment* in the Arena chapel.[393] The terrified horse on the left is trying to break away, its front right leg is lifted in the effort. The figure bending over the lady is damaged, therefore it cannot be seen exactly what he is doing. The predella scene under *Injustice* appears therefore not to show a robbery, but is a strongly realistic depiction of a rape. In view of this it is possible to grasp the relation between the two scenes beyond the opposition of the peaceful and violent. Here the fineness of proper love is contrasted to the brutality of rape.

The opposition of love to rape as the consequences of *Justice* and *Injustice* has a broader context in the discourse of courtly (honest or fine) love in the Middle Ages.[394] Although the validity of the term courtly love has been questioned (*cortez'amor* can be detected only once in the material), the numerous occurrences of *fin'amor* or *amor veraia* and the distinct characteristics of troubadour poetry suggest the existence of such a cultural phenomenon.[395] With varying accents courtly love is regarded as a spiritual relation as contrasted to a relationship leading to bodily contact: Andreas Capellanus, for instance, in the *De Amore* distinguished between *amor purus* and *amor mixtus*, both of them extra-marital, and the former being intercourse between lovers which avoids coitus (*concubitus sine*

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[391] Michael Camille in the chapter entitled "Love's Sign" interpreted the hare hunt and the falconry in more straightforward symbolical terms denoting relations between lovers. Michael Camille, *The medieval art of love: objects and subjects of desire* (New York: Abrams, 1998), 95-106. Camille did not discuss the Arena chapel. Though there might be a possibility to develop the interpretation of the predella scene under *Justice* in the same direction and give it even a complex narrative formulation, I would just restate here that Camille's basic conclusions supports the argument that the three scenes should be regarded as interconnected, and interpreted in the context of the visual discourse on love at the beginning of the 14th century.

[392] Diane Wolfthal discussed the phenomenon of soldiers and mercenaries raping women in the Middle Ages, she referred to the *Malgoverno* by Ambrogio Lorenzetti. Diane Wolfthal, *Images of rape: the "heroic" tradition and its alternatives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1999), 60-99, esp. 71-73. Though the raping scene in the Arena Chapel was not mentioned, it should be regarded as a pictorial response to the same phenomenon.

[393] Boskovits insisted on this "crude realism" at the "limits of the vulgar" in the Arena chapel. Miklós Boskovits, "Giotto: un artista poco conosciuto?" in *Giotto: bilancio critico di sessant'anni di studi e ricerche*, ed. Angelo Tartuferi (Florence: Giunti, 2000), 84.

[394] The context of courtly love is crucial for understanding the two allegories; I hope I will have the opportunity to consider the problem in detail on a later occasion.

[395] Paolo Cherchi, *Andreas and the Ambiguity of Courtly Love* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 3-7.

actu).[396] In my view this opposition of "fine" love to bodily relations can plausibly be developed into the opposition of fine love to rape contrasting an "honest" and a "vile" act. The central element of self-restraint or temperance (*mezura*) encoded in fine love could be regarded as a further component leading towards peaceful cohabitation.[397]

The problem of rape cannot be dissociated from the question of marriage. The decision of Pope Alexander III in 1163 to base marriage on consent clearly opposed the consummation of marriage by force.[398] It might not have been only the source of new social behavior, but perhaps together with the literature on fine love the symptom of the same social development.[399] Furthermore, medieval examples show that soldiers forcing intercourse with nuns, virgins, and married women were recognized as rapists.[400] Giotto perhaps referred to this shared experience of the Italian city-states, and the focus of the representation is the brutality of the act. Since rape destroys the bloodline and undermines nuptial alliances as well, the act might have had wider social implications.[401]

It seems that the imagery on the two predellas had these sources. The predella under *Injustice* had its basis in the everyday reality of wartime. The rape scene was understood as an emblematic formulation of life under *Injustice*. The scene displaying a gathering of fine love originated from the visual and textual discourse on honest or fine love and was regarded as an emblematic formulation of the sweetness of life under *Justice*. Furthermore, the two scenes not only visualized the consequences of Virtue and Vice and therefore provided a proper *historia* to the *imago*, but they conformed as well to the exigency of contrast, which was the constituting principle of the allegories.

These two allegories have usually been compared to the *Effects of Good and Bad Government* by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Sala della Pace in Siena. Truly, Ambrogio's work displays a wide range of activities taking place as a result of the two kinds of governance and presents a portrait of idealized Sienese everyday life.[402] There are also morphological correspondences. The dancers with the tambourine player, the lady riding to the hunt, a soldier preparing to commit rape appear on both works. [Fig.3.2.29-31] However, in my view, the encyclopedic approach of Ambrogio influenced to a certain extent the interpretation of

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[396] Eric Jacobsen, "Francesco da Barberino: Man of Law and Servant of Love 1," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 15 (1986): 106; Cherchi, *Andreas and the Ambiguity of Courtly Love*, 16-21.

[397] For *mezura* see: Cherchi, *Andreas and the Ambiguity of Courtly Love*, 42-80.

[398] Howard Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991), 183-186; and Anne Howland Schotter, "Rape in the Medieval Latin Comedies," in *Representing Rape in Medieval and Early Modern Literature*, ed. Elizabeth Robertson and Christine M. Rose (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 241-243.

[399] Neil Cartlidge, *Medieval Marriage: Literary Approaches, 1100-1300* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), 5-32.

[400] Wolfthal, *Images of rape*, 62-65.

[401] Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 201-202.

[402] For the Sienese frescoes see: Seidel, *Italian art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, vol. 1: Painting, 245-340.

Giotto's work in the Arena chapel, especially the predella under *Justice* as a display of the tripartite structure of medieval society. As I have to postpone a systematic treatment of the subject to a later occasion I would briefly highlight the following points. Besides being two distinct communes, the context of the Sienese frescoes was temporally divided from the Paduan context of the Arena chapel by more than three decades. Furthermore, the self-representation of the Nine represents a different commissioning environment than the self-fashioning of Enrico Scrovegni. This does not exclude convergences, but definitely undermines any appeal to the *Effects of the Good and Bad Government* as the key to the allegories in the Arena chapel as well. On the other hand, it is worth noting that the inscription of the frescoes in Siena, among other things, talks about "the sweet life" (*dolce vita*) as an effect of the Good and "wars and rape" (*guerre rapine*) as an effect of Bad Government.[403] The principal comparison of Giotto's work became perhaps one component of Ambrogio's synthesis.

At this point, I would like to return to the problem of the different visual idioms adopted for the two scenes, since complementing the problems of iconography, this pictorial distinction might add significantly to our understanding of the allegories. The rape scene was depicted in a three-dimensional space with a forceful realism. The fine love scene was displayed as a relief emphasizing the planar values of the image. While the overt realism of the rape scene clearly contributes to the intended effect of the representation, at first sight the flat style of the love scene appears to lack motivation. I propose that the style of the predella may have had its origin in the same artifacts which provided the source for the iconography. This is best seen in the falconry motif. The riding couple appearing on ivory mirror cases displays the same planar values as the one in the Arena chapel. In the medium of the ivory this flatness and linearity is not a deliberate choice, it is imposed on the master by the material itself. In fact, the aim is to give certain depth to the representation by putting one rider behind the other. Giotto, in contrast, was not interested in the promotion of spatial values (for which he would otherwise have had the necessary skills), but he was perhaps impressed by the linearity of the ivory and decided to adopt not only the iconography but the pictorial idiom as well. As a result of this artistic decision not only does the content of the predellas contrast with each other but also their visual languages.

We know nothing about the artifacts which might have influenced Giotto's design. However, the frieze-like organization of the motifs appears on ivory combs in the period, although they were smaller scale pieces.[404] [Fig.3.2.32-34] The falconry motif appears as a

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[403] Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, 127-128.
[404] See: no. 229-1867 and no. A.560-1910, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

central scene on an ivory casket displaying other courting scenes.[405] Alternatively, wedding chests (*cassoni*), with their elongated rectangular shape, can also be taken into account. One of the earliest examples from around 1330, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, shows in a repetitive manner a lady with a scourge and a knight with a falcon, both of them on horseback, meeting in the Garden of Love.[406] [Fig.3.2.35-36] Chests or decorated wedding chests were mostly in fashion in Tuscany. Duccio is reported to have painted twelve *cassoni* for the Commune of Siena in 1278.[407] Recently a painted wedding chest displaying various scenes of the nuptial ritual was attributed to Ambrogio Lorenzetti.[408] Although it seems that the center for *cassoni* production was Florence, Giotto's Florentine origin, the mobile nature of the object itself, the involvement of Enrico Scrovegni in international trade would all suggest that such objects would have been available in Padua around the time Giotto painted the Arena chapel.[409]

In the context of these objects and their availability to Giotto there is yet another matter that might be considered. Unfortunately, we do not know a firm date for the second marriage of Enrico Scrovegni. His first wife was sister to Ubertino of Carrara (her first name is unknown).[410] Upon her death Enrico remarried. His second wife was Jacopina of Este. The *ante quem* of the second marriage is September 1319 when Jacopina is named wife of Enrico in a charter.[411] However, in his account, which is highly unfavorable towards Enrico, Giovanni of Nono connected the marriage with the building of the church: "Enrico Scrovegni, on the death of his first wife, married Johanna, daughter of the noble Francesco, Marquess of Este, and furthermore had the church of S. Maria della Carità built at the site of the Arena."[412] There is no reason why Nono would have modified the chronology.[413] This could mean that

[405] The casket is dated to the first half of the 14th century and is held in the Louvre, Paris. Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français*, vol. 2, 440-441, no. 1261.

[406] No. 317-1894, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. For the dating: Seidel, *Italian art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, vol. 1: Painting, 430 and 441, note 99. According to Watson the woman carries a flower and the man a falcon. Watson, *The garden of love in Tuscan art in the early Renaissance*, 37-38.

[407] Graham Hughes, *Renaissance cassoni: masterpieces of early Italian art* (London: Art Books International, 1997), 22.

[408] Piero Torriti, Mario Milazzo and Andrea Brogi, *Il cofano nuziale istoriato attribuito ad Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, ed. Alberto Colli (Milan: Electa, 2000).

[409] For the way motifs appearing in a courtly context were filtered down to the mercantile, republican classes in Florence in the second half of the 14th century see: Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, "The Triumph of Everyday Life," in Cristelle Baskins and others, *The triumph of marriage: painted cassoni of the Renaissance* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2008), 31-46, esp. 35-39. See as well: Hughes, *Renaissance cassoni: masterpieces of early Italian art,* 26-29.

[410] Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico*, 19.

[411] Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico*, 20 and 27, note 48.

[412] Nono called Jacopina Johanna in his text but the reason for this is unclear. "Henricus de Scruffegnis, mortua sua prima uxore, desponsavit Johanam filiam nobilis Francesci marchionis Hestensis, et fecit etiam fieri ecclesiam Sancte Mariae a Caritate in loco Arene." Giovanni of Nono, *De Generatione aliquorum civium urbis Padue*, Padua, Biblioteca Seminario, Ms. 11, fol. 43v. See: Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 377-378. Edition by Benjamin G. Kohl. Translation by Laura Jacobus and Joseph Spooner.

[413] Jacobus was inclined to accept Nono's testimony. Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 21.

Enrico's second marriage took place shortly before or at the time of the construction of the chapel. As Jacopina was coming from one of the most well established aristocratic families in Italy, both her dowry and Enrico's aspirations to meet the standards of his second wife created a favorable context for the presence of luxurious ivory objects and of *cassoni* in their household. The possession of valuable artifacts (*çoias et ornamenta*) and the fact that that Enrico probably presented such things to Jacopina, can be deduced from his last will dating to 12 March 1336.[414]

It is an open question whether the contrast of love and rape together with the opposed visual idioms was entirely the invention of Giotto. It was surely not against Enrico's aspirations. The depiction of the fine relief showing honest love recalling luxurious objects under the allegory of *Justice* was aligned with his ambition to fashion himself as a wealthy leading figure of Padua.[415] My interpretation of the two allegories therefore places them not in the context of penance and judgment, but rather in the context of the self-promotion of a successful tradesman. By the genuine contrast between the two predellas Giotto in fact managed to offer something to Enrico which would surely have been pleasing to him. The allegories of *Justice* and *Injustice*, even if they mirror some generic ideas of political thought, may well have been understood as well in a mundane context where the reign of *Justice* creates the possibility of fine love as opposed to the menace of rape under the reign of *Injustice*.

I would not exclude the possibility that the idea of connecting fine love to *Justice* and rape to *Injustice* was not Giotto's own invention. Recently, Eva Frojmovič pointed out that the unusual representation of the *Circumspection* in the socle zone of the Arena Chapel has a parallel among the illustrations in the *Documenti d'Amore* of Francesco of Barberino. Referring to him and to Peter of Albano she reconstructed a wider network of agents who may possibly have influenced the representations.[416] Although the *Documenti d'Amore* itself might not contain an explicit reference to the opposition of love with rape, the idea of fine love (or lawful love, as Barberino put it) is clearly one focus of the work.

Whether the initiative came from Francesco of Barberino or not, the idea of adopting the planar style on ivory carvings as the visual idiom for the predella under *Justice* as opposed

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[414] "Item relinquo domine Iacobine uxori mee, si vixerit in honesta et viduali vita, cameram suam, videlicet omnes suas vestes et pannos tam de lana quam de lino ac omnes çoias et ornamenta sua quas, quos et que habet et habuerit et paravero sibi in vita mea as suum usum, comodum et ornatum, cum toto lecto meo parato." Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico*, 510. Transcription by Attilio Bartoli Langeli. In Langeli's view the will was not particularly generous towards Jacopina. Attilio Bartoli Langeli, "Il testamento di Enrico Scrovegni," in Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico*, 431-433.

[415] Furthermore, Jacobus pointed out again that the sequence of the virtues and vices might reflect the self-fashioning of the emerging class (*popolani grassi*) of merchants and traders. Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 197-202.

[416] Frojmovič, "Giotto's Circumspection," 195-210.

to the realistic spatial representation under *Injustice* must have been Giotto's own invention. This conscious play with the structural organization of the allegories testifies again to the way pictorial distinctions can be used to denote differences of meaning. In order to express the opposition between love and rape, the visual language of the predellas might have remained the same. Giotto's decision signals on the one hand an ongoing reflection on the ways, forms and possibilities of representation, something already manifest in the contrast of the colorful paintings of the biblical narrative and the gray pseudo-marble of the Virtues and Vices. In this respect, it again signals Giotto's acute pictorial sensitivity. He is clearly conscious of the various expressive potentials of different media. Furthermore, this pictorial reflexivity does not remain only a play with the visible but is adopted to denote the opposition between *Justice* and *Injustice* as well. It expresses a non-conceptual difference between *Justice* and *Injustice*, and in this sense assumes an iconographic role without referring to an established iconography.

3.2.3. The Blessing of the Lord and the Perdition by the Serpent

In comparison to the images-within-images discussed so far, the "relief" of the monochrome allegory of *Justice* cannot be considered a mainstream example. I would like to turn now to two pairs of frescoes in the Arena chapel which share more characteristics with the images-within-images of the *Legend of St. Francis* in Assisi. Each example is part of the architectural setting of a colorful *historia*.[417] On the other hand, these two pairs of frescoes have connections with the previously discussed predellas of the allegories in one crucial aspect - there is a contrast between them. On each of the pair, the depicted building is the same and, Giotto clearly aims at maintaining the coherence of the architectural setting. This aim is justified by the narrative context as well, since the two paired events took place in the same building. However, for reasons to be discussed in detail, Giotto altered the images-within-images decorating these buildings. I would like to show that this alteration had an iconographic purpose. By employing such decorative changes an aspect of the narrative action is highlighted. As in the case of the predellas, pictorial distinctions led to their iconographic importance.

The *Annunciation to Anna* and the *Birth of the Virgin Mary* were part of the story of the Virgin Mary that ran around the southern and northern walls of the nave. This section of

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[417] I will not enter to the question of whether the use of Romanesque or Gothic architecture for various scenes in the Scrovegni chapel might have symbolic implications or not. This could be an instance of architecture reflecting the content of the scenes. For the sake of increased methodological control, I wish to focus on those scenes where this reflective relation between the setting and the action is expressed by the alteration of a figurative detail. For the question of the iconographic reading see: Bongiorno, "The theme of the old and the new law in the Arena Chapel," 11-20; Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico*, 142-144.

mural was presumably based on the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew and the Protevangelium of James, two apocryphal gospels that discuss in length the childhood of Mary.[418] The two representations were not placed next to each other. The *Annunciation to Anna* is the third fresco on the southern wall while the *Birth of the Virgin* is the first one on the northern wall. The separation of the scenes can be explained by the narrative sequence since the story Joachim is situated between the two.

In the *Annunciation* Anna is shown kneeling on the floor of her room while through the window the angel heralds the conception of her child. [Fig.3.2.37] Her handmaiden works outside on the balcony. The *Birth of the Virgin Mary* takes place in the same, but more crowded interior. [Fig.3.2.38] The newborn Mary appears twice, first as she is handed to Anna and then having her first bath. On both frescoes the tympanum of the house is decorated with a pseudo-relief representing a conch with a bust held by two flying, winged nudes. As has been noted, the pictorial organization of the pseudo-relief follows Classical models such as carvings on sarcophagi where the soul of the deceased is carried away. This motif was already Christianized in Late Antiquity and was used in Byzantine art.[419] The motif appears as well on the works of Arnolfo di Cambio and in the *Legend of St. Francis* in Assisi.[420] The bust figure in the conch shell represents the Lord.[421] The detail successfully retains a Classical tone and dynamism of the model, and in consequence the naked flying figures can be identified either as putti (victories) or as angels, depending on whether the Classical tone or the Christian content of the relief prevails.[422]

The decision to complement Anna's house with this decoration has been interpreted in various ways. Erwin Panofsky argued that the Classical relief, and especially the presence of the *putti*, signals that Joachim and Anna lived before the era of grace.[423] Max Imdahl proposed that in the *Annunciation* the relief shown together with the white curtain creates a planar vertical axis connecting the Lord and Anna and thus visually underlines the conception, the main event on the fresco.[424] Though these interpretations may be accepted, I

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[418] The *Protevangelium of James* can be dated to around the AD 2nd century, the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew around the 8th or 9th century. Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, 414-419 and 456-459.

[419] Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, 148, note 3; Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico*, 118; *La Cappella degli Scrovegni a Padova 2*, ed. Davide Banzato and others (Modena: F. C. Panini, 2005), 176.

[420] Euler mentioned the connection to Arnolfo di Cambio. Walter Euler, *Die Architekturdarstellung in der Arena-Kapelle: Ihre Bedeutung für das Bild Giottos* (Bern: Francke, 1967), 35.

[421] Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, 148, note 3. See as well: Euler, *Die Architekturdarstellung in der Arena-Kapelle*, 35; Imdahl, *Giotto Arenafresken: Ikonographie, Ikonologie, Ikonik*, 13; Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico*, 118. Bellinati proposed identification with the Prophet Isaiah. Claudio Bellinati, *Giotto: la Cappella degli Scrovegni a Padova* (Castel Bolognese: Itaca, 2006), 24.

[422] For *putti* see: Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, 148, note 3; Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico*, 118. Euler talked about victory-like angels. Euler, *Die Architekturdarstellung in der Arena-Kapelle*, 35. For angel see: Bellinati, *Giotto: la Cappella degli Scrovegni a Padova*, 24.

[423] Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, 148, note 3.

[424] Imdahl, *Giotto Arenafresken*, 13.

would argue that the image of the Lord on their house may simply allude to the piety of Joachim and Anna emphasizing that they were the ones chosen to be the parents of the mother of the Savior. The classical tone of the décor does not fundamentally change this message. It is presumably a sign of the way Giotto was attempting to create a solemn pictorial effect with the architecture.[425]

Besides this general allusion and function, the comparison of the two frescoes reveals how the relief was used to further reflect upon these events. Laurine Bongiorno has pointed out that although the architectural setting is identical, the two images of the Lord differ from each other. On the *Annunciation* he grabs his robe with his right hand while in the *Birth of the Virgin* his right hand is raised, in all probability to bless the newborn child.[426] [Fig.3.2.39 and Fig.3.2.40] The difference between the two gestures was shown in the engravings of the edition published by the Arundel Society in 1860.[427] [Fig.3.2.41 and Fig.3.2.42] In this case, the architectural setting seems to follow the narrative in the sense that the pseudo-relief, which remained intact on the first fresco, was shown in a more lively way because of the birth of Mary. The decoration of the building ceases to be mere decoration but actually reflects the event. The blessing of the Lord underlines the narrative focus of the fresco, the entry of Mary into the story of the Salvation.

This pictorial-iconographic solution, the Lord blessing the Virgin Mary, could be seen from the ground and its meaning was accessible to most of the viewers in the Arena chapel. Furthermore, the intentional nature of this playful solution is further confirmed by the dedication of the chapel to the Virgin Mary of Charity. The site of the chapel, the ancient Arena, was used from 1278 for a liturgical procession reenacting the angelic salutation on the Feast of the Annunciation.[428] The central place accorded to the *Annunciation* on the chancel arch presumably calculated on the effects of sunlight on the 25 March and signals that the chapel was meant to assume the same role in the liturgical life of the city.[429] The *Birth of the Virgin* was an important Marian feast as well. It figures among the four feast days for which Benedict XI granted indulgences to the visitors of the chapel in 1304.[430] In the light of this dedication and the importance of the Marian feast this slight alteration appears as a genuine reflection on the content and broader liturgical context of the fresco.

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[425] *La Cappella degli Scrovegni a Padova 2*, 176.

[426] Bongiorno, "The theme of the old and the new law in the Arena Chapel," 15. Frugoni proposed that the relief is in fact "talking" to Mary on this fresco. Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico*, 128. Besides the alteration of the Lord's gesture, the cloaks of the flying figures which they wear in the *Annunciation* were omitted from the *Birth of the Virgin*. It seems that this alteration had no iconographic motivation.

[427] *Arena Chapel, Padua: a series of wood engravings from the frescoes of Giotto, illustrating the lives of the Virgin and our Saviour* (London: Arundel Society, 1860), plate 3 and 7.

[428] For the documents and their translations see: Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 346-349.

[429] Laura Jacobus, "Giotto's Annunciation in the Arena Chapel, Padua," *The Art Bulletin* 81 (1999): 93-107.

[430] For the document and its translation see: Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 355.

The evangelical roots of the blessedness of Mary lies in the greeting of Elisabeth in Luke: 1, 42: "Blessed are thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus." In this verse, which became the second line of the *Angelic Salutation*, Elisabeth explicitly stated the intrinsic blessedness of Mary, independent of the child she was carrying. The importance of the *Angelic Salutation* for the Arena chapel and in Padua is testified not only by the aforementioned existence of thirteenth century processions, but by liturgical texts as well. The triplum of the *Ave Regina celorum* motet by Marchetto of Padua, which may have been composed for the second consecration of the Arena chapel in 1305, contains an acrostic of the *Angelic Salutation*.[431] The seventh line of the triplum is dedicated to Mary's blessedness: "Blessed Mother of Virtue, medicine for our death."[432]

A fourteenth century text of a liturgical play, a *cantatur evangelium cum ludo*, of the *Annunciation* for the Cathedral of Padua repeatedly insists on Mary's blessedness.[433] I quote it at length, with omissions (italics are mine):

> … Then Gabriel, on bended knee, *with two fingers of the right hand raised*, should begin the following antiphon in an elevated voice: 'Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with the. *Blessed are thou among women.*' … When this has been done, Elizabeth should kneel down and, touching the body of Mary with both hands, begin the following antiphon in a humble voice: '*Blessed are thou amongst women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb.*' When the antiphon is over, Elizabeth stands up, and from her standing position should further begin the following antiphon: 'Wherefore should the mother of my Lord come to me? For behold, when your greeting reached my ears, the child in my womb leapt for joy. *And you are blessed, Mary,* because you believed; may the things told you by the Lord be accomplished in you.' When these things are finished, the deacon should continue further: 'And Mary said …' And Mary should turn herself towards the people, and sing in an elevated voice in the eight mode the following three verses: 'My soul magnifies the Lord, and my spirit rejoices in God my Saviour. For He has regarded the low estate of His handmaiden. *For behold, henceforth all generations shall call me blessed.*'[434]

I am not stating that the motet of Marchetto or the liturgical play from the Cathedral of Padua was the direct source influencing Giotto's design on the *Birth of the Virgin*.[435] The raised hand of the Lord in blessing, this adjustment of the image-within-image to the scene, can be regarded as a genuine association not requiring sophisticated knowledge of the liturgy or the Scripture. Again, the blessedness of Mary is already stated in the *Angelic Salutation*. However, these two liturgical examples may show that Giotto's solution was not simply an obscure iconographic play, but rather its meaning was accessible to the widest contemporary

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[431] Beck, *Giotto's harmony*, 134-141.

[432] "Benedicta mater morum, nostre mortis medela." Beck, *Giotto's harmony*, 139-140.

[433] For the detailed discussion of this play in the context of the Arena chapel see: Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 305-319.

[434] Karl Young transcribed the text on folio 35v-38r of the MS C.56 of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua. See: Karl Young, *The drama of the medieval church*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), 248-250. Translation by Joseph Spooner. For the translation and the text see: Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 374-376.

[435] The association between the liturgical play and the *Annunciation* scene in the chancel arch seems quite plausible. Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 305-329. This strengthens further the association with the *Birth of the Virgin Mary*.

audience as well since it had a central role in certain liturgical procedures. Together with the sumptuous *Annunciation* scene on the chancel arch, and admittedly in a more playful manner, the relief of the Lord blessing the newborn Mary reflected her role in the Salvation. The image-within-image of the Lord is therefore integrated into the Marian devotional context of the chapel.

A somewhat similar phenomenon occurs in the *Last Supper* and the *Washing of the Feet*. These two frescoes appear next to each other on the southern wall of the nave. Both scenes take place in a similar building. [Fig.3.2.43-44] On the top of the building sit two birds, presumably eagles.[436] The pose of the eagles is similar on both frescoes with the one on the right looking down and the one on the left looking up. [Fig.3.2.45-48] The difference between the architectural settings of the two works is that on the *Last Supper* the left eagle holds a serpent in the beak but this serpent is no longer present in the *Washing of the Feet*. Although the upper part of the *Washing of the Feet* has suffered some damage, part of the serpent, if there had been one, should be visible on the top of the roof next to the beak.[437] On the nineteenth century pre-restoration photograph of the *Last Supper* the serpent is visible (Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence, 119418) and it is missing from the *Washing of the feet* (Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence, 119419). [Fig.3.2.49-50] Thus, as in previous cases, the architectural setting of the two frescoes was intentionally altered.

In the *Last Supper* the eagle with the serpent in the beak has been interpreted as the victory of Christ over the devil even with reference to the archetypical fight between Good and Bad.[438] The eagles and the serpent (missing or not) in the context of the *Washing of the Feet* have been simultaneously regarded as an allusion to Pseudo-Ambroses' interpretation of John 13:10 in the *De Sacramentis*, where the cleaning of the feet is explained by the necessity

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[436] Bongiorno, "The theme of the old and the new law in the Arena Chapel," 16, note 53.

[437] As Bongiorno argued. Bongiorno, "The theme of the old and the new law in the Arena Chapel," 16, note 58. Frugoni seems to adopt the position that there had also been a serpent in the *Washing of the Feet* but that it had been effaced or damaged. Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico*, 211 and 213. On the already mentioned engravings of the edition published by the Arundel Society in 1860 the serpent is not visible in either of the two frescoes although the layout is a bit different in the *Last Supper*. Perhaps the engraver did not notice the detail or could not make up his mind about it. See: *Arena Chapel, Padua: a series of wood engravings from the frescoes of Giotto, illustrating the lives of the Virgin and our Saviour*, plate 28 and 29.

[438] Bongiorno, "The theme of the old and the new law in the Arena Chapel," 16; Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico*, 211. Alessandro Volpe restated this interpretation. *La Cappella degli Scrovegni a Padova 2*, 203-204. For the fight of the eagle and the serpent see: Rudolf Wittkower, "Eagle and serpent: a study in the migration of symbols," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 2 (1939), 293-325. The motif of a human figure with an eagle on its head and attacked by a serpent appears on Romanesque reliefs. Presumably it is not related directly to this example. For a reassessment see: Manuela Gianandrea, "Genesi e sviluppo di un'iconografia di successo: l'uomo con l'aquila e il serpente," *Arte medievale* 3 (2004): 49-58.

of washing away the venom of the serpent and thus, original sin as well as to the description of the eagle as an rejuvenating animal in the *Physiologus*.[439]

Although these interpretations offer a possible reading of the motif, I would like to explore a different one here because understanding of the allusion requires a sophisticated theological background. I do not exclude the possibility that there was such a complex allusion but it is important to see that for the relief of the Lord the message projected by the alteration was straightforward and accessible to the widest possible audience. My basic assumption again is that the architectural setting was tuned to highlight the narrative focus of one fresco, in this case the *Last Supper*.

The *Last Supper* scene incorporated references to both the synoptic gospels and the gospel of John. In the sequence of the Passion cycle in the Arena chapel the *Last Supper* (John 13:21-27) precedes the *Washing of the Feet* (John 13:3-10), although in the gospel of John the order is reversed. Furthermore, the *Last Supper* scene does not represent the foundation of the Eucharist (unlike the synoptic evangelists, neither did John) but Christ predicting his betrayal. The beloved disciple leaning on Jesus' bosom clearly refers to the account of John. I quote the passage at length here (John 13, 21:27):

> When Jesus had said these things, he was troubled in spirit; and he testified, and said: Amen, amen, I say to you, one of you shall betray me. The disciples therefore looked one upon another, doubting of whom he spoke. *Now there was leaning on Jesus' bosom one of his disciples, whom Jesus loved.* Simon Peter therefore beckoned to him and said to him: Who is it of whom he speaketh? He therefore, leaning on the breast of Jesus, saith to him: Lord, who is it? Jesus answered: He it is to whom I shall reach bread dipped. *And when he had dipped the bread, he gave it to Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon.* And after the morsel, Satan entered into him. And Jesus said to him: That which thou dost, do quickly.

Though the main lines of the narrative may follow John, that prediction itself follows the synoptic accounts. The main difference is that while in John Jesus reveals the traitor by giving him the dipped bread, in the synoptic gospels Jesus says either that the traitor dipped his hand with him in the dish (Matthew and Mark) or he has his hands on the table together with his (Luke).[440] On the fresco, Jesus and Judas visibly put their hands into the dish together. [Fig.3.2.51] In my view, the pseudo-sculptural decoration aims to emphasize this moment, when Judas is revealed as the one who will betray Jesus. The left hand eagle with the serpent is situated vertically just above the dish with the hand of Jesus and Judas in it. The diagonal

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[439] Both Bongiorno and Frugoni, despite their different interpretation of the missing serpent, arrived to these same conclusions. Bongiorno, "The theme of the old and the new law in the Arena Chapel," 16; Frugoni, *L'affare migliore di Enrico*, 212-213.

[440] I report here the accounts. "But he answering said: He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, he shall betray me. (At ipse respondens ait qui intinguit mecum manum in *parapside* hic me tradet.)" Matthew 26:23. "Who saith to them: One of the twelve, who dippeth with me his hand in the dish. (Qui ait illis unus ex duodecim qui intinguit mecum in *catino*.)" Mark 14:20. "But yet behold: the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table. (Verumtamen ecce manus tradentis me mecum est in *mensa*.)" Luke 22:21.

created by the leaning right hand eagle runs through this spot as well. [Fig.3.2.52] The serpent in the beak of the eagle highlights the moment of revelation.

The linking of the serpent to the foretelling of Judas' betrayal is not unprecedented. On folio 13v of the *Psalter and Hours of Margaret Skulesdatter* from the early 13th century, in the context of Jesus predicting his betrayal Judas is represented firmly wrapped in and by the serpent.[441] [Fig.3.2.53] Here the serpent evidently expresses the loss of Judas. This is an explicit representation in John 13:27, since Jesus places the morsel into Judas mouth ("And after the morsel, Satan entered into him"). This pictorial solution combines simultaneously the reference to Judas' betrayal and the reference to the Eucharist itself.[442] The expression of a similar idea can be seen on the *Last Supper* relief on the pulpit in the Cathedral of Volterra.[443] [Fig.3.2.54] Below the table a weird monster crawls towards Judas. It has the head of a devil and it seems that its tail has been transformed into a head of a serpent. [Fig.3.2.55]

This iconography in the *Last Supper* was particular for Western Christianity. Judas is depicted as being isolated from the other apostles, usually without the serpent, sometimes on the other side of the table, while Jesus hands him the morsel of dipped bread. This composition appears on many Italian examples in the thirteenth century, among them the dome mosaic of the Baptistery in Florence (between 1290-1295).[444] [Fig.3.2.56] The Byzantine version can be found in parallel to this in Italy, where Judas sits among the other apostles. His betrayal revealed through his gesture of reaching towards the dish, see for instance on the *Last Supper* fresco in Sant'Angelo in Formis.[445] [Fig.3.2.57] Sandberg-Vavalà concluded that although in the thirteenth century Italian examples seemed to follow or at least

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[441] 13v, 78.A.8, Kupferstichkabinett (Berlin: Staatliche Museen). The illuminated manuscript was probably executed in London between 1210-1220. It was presumably intended for royal use. In the mid-thirteenth century it came into the possession of the Norwegian royal family. After the calendar it contained seven full-page miniatures, divided into two registers. The miniatures depict scenes from the New Testament. The pair of the *Last Supper* is the *Betrayal*. Nigel J. Morgan, *Early Gothic manuscripts*, vol. 1 (London: Miller, 1982), 84-85; ill. 122.

[442] This combination of designation and communion was proposed for other examples also, and in my view the neglected folio 13v of the *Psalter and Hours of Margaret Skulesdatter* is the most conclusive of all. See: Dominique Rigaux, *A la table du Seigneur: l'Eucharistie chez les Primitifs italiens* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1989), 33-37; Miklòs Boskovits, *The mosaics of the Baptistery of Florence*, A critical and historical corpus of Florentine painting I/2 (Florence: Giunti, 2007), 285, note 172.

[443] Fabio Bisogni highlighted this example and connected it to John 13:27. Fabio Bisogni, "Iconografia dell'Ultima Cena," in *Il genio e le passioni: Leonardo e il Cenacolo*, ed. Pietro C. Marani (Milan: Skira, 2001), 65. In 1161, the interior design of the cathedral was renewed, and among other elements it was enriched with two pulpits as well. The reliefs may be attributed to Guglielmo. Pier Giuliano Bocci and Franco Alessandro Lessi (ed.), *Chiese di Volterra*, vol. 1 (Florence: Nardini, 2000), 65-67.

[444] The groundbreaking study of Evelyn Sandberg-Vavalà remains fundamental for our understanding of the iconography of the *Last Supper*. Sandberg-Vavalà, *La croce dipinta italiana e l'iconografia della Passione*, 199-217. See as well: Rigaux, *A la table du Seigneur*, 33-37. The mosaic is attributed to the Penultime Master. Boskovits, *The mosaics of the Baptistery of Florence*, 208-209 and 284-285.

[445] Sandberg-Vavalà, *La croce dipinta italiana e l'iconografia della Passione*, 205-213; Rigaux, *A la table du Seigneur*, 33-41.

open up to Western models, in the fourteenth century they adopted a stylistically updated version of the Byzantine ones.[446]

In my view the *Last Supper* in the Arena chapel and the motif of the serpent more particularly can be explained within the context of this development. The decision to adopt the Byzantine iconography of the *Last Supper* based on the synoptic gospels reduced the possibility of having to give a prominent place to the separated Judas on the fresco. With this the compositional context of depicting an unrealistic life-size snake became completely impossible. Judas, turning his back to the viewer, is almost lost in the midst of the apostles. Only his hand in the dish identifies him. The eagle holding the serpent on the roof and the other one focusing exactly on the dish on the table were conceived to counteract this confusing scene and to highlight Judas's presence.[447] This motif simultaneously maintained the reference to the betrayal of Judas, but did not injure the realistic display of the supper.[448]

Since on the following scene the focus of the story is Jesus washing the feet of the disciples, it seems plausible that the serpent was omitted since it referred to Judas' betrayal.[449] The two eagles were retained for maintaining the identity of the two buildings, that is, to alter only as much of the pseudo-sculptural decoration as necessary to erase the reference to the previous moment in the story. I do not want mask the fact that in this reading the eagles function as rather interchangeable elements. It cannot be excluded that they had a specific meaning, which it should be possible to grasp. It must be noted, however, that four monochrome eagles were depicted on each side of the *Virgin and Child* fresco on the inner façade of the Upper Church in Assisi, above the entrance.[450] [Fig.3.2.58] The monochrome execution, vivacity and appearance of these birds connect them quite strongly to the birds in the Arena chapel, even to the extent that they are perhaps by the same master. [Fig.3.2.59-60] The purpose of the elements in Assisi is unclear as well, although their high numbers and their placement suggest that they were decorative details. If true, this would corroborate with the finding in the Arena chapel, where the serpent appears to be the real carrier of the meaning and the eagles remain compositional elements.

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[446] Sandberg-Vavalà, *La croce dipinta italiana e l'iconografia della Passione*, 212.

[447] The motif of the eagle holding a serpent appears on the apse mosaic by Torriti in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. For this and other examples see: Wittkower, "Eagle and serpent: a study in the migration of symbols," 319. Tomei did not discuss this element in the iconography, but generally stated that the animals around the throne had a symbolic meaning rooted in the Physiologus. Tomei, *Iacobus Torriti pictor*, 100.

[448] The use of the serpent as an allusion to the perdition and wickedness of Judas seems to appear on a Coptic textile as well, where Judas is similarly shown mingling among the apostles. Here, the serpent was simply placed above the head of Judas. See: No. 815.1903, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

[449] Andrew Ladis pointed out that even Judas is hidden behind the others on the left side of the scene. Andrew Ladis, *Giotto's O: narrative, figuration, and pictorial ingenuity in the Arena Chapel* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2008), 47-48.

[450] They remained largely unnoticed. See: Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 489-490.

Considerable attention has already been directed to the question of how Satan influenced Judas' deeds on the chancel arch of the Arena chapel. Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona asserted that the moment of perdition in the Arena chapel is represented in the *Pact of Judas,* where there is a life-size devil holding Judas' arm as he accepts the purse.[451] [Fig.3.2.61] This scene refers to Luke 22:2-6, where the comparable line occurs:

> And the chief priests and the scribes sought how they might put Jesus to death: but they feared the people. *And Satan entered into Judas, who was surnamed Iscariot, one of the twelve.* And he went and discoursed with the chief priests and the magistrates, how he might betray him to them. And they were glad and covenanted to give him money. And he promised. And he sought opportunity to betray him in the absence of the multitude.

The Gospel of Luke and John do not agree at this point. The depiction of the life-size devil on the *Pact of Judas* and the serpent on the *Last Supper* may mean that the pictorial program of the Arena chapel conformed to or used both versions. While on the chancel arch it was possible to dramatically display a life-size devil grabbing Judas, on the *Last supper* scene, perhaps, since the interior was already overcrowded, Giotto opted for a play with the pseudo-sculptural decoration of the setting.

The question is further complicated as there are some reasons to think that the original design had been altered in this area and in the chancel arch during execution of the murals. Laura Jacobus recently proposed that the original planning in the place of the *Fictive Chapel* on the chancel arch included another *Last Supper* scene.[452] In her interpretation this would have been *Jesus Predicting his Betrayal*, followed by the *Institution of the Eucharist* (in place of the actual *Last Supper* scene) and then the *Washing of the Feet*. This reconstruction is in harmony with the parallel structuring of the various scenes and resolves the contradiction already detected by Alpatoff in which the *Jesus Predicting his Betrayal* under the *Visitation* should have referred to the foretelling of a future event, and the *Institution of the Eucharist* under the *Nativity* should have expressed the mystery of the incarnation.[453] Jacobus blamed the absence of Giotto for these alterations, proposing that the masters on the ground were either unable to carry out his instructions had not been given any.[454]

Jacobus herself already stated that it was impossible to prove the validity of this reconstruction. My only aim here is to evaluate the significance of the pictorial-iconographic

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[451] They connected this scene to the theme of usury. Derbes and Sandona, *The usurer's heart*, 61-65.

[452] Laura Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 113-116.

[453] Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 113-116. Alpatoff, as Jacobus pointed out, tried to resolve the problem by interpreting the actual *Last Supper* scene as the *Institution of the Eucharist*. Michel Alpatoff, "The Parallelism of Giotto's Paduan Frescoes," *The Art Bulletin* 29 (1947): 149-155, 150. Jacobus suggested as well that the rituals and preferences of the *Cavalieri Gaudenti*, a confraternity to which Enrico Scrovegni belonged as well during the decoration of the chapel, might have influenced the design of the scenes, among them the importance accorded to the *Washing of the Feet*. Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 293-296.

[454] Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 116-131, esp. 128-131.

play with the serpent in the context of her hypothesis.[455] It seems undeniable that in the actual design, the *Last Supper* scene displaying Jesus as he foretells his betrayal can hardly be related to the *Nativity* scene above. The actual scene might not have been intended to be there. On the other hand, the use of the pseudo-sculptural details in order to highlight the narrative focus of the scene, to my mind is clear evidence for the care and attention dedicated to this fresco.[456] Thus if this alteration of the original design occurred, it was still engineered by someone who cared about the narrative organization of the *Last Supper* fresco. This care may be manifest in the narrative organization of the chancel arch itself. If the *Last Supper* in its actual layout had been intended for the chancel arch, then it would have been placed diagonally to the *Pact of Judas*. This would have meant that the life-size Satan in the *Pact of Judas* was transformed into the serpent of the *Last Supper*. This "ramification" of the subject, the perdition of Judas, could have resulted in an intensive narrative structure, playing with the various manifestations of the devil.[457] Within the framework of this hypothesis the importance of *Last Supper* scene is further confirmed by the fact that it was retained even at the expense of omitting the *Institution of the Eucharist* and thus, giving up the exegetical connection with the *Nativity* scene.

Independently from the problem of the original design of the chancel arch, it has to be mentioned that the motif of the serpent appears in the chapel once again. On the allegory of Envy (*Invidia*) the eyes of the horned figure are blinded by a snake which emerges from Envy's own mouth.[458] [Fig.3.2.62] The blindness of Envy is mentioned in the inscription and the word seeing (*videre*) can be found in the stem of the verb (to envy – *invidere*).[459] Derbes and Sandona connected this allegory to the theme of usury, since Envy's most prominent attribute is a closely held purse with parallels in medieval texts.[460] The authors gave a central role to usury as the constituting theme of the chapel, and they regarded the various appearances of Judas as manifestation of this theme.[461] Even if the unilateral nature and the historical background of this explanation have been questioned, I would like to emphasize that given the parallel between Judas, purse-holder of the apostles and the *Allegory of Envy*

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[455] Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 116.
[456] Jacobus also admitted that the *Last Supper* on the southern wall is not as incoherent as its structural pair, the *Pentecost*, on the northern wall. Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 129.
[457] Jacobus emphasized the possible narrative tensions between the two scenes, yet argued for a different – rotated – version of the architectural setting on *Last Supper*. Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 115 and 130. This still could have contained the motif of the serpent.
[458] Georges Didi-Huberman argued that there is a sort of disfiguration of the allegories, particularly visible in the case of *Envy*. Didi-Huberman, *Fra Angelico*, 63-64.
[459] The inscription is fragmentary: *Patet hic invidiae caece...* (Here is displayed [the form] of blind jealousy…) Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, 364. Translation by Joseph Spooner. Matthew G. Shoaf, "Eyeing Envy in the Arena Chapel," *Studies in Iconography* 30 (2009): 129-132.
[460] Derbes and Sandona, *The usurer's heart*, 79-80.
[461] The argument was built around the opposition of Judas to the Virgin Mary. Derbes and Sandona, *The usurer's heart*, 45-83.

holding a purse as well, the serpent blinding her on the allegory may be regarded as a retake of the serpent in the beak of the eagle on the *Last Supper*. This visual parallel would simultaneously enrich the meaning of both representations with the allusion of *Envy* to Judas being strengthened.[462] The parallel with Envy would add to the understanding of Judas' deed as well.

Be that as it may, the serpent of the *Last Supper* scene displays the same iconographic reflexivity as the blessing hand of the Lord in the *Birth of the Virgin Mary*. The image-within-image, which is otherwise part of the scrupulously repeated architectural setting, is deliberately altered in order to reflect upon the content of the fresco. A shared characteristic feature of these alterations is that the change does not diminish the resemblance of the buildings, since at first glance they are not noticeable. The reality-effect and the identity of the setting are thus maintained. The alterations respect the realistic tendencies. However, for the attentive viewer, at second glance they offer an additional component to the story. This additional component, in my view, is not a highly complicated theological idea, but a reflection on the main meaning, which, once the alteration is perceived, can be comprehended immediately. In both cases, the alterations were accessible to the widest possible audience. Mary is blessed, and Judas will betray Jesus. Furthermore, this iconographic play did not lead to a disregard or a mockery of the content because the alterations reflect upon and enrich the main content of the fresco. The blessedness of the newborn Mary is expressed in the first fresco she appears. On the *Last Supper* scene Judas almost disappears among the apostles, but the serpent and the diagonal created by the eagles remind the viewer of the tragic depth of the moment and anticipates the perdition of the traitor.

As in the case of the allegories of *Justice* and *Injustice*, the question whether Giotto was solely responsible for these inventions or whether they were significant contributions by the program designer should be raised. For the allegories of *Justice* and *Injustice* Francesco of Barberino appears to be a likely candidate, since these works seem to rely on the iconography of profane love. In the case of the *Last Supper* and the *Birth of the Virgin* it is more likely that a learned cleric contributed his ideas whether he was Marchetto of Padua or Altegrado of Cattanei or the Augustinian friar holding the model of the church on the *Last Judgment* scene.[463] The quatrefoil images between the rectangular narratives testify to a certain degree of iconographic planning of the chapel and there is nothing to exclude the idea that the designer of those murals left his mark on the images-within-images as well. However, even if

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[462] Shoaf presented a number of visual connections between the allegory of Envy and the narrative frescoes in the chapel. Shoaf, "Eyeing Envy in the Arena Chapel," 137-149.

[463] It can be assumed that Altegrado of Cattanei somehow influenced the decision to give the commission to Giotto. Bellinati, *Nuovi studi sulla cappella di Giotto all'Arena di Padova*, 25-31. However, the actual level of his involvement to the design is unclear. See as well: Derbes and Sandona, *The usurer's heart*, 152-153.

such an intervention is assumed, the strong pictorial orientation of the solutions means that Giotto must be regarded at least as their co-author. Ultimately, the necessity of hypothesizing two distinct groups of advisors (a mundane and an ecclesiastic one) for the iconographic implications of the allegories on the one hand and of the biblical narratives on the other may signal Giotto's iconographic receptivity and his leading role in creating the actual possibility of portraying these implications. The primarily pictorial practice of using images-within-images as decoration in the architectural setting was transformed into a potential for creating iconographic associations.

3.2.4. The Centaur and the Isaac Frescoes in Assisi

Until now I have been postponing the discussion of the two Isaac frescoes in the Upper Church at Assisi. There were two main reasons for this. First, a similar reflexive use of the architectural setting may be seen on these frescoes as occurs in the two pairs of examples in the Arena chapel. Second, due to the bad state of preservation of the frescoes any argument must remain hypothetical, thus, I wanted to present the story of the images-within-images without relying on them. I will offer a reading of the two frescoes and highlight their crucial importance to the problem, if it is accepted that they display the same iconographic reflexivity witnessed in the Arena chapel.

The frescoes occupy the lower northern part of the third section of the nave in the Upper Church, below the *Expulsion from the Paradise*. As Gerhard Ruf remarked, these sections of the nave were dedicated to the four patriarchs of the Old Testament, to Noah, Abraham, Isaac and Joseph.[464] The two Isaac scenes, unlike the others, take place in a similar, elaborate interior. The first scene represents Isaac blessing Jacob while holding his hand (covered with goatskin). [Fig.3.2.63] Rebecca and a servant assist in the event. On the other fresco Esau offers venison to Isaac while Jacob escapes from the house.[465] [Fig.3.2.64]

In 1985, Luciano Bellosi already remarked that in the *Isaac blessing Jacob* scene a tiny relief of a centaur is depicted at the end of the bed, but he did not comment on it in greater detail and he did not specify whether there is a similar centaur in the *Esau asking for blessing*.[466] The problem is further complicated by the damage which this part of the fresco suffered. The restoration report did not mention a centaur in the *Esau asking for a blessing*. The report did refer to two centaurs, however, and categorically stated that these centaurs are

[464] Ruf, *Franziskus und Bonaventura*, 39-70.

[465] As Romanini has already pointed out, significant pictorial effort was made to express the blindness of Isaac and particularly trachoma. Angiola Maria Romanini, "Gli occhi di Isacco: classicismo e curiosità scientifica tra Arnolfo di Cambio e Giotto," *Arte medievale* 1 (1987), 27-30. For the narrative complexity of the fresco see: Millard Meiss, *Giotto and Assisi* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1960), 11-12; Kemp, *Die Räume der Maler*, 18-23 and 30-31; Romano, *La O di Giotto*, 69-82.

[466] Bellosi, *La pecora di Giotto*, 73.

in the *Isaac blessing Jacob*.[467] Chiara Frugoni and Bruno Zanardi did not remark on the centaur in their descriptions of either of these frescoes.[468] Alessio Monciatti mentioned the centaur in the *Isaac blessing Jacob* in his description of the architecture and for the *Esau asking for a blessing* he stated generally that the setting is the same.[469] Because of the damage to the fresco, Amy Neff hesitated to say whether or not there was a centaur in the *Esau asking for Blessing*.[470] Serena Romano stated that the fresco is too damaged to decide whether there had been a similar centaur on the bed.[471]

Truly, at the end of the bed the surface of the fresco is not in an optimal state. However, the original layer of plaster was not lost.[472] In its present state not a single trace of a centaur is detectable. The situation is similar on an earlier photograph (Alinari 5246).[473] [Fig.3.2.65] Furthermore, the centaur was not a metal-leaf addition to the bed, applied later on the surface, but it appears to be a similar monochrome drawing like the entire structure. Therefore if there had ever been a centaur some traces of it should have remained. It would not have fallen off as easily as an addiction *a secco*. In view of this fact I have adopted the position that the absence of the centaur on the *Esau asking for a Blessing* is not the result of the ruined state of the fresco, but displays the original situation.

The centaur on the *Isaac blessing Jacob* scene suffered a certain amount of damage as well, but the lower part of its body is manifestly that of a quadruped (perhaps a horse) and the upper part is human. [Fig.3.2.66-67] The head is lost. The centaur stands on its hind feet. The restoration report in 2001 rightly observed that above this centaur there was another figurative element on the bed, which was also identified as a centaur.[474] On the photograph of the detail after restoration in 1977 the lower part of a quadruped can be observed, perhaps standing on its hind feet.[475] [Fig.3.2.68]

Recently, Amy Neff interpreted the centaur as an allusion to the absent Esau.[476] She argued that this allusion has a double role. The centaur itself reminds the viewer of the semi-bestial nature of Esau and its flexed arm might have held a weapon, referring to Esau's hunt. Neff further pointed out that in the *Meditation in Solitude of One Who Is Poor*, in a quote

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[467] Carla d'Angelo, Sergio Fusetti and Carlo Giantomassi, "Rilevamento dei dati tecnici della decorazione murale della Basilica Superiore," in *Il cantiere pittorico della Basilica superiore di San Francesco in Assisi*, ed. Giuseppe Basile and P. Pasquale Magro (Assisi: Banca dell'Umbria, Sacro convento di San Francesco, Casa editrice francescana, 2001), 21.

[468] Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 364, 366, 372 and 374.

[469] Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 496.

[470] Amy Neff, "Lesser Brother: Franciscan Mission and Identity at Assisi," *The Art Bulletin* 88 (2006): 686.

[471] Romano, *La O di Giotto*, 95-96, note 80.

[472] See the drawing of Zanardi: Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 375.

[473] No. 4985, Kunsthistorishes Institut, Florence.

[474] D'Angelo, Fusetti and Giantomassi, "Rilevamento dei dati tecnici della decorazione murale della Basilica Superiore," 21.

[475] Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence, no. 2614.

[476] Neff, "Lesser Brother: Franciscan Mission and Identity at Assisi," 686.

from Jerome, Esau appears as a sinful hunter: "It is the Lord who 'will deliver you from the snare of the fowler', as stated in a Psalm. On this text Jerome says 'Who are these fowlers? The giant Nimrod was a great hunter and Esau was a hunter because he was a sinner; nowhere in the Holy Scriptures is there a hunter among the holy people'."[477] Neff's statement on the centaur was part of a larger argument concerning the scenes from the Old Testament in the nave of the Upper Church. In light of the *Meditation in Solitude of One Who Is Poor* she interpreted the choice of the patriarchs (especially the story of Jacob, Joseph and Benjamin) as a reflection on the identity of the Lesser Brothers.[478]

By emphasizing the role of Jacob as a model for the Franciscans, Neff took a clear stand against the hypothesis of Serena Romano who regarded the two Isaac frescoes as a reflection on the inheritance and the future of the order.[479] For Romano, the deceived Isaac on his deathbed recalled the death of Francis and the competing interpretations of his legacy within the Franciscan order. She argued that while in the first *vita* by Thomas of Celano Francis blessed and appointed Elias of Cortona as his successor on his deathbed, in the *Major Legend*, as Elias was already excommunicated, this reference was erased and Francis blessed all the brothers.[480] Elias was regarded by the spirituals as the one mainly responsible for having betrayed Francis' legacy, and in certain texts around the beginning of the fourteenth century the last blessing of Francis transformed into an attack on his personality. In the *Deeds* while Francis wishes to bless Bernard and appoint him as his successor, he mistakenly puts his hand on Elias' head, but then realizes his mistake in time.[481] For Romano the importance given to the two Isaac scenes in the Upper Church is a pictorial manifestation of these ideas. Jacob deceiving Isaac could be understood as a reference to Elias trying to deceive Francis

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[477] Neff, "Lesser Brother: Franciscan Mission and Identity at Assisi," 686. In the passage Esau is continuously portrayed as a negative figure. See: *Meditatio Pauperis in Solitudine*, 92. The passage is quoted in the translation of Campion Murray.

[478] Neff, "Lesser Brother: Franciscan Mission and Identity at Assisi," 681-685 and 691-700.

[479] Romano, "La Morte di Francesco," 339-368.

[480] Romano, "La Morte di Francesco," 356. "When brother Elias sat down on his left side with the other brothers around him, the blessed father crossed his arms and placed his right hand on Elias' head. He had lost the sight and use of his bodily eyes, so he asked: 'Over whom am I holding my right hand? – Over brother Elias,' they replied. 'And this is what I wish to do," he said." Thomas of Celano, "The Life of Saint Francis," in *The Saint. Francis of Assisi: Early Documents 1*, 276 (II, VII, 108). "As all the brothers sat around him, he stretched his hand over them, crossing his arms in the form of a cross, for he always loved this sign. And he blessed all the brothers, both present and absent, in the name and power of the Crucified." Bonaventure, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," 643 (XIV, 5).

[481] Romano, "La Morte di Francesco," 356-357. "When Saint Francis was on the point of death, like the patriarch Jacob, with his sons standing around him and devoutly weeping for the departure of such a loving Father, he said. 'Where is my first-born? Come here, my son, that my soul may bless you before I die.' Then Brother Bernard whispered to Brother Elias who was then vicar of the Order: 'Father, go to his right hand so that he may bless you.' After Brother Elias placed himself on the right side and Saint Francis, blind because of his tears, placed his right hand on Elias's head, he said: 'This is not the head of my first-born, Brother Bernard.' Then Brother Bernard approached his right side. Saint Francis with his arms crossed placed his left hand on the head of Brother Elias and his right on the head of Brother Bernard." Boniscambi of Montegiorgio, "The Deeds of Blessed Francis and his Companions," 446-447 (V).

and betray the legacy of the Franciscan order.[482] The textual evidence presented by Romano is far from conclusive. There is no reference to the blessing by Isaac but only to that given by Jacob. Even in the quoted passage from the *Deeds*, Elias is blessed together with Bernard.

The interpretation of the centaur is highly dependent on the wider context and implications of the Isaac frescoes. For Neff it was an expression of the semi-bestial nature of Esau, and thus, it added up to a positive staging of "lesser" Jacob against his older brother.[483] For Romano, Esau was a positive figure in the scene. She went further, and completely discarded the possible iconographic reading of the detail and stated that the centaur must be the sign of the master's familiarity with Classical models. She stated as well that such a complex allusion was quite improbable before the Renaissance.[484]

Without pretending to have a final answer to this problem I would like to emphasize the following points. First, though the *Esau asking for blessing* suffered a certain amount of damage, the earlier photographs and the surviving layer of plaster shows no trace of a centaur or any other figural ornament on the bed. It is quite probable that there never was a centaur on the bed and therefore the problem cannot be dismissed because of the ruined state of the fresco. Second, this alteration of the otherwise identical architectural setting for iconographic purposes can be detected in the Arena chapel. Therefore, the problem cannot be dismissed with a bold statement that such content-related allusion appeared only in the Renaissance. Third, as apparently there were two centaurs on the *Isaac blessing Jacob*, it is not clear whether they refer to Esau as a hunter or not. Fourth, until an interpretation is presented which tackles this problem, the iconographic implications of these two frescoes and their kinship to the Arena chapel must remain hypothetical.

I would add, however, that as far as I know the phenomenon is limited to these three pairs of examples in Trecento painting (and in fact in all of Western Art). This suggests a strong connection between these works, almost up to the point of attributing them to the same master, Giotto di Bondone. In a groundbreaking study, Millard Meiss proposed that the first frescoes bearing the mark of Giotto in the Upper Church at Assisi are in fact the two Isaac scenes. Based on various arguments related to the handling of space, visualization of emotions and narration Meiss concluded that the master of the Isaac frescoes reveals the same characteristics as Giotto in the Arena chapel and both are equally distant from the master who painted the *Legend of St. Francis*.[485] Since then Meiss' conclusions have been questioned. Based on the topographical-material evidence it was possible to show a strong link between

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[482] Romano, "La Morte di Francesco," 358-368.
[483] Neff, "Lesser Brother: Franciscan Mission and Identity at Assisi," 686.
[484] Romano, *La O di Giotto*, 78-79 and 95-96, note 80.
[485] Meiss, *Giotto and Assisi*, 16-25.

the *Isaac fresco* and the *Legend of St. Francis* in the Upper Church at Assisi. This may mean that the author of the *Isaac frescoes* was responsible for the *Legend* as well.[486] As for the identity of this master various names from Arnolfo di Cambio, to Pietro Cavallini and Giotto, have been proposed.[487]

Images-within-images will not answer the question of attribution, but it should be mentioned that out of these three masters, images-within-images are indeed present in Giotto's known oeuvre. Furthermore, if on the Isaac frescoes there already appears a reflexive use of images-within-images, it would mean that the story of images-within-images started with an extremely complex example containing the germ of the entire later development of the motif. The centaur on the bed of Isaac would then display the full iconographic potentials of the phenomenon. If this is the case, then the path from the *Legend of St. Francis* to the Arena chapel was not a development of images-within-images from a primarily decorative use to a more pronounced application of their iconographic and pictorial potentials, but only an interlude in this artistic process.

3.3. The Lower Church in Assisi and the Stefaneschi Polyptych

The analysis of images-within-images in the complex context of the Upper Church in Assisi and the Arena chapel in Padua revealed the interrelated development of pictorial and iconographic tendencies. The prototype-free use of images-within-images already prepared the ground for reflexive solutions in terms of iconography in the *Legend*, and this was retained and further complemented by reflexive pictorial experiments in the Arena chapel, central to the over all aesthetic impact of the mural decoration. To a certain extent it has been possible to associate this with Giotto, even if the accent may have varied depending on the attribution. In this subchapter I would like to complement this emerging picture with two further sets of examples. The first is the Stefaneschi polyptych. The importance of the polyptych for the problem of images-within-images is that in it Giotto created an extraordinary example of *mise-en-abyme*, which testifies to his interest in meta-pictorial matters from yet another angle. The second set of examples relates to the context of the Crucifixion sketch behind the personification of Obedience in the Lower Church at Assisi.

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[486] Bruno Zanardi, *Il cantiere di Giotto: le storie di San Francesco ad Assisi* (Milan: Skira, 1996), 35, 44, 366 and 374.

[487] Romanini has repeatedly identified him with Arnolfo di Cambio. Romanini, "Gli occhi di Isacco: classicismo e curiosità scientifica tra Arnolfo di Cambio e Giotto," 1-43; Angiola Maria Romanini, "Arnolfo all'origine di Giotto: l'enigma del Maestro di Isacco," *Storia dell'arte* 65 (1989): 5-26; Angiola Maria Romanini, "Arnolfo pittore: pittura e spazio virtuale nel cantiere gotico," *Arte medievale* 11 (1997), 3-23, esp. 12-19. Zanardi, on the basis of the fresco technique, attributed it to Pietro Cavallini. Bruno Zanardi, *Giotto e Pietro Cavallini*, 25-36 and 85-187. For a forceful statement on attributing both works to Giotto see: Seidel, *Italian art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, vol. 1: Painting, 81-160. Romano has also recently argued for this hypothesis. Giotto. Romano, *La O di Giotto*, 84-89.

3.3.1. The Stefaneschi Polyptych

The images-within-images analyzed up to this point were all frescoes and all were connected to the pseudo-decoration of the architectural setting. The Stefaneschi polyptych in comparison to these frescoes is a more conventional example and does not fit into the mainstream development. It is a panel, not a fresco and the image-within-image depicted on it, a model of the altarpiece in the hand of the kneeling cardinal Stefaneschi, is at first glance an element in a traditional donation scene. A closer look at this example should hopefully reveal two things 1) the conventional donation scene is more complex than the usual examples; 2) the complexity of the work shows how the visual sensitivity of Giotto could revolutionize traditional genres as well.

The attribution of the altarpiece to Giotto and the patronage of Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi are confirmed in the obituary of St. Peter's (1361-1362): "Tabulam depictam de manu Iotti super eiusdem basilice sacrosanctum altare donavit, que octigentos auri florenos constitit."[488] The date proposed for the altarpiece varies between 1300 and 1330.[489] The double-sided altarpiece stood on the high altar of St. Peter's Basilica in the Vatican. Presumably the side representing Christ enthroned was directed towards the apse and the other side showing St. Peter enthroned was directed towards the nave.[490] Cardinal Stefaneschi appears on both sides. On the side directed towards the apse he kneels at the feet of Christ and wears the dress of a canon of St. Peter, the position he assumed from early 1290 until his death.[491] [Fig.3.3.1] On the other side, oriented towards the nave, he kneels together with Celestin V at the feet of St. Peter. Here he wears the sumptuous dress of the cardinal deacon of St. Giorgio in Velabro, a position to which he was appointed by Boniface VIII in 1295.[492] [Fig.3.3.2] Celestin V offers a book to St. Peter. Cardinal Stefaneschi offers him the model of the altarpiece. [Fig.3.3.3]

Depictions of donation scenes traditionally contain a recognizable model of the building, book, painting or stained glass window being donated. Two main types can be distinguished on the basis of the relationship between the model and the work and both are present here. Celestin V offers an object which is not connected visually to the picture on which it is represented. The bound book does not refer back to the altarpiece. On the other hand, the cardinal offers an object depicting the altarpiece so that the work is repeated within

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[488] Irene Hueck, "Das Datum des Nekrologs für Kardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi im Martyrologium der vatikanischen Basilika," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 21 (1977): 219-220.

[489] See: Alessandro Tomei (ed.), *Giotto e il Trecento. Il più Sovrano Maestro stato di dipintura*, vol. 2: Catalogue (Milan: Skira, 2009), 167-169.

[490] Julian Gardner, "The Stefaneschi Altarpiece: a reconsideration," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974): 61.

[491] Gardner, "The Stefaneschi Altarpiece: a reconsideration," 63 and 67.

[492] Gardner, "The Stefaneschi Altarpiece: a reconsideration," 63 and 67.

the work itself. Needless to say that for the act of donation itself a repetition of the work within the work is unnecessary.

The work-within-work structures create a stronger visual bond between the broadly understood object and the scene. This solution is generally labeled a *mise-en-abyme*. In the language of heraldry in the Middle Ages representing something *en abyme* meant the depiction of a smaller shield in the middle of the shield.[493] André Gide presumably adopted the term from heraldry and it became a general term in literary studies and in art history as well. *Mise-en-abyme* not only comprises those representations in various media where the work-within-work structure appears, but it also denotes a self-reflexivity in the representation and hence of the masters as well. One crucial element in this reflexive process is the increased resemblance of the model to the work. The effect of the *mise-en-abyme* is more immediate because the model recalls the work more successfully.

Perhaps it was the Cardinal Stefaneschi's idea to have the model of the altarpiece in his hands on the panel. The cardinal appears on both sides of the altarpiece and he is even shown dressed according to the particular scene. Given this level of self-fashioning he presumably gave some thought to the model as well. However, in my view Giotto fulfilled not only the request of the cardinal, but fundamentally understood as well the mechanisms of *mise-en-abyme*.[494] This is testified to by the elaborate depiction of the model which copies meticulously both the panels and the wooden framework of the altarpiece. The reality-effect of the embedded work is so striking that Julian Gardner confidently used it in reconstructing the original layout of the altarpiece.[495] The possibility to create a strong verisimilitude between the model and the work is evidently the result of the realistic turn of the picture around the end of the thirteenth century. In this respect, Giotto was doing no more and no less than relying on its pictorial repertory.

It must be noted, however, that Giotto took his painting one step further. The model in the hands of the cardinal depicts the same side showing the cardinal with St. Peter and the offering scene. Therefore Cardinal Stefaneschi and Celestin V are represented once again. It is barely visible, but Celestin V seems to have the book in his hand. There can be no doubt that the cardinal holds a model of the altarpiece yet again, but in this instance reduced to a shining golden retake of its framework. Giotto not only repeated the altarpiece, but repeated the

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[493] For a succinct summary of mise-en-abyme in the Middle Ages and for the use of the term see: Stuart Whatling, "Putting Mise-en-abyme to its (medieval) place," URL: http://www.courtauld.ac.uk/researchforum/projects/medievalarttheory/documents/Mise-en-abyme.pdf, last accessed 6th December 2009.

[494] Although there was a tendency to question Giotto's authorship with regard to the altarpiece, I agree with Alessandro Tomei that the model in the cardinal's hand is Giotto's work. Tomei (ed.), *Giotto e il Trecento. Il più Sovrano Maestro stato di dipintura*, 168.

[495] Gardner, "The Stefaneschi Altarpiece: a reconsideration," 58-59.

donation scene as well. Thus, he crafted a work-within-work-within-work. This solution sharply showed the possibility of an infinite regression inherent to the structure of *mise-en-abyme*.

This example may show that even in the case of traditionally established genres such as donation scenes when combined with the *mise-en-abyme* of the work itself, Giotto not only adopted the visual schemes, but also recognized and developed their pictorial potentials. Furthermore, this preoccupation with pictorial concerns again did not remain solely a play with the visible, given that the panel was meant for perhaps the single most important altar of Christendom, but found a way to please the patron as well. Besides his two appearances on the two sides of the altar, Jacopo Stefaneschi must have been pleased to find himself depicted for a third time on the model he was holding in his hands while kneeling at the feet of St. Peter.

3.3.2. The Context of the *Vele* in the Lower Church at Assisi

The allegory of Obedience on the *vele* was presumably one of the last frescoes Giotto painted in the Lower Church at Assisi before he left with his workshop in July 1311.[496] Giotto's activity in the Lower Church was divided into two campaigns. Presumably before 3 May 1297, parts of the St. Nicholas chapel together with related areas of the northern arm of the transept were painted.[497] In all probability Giotto returned to Assisi after finishing the decoration of the Arena chapel in Padua. His presence in Assisi is attested by a preliminary document for a later official one written by Giovanni Alberti, notary of Assisi, declaring on January 4, 1309 that Palmerino di Guido repaid a debt of fifty Cortonese denarii to Egidio Giuntarelli in his and Giotto's names.[498] During this campaign, the decoration of the St. Nicholas chapel was reshaped and completed together with the Infancy-cycle in the northern arm of the transept and the *vele*.

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[496] I accept Elvio Lunghi's proposition. In July 1311 the basilica was flooded and the *padre custode*, together with the convent, petitioned the authorities to remove the rainwater threatening the decoration. The humidity in the walls may have made work impossible for a significant amount of time. Lunghi, "Per la fortuna della Basilica di S. Francesco ad Assisi," 66. See as well: Zanardi, *Giotto e Pietro Cavallin,* 200-201.

[497] The *ante quem* is provided by the controversy between the Colonna family and Boniface VIII. Stefano Colonna robbed the papal cohort transporting the treasury from Anagni to Rome. As Cardinal Napoleone Orsini together with his young brother Gian Gaetano is represented on the arch, it must have been painted before this event. It was unlikely that a Colonna would have been depicted as a donor in the papal basilica of Assisi after the attack and work on the decoration was presumably suspended. Irene Hueck, "Il cardinale Napoleone Orsini e la cappella di S. Nicola nella basilica francescana di Assisi," in *Roma anno 1300* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1983), 187-193. See as well: Zanardi, *Giotto e Pietro Cavallini*, 194-195.

[498] It was discovered during the 1970s in the Communal Library of Bevagna. Valentino Martinelli, "Un documento per Giotto ad Assisi," *Storia dell"arte* 19 (1973): 193-208. Since Palmerino and Giotto borrowed the money together, it was not intended to pay for private affairs. Furthermore, a certain "Palmerino pintore" also appears in the archives. Therefore it is probable that Palmerino and Giotto had a workshop in Assisi and the money, which was equal to a dowry at that time, was borrowed to start some work in the city. See as well: Zanardi, *Giotto e Pietro Cavallini*, 189-194.

Generally speaking, the use of images-within-images in the Lower Church conformed to the practice established in the *Legend of St. Francis* in the Upper Church, with the important difference that here they did not accompany the life of a quasi-contemporary saint, but rather they complemented evangelical (Infancy-cycle) and older hagiographic (St. Nicholas) narratives. A common characteristic of the solutions is the way they attempt to harmonize the architectural setting with pictorial narration, even if correspondences similar to the ones in the Arena chapel were not developed.

The episodes of the story of the three princes (Nepotian, Ursyn, and Apollyn) were depicted on the arch of the St. Nicholas chapel, together with other scenes. According to the *Golden Legend*, the princes came to Myra to pacify a revolt against the emperor in a neighboring province.[499] They became acquainted with Nicholas, bishop of the city, and witnessed how he saved three unjustly accused knights from execution. Later on, when they were unjustly imprisoned in Constantinople, they prayed to Nicholas, who then appeared to the emperor in his dream and saved them. After being liberated, the three princes again visited Nicholas in Myra to thank him for his intervention. Three episodes in the story were depicted on the arch: the *Saving of the Knights*, the *Dream of the Emperor* and the *Princes Expressing their Gratitude*, the first and the last each containing an image-within-image as well.

In the *Golden Legend,* the architectural settings of the events were not specified. In the background of the *Saving of the Knights* there is a composite building creating the impression of a city with its Gothic and fantastic elements.[500] [Fig.3.3.5] On top of the building on the left there are two statues of winged quadrupeds (sphinxes?). [Fig.3.3.4] These statues definitely contribute to the oriental impression of the city. Furthermore, on the *Princes Expressing their Gratitude*, Nicholas stands in front of a church with an elaborate tympanum showing the *Virgin and Child* between two kneeling angels holding a censer.[501] [Fig.3.3.6-7] It seems that the architectural setting was adjusted to both scenes. For the execution scene, the view of the city with fantastic animals was more appropriate since the episode is about the intervention of the saint in a secular space. For the meeting with Nicholas, when the princes visit him, the setting of a church fit better, since it refers to the status of Nicholas as bishop of Myra. The architectural setting harmonizes with the episodes.[502]

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[499] Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 42-44; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend, vol. 1*, 23-24.
[500] Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 435.
[501] Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 436.
[502] In addition to this adjusted use of the architecture, a painted panel of the saint was depicted in the St. Nicholas chapel as well, again based on an episode from the *Golden Legend*. A Jew, who bought an image of the saint to guard his valuables while he was away, is angrily attacking the image with a whip after his things were stolen. The intervention of the saint and the restitution of the treasures were depicted beneath but were destroyed in the middle of the 18th century. Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 44-45; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend,*

Similar careful adjustment and a certain interconnectedness of the setting can be witnessed on the *Presentation to the Temple* and the *Christ among the Doctors* as well. [Fig.3.3.9-10] Both scenes were placed in an elaborate Gothic interior.[503] In the Lower Church, the two frescoes face each other on the lower part of the arch next to the *vele*. Therefore, besides the adoption of a similar interior, the actual space of the building creates a visual-spatial connection between them. They elongate the space of the transept in two directions. Furthermore, both episodes took place in the Temple and represent a peaceful meeting between Christ with the Jewish ecclesiastical authorities.[504] The harmony of the encounters is expressed by the gestures of the figures. The adoption of a Gothic setting can be understood as a means of increasing the solemnity of the décor.

Furthermore, Giotto used images-within-images here to create a reference to the Old Testament. On the *Presentation to the Temple*, above the altar and close to the empirical focal point of the fresco there is a lavishly decorated chest, with five golden reliefs of prophets on it.[505] [Fig.3.3.8] The prophets stand in niches separated by twisted golden columns. Though highly contaminated in terms of iconography, the chest may stand for the Torah shrine.[506] The reason for representing prophets on it may be to express the Old Testament roots of the ritual of circumcision prescribed in the Mosaic Laws. But even without this reference, the reliefs of the prophets on the scene recall the Old Testament and this signals its relatedness to the story of Christ to the viewer.

This correspondence is further strengthened in the composition of the *Christ among the Doctors*, where Christ was placed at the focal point of the scene. As the two frescoes sit opposite to each other the replacement of the Torah by Christ signifying perhaps the passage from the Old to the New Testament creates a forceful visual interaction between the scenes. The seven medallions of prophets placed on the arches express the allusion to the Old Testament on this fresco. The *Christ among the Doctors*, just as in the *Presentation to the Temple* represents a peaceful encounter with the learned Jewish clergy, where Jesus discussed with them in depth various questions related to the Scriptures.[507] The prophets, both in the matter of discussion and the emblem of the Old Testament, remind the viewer of this dimension of the encounter.

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vol. 1, 25-26. See also: Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 437. The image-within-image is motivated here by the narrative context.

[503] Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 422.

[504] I will revisit the problem in subchapter "4.3. The Temple – The Space of the Jews."

[505] Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 422. The identification of the figures as prophets is based on their beards and the scroll in the hands of the figure on the left. Although the figure in the middle seems to be in a hierarchical position, since his two neighbors visibly turn towards him. However, there are no distinct attributes further specifying his identity.

[506] As Gerhard Ruf suggested. Ruf, *Das Grab des hl. Franziskus*, 120-121.

[507] See: Ruf, *Das Grab des hl. Franziskus*, 120-121 and 133-134.

Three bust-reliefs of *putti* were depicted on the marble bench facing the viewer. The one in the middle was represented frontally, and the two on the sides turn towards him while playing on the flute. [Fig.3.3.11] This pseudo-sculptural etude can be interpreted as the lateral *putti* honoring the one in the middle. As this *putto* is placed exactly along the same axis as Jesus, the decoration can be regarded as a playful but still appropriate retake of the main theme of the fresco. The Elders admit and admire the knowledge of Jesus and the middle *putto* is being venerated by the other two. The images-within-images therefore widen and playfully paraphrase the content of the evangelical episode.

Both the prophets and the *putti* etude have precedents in the framing bands of the frescoes which contain representations of monochrome *putti* and polychrome angels or prophets. It seems that when these motifs were employed as pseudo-decorations on the depicted buildings within the frescoes, these integrative motifs respected the main iconographic content of the works. Depictions of prophets do not appear, for instance, in the *Nativity* or the *Annunciation*, but only on the two scenes strongly tied to the relationship between the Old and the New Testament, the *Christ among the Doctors* and the *Presentation to the Temple*. Similarly, the playful etude of the *putti* is more elaborated than the monochrome busts in the neighboring medallions, and thus, it became a narrative insertion reiterating the main theme of the fresco.

This iconographic tuning of images-within-images in the Lower Church provides the immediate context for the *vele*. As has already been stated, the four segments of the vaulting were dedicated to the *Glorification of St. Francis* and to the three vows of the Franciscan order: to *Chastity*, *Poverty* and *Obedience*. Similarly to the allegory of *Obedience*, the allegory of *Chastity* was placed in a complex architectural setting as well. [Fig.3.3.12] The building represents a fortified castle, the walls of which are guarded by Purity (*Munditia*) and Fortitude (*Fortitudo*). Various actions take place in its foregrounds. St. Francis welcomes a friar, a nun and a lay person; a youngster is being baptized; Penitence is chasing away the black skeleton of Death (*Mors*), the blinded cupid of Love (*Amor*), the burning Passion (*Ardor*), and the bestial Impurity (*Immunditia*).[508] Chastity (*Castitas*) occupies the elevated central tower of the castle.

The window of Chastity is framed between two monochrome twisted columns standing on two lion-head consoles. [Fig.3.3.13] Above the window there is a tympanum with a relief of a *putto* half kneeling and holding the neck of a bird in each hand. [Fig.3.3.14] Two contradictory points should be emphasized with regard to this motif. First, it provides the decoration of the chamber of Chastity and is placed right above her head. Because of this one

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[508] Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 396-397.

must except that it is a meaning-loaded element. Second, this motif of the *putto* with birds in the tympanum also appears in the *Legend of St. Francis* in the Upper Church where it can be found on the *Expulsion of the Devils from Arezzo*, among the Classical decorative elements on the apse behind St. Francis. [Fig.3.1.21] In that case, it presumably had no iconographic implications.[509]

The migration of the motif within San Francesco attests the pictorial recycling of a decorative element, which might have depended on workshop practices. However, where the relief of the *putto* is related to some extent to the allegory of Chastity an interpretation might be attempted. The winged and naked *putto* above Chastity alludes to the various vices being chased off on the right side of the fresco, especially to the similarly winged and naked *Amor* and *Ardor*. It would be quite puzzling to depict a representation recalling these vices in Chastity's fortified chamber. In this context, it may be of significance that the *putto* in the Lower Church is visibly half kneeling while the one in the *Legend* stands erect. This may be a simple alteration of the motif although the first line of the inscription of the fresco says "To Chastity, who is praying for victory, the veil has been given as a crown."[510] Tentatively, I would propose that the half kneeling putto might playfully represent the victory of Chastity over the vices *Amor* and *Ardor*, enacted in a large scale in the foregrounds of her castle. This solution would simultaneously explain the recycling of the motif from the *Legend* (the visual source was at hand), and by making alterations in the posture of the putto it was adjusted to the content of the allegory.

As I have already argued in depth, this attentiveness to images-within-images in the main content of the frescoes lead to a highly original solution in the allegory of Obedience. The personification of Obedience was placed in a chapterhouse and on the wall behind her Giotto depicted a sketch of a Crucifixion group, a usual element of chapterhouse decoration. By that time, the use of images-within-images as a way to increase the reality-effect of the architectural setting was well established. However, with the decision to depict an unfinished work, a sort of *sinopia*, Giotto went a step further and perfected the difference between the "real" and the "represented" elements of the fresco. Furthermore, perhaps together with the

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[509] I could not find the prototype of this detail (if any such exists). Pliny the Elder described a statue by Boethos of Chalcedon depicting "a child strangling a large goose." Plinius Maior Secundus, *Naturalis Historia*, vol. 5, 192 (XXXIV, 84). A copy of this composition was already known in the Renaissance and in the 18th century further replicas were excavated. Claudia Kryza-Gersch, "Boy with a Goose," in *Andrea Riccio: Renaissance Master of Bronze*, ed. Denise Allen and Peta Motture (London: Wilson, 2008), 294-297. This statue presumably represented a putto fighting with a goose, and judging by surviving replicas it was quite different from the symmetrical composition of the pseudo-reliefs in Assisi. *Putti* riding swans appear on the fluvial scene under the apse mosaic in Santa Maria Maggiore. Here as well a direct Classical influence is hypothesized. Tomei, *Iacobus Torriti pictor*, 109-110.

[510] "[…]e Castitati oranti pro victoria corone datur capital." Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 396.

program designer, Giotto integrated the Crucifixion group into the meaning of the allegory. The truncated image of Christ on the cross behind Obedience recalled the letter of St. Paul to the Philippians (2:8): "*Christ humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even death on the cross.*" The allusion to this line in the context of the vow of Obedience was omnipresent in Franciscan manuals for novices and in the commentaries on the Rule.

The images-within-images in the Lower Church were adjusted to the main iconographic content of the frescoes as well. The straightforwardness of the allusions is definitely uneven. The architectural setting in the St. Nicholas chapel conformed to the narrative, but without a strong iconographic connection between the contents of the detail and that of the fresco. The two elaborate interiors of the Temple in the infancy of Christ already contained a reference to the Old Testament. The venerating *putti* on the *Christ among the Doctors* and the half kneeling putto in the *Allegory of Chastity* can be regarded as playful but meaning-loaded reflections on the main iconographic content.

I believe that the content-related importance of the Crucifixion sketch cannot be explained without a reference to the program designer in Assisi, even if his identity eludes us completely. Even more strongly than in the Arena chapel, there are reasons to believe that Giotto did not develop this solution completely on his own (though this cannot be excluded). It remains an open question whether the Franciscan agenda of the image-within-image in the *Allegory of Obedience* implies that commissioner interventions marked the other examples as well in the Lower Church. The playfulness and the more generic nature of those solutions rather support the hypothesis of Giotto's full authorship. On the other hand, none of the details contradicts the principal religious message of the frescoes so if these solutions were not created by a Franciscan they were still definitely produced *for* them.

4. The Problem of the Statuette: Typology or Idolatry?

In the previous chapter I attempted to characterize the beginnings of the use of images-within-images in the Trecento, its connections with the realistic turn of the picture itself and the central role of Giotto in these developments. The aim of this chapter is to analyze the motif of the statuette. The statuette is in fact emblematic for the problem of images-within-images: it usually appears as part of a depicted building, thus, increasing the reality-effect of the architectural settings. On the other hand, as a depicted freestanding statue, the statuette is necessarily inscribed into a wider network of problems related to the question of idolatry in medieval art. Furthermore, although the origins of the statuette might be connected to Giotto as well, the motif was successfully adopted by many workshops in his orbit and therefore shows the diffusion of images-within-images.

Depicted statues were not usual and self-evident elements of medieval art. As the freestanding statue was dangerously close to an idol, the pictorial representation of freestanding statues would have generated the same concerns. That we have visual representations of freestanding statues from the medieval period is due to the fact that on those representations the meaning and therefore the possible interpretation of the statues were sufficiently supervised. Statues appear in a narrative context where they are clearly interpreted as idols. There are two preeminent narrative contexts in which statues can be safely depicted as idols: the context of destruction and the context of idolatry. In the first they collapse upon the order of a saint or because of the presence of the Holy Family. In the second they are crafted and worshipped by the infidels. In both cases, the meaning of the statue together with its negative connotations is fixed. Furthermore, in the context of destruction the scandal created by the very existence of the idol-statue is resolved, since the destruction effaces the object. Yet, in the context of worship the statue survives for the moment displayed in its original context. In this sense the context of idolatry permits the representation of the statue as idol and the people around it as idolaters, thus, in the context of idolatry the statue and the people mutually mark and cast a shadow on each other. Michael Camille in his pioneering work on *The Gothic Idol* explored a vast material related to the way the depiction of idols and the act of idolatry could function as ideological machinery in medieval Christianity by defining and rejecting the Other and clarifying the boundaries of the Self.[511] Debra Higgs

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[511] Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1991).

Strickland adopted a similar position in her investigation of the way Jews and Saracens were turned into the demon or the devil for medieval Christianity.[512]

Camille and Strickland focused mostly on those examples, which belonged to the context of destruction or the context of idolatry, where the represented statues were identifiably idols. Thus, they disregarded completely the problem of the statuette, where the freestanding statues were no longer inserted into these evident contexts. These statuettes appear untouched on the top of various buildings, and they are distanced from any context of worship. Even their identification as idols is questionable. Sometimes they seem more like Victories, in some cases they are arguably prophets. They appear on the Temple in the context of the infancy of Christ (*Presentation to the Temple* and *Christ among the Doctors*) and on various buildings related to martyrdom (St. Stephen or St. John the Baptist) or ordeal (*St. Francis before the Sultan*) scenes.

Though none of these can be compared to the strict context of idolatry, both the Temple and the various martyrdom scenes display in fact an encounter with the preeminent Others of medieval Christianity: the Jew or the Saracen. In this way, the statuettes on those pictures might imply idolatry although this implication necessarily remains ambiguous since the main subject matter of the pictures is not idolatry. The principal question of the chapter is how the depicted statuettes relate to and reflect upon these encounters; that is, whether the ideological construction of the Other and the Self studied by Camille in the contexts of destruction and idolatry can be detected or not. If it is evidently present then by what kind of pictorial strategies is it achieved, and if not, what kind of other interpretations are possible. In sum, how did iconographic reflexivity occur in case of the statuette which represents a major example of images-within-images in the period?

Many instances of this phenomenon of depicting statues on the top of the buildings in the first half of the fourteenth century in Italian painting, have been subject to comprehensive art historical interpretation. Janetta Rebold Benton argued that the representation of these statuettes reflected the influence of Classical painting.[513] Since a significant amount of the Classical heritage accessible during the Middle Ages is now lost, she based her argument on a cumulative comparison of Pompeian and Trecento examples.[514] She accepted that in some cases the statuettes could be interpreted as part of the Christian iconography of the scene. However, since these solutions did not occur repeatedly or systematically, she out of hand dismissed the possibility of a conscious pictorial strategy aiming at using these details to

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[512] Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University, 2003).
[513] Benton, "Some Ancient Mural Motifs in Italian Painting around 1300," 151-176.
[514] Benton, "Some Ancient Mural Motifs in Italian Painting around 1300," 152-156, esp. 153-154.

reflect on the main subject of the painting and insisted on the determining influence of Classical painting.[515] It should be noted that Ernő Marosi pointed out the importance of Gothic sculpture in the reception of the freestanding statuette, which may mean that other contemporary factors contributed to this process as well.[516]

Benton's statement was to some extent a reaction to Erwin Panofsky's proposition identifying these statues as forerunners of disguised symbolism, and the way he interpreted them as clear marks of evildoing and idolatry.[517] What was really at stake in the debate between Benton and Panofsky is the independence of the artist. One alternative is that these details are a manifestation of an early antiquarian interest in Classical painting and in this sense a manifestation of the liberty of the artist as well, free to adopt and display Classical motifs without caring about their iconographic integrity.[518] Or, we allow that the actual display of these motifs might have been influenced by the over all iconographic structure of the painting, that is, they may also serve to communicate something. The exact content of this message does not necessarily have to be a complex "disguised meaning" in the Panofskyan sense, however, a certain level of expression can be presumed.

In the following pages I will adopt this position and accept the possibility that the various statuettes displayed on top of the buildings may be in a dynamic interaction with the main content of the paintings themselves. This dynamic interaction means that the various statuettes relate to the encounter taking place beneath them, whether the encounter with the Jew or with the Saracen. I do not assume that this connection between the statuettes and the

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[515] Benton, "Some Ancient Mural Motifs in Italian Painting around 1300," 164-165. Besides neglecting the possible iconographic implications of the details, the exclusive insistence on the Classical derivation may result in the role of the contemporary Gothic architecture being disregarded as well. One passing example: on the *Vision of Brother Augustine and the Bishop of Assisi* from the Legend of St. Francis in the Upper Church, Assisi the three statues seem to relate more to contemporary architectural or even sculptural practices. Furthermore, the crouching left hand figure is a clear allusion to a pilgrim, or even to St. Anthony himself. Benton, on the other hand, presumes first an undisturbed Classical influence and then necessarily hypothesizes the Christian assimilation and transformation of the motif. Benton, "Some Ancient Mural Motifs in Italian Painting around 1300," 158.

[516] Marosi, "A propos des figures placées sur des pinacles ou des gâbles dans l'architecture gothique," 212-219.

[517] In addition to the general statement he illustrated his point with some examples. He identified the statues in the *Martyrdom of the Franciscan* (San Francesco, Siena) as classical gods as opposed to their Christian counterparts. About the statues ornamenting the roof of Herod's palace in the *Martyrdom of St. John the Baptist* (Peruzzi chapel, Santa Croce, Florence) he wrote that they are pagan divinities "whose iconographic significance in this particular context need no explanation." He stated that the "evil, anti-Christian implications of the locale in Duccio's *Christ among the Doctors* are indicated by four armed and winged idols." Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 141; Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, 152.

[518] Fritz Saxl in a short remark on the decoration of the two fragments from Casa San Giuliano (now in the Correr Museum, Venice) defended this position. On the top of the building-structures in which the representations of the Christian Virtues are accommodated, there are nude figurines apparently unrelated to the allegories, and some of them may follow Classical models. Saxl stated that "but on top of the pinnacles, as on those of Gothic cathedrals in the north, there begins a different and freer life; and where this Trecento painter expresses himself without feeling restricted by church rules he uses the classical model." Fritz Saxl, *Lectures 1* (London: Warburg Institute, 1957), 151. See also: Serena Bagnarol, "Due tavole veneziane del primo Trecento in San Giusto a Trieste," *Arte Veneta* 61 (2004): 23, note 26.

main content of the pictures necessarily leads to an open visual display of idolatry and I allow that the statuettes may possess a wider range of meaning. The various examples were sorted into two main groups on the basis of the function of the depicted buildings. The first group focuses on how the statuette appeared on the palace of Herod or the sultan and thus, became an integrated element of secular power-representation. The second group contains those examples where the statuette is an element of the Temple (or the Synagogue) creating detailed religious settings for the "Other." An evaluation of a late antique work introduces these analyses.

4.1. The Statuette in Late Antiquity

Before entering into a discussion of specific Trecento works I would like to partially restate Benton's conclusion that there is a convincing parallelism between the use of the statuette in Classical painting, as found in Pompeii for instance, and its revival in the Trecento.[519] This parallelism may imply that the motif of the statuette itself was rediscovered thanks to the Classical examples still available in Rome at the beginning of the Trecento.[520] Though one-to-one matches between the remaining Classical and Trecento examples cannot be presented, the figurines on the mural decoration of the Domus Aurea, the Pancratii Tomb, together with the Farnesina and Livia houses from Rome, and Marcus Lucretius Fronto, Lorius Tiburtinus, Cryptoporticus, and Vetti houses from Pompeii provide a convincing source for the motif.[521] These statuettes represent a later phase of development in Roman times. In the second style the depicted statues possibly contributed to the religiosity of the interior; sometimes they were definitely cult images, in other cases this correspondence is less straightforward.[522] Statuettes considered here appeared in large numbers in the third style, parallel to the disintegration of other architectural elements. It is an open question whether the contemporary viewer regarded them as cultic or decorative representations.[523] This problem applies to the Trecento painters as well.

However, this discussion must be complemented by another, fundamental and in this context so far completely neglected example from Late Antiquity: the statuettes appearing on the nave mosaic of San Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna. In comparison to the hypothesized

[519] For a comprehensive catalogue of the motif see: Eric M. Moormann, *La Pittura parietale romana come fonte di conoscenza per la scultura antica* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988).

[520] John White also suggested this on a general level. White, *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space*, 27-28.

[521] For the comparative analysis see: Benton, "Some Ancient Mural Motifs in Italian Painting around 1300," 156-166. Benton's examples can be further complemented with the villa Poppea in Oplontis. For the question and the refutation of the hypothesis of whether earlier medieval examples were responsible for the transmission of the motif see: Benton, "Some Ancient Mural Motifs in Italian Painting around 1300," 166-176.

[522] Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society*, 214-219.

[523] Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society*, 219-221.

Classical prototypes, this work may show that the statuette was already integrated into Christian iconography in Late Antiquity. Since these mosaics were visible through out the Middle Ages this example may offer an alternative origin for the use of statuettes on depicted buildings.

The Arian basilica was built under the patronage of the Ostrogothic king, Theoderic (AD 494-526), perhaps around the end of his reign (between AD 520-526).[524] In AD 561, following an edict of Emperor Justinian, the belongings of the Arian Church of Ravenna, and thus San Apollinare Nuovo as well, were confiscated and given to the Catholic Church in the city.[525] The church was rededicated to St. Martin in Golden Heavens and its mosaic decoration was "purified" from "heretic" elements under the supervision of Archbishop Agnellus.[526]

At the end of the nave, opposite to each other, two buildings are represented, each identified with an inscription. On the northern side stands the town of Classe (CIVITAS CLASSIS) and the southern side a palace (PALATIUM). [Fig.4.4] Placed in various parts of the palace, but always holding a festoon and standing on a column, altogether nineteen statuettes of winged Victories in blue clothing were depicted. [Fig.4.5] Together with the mosaic of Classe it was created under Theoderic and then subsequently altered under Emperor Justinian.[527] In both cases, alteration involved the replacement of the figures, presumably high members of Theoderic's court, possibly even the king himself, with a golden background in case of Classe and a blue background and white curtains in the case of the Palatium; furthermore this removal of figures might have included destruction of Theoderic's statue (perhaps an equestrian one) represented in the tympanum of the palace as well.[528]

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[524] An inscription in the apse still legible in the middle of the 9th century testifies to Theoderic's patronage: "*Theodericus rex hanc ecclesiam a fundamentis in nomine Domini Nostri Yhesu Christi fecit.*" The inscription was reported by Agnellus presbyter in the Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis in the chapter on the life of Archbishop Agnellus. Agnellus of Ravenna, "Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis," in *Scriptores rerum langobardicarum et italicarum saec. VI-IX*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger (Hannover: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1878), 333-335. See: Rita Zanotto, "La chiesa di Sant'Apollinare Nuovo a Ravenna," in *Venezia e Bisanzio: aspetti della cultura artistica bizantina da Ravenna a Venezia (V-XIV secolo)*, ed. Clementina Rizzardi (Venice, 2005), 351-352.

[525] Zanotto, "La chiesa di Sant'Apollinare Nuovo a Ravenna," 353.

[526] "Igitur reconciliavit beatissimus Agnellus pontifex infra hanc urbem ecclesiam sancti Martini confessoris, quam Theodericus rex fundavit, quae vocatur Caelum aureum; tribunal et utrasque parietes de imaginibus martirum virginumque incendentium tessellis decoravit." Agnellus of Ravenna, "Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis," 333-335; Zanotto, "La chiesa di Sant'Apollinare Nuovo a Ravenna," 353-54. For the subsequent history of the church see: Emanuela Penni Iacco, *La basilica di S. Apollinare Nuovo di Ravenna attraverso i secoli* (Bologna: Ante Quem, 2004).

[527] Otto G. von Simson, *Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1948), 69-71 and 82; Giuseppe Bovini, *Ravenna Mosaics*, tr. Giustina Scaglia (Oxford: Phaidon, 1978), 34; Giuseppe Bovini, *Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna*, tr. J. Templeton (Milan: Silvana, 1961), 22.

[528] Giuseppe Bovini, "Antichi rifacimenti nei mosaici di S. Apollinare Nuovo di Ravenna," *Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* 13 (1966): 51-81. As for the statue of Theoderic: the tympanum of the building in the mosaic was definitely reshaped. No traces of the original decoration remain. The proposition about the statue of Theoderic is based on the description of Agnellus: "Obsiderunt (Longobardi) Ticinum, quae civitas

The statuettes of the Victories were in all probability part of the original decoration and survived the reshaping of the mosaic. The extent to which the PALATIUM mosaic copied the palace of Theoderic in Ravenna, and thus, whether the Victories were part of that building cannot be decided.[529] They are not mentioned in the description of presbyter Agnellus and there is no conclusive piece among the few figurative remains found during the excavation of the palace.[530] Either way, on the mosaic, the Victories were part of the triumphal iconography of Theoderic as a ruler.[531] Importantly, the motif of the statuette was not only acceptable to Theoderic as a decoration for his place, but when Archbishop Agnellus supervised the "purification" of the mosaic, he decided to retain them as well. As this revision of the mosaics was specifically intended to clear away all traces of Theoderic's rule and the Arian cult, the survival of the nineteen statuettes of the Victories must only have been possible because they had no implications of idolatry and were regarded as an appropriate part of the building.

In Ravenna therefore there is an unambiguous integration of the statuette in a Late Antique context. The mosaic was placed on the wall of the nave of an Arian basilica and was retained when the building subsequently passed into the hands of the Catholic Church. The statuette of the Victory appeared within a liturgical space but on a secular building. It was part of the decoration of a palace, part of the triumphal iconography of the ruler. Although with the reshaping of the mosaic the members of the court and Theoderic himself were effaced, this secular identity and function of the building remained stated in its inscription: PALATIUM. This work was accessible throughout the Middle Ages.[532] Whoever looked at the statuettes of the Victories with festoons on the columns, also clearly understood that they constituted decoration for a palace. In Ravenna the integration of the motif into a Christian

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Papia dicitur, ubi Theodericus palatium struxit, *et eius imaginem sedentem super equum* in tribunalis cameris tessellis ornati bene conspexi. *Hic autem (Ravennae) similis fuit in isto palatio*, quod ipse haedificavit, in tribunale triclinii quod vocatur Ad mare, supra portam et in fronte regiae quae dicitur Ad Calchi istius civitatis, ubi prima porta palatii fuit, in loco qui vocatur Sicrestum, ubi ecclesia Salvatoris esse videtur. *In pinnaculum ipsius loci fuit Theoderici effigies, mire tessellis ornata, dextera manum lanceam tenens*, sinistra clipeum, lorica indutus." Agnellus of Ravenna, "Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis," 337-338. Duval argued that in the tympanum the statue was not equestrian, but a standing one with the lance. Noël Duval, "Que savons-nous du Palais de Théodoric à Ravenne?" *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 72 (1960): 337-371.

[529] For a reassessment of the debate on the relationship between the mosaic and the palace see: Noël Duval, "La mosäique du Palatium de Saint Apollinaire le Neuf représente-t-elle une façade ou un edifice aplani," *Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 25 (1978): 93-122; Lourdes Diego Barrado and Fernando Galtier Martí, *La morada del poderoso entre el mundo antiguo y el medieval: el palacio de Teodorico en Ravenna* (Zaragoza: Egido, 1997).

[530] For the excavation report see: Fede Berti, "Materiali dai vecchi scavi del Palazzo di Teodorico: I. le sculture," *Felix Ravenna* 107-108. (1974): 151-167; Fede Berti, "Materiali dai vecchi scavi del Palazzo di Teodorico: II. elementi di decorazione architettonica e frammenti diversi," *Felix Ravenna* 109-110 (1975): 97-127.

[531] Chiara Frugoni proposed that the palace might have played an important role in the visual topography of the church and alluded to the imperial Palace of Constantinople (Chalke), which also had statuettes displayed on the front of it. Chiara Frugoni, *A Distant City – Images of Urban Experience in the Medieval World*, tr. William Mc Cuaig (Princeton: Princeton University, 1991), 30-53, esp. 44-48.

[532] The building of the basilica was maintained in the 13th and 14th century. For the various restorations (pavement, bell-tower) see: Penni Iacco, *La basilica di S. Apollinare Nuovo di Ravenna attraverso i secoli*, 93-96.

liturgical space, its specification as an element of the secular space of the ruler, together with the successful transmission of the motif and its context were provided for at the same time. This contextualized example provides an alternative understanding of the reappearance of the statuette in Trecento painting besides regarding it as a mere expression of idolatry or reflecting an early antiquarian interest in Classical painting.

4.2. The Palace – Secular Power Representation

In this subchapter I will analyze four interrelated examples where statuettes appear on a secular building of the Others (Saracens or Jews). Three works, the *Ordeal by Fire* scenes in the Upper Church at Assisi and in the Bardi chapel of Santa Croce in Florence together with the *Banquet of Herod* from the same church are well-known. Besides their relevance for the main problematic of the dissertation, there are two strong reasons for revisiting these works. First, in light of the PALATIUM mosaic in Ravenna it is perhaps possible to formulate more precisely the intended function of these representations and the iconographic implications of the statuettes themselves. Second, due to the recent discovery of a fresco fragment at Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Rome, which is the fourth example to be discussed here, a further step can be taken in understanding the aforementioned three major works of the Trecento.

Before entering into a discussion of these examples, I wish to briefly highlight two works where the statuettes were used to display idols. In the *Earthquake in Asia* in the choir of Sant'Agostino in Rimini four statuettes can be seen collapsing upon the prayer of St. John the Evangelist.[533] [Fig.4.6] As is told in the *Golden Legend*, the idol-worshippers (*cultores ydolorum*) dragged John to the Temple of Diana so that he should offer a sacrifice to the goddess, but as the saint offered up his prayers the temple collapsed.[534] The narrative context unquestionably identifies the statuettes as idols. They were represented as soldiers wearing armor and two of the figures have shields. [Fig.4.7 and Fig.4.8] Interestingly, there is no statue of Diana among them. Apparently, respect for the narrative source extended only to the depiction of idols, but disregarded the specific deity. Similarly, in the *St. Agnes led to the Brothel* in the choir of Santa Maria Donnaregina in Naples, four statuettes bear witness as the saint is led to the brothel.[535] [Fig.4.9] Again, in the *Golden Legend* it is explicitly said that St.

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[533] The fresco is dated between 1315 and 1318 (general chapter of the Augustinians in Rimini); the cycle itself shows a great stylistic variety. Alessandro Volpe, *Giotto e i Riminesi: il gotico e l'antico nella pittura di primo Trecento* (Milan: Motta, 2002), 160-161.

[534] Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 91-92; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend, vol. 1*, 53.

[535] The frescoes can be dated after 1332 and they show the influence of Giotto's sojourn in Naples. For the building see: Arnaldo Venditti, "La chiesa di Santa Maria Donnaregina," in *Il patrimonio architettonico dell'Ateneo Fridericiano*, vol. 1, ed. Arturo Fratta (Naples: Arte Tipografica Editrice, 2004), 174-175. For the frescoes: Stefania Paone, "Gli affreschi di Santa Maria Donnaregina Vecchia: percorsi stilistici nella Napoli

Agnes declined to present a sacrifice to the Goddess Vesta and gods of the Romans (*diis tuis*), and therefore she was given this punishment.[536] In light of the text, the statuettes can be identified as the idols St. Agnes declined to sacrifice to.[537] The morphology of the idols is the same since the figures wear helmets, have shields and perhaps carry spears.[538] [Fig.4.10] In both cases, the interpretation of the statuettes as idols is strengthened by the narrative context.

However, there is a series of examples in which the iconography of the statuette is more ambiguous. *The Ordeal by Fire* is part of the *Legend of St. Francis* in Assisi. [Fig.4.11] The fresco depicts a historical event, reported not only by the hagiographers of Francis, but some chronicles of the fifth crusade as well.[539] In September 1219, Francis went from the crusader camp in front of Damietta and reportedly spoke to Malik-al-Kâmil, sultan of Egypt in the midst of his army and some days later he returned alive.[540] According to the inscription on it, the fresco was meant to represent the moment when St. Francis, as a sign of his faith in Christ, wanted to enter into the fire together with the priests of the Sultan of Babylon. However, none of the priests were willing to follow him and tried to run away.[541] On the fresco, the actors were split into three groups. On the left hand side, four Saracen priests are shown running away. Francis stands next to the fire in the middle together with brother Illuminatus. On the left, the sultan sits on his throne in the midst of the soldiers and points to the fire.

There are two depicted buildings on the fresco as well, each with an elaborate pseudo-decoration. On the left side there is a complex building-structure consisting of a rectangular base level and a half barrel vault. Altogether five statuettes are depicted on top of dwarf

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angioina," *Arte medievale* 3 (2004): 91. See as well: Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr (ed.), *The church of Santa Maria Donna Regina: art, iconography and patronage in fourteenth-century Naples* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

[536] Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 170-171; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend, vol. 1*, 102-103.

[537] Os identified them as idols as well. Henk W. van Os, "Idolatry on the gate: antique sources for an Assisi fresco," *Simiolus* 15 (1985): 173. Os regarded them as part of the iconography of the city gate. As they were not depicted on the gate but in the neighboring building and they are mentioned in the text, I maintain that their display can be explained by the narrative context of the fresco. There is also a relief in the tympanum of the building representing a bearded figure. Because of the context I would regard it as yet another god.

[538] The naked male figures on the building in the same cycle in the *Apparition of St. Agnes to Constance* are more enigmatic. They do not have shields. The building itself could allude to the church founded by Constance after her vision and miraculous recovery from leprosy. Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 172; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend, vol. 1*, 104. The statuettes in the niches could then represent prophets or saints and their nakedness might reflect attempts of the painter to create a Classical setting. (On a stylistic basis it was argued that the two frescoes were the work of two distinct painters. See: Paone, "Gli affreschi di Santa Maria Donnaregina Vecchia," 91.)

[539] For a detailed analysis of the early textual and pictorial testimonies see: John V. Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan: the curious history of a Christian-Muslim encounter* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1-170.

[540] Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 4-5.

[541] "Cum beatus Franciscus ob Christi fidem voluit intrare ignem magnum cum sacerdotibus Soldani Babiloniae, sed nullus eorum voluit intrare cum eo, sed statim de suis conspectibus aufugerunt." Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 530.

pillars.[542] The statuettes represent winged, naked figures, sitting on a pillow and holding festoons in their hands. The Classical origin of the motif is beyond doubt.[543] [Fig.4.12 and Fig.4.13] Furthermore, the topographical evidence shows that the four gilded statues were executed independently and later than the huge *giornata* covering the upper part of the scene. In fact, they were cut into the original surface.[544] On the right side of the picture stands the throne-structure of the sultan. It is not a simple chair but an elaborate building as well, with a curtain behind the ruler and vaulting.[545] The base of the throne was decorated with golden lion reliefs. [Fig.4.14] The gilding has been lost, and what can be seen now is the yellow under-drawing which it originally covered.[546]

Erwin Panofsky stated that the statuettes here have pagan implication; Alastair Smart argued that these are pagan statues decorating a Muslim temple.[547] Both interpretations suggest that the use of statuettes here was a quite sophisticated allusion to the idolatry of the Saracens, that the statuettes are in fact the idols of the infidels. John Tolan pointed out that the depiction of idols would conform to contemporary views on Saracens, yet he highlighted as well that to some extent similar statuettes appear in the papal chamber in the *Dream of Innocent III*.[548] As an alternative to this strong proposition on idolatry I would like to present a different reading of the motif. The principal element of this reading is that the statuettes, instead of being an element of an anti-Saracen ideology, should be regarded as an expression of the power of the sultan. The statuettes did not mark the Saracens as idolatrous, but were part of the secular iconography of the "ruler."

The four visible statuettes follow the traditional iconography of a Victory more than that of an idol. They have neither shield nor spear. Furthermore, their wings are not webbed but feathered. Their sedentary pose on dwarf pillars and the festoon which they hold together, create quite different a display from an erect solitary statue on a freestanding column. All

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[542] The exact number of the statuettes is unclear. There are definitely four displaying the same features. However, at the right-back corner of the roof there is a dwarf pillar as well where a silhouette quite similar to the other four statuettes appears. It is partly covered with the festoon. Tintori and Meiss, *The Painting of The Life of St. Francis in Assisi*, 108; Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 176.

[543] Benton already pointed this out on a general level. Benton, "Some Ancient Mural Motifs in Italian Painting around 1300," 158.

[544] The exact moment of these alterations (*giornate* 104-107) cannot be grasped, just its *terminus post quem* with regard to the upper surface of the fresco (*giornate* 103). Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 176. We neither know whether they replaced an already existing decoration, nor whether they were planned from the beginning; yet this intervention on the fresco definitely suggest that its actual state was a result of thoughtful planning and it signals the importance accorded to the details.

[545] Gioseffi pointed out that the throne recalls the funerary monument of Adrian V in Viterbo and he connected it to the influence of Arnolfo of Cambio. Gioseffi, *Giotto architetto*, 28-30.

[546] It suggests nevertheless that the original base of the throne was altered as well. Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 176.

[547] Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, 148, note 3; Smart, *The Assisi Problem and the Art of* Giotto, 180.

[548] Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 143.

these characteristics suggest they should be identified as Victories. As part of the architectural setting of the sultan's court, they are plausible as elements of a secular iconography referring to the "ruler." This elaborate staging of the sultan is further confirmed by the presence of golden reliefs of lions on the base of the throne. Even if these reliefs did not refer necessarily to the throne of wisdom and thus, did not present the sultan as a wise ruler, they definitely affirm his power. As most of the decoration has been lost, the probable impact of the original decoration can be judged on Ramboux's aquarelle.[549] [Fig.4.15] Tolan suggested that the curtain behind the sultan has a kufesque inscription, and the clothing of Saracens figures on the fresco aims at the exotic and oriental.[550] Given the context of the *Legend*, all these elements can be interpreted as part of a pictorial strategy whose aim was to create a realistic setting for the exotic and mighty ruler.[551]

This interpretation conforms to the narrative account of Bonaventure as well, on which the fresco was based.[552] There is not a single mention of idolaters in the text since the Saracens are called non-believers.[553] Bonaventure's aim was not to reject the Saracens as idolaters, and the version in the *Major Legend* focused on Francis' desire for his own martyrdom together with his victory over the Saracen clergy.[554] Francis' route to the crusader camp can be understood primarily in the context of his attempt to lead a truly apostolic life, including death suffered while preaching the gospel.[555] This did not happen and Francis

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[549] D 72, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf. See: Hans-Joachim Ziemke, "Ramboux und Assisi," *Städel-Jahrbuch* 3 (1971): 180-186, and 203.

[550] Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 143-144.

[551] Tolan remarked that on the Bardi dossal, which is the only known depiction of the event prior to the fresco in Assisi, the Sultan appears almost like a Christian king. Thus, there is also an attempt to display him as a ruler although the iconography relied on Western models. A new iconography was developed in Assisi. Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 105. The dossal is dated around 1245. Cook, *Images of St Francis of Assisi*, 98-102.

[552] For the subsequent two paragraphs I relied on Tolan's detailed analysis. Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 109-134.

[553] Though there were medieval texts, especially chronicles, where the Saracens were shown as idolatrous due to the lack or distortion of information on Islam's rejection of idolatry, it is still unlikely that at the end of the 13th century in the convent of Assisi, in a project initiated perhaps by Pope Nicholas IV himself, this would have occurred. For the question of whether Saracens were regarded as idolaters or heretics see: John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the medieval European imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 105-171. These texts reflect more the situation in the twelfth century following the first crusade. In the 13th century, high-ranking Franciscans were undoubtedly aware of the dogmatic features of Islam. I briefly refer to the case of William of Rubruck, who left Acre in 1248 for a missionary voyage among Buddhists, Muslims and Nestorians. In the debate in front of Möngke khan William successfully allied with the Muslims against the Buddhists while affirming that there is only one God. Later, he would have cornered the Muslims as well on the question of the Trinity, but his Nestorian companions took over the word. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the medieval European imagination*, 223-225. This example shows that dogmatic differences were not only noted, but also exploited. For some contemporary Italian examples see: Mahmoud Salem Elsheikh, "La visione dell'Islam in alcuni testi Fiorentini Due-Trecenteschi," in *I fiorentini alle crociate: guerre, pellegrinaggi e immaginario 'orientalistico' a Firenze tra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Silvia Agnoletti and Luca Mantelli (Florence: Edizioni della Meridiana, 2007), 136-143.

[554] As signaled by the title of the chapter: "The ardor of charity and the desire for martyrdom." Bonaventure, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," 586 (IX).

[555] "In the sixth year of his conversion, burning with the desire for martyrdom…" Bonaventure, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," 600 (IX, 5).

returned alive from the enemy camp. Bonaventure explained that Francis survived the encounter with the sultan by a reference to the stigmatization: Francis did not suffer martyrdom for the Saracens only because he was later to receive a unique privilege, the stigmata of Christ.[556]

Within this main context of the martyrdom and the stigmatization, the second focus of the account was the conversion of the Saracens. This attempt was unsuccessful also. Bonaventure balanced this fact by insisting on two episodes. The first was the cowardice of the Saracen priests and the second the admiration of the sultan for Francis. And here there is an important discrepancy between the text and the fresco. In the *Major Legend* the sultan did not even dare to order his priests to submit themselves to the trial by fire, he explicitly told Francis that he doubted whether any of them would have accepted the challenge.[557] After this interlude, the conversation continued with Francis offering to subject himself to the ordeal alone, which the sultan denied him. The sultan then attempted to corrupt Francis with gold or treasures.[558]

On the fresco the narrative took a different path. The sultan has not rejected Francis initial challenge, the fire has been lit, and he is ordering the four priests to enter into it. This change successfully dramatized the pictorial narrative, as the burning fire in the middle focuses the viewer on what is at stake in the encounter.[559] However, an additional result was that Bonaventure's hesitant sultan, who was too afraid to accept Francis's challenge because he was not sure of his clergy, was transformed on the fresco into a mighty ruler issuing an order. His out-stretched right arm pointing to the fire in my view must be understood as a command given to the four Saracens priests on the left, who are shown sneaking away. The difference is even more pronounced in comparison with the depiction of the scene on the Bardi panel as well. There the sultan, together with his men, listens carefully to the preaching of Francis and does not dominate the situation at all.[560]

The statuettes of the Victories and the reliefs of the lions further affirmed his powerful status. This display of power ultimately was a way to glorify Francis since not withstanding the failure of the priests to accept the challenge, the clear order is the failure of the ruler as well and a manifestation of his limited power. The Poverello in the middle, who is willing to

[556] Bonaventure, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," 603-604 (IX, 9).

[557] "I do not believe that any of my priests would be willing to expose himself to the fire to defend his faith or to undergo any kind of torment." Bonaventure, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," 603 (IX, 8).

[558] Bonaventure, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," 603 (IX, 8).

[559] Tolan remarked this difference between the text and the fresco. Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 144-145.

[560] Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 103-105; Francesco Grassi, "Santa Croce: due modi di intendere la crociata; la tavola Bardi e Giotto; il Francesco 'tràdito' o tradìto," in *I fiorentini alle crociate: guerre, pellegrinaggi e immaginario 'orientalistico' a Firenze tra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Silvia Agnoletti and Luca Mantelli (Florence: Edizioni della Meridiana, 2007), 111, and 119-120.

risk the trial as expressed by his gestures pointing to himself and the fire, thus remains the single victorious figure in the scene, despite all the mightiness of the sultan. The rich, realistic and elaborate secular-iconography of the ruler serves in the end to display the weight of Francis' achievement. The use of images-within-images to create a realistic milieu for the court of the sultan is in harmony with the other examples in the *Legend*.

Beyond the general orientation of the cycle to lavishly commemorate the life of the founder, the specific historical context of this fresco should be highlighted here, even if the insecurities in its dating would prevent any firm conclusions. However, Jerome was already nominated cardinal bishop of Palestine in 1281.[561] Elected pope on 22 February 1288, he highlighted in his first letter that the Holy Land would figure as the main focus of his activities.[562] In practice this meant organizing a crusade.[563] The decision to include a scene depicting St. Francis before the Sultan might have been made during these years. As was noted, the confrontational tone of the fresco is completely different from the only known statement about this subject prior to it. The Sultan and his men listen attentively to Francis' preaching on the Bardi dossal. In the context of planning the crusade the example of the Francis challenging the Saracen priests and the Sultan himself might have been a model for the Franciscan pope promising a successful endeavor in the footsteps of the founder. The staging of the Sultan as a mighty enemy after 28 May 1291 has a bitter tone. Al-Ashraf Khalil captured Acre, the last crusader stronghold on the Palestinian coast. The news seems to have reached Nicholas IV in August 1291.[564] It cannot be decided conclusively whether the fresco was finalized before or after this date. The secular décor of the Sultan attests nevertheless the atmosphere of the years when the keeping or regaining of the Holy Land still appeared as a challenging but feasible project. Creating an appropriate setting for the adversary could have been the main aim of the developers of the iconographic program. The adoption of Late Antique statuettes gave an unprecedented reality-effect to the representation recreating the imagined milieu of the Saracen ruler in the Upper Church.

Recently discovered fresco fragments further confirm the interpretation of the statuettes as elements in the iconography of the ruler. They can be found in the San Pasquale Baylon chapel of Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Rome.[565] The church itself was originally built as

[561] Brooke, *The image of St Francis*, 439.

[562] In the "Iudicia Dei" on 23 February 1288. Franchi, *Nicolaus Papa IV: 1288-1292*, 91–95 and 193.

[563] Franchi, *Nicolaus Papa IV: 1288-1292*, 193–203; Franco Cardini, "Niccolò IV e la Crociata," in *Niccolò IV: un pontificato tra Oriente ed Occidente*, ed. Enrico Menestò (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1991), 150-155.

[564] Franchi, *Nicolaus Papa IV: 1288-1292*, 198–199; Cardini, "Niccolò IV e la Crociata," 150–155.

[565] The fresco fragments were already noticed in during the restoration work in 1970. They were systematically recovered between 2000 and 2003. Tommaso Strinati, *Aracoeli: gli affreschi ritrovati* (Milan: Skira, 2004), 35-42.

part of a Greek monastery in the 8th century and later was home to a Benedictine congregation. Innocent the IV donated it to the Franciscans on 26th June 1250.[566] The medieval dedication of the chapel is unknown.[567] It was presumably a funerary chapel of an important family in Rome with the decoration probably carried out by one of the leading Roman workshops between 1295 and 1300.[568] This dating would place the work right after the pontificate of Nicholas IV, whose presence in Rome must have increased the prestige of the Franciscan convent in the city.

The three fresco fragments can be found on the three walls of the chapel. On the main wall facing the entrance there is a depiction of the *Virgin and Child* flanked by St. John the Baptist on the left and St. John Evangelist on the right. Most of the medieval decoration of the two other walls is lost. However, it is plausible that the frescoes on the walls contained representations related to the saints. The remaining fragment on the right represents Christ looking down together with two apostles and two angels. This fragment, in all probability, was part of a larger scene depicting the last days of St. John the Evangelist as it was reported in the *Golden Legend*, when Christ appeared to him in Ephesus.[569] On the side of St. John the Baptist two statuettes of winged and naked figures can be seen. [Fig.4.16] They are shown sitting and holding a festoon in their hands. [Fig.4.17] In all probability, together with a third one in the middle which has been lost, they were part of the decoration of Herod's palace, where during the banquet St. John the Baptist suffered his martyrdom.[570] This hypothesis is supported by the logic of the chapel (the last days of the saints flanking the Virgin were the topic of the frescoes on the sides) together with some remaining *sinopiae* representing heads (perhaps assembled around the table).[571]

These two statuettes because of their appearance, sedentary pose, feathered wings and the way they hold the festoon, are one-to-one matches of the statuettes in the *Ordeal by Fire* scene in the Upper Church at Assisi.[572] In the Aracoeli as well these two statuettes conform more to the iconography of a Victory than an idol. Even if their execution is different, as in Rome they were painted in monochrome and in Assisi they were gilded, this does not prevent

[566] For the medieval period see: Marianna Brancia di Apricena, *Il complesso dell'Aracoeli sul Colle Capitolino* (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 2000), 63-90. See as well: Strinati, *Aracoeli: gli affreschi ritrovati*, 65.

[567] For the mechanisms of patronage related to other chapels in the church during the Medieval period see: Claudia Bolgia, "Ostentation, power, and family competition in Late-Medieval Rome: the earliest chapels at S. Maria in Aracoeli," in *Aspects of power and authority in the Middle Ages*, ed. Brenda Bolton and Christine Meek (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 73-107.

[568] Strinati, *Aracoeli: gli affreschi ritrovati*, 17-22 and 30.

[569] Strinati, *Aracoeli: gli affreschi ritrovati*, 120.

[570] Strinati, *Aracoeli: gli affreschi ritrovati*, 146.

[571] Strinati, *Aracoeli: gli affreschi ritrovati*, 146.

[572] Strinati, *Aracoeli: gli affreschi ritrovati*, 50.

their recognition as being the same motif.[573] Similarly to the ordeal scene in Assisi, the *Banquet of Herod* occurred in the secular space of the ruler, in the palace.

The feather-winged statuettes of the figurines holding the festoon in Assisi and in Rome in the light of the PALATIUM mosaic from Ravenna appear to be parts of the secular iconography of the ruler, even if in Ravenna the Victories were dressed in blue and they are standing, since all examples can be found on a "palace." Though in the Christian context of the frescoes both the sultan and Herod were staged as the Other, both were perceived as rulers in the first place. Both were placed at an even distance from their immediate milieu, as the sultan orders his priest in vain to accept the challenge, and Herod was in fact tricked or seduced into beheading the Baptist by the dance of Salome. Their status as rulers was reinforced by the architectural setting in which they were placed. The images-within-images of the statuettes contributed to the reality-effect of the setting.

Because of the insecurities of dating no direct chain of derivation between the works can be formulated. If the Victory in Rome predated the one in Assisi, then an iconography, which was originally developed for Herod, was recycled and applied to the depiction of the court of the sultan. In this case, the decoration of the San Pasquale Baylon chapel signaled the beginning of images-within-images related to Rome and Classical wall painting.[574] The other option is that the Assisi fresco represents an earlier formulation of the motif, and in this case, the solution was adopted for the decoration of a private chapel in the Franciscan church on the Aracoeli. This would conform to the mainstream model of diffusion within a Franciscan context.

Both the *Ordeal by Fire* and the *Banquet of Herod* were further restated in Santa Croce, the church of the Franciscan convent in Florence.[575] The motif of the statuette appeared as well on both frescoes, though in altered form. Both frescoes were attributed to the workshop of Giotto, although the level of his involvement and the dating of the works are debated. Both subjects were depicted in private family chapels along the southern arm of the transept and include *The Ordeal by Fire* in the Bardi chapel (dedicated to St. Francis), next to

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[573] Strinati, *Aracoeli: gli affreschi ritrovati*, 37; Zanardi, Zeri and Frugoni, *Il cantiere di Giotto*, 176.

[574] This proposition is strengthened further in light of the golden eagle in the Temple of Jerusalem by Cimabue in the Upper Church at Assisi, since Herod placed it there in order to please the Romans. Cimabue's solution might have been influenced by a depiction of the scene from Rome. Both the statuette on the palace and the eagle on the Temple might have signaled an interest in the iconography of Herod and the visual topography of the Holy Land.

[575] The *Ordeal by Fire* had further restatements in a Franciscan context, but statuettes were depicted only on the Bardi fresco among the surviving examples. They were not represented in San Francesco, Pistoia. Though Burke proposed that they appear in the old refectory of San Francesco, Bologna, it must be noted that on the old photograph of the wall, the statuettes (or things which may be statuettes), appear only on the *Resurrection of the Youngster from Lerida*, and not on the *Ordeal by Fire*, both represented in the lower row. Maureen S. Burke, "The Martyrdom of the Franciscans by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 64 (2002): 472. For the photograph: Albert Brach, *Giottos Schule in der Romagna* (Strassburg: Heitz, 1902), ill. 10.

the main chapel, and the *Banquet of Herod* in the neighboring Peruzzi chapel (dedicated to St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist). These further examples show that the statuette became a generic element of Giotto's repertory, and it alterations suggest that instead of being mechanically reproduced, the motif was further reshaped.

Debates about building a new, larger church for the Franciscan convent in Florence went back to the 1280s, and following the decision of the Commune on 8 April 1295 to cover partially the expenses, the foundation stone was laid on the 3rd of May of the same year, dedicating the church to the Holy Cross and St. Francis.[576] Besides the subvention from the Commune, the building was financed through private donations, solicited as early as 1296 in a bull of Matthew of Acquasparta.[577] Wealthy Florentine families, among them the Bardi and the Peruzzi, financed the construction of private funerary chapels along the transept (Donato of Arnoldo Peruzzi had already made a bequest in his will in November 1292).[578] The transept was presumably finished around 1310, in the same year that Ridolfo de' Bardi endowed the St. Francis chapel next to the sanctuary.[579] The date of the mural decoration of the chapels is debated. It ranges between 1311 and 1325, depending on the importance accorded to the depiction of St. Louise of Toulouse (canonized in 1317) and on the possible association of the two pictorial campaigns.[580] It is unclear what the private patronage of a chapel in Santa Croce entailed for the mural decoration, that is, to what extent the family and to what extent the Franciscans influenced the subject matter of the frescoes, in addition to the decisions made solely by Giotto.

It has been pointed out that in comparison to the version in Assisi, the composition of the *Ordeal by Fire* was altered with the major difference being that the figure of the sultan occupies the center of the fresco and thus, dominates is completely.[581] [Fig.4.18] Francis and brother Illuminatus are placed on the right side opposite to the group of Saracen clergy on the left. However, the dramatic moment of the fresco is the same as in Assisi where the sultan orders his priests into the fire, but they leave. In fact, the compositional change further affirmed the dominance of the sultan since in Assisi the figure of Francis, depicted in the

[576] Rona Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict – Saint Francis and Giotto's Bardi Chapel* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University, 1988), 5-8.

[577] Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, 7. For the text of the bull see: Saturnino Mencherini, *Santa Croce di Firenze: memorie e documenti* (Florence: Tipografia Fiorenza, 1929), 60-61.

[578] Eve Borsook, "Notizie su due cappelle in Santa Croce a Firenze," *Rivista d'arte* 36 (1962): 98-99, and 105; Benjamin G. Kohl, "Giotto and his lay patrons," in *The Cambridge companion to Giotto*, ed. Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 194.

[579] Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, 52-55.

[580] For a reassessment see: William R. Cook, "Giotto and the figure of St. Francis," in *The Cambridge companion to Giotto*, ed. Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 142-143; Thompson, "Cooperation and conflict: stained glass in the Bardi chapels of Santa Croce," 257-261; Poeschke, *Wandmalerei der Giottozeit in Italien 1280-1400*, 227-229.

[581] Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, 73; Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 179; Grassi, "Santa Croce: due modi di intendere la crociata," 119.

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center, could still claim the attention of the viewer while in the Bardi chapel he is marginalized.

The four statuettes here are symmetrically distributed on the two edges of the throne and the pavilion. In comparison to the two dispersed buildings in Assisi, the architectural setting here successfully encompasses all the figures. It is meant to represents the interior of the palace. Also, the connection between the statuettes and the sultan became more pronounced. Except for their sedentary poses and placement on dwarf-pillars, the statuettes were significantly changed. They have no wings, and they wear robes, have beards and definitely look older than the *putti* on previous scenes. Furthermore, they hold cornucopias in their hands.[582] [Fig.4.19] Because of these alterations the strong allusion to the iconography of Victory faded. On the other hand, these changes were not meant as an open display of idolatry since these statuettes are equally far from the traditional iconography of an idol. In my view the changes, the adoption of cornucopias especially, remained within boundaries of the iconography of the ruler, but the emphasis was moved from triumph to wealth. The statuettes fashioned the sultan on the fresco not so much a mighty warrior (his power was already manifested through the alteration of the composition), but they alluded to his wealth. This focus of the images-within-images on wealth finds its further justification simultaneously in the narrative, pictorial and social contexts of the fresco.

Bonaventure indirectly insisted on the immense treasures of the sultan. After the unrealized trial by fire, the ruler wished to give "precious gifts" to Francis, who renounced them "as if they were dirt," since he was "greedy not for worldly possessions, but the salvation of souls."[583] Francis' renunciation of the gifts of the sultan reiterated the main theme of the *Renunciation of the Worldly Goods*, depicted in the lunette of the southern wall of the chapel.[584] Though the fresco focused on the moment of the ordeal, the open display of the sultan's wealth on the fresco alluded to and reinforced yet again the magnitude of Francis's resistance to worldly possessions. In this sense, the statuettes not only contribute to the iconography of the ruler, but they characterize a relevant aspect of it.

The use of images-within-images in order to enrich the pictorial narrative can be witnessed elsewhere in the Bardi chapel. In the *Approval of the Rule*, the tympanum of the audience hall of Innocent III was decorated with a relief of the bust of St. Peter.[585] [Fig.4.20 and Fig.4.21] Besides emphasizing that the event takes place on papal territory, the most likely reason for the insertion of this relief is a reference to Innocent III as the successor of

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[582] Though two of the statuettes are damaged, the remaining parts indicate that they belong to the same pattern.
[583] Bonaventure, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," 603 (IX, 8).
[584] Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, 72.
[585] The identification is based on the figure's short white hair and beard. Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, 69. Cook arrived at the same conclusion. Cook, "Giotto and the figure of St. Francis," 147.

Peter, something also emphasized by Bonaventure in the *Major Legend*.[586] The connection between St. Peter and Innocent III was strengthened by the vestments they are shown wearing. Although not much is visible from St. Peter's dress, he definitely shown wearing some kind of scarf, perhaps an *omophorion* (a vestment of the bishops) or a *pallio* (a vestment of the pope or the archbishops).[587] On the fresco Innocent III while accepting the rule from Francis, wears a similar piece (it is surely a *pallio* in his case). The similarity of the vestments restates that Innocent III is the heir to St. Peter. Thus, approval of the rule not only bears the hallmark of the actual pope, but that of the entire Catholic Church.[588]

A similar play with the location and the narrative context can be observed in the already discussed *Apparition at the Chapter of Arles*, where on the wall behind St. Francis there is a pseudo-fresco representing Christ on the cross.[589] [Fig.1.6 and Fig.1.7] From Bonaventure's account we know that the apparition happened within the chapterhouse. While St. Anthony was preaching on the Crucifixion, brother Monaldus saw St. Francis appear with his arms outstretched as if he was on the cross.[590] Here, the representation of the cross is determined both by the function of the building (a chapterhouse), the topic of St. Anthony's preaching (the Crucifixion), and the actual pose of Francis (as if he was being crucified).

The other images-within-images in the chapel therefore display a similar or even stronger iconographic adjustment to the main content of the frescoes. The bust of St. Peter affirms the origin of papal power while the crucifixion in the chapterhouse emphasizes the parallel between Christ and St. Francis. In view of this the interpretation of the statuettes with cornucopias as an allusion to the wealth of the sultan seems plausible. Furthermore, the members of the Bardi family, for whom the chapel was intended in the first place, were the

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[586] Innocent III is named "Vicar of Christ" and "successor of the Apostle Peter" in the text. Bonaventure, "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," 547 (III, 9); Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, 69. Goffen proposed a further connection: St. Peter was the patron of the Franciscan Order and Santa Croce as well, and on the fresco the relief is placed right above St. Francis. Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, 69. This proposition, though entirely possible, seems less convincing to me. Cook highlighted the fact that St. Peter appears in the *Dream of Innocent III* of the *Louvre Stigmatization*. Cook, "Giotto and the figure of St. Francis," 269, note 39.

[587] For the *omophorion* see: Alexander P. Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford dictionary of Byzantium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1526. For the *pallio* see: *Enciclopedia cattolica*, vol. 9 (Florence: Sansoni, 1952), 646-647.

[588] On the *Confirmation of the Rule* fresco in the choir of San Francesco in Pistoia (before 1343) there is also a relief in the tympanum depicting a figure. It was not possible to acquire a high quality photograph of the detail.

[589] Gardner, "Andrea di Bonaiuto and the chapterhouse frescoes in Santa Maria Novella," 116; Cole, "Giotto's Apparition of St. Francis at Arles: the case of the missing crucifix?" 163-165; Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, 121, note 58.

[590] "For the outstanding preacher, who is now a glorious confessor of Christ, Anthony was preaching to the brothers at the chapter of Arles on the inscription on the cross: Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews. As he glanced at the door of the chapter, a brother of proven virtue, Monaldo by name, moved by a divine reminder, saw with his bodily eyes blessed Francis lifted up in the air with his arms extended as if on the cross, blessing the brothers." Bonaventure "The Major Legend of Saint Francis," 557 (IV, 10).

leading merchants and bankers of Florence until their bankruptcy in 1346.[591] They could easily associate these statuettes with the wonders and treasures of the Orient rather than with the outrageous idolatry of the Saracens. The display of wealth and power, justified by the iconographic program of the chapel, would have resonated with them as well.

The decoration of the neighboring Peruzzi chapel has always been associated with the Bardi chapel, although scholars were divided whether they were painted during the same campaign. However, the *ante quem* of 1328 (before Giotto's sojourn in Naples) is generally accepted.[592] The chapel was dedicated to St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, and three moments from their lives were depicted on each of the two sides.[593] The Peruzzi family, similarly to the Bardi, was an important banking family of Florence.[594] Besides the last will of Donato of Arnoldo Peruzzi endowing a chapel in the church (21st November, 1292), in 1335 an entry from the account books of the family shows a payment to the Franciscans for the expenses of a feast (*pietanza*) on the day of St. John the Evangelist held in the church, which then became a yearly tradition.[595]

The *Banquet of Herod*, as the martyrdom of St. John the Baptist, was placed on the lowest register. [Fig.4.23] Statuettes appear on the roof of the hall. Panofsky again identified the statues as pagan divinities and stated that their "iconographic significance in this particular context needs no explanation."[596] Eve Borsook more cautiously mentioned only that the statues are appropriate to an imaginary pagan palace.[597] To some extent following the proposition of Borsook, I would like to extend the conclusion about the statuettes in the court of the sultan to the palace of Herod as well. This would mean, in a nutshell, that on the palace of Herod the statuettes did not imply idolatry but rather reinforced the perception of Herod as a ruler.

The narrative focus of the painting represents the moment when Herod receives the head of the Baptist. On the left side the headless torso is visible in the prison and on the right

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[591] The Bardi were already present in England from the end of the 13th century as buyers of wool, and after 1312 they became a main lender to the Crown (under Edward II and Edward III). The decoration of the chapel can be dated around this successful period, before their heavy losses in England after 1340 and their bankruptcy in Florence in 1346. Armando Sapori, *La crisi delle compagnie mercantili dei Bardi e dei Peruzzi* (Florence: Olschki, 1926), 5-9, 32-41, 52-86, and 171-182. See as well: Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, 51-59; Kohl, "Giotto and his lay patrons," 193-196.

[592] William R. Cook, "Giotto and the figure of St. Francis," in *The Cambridge companion to Giotto*, ed. Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 142-143; Thompson, "Cooperation and conflict: stained glass in the Bardi chapels of Santa Croce," 257-261; Poeschke, *Wandmalerei der Giottozeit in Italien 1280-1400*, 227-229.

[593] For the iconography of the chapel and the correspondences between the scenes see: Laurie Schneider, "The Iconography of the Peruzzi Chapel," *L'arte* 18 (1972): 91-104.

[594] Leonetto Tintori and Eve Borsook, *Giotto – The Peruzzi Chapel* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1965), 7-14; Kohl, "Giotto and his lay patrons," 193-196.

[595] Tintori and Borsook, *Giotto – The Peruzzi Chapel*, 14 and 95.

[596] Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, 152.

[597] Tintori and Borsook, *Giotto – The Peruzzi Chapel*, 19.

side Salome offers his head to her mother.[598] A complex architectural setting organizes the various moments of the narrative into a single picture.[599] Altogether eight statuettes of standing figures appear on the top of the roof of the main hall.[600] [Fig.4.22] All of them placed on dwarf pillars, which are interconnected with festoons. The statuettes are symmetrically distributed on the back and the front of the roof, therefore three of them are to a large extent covered although their presence is signaled. The other five definitely comprised at least one female nude (at the back left corner, recognizable because of her long hair); and another one at the front right corner, which can also be identified as a female. [Fig.4.24 and Fig.4.28] The front left one is a male nude, whose head does not fit in the fresco.[601] [Fig.4.25] In term of the way they look the two statuettes in the middle section of the roof are the most complex ones. The left hand figure has a beard, wears a robe and the cloak. [Fig.4.26] The right hand figure is similar, with the difference that his cloak floats around him, he turns to the left energetically and perhaps wears a turban. [Fig.4.27]

These statuettes represent standing figures instead of sitting ones and they do not hold the festoon, which is attached to the pillars. The two alterations mean that these erect statuettes conform more to the iconography of an idol than the previous ones, although they do not have shields or spears. There is a certain level of individualization, yet it cannot be asserted whether the intention was to depict recognizable pagan divinities, or the individual features were introduced in order to increase the variety of the statuettes. The iconography is definitely not Christian. The two male figures in the front wearing a robe can hardly be associated with pagan nude divinities although such an interpretation might fit the two females and the male torso. The play with the barely visible ones in the back and the male torso suggests that identity and full display was not the most important factor.

Given that in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, in a chapel similarly dedicated to St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, presumably in the same *Banquet of Herod* scene, *putti*

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[598] Around 1387-1388 Lorenzo Monaco painted the *Banquet of Herod* for the predella of the polyptych of the Nobili chapel in Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence following Giotto's version in the Peruzzi chapel quite closely. Tintori and Borsook, *Giotto – The Peruzzi Chapel*, 28. For the polyptych see: Angelo Tartuferi and Daniela Parenti (ed.), *Lorenzo Monaco: dalla tradizione giottesca al Rinascimento* (Florence: Giunti, 2006), 106-111. (Erling Skaug) He abandoned the Classical statuettes, and depicted a row of prophets.

[599] For the problem of the pictorial narration in general see: Kemp, *Die Räume der Maler*, 9-51.

[600] These statuettes were part of the original decoration of the chapel. They appear as well on the corresponding copy of the fresco by a follower of Agnolo Gaddi (*The Feast of Herod*, Louvre). Leonetto Tintori in his diary mentioned that in some instances the architectural setting was "toned down with washes of water color." It is not specified whether the statuettes have been significantly retouched or not. Tintori and Borsook, *Giotto – The Peruzzi Chapel*, 70-73. In the description I rely on the actual state of the fresco.

[601] There can be various speculations as for the reason for this solution. One option is that simply the space was miscalculated and Giotto considered the coherence of the building more important than forcing the full statuette into the picture. If the omission is not accidental, then it is conscious bravura to underline the independence of the pictorial space with regard to the frame: the statuette, and thus, the space of the picture continued beyond the frame.

with festoons appear on dwarf pillars following the traditional iconography of Victories, I propose that this row of statuettes in the Peruzzi chapel was a more elaborate version of it. This development primarily reflected a certain individualization and variability in the motif together with an increased reference to Classical sculpture. While this development resulted in the depiction of freestanding statues, the interpretative framework of the secular iconography seems to have been respected. Despite the changes, the statuettes on the roof can be regarded as decorative elements on Herod's sumptuous palace, where a banquet is taking place. Similarly to the Bardi chapel, this display of power must have had resonance for the Peruzzi as well.[602]

Through out this subchapter I have argued that in those cases where the Classical motif of the statuette appears there is a framework for interpreting this phenomenon beyond the one-sided explanation of it being a free artistic adoption of the motif with no regard to its larger context or the similarly one-sided explanation that these statues are meant to represent idolatry. This interpretative framework is the secular iconography of the palace where the statuettes refer to the status of the ruler, as seen on the PALATIUM mosaic in Ravenna. The remaining examples are limited to high-profile commissions within a Franciscan context and workshops in Giotto's orbit. In all cases there are reasons to believe that the intended audience would have favored depiction of a sumptuous secular décor. For the Franciscans in Assisi it underlined the mightiness of the sultan and further affirmed the Poverello's achievement perhaps alluding as well to the contemporary issues of the crusade, while in the private chapels in Rome and in Florence a display of power and wealth by the ruler added to the self-representations of the banker families who stood in the highest echelons of the society.

4.3. The Temple – The Space of the Jews

Turning to the representations of the Temple, which were the other main places where statuettes are depicted in this period, with some readjustments the basic conclusion reached with regard to the Palace can be maintained. The readjustments are consequences of the change in context since the statuettes no longer appear on a palace but rather they ornament a temple. Thus, they were not integrated into the secular iconography of the ruler, but into to the religious iconography of the Temple. Furthermore, while as part of the iconography of the palace the statuette conformed to the role of Victory, the iconography of the Temple permitted

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[602] Though the Peruzzi were present in England as well from the beginning of the 14th century, their main clients until 1332 were the Angovins. As in the case of the Bardi, the decoration of the chapel can be dated to this successful period, before their heavy losses in England after 1340 and their bankruptcy in Florence in 1343. Sapori, *La crisi delle compagnie mercantili dei Bardi e dei Peruzzi*, 9-10, 41-43, 52-86, and 158-170.

a wider range of variation. The statuettes could be depicted as prophets with scrolls, as angels with trumpets, or as statues with shields. In this subchapter, I would like to follow these variations in the representations of statuettes as they are displayed in the *Presentation to the Temple* (in the Augustinian churches of Sant'Agostino in Rimini and the Oratory of St. Nicholas in Tolentino), in the *Jesus among the Doctors* (on the *Maestà* by Duccio, in the transept of Santa Chiara in Assisi, and in the fresco above the entrance of the sacristy in Santa Croce in Florence) and the *Martyrdom of St. Stephen* (in the Pulci-Beraldi chapel, Santa Croce in Florence) scenes.

The two *Presentation to the Temple* scenes to be generally discussed here belong to the same pictorial and institutional contexts. In all probability masters from Rimini, who came into contact with Giotto and absorbed his pictorial innovations, painted both works. Giotto's sojourn in Rimini took place between the painting of the St. Nicholas chapel in Assisi (tentatively 1297) and his works in the Arena chapel in Padua (tentatively 1302).[603] Riccobaldo of Ferrara mentioned that he worked for the Lesser Brothers in Rimini, and Vasari specified that he painted many pictures in San Francesco in Rimini, which had already been lost in his time.[604] These works made an impression on Giovanni da Rimini, who presumably painted the *Life of the Virgin* in the "Campanile" chapel of Sant'Agostino in Rimini after 1303.[605] Similarly, Giotto's innovations influenced Pietro and Giuliano da Rimini, who were responsible for the mural decoration of the Oratory of St. Nicholas in Tolentino around 1310 or 1320.[606]

Both churches belonged to the Augustinians. The Order of Hermits of St. Augustine was a mendicant order, whose aim was to organize the small and dispersed hermit groups of Italy into a single institutional unit. The initiative came from Innocent IV in 1244, cardinal Riccardo Annibaldi carried out the task, and Alexander IV instituted the order in 1256.[607] At

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[603] Volpe, *Giotto e i Riminesi: il gotico e l'antico nella pittura di primo Trecento*, 21-71.

[604] Volpe, *Giotto e i Riminesi: il gotico e l'antico nella pittura di primo Trecento*, 21.

[605] For the date and the attribution see: Volpe, *Giotto e i Riminesi: il gotico e l'antico nella pittura di primo Trecento*, 101-102, and 109. For the importance of Giovanni da Rimini see: Miklós Boskovits, "Le chiese degli Ordini Mendicanti e la pittura ai primi del '300 tra la Romagna e le Marche," in *Arte e spiritualità negli Ordini Mendicanti: gli Agostiniani e il Cappellone di San Nicola a Tolentino*, ed. Centro Studi Agostino Trapè (Rome: Argos, 1992), 125-132.

[606] Daniele Benati, "Pietro da Rimini e la sua bottega nel Cappellone di San Nicola," in *Arte e spiritualità negli Ordini Mendicanti: gli Agostiniani e il Cappellone di San Nicola a Tolentino*, ed. Centro Studi Agostino Trapè (Rome: Argos, 1992), 235-242; Luciano Bellosi, "Ancora sulla cronologia degli affreschi del Cappellone di San Nicola a Tolentino," in *Arte e spiritualità nell'ordine agostiniano e il Convento San Nicola a Tolentino*, ed. Graziano Campisano (Rome: Argos, 1994), 187-194; Anna Tambini, "Giuliano e Pietro da Rimini nel ciclo di Tolentino," in *Arte e spiritualità nell'ordine agostiniano e il Convento San Nicola a Tolentino*, ed. Graziano Campisano (Rome: Argos, 1994), 207-209.

[607] Anne Dunlop, "Introduction: the Augustinians, the Mendicant Orders, and early-Renaissance art," in *Art and the Augustinian Order in early Renaissance Italy*, ed. Louise Bourdua and Anne Dunlop (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 8-9; Claudio Lugato, "Gli Agostiniani a Rimini e gli affreschi in Sant'Agostino," in *Il Trecento riminese: maestri e botteghe tra Romagna e Marche*, ed. Daniele Benati (Milan: Electa, 1995), 82.

the beginning, the order remained a rather loosely organized congregation, following the Rule of St. Augustine; however by the end of the 13th century a single habit and theology, based on the work of Giles of Rome, was established.[608] The Augustinians maintained a permanent house at the University of Paris from 1259, thus, the order was connected to the most progressive theological circles of the time.[609]

The presence of the Augustinians is testified around Rimini in 1247, and in 1256 they moved into the city because Bishop Giacomo gave them the church of St. John the Evangelist with all its parochial rights.[610] The church itself already appears in the records in 1069.[611] After their arrival, the Augustinians had the church partially rebuilt.[612] The community played a central role both in the life of the city and the order. The Malatesta family was their main patron, they had an important novitiate and studium, and the general chapter of the Augustinians was held there in 1278 and 1318.[613]

The *Presentation to the Temple* fresco can be found in an apsidal chapel, which was later separated from the main apse.[614] The mural decoration of the chapel depicted the life of the Virgin in eight scenes.[615] The *Presentation to the Temple* was placed in the middle register of the southern wall. [Fig.4.29] The fresco depicts the moment when Simeon gives Jesus back to the Virgin Mary. The prophetess Anna holding a scroll and Joseph bringing the doves complement the scene. In front of the deep space of the Temple, the four figures were organized in a row emphasizing the planar values of the picture.

The architectural setting displays a strong Classical influence. The building, with its slender columns, is impressively spacious and is definitely closer to buildings represented on Classical murals then to contemporary Gothic architecture.[616] The statuettes on the architrave betray this generic influence as well. They are placed on dwarf pillars, which are connected with festoons. A visitor to the narrow campanile could definitely see four of them, two on each side, displayed on the front of the Temple. [Fig.4.30 and Fig.4.31] However, it is also

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[608] The institutional reform was largely due to a decision of the Council of Lyon in 1274 which dissolved the religious orders that had come into existence after the fourth Lateran Council (1215). Only Boniface VIII could secure the existence of the order in 1298. Dunlop, "Introduction: the Augustinians, the Mendicant Orders, and early-Renaissance art," 9-10.

[609] Dunlop, "Introduction: the Augustinians, the Mendicant Orders, and early-Renaissance art," 35.

[610] Lugato, "Gli Agostiniani a Rimini e gli affreschi in Sant'Agostino," 83.

[611] Angelo Turchini, Claudio Lugato and Alessandro Marchi, *Il Trecento riminese in Sant'Agostino a Rimini* (Cesena: Il Ponte Vecchio, 1995), 12.

[612] Turchini, Lugato and Marchi, *Il Trecento riminese in Sant'Agostino a Rimini*, 14-18.

[613] Lugato, "Gli Agostiniani a Rimini e gli affreschi in Sant'Agostino," 82-85; Turchini, Lugato and Marchi, *Il Trecento riminese in Sant'Agostino a Rimini*, 18-20.

[614] As the church remained dedicated to St. John the Evangelist at that time, the usual reference to the fresco as being in the "campanile of Sant'Agostino" is misleading. Volpe, *Giotto e i Riminesi: il gotico e l'antico nella pittura di primo Trecento*, 101.

[615] Pier Giorgio Pasini, *La pittura riminese del Trecento* (Rimini: Cassa di Risparmio di Rimini, 1990), 50-55.

[616] Benton, "Some Ancient Mural Motifs in Italian Painting around 1300," 159.

evident that the master took pains to mirror these images on the back as the columns and the architrave runs around in order to create a three-dimensional rectangular space and similarly, the grayish silhouette of the statuettes is displayed as well. The figures have large wings, blow trumpets and are clothed in togas. The two on the right turn towards each other while the two on the left stand parallel to each other. Although the faces are not always detailed the figure on the right is surely a male. They seem extremely lively and energetic in comparison to the other examples.

The Oratory of St. Nicholas in Tolentino was built in honor of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, who spent most of his life in the same Augustinian convent. The Oratory is first mentioned in 1284.[617] After his death on 10 September 1305 his cult emerged rapidly leading to an unsuccessful canonization process in 1325.[618] The Oratory presumably predated the process by at least a decade. The mural decoration consisted of the Evangelist and the Doctors of the Church on the vaulting, the life of the Virgin in the upper register, the life of Christ in the middle register, and the life of St. Nicholas in the lower register.[619]

The *Presentation to the Temple* belongs to the upper register, as part of the *Life of the Virgin*. The fresco itself is a balanced representation of the biblical event. [Fig.4.32] Three buildings serve as the background and all of them are detailed composite structures. The one in the middle is polygonal and centrally planned. Thus, it can be seen as a vague reference to the Temple of Jerusalem. The three buildings are connected at the top with two festoons. Before considering any specificity of the statuettes themselves, the first characteristic which confronts the viewer is that the figurative pseudo-sculptural decoration is limited to the building on the right. This is the background building for the group of Simeon and Anna, who are, in this context, representatives of the Old Testament and the Jew acclaiming Jesus and testifying that he is the Messiah. [Fig.4.33] Contrasting the group of Simeon and Anna to the group of Joseph and Mary is not unusual since it occurs on the Rimini *Presentation* as well. There, however, the statuettes were evenly distributed on the building. The solution to reserve the figurative decoration exclusively for this group can plausibly mean that the decoration refers to them, that it labels them and only them in contrast to the others.

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[617] Maria Grazia Pancaldi, "Fonti archivistiche per la storia del convento di San Nicola (1284 - 1484)," in *Arte e spiritualità nell'ordine agostiniano e il Convento San Nicola a Tolentino*, ed. Graziano Campisano (Rome: Argos, 1994), 147; Anne Dunlop, "Black humour: the Cappellone at Tolentino," in *Art and the Augustinian Order in early Renaissance Italy*, ed. Louise Bourdua and Anne Dunlop (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 79-84.

[618] For the process see: *Il processo per la canonizzazione di S. Nicola da Tolentino*, ed. Nicola Occhioni (Rome: Padri Agostiniani di Tolentino and École Française de Rome, 1984).

[619] Pasini, *La pittura riminese del Trecento*, 103-108; Serena Romano, "Gli affreschi del Cappellone: il programma," in *Arte e spiritualità negli Ordini Mendicanti: gli Agostiniani e il Cappellone di San Nicola a Tolentino*, ed. Centro Studi Agostino Trapè (Rome: Argos, 1992), 259-263.

The pseudo-sculptural decoration consists of two distinct units. On the separate lower flat roof there are six statuettes of resting lions on dwarf pillars. [Fig.4.35] Parallel to this, on the top of the three visible edges of the main architectural unit on dwarf pillars as well, there are three statuettes of naked figures. [Fig.4.34] The figures look upwards; their bodies are slightly twisted and they make gestures with their arms as if something is affecting them from above. Even if the actual state of these statuettes does not fully correspond to their original layout, their basic content, lions and naked figures, were in all probability the same.

In my view, both in Rimini and Tolentino, images-within-images were used to enrich the meaning of the *Presentation*. As part of a Marian cycle, in both cases, they stood for the feast of the *Purification of the Virgin*. In Tolentino the PURIFICATIO VIRGINIS inscription under the fresco confirms this.[620] Although in different ways, the liturgical readings assigned to the feast of the *Purification* may help to contextualize these elaborate statuettes. In Rimini, it seems clear at first sight that these are not idols. There is little doubt that they are angels, adjusted to the Classical décor of the building. With their trumpets, these statuettes give a triumphal tone to the entire décor, which perhaps can be understood in relation to the presentation of Jesus in the Temple. The *Purification of the Virgin* was a double feast for both the newborn (*partus*) and the parent (*pariens*).[621] With regard to Jesus, the feast was a celebration of his first coming to the Temple foreshadowing the *Last Judgment* and his second coming. This aspect was clearly emphasized in the reading from Old Testament assigned to the feast of the *Purification* from the third book of Malachi. I quote it at length (Mal 3:1-4):

> Behold I send my angel, and he shall prepare the way before my face. And presently the Lord, whom you seek, and the angel of the testament, whom you desire, shall come to his temple. Behold, he cometh, saith the Lord of hosts. And who shall be able to think of the day of his coming? And who shall stand to see him? For he is like a refining fire, and like the fuller's herb: And he shall sit refining and cleansing the silver, and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and shall refine them as gold, and as silver, and they shall offer sacrifices to the Lord in justice. And the sacrifice of Juda and of Jerusalem shall please the Lord, as in the days of old, and in the ancient years.

The angels with the trumpets can be regarded as a celebration and announcement of salvation. The pseudo-sculptural décor foreshadows the second coming of Christ since the trumpets anticipates the fulfillment of actual events in the *Last Judgment*. The images-within-images

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[620] For Tolentino see: Romano, "Gli affreschi del Cappellone: il programma," 259.

[621] "Primum quoad partum, quod dicitur festum Ypapanti, id est obuiatio, quia in illa sollempnitate Anna prophetissa et Symeon obuiauerunt beate Marie uenienti filium suum Christum in templum offerre.
Ypapantos enim grece dicitur obuiatio latine, ab ypo quod est ire et anti, quod est contra. Qui aduentus Domini in templum significat aduentum eius in Ecclesiam et in mentem cuiuslibet fidelis anime, que est templum spirituale. Hunc aduentum predixit Dominus per Malachiam iii: Ecce ego mitto angelum meum et preparabit uiam ante faciem meam. Et statim ueniet ad templum sanctum tuum etc. Vel dicitur Ypapanti, id est Presentatio, ex eo quod Christus in templo est presentatus. Secundum, quoad parientem et dicitur festum Purificationis, quia beata Virgo, licet purificatione non indigeret nec legi purificationis obnoxia teneretur quia nullo modo immunda fuit nec peperit concepto semine, tamen uoluit facere secundum preceptum legis." Guillaume Durand, *Rationale diuinorum officiorum*, ed. A. Davril and T.M. Thibodeau (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995-2000), 7, 7, 5-6. Source: clt.brepolis.net.

are employed here to transform the architectural setting of the Temple into the quasi-apocalyptical space of Christ's second coming.

Apparently in Tolentino, the statuettes were integrated into a different exegetical context. Although the statuettes might have been retouched here, there is little doubt that they are naked idols. The adoption of idols is even more significant, as this pseudo-sculptural group is located on the building behind Simeon and Anna. They therefore belong to the setting of the representatives of the Old Testament. There might have been a possibility to develop the interpretation of the details as a reference to the claimed idolatrous practices of Simeon and Anna (and thus, the Jews) as opposed to the Christian life of the Virgin Mary and Joseph. I would explore, however, another interpretation here based on the presence of the lions next to the idols. It is perhaps not too far-fetched to regard the lions as a contaminated references to the Lion of Judah, and in fact, a symbol of Israel. In this sense, it would be possible to interpret the idols and a lions as a reference to the two distinct religious groups: the Gentiles (idols) and the Jews (lions). The Gentiles and the Jews are mentioned in the evangelical passage pertaining to the *Purification*. In Luke 2: 32-28, while holding Jesus in his hands, Simeon utters the following words:

> He also took him into his arms and blessed God and said. Now thou dost dismiss thy servant, O Lord, according to thy word in peace, because my eyes have seen thy salvation, Which thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples: A light to the revelation of the Gentiles (*revelationem gentium*) and the glory of thy people Israel (*gloriam plebis tuae Israhel*).

This passage states that Jesus, who is being presented in the Temple, will bring the revelation to Nations and glory to the Jews. I suggest that putting statuettes of idols and lions on the building behind Simeon and Anna was a way to signal the significance of the event to both these groups (and not to mark the Jews as idolaters). In this respect, the pseudo-sculptural decoration announces yet again the apocalyptical dimension of the encounter, though with a different focus as in Rimini.

It cannot be asserted whether the designer and the master of the Tolentino *Presentation* did or did not know about the earlier subject matter in Rimini. Because of the central role of the Rimini convent, there is a distinct possibility that he did. It is striking that in both Marian cycles images-within-images were only used in the *Presentation*.[622] Furthermore, in both cases these details seem to relate to an apocalyptical understanding of the event triggered perhaps in the basic liturgical readings related to the feast of the *Purification*. In the light of this, I would interpret these two frescoes as sign of the way the

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[622] Admittedly, this scene had the most elaborate architectural setting yet there are no images-within-images in Tolentino on the studios of the Doctors on the vaulting either.

Rimini masters adopted the motif of the statuette from Giotto and how it was tailored to the biblical-liturgical meaning of the frescoes in the Augustinian contexts.[623]

A similar multilateral visual exegesis can be seen on the various *Christ among the Doctors* scenes. Perhaps the most ambiguous statuettes can be found on the panel painted by Duccio of Buoninsegna, part of the predella of the *Maestà*.[624] The *Maestà* was commissioned for the main altar of the Cathedral of Siena (dedicated to the Assumption of Virgin Mary) on 9 October 1308. Duccio worked at least two years on the panel, which was installed with solemn festivities on 9 June 1311. The panel was painted on both sides. The Passion of Christ was the theme on the back narrated in 26 scenes, while on the front the Virgin Mary with the Child was depicted surrounded by saints and angels. The cycle representing the *Infancy of Christ* was placed on the front of the predella and its final panel was *Christ among the Doctors*.

The representation of the building recalls a generic Christian church by emphasizing the ribs of the vaulting. It may even be a reference to the cathedral of Siena where the *Maestà* was commissioned.[625] [Fig.4.36] There are four statuettes depicted under the architrave. They are represented as four naked, winged figures holding long staffs and shields in their other hand. [Fig.4.37] The shields are shown lowered to the ground. The statuettes stand in niches on top of four dwarf-pilasters. Though the figures have wings, they cannot be angels because of their nudity and armor. Panofsky advocated a strong reading of these statuettes, identifying them as idols and as an expression of the anti-Christian and evil orientation of the place.[626] The identification of the statuettes as idols is justified as Duccio's panel is more straightforward than any other work from the period.[627]

The question is how to interpret the presence of these idols in the Temple. The immediate response would be that they express the anti-Christian character of the place as Panofsky proposed. This proposition is plausible, however, considerations surrounding the narrative and pictorial context may weaken it. Peter Seiler argued that the evangelical account on which the picture is based do not imply any kind of hostility on the part of the elders

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[623] I hope I will have the opportunity to investigate the contemporary Augustinian context of these representations, especially in the works of Giles of Rome and Gregory of Rimini.

[624] For the Maestà see: John White, *Duccio: Tuscan art and medieval workshop* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979), 80-134 and 192-196; Luciano Bellosi, *Duccio: la Maestà* (Milan: Electa, 1998), 9-22; Alessandro Bagnoli, Roberto Bartalini and Luciano Bellosi (ed.), *Duccio: alle origini della pittura senese* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2003), 208-216. For the oeuvre of Duccio: White, *Duccio: Tuscan art and medieval workshop*; Bagnoli, Bartalini and Bellosi (ed.), *Duccio: alle origini della pittura senese*, 111-145.

[625] Bellosi, *Duccio: la Maestà*, 18. Stubblebine regarded the architectural setting as proof that Duccio himself painted the panel. James H. Stubblebine, *Duccio di Buoninsegna and his school* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 39.

[626] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character 1*, 141.

[627] Stubblebine's proposition about "spritely putti" seems out of place here. Stubblebine, *Duccio di Buoninsegna and his school*, 39.

towards Jesus. On the contrary, the event reported by Luke is one of the most peaceful and harmonious encounters between Jesus and the clergy.[628] In this sense, it is puzzling why this scene would have received such an anti-Jewish and ideological setting. It can be added that allusions to idolatry would be more expected on the Passion scenes of the *Maestà* around the High Priests, but the motif occurs nowhere else on the altarpiece in the *Christ among the Doctors*.

This reconsideration of the evangelical and pictorial context of the panel gains further impetus with Seiler's suggestion. He pointed out that, besides interpreting the presence of the statuettes as a sign of idolatry on the behalf of the Jews, it is possible to see them as a reference to the statues erected by Pontius Pilate in the Temple, as reported in *Golden Legend* based on a passage of the *Scholastic History*: "It should be noted, however, that the Jews accused Pilate to Tiberius of the savage massacre of the Innocents, of placing pagan images (*ymagines gentilium*) in the Temple despite the protests of the Jews…"[629]

This interpretation offers a plausible alternative explanation as to why the statues appear within the Temple. In light of the *Golden Legend* it can be regarded as a reference to the former historical reality of the Temple. Given that images-within-image do not appear elsewhere in Duccio's known *oeuvre*, these statuettes are the only hints that he engaged at all with the phenomenon. As the adoption of the motif might have been based on the *Golden Legend*, it is likely that initiative came from the designer of the program. Furthermore, this approach of using the image-within-image to document and to refer to the former reality of the Temple connects Duccio's statuettes more to Cimabue's golden eagle than to any other examples by Giotto.[630] The *Christ among the Doctors* not only lacks the iconographic implications present in the Arena chapel in Padua and the Lower Church in Assisi, but the playful decorative application of the phenomenon as well. In this respect, although it is dated between 1308-1311, it uses images-within-images in a manner recalling examples from thirty years previously. It is more closely related to an imagined-reported prototype. Duccio's anachronism is yet another proof of Giotto's central role in the liberation of the pictorial and iconographic potentials of the phenomenon.

The *Christ among the Doctors* in the transept of Santa Chiara in Assisi definitely shows the influence of Giotto and testifies to a typological use of the statuette. The basilica

[628] Seiler, "Duccios Tempelgötzen," 78-90.
[629] Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 352-353 and Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend, vol. 1*, 213. Peter Comestor talked about the "statues of emperors (*statuas Caesaris*)." Peter Comestor, "Historia Scholastica," 1351. For insight and interpretation of these passage see: Seiler, "Duccios Tempelgötzen," 93-97.
[630] Seiler pointed out the similarity between the two solutions. Seiler, "Duccios Tempelgötzen," 97-98.

was built as the shrine for St. Clare, whose body was transferred to it on 2 October 1260.[631] This basilica, in terms of its ground plan, its decoration and its function with simplifications followed the model of San Francesco in Assisi. Just as the latter was intended to be the shrine of St. Francis, this one was conceived as the shrine for St. Clare. The *Christ among the Doctors* fresco was part of the larger project ornamenting the transept of the church, which included scenes from the Old Testament in the northern arm, the representations of female martyrs on the vaulting of the crossing and a cycle from the *Infancy of Christ* in the southern arm (together with some scenes from the Lives of the Virgin and St. Clare).[632] The decoration in the southern arm dates to between 1305-1310.[633] The frescoes are attributed to the Expressionist Master of Santa Chiara, who might be identified with Palmerino di Guido, who collaborated with Giotto in Assisi.[634] Even if this identification must remain hypothetical, the frescoes betray a definite familiarity with the mural decoration of the Upper Church in Assisi.[635]

Alessandro Tomei has highlighted that the twisted column separating the *Massacre of the Innocents* and the *Flight to Egypt* is represented as a twisted banderol held together by tiny statuettes.[636] [Fig.4.38 and Fig.4.39] Besides this playful and decorative example, two statuettes were depicted in the *Christ among the Doctors*. [Fig.4.40] The building itself comprises the compound space of a hall, which with its cross vaults resembles the nave-section of a church and a bench forming a half-circle. There are two statuettes placed in a prominent position on the two edges of the roof. As opposed to Duccio's *Maestà*, a significant effort was made here by the master to distinguish these statuettes from any sort of idol and to emphasize that these are prophets. The two figures wear cloaks and they have long beards. [Fig.4.41 and Fig.4.42] Even if these details were too tiny to be perceived by the viewer, the long floating scrolls in their hands signal their identity to a wide audience.

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[631] Marino Bigaroni, Hans-Rudolf Meier and Elvio Lunghi, *La Basilica di S. Chiara in Assisi* (Ponte San Giovanni: Quattroemme, 1994), 13-18; Marina Righetti Tosti-Croce, "La chiesa di Santa Chiara ad Assisi: architettura," in *Santa Chiara in Assisi: architettura e decorazione*, ed. Alessandro Tomei (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2002), 28-38; Elvio Lunghi, "Le chiese francescane di Assisi nell'anno 1300," in *Assisi anno 1300*, ed. Stefano Brufani and Enrico Menesto (Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 2002), 367-369.

[632] Alessandro Tomei, "La decorazione della basilica: affreschi e tavole," in *Santa Chiara in Assisi: architettura e decorazione*, ed. Alessandro Tomei (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2002), 59-60. For the decoration and liturgical objects of the church prior to the decoration of the transept see: Bigaroni, Meier and Lunghi, *La Basilica di S. Chiara in Assisi*, 139-195.

[633] Between the decoration of the Arena chapel and the restarting of the works in the Lower Church. Bigaroni, Meier and Lunghi, *La Basilica di S. Chiara in Assisi*, 205-213.

[634] Tomei, "La decorazione della basilica: affreschi e tavole," 61-63. For previous interpretations on the Expressionist Master as reconstructed by Scarpellini and Boskovits, see: Scarpellini, "Commentario critico," 479-489.

[635] Tomei, "La decorazione della basilica: affreschi e tavole," 71-74.

[636] Tomei also noted that the motif of the statuette appears in the Upper Church. Tomei, "La decorazione della basilica: affreschi e tavole," 72. (Tomei mistakenly referred to the column as being placed between the *Flight to Egypt* and the *Christ among the Doctors*.)

The representation of prophets on the roof of the Temple does not allude to any historical reality of the building. They are not depicted there in order to express or strengthen the reference of the setting to a real prototype. On the other hand, they do not represent a play with the motif either. The depiction of prophets was related to the typological reality of the building in that they recall the Old Testament. This reference is justified in the narrative context of the fresco. As Luke 2: 46-48 reports, after the feast of Passover, Jesus was found in the Temple among learned Doctors discussing the Scriptures with them. This discussion definitely represents an encounter between the Old and New Testament. The presence of the prophets underlines this aspect of the moment. The statuettes perhaps even add to the authority of the Doctors as successors and interpreters of the prophets showing at the same time how with Christ, the New Testament was superimposed on the Old.

It is unclear to what extent the depiction of the statuettes here was based on this understanding of Luke 2: 46-48. The solution can be regarded as a generic retake of statues of prophets appearing on cathedral façades, pulpits or baptismal fountains. The motif and its implications were omnipresent. But even if derived from contemporary architecture, the two statuettes of the prophets did not lose their meaning which they received through their architectural context. Not only the motif, but also its implications were taken over as well. This example showing the influence of Giotto indicates that the motif of the statuette had been successfully opened up to typological references.

This general typological framework also appears in the *Christ among the Doctors* fresco, placed above the entrance to the sacristy, on the façade of the Baroncelli chapel at Santa Croce in Florence. The fresco is attributed to Taddeo Gaddi, a pupil of Giotto. It dates to between 1328-1330.[637] Part of it was destroyed in the fifteenth century when a new doorframe was inserted.[638] It is debated whether Taddeo Gaddi painted the fresco in the same campaign as the mural decoration of the neighboring Baroncelli chapel, as well.

Gaddi attempted to display a rectangular space covered with a dome and not a section of a church with cross vaulting. [Fig.4.44] The pseudo-sculptural decoration of this building comprises two statuettes on the two edges of the roof and a tympanum relief in the middle. [Fig.4.43] Both the statuettes and the tympanum are clearly visible and recognizable from the ground. The tympanum relief depicts a beardless youngster with a halo and wearing a

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[637] Ghiberti attributed the work to Taddeo, and this attribution is generally accepted. It may have been related to the painting of the neighboring Baroncelli chapel, but Ladis himself argued that these were two separate commissions. Andrew Ladis, *Taddeo Gaddi: Critical Reappraisal and Catalogue Raisonné* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1982): 36-37 and 113. See as well: Robert Janson-La Palme, "Taddeo Gaddi's Baroncelli Chapel: Studies in Design and Content," PhD Dissertation, Princeton University (Princeton: 1976), 101-103.
[638] Michelozzo di Bartolommeo, sculptor and architect, prepared the frame. Ladis, *Taddeo Gaddi*, 36.

loros.[639] [Fig.4.45] The figure's hands are damaged and therefore whether any gestures or objects are being held in them cannot be ascertained. The exact evaluation of the statuettes on the two edges of the roof must remain hypothetical, since they have also undergone heavy restoration.[640] On the basis of the remaining evidence it can be stated securely that both of figures were clothed in thick robes. Some parts of the robe, the face and the left hand remain of the figure on the left. [Fig.4.46] The figure depicted is a male. There is an unidentifiable element related to the right hand as well. Almost the entire lower part of the right figure is preserved until the chest. [Fig.4.47] The figure wears a robe and may be shown holding a scroll in its hand. Today, the face of the figure is bearded and wears a conical hat.[641]

These insecurities make the interpretation of these images-within-images difficult. The statuettes on the sides of the roof may have been prophets, somewhat similar to the ones in the transept of Santa Chiara in Assisi. The figure in the medallion is better preserved, but here it is difficult to find a common denominator for the various elements. The halo unquestionably signals that it is a holy figure. The *loros* would indicate an archangel although it lacks wings.[642] If the figure is identified with Christ, then the *loros* appears as an unusual element in the iconography. Furthermore, this identification should take into consideration that the relief displays a beardless youngster on the relief.[643] The use of a vestment connects the detail to a bust of St. Peter in the *Confirmation of the Rule* in the Bardi chapel. St. Peter wears a *pallio* (or an *omophorion*) but in that case the identification of the figure was less ambiguous.[644]

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[639] The *loros* was originally part of the toga of the consuls; it was long scarf arranged in an X-form on the body and draped over the left arm. It became part of the iconography for the archangels. Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*, 1251-1252.

[640] Janson-La Palme already highlighted this. Janson-La Palme, "Taddeo Gaddi's Baroncelli Chapel: Studies in Design and Content," 103 and 119.

[641] Martino di Bartolomeo copied this building quite accurately for the *Dispute of St. Stephen with the Jews in the Temple*, dated after 1403 (today in the Städel, Frankfurt). Johannes Tripps, "Opere perdute di Taddeo Gaddi e la pittura in Toscana all'inizio del '400," *Arte cristiana* 94 (2006): 242-243. On this panel, the two figures on the sides were represented as prophets with scrolls. They may reflect the original layout of Taddeo's fresco. It should be noted, however, that the relief in the tympanum depicts a bearded Moses with the tablets of the Law, which means that this detail was definitely altered perhaps because Martino of Bartolomeo wished to strengthen the orientation of the building towards the Old Testament theme.

[642] Archangels with *loros* appear in the dome mosaic of the Baptistery in Florence. Boskovits, *The mosaics of the Baptistery of Florence*, 261. On the *Verification of the Stigmata* in the Upper Church in Assisi St. Michael has a *loros* as well.

[643] Rave's proposition that the medallion represents God the Father and that it refers to Christ' answer to the Virgin Mary and Joseph cannot be accepted because of this. August Rave, *Christiformitas: Studien zur franziskanischen Ikonographie des Florentiner Trecento am Beispiel des ehemaligen Sakristeischrankzyklus von Taddeo Gaddi in Santa Croce* (Worms: Werner, 1984), 76. Janson-La Palme proposed that it was an adult triumphant Christ, but did not consider the lack of the beard and the *loros*. Janson-La Palme, "Taddeo Gaddi's Baroncelli Chapel: Studies in Design and Content," 119-120.

[644] It should be added that an even more enigmatic beardless youngster appears on the throne of the *Madonna* in the Bargello. The fresco was detached from its original context, perhaps the chapel of the Bargello under *Paradise* or in another chapel that was destroyed in the nineteenth century. See: Stefania Luppichini and others, "Il restauro di un affresco giottesco nel Museo del Bargello: precisazioni ed ipotesi in margine all'intervento," *OPD restauro* 14 (2002): 43-55; Giuseppe Rocchi Coopmans de Yoldi, "L'epoca arnolfiano-giottesca nella Badia Fiorentina e nel Bargello," in *S. Maria del Fiore: teorie e storie dell'archeologia e del restauro nella città*

The identification of the beardless youngster with the *loros* as Christ still appears to be the most plausible option. The absence of a beard may be explained by the dedication of the Baroncelli chapel to the Virgin Mary and the infancy of Jesus, since this way the grown-up Christ on the relief still refers back visually to the child Jesus. The *loros* may be a reference to the priesthood of Christ. In light of this, the suggestion of Robert Janson-La Palme that the pseudo-sculptural decoration of the building alludes to the Old (prophets on the side) and the New (Christ, the Redeemer) Law may be accepted.[645] Taddeo Gaddi's fresco would be then a developed version of the solution introduced in Santa Chiara, since the prophets were complemented with a relief of Christ. In this way, the interaction of the New and Old Testament is fully expressed in the pseudo-sculptural decoration as well. Furthermore, depicting Christ as the Redeemer on the relief might help viewers visualize that although he was sitting as a child in the midst of the Doctors and asking them questions he was still the Savior.

Similar tendencies can be observed in the *Martyrdom of St. Stephen* in the Pulci chapel of Santa Croce. The chapel was dedicated to St. Lawrence and to St. Stephen. Ponzardo, an influential member of the Pulci family, became friar of Santa Croce in 1308 and he may have commissioned the chapel.[646] Bernardo Daddi painted the mural decoration of the chapel. It has been dated on a stylistic basis to slightly before 1328.[647] Similarly to Taddeo Gaddi, Bernardo Daddi was a pupil of Giotto.[648]

The *Martyrdom of St. Stephen* comprises two moments in the drama: Stephen's speech in front of the council and the stoning. [Fig.4.48] The architectural setting reinforces the separation of the two moments. The trial takes place in the building of the council and the stoning outside of the city gate. The building has an upper floor covered with a dome and the

delle fabbriche arnolfiane, ed. Giuseppe Rocchi Coopmans de Yoldi (Florence: Alinea Editrice, 2006), 117-118. It is dated to after 1333 and attributed to Giotto's workshop. Boskovits, "Giotto: un artista poco conosciuto?" 92-94.

[645] Janson-La Palme, "Taddeo Gaddi's Baroncelli Chapel: Studies in Design and Content," 119-120. The combined allusion of the images-within-images to the teachings of the Old and the New Testament could have been aligned with the topography of the church: the *Christ among the Doctors* was placed above the door leading to the convent which housed the important *Studium Generale*. Thus, the fresco displaying Christ teaching in the Temple might have signaled this message to the friars leaving from the church on their way to the convent. Janson-La Palme, "Taddeo Gaddi's Baroncelli Chapel: Studies in Design and Content," 116-120. However, the mural decoration might relate more to the Baroncelli chapel itself than to the topography of the convent.

[646] Miklós Boskovits, *The Painters of the Miniaturist Tendency*, A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting III/9 (Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1984), 141, no. 1; R. Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz 4* (Berlin: 1927), IV/3 28, no. 11. According the Cirri, the founder of the chapel was Jacopo di Francesco Pulci. Richard Offner, *The Works of Bernardo Daddi*, am. Miklós Boskovits, A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting III/3 (Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1989), 122. This does not exclude that Ponzardo had a determining influence on the decoration.

[647] Miklós Boskovits, "More on the Art of Bernardo Daddi," in Offner, *The Works of Bernardo Daddi*, 35-37.

[648] Boskovits suggested that Bernardo Daddi received the commission for the Pulci chapel through Giotto or Taddeo Gaddi acting as intermediary. Boskovits, *The Painters of the Miniaturist Tendency*, 71, note 269.

dome is surrounded on four sides by four pseudo-tympanums. On the front facing tympanum there is a relief showing two angels carrying a rose-window.[649] [Fig.4.49] There are two statuettes of two male figures shown standing on the two edges of the roof.[650] The left figure wears a cloak, a shirt and something reminiscent to a toga (a horizontal line of embroidery is visible at the bottom). [Fig.4.51] The right arm is lost, but it is likely he held a scroll in his hand. He bends his left arm and points with upwards with his index finger. The figure on the right wears an open cloak and underneath it he is completely naked. [Fig.4.50] Although the genitals were not displayed, the body is definitely male. In his right hand he holds a scroll and with the index finger of his left hand he points down to Stephen standing outside the gate. All these details (the scroll, the nakedness, index fingers etc.) are sufficiently large so they must have been intended to be viewed by a contemporary audience as well.

The angels carrying a rose-window may have been a generic element of the Gothic decoration of the setting, like the arcade of the balcony beneath it. The building itself is probably a room of the council (*concilium*) in which Stephen was questioned (Acts 6:12). The statuettes represent a more complex case. They are active and lively in the sense that they point with their index fingers to certain details in the picture.[651] In the case of the left figure the target is not visible. The right figure points to Stephen. These gestures belong to a complex network of index fingers and regards in the fresco. The high priest points at Stephen, who points and looks upwards and the appearing Christ seems to point to the trial as well. It is unclear whether these gestures contained a deeper meaning. It seems plausible that their role was to highlight certain actions and aspects of the picture and to direct the viewer's attention.[652]

In view of the examples discussed so far, these two statuettes may have been regarded as prophets (the scroll held by the right one definitely favors this interpretation), which not only complement the synagogue but also engage in a commentary on the events. On the other

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[649] Miklós Boskovits, "More on the Art of Bernardo Daddi," 40.

[650] Offner and Boskovits signaled that the fresco was retouched and the outlines reinforced. Offner, *The Works of Bernardo Daddi*, 122. The pseudo-sculptural decoration belongs to the preserved areas; I assume that at least something similar to it was part of the original as well.

[651] Boskovits compared the architectural setting to Giotto's works in Santa Croce and stated generally that in the case of the latter, it remains a subordinate component of the picture. He added that in the case of Daddi the architecture and its decoration "seem to take on a life of their own." Boskovits, "More on the Art of Bernardo Daddi," 39-40. It should be mentioned that these motifs are not unique in the period: they appear on two frescoes in the Legend of St. Francis in the Upper Church at Assisi. In the *Dream of Innocent III* one of the angels on the roof points to the collapsing Lateran and to the sleeping pope simultaneously, as if explaining the action to the viewer (and to the fellow statuettes). Less evidently, on the *Liberation of the Repentant Heretic* an angel on the balustrade of the prison seems to point to a levitating St. Francis.

[652] It might be that the right hand statuette pointing to the stoning recalls the rejection of the prophets in Israel, as expressed in Steven's speech (Acts 7:51-52): "You stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, you always resist the Holy Ghost. As your fathers did, so do you also. Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? And they have slain them who foretold of the coming of the Just One: of whom you have been now the betrayers and murderers."

hand, the left figure in a toga has a Classical air, and the right figure with combination of the cloak and naked body underneath makes this identification at least problematic. Now, I would suggest that this contaminated prophet-iconography might be understood in the context of Stephen's martyrdom. From the Acts 6:1-6 it is known that shortly after his ordination as one of the seven new ministers, Stephen showed signs and became implicated in a debate which led to his death. Acts 6:9 specifies who his adversaries were: "Now there arose some, of that which is called the synagogue of the Libertines and of the Cyrenians and of the Alexandrians and of them that were of Cilicia and Asia, disputing with Stephen."[653] Especially the name of Alexandria associates these people with the Hellenic world implying that Stephen was not disputing with orthodox Jews from Israel. The classical clothing of the left hand statuette and the nakedness of the right statuette might have been adopted to create just such a Hellenic-Jewish setting. This is why the figures were fashioned somewhere between a Roman statue and a prophet of the Old Testament.

In this last example the naked statuette appears in the context of a martyrdom suffered at the hands of the Jews and on the top of the building housing the council of the High Priests although it lacks the implication of idolatry. It shows that the motif was integrated into a web of visual association of typological, apocalyptical and historical understanding of the religious space of the Temple. This confirms and develops further the conclusion reached with regard to the secular space of the Palace. In both cases, the statuette is an element of the décor contributing to the triumphal or religious air of the setting, and in the case of the Temple, from time to time it becomes an exegesis on the typological or apocalyptical dimensions of the encounter. Throughout this chapter I attempted to avoid the double reductionism of previous literature. The statuette may be regarded as exclusively a derivation of Classical wall painting or as a clear banner of idolatry. It should be emphasized that my conclusions do not mean that Classical wall painting did not influenced these representation (it did) and that freestanding statues as part of an ideologically charged visual strategy did not imply idolatrous practices on behalf of other religions in other representations. These conclusions do imply, however, that in this investigated period the desire to create realistic and iconographically tuned architectural settings for the narratives was apparently far stronger than to practice a disinterested visual archeology of Classical motifs or crafting ideologically-charged and calumnious images on the idolatry of the Saracens or Jews.

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[653] In the *Golden Legend* it is further clarified that the Libertines were either named after their region of origin or they were descendents of freedmen (former slaves), and the others refer to diverse geographic regions. Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, 79-80; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend, vol. 1*, 46.

5. The Problem of the Statuette: The Virgin and Her Throne

The analysis of the reappearance of images-within-images in the Trecento has focused so far on examples belonging to the genre of narrative paintings (*historia*). To some extent this was legitimate since the realistic turn of the image around the end of the 13th century was rooted in a desire to increase the reality-effect of the architectural and natural settings of a story. Yet, this turn was not limited to narrative painting. An increase in realism can be witnessed as well in the genre of the *imago*, contemporary with the developments of the *historia*. The main elements of this change in the *imago* included the promotion of three-dimensionality and a detailed representation of emotional responses (between the figures themselves and the spectator). The promotion of three-dimensionality meant the adoption of a detailed architectural setting such as the throne of the Virgin and an emphasis on the corporeality of figures like the body of the Virgin or Christ hanging on the cross.

The main aim of this chapter is to show that images-within-images contributed to the realistic turn of the *imago* as well. In the case of the narrative paintings, the detailed architectural setting of the event accommodated images-within-images. In the case of the *imago* the throne structure accommodating the saint or the Virgin Mary similarly provided the same possibility. Statuettes of angels, lions, virtues and even the Virgin herself populated the top and the arms of the throne. Since these details appeared in the same period, to some extent linked to the same workshops and the same social context, it is beyond doubt that they are part of the same tendency. In this respect, they show that on a general level the pictorial and iconographic implications of this practice did not respect the *imago/historia* division. The ambiguity of this boundary is not a minor problem of classification. The icons and the representations of the Mother of God, collected under the rubric of *imago*, reflect the pervasiveness of images-within-images that affected representations regardless of their cultic-liturgical status.

A central consequence of the realistic turn of the image was the transformation of the relation between the image and the viewer. The performativity of the image, by which it can integrate or absorb the viewer into its own reality, may have two residues which virtually never appear one without the other, yet they signal the two extremes of how an image can affect us. One can generally be labeled as procedural. The image is an element of an activity in which the viewer participates as well, and thus, their shared attachment to this activity creates a performative bond between them.[654] The other residue can be called the self-performativity of the image. Here, the source of the enchantment of the viewer and the claim

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[654] For a succinct summary of the procedural aspects in a Byzantine context see: Bissera Pentcheva, "The Performative Icon," *Art Bulletin* 88 (2006): 631-55.

on his or her attention is effectuated by the imagery of the image itself, whether resulting from its beauty, dynamism, or verisimilitude. Procedural performativity creates the context for the necessary involvement of the image and the viewer; by self-performativity the image appropriates the attention and gaze of the viewer.

With reservations, it can be stated that for the cult image the predominant role of procedural performativity gradually gave way to the importance of self-performativity. The inflection point of this process is exactly at the end of the thirteenth century, when by the virtue of their increased realism, cult images also became more "self-standing" then previously. The single most important historical-theoretical account of this change may be found in the *Bild und Kult* by Hans Belting.[655] Belting repeatedly emphasized that the era of devotion should be distinguished from the era of art. First the image was inscribed into a wider network of meanings and activities. As a cult object, it was presented and venerated and ultimately provided the faithful with the cultic-liturgical presence of a supernatural being. Later, in the era of art, when this liturgical and theological context was transformed and contested, images primarily became the places where the artist could and should manifest his or her creativity in order to create a picture to impress the viewer. In this sense, the venerated image changed from being the bearer of a spiritual presence to being a self-performative and appreciated aesthetic object.[656]

This division neither means that the procedural aspect was eliminated following the advent of the realistic turn nor that aesthetic features were unimportant prior to its inception. It does mean, however, that there was a far-reaching reconfiguration of these two components, where the balance shifted towards the self-performative aspect. The former dominance of *context* was replaced by the primacy of *art*. In my view, the use of images-within-images testifies to this shift and offers a unique opportunity to understand it. I will focus on three main points during my analysis of a series of case studies. First, I would like to show that the images-within-images depicted on the throne are not new inventions, but the reuse of already existing components. There can be no doubt that they had an iconographic

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[655] Belting, *Bild und Kult*, 9. Belting tried to simultaneously trace the theological, political, social, and formal factors that influenced the history of the image from Late Antiquity until the reformation.

[656] Belting conceptualized this fundamental insight more then once during different stages of his career. In 1965, in his monograph on the *Pietà* by Giovanni Bellini, he focused on how "the 'artistic icon' takes the place of the 'cult icon,' and thus, liberates itself from the constraints of the cult and claims to be an art object." Hans Belting, *Giovanni Bellini Pietà. Ikone und Bilderzählung in der venezianischen Malerei* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1985), 6-7. His main focus here was to understand how, in the case of Bellini, the claim for art harmonized with the exigencies of tradition. He proposed that Bellini successfully introduced elements hitherto reserved for narrative paintings into the genre of the imago, and thus, managed to create a long-lasting reconciliation of icon and *historia*. Belting, *Giovanni Bellini Pietà*, 27. In 1981, writing on the image and its public in the Middle Ages, though he mentioned Bellini as representing the moment when the art of the image became the primary function of the image itself, he dealt with the question of the *Imago pietatis* before the epoch of art. Hans Belting, *L'image et son public au Moyen Âge*, tr. Fortunato Israel (Paris: Gérard Monfort, 1998), 8.

motivation. Second, the reuse of these elements meant that these components became monochrome auxiliaries to the throne. This pictorial process increased the spatial coherence of the picture, and thus, contributed to its reality-effect. Third, this pictorial-iconographic transformation was not a disinterested play with motifs, but resonated in the liturgical context as well. As certain processes or prayers seem to be mirrored in these images-within-images, they must have added to the performativity of the picture as well. As a result of these three aspects, images-within-images simultaneously represent the cutting edge of pictorial reflexivity perfecting the effect of the picture and serving the liturgical interests of its audiences.

The case studies include angels from San Francesco in Rieti, San Ponziano in Spoleto (with censers) and Santa Cecilia altarpiece (with chalices); lions from San Damiano in Assisi and San Francesco in Figline; the virtues on an altarpiece from Santa Felicità in Florence; the *Annunciation* groups from the Lanckoronski and Louisville Madonnas; and from the tomb of Antonio Fissiraga in Lodi.

5.1. Ministering Angels – An Intensification of the Liturgy?

The first monochrome agent on the throne of the Virgin related to the realistic turn in painting, can be found in San Francesco in Rieti. Up until the mid-13th century, the Franciscans occupied the old *hospitale* of Santa Croce close to the Velino River.[657] They started to build their monumental convent on the same spot in 1246 with the endorsement of the civic and ecclesiastic communities. Their new convent was completed around 1260.[658] Rieti was an important site for the papacy as well. An Episcopal palace already existed here around AD 540 and it was used from time to time as a papal residence until 1305, when the Holy See moved to Avignon.[659] This palace had been sumptuously rebuilt by 1283 with a huge audience hall and a double-bay portico. A *loggia* was added to it in 1288, perhaps for the performance of the papal benediction.[660] In 1289, the 13th general chapter of the Franciscan order was held probably there. It had been scheduled for Assisi, but at the request of Nicholas IV it was moved to Rieti.[661] William Cook proposed that the decisions about the

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[657] Ileana Tozzi, "I beni culturali ecclesiastici di matrice francescana presso il Museo Diocesano di Rieti," *Collectanea Franciscana* 77 (2007): 577.

[658] Tozzi, "I beni culturali ecclesiastici di matrice francescana presso il Museo Diocesano di Rieti," 577.

[659] Francesco Palmegiani, *L'antichissimo Palazzo Vescovile di Rieti: ricostruzione storico artistica* (Rome: Industria Tipografica Romana, 1925).

[660] Palmegiani, *L'antichissimo Palazzo Vescovile di Rieti*, 405-409.

[661] Palmegiani, *L'antichissimo Palazzo Vescovile di Rieti*, 408-409; William R Cook, "The cycle of the Life of Francis of Assisi in Rieti: the first copy of the Assisi frescoes," *Collectanea franciscana* 65 (1995): 145.

decoration of the nave in the Upper Church and the *Legend of St. Francis* in Assisi was made during this chapter.[662]

The choir of San Francesco in Rieti formerly had a fresco decoration, the fragments of which are now in the Diocesan Museum of Rieti.[663] Six of the fragments depict scenes from the life of St. Francis including the *Dream of Innocent III*, *Miracle at Greccio*, *Vision of the Fiery Chariot*, *Healing at Lerida* and *Liberation of the Heretic*.[664] These fragments represent an early copy of the *Legend of St. Francis in Assisi*, and can perhaps be understood in the larger context of an intentional visual propaganda of the Franciscan order, as proposed by Dieter Blume.[665] Stylistic arguments would place these frescoes in the first years of the 14th century in the milieu of the Expressionist Master of Santa Chiara, who might be identified with Palmerino di Guido, Giotto's associate in Assisi.[666]

There is a fresco representing the *Virgin with Child Enthroned* between the window of the choir and the *Healing at Lerida*. The fresco, thus, broke the narrative of the St. Francis cycle. [Fig.5.1] The upper part of the fresco with the heads of Christ and Mary is lost.[667] Christ holds the index finger of the Virgin in his right hand and a small book in his left hand. St. Paul stands to the left of the throne while on the right side St. Peter introduces the kneeling patron. There is a partial inscription on the edge of the fresco: IOHS DE..L..H..HOC OPUS. …S.[668] The name John presumably refers to the patron.[669] The insertion of the image of the Virgin within the narrative sequence was plausible in the region of Rome at that time and it may perhaps have been the explicit wish of the commissioner.[670] The initiative for the mural decoration of the cycle might have come from Angelo di Rieti, a Franciscan friar who became bishop of Rieti in 1302.[671]

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[662] Cook, "The cycle of the Life of Francis of Assisi in Rieti," 145.

[663] The fresco fragments were found in 1953 and were detached in 1979. See: Cesare Verani, "Restaurati gli affreschi nel coro di S. Francesco di Rieti," *Notiziario Turistico* no. 7-8 (1954): 15; Francesco Abbate, "Affreschi con storie della vita di S. Francesco," in *Un'antologia di restauri: 50 opere d'arte restaurate dal 1974 al 1981* (Roma: De Luca, 1982), 116; Tozzi, "I beni culturali ecclesiastici di matrice francescana presso il Museo Diocesano di Rieti," 569-576.

[664] Blume, *Wandmalerei als Ordenspropaganda*, 42-45; Serena Romano, *Eclissi di Roma: pittura murale a Roma e nel Lazio da Bonifacio VIII a Martino V (1295-1431)* (Rome: Argos, 1992), 255; Cook, "The cycle of the Life of Francis of Assisi in Rieti," 121-141.

[665] Blume, *Wandmalerei als Ordenspropaganda*, 1-8, 37 and 42.

[666] Abbate, "Affreschi con storie della vita di S. Francesco," 116; and Romano, *Eclissi di Roma*, 59-62. For the Expressionist Master of Santa Chiara see: Tomei, "La decorazione della basilica: affreschi e tavole," 61-63. Blume proposed an early date around 1295. Blume, *Wandmalerei als Ordenspropaganda*, 42.

[667] The fresco was already in such a poor state in 1953. Verani, "Restaurati gli affreschi nel coro di S. Francesco di Rieti," 22.

[668] Romano, *Eclissi di Roma*, 255.

[669] Blume, *Wandmalerei als Ordenspropaganda*, 72; and Romano, 255. Verani's suggestion that it was the name of the painter seems unlikely. Verani, "Restaurati gli affreschi nel coro di S. Francesco di Rieti," 23.

[670] Romano, *Eclissi di Roma*, 256.

[671] Romano, *Eclissi di Roma*, 256. Angelo died in the same year, but as Romano suggested, his successor, Giovanni Muti of Papazzurri could have finished the work. Romano also maintained that there might even have

On each side of the throne there is a monochrome statuette standing in a niche behind two slender columns. The niches were repeated below, but without the statuettes. The left statuette represents an angel shown with a halo and wings and wearing a toga. [Fig.5.2] The other figure is damaged and the head is not visible. [Fig.5.3] Some parts of the wings may remain but the area is damaged. Cesare Verani, who described the frescoes *in situ* after their restoration in 1954, suggested that the statuettes re-enact the *Annunciation*, and thus, identified the left one with Gabriel and the right one with the Virgin Mary.[672] Verani, however, while describing the frescoes mentioned that the central figures were already mutilated. Therefore, in all probability, he based his judgment on the same pictorial evidence as available to us today.[673] Furthermore, there are three details contradicting this interpretation in the frescoes in their present state. The right hand of the angel on the left is not raised in a gesture of salutation, but kept down while the figure on the right is barefoot and embraces the column.[674] Dieter Blume's proposed identification of both statuettes as angels seems plausible.[675]

Blume correctly proposed as well that these angels were pseudo-sculptural retakes of angels appearing around the Virgin in many 13th century Florentine panels.[676] These angels can perform various actions. The presentation can be straightforward where they point to the Virgin Mary and the Child with raised arms, as may be found on panels by the Bigallo master.[677] [Fig.5.4] They can appear passive, reduced to bust-like forms as on the panel by an anonymous Florentine master in San Verano in Peccioli.[678] [Fig.5.5] As part of enhancing the further spatial coherence of the picture they can be depicted behind the throne, perhaps relying on it, as on a panel by the Maddalena master from San Michele in Rovezzano.[679] [Fig.5.6]

Compared to these examples the petrified angels from Rieti reveal an unprecedented spatial coherence and pictorial organization. The angels occupy their niches on the throne. Depicted in monochrome, they became part of the setting. This pseudo-sculptural integration also resulted in a tempered tone since they are full size but are not pointing at the Virgin.

been a sort of double commission with a civil donor contributing financing and a Franciscan friar promoting the work.

[672] Verani, "Restaurati gli affreschi nel coro di S. Francesco di Rieti," 22-23.

[673] The *in situ* state of the fresco is attested on the photo no. 46418 of the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale. At that time there was no further pictorial material available either.

[674] The black dot on the foot is not a stigma but a later damage on the surface of the fresco. On photo no. 46418 in the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, the right hand of the figure is visible, shown embracing the column as well. Thus, the two angels were conceived as mirror images of each other.

[675] Blume, *Wandmalerei als Ordenspropaganda*, 72.

[676] Blume, *Wandmalerei als Ordenspropaganda*, 72.

[677] See the works in the Acton collection in Florence and in the Fine Arts Museum in Nantes. Angelo Tartuferi, *La pittura a Firenze nel Duecento* (Florence: Bruschi, 1990), 71-72.

[678] Tartuferi, *La pittura a Firenze nel Duecento*, 14-15.

[679] Tartuferi, *La pittura a Firenze nel Duecento*, 89 and 91.

With one arm they embrace the column while the other hangs a bit helplessly next to the body. The aesthetic impact of the fresco, despite its ruined state, is still pronounced. The angels assume their honorific or ministering function similarly to the way their Duecento predecessors did, but there is a mixture of realism (they are stone elements of the throne) and distance.

Furthermore, angels honoring the Virgin and Child had also an immediate antecedent in Rieti. Altogether sixteen busts of angels were depicted in pseudo-marble niches under the frescoes in the choir. These angels bracket a figure of which only the left arm remains wearing a dark blue robe and holding a book. Serena Romano concurred with Dieter Blume's proposition that it represents St. Francis as the Doctor of the Church; the representation perhaps can be explained with the anti-poverty agenda of Angelo di Rieti.[680] The two angels right next to St. Francis hold censers and definitely mirror the liturgical act of veneration.[681] [Fig.5.7] This representation of angels in the choir provides the immediate iconographic context for the two angels accompanying the Virgin Mary and the Child on the throne. Furthermore, their depiction as pseudo-sculptural details bears perhaps the influence of the abundant use of pseudo-sculptural decoration for the architectural settings in the *Legend of St. Francis* in the Upper Church at Assisi. Many of the scenes in Rieti followed Assisi models. Unfortunately, as the upper parts of the Rieti frescoes have been lost, it cannot be decided whether images-within-images were used to decorate those buildings as well. They do not appear on the remaining frescoes.

There are two further examples from around the first decade of the 14th century where similar angels appear on the throne. They are the two angels with chalices on Santa Cecilia altarpiece in Florence and the two censing angels in the crypt of San Ponziano in Spoleto. In these examples, the angels carry liturgical objects (chalices or censers), which create additional bonds between them and the main figure (be it St. Cecilia or the Virgin Mary).

The Santa Cecilia altarpiece, today in the Uffizi, was painted for the church of Santa Cecilia in Florence.[682] The church was presumably founded before 930, and according to a document from 966, it was an "*ecclesia cardinalis*."[683] The institution housed the "Consilium Generale" of Florence and the meetings of the guilds of the exchangers and the mercers from time to time.[684] The church burned down on 10 July 1304 when the prior of San Piero

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[680] Blume, *Wandmalerei als Ordenspropaganda*, 73; Romano, *Eclissi di Roma*, 256-259.

[681] This might refer to the "seraphic" character of Francis. Blume, *Wandmalerei als Ordenspropaganda*, 73. It is plausible, however, in terms of a generic display of veneration also.

[682] *Gli Uffizi*, Catalogo Generale (Florence: Centro Di, 1980), 354, P953.

[683] Riccardo Carapelli, *La perduta chiesa di Santa Cecilia in Firenze: memorie storico-artistiche* (Florence: Nuova Sfogli, 1996), 10.

[684] Carapelli, *La perduta chiesa di Santa Cecilia in Firenze*, 10-11.

Scheraggio, Neri Abati, who was involved in the controversy between the families of Neri and Bianchi, started a fire in the city.[685] Richard Offner proposed that the altarpiece must have been painted before the fire.[686] Luciano Bellosi pointed out that it seems more plausible that the Santa Cecilia altarpiece in fact replaced the one which burned in the fire. Thus, the work should be dated to shortly after 1304.[687] In all probability the altarpiece was intended as the main altar after the rebuilding of the church.[688] The painter of the panel is referred as the Master of Santa Cecilia, and he perhaps assisted during the painting of the last scenes of the *Legend of St. Francis* in the Upper Church at Assisi (scenes 26, 27, 28 and 1).[689]

The altarpiece is composed of one large central *imago* representing St. Cecilia on her throne as well as four half-size narrative panels on each of the sides depicting her life. The saint holds a book in her left hand and a palm branch in her right hand.[690] [Fig.5.8] There are two angels on the two sides of the complex structure of the throne, placed between two architraves. [Fig.5.9 and Fig.5.10] They are shown half-kneeling and mirror each other. The motif may have a Classical origin, but had clearly been adjusted to the Christian context as the figures wear robes and carry chalices.[691]

The panel predates the moment when due to a misreading of her *vita* St. Cecilia was associated with an organist and became the patron saint of music.[692] The narrative panels around the central figure depict her story from the wedding banquet through her public activities until the confrontation with Almachius and her death. The pictorial narrative conforms to her life as composed in the AD 5th or 6th centuries and to the account in the *Golden Legend* as well.[693] Her cult especially flourished in Rome. Besides the Callixtus cemetery, where she was buried, and Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, where she was translated

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[685] Carapelli, *La perduta chiesa di Santa Cecilia in Firenze*, 11-12. villain VII/71

[686] Richard Offner, *The School of the St. Cecilia Master*, am. Miklós Boskovits, A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting III/1 (Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1986) 94.

[687] Luciano Bellosi, "Moda e cronologia: B) per la pittura di primo Trecento," *Prospettiva* 11 (1977): 12-27, esp. 15-16. Bellosi pointed out as well that Offner proposed a date prior to 1304 because he believed that the church was rebuilt only in 1341 after the fire. Bellosi, "Moda e cronologia: B) per la pittura di primo Trecento," 25, note 11.

[688] It remained there until 1641 or 1642 at which time it was placed on the inner side of the façade above the entrance and its original place was allocated to the Curradi's *Death of St. Cecilia*. Carapelli, *La perduta chiesa di Santa Cecilia in Firenze*, 23-24, and 45.

[689] Offner, *The School of the St. Cecilia Master*, 60-93.

[690] Thomas Connolly, *Mourning into joy: music, Raphael, and Saint Cecilia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 202.

[691] Benton identified them as sacramental chalices. Benton, "Some Ancient Mural Motifs in Italian Painting around 1300," 164-165, note 40. Connolly described them as "supporting angels." Connolly, *Mourning into joy: music, Raphael, and Saint Cecilia*, 202.

[692] "Cantantibus organis in corde suo soli Deo decantabat dicens…" The meaning of the line, "while the instruments were playing," was gradually transformed to "while she played on the organ." Volker Scherliess, "Santa Cecilia: da martire a patrona della musica," in *Dipingere la musica: strumenti in posa nell'arte del Cinque e Seicento*, ed. *Sylvia Ferino-Pagden* (Milan: Skira, 2000), 59-63.

[693] For the *Passio Sanctae Caeciliae* see: Filippo Caraffa and Antonio Massone, *Santa Cecilia, martire romana: passione e culto* (Rome: Centro di Spiritualità Liturgica, 1996), 31-83.

under Paschal I in 821, there were six other churches dedicated to her in the city, which have since been demolished or rebuilt.[694] The possibility that one or more of these churches contained a representation of the saint with angels cannot be excluded.

In the written accounts there is no hint of any angel holding a chalice and there is no sign that the motif might have been part of her iconography.[695] The use of the chalice here can have two interrelated implications. It may refer to the martyrdom of St. Cecilia, which she suffered because of her Christian faith. The chalice, together with the cross, became a standard attribute of Faith around the end of the 13th century.[696] This development was not unrelated to the fact that the liturgical chalice is the container of the wine, which transfigures into the blood of Christ, thus recalling the founding sacrifice of Christ. The chalice retained these implications in the everyday liturgy.[697] The two angels carrying chalices on the altarpiece could simultaneously refer to the self-sacrifice of St. Cecilia for her faith and to the celebration of the Eucharist, that is, to the liturgical reenactment of Christ's founding sacrifice on the cross.[698]

The other example I would like to analyze is located in the crypt of San Ponziano in Spoleto. It is an enthroned *Virgin with the Child*, rather oddly situated on the wall and dome of the apse in the left aisle of the crypt. [Fig.5.11] The image represents the Virgin sitting on and within an elaborate throne. [Fig.5.12] Christ is on her left leg, playing with the right hand of the Virgin with both of his hands. On each side of the top of the throne structure there is an angel energetically swinging a censer (thurible).[699] We know rather little about this image.[700] It has been attributed to the Cesi master or to his close follower.[701] The vaulting structure of the throne, and in fact the entire spatial organization of the fresco, also betrays the influence

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[694] Caraffa and Massone, *Santa Cecilia, martire romana: passione e culto*, 15-22.

[695] There is no reference to a chalice or vessel in her offices either. Sherry L. Reames, "The Office for Santa Cecilia," in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001), 245-270.

[696] Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the virtues and vices in mediaeval art*, 75-76.

[697] For further bibliography on the chalice see: Elizabeth Parker McLachlan, "Liturgical vessels and implements," in *The liturgy of the medieval church*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001), 382-387.

[698] For the use of statuettes of angels during the liturgy see: Johannes Tripps, "Retabel und heilige Schau: Funde zur Inszenierung toskanischer Retabel im Tre- und Quattrocento," *Das Münster* 57 (2004): 87-95, esp. 88-90.

[699] In 1978, the fresco was described as having been retouched, but it was stated as well that the figure and the structure of the throne displays characteristics of the Trecento design. Lamberto Gentili, Luciano Giacchè, Bernardino Ragni and Bruno Toscano, *Spoleto*, L'Umbria - Manuali per il territorio 2, (Rome: Edindustria, 1978), 75. For reasons of iconography and since they appear consistent with the throne structure, I assume that the angels with censers were part of the original design.

[700] Already Guardabassi described the crypt, but he did not enter into details. See: Mariano Guardabassi, *Indice-Guida dei Monumenti pagani e cristiani riguardanti l'Istoria e l'Arte esistenti nella Provincia dell'Umbria* (Perugia: G. Boncompagni, 1872), 305.

[701] Garrison attributed it to the Cesi master, Ragghianti and Todini to his circle. See: Edward B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1949), 14 and 140; Carlo L. Ragghianti, "Puccio Capanna," *Critica d'Arte* 42 (1977): 231; Filippo Todini, *La pittura umbra – Dal Duecento al primo Cinquecento 2* (Milan: Longanesi & C, 1989), 131.

of the *Legend of St. Francis* in the Upper Church at Assisi.[702] The monastery and church of San Ponziano in Spoleto was the home of nuns following the rule of St. Benedict from the end of the 13th century.[703] The dedication of the chapel in the crypt is unknown. Mario Sensi argued that it was used as a healing shrine dedicated to the *Madonna della febbre* at least from the beginning of the 15th century, but the original use of the chapel is unclear.[704]

In the oeuvre of the Cesi Master the fresco can be related to the *Virgin and Child* found today in the sacristy of Santa Maria Assunta in Cesi.[705] According to its inscription, the panel was painted in 1308 and was commissioned by a certain Donna Elena (perhaps for a female religious community).[706] She is represented on the panel as a kneeling woman in a black dress with white veil. [Fig.5.15] Here, two life-size censing angels, specified as Gabriel and Michael, accompany Mary.[707] The motif of the censing angels appears elsewhere in the

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[702] Ragghianti, "Puccio Capanna," 231-232.

[703] According to the hagiographic tradition, the site is the burial place of the young martyr Ponziano from Spoleto, patron saint of the town as well. Due to the work of a certain lady Sincleta and some Syrian friars it functioned as a cult place even in the early centuries. From the 10th century there are reports of a cemetery being located there while already from the 11th century there are testimonies to the presence of a monastery. In 1392, nuns took over the care of the Ospedale S. Matteo. Bruno Toscano, *Spoleto in Pietre* (Spoleto: Azienda del Turismo, 1963), 13-14; Gentili and others, *Spoleto*, 67-70. The Benedictine nuns or another female congregation got a hold of the monastery "under the guise of the penitential movement," as part of a general tendency in the town. See: Giuseppe Guerrini, Gian Carlo Paoletti and Bernardino Sperandio, "Un fattore di cambiamento: gli Ordini Mendicanti," in *Spoleto, argomenti di storia urbana*, ed. Guglielmo De Angelis d'Ossat and Bruno Toscano (Milan: Silvana, 1985), 57. By the mid-14th century, the monastery of San Ponziano became a gathering shelter for smaller female communities. Mario Sensi, "La preghiera di intercessione nelle tavolette votive: l'esempio di Spoleto," *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica* 2 (1994): 246-261, esp. 246-248. For a general historical framework of the mendicant orders and other religious institutions around the end of the 13th century in Spoleto see: Mario Sensi, "Gli ordini mendicanti a Spoleto," in *Il ducato di Spoleto* (Spoleto: La Sede del Centro Studi, 1983), 429-485.

[704] The continuity of the cult is signaled by the three portraits of kneeling children around the Virgin (definitely later additions) and the various *ex voto* panels surrounding the fresco. These were only removed to the monastery in 1967. Sensi, "La preghiera di intercessione nelle tavolette votive: l'esempio di Spoleto," 253-256; Mario Sensi, "Anemia mediterranea e santi sauroctoni," in *Carte di viaggi e viaggi di carta : l'Africa, Gerusalemme e l'Aldilà*, ed. Giusi Baldissone and Marco Piccat (Novara: Interlinea, 2002), 11-40, esp. 20-22.

[705] As Longhi pointed out, the Madonna of the Cesi master in turn could be compared to Giuliano da Rimini's *Madonna with the Child* (Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1307). See: Roberto Longhi, "La pittura umbra della prima metà del Trecento. Lezioni di Roberto Longhi nell'anno accademico 1953-1954 attraverso le dispense redatte da Mina Gregori," *Paragone* 24, no. 281-283 (1973): 14. The church of Santa Maria *de fori* and Sant'Angelo in Cesi have been proposed as for the original location of the panel. In 1860 it was transported to the Palazzo Comunale and later to the church of Santa Maria Assunta, where it can be found today in the sacristy. Maria Rita Silvestrelli, "Dal Maestro di Cesi a Pier Matteo da Amelia: aspetti della cultura figurative nell'Umbria meridionale tra XIV e XV secolo," in *La pittura nell'Umbria meridionale dal Trecento al Novecento*, ed. Giorgio Antonucci (Terni: Provincia di Terni, 1993), 25-49, esp. 27-29.

[706] "I(n) No(m)i(n)e D(omi)ni Amen. Anno Domini M.CCC.VIII (Tempore) Clementis PP V Indictione VI D(omi)na Elena fecit fieri hoc opus." Filippo Todini, *La pittura umbra – Dal Duecento al primo Cinquecento 1* (Milan: Longanesi & C, 1989), 114. The presence of nuns in Cesi is testified as well in the statutes of the town. The most important site might have been the monastery of St. Agnes, home to Benedictine nuns. Renzo Nobili, *Cesi nel Medioevo* (Arrone: Thyrus, 2004), 109-110. The Statute 26 proclaims: "Item statuimus et ordinamus, quod quicumque disfortiaverit vel vi adulteratus fuerit aliquam mulierem nuptam, vel incarceratam, monacham, vel religiosam, si fuerit accusatus et plene probatum, solvat Curie pro bando XXV. libras et totidem patienti iniuriam." See: Nobili, *Cesi nel Medioevo*, 177. Since the statute differentiates between "nuns" and "religious women" we can suppose the existence of more then one female communities.

[707] These features can be found on the Boston Madonna by Giuliano da Rimini as well, though the act of censing is less emphasized. The panel was presumably commissioned by and made for the Order of Clares at the church of S. Giovanni Decollato in Urbania (near Urbino). The inscription states the role of the Virgin in the salvation

oeuvre of the Cesi master where two angels with censers honor Christ on the *Paliotto di Cerreto*.[708] It seems plausible that the Cesi master was already relying on Duecento prototypes such as the *Virgin and Child* originally from Manciano di Trevi.[709] [Fig.5.17] The motif appears as well on the *Madonna dell'Opera*, which was presumably the antependium of the main altar of the Cathedral of Siena until it was replaced with Duccio's *Maestà* in 1311.[710] [Fig.5.19]

The presence of the censing angels in the *oeuvre* of the Cesi master and on the Duecento examples offers a plausible route of derivation for the statuettes on the throne in Spoleto. Here, an already existing and widely used motif was adopted for and adjusted to a different pictorial paradigm. On the *Virgin and Child* by the Cesi master the two angels appear life-size and dominate the picture with their out-stretched wings. However, the spatial relation between the throne and the ground on which they stand is unrealistic. In Spoleto the angels are tinier, yet as monochrome components of the throne, they conform to the space of the fresco.

On both pictures there is an attempt to produce a forceful realistic display of censing. The fumes visibly rise from the censers, moving towards the Virgin in the Cesi panel. [Fig.5.16] On the Spoleto fresco this solution would have perhaps counteracted the reason the angels were displayed as pseudo-sculptural elements. Their placement together with their smaller size rendered the use of fumes difficult in any case. Here, the dynamic movements of the figures highlight the censing as they swing their thuribles. [Fig.5.13 and Fig.5.14] The difference between the two solutions is clear although they stem from the same aspiration to create an impressive realism. The fumes from a censer can already be found on the *Virgin and Child* from Manciano di Trevi, but the adoption of statuettes has a trace of the use of pseudo-sculptural decoration for the architectural setting in the work of Giotto. [Fig.5.18] It is an open question whether the *oeuvre* of the Cesi master could comprise two quite different

clearly. "A.D. 1307, Giuliano, painter from Rimini, made this work during the time of the Pope Clement V. This is true fraternity that conquers the world's sins. Following the glorious Mary, you will obtain the kingdom of heaven." Alan Chong, "Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints, 1307," in *Eye of the Beholder. Masterpieces from the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum*, ed. Alan Chong, Richard Lingner and Carl Zahn (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum and Beacon Press, 2003), 37.

[708] The panel is held in the Diocesan Museum in Spoleto. Silvestrelli, "Dal Maestro di Cesi a Pier Matteo da Amelia: aspetti della cultura figurative nell'Umbria meridionale tra XIV e XV secolo," 28; Giampiero Ceccarelli, *Il Museo diocesano di Spoleto* (Spoleto: Dharba, 1993), 27.

[709] Dated to around the mid-13th century. The panel is in the Diocesan Museum in Spoleto. Silvestrelli, "Dal Maestro di Cesi a Pier Matteo da Amelia: aspetti della cultura figurative nell'Umbria meridionale tra XIV e XV secolo," 28; Ceccarelli, *Il Museo diocesano di Spoleto*, 27.

[710] The panel is also erroneously called the Madonna degli Occhi Grossi. It is attributed to Tressa Master, and can be dated perhaps to around 1215. Monika Butzek, "Per la storia delle due 'Madonne delle Grazie' nel Duomo di Siena," *Prospettiva* 103/104 (2001): 97-109, esp. 97-104; Victor M. Schmidt, "Note su alcuni paliotti senesi del Duecento," *La Diana* 8/11 (2002/05): 23-29, esp. 23-24 and 27-28.

pictorial answers to the same problem, or whether the responses were those of two distinct individuals (perhaps from the same workshop).[711]

The Duecento examples offer a plausible origin for the motif on the fresco from Spoleto, however, one still wonders whether there was a specific reason for the depiction of censing angels in those cases. With regard to the *Virgin and Child* by the Cesi master, Millard Meiss proposed that the angels are iconographic archaisms and hinted that they might be there for religious and not for artistic purposes.[712] This religious purpose in my view cannot be anything else then the mirroring of the liturgical act of censing together with a reference to its biblical connotations. The importance of incense in the worship is stated in Psalm 140 verse 2: "May my prayer be set before you like incense, may the lifting up of my hands be like the evening sacrifice." This verse compares the prayer to incense, which moves towards God.

The acceptance and use of incense in the Christian liturgy moved from initial rejection towards full acceptance.[713] One key element of this revision was that censing of the altar became part not only of the Holy Mass but also of Lauds and Vespers as well. The beginnings of this change are unclear. Atchley discarded the testimonies of Gemmulus and Alamar of Metz, emphasizing that the evidence they provide is not conclusive or cannot be considered representative for the Western Christian world.[714] On the other hand, he stated that by the 11th century censing during Lauds (while praying the *Benedictus*) and Vespers (while singing the *Magnificat*) was common.[715] Furthermore, in the 13th century *The Franciscan Ceremonial for Choir and Altar* prescribed the censing of the major altar during the *Benedictus* and the

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[711] The liturgical sensitivity of the Cesi master may be witnessed on the Stella altarpiece as well. Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, "The 'Stella Altarpiece.' Magnum Opus of the Cesi Master," *Artibus et Historiae* 22, no. 44 (2001): 9-22.

[712] Millard Meiss, "Reflections of Assisi: a Tabernacle and the Cesi Master," in *Scritti di Storia dell'Arte in onore di Mario Salmi 2* (Rome: De Luca, 1962), 75-111, esp. 105. Silvestrelli pointed out that the holes on the frame for painted glass or gems can be regarded as another "archaism" of the panel. See: Silvestrelli, "Dal Maestro di Cesi a Pier Matteo da Amelia: aspetti della cultura figurative nell'Umbria meridionale tra XIV e XV secolo," 28-29.

[713] The most detailed discussion of incense still can be found in: E. G. C. F. Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship*, Alcuin Club Collections 13 (London, 1909). See as well: McLachlan, "Liturgical vessels and implements," 409-412. For the iconography of the incense on Byzantine Dormition of the Virgin panels: Maria Evangelatou, "The symbolism of the censer in Byzantine representations of the Dormition of the Virgin," in *Images of the Mother of God: perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 117-131.

[714] Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship*, 145-148. Gemmulus, a Roman deacon wrote to Boniface of Mainz that he sent cozumber to be offered during the morning and the evening service as incense. "Transmisimus enim per praedictum vestrum presbyterum aliquantum cozumbri, quod incensum Domino offeratis, temporibus matutinis et vespertinis, sive dum missarum celebratis solemnia, miri odoris atque fragrantiae; sed peto ut absque injuria suscipiatis, quod pura charitate dirigitur, salutans vestram sanctissimam paternitatem in Domino, et ut pro nobis orare jubeatis deposco." Boniface of Mainz, "Epistolae," in *Patrologia Latina 89*, ed. J.-P. Migne, (Paris, 1850), 755. Alamar of Metz wrote that on those Sunday evenings when during the Vesper Psalm 140:2 was sung, incense was offered as well. "In caeteris autem noctibus solemus dicere, *Dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo. … * Cum ipso versu offertur incensum, quod Dominus praecepit offerri." Alamar of Metz, "De ecclesiasticis officiis," in *Patrologia Latina 105*, ed. J.-P. Migne, (Paris, 1851), 1181.

[715] Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship*, 148-149.

Magnificat for major feasts, even at the beginning of the office for double ones.[716] This ceremonial might have depended on an earlier Roman version originating from the liturgical reform of Innocent III.[717] By the intervention of the Franciscans, presumably Haymo of Faversham, the simplified and user-friendly version of this ceremonial became widely disseminated and profoundly marked the Western Catholic liturgy.[718]

In view of the above, my hypothetical conclusion would be that the censing angels refer to the censing of the images themselves. They mirror a liturgical performance, where the fumes of the incense and its upward movement further intensify the prayer of the participants. The censing of the altar during the *Magnificat* is especially important for both the *Virgin and Child* panel from Cesi and the fresco from Spoleto, since in those moments the verses of the *Magnificat* addresses the Virgin Mary. The display of the angels on the panel and the fresco can both further intensify veneration and, on those days incense was not offered, visually enact the liturgical performance. The naturalism of the fumes and the dynamism of the images-within-images were a crucial component of this effect.[719]

5.2. The Throne of Solomon – Franciscans and the Virgin Mary

The next two images-within-images to be dealt with depict lions as part of the decoration of the throne of the Virgin. One of the images-within-images is on a fresco in the convent of San Damiano in Assisi and the other is on a panel from San Francesco in Figline (today in the Collegiate of Santa Maria in Figline-Valdarno). The details of both images are very similar

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[716] "The Franciscan Ceremonial for Choir and Altar," in *Sources of the modern Roman liturgy; the ordinals by Haymo of Faversham and related documents (1243-1307) 2*, ed. S.J.P. Van Dijk (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 346-347 and 349-351 (32, 34, 37, 50, 55, and 56).

[717] This Roman version might be the source of the Augustinian ceremonial as well, which is largely comparable to the Franciscan one. *Sources of the modern Roman liturgy; the ordinals by Haymo of Faversham and related documents (1243-1307) 1*, 95-109. Atchley also argued for the use of incense before the Magnificat in Rome in the 13th century, though his reference was based on the customs of the papal court (on the *Ordo Romanus XIII*). Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship*, 150.

[718] S. J. P. Van Dijk and J. Hazelden Walker, *The origins of the modern Roman liturgy: the liturgy of the papal court and the Franciscan Order in the thirteenth century* (Westminster, Md: Newman Press, 1960). Haymo of Faversham did not mention censing at all in *The Order of the Breviary. Sources of the modern Roman liturgy; the ordinals by Haymo of Faversham and related documents (1243-1307) 2*, 15-197. One explanation could be that he completely disregarded it although under the general rubrics he carefully discussed the order of the double feasts. *Sources of the modern Roman liturgy; the ordinals by Haymo of Faversham and related documents (1243-1307) 2*, 114-121. Already in *The Order of Action and Speech for Private and Ferial Public Masses* for the blessing of the incense and the procedure of incensing during the mass he referred back shortly to *The Franciscan Ceremonial for Choir and Altar* as containing what regards the solemnity of the service. ("De benedictione vero incensi et incensatione et aliis que pertinent ad solempnitatem habebitur in *Ordinationibus*.") See: *Sources of the modern Roman liturgy; the ordinals by Haymo of Faversham and related documents (1243-1307) 2*, 10. This could be the reason for the missing note on censing as well.

[719] Further research might reveal the connection between the Duecento Madonnas with censing angels and the development of the liturgy under and after Innocent III. The sack of Constantinople in 1204 and the transportation of her icons to the West resulted in an increase in liturgical sumptuousness, which might have impacted in turn on the use of incense as well. Similarly, as both the Cesi panel and the Spoleto fresco belonged to female religious communities, further work might reveal their importance in these developments and could add to our understanding of the role of olfactory experiences in the liturgy.

justifying merging their discussion. Moreover, both works were commissioned for a Franciscan community and both works, though in different ways, show the influence of the pictorial innovations seen in the Upper church at Assisi. After the discussion and comparison of the images, I will evaluate these two examples in the context of the Franciscan understanding of the Virgin Mary as the throne of Solomon or the throne of Wisdom.

The fresco in the courtyard of San Damiano depicts the Virgin Mary with Christ flanked by St. Francis and St. Clare. [Fig.5.20 and Fig.5.21] St. Francis introduces the kneeling donor to the Virgin.[720] The original titular saints of the site, St. Damian and St. Rufino, were depicted on the arch. The fresco dates to around the middle of the 14th century and attributed to a Sienese-Umbrian master.[721] The building stands at one corner of the courtyard. It is referred to as a mortuary chapel.[722] Today, it has an altar. The throne on the fresco betrays the influence of the decorative system of the Upper Church in Assisi, especially with two twisted columns framing the Virgin.[723] There are five statues of lions integrated into the structure of the throne. There is one each under the arms, and two in the lower left of the throne and another one in lower right part. [Figs.5.22-25] The lions were represented frontally, facing the viewer.

At that time, the convent of San Damiano housed a male Franciscan community, which in 1380 would join the observant reform of Paoluccio Trinci.[724] The Franciscan history of San Damiano goes back to Francis himself, since according the Thomas of Celano, on the way back from Foligno Francis started to live in poverty in this ruined church.[725] Subsequently, the site functioned as the home of Francis and his early companions, among them Clare of Assisi. Clare, on 17 September 1228, obtained the privilege of poverty from Gregory IX for the community of San Damiano, of which she remained the leader until her death on 11 August 1253.[726] The architectural organization of the chapel and her dormitory

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[720] Nothing is known of the identity of the kneeling commissioner. The fact that he does not wear the habit of a Franciscan, but is dressed more like a townsman suggests that the fresco was a private commission. Elvio Lunghi, "Le chiese francescane di Assisi nell'anno 1300," in *Assisi anno 1300*, ed. Stefano Brufani and Enrico Menesto (Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 2002), 364.

[721] Lunghi, "Le chiese francescane di Assisi nell'anno 1300," 327-375, esp. 361-367. See as well: Enrico Sciamanna, *Santuari francescani minoritici: i luoghi dell'Osservanza in Assisi* (Assisi: Editrice Minerva, 2005), 42.

[722] P. Leone Bracaloni, *Storia di San Damiano in Assisi: secondo nuove ricerche* (Assisi: Metastasio, 1919), 154-155. Bracaloni located it as being "on the square in front of the church."

[723] These twisted columns were used for the mural decoration of the church of Santa Chiara in Assisi as well.

[724] Sciamanna, *Santuari francescani minoritici: i luoghi dell'Osservanza in Assisi*, 36-55.

[725] Thomas of Celano, "The Life of Saint Francis," 189 (I, IV, 8-9).

[726] Marina Righetti Tosti-Croce, "La chiesa di Santa Chiara ad Assisi: architettura," in *Santa Chiara in Assisi: architettura e decorazione*, ed. Alessandro Tomei (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2002), 21-29. For the institutional history see also: Clara Gennaro, "E il nome di Chiara?" in *Il francescanesimo dalle origini alla metà del secolo XVI*, ed. Franco Bolgiani and Grado Giovanni Merlo (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005), 113-141; and Maria Pia Alberzoni, "Chiara di Assisi e il francescanesimo femminile," In *Francesco d'Assisi e il primo secolo di storia francescana* (Turin: Einaudi, 1997), 203-235.

during this period is debated.[727] At that time, the building housing the fresco did not exist. The remainder of Clare's community left San Damiano at the latest after 1257; the body of the saint was transferred to the newly constructed basilica of St. Chiara on 2 October 1260.[728] The site of San Damiano was occupied by a male Franciscan community around the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century. Between the two events the church returned under the jurisdiction of the secular clergy, more specifically under the canons of the cathedral.[729]

There are many open questions with regard to the commission of this fresco. As the fresco was not placed in the convent but at the edge of the courtyard, and the depicted commissioner wears the habit of a townsman, it might be asked to what extent the friars of San Damiano were involved in its production; and more specifically what was the function of the building. Was it a private funerary chapel or did it have a role in the life of the convent? The presence of St. Francis and St. Clare together with St. Damian and St. Rufino commemorates the original dedication and the recent Franciscan history of the site. Thus, in its choices of depicted saints the work had strong associations with the convent. This balanced reference to the double orientation of the site was expressed perhaps on the fresco in the apse of the church, where only St. Damian and St. Rufino were depicted next to the Virgin. On a stylistic basis the fresco should be dated to the second half of the 13th century and therefore after the deeds of St. Clare and St. Francis at this location.[730]

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[727] Marino Bigaroni, "San Damiano, Assisi: The First Church of Saint Francis," tr. Agnes Van Baer, *Franciscan Studies* 47 (1987): 45-97. Letizia Ermini Pani, Maria Grazia Fichera and Maria Letizia Mancinelli (ed.), *Indagini archeologiche nella chiesa di San Damiano in Assisi* (Santa Maria degli Angeli: Porziuncola, 2005).

[728] Marino Bigaroni, Hans-Rudolf Meier and Elvio Lunghi, *La Basilica di S. Chiara in Assisi* (Ponte San Giovanni: Quattroemme, 1994), 30; Tosti-Croce, "La chiesa di Santa Chiara ad Assisi: architettura," 28.

[729] Lunghi, "Le chiese francescane di Assisi nell'anno 1300," 364-365.

[730] The fact that the two Franciscan saints were not remembered in the apse is puzzling. Elvio Lunghi argued the reason for this omission might have been that under the jurisdiction of the secular clergy, attempts were made to restore the original dedication of the site and erase, to some extent, the memory of Francis and Clare. Around the end of the 13th century, the entire church was given a new layer of *intonaco* which covered the previous Franciscan representations (if there were any) and the apse was decorated with a fresco commemorating only the titular saints. Lunghi, "Le chiese francescane di Assisi nell'anno 1300," 364-365. The proposition of Bigaroni that the fresco predates the arrival of Clare, and thus that she and Francis are not represented, seems to be untenable because of the style of the work. Marino Bigaroni, *S. Maria in San Damiano d'Assisi: per una datazione dell'affresco nel catino di abside* (Assisi: Edizioni Poriuncola, 1997). Lunghi's hypothesis could explain as well the later arrival of the Franciscan brothers around the first decade of the 14th century when a fresco cycle was executed on the *intonaco*. This cycle surrounded the window (niche) though which Francis threw out his money, and it contained the representation of *Francis in front of the Crucifix*, *Francis talking to the Priest*, and *Francis' father leaving to punish his son*. Lunghi, "Le chiese francescane di Assisi nell'anno 1300," 365-366. However, during the hypothesized years of the commission the bishop of Assisi was a Franciscan, brother Simone, whose documented presence in 1289 at San Damiano, according to Lunghi, could signal time of the commission for the renewing of the church. Lunghi, "Le chiese francescane di Assisi nell'anno 1300," 365. Now, this does not necessarily mean there was no deliberate strategy on behalf of the secular canons to emphasize the original title of the site over its recent Franciscan history, but it may show that cooperation of a Franciscan bishop was necessary for this.

The other work is a large panel, today in the Collegiata of Santa Maria, in Figline. It can be dated around the third decade of the 14th century and is attributed to the Master of Figline (known also as the Master of Pietà Fogg).[731] St. Louis of Toulouse and St. Elisabeth of Hungary together with six angels, accompany the Virgin Mary and Christ. [Fig.5.26] St. Louis proudly steps on the crown while an angel offers him a mitre.[732] St. Elisabeth presents roses in her robe.[733] An angel offers jewelry (a lily?) to another angel above the throne.[734] The throne of the Virgin is a copy of the one represented on the *Vision of the Thrones* in the Legend of St. Francis in the Upper Church at Assisi.[735] [Fig.3.1.9] The twisted columns were copied. In Assisi the legs of the throne end in paws. The main difference is that in Figline there are altogether nine statuettes of golden brown lions on the painting, placed on various parts of the throne. [Fig.5.27 and Fig.5.28] The lions occupy spaces where otherwise the decoration of the throne is also brownish. It is hard to decide whether they are part of its structure or whether they are like independent statuettes placed on it. It can be tentatively proposed that the model of the throne from Assisi was updated or complemented with the statuettes of lions. The hesitant solution was the result of a merging of the two distinct aims.

In all probability the panel did not originally belong to the Collegiata but its presence there might be traced back as early as 1577.[736] The depiction of St. Louis of Toulouse may imply that the panel was originally intended for a Franciscan community, perhaps to San

[731] Luciano Bellosi, "Il Maestro di Figline," in *Il Maestro di Figline, un pittore del Trecento* (Florence: S.P.E.S., 1980), 11-17, esp. 15; Boskovits, *The Painters of the Miniaturist Tendency*, 64-65. The canonization date of St. Louis of Toulouse (1317) is usually accepted as the *terminus post quem* of the painting. Alessandro Conti, "Madonna col Bambino, Sant'Elisabetta d'Ungheria, San Ludovico di Tolosa e sei angeli," in *Il Maestro di Figline, un pittore del Trecento* (Florence: S.P.E.S., 1980), 34; Caterina Caneva, "Il Maestro di Figline," in *Capolavori a Figline: cinque anni di restauri*, ed. Caterina Caneva and Giovanna Giusti Galardi (Florence: Opus Libri, 1985), 45. The master was identified with stained-glass painter Giovanni of Bonino. Giuseppe Marchini, "Le vetrate della basilica di San Francesco," in *Giotto e i giotteschi in Assisi* (Rome: Canesi, 1969), 271-299. Recently he was also identified with Tafo, master of Buffalmacco. Joseph Polzer, "Who is Tafo?" *Studi di storia dell'arte* 18 (2007): 9-22.

[732] For a generic overview of his iconography: Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, 81-83.

[733] The roses refer to the miracle when the alms were turned into roses in Elisabeth's lap. For the possible sources see: Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dinastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, tr. Éva Pálmai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 369-372. For the development of the iconography in Italy see: Ottó Gecser, "Aspects of the cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary with a special emphasis on preaching, 1231-c.1500," PhD Dissertation, Central European University (Budapest, 2007), 141-144; Ottó Gecser, "Santa Elisabetta d'Ungheria e il miracolo delle rose," in *Annuario 2002-2004* (Rome: Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma – Istituto Storico "Frankói", 2005), 240-247; Mária Prokopp, "Überlegungen zur mittelalterlichen Ikonographie der heiligen Elisabeth," in *Elisabeth von Thüringen: eine europäische Heilige*, ed. Dieter Blume und Matthias Werner (Petersberg: Imhof, 2007), 413-420.

[734] Alessandro Conti, "Madonna col Bambino, Sant'Elisabetta d'Ungheria, San Ludovico di Tolosa e sei angeli," 33-34.

[735] Ferdinando Bologna, "Vetrate del Maestro di Figline," *Bollettino d'arte* 41 (1956): 198-199.

[736] It might be that Francesco of Diacceto referred to this panel as Santa Maria "*de nive*" in the report of his pastoral visit in the church. Presumably already in the 11th century a parochial church of Santa Maria had existed in the Castle of Figline. After the demolition of the castle it was rebuilt from 1257 on. Caneva, "Il Maestro di Figline," 44-45. It obtained the title of "collegiata" in 1493 from pope Alexander VI, which implies the presence of a provost and twelve canons. Ivo Regoli (ed.), *L'Archivio storico della Collegiata di Santa Maria a Figline* (Florence: Opus Libri, (1995), 16.

Francesco in Figline.[737] The presence of the Franciscans in the town is documented in 1229 and confirmed in 1278.[738] Perhaps from its beginnings, the church was dedicated to the Holy Cross, similarly to Santa Croce in neighboring Florence, and it had a central location close to the Palazzo Pubblico.[739] The first church had been a modest building and it was enlarged and decorated at the end of the 13th century.[740] The *Virgin with Child* panel possibly belonged to a later phase in the decoration. The two saints may have connections with a specific Angevin political agenda.[741] Alternatively, it cannot be excluded that the Bardi chapel of Santa Croce in Florence influenced the panel's iconography: Giotto depicted St. Elisabeth as a tertiary with roses and St. Louis wearing the mitre and the crown at the feet (though he is not stepping on it).[742] Furthermore, the Master of Figline presumably painted a Crucifix for Santa Croce in Florence.[743]

Unfortunately, the insecure dating and the limited knowledge concerning these two commissions prevent any firm conclusions. In my view, the Franciscan context of these works can hardly be debated. The presence of St. Francis together with St. Clare in Assisi, and St. Elisabeth together with St. Louis in Figline place these works in the context of Franciscan devotion to the Virgin Mary. The display of St. Francis and St. Clare corresponds to the recent Franciscan history of San Damiano. St. Elisabeth and St. Louis in Figline may have been the result of Angevin influence.

One might wonder whether the depiction of lions had anything to do with the Franciscan context of these works. On a general level it must have referred to the Virgin Mary being the *sedes sapientiae* (the Seat of Wisdom or Throne of Solomon).[744] It has already been remarked upon that in the first half of the 14th century in Italy this iconography was not self-

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[737] Caneva, "Il Maestro di Figline," 45; Alessandro Conti, "Madonna col Bambino, Sant'Elisabetta d'Ungheria, San Ludovico di Tolosa e sei angeli," 33.

[738] Damiano Neri, *La Chiesa di S. Francesco in Figline: notizie storiche e restauri* (Florence: Tipografia Fiorenza, 1931), 11; Alberto Bossini, *Storia di Figline e del Valdarno Superiore*, 2nd edition (Florence: Industria Tipografica Fiorentina, 1970), 164. Charles-M. de La Roncière, "Le strutture della religiosità laica a Figline (secc. XIII - XIV): riflessioni su lavori recenti," in *San Romolo a Gaville: storie di una pieve in età medievale*, ed. Paolo Pirillo and Mauro Ronzani (Rome: Viella, 2008), 95.

[739] Neri, *La Chiesa di S. Francesco in Figline*, 12-13; Bossini, *Storia di Figline e del Valdarno Superiore*, 164-168. Six of the friars in the 1290 belonged to the convent of Santa Croce in Florence, possibly signaling the strong connection between the two churches. Roncière, "Le strutture della religiosità laica a Figline," 95-96. Philippe the Fair gave a piece of the relic of the Holy Cross to his banker Musciatto Franzesi in 1288, which was deposited in the church. Neri, *La Chiesa di S. Francesco in Figline*, 12-13; Bossini, *Storia di Figline e del Valdarno Superiore*, 165. It is unclear whether this event can be connected to the rebuilding of the church or not.

[740] Neri, *La Chiesa di S. Francesco in Figline*, 12-17.

[741] For the Angevin propaganda see: Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 295-322.

[742] Gecser, "Aspects of the cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary," 141-144.

[743] Caneva, "Il Maestro di Figline," 49, note 3. For the *croce dipinta* see: Maria Grazia Vaccari, "Crocifisso," in *Il Maestro di Figline, un pittore del Trecento* (Florence: S.P.E.S., 1980), 31-32.

[744] The Throne of Solomon was reported to have been guarded by lions (III Kings 10:18-20): "King Solomon also made a great throne of ivory: and overlaid it with the finest gold. It had six steps: and the top of the throne was round behind: and there were two hands on either side holding the seat: and two lions stood, one at each hand, and twelve little lions stood upon the six steps, on the one side and on the other: there was no such work made in any kingdom."

evident.[745] On the other hand, the chance that it was simply an iconographic *hapax* is limited since it appears on two examples dated to around the same period and was loosely related to the pictorial innovations of Giotto. I propose that these two works were pictorial manifestations of the Franciscan devotion to the Virgin Mary.[746]

Ilene Forsyth, working on Romanesque wood-sculptures of the Madonna in France, analyzed the various sources where parallels were made between the Virgin and the throne of wisdom.[747] Guibert of Nogent, in his description of various parts of the throne, stated that its top represents the singular eminence of the Mother of God.[748] In the *Salve Mater Salvatoris* hymn by Adam of St. Victor, the Virgin Mary is again equated to the throne of Solomon.[749]

These examples show that the correspondence between Mary and the throne of Solomon was already disseminated in the 12th century. The Franciscan reception of this idea around the end of the 13th century is manifest in the *Mirror of the Blessed Virgin Mary* by Conrad of Saxony.[750] Mary is compared to the throne of Solomon at the end of the second chapter in the context of her immunity from the torments of Hell: "She herself is that great throne of which it is said: 'King Solomon also made a great throne of ivory.' Mary is the Throne of Solomon, great in grace and glory."[751]

The connection between the Virgin and the throne of Solomon appears prominently in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, in the section dedicated to the *Adoration of the Magi*.[752] The three accompanying themes and miniatures are the *Vision of the Star*, the *Three Warriors Bringing Water to David from the Cistern of Bethlehem*, and *Queen Sheba Visiting King Solomon*.[753] The miniature of Queen Sheba's visit displays Solomon on his throne and the text elaborates on the connection between the throne and the Virgin Mary. I quote at length and the emphases are mine:

> *Thronus veri Salamonis est Beatissima Virgo Maria,*
> *In quo residebat Jesus Christus, vera Sophia.*
> *Thronus iste factus erat de nobilissimo thesauro,*

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[745] Alessandro Conti remarked on this, but did not elaborate further on the problem. Conti, "Madonna col Bambino, Sant'Elisabetta d'Ungheria, San Ludovico di Tolosa e sei angeli," 33.

[746] For the role of Francis and the Franciscans in the devotion of the Virgin Mary see: Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University, 2009), 197-202.

[747] Ilene H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: wood sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 24-30.

[748] "Summitas throni, singularis eminentia est Genitricis Dei." Guibert of Nogent, "De Laude S. Mariae," in *Patrologia Latina 156*, ed. J.-P. Migne, (Paris, 1853), 542. See: Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom*, 24-25.

[749] "Tu thronus es Salomonis / Cui nullus par in thronis / Arte vel material." Adam of St. Victor, "Sequentiae," in *Patrologia Latina 196*, ed. J.-P. Migne, (Paris, 1855), 1503. See: Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom*, 26.

[750] Conrad of Saxony, *Speculum Beatae Mariae Virginis* (Florence: Quaracchi, 1904), v-xiv.

[751] "Unde ipsa est thronus ille grandis, de quo dicitur tertii Regum decimo: 'Fecit rex Salomon thronum de ebore grandem.' Thronus vere Salomonis est Maria, grandis omnino in gratia et gloria." Conrad of Saxony, *Speculum Beatae Mariae Virginis*, 21.

[752] Forsyth has already pointed that out. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom*, 27.

[753] *Speculum humanae salvationis*, ed. J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet (Mulhouse: Meininger, 1907-1909), folios 17 and 18.

De ebore videlicet candido et fulvus nimis auro.
Ebur propter sui candorem et frigiditatem
Designat virginalem munditiam et castitatem.
Sic antiqua et longa castitas reputatur martyrium.
Aurum, quia in valore suo praecellit omne metallum,
Significat caritatem, quae mater est omnium virtutum.
Maria ergo dicitur eburnea propter virginalem castitatem
Et auro vestita propter perfectissimam caritatem.
Et pulchre virginitati conjungitur caritas,
Quia sine caritate coram Deo nihil reputatur virginitas;
Et sicut fur non timet lampadem nisi ardentem,
Sic diabolus non timet virginem caritatem non habentem.
Thronus Salomonis super sex gradus erat exaltatus,
Et Maria superexcellit beatorum sex status:
Superexcellit enim statum patriarcharum, prophetarum et apostolorum,
Statum quoque martyrum, confessorum atque virginum.
Vel sex gradus Salomonis tronus habebat,
Quia post sex aetates mundi Maria nata erat.
Duodecim leonculi super sex gradus thronum exornabant,
Quia duodecim apostoli Mariae tanquam reginae coeli ministrabant.
Vel duodecim leonculi thronum decoraverunt,
Quia duodecim patriarchae progenitores Mariae exsisterunt.
Duos leones magnos thronus habebat,
Quia duas tabulas praeceptorum Maria corde et ope retinebat.[754]

After identifying Mary with the throne of Solomon, the text contains a detailed description of it, mentioning the lions as well. The text of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* dates to around end of the 13th or the first decades of the 14th century (perhaps 1324).[755] The identity (Franciscan or Dominican) and the origin (Alsace or Italy) of its author are still debated.[756] Independently, the hypothesized Franciscan origin of the text itself and the Franciscan interest in this text cannot be doubted. A manuscript of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* from the *Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana* in Rome (55. K. 2) besides the text and the miniature cycle contains also a series of illuminations on the life of St. Francis, which are glossed and correlated with the main text. The manuscript can be dated to around the fourth decade of the 14th century (perhaps before 1334) and connected to Avignon.[757]

The four miniatures at the top follow the generic iconography of the *Speculum* for the *Epiphany*. Thus, the fourth representation is the Throne of Solomon signaled by two lions. [Fig.5.29] On the left corner of folio 10v there is an illumination representing St. Francis as he receives St. Clare and other penitents and invests them. The inscription reads: "Velut

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[754] *Speculum humanae salvationis*, 21.
[755] For this and for further literature see: Francesca Manzari, "Lo Speculum humanae salvationis della Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana," in Chiara Frugoni and Francesca Manzari, *Immagini di San Francesco in uno Speculum humanae salvationis del Trecento: Roma, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana 55.K.2* (Padua: Editrici Francescane, 2006), 14 and 15, note 5.
[756] Manzari, "Lo Speculum humanae salvationis della Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana," 15-17; Chiara Frugoni, "La povertà taciuta," in Chiara Frugoni and Francesca Manzari, *Immagini di San Francesco in uno Speculum humanae salvationis del Trecento: Roma, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana 55.K.2* (Padua: Editrici Francescane, 2006), 59.
[757] Manzari, "Lo Speculum humanae salvationis della Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana," 40 and 52; Frugoni, "La povertà taciuta," 58

Christus munera mistica per reges oblata suscepit, / sic sanctus Franciscus sanctam Claram reliqiosque penitentes ad suam normam recepit."[758] The miniature and the inscription parallel the Magi's mystical gifts to Christ with the "gift" of the habit on the behalf of Francis to Clare and other penitents. Though the Franciscan addition did not refer specifically to the throne of Solomon miniature on the facing page, the engagement with the *Speculum* in order to create a Franciscan commentary on it is a clear sign of the reception and use of this text in Franciscan circles in the first half of the 14ᵗʰ century.

The Assisi fresco and the Figline panel are pictorial testimonies to this exegesis on the Virgin Mary merging the reference to the throne of wisdom with the pictorial possibilities of representing elements of it as the pseudo-sculptural decoration of the throne. Furthermore, these two examples, just like the statuettes in the Augustinian convents of Tolentino and Rimini, display the spread and use of images-within-images outside the immediate circle of Giotto as well. The painters of these works were well aware of his achievements, but they were not connected to him. Similarly, the sites were in the close vicinity of San Francesco in Assisi and Santa Croce in Florence, however, the context of the commission is different (perhaps more peripheral). In view of the above, these two works appear to be a successful pictorial adoption of images-within-images coupled with a genuine use of their iconographic potentials for the staging of the Virgin Mary as the throne of Solomon.

5.3. The Virtues – Intermediality and Taddeo Gaddi

The examples discussed so far display a shift in the medium in the sense that components having the same claim of reality as other figures in the pictures were transformed into throne elements. The vivid angels and lions were turned into statuettes, and even if this transformation did not always affect their dynamism, it changed their status within the picture. The polyptych of Taddeo Gaddi in the sacristy of Santa Felicità in Florence is perhaps the most relevant example in the problem of this inter-medium shift in the period, since it displays two distinct moments in the process.

The central panel of the polyptych represents the *Virgin with the Child* and four angels playing on musical instruments and bringing vases full of roses and lilies. [Fig.5.30] James Major with St. John the Baptist stands on the right and St. Luke with St. Philip occupies the

[758] Chiara Frugoni, "Elenco dei soggetti e delle relative miniature dello Speculum corsiniano," in Chiara Frugoni and Francesca Manzari, *Immagini di San Francesco in uno Speculum humanae salvationis del Trecento: Roma, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana 55.K.2* (Padua: Editrici Francescane, 2006), 170.

left flank of the central group. Two prophets each appear holding scrolls above each figure.[759] Four statuettes of the theological virtues were depicted, placed on the arms of the throne together with *Humility*. They include *Charity* with a flaming heart and a long twisted candle [fig.5.31]; *Faith* with a chalice and a spear-handled cross [fig.5.32]; *Hope* holding and staring at the crown [fig.5.33]; *Humility* with a sheep and a flower (perhaps a violet) [fig.5.34].[760] The panel is attributed to Taddeo Gaddi.[761]

The altarpiece was painted in all probability for the church of Santa Felicità in Florence. The basilica was erected in the end of the AD 4th or beginning of the 5th century, presumably on a Roman cemetery.[762] By the mid-11th century the building was in bad shape and Pope Nicholas II had it rebuilt and re-consecrated together with an attached Benedictine monastery in 1059.[763] Not much is known about this building and its partial Gothic reconstruction in the 14th century between 1340 and 1354 (or 1395).[764] Between 1736 and 1739 the church was completely reshaped following the plans of Ferdiando Ruggeri.[765]

The original collocation of the altarpiece is unknown. The prominent position of St. Luke may signal that it was placed on an altar dedicated to him; furthermore, a pastoral visit in 1575 mentioned a large gilded panel with the image of the Virgin Mary and other saints on the altar of St. Luke.[766] Three coats of arms of the Guicciardini and two of the Passavanti (or Gherardini della Rosa) families were depicted on the cornice of the 1843 altarpiece, this intervention possibly being a copy of the original layout of the cornice.[767] An altar to St. Luke in a chapel dedicated to him and to the Virgin Mary was consecrated in 1354. According to testimony from 1750 it occurred under the patronage of the Guicciardini family.[768] Based on

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[759] For the inscriptions see: Mirella Branca, "Il polittico di Taddeo Gaddi in Santa Felicità," in *Il polittico di Taddeo Gaddi in Santa Felicità a Firenze: restauro, studi e ricerche*, ed. Mirella Branca, (Florence: Olschki, 2008), 4-6.

[760] For the identifications of the virtues and the attributes I followed the description of Mirella Branca. Branca, "Il polittico di Taddeo Gaddi in Santa Felicità," 4. I disagreed only in one point: the object in the right hand of Charity is not a scepter, but definitely a twisted candle or taper, as confirmed by similar iconography of the Baroncelli chapel.

[761] Ladis considered it a product of the workshop. Ladis, *Taddeo Gaddi*, 232-233. The authors of the recent monograph on the altarpiece after the restoration, among them Mirella Branca, Daniele Rossi, Erling Skaug, and Johannes Tripps, referred to it unanimously as the work of Taddeo Gaddi. Mirella Branca (ed.), *Il polittico di Taddeo Gaddi in Santa Felicità a Firenze: restauro, studi e ricerche* (Florence: Olschki, 2008).

[762] Guglielmo Maetzke, "Notizie e resti archeologici della basilica cimiteriale paleocristiana," in Francesca Fiorelli Malesci, *La Chiesa di Santa Felicità a Firenze* (Florence: Guinti, 1986), 17-23, esp. 20.

[763] Francesca Fiorelli Malesci, *La Chiesa di Santa Felicità a Firenze* (Florence: Guinti, 1986), 39.

[764] Malesci, *La Chiesa di Santa Felicità a Firenze*, 48-49.

[765] Malesci, *La Chiesa di Santa Felicità a Firenze*, 124-150.

[766] "Item vidit altare sub titulo Sancti Luce quod non est dotatum sed bene consecratum in eo est tabula magna lignea deaurata et imagine beata Marie et aliorum sanctorum depicta unica est tobalea cum quattuor candelabris ligneis deauratis Rector non habet quia nullam habet prebendam." Malesci, *La Chiesa di Santa Felicità a Firenze*, 331.

[767] Branca, "Il polittico di Taddeo Gaddi in Santa Felicità," 12-13.

[768] For the consecration in 1354 see: Ladis, *Taddeo Gaddi*, 233. For the testimony of Domenico Maria Manni from 1750 see: Branca, "Il polittico di Taddeo Gaddi in Santa Felicità," 13.

this circumstantial evidence, the altarpiece can be dated to around 1354 and is connected to a chapel of St. Luke in the church.[769]

Mirella Branca suggested that on a general level the four monochrome statuettes on the throne of the Virgin recall Giotto's work in Padua and Taddeo Gaddi's work in the Baroncelli chapel; furthermore, the representation of *Hope* follows the relief of Andrea Pisano on the southern door of the Baptistery in Florence.[770] I would go one step further and say that the four statuettes on the throne are copies of the four virtues on the ceiling of the Baroncelli chapel in Santa Croce, both in term of their pictorial execution *and* their iconography.

Taddeo Gaddi started to work on the decoration of the Baroncelli chapel in Santa Croce around 1328.[771] The Baroncelli patronage of the chapel is manifest in their coat of arms on the tomb, the stained-glass windows, the entrance arch and the predella of the altarpiece.[772] The chapel was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It consists of two bays with narrative paintings from the *Expulsion of Joachim* until the *Adoration of the Magi*, the Baroncelli altarpiece and the stained-glass windows, all placed in the main bay by the entrance. There are figures on the arch by the entrance (Old Testament) and on the arch between the bays (New Testament figures), and fifteen virtues in painted medallions on the lancet of the window.[773] The four cardinal virtues, *Fortitude*, *Prudence*, *Justice* and *Temperance* were depicted in four medallions on the vaulting of the main bay.[774]

More importantly, the three theological virtues appear on the vaulting of the side bay together with *Humility*. [Fig.5.35] Despite differences in the compositions, the attributes are similar to the ones on the altarpiece. *Charity* holds a flaming heart and a long twisted candle [Fig.5.36]; *Faith* with a chalice kneels in front of an altar with a cross [Fig.5.38]; *Hope* stares at the levitating crown [Fig.5.40]; and *Humility* holds a sheep with both hands (the flower was abandoned) [Fig.5.42]. Both sequences display a certain similarity to the relief on the Baptistery door by Andrea Pisano. However, there *Charity* holds a cornucopia instead of the

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[769] Mirella Branca has emphasized that the evidence is not conclusive. Branca, "Il polittico di Taddeo Gaddi in Santa Felicità," 15. Skaug accepted this proposition. Erling Skaug, "The Santa Felicità Altarpiece and some Observations on Taddeo Gaddi's Punchwork and Halo Style c. 1345-1355," in Branca (ed.), *Il polittico di Taddeo Gaddi in Santa Felicità a Firenze: restauro, studi e ricerche*, 56, note 13; Tripps suggested that the evidence is sufficient to locate and date the altarpiece. Johannes Tripps, "Il Miglior Maestro di Dipingere che sia in Firenze: Taddeo Gaddi Attorno al 1350," in Branca (ed.), *Il polittico di Taddeo Gaddi in Santa Felicità a Firenze: restauro, studi e ricerche*, 81, note 18.
[770] Branca, "Il polittico di Taddeo Gaddi in Santa Felicità," 4.
[771] For the dating and attribution see: Ladis, *Taddeo Gaddi*, 88-90. The attribution is based on Ghiberti and the inscription of the funerary monument suggests this date.
[772] Ladis, *Taddeo Gaddi*, 89.
[773] Julian Gardner, "The decoration of the Baroncelli chapel in Santa Croce," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 34 (1971): 102. For a detailed discussion of these representations see: Janson-La Palme, "Taddeo Gaddi's Baroncelli Chapel: Studies in Design and Content," 346-358 and 384-398.
[774] Ladis, *Taddeo Gaddi*, 103-104. For a detailed discussion of these representations see: Janson-La Palme, "Taddeo Gaddi's Baroncelli Chapel: Studies in Design and Content," 359-376.

twisted candle, which was used, in turn, as an attribute of *Humility* (the sheep was thus abandoned).[775] The door project dates back to 1322. The wax model was completed by 1330 and the polished bronze door was installed on 20 June 1336.[776]

The question of the taper is further complicated when the medallions in the window lancet in the main bay of the Baroncelli chapel are considered. The first four of the fifteen virtues again represented *Faith* (chalice and cross) [fig.5.39], *Charity* (the flaming heart) [fig.5.37], *Hope* (crown) [fig.5.41] and *Humility* (taper) [fig.5.43]. In short, similarly to the relief by Andrea Pisano, the taper was associated with *Humility* in the window lancet of the main bay in the Baroncelli chapel. As the decoration of the main bay presumably predated the side bay, the reconfiguration of the attributes (the assignment of the taper to *Charity* instead of *Humility*), took place in the Baroncelli chapel itself.[777]

It is hard to assert whether this reconfiguration reveals a systematic organizing principle or whether reflects the adoption of traditional iconography spiced with pictorial variability more. The virtues definitely refer to the Virgin Mary. In the chapel they were part of a more elaborate iconography comprising narrative paintings, representations of the figures from the Old and New Testament, and other virtues as well. Given the Franciscan context of the Baroncelli chapel, the integration of *Humility* among the theological virtues was plausible, and perhaps emphasized the humbleness of the Virgin.[778] In the *Salutation of the Virtues* by Francis of Assisi, Humility is greeted after Wisdom, Simplicity and Poverty as the one who confounds Pride.[779] Mary is described as reflecting every virtue in chapter four in the *Mirror of the Blessed Virgin Mary* and Humility is treated first.[780]

The attributes of *Hope* and *Faith* were traditionally presented on both works. It has been suggested that the flaming heart and the taper as attributes of *Charity* stood perhaps for her double orientation. The flaming heart expresses the love of God (*amor Dei*), and the taper love for ones neighbor (*amor proximi*).[781] The next section right after the description of Humility in the *Mirror of the Blessed Virgin Mary* is dedicated to Charity. Here, it is said that Mary had charity for God and for her neighbor in her heart and that she acted because of the

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[775] The cornucopia as an attribute of Charity was widely used in the Pisano workshops and can be found on the pulpit of Niccolò Pisano for the Cathedral of Siena. R. Freyhan, "The evolution of the caritas figure in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 11 (1948): 74-75.

[776] Anita Fiderer Moskowitz, *The sculpture of Andrea and Nino Pisano* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 7-8.

[777] The candle in 1330s as an attribute of *Charity* appears in the *oeuvre* of Tino of Camaino as well. See: Freyhan, "The evolution of the caritas figure in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries," 83-84.

[778] Janson-La Palme, "Taddeo Gaddi's Baroncelli Chapel: Studies in Design and Content," 381-382.

[779] Francis of Assisi, "A Salutation of the Virtues," in *The Saint. Francis of Assisi: Early Documents 1*, 164-165.

[780] Conrad of Saxony, *Speculum Beatae Mariae Virginis*, 45-46.

[781] Janson-La Palme, "Taddeo Gaddi's Baroncelli Chapel: Studies in Design and Content," 380.

love burning in her heart (*caritas, quae in corde eius fervebat*).[782] Whether this was the reason behind the reconfiguration of the attributes or not, Taddeo Gaddi definitely remained attached to the second version, since in the Santa Felicità polyptych he adopted the same pattern. Furthermore, *Humility* received a plant, perhaps a violet, in her right hand in addition to the attribute of the sheep. Thus, on the Santa Felicità polyptych, all four virtues had two attributes each. It is hard to say whether this solution had its origin in the rethinking of the iconography during the painting of the Baroncelli chapel, but the possibility cannot be excluded.

The iconographic similarities between statuettes on the fresco and the panel gain further importance with comparison of their pictorial execution. As mentioned, the vaulting of the main bay in the Baroncelli chapel was decorated with the four cardinal virtues. These polychrome half-length figures were set against a plain gold background in their octofoil medallions. Compared to those representations, the virtues represented in the side bay appear quite different. Here, the figures are full-size and painted in monochrome gray. Furthermore, they are placed in a drum-space with a double octofoil tracery.[783] The immediate visual result of these changes is that they appear as monochrome statues in their cylindrical spaces.[784] The shift between the pictorial idioms adopted for the virtues in the main-bay and in the side-bay recalls the difference between the colored narrative paintings and the monochrome socle zone of the Virtues and Vices in the Arena chapel in Padua.[785] The statuettes on the altarpiece in Santa Felicità reiterate this shift in medium. The same virtues with the same attributes emerge as monochrome statuettes on the throne. After the recent restoration by Daniele Rossi it is more visible that a deliberate distinction was made between the imitation rose-marble of the throne and the whitish-grayish color of the statuettes with slight yellow tones.[786] The contrast between the statuettes and the other parts of the throne increase their immediate visibility and impact on the viewer.

The statuettes of virtues on the throne at Santa Felicità and on the ceiling at the Baroncelli chapel constitute a chain of inter-medium shifts. On the ceiling in the main bay of the Baroncelli chapel the virtues appear against a traditional gold background, and the virtues on the window lancet display traditional attributes. As the work advanced to the side bay the pictorial organization of the medallions must have been thoroughly rethought, since the

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[782] Conrad of Saxony, *Speculum Beatae Mariae Virginis*, 47.

[783] Gardner, "The decoration of the Baroncelli chapel in Santa Croce," 94. Janson-La Palme, "Taddeo Gaddi's Baroncelli Chapel: Studies in Design and Content," 377-378.

[784] Janson-La Palme suggested that the deeper space of the theological virtues here is connected to the teaching of St. Bonaventure, according to whom these virtues have an infinite nature. Janson-La Palme, "Taddeo Gaddi's Baroncelli Chapel: Studies in Design and Content," 377. I would maintain that the decision here was primarily pictorial.

[785] Gardner, "The decoration of the Baroncelli chapel in Santa Croce," 95.

[786] Branca, "Il polittico di Taddeo Gaddi in Santa Felicità," 18-19; Daniele Rossi, "Il Restauro del Polittico," in Branca (ed.), *Il polittico di Taddeo Gaddi in Santa Felicità a Firenze: restauro, studi e ricerche*, 43-48.

solution to display them as monochrome pseudo-statues was adopted. This pictorial shift was presumably accompanied by a rethinking of the role of the attributes (the candle was given to *Charity*). Thus, the pictorial considerations may have gone hand in hand with the iconographic ones. More than two decades later the same representational scheme was used on the Santa Felicità polyptych, where the virtues were depicted as statues standing on the throne of the Virgin (and perhaps by adding a violet (?) in *Humility*'s hand the iconography was further reconsidered as well). This reflexive chain of inter-medium shifts testify how Taddeo Gaddi was interested in the pictorial use of images-within-images established by his master, Giotto di Bondone.

5.4. The Annunciation – Intermediality and Bernardo Daddi

The problem of intermediality and pictorial reflexivity can be found in the *oeuvre* of Bernardo Daddi as well but in his case this shift is related to the display of a monochrome *Annunciation* on the throne of the Virgin. A similar motif of Gabriel greeting the Virgin Mary appears on the Lanckoronski and Louisville Madonna.[787] [Figs.5.44-49] On the Lanckoronski Madonna the figures were depicted on the arms of the throne and on the Louisville Madonna at the top. On both works, the figures turn towards each other, and Gabriel raises his right arm for the salutation while Mary crosses hers over her chest.[788] The provenance of the Louisville polyptych is unknown. Two panels depicting St. Catherine and St. James, possibly once part of the altarpiece, are held today in the Speed Art Museum in Louisville.[789]

The Lanckoronski Madonna is part of the Lanckoronski collection in Wawel Castle.[790] The work presumably comprised the central panel of a polyptych in St. Maria del Carmine in Florence.[791] The panels on the sides depicted St. Cecilia, St. Bartholomew, St. Lawrence and St. Catherine of Alexandria.[792] The work is considered an autograph work of Bernardo Daddi

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[787] Richard Offner, *Workshop of Bernardo Daddi*, A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting III/8 (Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1958), 42, note 1, and 112.

[788] The Louisville statuettes are better preserved. In November 2008 I saw them in the private collection where they are kept. The piece of a painting depicting the upper part of Gabriel is about to fall of, as may be seen on the photograph of the Witt Library also.

[789] Offner, *Workshop of Bernardo Daddi*, 111-114. They were a gift from the Preston Pope Satterwhite Collection in 1941. Lisa Bessette and others, *The Speed Art Museum: highlights from the collection* (London: Merrell, 2007). 58. The central panel is in a private collection, it was exhibited in 1960 in the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool. See: *Pictures from Ince Blundell Hall* (Liverpool: Walker Art Gallery, 1960), 11.

[790] For the history of the collection see: Kazimierz Kuczman, "The Lanckoronski collection in the Wawel Royal Castle," *Folia historiae artium* 1 (1995): 135-144, esp. 140; Jerzy Miziołek, "The Lanckoronski collection in Poland," *Antichità viva* 34, vol. 3 (1995): 27-49.

[791] Ugo Procacci, "L'incendio della Chiesa del Carmine del 1771," *Rivista d'Arte* 14 (1932): 155, 145-146; Offner, *Workshop of Bernardo Daddi*, 42.

[792] Offner, *Workshop of Bernardo Daddi*, 39. The panel depicting St. Bartolomew and St. Lawrence are in the Uffizi (no. 8706 and 8707). The St. Cecilia panel is in a private collection in Milan. See: Angelo Tartuferi, "Bernardo Daddi," in *Dipinti italiani del XIV e XV secolo: in una raccolta Milanese*, ed. Miklós Boskovits (Milan: Silvana, 1987): 8-11. The St. Catherine panel, identified by Philip Pouncey, is in the Drury-Lowe

and is dated to around 1340.[793] The altarpiece was conceived for the St. Bartholomew and St. Lawrence chapel in the transept of the St. Maria del Carmine, and it remained there until the mid 18th century.[794]

The Carmelite house in Florence was founded in 1268 during the Carmelite expansion in Tuscany, to some extent as a result of the integration of the Carmelites into the Mendicant orders in 1247.[795] Until 1318, the convent remained a modest building but in that year a decision was made to expand it, and, among other things, to construct a church with a transept and chapels adjacent to the chancel.[796] This solution clearly recalls the spatial organization of Santa Croce in Florence, thus, the Franciscan model was adopted for the new church. From 1330 on, the convent was a construction site. A new dormitory, an infirmary, and a studium were built besides the church.[797] The chapels of the transept were covered between 1350-1368.[798]

Andrea di Cione di Bonazza had the chapel built and the altarpiece by Bernardo Daddi was intended for it.[799] Bonazza, as the provincial minister of the Carmelites in Florence, was involved in the planning and the construction of the new complex. On 12 April 1328 he bought part of the old city wall from the Commune.[800] This acquisition, acquiring building material, was related to the building of the new convent and church. Furthermore, between 1336-1339 Bonazza acted as the head of the workshop supervising the works, financing and commissions.[801] The commission of the altarpiece, dated around 1340 on a stylistic basis by Boskovits, may have occurred in this period. It is therefore quite likely that Bonazza hired Bernardo Daddi for the painting of the altarpiece. Given that the actual layout of the building with the chapels on the eastern sides of the transept followed the model of Santa Croce, it seems plausible that Bonazza or the executive body of the convent gave the commission to Daddi, who participated in the decoration of the aforementioned Franciscan church. Bonazza

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Collection in Locko Park. Angelo Tartuferi, "Le testimonianze superstiti (e lo perdite) della decorazione primitiva (secoli XIII-XV)," in *La Chiesa di Santa Maria del Carmine a Firenze*, ed. Luciano Berti (Florence: Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze, 1992), 168.

[793] Offner dated it to 1343 and attributed it to Daddi's circle. Offner, *Workshop of Bernardo Daddi*, 41. Boskovits attributed it to Daddi himself and advanced the date to 1340. Boskovits, *The Painters of the Miniaturist Tendency*, 361.

[794] Tartuferi, "Le testimonianze superstiti (e lo perdite) della decorazione primitiva (secoli XIII-XV)," 146 and 168.

[795] Prisca Giovannini and Sergio Vitolo, *Il Convento del Carmine di Firenze: caratteri e documenti* (Florence: Comune di Firenze, 1981), 32 and 37 (for the transcription of the founding charter).

[796] Giovannini and Vitolo, *Il Convento del Carmine di Firenze*, 40-44.

[797] Giovannini and Vitolo, *Il Convento del Carmine di Firenze*, 65-66.

[798] Giovannini and Vitolo, *Il Convento del Carmine di Firenze*, 66.

[799] Procacci, "L'incendio della Chiesa del Carmine del 1771," 155. Procacci did not state as Tartuferi said, that Bonazza was the founder or the donor of the chapel. Tartuferi, "Le testimonianze superstiti (e lo perdite) della decorazione primitiva (secoli XIII-XV)," 168.

[800] Giovannini and Vitolo, *Il Convento del Carmine di Firenze*, 43 and 55-56.

[801] Giovannini and Vitolo, *Il Convento del Carmine di Firenze*, 67.

died in 1358 so he must have witnessed the completion of the altarpiece.[802] Since the chapels in the transept were only covered between 1350 and 1368, it is unknown whether he could have supervised its placement in its intended location in the St. Bartholomew and St. Lawrence chapel.

The extent to which the monochrome depiction of the Annunciation was related to its Carmelite context remains an open question. As there is another surviving example from the workshop of Bernardo Daddi, it cannot be excluded that it belonged to the generic repertory of the workshop. On the other hand, the possibility that the solution was developed for the Carmelites and then entered to the pictorial repertory, cannot be discarded either. The most important information which can be gathered about the provenance of the Lanckoronski Madonna is perhaps that the monochrome Annunciation group was painted as part of a major ecclesiastic commission in Florence in the 1340s and was intended for an important family chapel in the church. This means that similarly to the St. Luke altarpiece by Taddeo Gaddi for Santa Felicità, these images-within-images appear on the central panel of a highly important commission.

As for the genesis of the solution, various lines of derivations can be suggested. The depiction of an Annunciation group around the Virgin and Child is not unprecedented in Florentine painting. On the panel by Corso di Buono in the Oratory of St. Jacob in Girone the figures stand on bit of cloud flanking the head of the Virgin.[803] [Fig.5.50] A similar composition appears on the triptych by the Magdalena Master today held by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.[804] [Fig.5.51] On those examples, as on the Lanckoronski and Louisville panels, the *Annunciation* group is divided. Gabriel is placed on the left hand side and Mary on the right hand side. This separation of the figures coupled with the interaction between them creates a strong horizontal relation within the picture, which contrasts with the main frontal composition of the Virgin and the Child. This dynamic use of the *Annunciation* group can be detected in monumental painting as well. In addition to Italian-Byzantine examples, the chancel arch of the Arena chapel in Padua is perhaps the most well known example. [Fig.3.2.4] Writing about the *Annunciation* by Fra Angelico, Georges Didi-Huberman called it an annunciatory structure and proposed that it created distance, which is virtually crossed by the Divine Word.[805]

This possibility of separating the *Annunciation* group was exploited for tabernacles and triptychs as well, which in my view can be considered the most direct context for the

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[802] Procacci, "L'incendio della Chiesa del Carmine del 1771," 155.
[803] Tartuferi, *La pittura a Firenze nel Duecento*, 103.
[804] Tartuferi, *La pittura a Firenze nel Duecento,* 89 and 92-93.
[805] Didi-Huberman, *Fra Angelico*, 127-143.

Lanckoronski and Louisville Madonna. The history of tabernacles and triptychs is not sufficiently clarified.[806] Nevertheless, by the 1340s a triptych consisting of a rectangular central panel mounted with a gable and two wings on the sides were common. From among the oeuvre of Bernardo Daddi I should mention the triptych housed today in the Lindenau-Kunst-Museum in Altenburg.[807] [Fig.5.52] As a result of this technical development on the side wings, two uneven triangular spaces were created. Lacking a rectangular or even triangular format, it was difficult to accommodate every subject in these spaces. A widespread answer to this problem was to assign these spaces to Gabriel and the Virgin Mary, especially if the main panel depicted the *Virgin with Child*. The figures of the Annunciation could fill these spaces without being too much disturbed by the uneven structure and they fit into the iconographic organization of the works. This solution repeatedly appeared in the workshop or among masters surrounding Bernardo Daddi.[808]

The inter-medium shift here is that the separated Annunciation group in the uneven gables of the wings was transformed into pseudo-sculptural elements of the throne. The same horizontal dynamism of the composition remained, yet by depicting Gabriel and the Virgin Mary as statuettes the pictorial organization of the panel was further enriched. Not only do the two monochrome figures enact the *Annunciation*, but also they do it as representations with a lower claim of reality than the polychrome *Virgin with Child*. The introduction of images-within-images allowed the hierarchy of the two components to be expressed. The monochrome elements depict the temporal and historical moment of the *Annunciation*, while the polychrome elements display the eternal presence of the Virgin with Child.[809]

Though there is no evidence concerning what sort of services were performed before the Lanckoronski or Louisville polyptychs, the combined effect of monochrome and polychrome elements must have added to the liturgical experience of those who recited the *Angelic Salutation* in front of them. The faithful simultaneously were faced with the *Virgin and Child* to whom the prayer was addressed, and looked on the statuette of Gabriel reciting

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[806] For a discussion of a specific group of tabernacles see: Victor M. Schmidt, "Tabernacoli fiorentini del Trecento," in *Da Giotto a Botticelli: pittura fiorentina tra Gotico e Rinascimento*, ed. Francesca Pasut e Johannes Tripps (Florence: Giunti, 2008), 111-126. In his monograph, Victor Schmidt discussed single panels, diptychs, triptychs and polyptych under the same heading, which made it impossible to reflect on the development of the separate genres. Victor M. Schmidt, *Painted piety: panel paintings for personal devotion in Tuscany, 1250-1400* (Florence: Centro Di, 2005), 31.

[807] Offner, *The Works of Bernardo Daddi*, 222.

[808] See for instance the group in the Friedsam tabernacle. Richard Offner, *Daddi, His Shop and Following*, A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting III/4 (Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1934), 71-95.

[809] It cannot be excluded that the decision to abandon the winged structure was due to external constraints, such as space-availability or the format of the polyptych was simply favored. However, the Annunciation could have been added as separate panels on the top, as on the Aretine Polyptych by Pietro Lorenzetti. For the work see: Giovanni Freni, "The Aretine Polyptych by Pietro Lorenzetti: Patronage, Iconography and Original Setting," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 63 (2000): 59-110. The statuettes therefore represent a highly original solution.

and statuette of Mary listening to the very same words. Besides being indicative of reflexive pictorial work, images-within-images here enhanced the liturgical experience of reciting the *Ave Maria*.

5.5. The Tomb of Antonio Fissiraga – Self-Representation?

I would conclude this chapter on the throne of Mary with discussion of a fresco in which the images-within-images seems to refer more to the commissioner than to the Virgin. In this respect it may reflect appropriation of these details for the self-representation of a secular power-holder. The fresco may be found in the upper part of the funerary monument of Antonio Fissiraga (1253-1327) at the end of the right arm of the transept of San Francesco in Lodi, next to the chapel dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua.[810] [Fig.5.53] It represents Antonio Fissiraga, accompanied by St. Nicholas and St Francis, while he offers up a model of San Francesco to the Virgin and the Child. [Fig.5.54] The lower part beneath the tomb shows the *Funeral of Antonio Fissiraga*.

In 1252, the Franciscans were invited to Lodi and given the church of St. Nicholas with its surroundings by Bishop Bongiovanni Fissiraga, uncle of Antonio.[811] The construction of the new building started in 1280-1281, under the patronage of Antonio.[812] This new Franciscan church was perhaps from the beginning conceived as the final resting place of the two influential Fissiraga. Bongiovanni died in 1289 and he was buried in the left arm of the transept in San Francesco, opposite to the future funerary monument of Antonio.[813] Antonio was associated with the Guelf party, and he became the *podestà* of Florence in 1288 and of Bologna in 1289 and 1291.[814] Between 1285-1294 he was *signore de Lode* and between 1294-1312 *signore del populo*.[815] These years were marked by enmity between him and Matteo

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[810] Mina Gregori (ed.), *Pittura tra Adda e Serio: Lodi, Treviglio, Caravaggio, Crema* (Milan: Cassa di Risparmio delle Provincie Lombarde, 1987), 91-92.

[811] Maria Grossi, *Antonio Fissiraga, signore di Lodi (1253 c.a.-1327)* (Lodi: Archivio storico lodigiano, 1985), 15-16.

[812] Grossi, *Antonio Fissiraga, signore di Lodi*, 19.

[813] This monument was partially destroyed in 1749 during the building of the new sacristy. According to Mander, the remaining fresco fragments show part of the Virgin sitting on her throne, a prelate, a bishop (perhaps Bongiovanni himself), a Franciscan bishop saint (?) and a bishop saint (perhaps St. Nicholas). Micaela Mander, "La tomba del vescvovo Bongiovanni Fissiraga in S. Francesco a Lodi," *Archivio storico lodigiano* 121 (2002), 83-95. I am unsure about the identification of the figures and the dating of the fresco as well (the death of Bongiovanni in 1289 does not necessarily imply that the monument was painted at that time, a later addition is possible).

[814] Grossi, *Antonio Fissiraga, signore di Lodi*, 25-30.

[815] See: Grossi, *Antonio Fissiraga, signore di Lodi*, 127. He was documented in Lodi from 1292, and perhaps in these years he prepared the foundations of his rule as the *signore* of people. Grossi, *Antonio Fissiraga, signore di Lodi*, 31.

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Visconti, which concluded in the submission of Lodi to Ghibellin rule in 1312.[816] Antonio was presumably imprisoned in 1316 (or already in 1312) and died in captivity in 1327.[817]

Boskovits has noted that there is a significant stylistic difference between the upper and the lower parts of the monument. The upper part attributed to the Master of the Fissiraga Tomb and containing a dedicatory scene with the patron of the church must have predated the death of Antonio; on the other hand the lower part displaying the funeral can be dated to around 1327 and has been attributed to the Master of San Bassiano.[818] The most plausible hypothesis for the date of the upper part would be the years before the imprisonment of the Antonio, thus, before 1316 (or 1312).[819]

The images-within-images decorated the frontal and the side-tympanum of the building in which the Virgin is shown sitting. The front image depicts St. George in full armor and on horseback slaying the dragon with his lance. [Fig.5.55] The image on the side represents a hermit saint approaching the scene. [Fig.5.56] Both reliefs were depicted in monochrome brown thus conforming to the color of the building. Both are of high quality.[820] Before discussing the possible reasons for the depiction of these details I would like to highlight two further examples from Lombardy, which were associated with this fresco.

Monochrome details had been already depicted in San Francesco in Lodi before the frescoes in the funerary monument of Antonio Fissiraga were painted. The four evangelists were painted sitting on their thrones on the vaulting of the crossing. [Fig.5.57] The polychrome representations of the evangelist were flanked on each side by two monochrome allegories; all four figures alluded to by an element and a humor. St. Matthew is represented with Water and Phlegmatic humor, St. John with Fire and Choleric humor, St. Luke with Earth and Melancholic humor, and St. Mark with Air and Sanguine humor.[821] The monochrome allegories appear as statues next to the evangelist shown in color.[822] The effect of the polychrome-monochrome representations is similar to decoration in the socle zone in

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[816] Grossi, *Antonio Fissiraga, signore di Lodi*, 37-74.

[817] Grossi, *Antonio Fissiraga, signore di Lodi*, 75-90.

[818] Miklós Boskovits, "La decorazione pittorica del presbiterio nella basilica di S. Abondio in Como," *Arte cristiana* 72 (1984): 369 and 377, note 3. For the Master of the Fissiraga Tomb and the Master of San Bassiano see: Monja Faraoni, "Tre 'maestri' negli affreschi del primo Trecento a Lodi e dintorni," *Archivio storico lodigiano* 126 (2007): 156-184.

[819] Monja Faraoni, "Il Maestro della tomba Fissiraga e il suo ambito," in *Passione è cultura: scritti per Tino Gipponi*, ed. Monja Faraoni (Milan: Electa, 2007), 78-86, esp. 78-79. The proposition that Antonio's wife, Flora of Tresseni, commissioned it after 1318 when Leone Palatino became the bishop of Lodi seems improbable to me as well.

[820] An ostrich egg shown hanging under the roof there is. Pietro Toesca, *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia: dai più antichi monumenti alla metà del Quattrocento* (Milan: Hoepli, 1912), 183. It may allude to the salvation of the sinful man: Isa Ragusa, "The egg reopened," *The art bulletin* 53 (1971): 435-443.

[821] Anna Dall'Ora, "Sul maestro della tomba Fissiraga e altri fatti della pittura lombarda del primo Trecento," *Arte Cristiana* 80 (1992): 175-176.

[822] Dall'Ora, "Sul maestro della tomba Fissiraga e altri fatti della pittura lombarda del primo Trecento," 176.

the Arena chapel in Padua and in the chapterhouse of the Benedictine monastery of Pomposa. This distinction between the pictorial registers was also coupled here with the use of images-within-images. A relief of a standing figure with a lion is shown at the side of St. Luke's bench. These frescoes by the Master of the Four Elements betray the immediate influence of the Arena chapel in Padua, and can be dated between 1305-1310.[823]

This master grasped fully the main implication of the realistic turn and successfully adopted it in Lodi. He was familiar with the potentials of using multiple pictorial registers, and this framework served to display a complex combination of evangelists, each with their particular elements and humors.[824] At the same time, a relief of a lion and a figure was placed on St. Luke's bench. However, these images-within-images appear more like decorative plays with the motif, since the lion could only have been an attribute of St. Mark not St. Luke. They presumably represent the immediate pictorial context for the images-within-images on the Fissiraga tomb.

Furthermore, in the *oeuvre* of the Master of the Fissiraga Tomb there are two other frescoes where strikingly similar motifs appear. This painter was responsible for the decoration of the Baptistery in Varese, dedicated to St. John the Baptist.[825] The baptistery can be dated back to the AD 7th-8th century. It acquired its present ground plan at the end 12th century.[826] Around 1320, the building received a mural decoration.[827] There is a *Virgin of Mercy* on the wall of the sanctuary. [Fig.5.58] The depicted building is similar to the Fissiraga tomb. It has a main and a side tympanum and both had pseudo-reliefs.[828] There was perhaps a kneeling figure with a halo on the side tympanum. A kneeling figure with halo holding a cross and looking at a standing figure in the middle what remains of the main tympanum. [Fig.5.59]

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[823] Faraoni, "Tre 'maestri' negli affreschi del primo Trecento a Lodi e dintorni," 146-152. Anna Dall'Ora proposed that interest in pseudo-sculpture and pseudo-relief may have been derived from the neo-Hellenic orientation of miniatures from Bologna around the end of the 13th century. However, no pseudo-reliefs appear on the examples discussed here. In the context of the Varese baptistery she acknowledged that the motif of the pseudo-relief could be found in Assisi. Dall'Ora, "Sul maestro della tomba Fissiraga e altri fatti della pittura lombarda del primo Trecento," 177, 185, note 15 and 28.

[824] The origin of this iconography and the reason for its display is unclear. Monja Faraoni, following a remark of Fabio Bisogni proposed that it might have been the explicit wish of Antonio Fissiraga. Faraoni, "Tre 'maestri' negli affreschi del primo Trecento a Lodi e dintorni," 151. This is a possibility, but in my view given that a traditional iconography of the evangelist was combined here with scientific allusions, it seems more probable that a learned cleric or friar designed this program.

[825] Toesca, *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia*, 185-186; Gregori (ed.), *Pittura tra Adda e Serio*, 92-93; Faraoni, "Tre 'maestri' negli affreschi del primo Trecento a Lodi e dintorni," 160.

[826] Marco Navoni, "Il battistero di Varese: una sintesi architettonica della storia del battesimo," in *Il Medioevo ritrovato: il battistero di San Giovanni a Varese*, ed. Luca Rinaldi (Varese: Edizioni Lativa, 2000), 17.

[827] Paola Viotto, "Gli affreschi trecenteschi del battistero," in *Il Medioevo ritrovato: il battistero di San Giovanni a Varese*, ed. Luca Rinaldi (Varese: Edizioni Lativa, 2000), 138. There are two black and white coat of arms on the wall of the chapel, one of them belonging to a cardinal. If their color were considered dark blue, then this would be the coat of arms of the Fissiraga family meaning that not only the master but also the commissioner was the same as in Lodi. However, there is no knowledge of a Fissiraga who became cardinal. See: Anna Dall'Ora, "Il primo Trecento," in *Pittura tra Ticino e Olona: Varese e la Lombardia nord-occidentale*, ed. Mina Gregori (Milan: Cariplo, 1992), 11-12.

[828] Dall'Ora, "Il primo Trecento," 11.

Furthermore, on the left side of the altar there is a fragmented *Virgin with Child and St. John the Baptist*. [Fig.5.61] The building is similar, but here only the side-tympanum remains, perhaps showing *St. George* slaying the dragon. [Fig.5.60] Due to the fragmented state of the frescoes in Varese it is difficult to understand the way the artist intended these images-within-images to be understood.

The two pseudo-reliefs survived on the Fissiraga monument in Lodi. There it seems that they contained a reference to the dedication scene beneath and contributed to the self-representation of Antonio Fissiraga. The most obvious candidate for the hermit saint would be St. Anthony. We do not know whether the patron saint of Antonio Fissiraga was St. Anthony of Padua or St. Anthony the Hermit. However, it cannot be by chance that the family chapel of the Fissiraga sits next to the monument dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua, corresponding to the forename of the donor and fitting the Franciscan context of the church. The depiction of St. Anthony the Hermit as a pseudo-relief may have played the same role.

The St. George depicted in the main tympanum on the other hand did not refer to the name, but perhaps the knightly status of Antonio Fissiraga. An attentive look at this detail reveals the saint was fashioned more like a mighty warrior. The most straightforward sign of this was the replacement of the halo with a helmet. The decision is even more striking once compared to the version in Varese. There St. George appears bare-headed and with a halo.[829] In Lodi, other parts of the armor and the jousting-saddle were also depicted with great care. Given the military career of Antonio, the emphasis on the knighthood instead of the sainthood of St. George can be regarded as a reference to the social status of the donor.

There is an epitaph on the left side of the monument. It was placed there presumably in 1327 when the *Funeral* was painted, thus, postdating the upper fresco. The inscription highlights the military deeds, magnanimity and unjust exile of Antonio. I quote at length. The emphases are mine:

> Corde time Christum tumulum qui conspicis istum,
> Servans iussa Dei, spem munde progeniey.
> Nam iacet had parca fulgens Antonius arca
> De Fisiraga moriens pro lege beata,
> *Nobilis at clarus*, nec egenis trux nec aurus,
> *Milicie presul* hostisque fraudibus exul,
> Urbis curator, patrie Laudensis amator,
> Cui tu posce Deum ueniam celique tropheum.
> Millesimo trecentesimo uicesimo septimo uicesima
> Die mensis novembris obiit venerabilis
> *Milex dominus Antonius*
> De Fisiraga.[830]

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[829] Because of the insecure dating of both works I will not attempt to establish the derivation.
[830] For the transcription see: Grossi, *Antonio Fissiraga, signore di Lodi*, 125-126.

The emphasis in the epitaph on knightly (*milex dominus*) and military (*milicie presul*) status of the former *podestà* of Florence and lord of Lodi is not conclusive evidence. It may signal, however, the importance of secular self-representation for a leading political player around the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century. The funerary monument of Antonio Fissiraga in Lodi may show how images-within-images, used mostly as pseudo-sculptural decoration of the throne referring to the Virgin Mary, could be successfully used in the context of secular remembrance and display of power.

6. The Lorenzetti Brothers

The story of images-within-images has so far been concerned with the decisive contribution of Giotto and the motif of statuettes on narrative paintings and the pseudo-sculptural decoration of the Virgin's throne. Without underplaying the achievements of the Rimini masters, Taddeo Gaddi or Bernardo Daddi, who both showed an understanding of the pictorial and iconographic potentials of images-within-images, it seems that after Giotto no one emerged from his artistic orbit, of equal importance. The aim of this chapter is to analyze images-within-images in the *oeuvre* of Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti. In contrast to the previously discussed masters, the Lorenzetti brothers came from the different but comparably strong pictorial tradition of Siena, where, unlike Florence and Assisi, the realistic (or emotional) turn of the picture did not lead to the proliferation of images-within-images. The single example can be found on the *Christ among the Doctors* panel of the Duccio's *Maestà*, and the four statuettes it shows remain within a reality-driven understanding of the phenomenon, as they allude to the former reality of the Temple. Pietro's and Ambrogio's case testifies to the way the practice of images-within-images was adopted by a different pictorial tradition and led to pictorial solutions which favorably compare even with the finest achievements of Giotto.

6.1. The Passion Cycle in the Lower Church at Assisi

Pietro Lorenzetti came into first-hand contact with the work of Giotto when he painted the frescoes decorating the left arm of the transept in the Lower Church at Assisi. The most plausible hypothesis for the date of the Passion cycle places it between 1316 and 1319. On the basis of technical evidence there is a gap between the execution of the crossing and that of the left arm of the transept containing the Passion cycle; furthermore, the left arm was executed later.[831] Giotto's workshop, responsible for the crossing and the right arm of the transept, may have left Assisi in 1311. In July, the basilica was flooded and the *padre custode* together with the convent petitioned the authorities that they should get rid of the rainwater threatening the decoration. The humidity in the walls did not allow continuation of the work for a significant amount of time.[832] The work on the left arm was restarted presumably only in 1316, after the election of Michael of Cesena as the minister general of the order.[833] It was finished in all

[831] Maginnis, "Assisi Revisited: Notes on Recent Observations," 512-515.
[832] Lunghi, "Per la fortuna della Basilica di S. Francesco ad Assisi: I corali domenicani della Biblioteca Augusta di Perugia," 66; Zanardi, *Giotto e Pietro Cavallini*, 201-206.
[833] Robson, "Judas and the Franciscans," 43.

probability before the Fall of 1319 (on 29 September 1319 the Ghibellines led by Munzio di Ser Francesco sacked the convent and took away the papal treasury).[834]

Pietro Lorenzetti and his workshop therefore may have been active in Assisi between 1316 and 1319. By that time, the general guidelines for the decoration for the apse, the transept and the nave had been already established and a significant amount of the work had already been carried out. Elvio Lunghi showed that the lost fresco in the apse may reflect the influence of the *Arbor vitae* of Ubertino of Casale and tied the general planning of the decoration to the patronage of Napoleon Orsini in the first decade of the fourteenth century.[835] This means that the original planning of the program was, if not strictly "spiritual," at least seeking to integrate and harmonize different visions of the Franciscan order. The targeted public of the planned original decoration, as Janet Robson pointed out, were the friars of the Assisi convent and the pilgrims visiting the shrine. The decoration simultaneously displays a reflection on the identity of the order and the carefully organized progress of the pilgrims in visual terms.[836] In addition to this she proposed that some details in the Passion cycle such as the *Betrayal* and the *Death of Judas* might reflect ongoing debates on Poverty and Obedience and be part of a visual campaign against the spirituals under Michael of Cesena and John XXII after 1316.[837] In that respect, the entire Western part of the Lower church and in it the Passion cycle as well underwent a thorough iconographic planning.

As various scholars have noted, the three wings of the Lower Church (right and left arm of the transept and the nave) corresponded to the three segments of the crossing dedicated to the three vows (Chastity, Poverty and Obedience) in the original plan.[838] Thus, the *Infancy of Christ* by the Giotto workshop complemented the vow of Chastity, the nave displaying the Ministry and elaborating on the theme of Poverty was never begun, and the *Passion of Christ* deepened and developed the meaning of Obedience.[839] This meant as well that the Lorenzetti

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[834] Maginnis, "Pietro Lorenzetti: A Chronology," 208.

[835] Lunghi, "La perduta decorazione trecentesca nell'abside della Chiesa Inferiore del S. Francesco ad Assisi," 505-510; Lunghi, "L'influenza di Ubertino da Casale e di Pietro di Giovanni Olivi nel programma iconografico della chiesa inferiore del S. Francesco ad Assisi," 167-188. Schönau formulated the possibility of the Orsini patronage for the crossing and the transept. Schönau, "A New Hypothesis on the Vele in the Lower Church of San Francesco in Assisi," 338-343. Ubertino was in the service of the cardinal between 1306 and 1308. Kleinschmidt proposed a connection between the apse and the *Arbor vitae*. Kleinschmidt, *Die Basilika San Francesco in Assisi*, vol. 2, 198-204.

[836] Robson, "The Pilgrim's Progress," 44-49.

[837] Robson, "Judas and the Franciscans," 44-45; Robson, "The Pilgrim's Progress," 45.

[838] Mignosi, "Osservazioni sul transetto della Basilica Inferiore di Assisi," 133; Lobrichon, *Francesco d'Assisi: gli affreschi della basilica inferiore*, 81-82; Janet Robson, "Judas and the Franciscans," 44; and ibid, "The Pilgrim's Progress," 43-44.

[839] A friar was depicted next to Francis in the *Preaching to the Birds* in the nave of the Lower Church. This addition postdated the partial destruction of the frescoes in the nave, and represents perhaps an attempt to save and reintegrate the remains into a restored sequence. Bonsanti (ed.), *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi,* 330.

workshop presumably started the work at the top of the barrel-vault next to the *Allegory of Obedience*, close to the Crucifixion sketch on the wall of the depicted chapterhouse.

The images-within-images in the Passion cycle conformed to other examples in the Lower church in the sense that they were adjusted to the main iconographic content of the frescoes. Already the *putti* on the *Christ among the Doctors* in the northern arm through their playful display of the veneration reflected perhaps on how impressed the Doctors were by the knowledge of Jesus, while the Crucifixion sketch played a central role in the meaning of the allegory of Obedience. In the examples by Pietro Lorenzetti the level of the iconographic integration falls somewhere between these two extremes. In the following pages I try to simultaneously track the visual sources of the solutions and their iconographic adjustment to the main content of the frescoes.

Images-within-images, appearing presumably as decorative elements, appear on two frescoes. Two lion heads decorate the city gate in the *Road to the Calvary*, a typical motif in this context.[840] [Fig.6.1] A similar example can be found in the Upper Church as well, in the *Expulsion of the Devils from Arezzo*. A lion head appears on a console above the gate of the city. In all probability on the *Stigmatization of St. Francis* by the Lorenzetti workshop the two resting lions holding the portico of the chapel are connected to contemporary ecclesiastical architecture, contributing to the reality-effect of the building.[841] [Fig.6.2]

The architectural setting of the *Washing of the Feet* is complex, and distinct from the *Last Supper*.[842] [Fig.6.3] In the Gospel of John (13: 3-27) the two events happened in the same space. The unity of the place was an important factor in the pictorial narration as well. Neither Giotto in the Arena chapel, nor Duccio on the *Maestà* altered the settings in which these two events took place. Hayden Maginnis proposed that the change in the setting refers to the contemporary topography of Jerusalem where the pilgrims were shown two separate rooms in the church of the St. Savior in Jerusalem. There was a place under two arches in a roofless chapel on the lower level for the *Washing of the Feet* and a space between two arches

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[840] Gardner, "An Introduction to the Iconography of the Medieval Italian City Gate," 199-213.

[841] The proposition that the display of the lions may be rooted here in a wordplay (leones – brother Leo) referring to brother Leo himself who is sitting next to them, is certainly tempting, but must remain hypothetical.

[842] Lobrichon remarked it, but did not specify the possible reasons behind the change. Lobrichon, *Francesco d'Assisi*, 107-108.

in the church for the *Last Supper*.[843] On each of the four pediments of the vaulting the same enigmatic bird can be seen; their role is unclear.[844]

The iconographic implication of the image-within-image on the *Entry to Jerusalem* is more straightforward. [Fig.6.4] This fresco was placed opposite to the *Road to the Calvary* on top of the barrel vault of the transept. This scene displays a view of Jerusalem, quite similar to the one on the corresponding panel of the *Maestà* by Duccio. The octagonal building of the Temple and the Golden Gate is clearly recognizable on both works. Maginnis proposed that the double archway of the Golden Gate refers to the contemporary settings of Jerusalem known from pilgrims' descriptions.[845] In his slightly later account, Niccolò of Poggibonsì described the gate as follows:

> And there you find the Golden Gate, and the wall of the Templum Domini. This gate is very large, and consists of two gates, one besides the other. Between the two gates is a wall of two feet in width with a vaulted arch. … A large piazza lies beyond this gate, which is very beautiful and square and is enclosed by a wall; and in the middle is the Templum Domini.[846]

The depiction of the massive gate on both works with the double arch might originate from such accounts. However, there is an important difference between the Duccio's panel and Lorenzetti's fresco. On the latter, the wall of the city gate is decorated with a large pseudo-fresco.[847] [Fig.6.5] It represents two figures standing on two separate hillocks. The right one is naked and holds a rod in the right hand. It is displayed frontally. The left is shown wearing a floating cloak and is depicted in profile approaching the other naked figure. Henk van Os proposed that the scene displays the worship of a pagan idol, presumably Victory venerating an antique God.[848] Furthermore, he argued that the fresco is the symbol of the city reminding

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[843] Hayden B. J. Maginnis, "Places Beyond the Seas," *Source* 13 (1994): 5; Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *A voyage beyond the seas (1346-1350)*, tr. T. Bellorini and E. Hoade (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1945), 33-34. From 1335 the Franciscans were the *custodes* of this church and they rebuilt the *Hall of the Last Supper*, Poggibonsi's description perhaps reflected this. Jack Finegan, *The archeology of the New Testament: the life of Jesus and the beginning of the early Church* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 151.

[844] Kleinschmidt only talked about birds. Kleinschmidt, *Die Basilika San Francesco in Assisi*, vol. 2, 268. Volpe identified them as pelicans and regarded them as high quality representations. Carlo Volpe, *Pietro Lorenzetti*, ed. Mauro Lucco (Milan: Electa, 1989), 71. Along these lines, Monciatti proposed that they refer to the self-sacrifice of Christ. Alessio Monciatti, "Pietro Lorenzetti," in *Pietro e Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, ed. Chiara Frugoni, 13-117 (Florence: Le Lettere, 2002), 38-41. The birds do not open their bosom with their beaks, which would be a clear allusion to the self-sacrifice of Christ, but it cannot be excluded that their presence referred to that. For the Pelican symbolism see: Colum Hourihane, "The Virtuous Pelican in Medieval Irish Art," in *Virtue and Vice. The Personifications in the Index of Christian Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Princeton University, 2000), 120-123. They might be storks.

[845] Maginnis, "Places Beyond the Seas," 1-8, esp. 4.

[846] Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *A voyage beyond the seas*, 45-46.

[847] Kleinschmidt considered it a splendid decoration for the gate. Kleinschmidt, *Die Basilika San Francesco in Assisi*, vol. 2, 267. For Volpe it was a Hellenistic fresco testifying to the most surprising and free ideas of Pietro Lorenzetti. Volpe, *Pietro Lorenzetti*, 67.

[848] Os, "Idolatry on the gate: antique sources for an Assisi fresco," 171 and 175. Monciatti identified it as a pagan low relief on a gold background. Monciatti, "Pietro Lorenzetti," 36.

the viewer that though Jerusalem is rejoicing now for Jesus, it is pagan and damned and will prove to be the doom of the Savior.[849]

Os rightly observed as well that there are Byzantine antecedents for this iconography.[850] On folio 6r of the Theodore Psalter there is a representation of the *Entry to Jerusalem*, where an idol stands above the city on a freestanding column.[851] A similar solution was adopted on the *Entry to Jerusalem* scene of the Byzantine bronze door at the basilica San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome.[852] This door had been on display since 1070.[853] In the Theodore Psalter the miniature is placed next to Psalm 8 and may refer to verse 3: "Out of the mouth of infants and of sucklings thou hast perfected praise, because of thy enemies, that thou mayst destroy the enemy and the avenger."[854] The miniature in the Theodore Psalter perhaps elaborates on this theme of enmity and conflict.[855]

In Assisi it is clear that the left figure approaching the idol, whether it is Victory or some other figure, has no intention of destroying it, which means that we are witness to a pagan act of worship. For Henk van Os and Michael Camille this was enough to see in the detail a straight allusion to the ruthlessness of the Jews and the doom of Jesus, and in this sense, the detail seems to conform to the meaning of the statue in the Theodore Psalter. Without contesting the validity of this conclusion I would highlight that the pagan act of veneration could be regarded as a parallel mirroring of the veneration of Jesus, which is the main subject of the fresco. Pietro Lorenzetti not only repeated the Byzantine iconography, but also reshaped it in pictorial and narrative terms. The freestanding statue was transformed into a fine fresco on the wall of the gate, with its gilded background alluding perhaps to the name of the Golden Gate itself. Furthermore, instead of displaying a solitary idol, Pietro depicted an act of worship. The pseudo-fresco mirrors the main action of the fresco, thus, simultaneously

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[849] Os, "Idolatry on the gate: antique sources for an Assisi fresco," 171 and 175. Michael Camille adopted this interpretation and complemented it with an allusion to a relief in Amiens, where the worshipper and the idol also staged on two little separate hillocks. Camille, *The Gothic Idol*, 16.

[850] Os, "Idolatry on the gate: antique sources for an Assisi fresco," 171.

[851] Similar scenes can be found on folio 15v of the Bristol Psalter and folio 14r of the Barberini Psalter. See: *Theodore Psalter: electronic facsimile*, ed. Charles Barber (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2000), folio 6r, 4.

[852] Os, "Idolatry on the gate: antique sources for an Assisi fresco," 171.

[853] The donor of the door was Pantaleone of Amalfi, a successful Italian merchant based in Constantinople. The Christological program might have been placed there at the behest of Hildrebrand (later Gregory VII), archdeacon of the basilica, as San Paolo fuori le Mura did not have a Christological cycle at that time. See: Margaret Frazer, "Church doors and the gates of Paradise: byzantine bronze doors in Italy," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973): 145-162; Valentino Pace, "L'arte di Bisanzio al servizio della Chiesa di Roma: la porta di bronzo di San Paolo fuori le Mura," in *Studien zur byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte: Festschrift für Horst Hallensleben zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Birgitt Borkopp and others (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1995), 111-119.

[854] *Theodore psalter: electronic facsimile*, folio 6r, 4.

[855] The *Entry to Jerusalem* was depicted on folio 157v as well, accompanying Psalm 117. Here, it might refer to verse 26: "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord. We have blessed you out of the house of the Lord." *Theodore Psalter: electronic facsimile*, folio 157v, 4. Here, the only the Temple was painted, and there is no idol. The reshaping of the architectural setting can be connected to the mentioning of the House of the Lord in the Psalm and the lack of hostility.

signaling the evilness of the city and reiterating the story. The result is a complex set of pictorial interrelationships where the image-within-image operates as a further addition to the meaning (Jews are the enemies of the Christ) and a playful repetition of the meaning itself (Christ is venerated).

The possible connections between the embedded images and the main content of the frescoes make the *Flagellation* and the *Last Supper* one of the most intriguing examples from the period. [Fig.6.7-8] These two frescoes were painted on the upper part of the vault, right next to the *Allegory of Obedience*. [Fig.6.6] The pseudo-sculptural decorations of the settings face each other and cover the top vault (similarly to the two gates of the neighboring *Entry to Jerusalem* and *Road to the Calvary*).

The *Last Supper* takes place in a hexagonal interior with the rectangular space of the kitchen adjacent to it. Jesus is handing over a piece of bread to Judas. Thus, the focus of the fresco is Jesus predicting his betrayal, perhaps with an allusion to the institution of the Eucharist. In the adjacent space of the kitchen two servants are cleaning the plates that are also being licked by a dog. In front of the fireplace lies a cat. The host and another servant discuss something at the door. The stars and the moon are visible in the sky. On top of the hexagon standing on four slender columns are four monochrome statues of *putti*. The two in the middle carry cornucopias. [Fig.6.10-11] The one on the left holds a dog which is facing him. [Fig.6.9] The *putto* on the right has a hare and he is stretching it out.[856] [Fig.6.12]

The other fresco displays Jesus being flagellated at the orders of Pilate (Marc 15, 16; Matthew 27, 27; and John 19, 1).[857] The event takes place at the *praetorium* (courtyard or judgment hall) of the palace, which is displayed as an open loggia type structure.[858] In the fourteenth century, the ruins of the Antonia (the palace of Herod built around 37-35 BC) were believed to be Pilate's palace, and as they were transformed into the residence of the governors of Jerusalem, access to them was denied to pilgrims.[859] Pilate sits on his throne accompanied by a soldier and presumably a high-ranking member of the Jewish clergy. Jesus

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[856] Kleinschmidt and Panofsky identified the hare as a fish. Kleinschmidt, *Die Basilika San Francesco in Assisi*, vol. 2, 269; Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, 147. For Lunghi it was a *drôlerie* and the sign of the Northern orientation of Pietro Lorenzetti. Lunghi, *The Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi*, 137.

[857] For the development of the iconography see: Colum Hourihane, *Pontius Pilate, anti-semitism, and the Passion in medieval art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 272-289.

[858] Hourihane, *Pontius Pilate,* 162. For the actual building in Jerusalem and its iconography see: Hourihane, *Pontius Pilate,* 153-161.

[859] Therefore Niccolò of Poggibonsì could not enter it and mentioned it only in passing. Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *A voyage beyond the seas*, 49, note 2. The palace probably laid somewhere between the Gate of Chains and the Gate of the Cotton Merchants. Hourihane, *Pontius Pilate,* 154. For the Antonia see: Finegan, *The archeology of the New Testament*, 157-161.

is tied to a red column in the center and is shown being whipped by two servants.[860] Standing in the doorway at the back, a group of men follows the event. The upper level of the fresco is divided between two scenes. On the right side, there is a woman and a child behind a window. The child holds the leash of a monkey. The monkey is walking out onto the roof of the *praetorium*, approaching the statues, which occupy the center and the left side of the upper level.

The statues are conceived of as the continuation and the crowning part of the three columns of the portico. [Fig.6.13-15] They can be divided into two horizontal rows. The lower row consists of three lions lying on and built into the structure of the roof. The left lion looks towards the middle of the picture and there may be something between its forepaws. The lion in the center lifts its right forepaw as if checking its claws. The right hand lion lies on another animal, presumably on a calf (it is visibly an ungulate). This lion looks up towards the upper row, which is composed of three sitting-kneeling *putti*. The right *putto*, watched by the lion, is about to hit with an object, which he is holding behind his head with both of his hands. Around his legs a dog is chasing a hare. The other two *putti* are also focusing on this scene. The one in the middle turns towards it and he is blowing a horn. The left one is shown in profile, and it holds back a dog which wants to take part in the chase. This etude has been unanimously interpreted as a hunting scene.[861]

Besides their placement, there are further connections between the two scenes. There is a similar use of monochrome pseudo-sculptural details on the buildings extending to the same repertory of motifs (hare, dog and *putti*). Both frescoes contain a scene from daily life as well. In one fresco dishes are shown being washed in the kitchen while in the other a small child is depicted in a window holding a monkey on a leash. It is possible to give a realistic-decorative reading for all these elements. The kitchen and the monkey scenes are depictions of moments from daily life and the various images-within-images serve as decorations for the architectural setting.[862] In this sense, the depicted statuettes function similarly to the various monochrome pseudo-reliefs bordering the frescoes, out of which one seems to have found its way to the wall of Pilate's *praetorium* as well. However, in light of the pseudo-fresco in the

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[860] Maginnis pointed out that color of the column suggests the porphyry column that was kept and venerated in Jerusalem. Maginnis, "Places Beyond the Seas," 5. "The column is so thick that its circumference is four palms, and in color is porphyry." Poggibonsì, *A Voyage beyond the Seas*, 17.

[861] Kleinschmidt, *Die Basilika San Francesco in Assisi*, vol. 2, 270; Luciano Bellosi, *Pietro Lorenzetti at Assisi* (Assisi: DACA, 1982), 9; Poeschke, *Die Kirche San Francesco in Assisi*, 113; Lunghi, *The Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi*, 132. Panofsky stated that the *putti* are playing with small animals. Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, 149, note 1.

[862] The monkey on leash can recall animal training. On folio 34v of the of the *Hours of Hawisia Dubois* (M.700, Morgan Library, New York) a monkey is depicted on leash pulled by a naked man, who wears a cap and rides a sheep. This marginal decoration complements a *Christ bearing the Cross*. The illuminated manuscript can be dated around 1325-1330, and it was perhaps made in London.

Entry of Jerusalem, it cannot be excluded that these details were repetitions or complements to the main iconographic content.

It has been proposed that the open fire in the kitchen alludes to the carnal sacrifice of Passover in the Old Testament, and as such, contrasts with the foundation of the Eucharist by Jesus in the main room.[863] The negative charge of the comparison cannot be easily dismissed, since it is undoubtedly puzzling why the servant is using a Jewish prayer *shawl* to clean the dishes (while the other wears it properly around his neck).[864] It is hard to dissociate the dog licking the plate from the numerous allusions to the Jews as dogs.[865] All these references can be grouped together. They not only allude to Jewish practices, but serve to reject and despise them as well. Similarly, the monkey on the string retakes the theme of captivity expressing the evilness of the trial below.[866] Furthermore, it can allude to the rejection of Christianity by the Jews, where the monkey symbolizes the Jew who is enslaved by its own ignorance.[867] In both cases the daily life scene can be given a reading which relates to the main theme and has anti-Jewish overtones.

The pseudo-sculptural decorations of the two scenes have been regarded as having a double source, the revival of the Classical motifs and the influence of Northern European *drôlerie*.[868] Truly, the motif of the hare-hunt is abundantly present on the margins of Gothic illuminated manuscripts without being tied strictly to a given meaning.[869] The *putti* relate the

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[863] Carra Ferguson O'Meara, "In the hearth of the virginal womb: the iconography of the holocaust in late medieval art," *The Art Bulletin* 63 (1981): 81-82. The scene represents Christ giving a morsel of food to Judas and thus, predicting his betrayal. However, this moment was also regarded as the foundation of the Eucharist. Judas is sometimes represented receiving the morsel as if taking the communion. For further discussion of the iconography of the *Last Supper* see subchapter: "3.2.3. The Blessing of the Lord and the Perdition by the Serpent." I would add that even in the case of the half moon, which is clearly a realistic reference to the time of the day, one might wonder whether it refers to Juliana of Cornillon's vision about the blemished full moon and the foundation of the feast of Corpus Christi related to it. Although Juliana's vision presumably occurred first around 1208, the feast was universally established only in October 1317 (following the intervention of Clement V during the council of Vienne in October 1311). Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1991), 164-185. The *Last Supper* fresco was presumably painted during these years of the feast's final institutionalization.

[864] O'Meara, "In the hearth of the virginal womb," 81.

[865] O'Meara, "In the hearth of the virginal womb," 82. O'Meara referred to a sermon of Bonaventure on the *Last Supper*, in which the Jews who prefer carnal sacrifice over the "immaculate Lamb" are labeled dogs and should be excluded from the table. "Sed quidam plus desiderant carnes foedas quam carnes Agni immaculate, sicut carnales, qui tamquam canes sunt ab ista refectione excludendi." Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, *Sermones de tempore, de Sanctis, de B. Virgine Maria et de diversis*, Opera Omnia 9 (Florence: Quaracchi, 1901), 258.

[866] Hourihane, *Pontius Pilate*, 162-163 and 269.

[867] For the motif and significance of a monkey on a leash see: Marianna D. Birnbaum, *Behind the Image: Another Text* (Budapest: Argumentum, 2008), 9-30, esp. 16-17.

[868] Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, 148-149; Lunghi, *The Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi*, 132.

[869] Lilian Randall adopted a case-by-case position with regard to the possible iconographic relevance of these marginal decorations. Lilian M. C. Randall, *Images in the margins of Gothic manuscripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 17-18. Michael Camille proposed that these hunting scenes were a display of economic wealth. Michael Camille, *Image on the edge: the margins of medieval art* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1992), 118. Alternatively Adriana Fisch Hartely suggested that the popularity of the hare-hunt was due to the wordplay *cuniculus* (rabbit) – *cunnus* (vagina). Jean Wirth, *Les marges à drôleries des manuscrits*

details more to Classical sculpture, especially to sarcophagi displaying the seasons or drunkenness of the Erotes.[870] Furthermore, on certain late antique sarcophagi, Biblical narratives were displayed on the front, while various scenes related to the Erotes appear on the sides. For example, the ends show *putti* harvesting grape and wheat on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, perhaps an allusion to the bread and vine of the Eucharist.[871] On the lower part of the right end a *putto* is shown lifting a hare up in front of a dog. This may mean that the merger of the biblical narratives and the activities of the *putti* was manifested and to some extent justified in these works. Having said this, it should be added that so far no matching prototypes to the Assisi frescoes have been presented, which may suggest that the sequence was a sort of an amalgam of Gothic marginal decorations and late antique sarcophagi, in itself a genuine pictorial invention by Pietro Lorenzetti himself.[872]

For the row of lions there is a convincing line of visual derivation. Lions capturing or lying on animals already appear on Romanesque portals, and can be found in the works of Nicola Pisano. Lions are shown supporting the columns of the pulpit on their backs. The lions were simultaneously interpreted as evil and benevolent forces.[873] On the Pisa Baptistery Pulpit a hare is shown licking the foot of a lion while another lion is depicted guarding a goat.[874] A lion appears devouring a horse on the Siena Cathedral Pulpit while others guard their prey or suckle their young.[875] Similar motifs appear on the Pistoia and the Pisa Cathedral Pulpits created by his son, Giovanni Pisano.[876] [Fig.6.16] Although on these examples the lions lie on the ground, Giovanni adopted a solution where he placed them above the gate on

gothiques (Genève: Droz, 2008), 187-191. The association of the two words certainly existed, especially in French context. However, for both theories the more problematic question is whether this was the origin of the motif and whether the association was carried over as well when it was placed into a different context.

[870] See: Peter Kranz (ed.), *Jahreszeiten-Sarkophage: Entwicklung und Ikonographie des Motivs der vier Jahreszeiten auf kaiserzeitlichen Sarkophagen und Sarkophagdeckeln*, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs 5/4 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1984); Doris Bielefeld (ed.), *Weinlese- und Ernteszenen*, Die stadtrömischen Eroten-Sarkophage 2, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs 5/2 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1997); and Peter Kranz (ed.), *Dionysische Themen*, Die stadtrömischen Eroten-Sarkophage 1, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs 5/2 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1999).

[871] Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, *The iconography of the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 96-99.

[872] The etude has been regarded as the manifestation of Pietro Lorenzetti's playful talent and artistic freedom. Poeschke, *Die Kirche San Francesco in Assisi*, 113; Volpe, *Pietro Lorenzetti*, 77.

[873] The question remains unsettled. Anita Fiderer Moskowitz, *Nicola&Giovanni Pisano: the pulpits* (London: Miller, 2005), 45.

[874] The pulpit is the work of Nicola Pisano. It was made for the Baptistery as part of the physical and spiritual renewal of Pisa starting around 1257 under Archbishop Federigo Visconti. The lions were simultaneously interpreted as evil and benevolent forces, the question remains unsettled. Moskowitz, *Nicola&Giovanni Pisano: the pulpits*, 35-36.

[875] Nicola was already contracted for this work in 1265 in Pisa and he delivered it presumably by November 1268. Moskowitz, *Nicola&Giovanni Pisano: the pulpits*, 61.

[876] Giovanni Pisano was contracted for the Pistoia pulpit in 1298, and for the Cathedral of Pisa in 1302 after finishing this work. Moskowitz, *Nicola&Giovanni Pisano: the pulpits*, 73 and 93.

the façade of the Cathedral of Siena before 1297 (and they were on display at the latest before 1317).[877] [Fig.6.17]

The lions have an important pictorial antecedent as well. They appear in a similar context on Giotto's *Mocking of Jesus* in the Arena chapel at Padua. [Fig.6.18] Though the mocking is an event that is clearly distinct from the flagellation, they play the same narrative role in the Passion: the torture and humiliation of Jesus. Pilate dressed in his sumptuous red robe presents the scene to the high priest. Giotto also used architraves to display the open space of the *praetorium*, but in his case it remains as a single unit, while in Assisi, mostly because of the central red column, it lead to a complex division of spaces. There are two statues of sitting lions on top of the fore-left and back-left corners, covered by the band of the fresco and the architrave itself. [Fig.6.19] Only the turned body is visible of the one in the back. The one in the front is seen in profile and it may well be the case that he or she is resting its right forepaw on something, perhaps on some prey. The lions here are barely visible. Giotto considered emphasis of the three-dimensionality of the space to be more important so he moved one lion to the background and even changed its orientation. Pietro Lorenzetti created a band runs parallel to the picture plane, and increased the size of the figures. In his case the pseudo-sculptural etude became an exposed, visible and legible sequence, placed clearly in front of the viewer.

In Padua the two hidden lions were perhaps elements of the iconography of Pilate as a secular power-holder and contributed to the reality-effect of the architectural setting. They may have retained this reference in Assisi as well. Together with the hunting *putti* they might have been conceived, however, in relation to the main content of the frescoes. On the *Last Supper* the iconographic implication might extend to the two *putti* with cornucopia recalling not only the fruit baskets full of grapes of the Erotes on the late antique sarcophagi, but may also be a reference to the abundance of the Eucharist itself the beginnings of which is shown on the fresco. The other two *putti* holding the dog and the hare may already foreshadow the more violent sequence of the *Flagellation*.[878]

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[877] Guido Tigler, "Siena 1284-1297: Giovanni Pisano e le sculture della parte bassa della facciata," in *La facciata del duomo di Siena: iconografia, stile, indagini storiche e scientifiche*, ed. Mario Lorenzoni (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2007), 131-136.

[878] I will not pursue this thought further, but I wish to highlight that in contemporary illuminated Jewish *Haggadah*, in the sections dedicated to the Passover meal the motif of the hare hunted by a dog appears. In later periods this was related to the YaKiNeHaZ mnemonic of the blessing during the *Seder* on a Saturday night, as it echoed in German as *jag den Has*. However, in the fourteenth century this might have had a complex subversive meaning, the escaping hare alluding to the survival of the Jew. Marc Michael Epstein, *Dreams of subversion in medieval Jewish art and literature* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 16-39. Even if there was such subversive meaning, it is improbable that it was followed in Assisi. On the other hand, it cannot be excluded that the visual connection between the Passover meal and the hare hunt was known and thus this can also be considered as a source for the fresco.

I propose that in the *Flagellation*, the motif of the lions guarding their prey and the *putti* hunting with dogs a hare can be interpreted as a visual allusion to the torments of Christ, as it appears in two verses of Psalm 21.[879] This psalm was already associated with the Passion in the Gospels, since Christ pronounces its opening verse (*Deus meus, Deus meus ut quid deriliquisti me?*) on the cross (Matthew 27, 46). In verse 14 the psalmist is attacked by lions: *Aperuerunt super me os suum, sicut leo rapiens et rugiens* (They opened their mouth against me, like a raging and roaring lion); and in verse 17 dogs encircle him: *Quoniam circumdederunt me canes multi, concilium malignantium obsedit me* (For many dogs surrounded me, a pack of evildoers closed in on me).

The connection between the lion and dog imagery on the one hand and the Passion of Christ on the other grew more and more pronounced in the various devotional texts dedicated to the Passion.[880] It does not appear in the *Liber de Passione Christi et Doloribus et Planctibus Matris Ejus* and in the *Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem Domini* of

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[879] The integration of the imagery of Psalm 21 into narrative representations of the Passion is well-known for specialists of Medieval Art: the different agents (dogs, bulls, and lions) and actions (sorting of cloth, counting of bones) of the Psalm appear in the textual and pictorial accounts of the Passion. James Marrow, relying on the results and methodology of F. P. Pickering and Kurt Ruh, described the phenomenon in a pioneering article. James Marrow, "Circumdederunt me canes multi: Christ's Tormentors in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance," *The Art Bulletin* 59 (1977): 167-181. Marrow's interest was primarily iconographical, but the iconographical investigations in his case were envisaged in the larger context of pictorial storytelling: he focused on how the formal correspondences between the Old and New Testament were absorbed by the dynamic, emotionalized and detailed narrative of the Passion. He outlined the historical development of the problem in his monograph; the three major phases can be summarized as follows: 1) Appearance of intensive religious sensibility in the late tenth and eleventh century in the sphere of private devotion, which reflected emphatically on the human character and sufferings of Christ; 2) In the thirteenth century textual and pictorial accounts corresponding to this sensibility are developed and systematically promoted for all social strata, mostly by the Franciscans; 3) In the fourteenth and fifteenth century, especially in the Low Countries and Germany, these accounts were translated into vernacular further stressing their emotional aspect. James Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative* (Kortrijk: Van Ghemmert, 1979), 25-26 and 190-196.

    Although Marrow dealt primarily with the representations of the third phase, that of the Passion in Late Medieval Northern Europe, the discussion of the second phase remained limited. The question of the 13th century received further attention later. Hans Belting, focusing on the Man of Sorrows, situated this new interest for the Passion in the thirteenth century in the context of the import of Byzantine icons to the Occident and connected it to the problem of the transforming status of cult images and that of the picture itself, thus, the iconographical-narrative orientation of the question was complemented with its formal-functional aspect. Hans Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter: Form un Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1981). Anne Derbes thoroughly demonstrated the key role of the Franciscan order in the import, development and dissemination of this new type of piety and its visual displays, and clarified the chronological aspects and the broader social context of the phenomenon. Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy*. See as well: Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, 25; Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter*, 244-251. The Passion cycle by the Lorenzetti-workshop has remained a lacuna in the aforementioned accounts. Marrow did not fit it within the chronological-geographical limitations of the material. As a fresco it was not a significant cult object for Belting. For Derbes it was too late to be included within the detailed discussion on the early Passion cycles developed around the orbit of the Franciscan Order.

[880] Marrow, "Circumdederunt me canes multi," 167-169.

Pseudo-Bernard.[881] In the *Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini* of Pseudo-Anselm after his arrest the Jews surround Jesus like lionesses guarding their prey and after the verdict he is brought to the Golgotha, where he is exposed to dogs.[882] In the *De Meditatione Passionis Christi per Septem Diei Horas Libellus* of Pseudo-Bede Jesus is attacked by evil dogs.[883] In the *Lignum vitae* of Bonaventure, in the chapter entitled *Jesus Offered to Pilate*, the vicar is compared to a wild dog.[884] In some versions of the *Officium de Passione Domini* the dog imagery surfaces as part of the Nona.[885]

A more coherent imagery would come to be developed in the *Meditaciones vite Christi* compared to these dispersed and fragmented occurrences.[886] The Passion is introduced by verse 17 of Psalm 21 (many dogs have surrounded me).[887] Similarly, in the *Sacred Canticle in the Limbo*, which in fact closes the section of the Passion, while retelling his Passion Christ quotes this verse again.[888] Besides this framing function for dog imagery, some

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[881] Pseudo-Bernard, "Liber de Passione Christi et Doloribus et Planctibus Matris Ejus," in *Patrologia Latina 182*, ed. J.-P. Migne, (Paris, 1854), 1133-42; Pseudo-Bernard, "Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem Domini," in *Patrologia Latina 184*, ed. J.-P. Migne, (Paris, 1854), 741-768.

[882] "Tunc primo postquam captus fuerat vidi eum, et accurens quasi leaena raptis fetibus videbam illam desiderabilem faciem sputis Judaeorum maculatam. … Cum venissent ad locum Calvariae ignominiosissimum, ubi canes et alia mortician projiciebantur." Pseudo-Anselm, "Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini," in *Patrologia Latina 159*, ed. J.-P. Migne, (Paris, 1854), 276 and 282.

[883] "Meditatio completorii, O Domine Jesu, qui omnia potes sustinere, quod non rumpatur prae dolore cum cogitat te, o magister bone, agnus innocens, quomodo ibas inter lupos et te mordebant canes pessimi, et non clamabas, sed tamquam agnus innocens ad mortem ibas." Pseudo-Bede, "De Meditatione Passionis Christi per Septem Diei Horas Libellus," in *Patrologia Latina 94*, ed. J.-P. Migne, (Paris, 1862), 563.

[884] "Fructus VI, Patientia in iniuriis; Iesus, Pilato traditus; Horrenda prorsus Iudaeorum impietas, quae tantis iniuriis satiari non potuit, quin potius, ferali rabie fremens, impio iudici tanquam rabido cani animam iusti deglutiendam exposuit. Vinctum enim Iesum ante faciem Pilati perduxere pontifices, postulantes, interimi supplicio crucis eum qui non noverat omnino peccatum. Ipse vero quasi agnus coram tondente se ante iudicem mansuetus stabat et tacitus, cum fallaces et impii, falsorum criminum mole obiecta, tumultuosis acclamationibus auctorem vitae petunt ad mortem et virum homicidam seditiosumque latronem servant ad vitam, lupum agno, mortem vitae, luci tenebras tam stulte praeferentes quam impie." Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, "Lignum vitae," *Opuscula Varia ad Theologiam Mysticam et Res Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Spectantia*, Opera Omnia 8 (Florence: Quaracchi, 1898), 77.

[885] Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, "Officium de Passione Domini," *Opuscula Varia ad Theologiam Mysticam et Res Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Spectantia*, Opera Omnia 8 (Florence: Quaracchi, 1898), 156, note 1.

[886] Iohannes de Caulibus, *Meditaciones vite Christi*, ed. M. Stallings-Taney, Corpus Christianorum 153 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1997). The attribution of the text to John de Caulibus is generally accepted and dated between 1346 and 1364. M. Stallings-Taney, "Introduction," in Iohannes de Caulibus, *Meditaciones vite Christi*, x-xi. For the English translation see: *Meditation on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century*, tr. Isa Ragusa, ed. Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green (Princeton: Princeton University, 1961). Unfortunately in the illuminated manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. ital. 115), on which the edition is based, the drawings were not executed after folio 193. Thus the pictorial material of the entire Passion is missing. Ragusa (ed.), *Meditation on the Life of Christ*, xxix.

[887] "Est crucifixio et lectus doloris. Ecce qualis quies. Vere intrauerunt aque usque ad animam suam, et circumdederunt canes multi, terribiles, et feroces, et consilium malignancium obsedit eum, qui dire et ut gladius bis acutus exacutum exacuerunt in eum et linguas et manus." Iohannes de Caulibus, *Meditaciones vite Christi*, 255. "Truly the waters entered into His soul, and truly was He surrounded by many terrible and ferocious dogs, and verily was he besieged by the counsel and council of the malignants, who cruelly cut Him by tongue and by hands, as with a knife with two blades." Ragusa (ed.), *Meditation on the Life of Christ*, 319.

[888] "Circumdederunt me canes multi et consilium malignancium obsedit me. Surgentes testes iniqui que ignorabam interrogabant me; et fui flagellatus tota die et castigacio mea in matutinis. Supra dorsum meum fabricaverunt peccatores." Iohannes de Caulibus, *Meditaciones vite Christi*, 291. The Canticle is missing from the meditation translated by Ragusa.

instances in the text leave no doubt regarding the symbolic meaning of this metaphor. After his arrest "those dogs" conduct Jesus to the high priests, who are rejoicing like "lion capturing its prey."[889] After this event, "those dogs" lead Jesus in front of Pilate in order to pursue their accusation.[890]

In addition to these instances, Francis of Assisi himself was sensitive to these parallels between Psalm 21 and the Passion of Christ. In *The Office of the Passion* he compiled a montage of various verses from different psalms.[891] The focus of the office was the Sacred Triduum of Holy Week, but Francis also prescribed it for all the weekdays of the Year with the exception of Advent, Christmas and Easter. Thus, it was disseminated down to the most basic liturgical levels in the Order.[892] The text of the office, with the prescriptions of Francis, has been preserved in cod. 338 of the Sacro Convento in Assisi containing other important even autograph works by Francis.[893] Francis heavily relied on Psalm 21 while creating the compilation. Lines of the Psalm appear in the Completorium, Matutinum and the Tertia.[894] Furthermore, at the beginning of the Nona of Good Friday central place has been accorded to the two lines of the Psalm 21 containing the dog and the lion imagery: verse 17 is the second and verse 14 is the fifth line of the compilation.[895]

These occurrences testify to a general lively interest in the imagery of the Passion, and already integrate the lion and the dog metaphor in the text. These occurrences can be connected to the Franciscans and to Francis himself. Tentatively I would propose that the pseudo-sculptural decoration of the *praetorium* finds justification in this context. Already on a basic level, the hare chased by the dog and the calf captured by the lion enter into a visual interaction with Christ being flagellated on the order of Pilate.[896] These images relate to captivity and hostility, similarly to the monkey on a lead on the roof. This basic visual

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[889] "Et magis ac magis eorum augebatur dolor cum videbant Magistrum et Dominum suum sic uiliter trahi, et canes illos eum ad uictimam quasi agnum mansuetissimum sine resistencia sequi… Cum autem presentatur principibus et senioribus congregates, illi quasi leo capta preda exultant, ipsum examinant, falsos procurant testes…" Iohannes de Caulibus, *Meditaciones vite Christi*, 261-262. "And their sorrow grows greater as they see their Lord so miserably led away, (dragged by these dogs to the sacrifice, and almost like a lamb, unresistingly, following them.) … When he is presented to the chief (priests, Annas and Caiaphas,), and the (other) elders who were gathered together, they rejoice like lions that have taken their prey. Now they examine Him and procure false witnesses." Ragusa (ed.), *Meditation on the Life of Christ*, 325.

[890] "Reducto autem eo ad Pilatum, illi canes cum audacia magna atque constancia prosequuntur suas accusaciones: sed Pilatus, causam mortis non inueniens in eum, nitebatur eum dimittere." Iohannes de Caulibus, *Meditaciones vite Christi*, 265. "He is brought back to Pilate. Those dogs prosecute their accusation with great audacity and constancy; but Pilate, not finding cause for death in Him, tried to release Him." Ragusa (ed.), *Meditation on the Life of Christ*, 328.

[891] Francis of Assisi, "The Office of the Passion," in *The Saint*, Francis of Assisi: Early Documents 1, 139-157.

[892] Francis of Assisi, "The Office of the Passion," 139.

[893] 34v-42r, cod. 338, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento, Assisi. For the manuscript see: Luigi Pellegrini, *Frate Francesco e i suoi agiografi* (Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 2004), 371-423, esp. 386-397.

[894] At Compline: Ps 21, 12 as verse 5; at Matins: Ps 21, 10-12 as verse 4-5; at Terce: Ps 21, 8, 7 as verse 6-7. Francis of Assisi, "The Office of the Passion," 140, 142 and 144.

[895] Francis of Assisi, "The Office of the Passion," 146.

[896] Highlighted already by Gerhard Ruf. Ruf, *Das Grab des hl. Franziskus*, 93.

association is further strengthened by devotional texts of the Passion comparing the Jews to dogs and lions, and by a liturgical emphasis on the corresponding lines of Psalm 21. The pseudo-sculptural decoration in the *Flagellation* therefore may have the same role as the pseudo-fresco on the *Entry to Jerusalem*. It simultaneously repeats the main theme of the fresco (captivity and hostility) and adds to this meaning (the Jews are like dogs and lions).[897]

In the archival evidence the presence of Jewish moneylenders in Assisi can be asserted from the beginning of the 14th century although there may have been Jewish families living there before that.[898] There is no evidence that there were pogroms against them or any particular hostility towards them in the period in question and they were lending massive amounts of money to the Commune. There is even evidence of a friar leaving his Bible as a security deposit for the loan (though he did assure in the contract that he could claim the Bible back after paying the debt).[899] I leave open the possibility whether besides the exegesis on Psalm 21 and the Passion actual confrontations between the friars and the Jews in Assisi influenced the decoration.

In this interpretation of the Passion cycle in the left arm of the transept I attempted to find a compromise between the numerous trends leading to this work. Perhaps the most important of them derived from the legacy of Giotto, tangible in the Upper and Lower Church, already showing a full use of images-within-images for pictorial and iconographic purposes. Pietro Lorenzetti painted a full-size pseudo-bench next to a pseudo-altarpiece by the corner of the transept, an achievement which signals yet again his pictorial brilliance and the extent to which he had absorbed the implications of the realistic turn of the picture.[900] [Fig.6.20] The various images-within-images of the Passion cycle seem to absorb elements of Byzantine and Northern manuscript illustrations, late antique sarcophagi, and contemporary Gothic sculpture. The richness of this repertory is stunning (and perhaps opens up the question of whether Pietro had at his disposal materials already prepared by Giotto). I propose

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[897] There is an important difference between the images-within-images witnessed so far and ones by Pietro Lorenzetti. The pseudo-fresco on the *Entry to Jerusalem* and the pseudo-statuettes on the *Last Supper* and the *Flagellation* display a narrative. The previous examples belonged more to the genre of the *imago*. This did not exclude the possibility of iconographic implications, but these were more the juxtaposition of two meanings or a sort of complement to the principal meaning. In the Passion cycle apparently by embedding a narrative within a narrative there is a possibility of repeating the principal meaning. This narrative repetition leads to a structure which can perhaps be characterized as an intertextual (integration of *drôlerie*) or even hypertextual (superimposition of a text on another). For intertextuality and hypertextuality see: Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, tr. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1997), 1-7.

[898] Ariel Toaff, *The Jews in Medieval Assisi 1305-1487: A Social and Economic History of a Small Jewish Community in Italy* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1979), 3-11.

[899] Toaff, *The Jews in Medieval Assisi 1305-1487*, 8.

[900] Daniela Bohde, "Das verspätete Retabel: Überlegungen zur Funktion von Fresken und Tafelbildern in San Francesco in Assisi," in *Curiosa Poliphili: Festgabe für Horst Bredekamp zum 60*, ed. Nicole Hegener, Claudia Lichte and Bettina Marten (Leipzig: Seemann, 2007), 144-146. For the iconography of the altarpiece and its Hungarian-Angevin implications see: Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 321-322.

as well that the pseudo-sculptures and pseudo-frescoes were not only a series of pictorial bravura, but were integrated into a more systematic use of the imagery reflecting on the Passion of Christ, which based its context and its justification in contemporary Franciscan devotion. Together with the topographical references to the Holy Land and the typological references to the tormentors of Christ, Pietro Lorenzetti's fresco cycle in the Lower Church of St. Francis represents a visual exegesis of Passion.

6.2. The *Martyrdom of the Franciscans* for San Francesco in Siena

The *Martyrdom of the Franciscans* by Ambrogio Lorenzetti is one of his few surviving large-scale murals. It earned him a reputation in the Renaissance paralleled only to Giotto's.[901] The fresco is displayed today in the Bandini Piccolimini chapel in San Francesco in Siena, where it was moved after being discovered under whitewash in 1855 in the chapterhouse.[902] It had long been believed to be the one which Lorenzo Ghiberti described and attributed to Ambrogio Lorenzetti in his *Commentaries*, but the discovery of some fresco fragments in the cloister and the identification of the storm-scene revealed that there was yet another martyrdom scene in the cloister as well, corresponding to Ghiberti's description.[903] The fresco in the cloister was part of a larger cycle displaying the story of the Franciscan friar Peter of Siena and his companions which ended in their martyrdom on 11 April 1321 in Thana in India.[904]

As for the martyrdom in the chapterhouse, it presumably depicts the martyrdom of six Franciscan missionaries that took place on 24 June 1339 in the friary of Almalyq at the order of the Mongol Khan Ali.[905] The papal legate John of Marignolli (himself a Franciscan friar at Santa Croce in Florence) uncovered the slaughter in 1340 during his visit. The earliest written account of the event can be found in the *Chronicle* of John of Vitodura written in 1348.[906] On the fresco, six Franciscans (three decapitated, three to be decapitated) and a youngster on the right throwing a stone at them appear. These are details corresponding closely to the earliest known description.[907] [Fig.6.21] The khan sits on his throne in the center of the mural surrounded by his men. Judging by their clothes both the ruler and his men are Mongols.[908]

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[901] Seidel, *Italian art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, vol. 1: Painting, 399.
[902] Gaetano Milanesi, "Gli Avanzi delle Pitture di Ambrogio Lorenzetti nel Capitolo di S. Francesco di Siena," in ibid, *Sulla Storia dell Arte Toscana* (Siena: Lazzeri, 1873), 357-361.
[903] Seidel, *Italian art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, vol. 1: Painting, 399-402. Ghiberti, *I commentarii*, 40-41.
[904] "Passio fratris Petri de Senis," in *Analecta Franciscana 3*, ed. Friars of College St. Bonaventure (Florence: Quarrachi, 1897), 604-613. Seidel, *Italian art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, vol. 1: Painting, 402-404.
[905] Burke, "The Martyrdom of the Franciscans by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 478-480.
[906] Burke, "The Martyrdom of the Franciscans by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 480-483.
[907] Burke, "The Martyrdom of the Franciscans by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 482.
[908] Burke, "The Martyrdom of the Franciscans by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 475.

John of Vitodura also noted that after Pentecost the Vicar of the Region of Tartary petitioned Clement VI in Avignon in 1343 to have the six friars killed in Almalyq canonized. Thus, by this time at the latest the news of the event were widely disseminated.[909] It is unclear whether the martyrdom frescoes in the chapterhouse and in the cloister were carried out in the same campaign or whether they were two distinct commissions. There are topographical connections between the two scenes since as the friars walked in the cloister they could already see the mural in the chapterhouse through an open window.[910] Perhaps the decision was made to commemorate the story of Peter of Siena earlier when the news of the Almalyq martyrdom reached the convent. The mural decoration of the cloister dates to around 1340 and the first half of the 1340s seems to be a plausible date for the *Martyrdom* fresco in the chapterhouse as well.[911]

The khan's palace has a lavish pseudo-sculptural decoration including four dog-like gargoyles and seven statues standing on pedestals on the top of the three tympanums and the four pillars of the building. Compared to the statuettes discussed so far, they are significantly larger. Five of the statues have an animal by their feet, and one has a *putto*. [Fig.6.23-24] The statue at the center, of which only the feet are visible, is depicted alone. The interpretation of these details has been and will remain an iconographic challenge, since the figures display a richness of attributes that seems to suggest an elaborate meaning, but at the same time, they have resisted every systematic attempt to decipher it. With regard to the four dog-gargoyles, the question is whether they should be regarded as a generic decoration of the building or whether they perhaps allude to the tormentors of Christ as described in Psalm 21:17 and thus they indicate the Mongols as the tormentors of the Franciscan missionaries.[912] [Fig.6.22]

The question is not only whether the statues reflect upon the scene beneath because, notwithstanding the richness of their attributes, even their basic identification is problematic. Three main interpretative frameworks have been developed in order to understand them. 1) The statues are representations of virtues and exemplify the sacrifice of the friars.[913] 2) The statues are representations of vices and exemplify the wickedness of the Mongols.[914] 3) They represent the way the virtues (the figures) can overcome the vices (the animals at their

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[909] Burke, "The Martyrdom of the Franciscans by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 482.

[910] Seidel, *Italian art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, vol. 1: Painting, 404-405.

[911] Seidel, *Italian art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, vol. 1: Painting, 405; Burke, "The Martyrdom of the Franciscans by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 482-483.

[912] Maurice L. Shapiro, "The virtues and vices in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Franciscan Martyrdom," *The art bulletin* 46 (1964): 368, note 8; Burke, "The Martyrdom of the Franciscans by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 483.

[913] George Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 81-83.

[914] Shapiro, "The virtues and vices in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Franciscan Martyrdom,"367-372; Chiara Frugoni, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti," in *Pietro e Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, ed. Chiara Frugoni (Florence: Le Lettere, 2002), 60-61.

feet).[915] I believe that none of these clusters explains these details convincingly. As I cannot come up with a satisfactory explanation, I will revise the previous interpretations statue by statue and highlight the problematic points in each interpretation.

Because of the structure of the roof, the statues are placed in three rows. The middle one in the center is cut off by the border of the fresco. [Fig.6.25] The figure has no animal by its feet. Its identification is largely based on the general interpretative framework adopted for the statues. Propositions include the personification of *Good Government* (as it holds the highest place among the virtues), *Envy* (*Invidia – invisus* – unseen and therefore truncated), and *Love* or *Charity* (overcoming the *Envy* of the Mongols and represented only as feet which bring the faithful to church).[916] All these suggestions are dependent on the interpretations of the other details.

The next level consists of the statues of two male warriors. There is a cone on the shield of the right figure. [Fig.6.26] His helmet covers large part of his face. He lifts the rod above his head and behind his feet lies a horse. The left figure has a large shield and wears a helmet and a breastplate. [Fig.6.27] Remnants remain of a long rod or perhaps a spear in his right hand. There is a sitting lion at his feet. The identification of these figures with Moses and Joshua cannot be sustained because of the absence of the usual attributes (tablets of the Law and Sun) and the armor contradicts interpreting the figure as Moses.[917] Though the left figure was considered to be Alexander the Great and simultaneously *Pride* and *Misericorde*, the lion would rather suggest *Fortitude*.[918] The helmet and the shield are puzzling elements which shed doubt on the identification of the other warrior with Mars, although at the moment this still remains the most plausible proposition.[919]

Below the male warriors there are two pairs of female statues. The figure on the far right has an arrow and bow. [Fig.6.28] She wears a robe and a laurel wreath. There is a string twisted around her biceps. A *putto* stands by her leg. The bow and the arrow identify the

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[915] Burke, "The Martyrdom of the Franciscans by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 483-491.

[916] For Good Government: Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, 82. For Envy: Shapiro, "The virtues and vices in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Franciscan Martyrdom," 371. For Charity: Burke, "The Martyrdom of the Franciscans by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 489-491.

[917] Rowley suggestion was based on the *Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple* by Benedetto of Bindo in the main chapel of sacristy in the Cathedral of Siena. Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, 82. This fresco is dated between 1409-1412. A horse appears above Moses and a lion over Joshua. Moses and Joshua are allusions to the *Presentation to the Temple* panel by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, and the horse and the lion are presumably retakes from the façade of the Cathedral of Siena. The absence of a Sun makes unlikely that the right statue represents Joshua, and thus, Burke's proposition that the figure represents Fortitude is improbable. Burke, "The Martyrdom of the Franciscans by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 488.

[918] For Pride see: Shapiro, "The virtues and vices in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Franciscan Martyrdom," 370. For Misericorde see: Burke, "The Martyrdom of the Franciscans by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 489. For Fortitude see: Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 141.

[919] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 141. Shapiro's suggestion about Mars' association with lust seems unlikely. Shapiro, "The virtues and vices in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Franciscan Martyrdom," 369-370.

figure as Diana but the *putto* more as Venus thus permitting a wide range of associations from *Lust* to *Chastity*, or even *Chastity* overcoming *Lechery*.[920] The next figure holds a head and has a rod (and not a dagger as has often been suggested). [Fig.6.29] An animal, perhaps a wolf or a fox, sits by her feet. It has been suggested that the head is Gorgon's head, thus, identifying the figure as *Minerva* (Wisdom) or *Bellona* (Wrath), or even *Humility* overcoming *Pride*.[921] As the figure has a rod and not a dagger, it is less evident that she has just cut off Gorgon's head; furthermore its hair is more reminiscent of the rays of Sun then the snakes of the Medusa. On the other side, the next figure carries two pitchers which she is emptying. [Fig.6.30] There seems to be a bear by her feet. The identification with *Temperance* is problematic, since she should be shown mixing the wine with water and not pouring the pitchers out.[922] Similarly problematic is the proposition about *Gluttony*.[923] *Sobriety* overcoming *Gluttony* would correspond to the action and the bear as an attribute of *Gluttony* as well.[924] The figure on the far left holds two bowls (pans) in her outstretched hand. [Fig.6.31] She has a dog by her feet. The action of balancing or weighing could correspond to *Justice*, although she is usually shown with a scale and not acting as one herself.[925] These are presumably not the rich plates held by *Avarice*.[926] *Equity* overcoming *Wrath* would correspond to the main figure, but the dog as a symbol of wrath is more problematic.[927]

I cannot propose an interpretation to tackle these problems here. There is no doubt that these details represent a key monument in the use of images-within-images in the Trecento and this makes these interpretative difficulties all the more frustrating. I would like to highlight, however, that the palace of the khan and its pseudo-sculptural decoration conforms to the features of depicted palaces in the material. The khan, similarly to Herod or the sultan, is a secular power-holder and the decorated palace may be meant to express his status. The hierarchical positioning of these statues is perhaps reminiscent of Roman coins.[928] The richness of the attributes perhaps testifies to a process similar to the elaborate statuettes painted by Giotto on the palace of Herod in the Peruzzi chapel in Santa Croce, where the details apparently still served decorative purposes. But even if the statuettes fit into this context, the possibility of iconographic implications cannot be excluded.

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[920] Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, 82; Shapiro, "The virtues and vices in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Franciscan Martyrdom," 369; Burke, "The Martyrdom of the Franciscans by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 488.
[921] Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, 82; Shapiro, "The virtues and vices in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Franciscan Martyrdom," 369; Burke, "The Martyrdom of the Franciscans by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 487-488.
[922] Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, 82.
[923] Shapiro, "The virtues and vices in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Franciscan Martyrdom," 369.
[924] Burke, "The Martyrdom of the Franciscans by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 487.
[925] Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, 82.
[926] Shapiro, "The virtues and vices in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Franciscan Martyrdom," 368-369.
[927] Burke, "The Martyrdom of the Franciscans by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 487.
[928] For statues on coins see: Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society*, 208-214.

6.3. The *Presentation* Panel for Cathedral of Siena

The *Presentation to the Temple* by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, now in the Uffizi in Florence has long been recognized as one of the chief works of the Sienese master.[929] [Fig.6.32] The panel is signed and according to its inscription was finished in 1342.[930] Originally, it was the central panel of the St. Crescentius altar in Santa Maria Assunta Cathedral at Siena, flanked by the imago of St. Crescentius on the right and St. Michael on the left. Its predella scenes were dedicated to the life of St. Crescentius.[931] Furthermore, this altarpiece was part of a complex project focusing on the rebuilding and the liturgical-topographical reorganization of the cathedral. It has been already suggested that Ambrogio's panel is tied to both processes. In terms of topography the depicted architectural setting of the panel incorporates elements of the sculptural decoration of the cathedral. In this sense it recalls and reflects on the very space for which it was intended.[932] In terms of iconography, the *Presentation to the Temple*, as standing in for the *Purification of the Virgin*, was part of a series of altarpieces dedicated to the major Marian feasts.[933]

The abundant pseudo-sculptural and pseudo-mosaic decoration of the architectural setting on Ambrogio's panel is a crucial element in the understanding of both topographic and the iconographic aspects. On the one hand, this pseudo-decoration recalls certain elements of the cathedral, and therefore to some extent it makes a realistic reference to the painting. [Fig.6.33] On the other hand, these details do not faithfully copy the decoration, and in some instances they seem to interact with the iconographic content of the work itself. The pseudo-decoration therefore may have a double orientation, by which it simultaneously means to maintain a dynamic reference to the actual sculptural decoration of the cathedral and enrich the iconography of the picture. Although some aspects of these questions have already been discussed in the secondary literature, no systematic study has been dedicated so far to the

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[929] Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, 18-25; Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, 140-142.

[930] AMBROSIUS LAURENTII DE SENIS FECIT OPUS ANNO DOMINI MCCCXLII. It can be found on the bottom frame. See: *Gli Uffizi*, 342, P903.

[931] The wings and the predella scenes are lost. In a footnote, Elizabeth H. Beatson announced that in a forthcoming article she would argue that the *Allegory of Redemption* (Siena, inv. no. 92) was in fact part of the predella. Elizabeth H. Beatson, Norman E. Muller and Judith B. Steinhoff, "The St. Victor Altarpiece in Siena Cathedral: A Reconstruction," *The Art Bulletin* 68 (1986): 621, note 67. This article has not been published. Maginnis later argued in favor of this suggestion. Hayden B. J. Maginnis, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Presentation in the Temple," *Studi di Storia dell'Arte* 2 (1991): 35-36. Yet, he already recognized that the *Allegory of Redemption* is somewhat tall for a predella. Furthermore, the predella was presumably reserved for the martyrdom of St. Crescentius. Monika Butzek, "Le pale di Sant'Ansano e degli altri Protettori nel Duomo di Siena: Una storia documentaria," in *Simone Martini e l'Annunciazione degli Uffizi*, ed. Alessandro Cecchi (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2001), 35-36.

[932] The most detailed discussion of the problem can be found in: Maginnis, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Presentation in the Temple," 36-39.

[933] Butzek, "Le pale di Sant'Ansano e degli altri Protettori nel Duomo di Siena: Una storia documentaria," 38-44.

phenomenon and possible conclusions have been blocked because of mistaken identifications. The aim of this subchapter is to comprehensively investigate the pseudo-decoration of the work. Furthermore, I have attempted to understand these elements in the wider context of the rebuilding of the cathedral and the liturgical reorganization of the choir.

The relation between the architectural décor of the *Presentation to the Temple* and the cathedral of Siena is mainly problematic because of two things. First, neither Ambrogio nor any of his contemporaries intended to create an exact photographic copy of an existing building since in the first half of the Trecento, references to architecture were handled more freely. In this respect, deviations from the prototype or rearranging elements do not necessarily imply an intentional act on the behalf of the master. Second, at the time of the painting of the *Presentation to the Temple* the cathedral of Siena was more a work in progress then a finished building. In August 1339, the commune of Siena approved a huge plan envisaging the building of a new cathedral of which the old one would have served only as a transept.[934] [Fig.6.34] Although the date for the completion of the panel in the inscription is 1342, payment in the accounts to Ambrogio, and presumably not the first payment in relation to the panel already appears in January 1340.[935] This may signal that at the time Ambrogio was working on the panel, the cathedral, which he wished to refer to and incorporate some elements of, was undergoing extensive reconsideration. This means that the referent for Ambrogio's depicted building had an ambiguous character so that any mentions concerning the cathedral should be understood in this wider context of planning, where the perception of actually existing elements of the building must have been mixed with competing visions of the new.[936] A drawing, perhaps for the façade of the Baptistery, in the collection of the *Opera del Duomo* in Siena attests to this changing context of planning.[937] [Fig.6.35]

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[934] Altogether 212 votes against 132. Andrea Giorgi and Stefano Moscadelli, *Costruire una cattedrale: l'Opera di Santa Maria di Siena tra XII e XIV secolo* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2005), 96-97.

[935] Maginnis, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Presentation in the Temple," 35. Butzek, "Le pale di Sant'Ansano e degli altri Protettori nel Duomo di Siena: Una storia documentaria," 36. "*Anco a maestro Ambruogio Lorençi dipentore per parte de'denari che die averre per la dipentura dela tavola di San Crescienço in trenta fiorini d'oro, come apare ne' libro dele memorie de' patti dela detta tavola.*" Giorgi and Moscadelli, *Costruire una cattedrale: l'Opera di Santa Maria di Siena tra XII e XIV secolo*, 282, note 503. (AOMS 331, 97r.)

[936] The idea of modeling the Temple after the Cathedral of Siena could already be found in an initial form on Duccio's *Maestà*. The *Presentation to the Temple* and the *Child Jesus Teaching in the Temple* both contain a complex reference to the architecture of the temple. While both scenes take place in a well-defined place, in front of the tabernacle and in a courtyard furnished with chairs and stalls. In both cases the space is opened up with the introduction of other architectural elements. In the *Presentation* these are the two side arches and the unfinished main arch above the tabernacle, in the *Teaching* these are the arches of the nave. The polychrome red-green decoration of the arches connects these solutions. In both cases, these additional details allude to the generic architecture of a Christian church, and recall by virtue of the polychrome arches, as has been proposed, the cathedral of Siena. See: Bellosi, *Duccio: la Maestà*, 18.

[937] Siena, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, inv. 20. The drawing is dated to around 1339. See: Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt, *Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen, 1300 – 1450,* vol. I/1 (Berlin: Mann, 1968), 97-98.

The *Presentation to the Temple* takes place in a three-aisle church, of which both the interior and a part of the façade are represented. The figurative decoration of the exterior consists of pseudo-statuettes. There are three winged, clothed figurines shown on top of the aisles holding the same festoon in their hand. The middle figure is made of gold while the figures on the two sides also had some gold decorations on their clothes. [Fig.6.36] At each junction of the nave and the aisles there is a statuette of a lion grasping a festoon in its mouth. [Fig.6.37-38] Furthermore, on each side of the main arch in the nave statuettes of five crawling dragon are shown approaching the central gold figure.

Maginnis proposed that the angels and the lions might refer to similar elements on the façade of the cathedral.[938] The building of the western part, including the sculptural decoration, may have been finished before 1317, when the workshop of the cathedral started an extension towards the east.[939] In all probability around 1340, Ambrogio could see the statues of lions executed by Giovanni Pisano flanking the main portal at the architrave level, before1297.[940] [Fig.6.39] Similarly, the statues of angels on the two side-gables and on the top would have been accessible to him.[941] [Fig.6.40]

However, on the façade of the cathedral these statues remained disjunctive units that may even belong to different levels of the building. Ambrogio decided to ignore the entire upper part of the façade and created a flat and slightly differentiated structure with an elevated nave. This decision allowed the polygonal dome to be shown on the one hand. On the other hand, by moving the statuettes of the lions to the same level as that of the angels, it was possible to unite them into a single visual motif, achieved with the long festoons interconnecting them. The ten crawling dragons, which had no prototypes on the façade, were integrated as well, since they flank and thus, highlight, the central angel. Furthermore, the adoption of the festoon resulted in giving the scattered sculptural elements of the cathedral a classical tone making them reminiscent of a triumphal iconography. As Benton argued, this solution of connecting the statuettes with a festoon on top of the buildings had been abundantly used in Classical wall-painting and it was adopted by Trecento painters.[942] The classical influence on the details may also be detected in the energetic movements of the angels on the sides and even in the painting technique used to execute the gold robe of the

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[938] Maginnis, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Presentation in the Temple," 37.

[939] Antje Middeldorf-Kosegarten, *Sienesische Bildhauer am Duomo Vecchio: Studien zur Skulptur in Siena 1250-1330*, (Munich: Bruckmann, 1984), 28-33; Matthias Quast, "La facciata occidentale del Duomo vecchio: l'architettura," in *La facciata del duomo di Siena: iconografia, stile, indagini storiche e scientifiche*, ed. Mario Lorenzoni (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2007), 104-115.

[940] Tigler, "Siena 1284-1297: Giovanni Pisano e le sculture della parte bassa della facciata," 131-136.

[941] These statues were perhaps executed with the permission of Giovanni Pisano (around 1295) by a local Sienese master, already involved in the construction of the façade under Giovanni. Middeldorf-Kosegarten, *Sienesische Bildhauer am Duomo Vecchio*, 30-33, 74, 97, and 114-119.

[942] Benton, "Some Ancient Mural Motifs in Italian Painting around 1300," 151-176, esp. 151-156 and 162-163.

central angel.[943] Either Ambrogio had direct access to Classical examples or he was influenced by Giotto's more profane handling of the motif on the *Banquet of Herod* in the Peruzzi chapel at Santa Croce in Florence.

This solution signals how Ambrogio managed to merge two seemingly distinct sources of inspiration. On the one hand, he successfully maintained a reference to the façade of the cathedral by incorporating some of its elements. On the other hand, he embedded these components in a general visual framework taken either directly or indirectly from Classical painting. In this sense he reworked the image of the cathedral and created a classicized version of it. This classical tuning of the building aligns with the idea that Ambrogio was personally interested in classical sculpture. It also appears that classical statues were seemingly tolerated and even appreciated in Siena. Lorenzo Ghiberti reported on an anecdote in which the Commune of Siena re-erected a statue Lysippus discovered while digging a foundation. The beauty of this statue enchanted Ambrogio to such extent that he even made a drawing of it.[944] The statue was destroyed some time later, after a citizen accused his compatriots of idolatry in relation to this statue, blaming on it a bitter defeat against Florence.[945] The tolerance towards and appreciation of Classical art marked certain details of the *Presentation* as well.

For the interior of the depicted church Ambrogio adopted a similar strategy of merging existing elements with imagined ones, yet the iconography lacked classical references. Here the figurative decoration consists of three pseudo-mosaics on the lunettes of the depressed triumphal arches. The one in the nave represents two angels with multicolored wings, wrapped in blue, carrying a bust of the Lord in a medallion. [Fig.6.41] Only half the figures above the aisle are visible. They presumably represent prophets each carrying a scroll with inscriptions. [Fig.6.42-43] Their similar blue dresses and their red shoes or stockings signal the visual interconnectedness of these elements. The fine draperies of the clothes give dynamism to these representations as well.

The depressed arch might have its origin in contemporary Sienese architecture.[946] The interior decoration of the church did not include mosaics.[947] Yet, even without there being any

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[943] This may be taken so far as to suggest that the actual execution of the drapery of the central figure recalls Classical models. See: Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, 20 and 96-97; Benton, "Some Ancient Mural Motifs in Italian Painting around 1300," 163, no. 37.

[944] Ghiberti learned the story from a monk in Certosa, who had the drawing of Ambrogio. Ghiberti, *I commentarii*, 63; Henk Van Os, *Sienese altarpieces 1215-1460: form, content, function*, vol. 2 (Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis, 1990), 32-33; and Seidel, *Italian art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, vol. 1: Painting, 303-305.

[945] Ghiberti, *I commentarii*, 63; Os, *Sienese altarpieces 1215-1460: form, content, function*, vol. 2, 32-33.

[946] Maginnis argued that it recalls the façade of the Palazzo Pubblico and side portal of the unfinished new cathedral. Maginnis, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Presentation in the Temple," 37.

actual source for the motif in the cathedral, Ambrogio's solution is plausible in terms of it being a generic church decoration. The motif appears elsewhere in his *oeuvre*. The triumphal arch in the *Consecration of St. Nicholas* is decorated using a similar solution.[948] [Fig.6.44] Here, the central figure in the medallion is less legible, and underneath it there is a fine gold triptych showing St. John the Baptist on the left. [Fig.6.45] These elements contribute to the solemnity of the church interior. The two inscriptions of the prophets in the *Presentation* panel succinctly express the generic nature of the representation as well. Their script is recognizably not Latin. The letters might have been intended to recall Greek or Hebrew, but the scripts as such do not make any sense.[949] Thus, the aim of the script might have been to give the impression of a non-Latin text although no exact message was specified. Altogether this may mean the pseudo-mosaics were intended primarily to provide the building with a solemn interior including the image of the Lord and the representation of prophets.

The most emphasized elements of the figurative decoration are the two statues on top of two columns in the foreground of the panel. These statues belong to the interior and the exterior of the church, since the columns on which they stand are columns in the nave although they seem to appear on the façade of the church. Thus, the two statues merge the space of the panel with the space of the viewer as well. This emphasis on the plane of the picture and the bridging of the pictorial and "real" space make these statues an example of pictorial reflexivity. Not only do they depict the decoration of the Temple depicted, but also indicate attention to the spatial characteristics of the way the picture was to be perceived.

Ambrogio respected the coherence of the motif to such extent that he put similar statues on the left and right sides of the building seen through an opening. These figures cannot be identified and just the cloak and part of the floating scroll is visible. In this respect, this seems to be a similar play as we have seen with the illegible script on the mosaics. The two statues at the front are clearly identifiable and were intended to be identified, since the names of both of them can be read on their bases.[950] The left figure is Moses (MOISES), bearded and wearing a cloak with gold edges, he holds the two tablets of the Law. [Fig.6.46]

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[947] The western façade did have at that time mosaics, but they were integrated to the Marian iconography. Middeldorf-Kosegarten, *Sienesische Bildhauer am Duomo Vecchio*, 97-99.

[948] The panel was part of the wing of the St. Nicholas altarpiece, originally perhaps from the Church of San Procolo in Florence. It is dated around 1332. Frugoni, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 163-168. This church played an important role in the political life of Florence. It was rebuilt in 1278 and perhaps between 1282 and 1298 and served as a seat of the College of the Priors of the Guilds. *San Procolo*, Chiese Minori di Firenze 2 (Florence: Gli Arcipressi, ?), 33-34.

[949] Rowley mentioned that they signal an interest in Greek and Hebrew scripts, and although in many cases they are simply fakes, here they make sense. He did not specify what sense however. Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, 20. The script is definitely not Latin, Greek or Hebrew.

[950] For the identification see: Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, 19; Luciano Bellosi, "La 'Presentazione al Tempio' di Ambrogio Lorenzetti," in *Letture in San Pier Scheraggio* (Firenze: Centro Di, 1991), 35; Frugoni, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 171.

The right figure is Joshua (GIEXUE) in armor, holding the shining Sun in his left hand and a long lance in his right hand.[951] [Fig.6.47]

Maginnis proposed that these statues, which he incorrectly identified as Joshua and David, are loosely based on the statues of the prophets in the architrave zone.[952] The general part of this proposition is entirely correct. The placement of the two statues on top of the columns, even if there is no gate represented, undoubtedly recalls the façade of the cathedral. Furthermore, Ambrogio adopted the exchange of the gazes as well, which was the main morphological organizational principle of the façade.[953] [Fig.6.48]

The statue of Moses on Ambrogio's painting is comparable to the statue of Moses by Giovanni Pisano located on the southern gate.[954] [Fig.6.49] Both turn slightly to the left, and both wear a toga and a slightly different crown or diadem.[955] The most significant difference between them is that Giovanni's Moses holds a single scroll referring to Deuteronomy 33:12: QUASI / IN TALAMO / TOTA (DIE) / MORABIT(UR).[956] This statue together with its inscription was part of the program of the façade about the revelation given to the prophets, other figures in the Old Testament and to the pagans before the birth of Christ.[957] Yet Ambrogio's Moses carries two tablets bearing a similarly illegible script like the prophets on the arches. Since the figure is identified on its base and the iconography is traditional, these tablets must represent the Tablets of the Law.

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[951] The spelling of the name is uncommon, especially because of the "X." Dante in the *Divina Commedia* spelt Joshua as *Iosuè* (Par. XVIII, 38). A document dated to 7 May 1426 and related to purchasing paper for the *Story of Joshua* to be shown on the pavement of the Cathedral spelt the name *Giesue*. Gail Aronow, "Paper and the pavement, 1423-26: Maestro Giovanni, Sassetta and Fogli Reali," in *Studi interdisciplinari sul pavimento del Duomo di Siena: iconografia, stile, indagini scientifiche*, ed. Marilena Caciorgna, Roberto Guerrini, and Mario Lorenzoni (Siena: Cantagalli, 2005), 27-28 and 35. Although this record postdates by more than eighty years the inscription on the panel, it comes from the same Cathedral. The use of "X" instead of "S" might have to do something with Bologna. (Oral communication of Monika Butzek.)

[952] Maginnis, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Presentation in the Temple," 37.

[953] For the organization of the façade see: Tigler, "Siena 1284-1297: Giovanni Pisano e le sculture della parte bassa della facciata," 136.

[954] Tigler, "Siena 1284-1297: Giovanni Pisano e le sculture della parte bassa della facciata," 136.

[955] Pisano's Moses is perhaps wearing a horned mitre. The one on the painting is more enigmatic. For the horned representation of Moses see: Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California, 1993), 82-89.

[956] Middeldorf-Kosegarten, *Sienesische Bildhauer am Duomo Vecchio*, 83; Marilena Caciorgna, "Corpus Titulorum Senensium: Le iscrizioni della facciata del Duomo di Siena," in *La facciata del duomo di Siena: iconografia, stile, indagini storiche e scientifiche*, ed. Mario Lorenzoni (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2007), 87-90.

[957] The sermon *De Symbolo contra Iudeos, Paganos et Arianos* of Pseudo-Augustine might have been the sources of the iconography. Middeldorf-Kosegarten, *Sienesische Bildhauer am Duomo Vecchio*, 75-77 and 84-87; Tigler, "Siena 1284-1297: Giovanni Pisano e le sculture della parte bassa della facciata," 135-136.

Unlike the statue of Moses, the statue of Joshua had no prototype on the façade.[958] Furthermore, in the case of Joshua, Ambrogio did not even attempted to follow the general features of Giovanni Pisano's cloaked statuettes. Instead he decided to display Joshua as a fierce soldier. This representation has its sources in the traditional Joshua iconography where Joshua, either as an imago or in battle, wears armor and carries a lance.[959] Furthermore, Ambrogio opted for a dynamic *contrapposto* for the figure as he looks back towards Moses. His breastplate leaves his belly bare and his light cloak waves in an imagined wind. Because of these details, the statue of Joshua cannot even be regarded as a generic retake of the statues of the façade and it clearly differs from the painted statue of Moses on the panel as well. The statue of Joshua is in fact not a statue or one which could ever have been sculpted.[960]

The comparison of the two prominent statues in the *Presentation to the Temple* with the statues on the façade of the cathedral reveals important differences. With the Moses, evidently based on the figure in the façade, the inscription alluding to the protection of the Virgin Mary is replaced by the Tablets of the Law. Furthermore, instead of coupling him with Solomon or David, Ambrogio opted for an elaborate representation of Joshua, which was never part of the sculptural program of the cathedral. These alterations therefore undermine the reference of the painting to the cathedral, and since both statues are named on their base and carry their traditional attributes, these alterations added emphasis for the viewer. The plausible explanation for these highlighted and intentional deviations could be that the statues of Moses and Joshua obey a different logic than being mere topographic references to the cathedral and this different logic is presumably iconographic.

Attempts have been already made to grasp the underlying iconographic motivation for the statues. Rowley proposed that they are a dual allusion to the purification prescribed by the Law (Moses) and the deliverance of the Jews (Joshua). For Rowley, this dualism reiterated the message of the two prophets in the spandrels, where Moses holds an inscription quoting the Leviticus 12:8 and Malachi one referring to verse 3:1 of his book.[961] Following a similar

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[958] The statue of Jesus, son of Sirach, was wrongly interpreted as the statue of Joshua, and this interpretation was widely disseminated by Keller. Harald Keller, "Die Bauplastik des Sieneser Doms," *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der Biblioteca Hertziana* 1 (1937): 162. For the correct identification see: Middeldorf-Kosegarten, *Sienesische Bildhauer am Duomo Vecchio*, 83; Tigler, "Siena 1284-1297: Giovanni Pisano e le sculture della parte bassa della facciata," 136.

[959] The Sun in his hand refers to his battle against the Amorrhites (Joshua: 10, 12-13). This scene figures among the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. Joshua as imago in armor, with a lance and holding the Sun appears on folio 4v of the Rabbula Gospels, next to the canon tables. *Il Tetravangelo di Rabbula: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 1.56*, ed. Massimo Bernabò (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2008), 87.

[960] In Ambrogio's *oeuvre* it is closer to the two soldiers, similarly shown with breastplate and lance but carrying a shield, on top of the palace of the Sultan on the *Martyrdom of the Franciscans*. For the discussion of the iconography of these statues see: Burke, "The Martyrdom of the Franciscans by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 488-489.

[961] The scroll of Anna also alludes to redemption by the Savior. Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, 19. I will return to the inscription in detail.

line of reasoning to some extent Bellosi argued that Moses highlights the importance of obedience to the Law while Joshua is present partly because he was the successor to Moses and partly because he prefigured Christ in his name (Giosuè=Gesù) and in his deeds.[962] Both Rowley and Bellosi argued that the statues emphasize the origins of the *Presentation to the Temple* in the Old Testament (Moses) and its eschatological dimensions (Joshua). On the one hand, the legitimacy of this intuition has been further confirmed by comparison of the statues with the façade of the cathedral. On the other hand, this intuition establishes only the general direction of the possible meaning of the details. Analysis of the sources of the solution and its significance in the wider iconographic-liturgical context of the cathedral is lacking.

I would add to this that the single most important authority to discuss the interdependent role of Moses and Joshua in the context of the circumcision was Bede the Venerable. The last of the Church Fathers devoted long passages to the events that took place when Jesus was presented in the Temple and to their meaning in his commentary on the second chapter of the Gospel according to Luke.[963] Elaborating on the origins of the circumcision, Bede pointed out that although Moses received the Law, under his dominion he had no one circumcised except his son. In fact, it was Joshua who, after crossing the Jordan, circumcised the people.[964] Bede was puzzled how the precept of the Lord could remain unpracticed for forty-six years under Moses, breaking the Law and risking the salvation of Israel.[965] As a solution he proposed that this historic event in fact prefigured the way Mosaic Law was superimposed by the truth and grace of Christ, similarly to the way Moses preached about circumcision and Joshua performed and accomplished it.[966] Therefore, in Bede's interpretation Joshua was paralleled to Jesus, since both of them brought to completion the Law given to Moses.

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[962] Bellosi, "La 'Presentazione al Tempio' di Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 35.

[963] Bede, the Venerable, "In Lucae evangelium expositio," in *Opera exegetica 3*, ed. D. Hurst, Corpus Christianorum 120 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1960), 56-70.

[964] "Verum quia de circumcisione sermo est libet inquirere quare moyses ipse qui legem circumcisionis et patribus a deo datam et sibi toties inculcatam refert toto ducatus sui tempore neminem circumcidi uoluerit praeter unum solummodo filium suum quem mater arrepta petra acutissima ne a domino feriretur circumcidit sed omnes qui in heremo nati sunt a iosue circumcidendos reliquerit morem uidelicet diuinitus imperatum quadringentis et sex annis obseruatum et auita sibi successione contraditum annis quadraginta continuis intermittens." Bede, "In Lucae evangelium expositio," 59.

[965] "Nequaquam hoc frustra sed magno mysterio factum crediderim." Bede, "In Lucae evangelium expositio," 59.

[966] "De quo saluo maiore intellectu dicam breuiter ipse quod sentio. Moyses circumcisionem praedicat sed iosue perficit quia lex per moysen data est gratia et ueritas per iesum christum facta est nihil que prodest littera iubens nisi adfuerit gratia iuuans. Moyse praedicante praeputium crescit quia sicut apostolus ait: ex operibus legis non iustificabitur omnis caro coram illo, per legem enim cognitio peccati; et alibi: vsque ad legem enim peccatum erat in mundo, peccatum autem non inputatur cum lex non est; et iterum: lex autem subintrauit ut abundaret delictum; nam concupiscentiam nesciebam nisi lex diceret, non concupisces; occasione autem accepta peccatum per mandatum operatum est in me omnem concupiscentiam. Sed iosue populo in terram repromissionis inducto praeputium quod moyse uiuente adcreuerat cultris petrinis incidit quia ubi abundauit peccatum superabundauit gratia. Nam quare petrinis ad circumcidendum iosue cultris utatur intellegit qui legit quia petra erat christus, et super hanc, inquit, petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam." Bede, "In Lucae evangelium expositio," 59.

Bede did not include this passage in his *Homilies on the Gospel*.[967] This proposition was not immediately disseminated widely through Bede's own choice and it remained "locked" in the commentary. Nevertheless, the idea was later widely publicized, since Heiric of Auxerre included a paraphrased version of it in his *Homilies for the Year*, specifically into the homily on the *Octave of the Lord*, which traditionally represented *Circumcision*.[968] Heiric restated Bede's proposition straightforwardly and even added a succinct formulation that "in mystical terms Moses signifies the Law and Joshua Christ."[969] Bede's original idea was thus channeled through Heiric's intervention into one of the widest possible media of the medieval world.

The statues of Moses and Joshua on the *Presentation to the Temple* can be understood as an expression of this idea in at least two ways. In historical terms the two statues narrate the legal and practical establishment of the circumcision. Moses shown holding the tablets represents the Law which was given to him and which contains the command on circumcision. Joshua represents the practical establishment of the rite, which took place under his reign. On the other hand, in mystical terms, the two statues embody the superimposition of the Mosaic Law by Christ just as Joshua brought Moses' deeds to completion.[970]

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[967] It does not figure in the homily "In octava nativitatis Domini." Bede, the Venerable, *Opera homiletica et rhythmica*, ed. D. Hurst, Corpus Christianorum 122 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1955), 73-79.

[968] Heiric of Auxerre, *Homiliae per circulum anni*, ed. Roland Demeulenaere, Corpus Christianorum 116 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1992), 127-131.

[969] "Huc accedit et ad quaerendum mouet, quid sit quod legimus populum israeliticum in deserto per quadraginta annos mansisse, et nullum a Moyse intra tot annos circumcisum, nisi unum filium solummodo Moysi; mortuus est Moyses et in loco eius successit Iosue, qui populum Iordanem transduxit et cunctos mox cultellis petrinis circumcidit. Cuius rei iuxta historiam quidem talis est ratio. Diximus idem ualere circumcisionem sub lege quod et baptismum sub gratia: patet autem quia baptismus accipienti nichil prodest nisi fidem habeat, dicente domino: Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, saluus erit; qui uero non crediderit condemnabitur; pari modo et de circumcisione sentimus. Quamdiu ergo populus israeliticus in deserto moratus promissionibus diuinis incredulus exstitit, tamdiu illum Moyses purgatione circumcisionis indignum iudicauit, sciens accipientibus donec infideles erant uel essent nichil profuturam. At ubi Iordane transmisso terram quam Deus eis pollicitus fuerat intrauerunt, nec fuit necesse amplius aliquid dubitare de diuinis promissionibus rebus fidem facientibus, tunc Iosue dux praefati populi eis qui fidem iam habere coeperant studuit etiam circumcisionis remedia tradere. Mystice Moyses legem, Iosue Christum significat. Moyses non circumcidit populum, quia neminem ad perfectum adduxit; Iosue uero populum per Iordanem duxit et sic eum circumcidit, quia Christus electos suos per baptismum renatos spiritali circumcisione ab omnibus emundat uitiis atque peccatis." Heiric of Auxerre, *Homiliae per circulum anni*, 130.

[970] It should be mentioned that the composition, together with the statues of Moses and Joshua, were retaken by Benedetto of Bindo in the main chapel of sacristy in the Cathedral of Siena. This fresco dates between 1409-1412. The fresco depicts the *Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple*. A horse appears above Moses and a lion above Joshua. There are also perhaps allusions to the façade of the Cathedral. See: Miklós Boskovits, "Su Niccolò di Buonaccorso, Benedetto di Bindo e la pittura senese del primo Quattrocento," *Paragone* 31, no. 395-361 (1980): 3-22; Wolfgang Loseries, "Gli affreschi di Benedetto di Bindo nella sagrestia del duomo," in *Le pitture del Duomo di Siena*, ed. Mario Lorenzoni, 98-107 (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2008), 98-99. Loseries proposed that the composition followed the fresco by the Lorenzetti brothers and Simone Martini on the façade of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena that was finished in 1335 and destroyed in 1720. Sano di Pietro copied the composition on the panel for Signori chapel in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena as well (1448-1452). Loseries, "Gli affreschi di Benedetto di Bindo nella sagrestia del duomo," 104-105; Miklós Boskovits (ed.), *Maestri senesi e toscani nel Lindenau-Museum di Altenburg* (Siena: Protagon Editori, 2008), 124-131. There are no statues in the panel by Sano of Pietro. The horizontal format of the panels by Sano and the supposed vertical format of the frescoes may have required reshaping the architecture, which resulted, as Loseries argued, in the cutting of the

This reference of the two statues to the historical and mystical understanding of the circumcision is plausible and in harmony with the main topic of the picture, the *Presentation to the Temple*.[971] Yet, the panel by Ambrogio Lorenzetti was part of a larger project reorganizing the entire liturgical space of the cathedral. In this project the panel should primarily have been understood as the *Purification of the Virgin*.[972] Although the *Presentation to the Temple* covers both the *Purification of the Virgin* and the *Circumcision of Christ*, the iconographical analysis of the two pseudo-statues suggests that they are related to the meaning of the latter fresco. In this respect they emphasize the Christological aspect rather than the Marian aspect, on the panel.

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composition's upper part. Boskovits (ed.), *Maestri senesi e toscani nel Lindenau-Museum di Altenburg*, 129. I would assume that there was none on the Ospedale frescoes either. Benedetto di Bindo perhaps followed the composition, but for the pseudo-sculptural decoration of the Temple he relied on the *Presentation* panel by Amborgio Lorenzetti, which was at that time on display in the Cathedral. The reference to the circumcision does not apply in the case of the Virgin. This could be a sign that the meaning of Ambrogio's solution had faded away already or that the statuettes on the Temple impressed Benedetto but that he nevertheless decided to integrate them into the different subject matter.

Giovanni di Paolo twice copied the composition of Ambrogio's *Presentation*, including the statues. It appears on the central panel for the altarpiece of St. Andrea in the Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala, commissioned by the Rectors of Pizzicaiuoli in Siena in April 1447 and finished in November 1449. Piero Torriti, *La Pinacoteca nazionale di Siena: i dipinti* (Genoa: Sagep, 1990), 226-230. It is an extensive and complex example, as Giovanni di Paolo kept the elements of Ambrogio's panel, but stylistically changed them. Giovanni di Paolo himself for a later commission produced a somewhat reduced version of this composition, perhaps between 1450-1455. Torriti, *La Pinacoteca nazionale di Siena: i dipinti*, 230. The rich pseudo-sculptural decoration of the Pizzicaiuoli panel was limited here to the statues of Moses and Joshua. Sano di Pietro used it as well for a panel in the Cathedral of Massa Marittima (in 1900 it was in the Chapel of the Saint Sacrament in the transept). Luigi Petrocchi, *Massa Marittima: arte e storia* (Florence: Venturi, 1900), 47-48. Sano changed the order of the statues: Joshua, with a halo stands on the left and Moses stands on the right. Furthermore, in the *Antiphonary of the Cathedral of Siena* (Graduale 27.11), he reused this composition, but without the statues. This miniature was placed in the initial S of folio 34v introducing the feast of the *Purification*. Emile Gaillard, *Sano di Pietro: un peintre siennois au XVe siècle* (Chambéry: Dardel, 1923), 118-122. The illuminations were commissioned during the directorship of Savino Savini. Payment to Sano is reported on 25 January 1472. Milvia Bollati, "I corali," in *La Libreria Piccolomini nel Duomo di Siena*, ed. Salvatore Settis e Donatella Toracca (Modena: Panini, 1998), 325-326. At the bottom of the page the citizens of Siena are shown preparing for Candlemas and the liturgical association is clear. For Giovanni di Paolo and Sano di Pietro see also: Dóra Sallay, "Early Sienese paintings in Hungarian collections 1420-1520," PhD Dissertation, Central European University (Budapest, 2007), 134-136, 171-173.

Joshua and Moses were represented together on the pavement before the main altar in the Cathedral as well. The attributes are similar (Moses holds the tablets, Joshua has a lance and points to a rising Sun). They are dated between 1423-1426. See: Aronow, "Paper and the pavement," 11-39. Here, they were integrated into a sequence of figures from the Old Testament bracketing *David as Psalmist* and the divided *David and Goliath* scenes. The *Defeat of the Amorite Kings* was represented next to the figure of Joshua. Marilena Caciorgna and Roberto Guerrini, *Il pavimento del Duomo di Siena: l'arte della tarsia marmorea dal XIV al XIX secolo; fonti e simbologia* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2004), 147-167.

[971] I would briefly highlight here that this iconography is a Christian one; it is a typological understanding of the circumcision. Circumcision (that of Isaac for instance) was represented as well in contemporary Jewish illuminated manuscripts but without this strong Christian typological orientation. Eva Frojmovic, "Reframing gender in Medieval Jewish images of circumcision," in *Framing the family: narrative and representation in the medieval and early modern periods*, ed. by Rosalynn Voaden and Diane Wolfthal (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), 221-243.

[972] The historical reconstruction of this project in the following two paragraphs is based on the succinct summary of Monika Butzek. Butzek, "Le pale di Sant'Ansano e degli altri Protettori nel Duomo di Siena: Una storia documentaria," 38-44. See as well: Kees van der Ploeg, *Art, architecture and liturgy: Siena Cathedral in the Middle Ages* (Groningen: Forsten, 1993), 59-61 and 109-115.

The origin of the *Presentation to the Temple* can be traced presumably back to at least to 1317. This was the year the building of the new baptistery was started. The baptistery was attached to the east end of the church. This project had two major consequences within the church. The eastern part (the transept and the choir) was enlarged and the old crypt was abandoned (since its eastern entrance was now blocked by the new baptistery). The abandonment of the crypt meant that various relics and the altars (like the one dedicated to St. Crescentius) had to be transferred somewhere else in the church. This need was answered by the creation of at least four new altarpieces and the entire liturgical reorganization of the eastern part of cathedral, which was in any case about to be enlarged.

On the one hand, this reorganization focused on the four protector saints and martyrs of Siena: St. Ansano, St. Savino, St. Crescentius and St. Victor. On the other hand, it aimed to venerate the Virgin Mary, to whose assumption the cathedral was dedicated, complementing the program of the *Maestà* altarpiece and the *Assumption of the Virgin* stained-glass window by Duccio. The plan presumably envisaged the merging of the altars of protector saints, the various other titles being transferred from the crypt and the major Marian feasts. The Marian feast was represented on the central panel, the protector saint on the right wing, the story of the martyrdom on the predella, and another saint (or in the case of Ambrogio's work, St. Michael) on the left wing.[973] Together with the stained-glass window of Duccio on the *Assumption of the Virgin* this program honored the five major feasts of the Virgin as it was stated in the *Ordo* of the cathedral compiled by canon Odericus around 1215. This *Ordo* established that the five authentic feasts of the Virgin are the *Birth* (Nativitas), the *Annunciation* (Annuntiatio), the *Deliverance or Confinement* (Partus), the *Purification* (Purificatio) and the *Assumption* (Assumptio).[974]

Besides the *Presentation to the Temple* or the St. Crescentius altarpiece by Ambrogio the project included the St. Ansano altarpiece by Simone Martini containing the *Annunciation* (1331-1333, now in the *Uffizi*, Florence), the St. Savino altarpiece by Pietro Lorenzetti containing the *Birth of the Virgin* (1335-1342, central panel now in the *Museo dell'Opera Metropolitana*, Siena) and the St. Victor altarpiece containing the *Nativity* by Bartolomeo

[973] First remarked on by Os. Henk. W. van Os, *Marias Demut und Verherrlichung in der sienesischen Malerei: 1300-1450*, tr. I. Gerson-Nehrkorn ('s-Gravenhage: Ministerie van Cultuur, 1969), 6.

[974] "Nota quod quinque sunt festivitates autenticae de Beata Virgine. Prima est Nativitas, secunda est Annuntiatio, tertie est Partus, quarta Purificatio, quinta est Assumptio." Odericus, *Ordo officiorum ecclesiæ Senensis*, ed. John C. Trombelli (Bologna, 1766), 348. On the passage see: Butzek, "Le pale di Sant'Ansano e degli altri Protettori nel Duomo di Siena: Una storia documentaria," 40. On the *Ordo* see: Raffaele Argenziano, *Agli inizi dell'iconografia sacra a Siena: culti, riti e iconografia a Siena nel XII secolo* (Florence: SISMEL, 2000), 51-118; van der Ploeg, *Art, architecture and liturgy*, 121-158.

Bulgarini (1351?), central panel now in the *Fogg Art Museum*, Cambridge).[975] [Fig.6.50] In this program the *Presentation to the Temple* stood for the Marian feast of the *Purification of the Virgin* and not for the *Circumcision of Christ*.

In liturgical terms there is a sharp distinction between the two events as well. The *Circumcision* (*Circumcisio Domini*) is celebrated on the 1st of January and the *Purification* (*Purificationis sancte Marie*) on the 2nd of February.[976] In the *Ordo* compiled by Odericus the reading from the Gospel for the *Circumcision* started with Luke 2:21 (Evangelium *Postquam consummati sunt*), but the *Purification* started with Luke 2:22 (*Postquam impleti sunt dies purgationis*).[977] In the long passage narrating the events in Luke 2:21-39, it is only verse 21 which contains a literal reference to the circumcision (*postquam consummati sunt dies octo ut circumcideretur*), since verse 27 and 39 refer only generally to the action prescribed by the Law. This means that the first verse introducing the theme of circumcision was omitted from the liturgical celebration of the *Purification*, although it refers to the same passage from the Gospel of Luke as the *Circumcision*.

On the other hand, the *Ordo* underlined that the *Purification* is a double feast, belonging to the parent (*parientem*) and the newborn (*partum*).[978] This is succinctly expressed with the miniature in the *Ordo* placed next to the description of the feast. In the miniature the Virgin Mary holds Jesus in her hand. [Fig.6.51] Furthermore, the various inventories of the church from the 15th and 16th centuries usually referred to the altarpiece as *Christ being offered to Simeon* or as the *Circumcision of the Lord*, which is a sign that the *Purification* was not associated with it.[979]

Out of the three legible Latin inscriptions on the panel only one refers explicitly to the purification. Moses, on the left spandrel and outside the space of the picture, holds a scroll repeating the prescription of Lev 12:8 on the necessary sacrifice after birth for the cleansing

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[975] Butzek, "Le pale di Sant'Ansano e degli altri Protettori nel Duomo di Siena: Una storia documentaria," 35-38.

[976] Already the *Calendar of the Siena Cathedral* (around 1140) highlighted the two different dates associated with the two feasts during the liturgical year. "Kalendarium Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Senensis," in *Cronache Senesi*, ed. Alessandro Lisini and Fabio Iacometti, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores vol. 15, part 6 (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1931-1939), 1-38, esp. 3 and 5. For the calendar see: Argenziano, *Agli inizi dell'iconografia sacra a Siena*, 3-26.

[977] Odericus, *Ordo officiorum ecclesiæ Senensis*, 298.

[978] Odericus, *Ordo officiorum ecclesiæ Senensis*, 297.

[979] It is unknown whether in addition to the complex and thoughtful iconographic program of the altarpieces the original plan or its revised version after 1339, which located the four altarpieces in the imagined gigantic church, envisaged the liturgical celebration of each Marian feast in front of the altar bearing the corresponding central panel. In light of the inventories, Butzek argued that in the 15th century the Marian feasts seem to have been celebrated in front of the main altar, Butzek, "Le pale di Sant'Ansano e degli altri Protettori nel Duomo di Siena: Una storia documentaria," 50-53.

of the woman and thus, summarizes the Marian aspect of the panel.[980] On the other spandrel Malachi holding verse 3:1 of his book is already connected to the Christological theme, since he announces that the Lord will come to his Temple.[981] The pointing index finger and the scroll of Anna referring to Luke 2:38 announces again the redemption by Christ.[982] If it is regarded as more then a mere generic church decoration, the pseudo-mosaic depicting a bust of the Lord on the main arch adds to the dominance of the Christological aspect expressed in the legible inscriptions, since it can be taken as yet another visual sign of the way Christ brings redemption to the Temple.[983] In the context of the dominance of the Christological aspect on the panel, the complex iconographic allusion with the pseudo-statues of Moses and Joshua to the historical origins of circumcision and to the completion of the Mosaic Law in Christ is in harmony with the general orientation of the panel.

This may mean that though the idea of the *Presentation to the Temple* was originally conceived as part of a larger series focusing on the major feasts of the Virgin, this Marian focus of the work during the pictorial execution was replaced by a Christological one, still plausible in the given narrative context. Presumably the program of the altarpiece was not defined strictly with regard to the *Purification*, but rather focused on the generic theme of the *Presentation to the Temple* (and specified the protector saint as St. Crescentius on the right together with the story of his martyrdom on the predella and St. Michael on the left).

It should be added that in the *Ordo officiorum ecclesiæ Senensis* compiled by the canon Odericus, the altar of St. Crescentius in the crypt had a specific function in the liturgy of the year since on the morning of Easter Sunday a new fire was lit and blessed there.[984] It is unknown whether the new St. Crescentius altar retained or was envisaged as retaining this liturgical function. If so, then the newly lit fire together with the shining gold sun in the left hand of Joshua could have created a rich liturgical-typological allusion to Christ, who on the panel was proclaimed to be *lumen ad revelationem gentium et plebis tuae Israel*. The deacon carrying the fire from the St. Crescentius altar to the main altar of the Virgin Mary was

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[980] "Si no invenerit manus ei nec potuerit offerre agnum sumet duos turtures aut duos pullos columba." (Quod si non invenerit manus eius nec potuerit offerre agnum sumet duos turtures vel duos pullos columbae unum in holocaustum et alterum pro peccato.)

[981] "Et stati veniet a teplu **sc?** suum dnator quem vo qritis t angelu testamenti que vos vultis." (Et statim veniet ad templum suum dominator quem vos quaeritis et angelus testamenti quem vos vultis.) The full size image of prophet Malachi holding the same script appears next to the *Presentation to the Temple* panel on the *Maestà*. The unusual wording of making the word sacred (templum *sanctum* suum) an attribute of the Temple further connects the two inscriptions although their shortened forms seem to be different (scm – sc?).

[982] "Et hac ipa hora supvenies cfitebat Dno t loquebatu de illo oibs q expectabat redemton Hisal." On the *Maestà* Anna's scroll is blank.

[983] Maginnis, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Presentation in the Temple," 37-38; Frugoni, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 172.

[984] "Circa horam tertiam vestiuntur altaria et solemnioribus paramentis adornatur: hora autem nona sacrista in Confessione ante altare beati Crescentii ignem de cristallo vel lapide noviter excussum accendit de lignis siccis, ne fumigent, et eo accenso cum totus clerus civitatis convenerit in ecclesia, episcopus et totus clerus vadunt in Confessionem et tunc post altare S. Crescentii Episcopus." Odericus, *Ordo officiorum ecclesiæ Senensis*, 147.

supposed to say: "*Lumen Christi*" three times in a loud voice, turning towards the people.[985] In a similar way, during the *Candlemas* procession, which took place after the mass of the *Purification of the Virgin*, the candles were lit at the altar of the *Blessed Virgin Mary* while the antiphon of the *Lumen ad revelationem* was sung.[986] Again, it is not known whether there was a plan that after the liturgical reorganization of the Cathedral the ceremony of Candlemas was to take place in front of the new St. Crescentius altar with the *Presentation in the Temple* as its main panel. However, it is perhaps more than a mere coincidence that the St. Crescentius altar, where on the morning of Easter Sunday a new fire was lit and blessed was merged with the *Presentation to the Temple* panel, which was connected to the procession of the *Candlemas*. If this liturgical hypothesis is accepted, then the shining sun in Joshua's hand transcended its role of being an iconographic auxiliary and entered into a web of visual-liturgical associations.

Furthermore, the importance of candles and wax extended beyond their liturgical role since from 1274 they were a crucial element in the financing of the construction of the Cathedral. The *Opera del Duomo* sold the wax offered annually by the Commune and the citizens on the day of the *Assumption of the Virgin*. This money covered the expenses of the work.[987] Thus, *Candlemas* and other processions using candles had a direct connection to the material reality of the Cathedral. In order to participate, the citizens had to purchase wax from the Opera which they had previously donated. To contextualize further this funding scheme I would refer briefly to the *Statute of the Painters' Guild of Siena* from 1356, which presumably incorporated earlier entries.[988] The regulations with regard to the procession on the day of St. Luke were already discussed in *Chapter 1*:

> We hereby decree that the holy day of Saint Luke, patron and guide of the Guild of Painters, be solemnly observed and celebrated in this fashion: on the feast day, each and every painter, whether he be a master or a laborer engaged for the year, or the month, or the day, or just for a specific job, shall carry to the festivities a candle bought at his own expenses, in addition, two *doppieri*, or large candles, will be brought as offerings from the Painters' Guild, their size to be decided in accordance with whatever the times will allow.[989]

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[985] "Finitis versibus, Diaconus, qui tenet arundinem cum igne, manens ante Altare beate Mariae, vultu converso ad Populum dicit tribus vicibus alta voce *Lumen Christi*." Odericus, *Ordo officiorum ecclesiæ Senensis*, 147.

[986] "Post Missam Popularem hora competenti pulsantur maiores campanae ut Populus ad Benedictionem Candelarum et ad Processionem debeat convenire. Postea Clero et Populo in Ecclesia collecto, Presbyter Canonicus septimanarius, vel Archipresbyter indutus Albis, desuper Pluviali ad Altarae Beatae Mariae Virginis, ut mos est, benedicit Candelas secundum ordinem Sacramentari, et post factam benedictionem incensat et aspergit eas acqua benedicta. Cum autem accendi candelae coeperint, cantatur Antiphonae, quae sunt in Antiphonario Diurno. Scilicet *Lumen ad Revelationem*, et Psalm *Nunc dimittis* totus, et *Gloria*, et semper ad singulos repetitur *Lumen ad Revelationem*: interim qui volunt, dant et accipiunt Candelas de manu Sacerdotis, qui eas benedicit, et obsculantur manus ejus." Odericus, *Ordo officiorum ecclesiæ Senensis*, 298-299.

[987] Giorgi and Moscadelli, *Costruire una cattedrale: l'Opera di Santa Maria di Siena tra XII e XIV secolo*, 155-176.

[988] Hayden B. J. Maginnis, *The world of the early Sienese painter* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 84.

[989] "Statute of the Painters' Guild of Siena," tr. Gabriele Erasmi, in Hayden B. J. Maginnis, *The world of the early Sienese painter* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 201.

The difficulties related to the observance of this decree is expressed in *Chapter 27* (probably a later addition):

> Item we hereby decree, as an addition to the chapter dealing with the feast of Saint Luke and the duty to carry a candle in procession, that no one will be allowed to bring to the feast a candle that was shortened. This would neither be proper nor would honor our Saint. Therefore, contraveners to the disposition contained in this chapter will be fined 10 soldi.[990]

These passages, taken from the statutes of the *Painters' Guild of Siena* may help us to understand how the liturgical and economic implications of the wax permeated the everyday reality of a Sienese citizen, including painters as well.

Further insights into the workshop practices at the Siena cathedral at a time when Ambrogio was working on the *Presentation* is provided by the account books of the cathedral, which preserve an entry from December 1335 informing the reader that a certain Ciecho, a master of grammar, translated the story of St. Savino to be painted on the panel into vernacular.[991] This panel must have been the predella of the St. Savino altarpiece painted by Ambrogio's brother, Pietro Lorenzetti, and it was placed under the *Birth of the Virgin*. This entry reveals on the one hand that Pietro needed a vernacular translation of the legend of St. Savino in order to prepare the story of his martyrdom. In this respect, it reveals his dependence on other sources in preparing the subject matter of the panel. On the other hand, it may show that Pietro was not receiving detailed instructions, but having been provided with the necessary sources in the translation, he was left on his own to prepare the painting. Nothing is known about what documents of this kind Ambrogio might have received and whether sources were provided only for relatively unknown subjects such as the martyrdom of St. Savino or for the well-known narratives from the Gospel as well (which could also have included homilies).

In this working climate testified to in the translation given to Pietro, where the painter was equipped with necessary literary references and granted freedom of pictorial creation, it seems that instead of focusing exclusively on the Marian theme of the *Purification of the Virgin*, Ambrogio prepared a pictorial exegesis of the *Presentation to the Temple*.[992] The statues of Moses and Joshua successfully assume a double role as they function as a realistic-topographical reference to the cathedral of Siena and they make a comment on the Christological subject of the panel in historical and mystical terms. Because of this they

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[990] "Statute of the Painters' Guild of Siena," 209.

[991] "Anco I libra a maestro Ciecho dela gramatica, che trasse la storia di San Savino in volgare per farla nela tavola." (AOMS 329, 58v) Giorgi and Moscadelli, *Costruire una cattedrale: l'Opera di Santa Maria di Siena tra XII e XIV secolo*, 282, note 503.

[992] The iconographic analyses of the panel, though sometimes with different formulations, all arrive at this conclusion. Bellosi, "La 'Presentazione al Tempio' di Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 34-35; Maginnis, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Presentation in the Temple," 33-34; Frugoni, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 172.

manage to accommodate harmoniously and simultaneously the pictorial tendency to increase the reality-effect of the work and the iconographic preoccupation focusing on how complex levels of meaning could still be expressed within this pictorial paradigm. Apparently this reference was further integrated into the liturgical context, namely the candle-procession during Easter Sunday and Candlemas in the panel. Moses and Joshua, pseudo-statues recalling the façade of the cathedral and historical-mystical predecessors of Christ, are exactly the "place" where the pictorial, iconographic and liturgical modes were merged.

In light of this achievement it may be possible to address the more general question surrounding the panel, that is, why the Temple was modeled after the cathedral of Siena.[993] On the one hand, this is definitely a topographical reference to the liturgical space for which the panel was intended. In this sense, the real space of the cathedral and the pictorial space of the Temple reinforce each others spatial and visual effect, since the space of the picture conforms to the space of the cathedral. Furthermore, the superposition of the Cathedral to the Temple is an expression of the same Christological idea omnipresent in the painting, where the Christianized space of the building also announces the arrival of the Savior and the redemption.[994] This is nicely expressed by the tiny alteration on the Malachi scroll. Verse 3:1 of his book would read in the Vulgate as: *veniet ad templum suum dominator*. On the panel, however, the short word "holy" was entered as a designation of the Temple: *veniet a teplu **sc?** suum dnator*. [Fig.6.52.] The addition of *sanctum* has its precedent on Duccio's *Maestà* in exactly the same context. The alteration of the biblical text expresses this transfiguration of the real space of the Temple (and the Cathedral of Siena) into the holy space of the salvation. The various elements of the pseudo-decoration of the building all seem to converge in this direction. The classical-triumphal staging of the lions and angels with the festoon celebrates the coming of Christ. His majestic bust on the central arch with his hand raised in blessing welcomes and sanctifies the moment. The statues of Moses and Joshua reflect on the antecedent to this event in the Old Testament and its mystical interpretation. The interaction of realistic and iconographic aspects, which could be demonstrated for the pseudo-statues of Moses and Joshua, were presumably not isolated phenomena, but the organizing principle of the panel itself.[995]

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[993] The polygonal dome of the actual Cathedral was perhaps conceived as a centrally planned sanctuary to the Virgin Mary. Antje Middeldorf-Kosegarten, "Zur Bedeutung der Sieneser Domkuppel," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 21 (1970): 73-98, esp. 84-91. Although the symbolism of the Temple on the panel does not necessarily follow the Marian orientation, the perception of the building itself as a sacred space definitely facilitates the development of iconographic allusions.

[994] Maginnis, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Presentation in the Temple," 37-38.

[995] In Ambrogio Lorenzetti's known *oeuvre* there is perhaps another example which might show the merger of realistic and liturgical references. On the south nave wall of the Church of S. Margherita in Cortona among the frescoes dedicated to the *vita* of Margaret of Cortona there is one depicting the distribution of food at the

7. Afterlife and Epilogue: The Klosterneuburg Altarpiece

By the middle of the 14th century in Italy the use of image-within-images was firmly established. The temporal and geographical mapping of its diffusion is beyond the scope of this study. The most immediate question to be addressed would be whether the eruption of the Black Death in 1348 had an impact on it or not. This would require a meticulous analysis of the decades after 1348 focusing on several interrelated problems such as a survey of images-within-images in this period, the continuity of the workshop, and the hypothesized transformation of devotion.[996] Around the end of the 14th century, as part of pictorial historicism, the problem is further enriched by the revival of certain celebrated compositions of early Trecento masters. Paralleling these temporal developments in Italy, images-within-images appeared elsewhere in Europe, especially in the painting of the Low Countries. I cannot offer a proper treatment of these developments here. However, in order to highlight the depth and the complexity of the problem an early example of diffusion will be presented here. Outside Italy, but not independent from the Italian developments, a multi-layered image-within-image was already depicted on the *Morning of the Resurrection* panel in the Klosterneuburg altarpiece around 1330. This case study sheds light on the mechanisms of adoption and transformation in its earliest phase.

The first building phase of the Klosterneuburg complex was initiated by Duke Leopold III in 1114 and concluded in 1136; in 1133 Conrad I, archbishop of Salzburg, acknowledged the foundation of a new college of the Augustinian Canons.[997] In 1181, thanks to the patronage of provost Wernher and the craftsmanship of Nicholas of Verdun the convent received an exceptional pulpit decorated with enamel plates.[998] Each New Testament scene

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Ospedale della Misericordia. The *ospedale* was perhaps the foundation of Margaret herself. The scene survives in a copy dating to around 1629 as watercolor 15 in cod. 429 of the *Biblioteca Comunale e dell'Accademia Etrusca* in Cortona. This copy shows a mosaic or a fresco above the entrance of the *ospedale* displaying the Virgin and Child between St. John the Baptist and St. Francis. This image-within-image might recall the original decoration of the building, and perhaps the insertion of St. John the Baptist referred to the annual distribution of the food taking place on his feast day. Joanna Cannon and André Vauchez, *Margherita of Cortona and the Lorenzetti: Sienese Art and the Cult of a Holy Woman in Medieval Tuscany* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 147-154, 192-193 and 248-249.

[996] For the problem of the Black Death in 1348 and its impact on artistic production see: Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death*; Miklós Boskovits, *Pittura fiorentina alla vigilia del Rinascimento: 1370 – 1400* (Florence: Edam, 1975); Samuel K. Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1992); Diana Norman, "Change and Continuity: art and religion after the Black Death," in *Siena, Florence and Padua: Art, Society and Religion 1280-1400, Volume 1: Interpretative Essays*, ed. Diana Norman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 177-197.

[997] Mario Schwarz, "Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Chorherren-Stiftskirche," in *Früh- und Hochmittelalter*, ed. Hermann Fillitz, Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich, vol. 1 (Munich: Prestel, 1998), 269-272.

[998] The names and the dates are mentioned in the inscription in the work: "ANNO MILLENO CENTENO SEPTUAGENO NEC NON UNDENO GWERNHERUS CORDE SERENO SEXTUS PREPOSITUS TIBI VIRGO MARIA DICAVIT QUOD NICOLAUS OPUS VIRDUNENSIS FABRICAVIT." Hermann Fillitz,

(*sub gratia*) from the *Annunciation* to the *Pentecost* was complemented with a scene prior to (*ante legem*) and after (*sub lege*) the establishment of the Law under Moses. Thus the pulpit itself became a visual display of the typological understanding of the Bible.[999] In the 14th century the pulpit was dismantled and the plaques were integrated into the front panel of a new altarpiece in 1331 under the supervision of provost Stephen of Sierndorf.[1000] In addition to the enamels in the front, the back of the altarpiece was decorated with four tempera panels (the *Crucifixion*, the *Death of the Virgin*, the *Coronation of the Virgin* and the *Morning of the Resurrection*) painted specifically for this purpose around 1330.[1001]

The *Morning of the Resurrection* panel represents two events, the *Noli me tangere* with Christ and Mary Magdalene from the Gospel of John (20, 17) and the *Three Marys at the Tomb* from the Synoptic Gospels (Mark 16, 1-8; Matthew 28, 1-7; Luke 24, 1-10). [Fig.7.1] The angel signaling with his right hand is reminding the three women that Jesus foretold his resurrection. The huge block of the tomb separates the two groups from each other. There is a small ornament on the short side of the tomb. A relief of a praying man can be seen in a flat niche. He turns aside and perhaps wears a tunic; below him there is a statuette of a sitting red lion who turns his back on the viewer. [Fig.7.3 and Fig.7.4] The lion sits on a console which is turned upside down.

Floridus Röhrig did not mention this detail in his monograph in 1955.[1002] In 1979, Gabriela Fritzsche provided a pre-iconographical account and in 1983 she offered an interpretation.[1003] She claimed that the man has the same meaning as the figures on the late antique sarcophagi where he awaits salvation. Keeping to that thought she hypothesized that the lion refers to a brief passage in the *Physiologus* in which Christ is treated as the lion of Judah, as the liberator of mankind. Fritzsche concluded that both elements are connected to the salvation of man, namely the resurrection of Christ, which is the ultimate theme of the whole picture. Though this reading cannot be discarded, it seems unconvincing to me because

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"Flügelaltar," in *Früh- und Hochmittelalter*, ed. Hermann Fillitz, Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich, vol. 1 (Munich: Prestel, 1998), 575-576.

[999] Helmut Buschhausen, *Der Verduner Altar: das Emailwerk des Nikolaus von Verdun im Stift Klosterneuburg* (Vienna: Tusch, 1980); Helmut Buschhausen, "The Klosterneuburg Altar of Nicholas of Verdun: art, theology and politics," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (19749: 1-32.

[1000] This was expressed in the addition to the inscription: "CHRISTO MILLENO T(RE)CENTENO VIGENO (UNDE)NO P(RAE)POSIT(US) STEPHAN(US) D(E) SYRENDORF GENERAT(US) HOC OP(US) AURATU(M) TULIT HUC TABULIS RENOVATU(M) AB CRUCIS ALTARI D(E) STRUCTURA TABULARI QUE PRIUS ANNEXA FUIT AMBONIQ(UE) REFLEXA." Fillitz, "Flügelaltar," 575-576.

[1001] Irma Trattner, "Vier Rückseitentafeln des Verduner Altares," in *Gotik*, ed. Günter Brucher, Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich, vol. 2 (Munich: Prestel, 2000), 535-537.

[1002] Floridus Röhrig, *Der Verduner Altar* (Vienna: Herold, 1955), 90.

[1003] Gabriela Fritzsche, "Rückseiten des Verduner Altares," in *Der Zeit der Frühen Habsburger: Dome und Klöster, 1279-1379*, ed. Floridus Röhrig and Gottfried Stangler (Mödling: St. Gabriel, 1979), 443-446; Gabriela Fritzsche, *Die Entwicklung des 'Neuen Realismus' in der Wiener Malerei*, Vienna: Böhlau, 1983), 20-21.

it treats the man and the lion as separated elements without a further connection between, while they are clearly linked to each other on the picture.

I will offer an interpretation here which simultaneously integrates the motif of the man and the lion together with the main theme of the picture, the discovery of Christ's resurrection.[1004] This reading is based on the sixth and fourteenth chapters of the Book of Daniel. Daniel was put in the lion's den the first time for one night under the rule of Darius (Dan 6, 1-29), then for seven nights under Cirus (Dan 14, 28-42). In both cases he survived and it is exactly that return from certain death which makes him the typological antecedent of the resurrected Christ. Conceiving the lion and the man as *Daniel in the lions' den* could explain their joint representation and their connection to the *Morning of the Resurrection*.

The *Daniel in the lions' den* scene was a common element in early Christian art on sarcophagi and in catacombs (but also on ivories or metalwork), where it referred to the theme of martyrdom or the resurrection.[1005] Daniel sometimes appears naked, sometimes wearing a tunic and usually two lions flank him creating a symmetrical composition.[1006] The representation of the scene in a funerary context, especially on sarcophagi, relates it directly to the depicted tomb on the *Morning of the Resurrection*. The scene on the panel is, however, different. There is only a statuette of one lion and it is placed on a console. The reason for this perhaps was that availability of vertical space compared to the horizontal. As in all probability a specific sarcophagus was not being copied on the panel the motif appears to be a *Daniel in the lions' den* scene despite these alterations. The adoption of this scene as a decoration for the tomb is in harmony with the iconographic tradition.

Furthermore, around 1330 when the panel was painted, the typological understanding of the Bible was still a lively tradition in Klosterneuburg. This is manifest in the remaining contemporary stained-glass windows of the cloister, which copied not only the typological program but also the compositions perhaps also Nicholas' pulpit.[1007] Furthermore, during the transformation of the pulpit into an altarpiece, six additional enamel plates (two typological sequences) were made depicting the *Kiss of Judas* and the *Deposition*.[1008] Neither the *Noli me tangere* nor the *Three Mary at the Tomb* appear on the enamel plates of the altar and it is

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[1004] For an earlier version of my argument see: Peter Bokody, "Dániel – Megjegyzés a klosterneuburgi oltár Feltámadás reggele-táblájának ikonográfiájához (Daniel – comments of the iconography of the Morning of Resurrection panel of the Klosterneuburg Altarpiece)," *Művészettörténeti értesítő* 52 (2003): 233-236.

[1005] Reiner Sörries, *Daniel in der Löwengrube: zur Gesetzmäßigkeit frühchristlicher Ikonographie* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2005), 15-17.

[1006] Sörries, *Daniel in der Löwengrube*, 147-151 and 154.

[1007] Elisabeth Oberhaidacher, "Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Chorherren-Stift, Reste der Verglasung," in *Gotik*, ed. Günter Brucher, Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich, vol. 2 (Munich: Prestel, 2000), 421.

[1008] The typological handling of these sequences differs from earlier ones (the Christological focus is less strong), and their execution imitates Nicholas' work. Floridus Röhrig, "Sechs Emailplatten mit ornamentalem Zubehör," in *Gotik*, ed. Günter Brucher, Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich, vol. 2 (Munich: Prestel, 2000), 592.

unknown whether they were selected for the stained-glass windows. On the other side of the plate representing *Hell* (paired with the *Last Judgment*), there is a preparatory incision for the *Three Marys at the Tomb*, which can be attributed to Nicholas of Verdun.[1009] Nothing is known about the planned pairs for this plate, why they were phased out, and whether these planned pairings were remembered in 1330 when the new altarpiece was assembled. It shows, however, that the *Three Marys at the Tomb* was considered a possible typological theme around 1181.

Fortunately, from circa 1330, there was yet another work in Klosterneuburg that was engaged with the typological understanding of the Bible, the *Wiener Biblia pauperum*.[1010] Its folio 8v shows the *Daniel in the lion's den* scene depicted as the mate of the *Noli me tangere*. [Fig.7.2] The Latin inscription on the page is the following:

> Legitur in Daniele, quod, cum propheta Danyel missus fuisset in lacum leonum, ut eum leones occiderent, mane facto rex venit, ad lacum ad danyelem, ut videret, si adhuc viveret, quem cum videret vivere, gavisus est. Rex enim iste Mariam Magdalenam demonstrat, quae mane veniens ad monumentum et postea dominum suum videns, quod a mortuis surrexisset, gavisa est valde. Danyel autem Christum figurabat.[1011]

The inscription underlines the parallel between the king and Mary Magdalene. In the early morning they seek their beloved – thought to be dead – and they find a living person. Also, the inscription mentions that Daniel prefigures Christ. As there is a *Noli me tangere* scene in the *Morning of the Resurrection* panel, it is plausible to regard the pseudo-sculptural group of the figure and the lion as a reduced version of the *Daniel in the lions' den* scene. In light of this page from the contemporary *Wiener Biblia pauperum*, present in the same convent, the relief and the statuette appear to be a manifestation of similar typological considerations, attested by the stained-glass windows in the cloister and the additional enamel plates on the altarpiece as well.

Depicting this reduced version of the Daniel in the lions' den scene as a pseudo-sculptural element of the tomb is something that strongly connects the Klosterneuburg altarpiece to the realistic turn in Italy. The existence of this link is not a new discovery: the composition of the *Noli me tangere* scene on the panel was thought to derive from the representation of the same subject matter by Giotto in the Arena chapel.[1012] Gabriela Fritzsche convincingly showed, however, that the antecedent of the *Noli me tangere* should be sought in northern Gothic manuscript illumination. The linear style of the scene corresponds more to

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[1009] Buschhausen, *Der Verduner Altar*, 95.

[1010] Martin Roland, "Biblia pauperum," in *Gotik*, ed. Günter Brucher, Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich, vol. 2 (Munich: Prestel, 2000), 511-512.

[1011] *Die Wiener Biblia Pauperum, Cod. Vin. Bibl. Nat. Wien (1198)*, vol. 3, ed. Franz Unterkircher (Graz: Styria, 1962), 8v.

[1012] For this see: Gerhard Schmidt, "Die Rezeption der italianischen Trecentokunst in Mittel- und Osteuropa," in *Gotika v Sloveniji*, ed. Janez Höfler (Ljubljana: Narodna Galerija, 1995), 25.

folio 300v of the Queen Mary Psalter than to Giotto's fresco.[1013] While accepting Fritzsche's conclusion on the composition of the *Noli me tangere*, Gerhardt Schmidt proposed that the isometric unit of the tomb itself with its arcades and consoles executed in careful perspective still display Italian tendencies.[1014] The use of figurative pseudo-sculptural decoration around 1330 is yet another argument in favor of the Italian pictorial origin of the tomb. This could mean that on the *Morning of the Resurrection* panel two different stylistic tendencies were combined (which beautifully "clash" as the fragile two-dimensional linear tree supports the three-dimensional marble block of the sarcophagus' top).

As the exact circumstances of the commission elude us here as well, my conclusions should be taken with a pinch of salt. I am, however, struck by the way the realistic pictorial solution was successfully combined with a typological understanding of the subject matter. This typological understanding had a long tradition in Klosterneuburg, going back at least to the years prior to 1181 when the pulpit by Nicholas was commissioned and installed. Apparently, this typological tradition experienced a new revival or synthesis under provost Stephen of Sierndorf, who not only transformed the pulpit into an altarpiece, but also complemented it with panel paintings. The *Wiener Biblia pauperum* and the stained-glass windows attest that this "typological spirit" determined the other artistic commissions in the convent. The provost proudly commemorated himself on an additional inscription on the altar: P(RAE)POSIT(US) STEPHAN(US) D(E) SYRENDORF GENERAT(US) HOC OP(US) AURATU(M). The depicted tomb on the other hand displays an early contact with the realistic Italian tendencies. The simultaneous use of linear and three-dimensional solutions allow more than one hypothesis with regard to the formation of the master. It seems most plausible that he was trained in a Gothic milieu, and that the Italian developments reached him by means of model-books.[1015] Cooperation between two masters cannot be excluded either.

What counts is that the commissioner and the master(s) used the image-within-image of the *Daniel in the lions' den* understanding fully its pictorial and iconographic potentials. A typological reference was not displayed as a separate scene but was depicted as an ornament on the tomb maintaining and even strengthening the reality-effect of the picture. And *vice versa*, the tomb, in addition to its three-dimensionality not only received a progressive pseudo-sculptural decoration, but the embedded detail was fully integrated into the iconographic structure of the picture. Whether a pictorial model (a copy of an early Christian sarcophagus with a relief of the *Daniel in the lions' den*?) triggered the iconographic

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[1013] Fritzsche, *Die Entwicklung des 'Neuen Realismus' in der Wiener Malerei,* 43-44.
[1014] Schmidt, "Die Rezeption der italienischen Trecentokunst in Mittel- und Osteuropa," 26, note 6.
[1015] Schmidt, "Die Rezeption der italienischen Trecentokunst in Mittel- und Osteuropa," 26.

association, or a stubborn typological reflection on the *Morning of Resurrection* led to the use of an image-within-image, I am not, and I am afraid I will never be, in the position to demonstrate.

This example, however, has a crucial importance in understanding the diffusion of images-within-images. It shows how using an embedded image can bring two distinct sources of inspiration – realistic display and typological correspondence – together. It shows therefore that the iconographic implications of images-within-images did not remain locked in Italy, tied to the context in which they had been initially developed, but that the diffusion of the pictorial practice meant that its content-related possibilities were transplanted as well. The emerging pattern is largely similar. The source for using an image-within-image was a more realistic (and three-dimensional) understanding of the picture, an eminently pictorial concern in itself; yet the content-related function reflects the typological "agenda" of the commissioner. The fact that the potential of iconographic associations moved together with placing one image into another signals yet again the strong interdependence of the two phenomena, and in my view, gives further weight retrospectively to the pictorial-iconographic argument surrounding the Italian material.

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Conclusions

While reconstructing the story of images-within-images in the first half of the fourteenth century in Italian painting I emphasized that the lack of detailed archival material necessarily renders the results of this study somewhat hypothetical. This is a problem that not only characterizes this doctoral dissertation but is also a common feature of any work dealing with the visual aspects of this period. The fact that despite this major difficulty generations of scholars, one after the other, turned and still turn to the first half of the Trecento with the same enthusiasm signals the central importance of the period. This central importance lies in the emergence of a new visual paradigm which subsequently dominated Western art until the beginning of the twentieth century, and dominates global visual culture even today. In the dissertation I labeled this change the "realistic turn." In short, it denotes a situation in which the picture is conceived as a three-dimensional space with strong reference to the spatial and temporal experiences of the real world. I argued that the emergence of images-within-images, which were not motivated by the narrative context but appeared as concomitants to the architectural setting, was related to this realistic turn.

In the dissertation I detected three major components of the way images-within-images functioned in this period: 1) to increase the reality-effect despite being detached from the model; 2) to introduce pictorial distinctions; 3) to create complex meanings. The detachment from the model means that images-within-images were used in order to create a realistic setting without faithfully copying the real building. In certain cases, they actually weakened the reference of the representation to reality, since the image-within-image was not part of the depicted building otherwise reproduced. This free use of the motif implies that a realistic image can be constructed without having a strong reference to reality. Adding these details contributed to the reality-effect of the picture while destroying its verisimilitude. This liberation from the real model characterized the phenomenon starting from the activity of the Isaac master in the Upper Church at Assisi. Furthermore, it presumably harmonized with the aspirations of Pope Nicholas IV to honor the life of St. Francis, founder of the order to which he belonged with a sumptuous and modern pictorial cycle.

In my view this free decorative use of images-within-images opened up the possibility for two further developments. The introduction of monochrome details implied that certain parts of the picture became real – flesh and bone – components, and others became mere representations within the representation. It was a pictorial challenge to create visual solutions by which the viewer immediately recognized albeit perhaps unconsciously, that the image contains another figural representation. The generic answer to this challenge was to depict the embedded images as part of the architectural setting. Furthermore, the example of the

Crucifixion sketch behind the personification of Obedience in the Lower Church at Assisi indicates the depth of meta-pictorial attention accorded to the problem in certain cases. As here the process of image-making appears on the final work itself, it constitutes a moment of pictorial reflexivity. This conclusion is supported by other examples like the socle zone and the contrast of a pseudo-relief displaying fine love and a realistic rape under the allegories of *Justice* and *Injustice* in the Arena chapel or the *mise-en-abyme* on the Stefaneschi polyptych. The central role of these representations and the visual richness of the solutions confirm from yet another angle the fundamental significance of Trecento painting in creating the realistic-mimetic pictorial paradigm and vindicate the recognition of the period as a decisive reflexive moment in the history of painting, comparable to the Early Modern period discussed by Victor I. Stoichita.

Paralleling this pictorial reflexivity, images-within-images were integrated from time to time into the "meaning" of the works. The Crucifixion sketch behind the personification of Obedience recalls the Christological origins of the vow, discussed in contemporary Franciscan commentaries of the Rule. The serpent in the beak of an eagle above Judas on the *Last Supper* (missing from the *Washing of the feet*) in the Arena chapel signals the moment of perdition. In these and other similar cases the content of the embedded image is adjusted to the main content of the picture and functions as a complement or even a focus for the meaning. In this respect, the meaning of the detail circles back to the meaning of the picture and results in a more complex semantic structure for the work. I used the term iconographic reflexivity to describe this process, since what happens is the reshaping of traditional iconographic types or the creation of new ones. As the general message of the works to a certain extent reflects the aspirations and agenda of the commissioners, it cannot be excluded that the meaning-related importance of the embedded image was based on the request or a proposition by the patron (or the appointed program designer). It was not possible to further determine the extent of this kind of intervention.

The identity of the master responsible for the realistic turn in painting has haunted the historiography of the first half of the Trecento for a long time so this question could not be avoided in case of images-within-images either. If we accept that Giotto di Bondone was the leader or an active member of the workshop painting the *Legend of St. Francis* in the Upper Church at Assisi, and given the more reliable attribution of the mural decoration in the Arena chapel in Padua and Lower Church in Assisi to him, the conclusion that emerges is that the revolutionary aspects of images-within-images should also be ascribed to him. This conclusion permits us to characterize Giotto as the one who developed the free decorative use of images-within-images in Assisi, remained engaged in the meta-pictorial aspects of the

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phenomenon and contributed to their iconographic use. He appears therefore to have been a person endowed with unparalleled visual sensitivity and open to the meaning-related potentials of the phenomenon. (The problem of the apparently missing centaur on the *Esau asking for blessing* in Assisi further complicates this reconstruction.)

Giotto, however, was not a solitary figure. His activity had an impact on other masters around him. Besides Assisi and Padua, images-within-images appeared in Rome, Rieti, Spoleto, Tolentino, Rimini, and Lodi while Florence proved to be the major center for its proliferation. In certain cases, the masters were originally members of Giotto's workshop (Palmerino di Guido, Taddeo Gaddi and Bernardo Daddi), in others they came under his influence during his travels (Giovanni, Pietro and Giuliano da Rimini), or their identity evades us completely (Rome, Spoleto, Lodi). With reservations it can be stated that the reception of images-within-images was limited to two main areas. On narrative paintings the masters were engaged in a visual archeology of the Temple (or the Synagogue) where images-within-images (reliefs and statuettes) contribute to the typological or apocalyptical display of the architectural setting, perhaps not independently from the theological inclinations of the actual patrons. The beginnings of this tendency can be traced back to Giotto's activity in the Lower Church at Assisi (the *Presentation in the Temple* and *Christ among the Doctors* frescoes).

The other main line of reception was not a narrative genre but the genre of the *imago* in which images-within-images appeared on various parts of the Virgin's throne. Here the pseudo-sculptural details replaced "flesh and bone" figures surrounding the Virgin on earlier representations. These inter-medium shifts, with various degrees of intensity, can be considered moments of pictorial reflexivity. Furthermore, the monochrome angels with censers or chalices, lions, together with the statuettes of Gabriel and Mary enacting the *Annunciation* represented a sort of visual exegesis on the Virgin. Because of this they indicate iconographic reflexivity as well. Both the pictorial and iconographic aspects of these solutions increased the liturgical performativity of the images, and therefore have their trigger in the cultic context of the works. Giotto presumably did not initiate this tendency, but his pupils, Bernardo Daddi and Taddeo Gaddi, significantly contributed to it.

This model can be expanded to Sienese painting as well. Leaving aside the question of the *Christ among the Doctors* by Duccio, the images-within-images detectable in the *oeuvre* of the Lorenzetti brothers also indicate the influence of Giotto. In the Lower Church, Pietro Lorenzetti came into first hand contact with Giotto's achievements. The form of the highly original embedded images complementing and commenting on the Passion cycle suggests that he understood the potentials of the phenomenon (and perhaps to a certain extent he followed

guidelines already established by Giotto). Ambrogio Lorenzetti's two main works were traditional in the sense that the *Martyrdom of Franciscan* represents an attempt to recreate the impressive setting of the palace (in his case that of the Khan, but the origin of the iconography goes back to Giotto's painting of buildings for Herod and the Sultan). The *Presentation* was a visual exegesis of the Temple as well. Despite this dependence, the Lorenzetti brothers not only absorbed, but also successfully developed the idea of images-within-images. Ambrogio's *Presentation* for instance comprised a realistic reference to the actual cathedral of Siena with Classical overtones, a typological allusion to the circumcision and Christological understanding of the light of the Salvation rooted in the liturgy of Candlemas and Easter. The rich meaning-related implications of images-within-images suggest that Franciscan friars or Sienese canons also had determining input into the content in these cases.

The story of images-within-images between 1278 and 1348 is situated between two art historical understandings of the realistic image. One understanding claims that each and every component of a realistic work is content-driven, therefore the tiniest detail must have had a meaning as well (which may today elude us). The other understanding claims that the realistic image, besides its main iconographic content, is mostly composed of parts, which have a purely decorative purpose and it is therefore useless to look for complex messages. It was pivotal to the success of this dissertation to adopt an equal distance from both positions, trying to utilize their strong points but without conforming to either camp. The aim of this dissertation was to demonstrate how these images-within-images could contribute at the same time to the visual and semantic organization of the works and therefore combine a sort of pictorial hermeneutics with iconographic analysis. As a result of this work, it is possible to conclude now that at the beginning images-within-images were used to increase the reality-effect of the picture, but almost immediately became a field for pictorial and iconographic experimentation. Besides the beauty and thoughtfulness of certain solutions, Giotto's fundamental role was in the creation and initial exploration of this field.

The 700 years that separate us from the creation of the Crucifixion sketch behind Obedience naturally creates a great historical distance. The works of art which have remained to us, are, however, our contemporaries. There is little doubt that the history of art up to the present can be regarded as a series of visual acts reaching for yet another level of perfection. The visual richness of Giotto's solution and the story of images-within-images in the Trecento nevertheless show us that pictorial perfectionism can be found in many epochs and that images-within-images bear comparison with any other subsequent example. Furthermore, these details assumed a central role in the meaning-structure of the works in addition to their fine and revolutionary pictorial execution. Thus, issues of seeing and meaning can find a

common ground. Regardless of whether this coexistence was the achievement of a single genius or whether the intellectual achievement lies exactly in the cooperation of a number of contributors, the story of images-within-images in the Trecento showed that there is a possibility answering pictorial and iconographic challenges simultaneously. As this period stands at the beginning of a pictorial paradigm of which we are part even today, it is worth perhaps remembering that the founding fathers of our visual culture were able not only to see but also to think together.

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3.1.10. Lion. Detail of 3.1.9.

3.1.11. Lion. Detail of 3.1.9.

3.1.12. The Miracle at Greccio. Giotto di Bondone, 1290-1295. Fresco. Nave, Upper Church, San Francesco, Assisi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Stefan Diller.

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3.1.18. Victories. Detail of 3.1.16.

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3.2.7. St. Guido and Prophets. Around 1310. Fresco. Chapterhouse, Benedictine Abbey, Pomposa. Artwork in the public domain. Source: Cetty Muscolino, "Gli affreschi dell'aula capitolare dell'abbazia di Pomposa: restauri e ritrovamenti."

3.2.8. St. Benedict and Prophets. Around 1310. Fresco. Chapterhouse, Benedictine Abbey, Pomposa. Artwork in the public domain. Source: Cetty Muscolino, "Gli affreschi dell'aula capitolare dell'abbazia di Pomposa: restauri e ritrovamenti."

3.2.9. Allegory of Justice. Giotto di Bondone, 1303-1305. Fresco. Arena Chapel, Padua. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Fototeca, Arena Chapel.

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3.2.16. Predella. Detail of the *Allegory of Injustice*. Drawing: Pietro Estense Selvatico. Engraving: A. Bernati. Around 1836. Print. Source: Pietro Estense Selvatico, *Sulla cappellina degli Scrovegni nell'Arena di Padova e sui freschi di Giotto in essa dipinti*.

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3.2.25. Dancers. Plate 21, Italian Model Book. Around 1360. Pigment on parchment. Morgan Library, New York. Artwork in the public domain. Source: C. Fairfax Murray, *Two lombard sketch books in the collection of C. Fairfax Murray*.

3.2.26. Tambourine player. Plate 22, Italian Model Book. Around 1360. Pigment on parchment. Morgan Library, New York. Artwork in the public domain. Source: C. Fairfax Murray, *Two lombard sketch books in the collection of C. Fairfax Murray*.

3.2.27. Riders. Detail of 3.2.9.

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3.2.29. Dancers and tambourine player. Detail of the *Effects of the Good Government*. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, between 1337-1340. Fresco. Sala della Pace, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena. Artwork in the public domain. Source: Artstor.

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3.2.31. Rape. Detail of the *Effects of the Bad Government*. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, between 1337-1340. Fresco. Sala della Pace, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena. Artwork in the public domain. Source: Artstor.

3.2.32. Comb. Ivory. No. 229-1867, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Artwork in the public domain. Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

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3.2.35. Wedding chest. Around 1330. No. 317-1894, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Artwork in the public domain. Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

3.2.36. Falconry. Detail of 3.2.35.

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3.2.38. Birth of Mary. Giotto di Bondone, 1303-1305. Fresco. Arena Chapel, Padua. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Fototeca, Arena Chapel.

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3.2.41. Tympanum. Detail of *Annunciation to Anna*. Around 1860. Print. Artwork in the public domain. Source: *Arena Chapel, Padua: a series of wood engravings from the frescoes of Giotto, illustrating the lives of the Virgin and our Saviour.*

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3.2.43. Last Supper. Giotto di Bondone, 1303-1305. Fresco. Arena Chapel, Padua. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Fototeca, Arena Chapel.

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3.2.46. Bird. Detail of 3.2.44.

3.2.47. Bird. Detail of 3.2.43.

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3.2.53. Last Supper. 13v, Psalter and Hours of Margaret Skulesdatter. Between 1210 and 1220. Pigment on parchment. 78.A.8, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Artwork in the public domain. Source: Nigel J. Morgan, *Early Gothic manuscripts*, vol. 1.

3.2.54. Devil. Detail of 3.2.55.

3.2.55. Last Supper. Guglielmo, around 1161. Relief. Pulpit, Cathedral, Volterra. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence.

3.2.56. Last Supper. Pentultime Master, 1290-1295. Mosaic. Baptistery, Florence. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: 47882, Soprintendenza, Florence.

3.2.57. Last Supper. Around 1100. Fresco. Sant'Angelo in Formis. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Hirmer, 671/1048.

3.2.58. Inner façade. Giotto di Bondone, 1290-1295. Fresco. Nave, Upper Church, San Francesco, Assisi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Giovanni, 61.

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3.2.60. Bird. Detail of 3.2.58.

3.2.61. Pact of Judas. Giotto di Bondone, 1303-1305. Fresco. Arena Chapel, Padua. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Fototeca, Arena Chapel.

3.2.62. Envy. Giotto di Bondone, 1303-1305. Fresco. Arena Chapel, Padua. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Fototeca, Arena Chapel.

3.2.63. Isaac blessing Jacob. Giotto di Bondone (?), around 1290. Fresco. Nave, Upper Church, San Francesco, Assisi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Stefan Diller.

3.2.64. Esau asking for blessing. Giotto di Bondone (?), around 1290. Fresco. Nave, Upper Church, San Francesco, Assisi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Stefan Diller.

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3.2.66. Bed. Detail of 3.2.63. Photo: 2614, Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence.

3.2.67. Bed. Detail of 3.2.66.

3.2.68. Bed. Detail of 3.2.66.

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3.3.2. Stefaneschi polyptych – Nave. Giotto di Bondone, between 1300-1330. Panel. Vatican Museum, Vatican (formerly St. Peter Basilica, Vatican). Artwork in the public domain. Source: Artstor.

3.3.3. Model of the Stefaneschi polyptych. Detail of 3.3.2.

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3.3.5. Saving of the Knights. Giotto di Bondone, before 1297. Fresco. St. Nicholas Chapel, Lower Church, San Francesco, Assisi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Stefan Diller.

3.3.6. Princes Expressing their Gratitude. Giotto di Bondone, before 1297. Fresco. St. Nicholas Chapel, Lower Church, San Francesco, Assisi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Stefan Diller.

3.3.7. Tympanum. Detail of 3.3.6. Photo: 2398, Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence.

3.3.8. Tabernacle. Detail of 3.3.9.

3.3.9. Presentation to the Temple. Giotto di Bondone, 1305-1311. Fresco. Transept, Lower Church, San Francesco, Assisi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Stefan Diller.

3.3.10. Christ among the Doctors. Giotto di Bondone, 1305-1311. Fresco. Transept, Lower Church, San Francesco, Assisi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Stefan Diller.

3.3.11. Putto. Detail of 3.3.10. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence.

3.3.12. Allegory of Chastity. Giotto di Bondone, 1305-1311. Fresco. Crossing, Lower Church, San Francesco, Assisi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Stefan Diller.

3.3.13. Tower of Chastity. Detail of 3.3.12.

3.3.14. Putto. Detail of 3.3.12.

Chapter 4.

4.1. West wall. Between A. D. 244-245 and 256. Fresco. Synagogue, Dura Europos. Artwork in the public domain. Source: Artstor.

4.2. Crossing of the Red Sea. Detail of 4.1.

4.3. Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem. Detail of 4.1.

4.4. PALATIUM. 520-526. Mosaic. Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna. Artwork in the public domain. Source: Artstor.

4.5. Victory. Detail of 4.4.

4.6. Earthquake in Asia. 1315-1318. Fresco. Sant'Agostino, Rimini. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.7. Idol. Detail of 4.6. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.8. Idols. Detail of 4.6. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.9. St. Agnes led to the Brothel. After 1332. Fresco. Santa Maria Donnaregina, Naples. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Alinari 33686.

4.10. Idols. Detail of 4.9.

4.11. The Ordeal by Fire. Giotto di Bondone, 1290-1295. Fresco. Nave, Upper Church, San Francesco, Assisi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Stefan Diller.

4.12. Victory. Detail of 4.11.

4.13. Victory. Detail of 4.11.

4.14. Throne. Detail of 4.11.

4.15. Throne. Detail of *The Ordeal by Fire*. Johann Anton Ramboux, 1831-1842. D72, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Landesbild Rheinland, 174/3572.

4.16. Banquet of Herod. 1295-1300. San Pasquale Baylon chapel, Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Rome. Artwork in the public domain. Source: Tommaso Strinati, *Aracoeli: gli affreschi ritrovati*.

4.17. Victory. Detail of 4.16.

4.18. Ordeal by Fire. Giotto di Bondone, 1311-1325. Fresco. Bardi Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence. Artwork in the public domain. Source: Artstor.

4.19. Statuette. Detail of 4.18. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.20. Confirmation of the Rule. Giotto di Bondone, 1311-1325. Fresco. Bardi Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Opera di Santa Croce.

4.21. St. Peter. Detail of 4.20.

4.22. Statuettes. Detail of 4.23.

4.23. Banquet of Herod. Giotto di Bondone, 1311-1325. Fresco. Peruzzi Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence. Artwork in the public domain. Source: Artstor.

4.24. Statuette. Detail of 4.23. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.25. Statuette. Detail of 4.23. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.26. Statuette. Detail of 4.23. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.27. Statuette. Detail of 4.23. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.28. Statuette. Detail of 4.23. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.29. Presentation to the Temple. Giovanni da Rimini, after 1303. Fresco. "Campanile" chapel, Sant'Agostino, Rimini. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Radu Lupescu.

4.30. Angels. Detail of 4.29. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.31. Angels. Detail of 4.29. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.32. Presentation to the Temple. Pietro and Giuliano da Rimini, around 1310 or 1320. Oratory of St. Nicholas, Tolentino. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.33. Idols and lions. Detail of 4.32. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.34. Idols. Detail of 4.32. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.35. Lions. Detail of 4.32. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.36. Christ among the Doctors. Duccio of Buoninsegna, 1308-1311. Panel. Maestà, Opera del Duomo, Siena. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Daniele Rossi.

4.37. Statuette. Detail of 4.36. Source: Soprintendenza, Siena.

4.38. Twisted column. Palmerino di Guido, 1305-1310. Fresco. Transept, Santa Chiara, Assisi. Artwork in the public domain. Source: Artstor.

4.39. Statuettes. Detail of 4.38.

4.40. Christ among the Doctors. Palmerino di Guido, 1305-1310. Fresco. Transept, Santa Chiara, Assisi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.41. Prophet. Detail of 4.40. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.42. Prophet. Detail of 4.40. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.43. Tympanum. Detail of 4.44. Photo: Alinari 32976.

4.44. Christ among the Doctors. Taddeo Gaddi, 1328-1330. Fresco. Transept, Santa Croce, Florence. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.45. Relief. Detail of 4.44. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.46. Statuette. Detail of 4.44. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.47. Statuette. Detail of 4.44. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.48. Martyrdom of St. Stephen. Bernardo Daddi, before 1328. Fresco. Santa Croce, Florence. Artwork in the public domain. Source: Richard Offner, *The Works of Bernardo Daddi*.

4.49. Angels. Detail of 4.48. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.50. Statuette. Detail of 4.48. Photo: Peter Bokody.

4.51. **Statuette**. Detail of 4.48. Photo: Peter Bokody.

Chapter 5.

5.1. Virgin and Child. Palmerino di Guido, around 1302. Fresco. San Francesco, Rieti (today in the Diocesan Museum, Rieti). Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz. 46418.

5.2. Angel. Detail of 5.1. Photo: Corinna Gallori.

5.3. Angel. Detail of 5.1. Photo: Corinna Gallori.

5.4. Virgin and Child. Bigallo master, 13th century. Panel. Acton Collection, Florence. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Alinari 44406.

5.5. Virgin and Child. 13th century. San Verano, Peccioli. Panel. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Soprintendenza, Florence, 21902

5.6. Virgin and Child. Maddalena master, 13th century. Panel. San Michele, Rovezzano. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut.

5.7. Angel. Palmerino di Guido, around 1302. Fresco. San Francesco, Rieti (today in the Diocesan Museum, Rieti). Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Filippo Todini.

5.8. Santa Cecilia altarpiece. Master of Santa Cecilia, after 1304. Panel. Uffizi, Florence (formerly Santa Cecilia, Florence). Artwork in the public domain. Source: Artstor.

5.9. Angel. Detail of 5.8. Photo: Peter Bokody.

5.10. Angel. Detail of 5.8. Photo: Peter Bokody.

5.11. Crypt. San Ponziano, Spoleto. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Peter Bokody.

5.12. Virgin and Child. Cesi Master (?), first decade of the 14th century. Fresco. San Ponziano, Spoleto. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Peter Bokody.

5.13. Angel. Detail of 5.12. Photo: Peter Bokody.

5.14. Angel. Detail of 5.12. Photo: Peter Bokody.

5.15. Virgin and Child. Cesi Master, 1308. Panel. Sacristy, Santa Maria Assunta, Cesi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut, 34221.

5.16. Fume. Detail of 5.15.

5.17. Virgin and Child. Around the mid of the 13th century. Panel. Diocesan Museum, Spoleto (formerly Manciano di Trevi). Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut, 10217.

5.18. Fume. Detail of 5.17.

5.19. Madonna dell'Opera. Tressa Master, around 1215. Panel. Opera del Duomo, Siena (formerly Cathedral, Siena). Artwork in the public domain. Source: Artstor.

5.20. Courtyard. San Damiano, Assisi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Peter Bokody.

5.21. Virgin and Child. Around the middle of the 14th century. Fresco. Mortuary chapel, San Damiano, Assisi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Peter Bokody.

5.22. Lions. Detail of 5.21. Photo: Peter Bokody.

5.23. Lion. Detail of 5.21. Photo: Peter Bokody.

5.24. Lion. Detail of 5.21. Photo: Peter Bokody.

5.25. Lion. Detail of 5.21. Photo: Peter Bokody.

5.26. Virgin and Child. Master of Figline, third decade of the 14th century. Panel. Collegiata of Santa Maria, Figline (formerly San Francesco, Figline). Artwork in the public domain. Source: Artstor.

5.27. Lions. Detail of 5.26. Photo: Peter Bokody.

5.28. Lion. Detail of 5.26. Photo: Peter Bokody.

5.29. Throne of Solomon. Fourth decade of the 14th century. Pigment on parchment. 11r, 55. K. 2, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Rome. Artwork in the public domain. Source: Chiara Frugoni and Francesca Manzari, *Immagini di San Francesco in uno Speculum humanae salvationis del Trecento*.

5.30. Santa Felicità altarpiece. Taddeo Gaddi, around 1354. Panel. Sacristy, Santa Felicità, Florence (formerly St. Luke Chapel, Santa Felicità, Florence). Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Daniele Rossi.

5.31. Charity. Detail of 5.30. Photo: Daniele Rossi.

5.32. Faith. Detail of 5.30. Photo: Daniele Rossi.

5.33. Hope. Detail of 5.30. Photo: Daniele Rossi.

5.34. Humility. Detail of 5.30. Photo: Daniele Rossi.

5.35. Virtues. Taddeo Gaddi, 1328-1330. Fresco. Ceiling, Side Bay, Baroncelli Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence. Artwork in the public domain. Source: Joachim Poeschke, *Wandmalerei der Giottozeit in Italien 1280-1400*.

5.36. Charity. Detail of 5.35.

5.37. Charity. Taddeo Gaddi, 1328-1330. Fresco. Main Bay, Baroncelli Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Soprintendenza, Florence, 119369.

5.38. Faith. Detail of 5.35.

5.39. Faith. Taddeo Gaddi, 1328-1330. Fresco. Main Bay, Baroncelli Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Soprintendenza, Florence, 119369.

5.40. Hope. Detail of 5.35.

5.41. Hope. Taddeo Gaddi, 1328-1330. Fresco. Main Bay, Baroncelli Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Soprintendenza, Florence, 119369.

5.42. Humility. Detail of 5.35.

5.43. Humility. Taddeo Gaddi, 1328-1330. Fresco. Main Bay, Baroncelli Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Soprintendenza, Florence, 119369.

5.44. Lanckoronski Madonna. Bernardo Daddi, around 1340. Panel. Wawel Castle, Cracow (formerly St. Maria del Carmine, Florence). Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Wawel Royal Castle.

5.45. Gabriel. Detail of 5.44.

5.46. Mary. Detail of 5.44.

5.47. Louisville Madonna. Bernardo Daddi, around 1340. Panel. Private Collection. Photo: Witt Library, London.

5.48. Gabriel. Detail of 5.47.

5.49. Mary. Detail of 5.47.

5.50. Virgin and Child. Corso di Buono. Panel Oratory of St. Jacob, Girone. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Soprintendenza, Florence, 1272.

5.51. Virgin and Child. Magdalena Master. Panel. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut.

5.52. Virgin and Child. Bernardo Daddi. Panel. Lindenau-Kunst-Museum, Altenburg. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Richard Offner.

5.53. Monument of Antonio Fissiraga. Transept, San Francesco, Lodi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Peter Bokody.

5.54. Virgin and Child with Antonio Fissiraga. Master of the Fissiraga Tomb, before 1316. Fresco. San Francesco, Lodi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Peter Bokody.

5.55. St. George. Detail of 5.54. Photo: Peter Bokody.

5.56. Hermit. Detail of 5.54. Photo: Peter Bokody.

5.57. Four Evangelists. Master of the Four Elements, 1305-1310. Fresco. Crossing, San Francesco, Lodi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Peter Bokody.

5.58. Virgin of Mercy. Master of the Fissiraga Tomb, around 1320. Fresco. Baptistery, Varese. Artwork in the public domain. Source: Artstor.

5.59. Tympanum. Detail of 5.58.

5.60. St. George. Detail of 5.61.

5.61. Virgin and Child. Master of the Fissiraga Tomb, around 1320. Fresco. Baptistery, Varese. Artwork in the public domain. Source: Artstor.

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6.1. Road to the Calvary. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1316-1319. Fresco. Transept, Lower Church, San Francesco, Assisi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Stefan Diller.

6.2. Stigmatization of St. Francis. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1316-1319. Fresco. Transept, Lower Church, San Francesco, Assisi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Stefan Diller.

6.3. Washing of the Feet. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1316-1319. Fresco. Transept, Lower Church, San Francesco, Assisi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Stefan Diller.

6.4. Entry to Jerusalem. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1316-1319. Fresco. Transept, Lower Church, San Francesco, Assisi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Stefan Diller.

6.5. Idolatry (?). Detail of 6.4.

6.6. Transept. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1316-1319. Fresco. Transept, Lower Church, San Francesco, Assisi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Stefan Diller.

6.7. Last Supper. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1316-1319. Fresco. Transept, Lower Church, San Francesco, Assisi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Stefan Diller.

6.8. Flagellation. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1316-1319. Fresco. Transept, Lower Church, San Francesco, Assisi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Stefan Diller.

6.9. Putto with dog. Detail of 6.7.

6.10. Putto with cornucopia. Detail of 6.7.

6.11. Putto with cornucopia. Detail of 6.7.

6.12. Putto with hare. Detail of 6.7.

6.13. Putto and lion. Detail of 6.8.

6.14. Putto and lion. Detail of 6.8.

6.15. Putto and lion. Detail of 6.8.

6.16. Lion. Giovanni Pisano, after 1302. Statue. Pulpit, Cathedral, Pisa. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.17. Lion. Copy. Giovanni Pisano, before 1297. Statue. Façade, Cathedral, Siena. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.18. Mocking of Jesus. Giotto di Bondone, 1303-1305. Fresco. Arena Chapel, Padua. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Fototeca, Arena Chapel.

6.19. Lions. Detail of 6.18.

6.20. Painted bench. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1316-1319. Fresco. Transept, Lower Church, San Francesco, Assisi. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Stefan Diller.

6.21. Martyrdom of the Franciscans. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, after 1340. Fresco. Bandini Piccolimini Chapel, San Francesco, Siena (formerly Chapterhouse, San Francesco, Siena). Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Soprintendenza, Siena.

6.22. Dog. Detail of 6.21. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.23. Statues. Detail of 6.21. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.24. Statues. Detail of 6.21. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.25. Statue. Detail of 6.21. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.26. Statue. Detail of 6.21. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.27. Statue. Detail of 6.21. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.28. Statue. Detail of 6.21. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.29. Statue. Detail of 6.21. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.30. Statue. Detail of 6.21. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.31. Statue. Detail of 6.21. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.32. Presentation in the Temple. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, 1339-1342. Panel. Uffizi, Florence (formerly Cathedral, Siena). Artwork in the public domain. Source: Artstor.

6.33. Façade. Cathedral, Siena. Artwork in the public domain. Source: Artstor.

6.34. Groundplan. Cathedral, Siena. Artwork in the public domain. Source: Monika Butzek, "Le pale di Sant'Ansano e degli altri Protettori nel Duomo di Siena: Una storia documentaria.

6.35. Plan. Around 1339. Drawing. Inv. 20, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena. Artwork in the public domain. Source: Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt, *Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen, 1300 – 1450,* vol. I/1.

6.36. Angel. Detail of 6.32. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.37. Angel and lion. Detail of 6.32. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.38. Angel and lion. Detail of 6.32. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.39. Lion. Copy. Giovanni Pisano, before 1297. Statue. Façade, Cathedral, Siena. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.40. Angel. Copy. Sienese master, before 1317. Statue. Façade, Cathedral, Siena. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.41. Tympanum. Detail of 6.32. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.42. Tympanum. Detail of 6.32. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.43. Tympanum. Detail of 6.32. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.44. Consecration of St. Nicholas. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, around 1332. St. Nicholas altarpiece, Uffizi, Florence (formerly Church of San Procolo, Florence). Artwork in the public domain. Source: Artstor.

6.45. Tympanum. Detail of 6.43.

6.46. Moses. Detail of 6.32. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.47. Joshua. Detail of 6.32. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.48. Moses. Copy. Giovanni Pisano, before 1297. Statue. Façade, Cathedral, Siena. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Peter Bokody.

6.49. Moses. Giovanni Pisano, before 1297. Statue. Opera del Duomo, Siena (formerly façade, Cathedral, Siena). Artwork in the public domain. Source: Artstor.

6.50. Annunciation. Simone Martini, 1331-1333. Panel. Uffizi, Florence (formerly Cathedral, Siena). Artwork in the public domain. Source: Artstor.

6.51. Virgin and Child. 123r, Ordo officiorum ecclesiæ Senensis, around 1215. G.V.8, Biblioteca degli Intronati, Siena. Pigment on parchment. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Biblioteca degli Intronati, Siena.

6.52. Malachi. Detail of 6.32. Source: Artstor.

Chapter 7.

7.1. **Morning of the Resurrection**. Around 1330. Panel. Augustinian Abbey, Klosterneuburg. Artwork in the public domain. Photo: Peter Bokody.

7.2. Noli me tangere. Fol. 8v Wiener Biblia Pauperum, around 1330. Pigment on parchment. Cod. 1198, National Library, Vienna. Artwork in the public domain. Source: *Die Wiener Biblia Pauperum, Cod. Vin. Bibl. Nat. Wien (1198)*, ed. Franz Unterkircher.

7.3. Daniel. Detail of 7.1. Photo: Peter Bokody.

7.4. Lion. Detail of 7.1. Photo: Peter Bokody.

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0.3. Las Meninas

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1.3. Louvre Stigmatization

1.4. Chapel (Detail of 1.3.)

1.5. Dream of Innocent III (Detail of 1.3.)

1.6. Apparition at the Chapter of Arles

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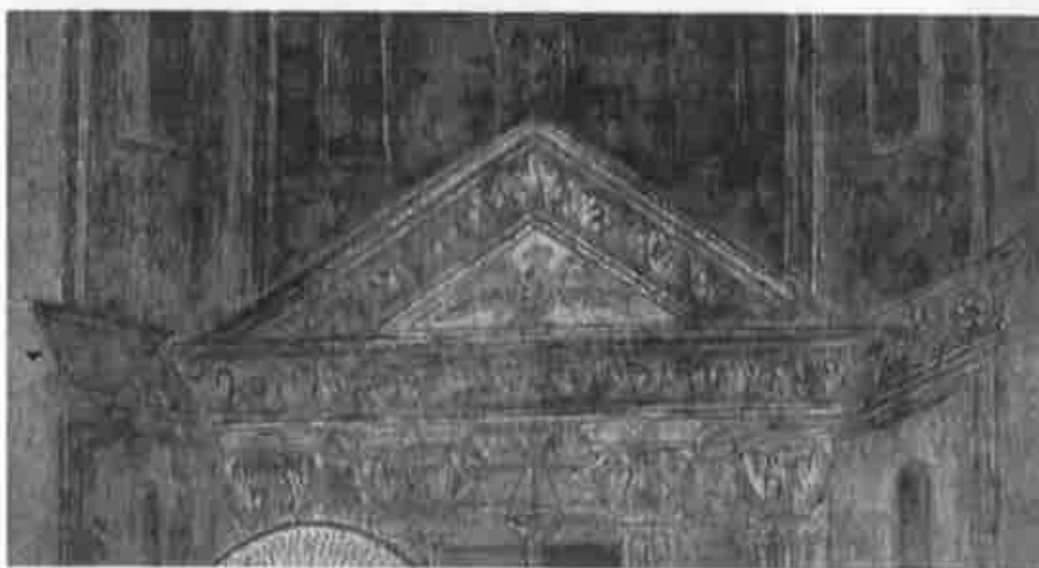
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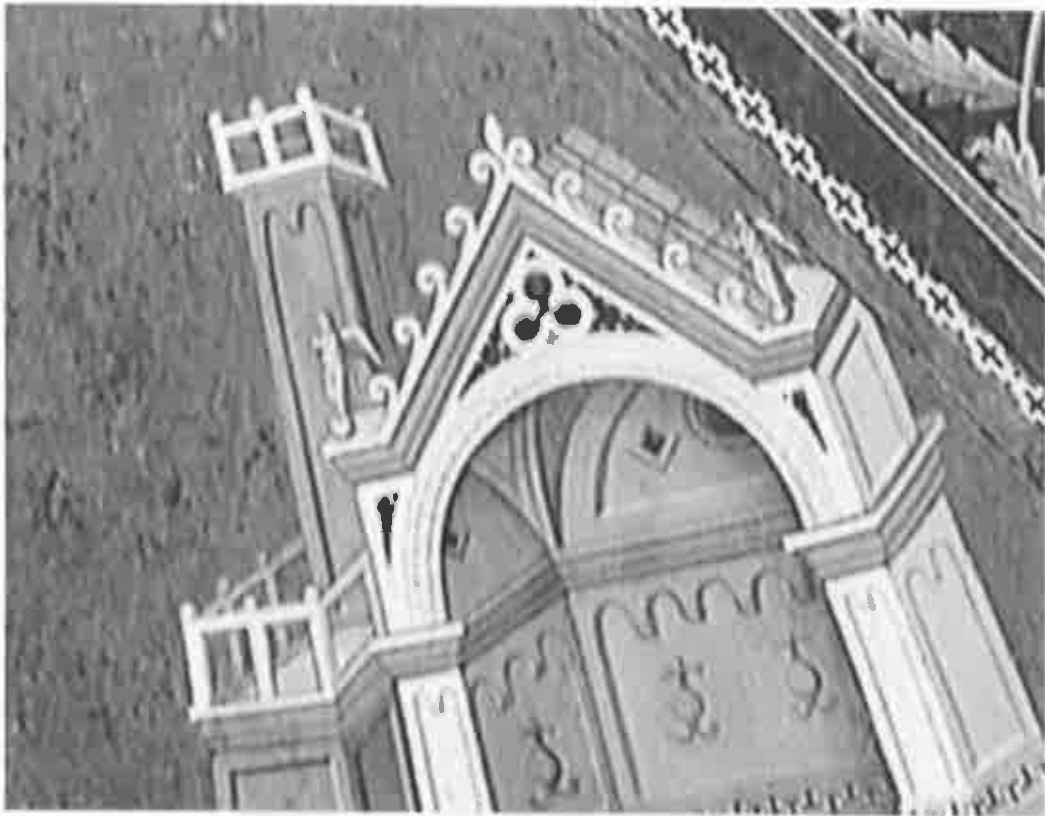
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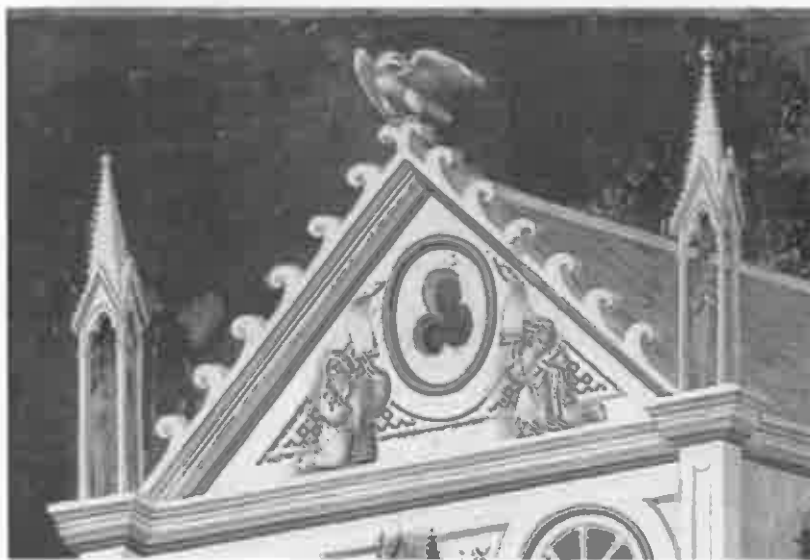
3.1.26. Façade.
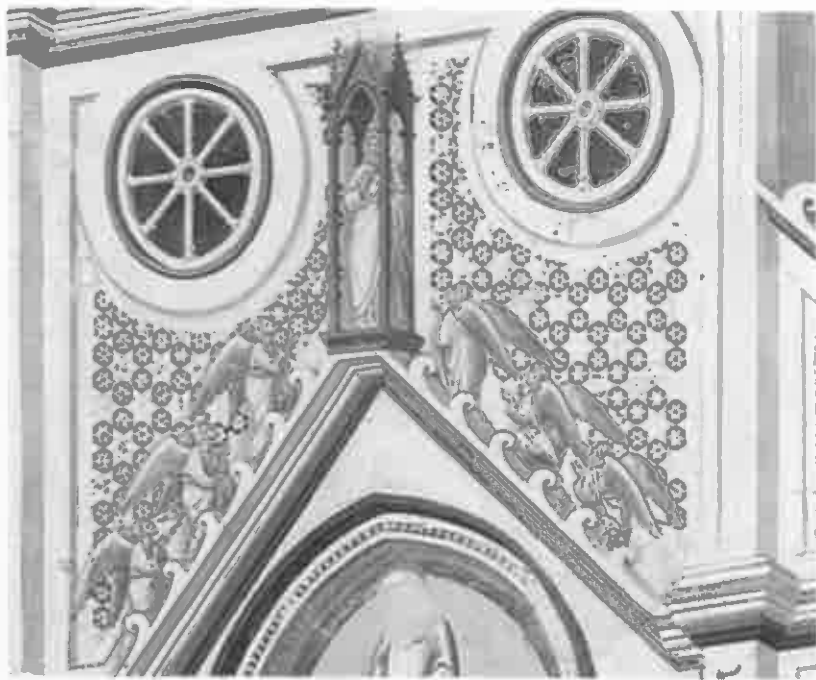
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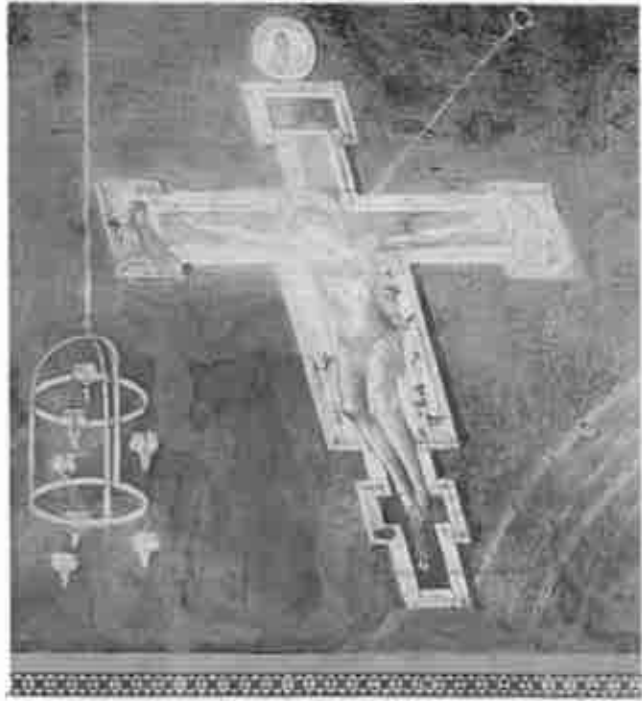
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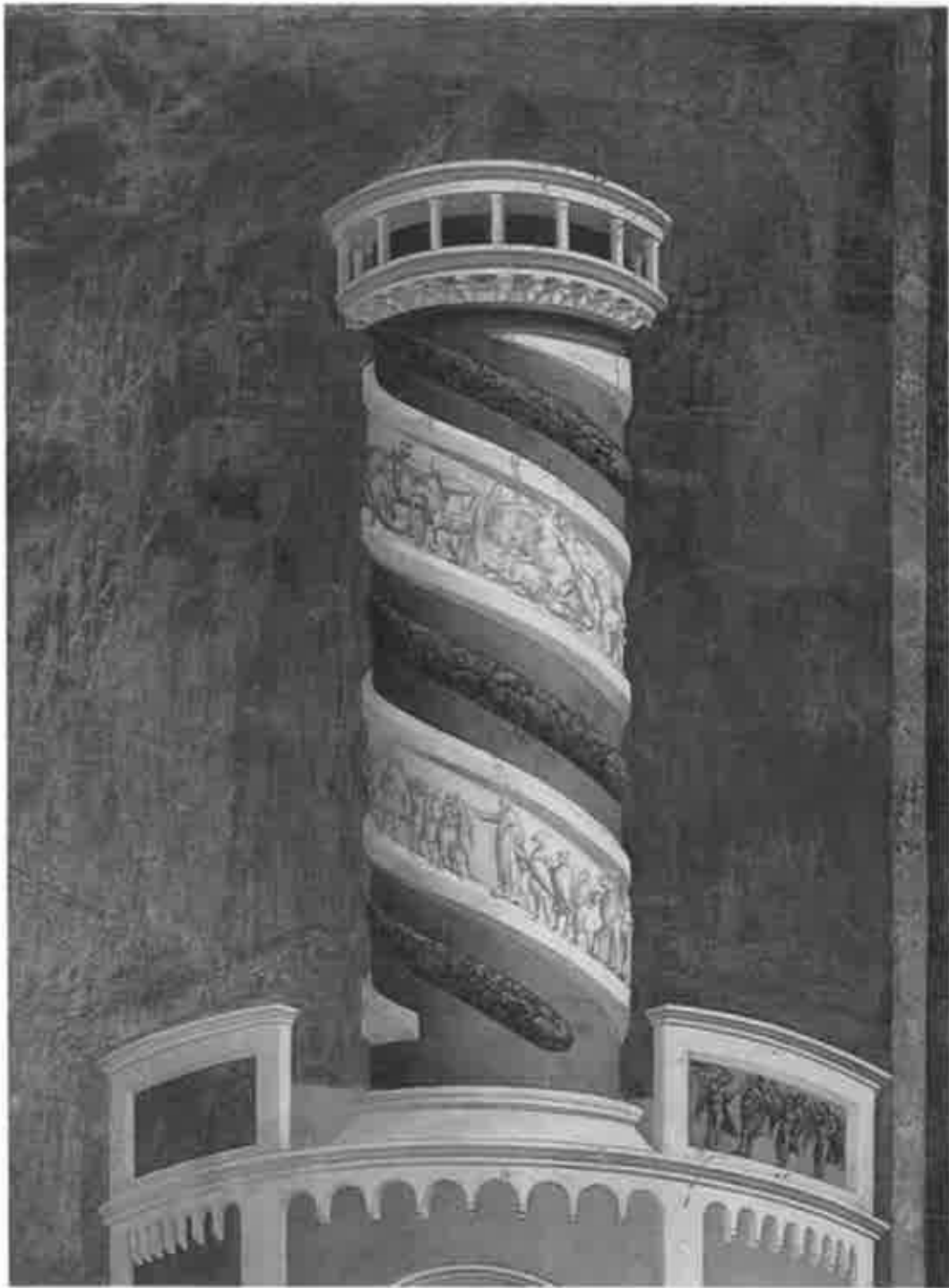
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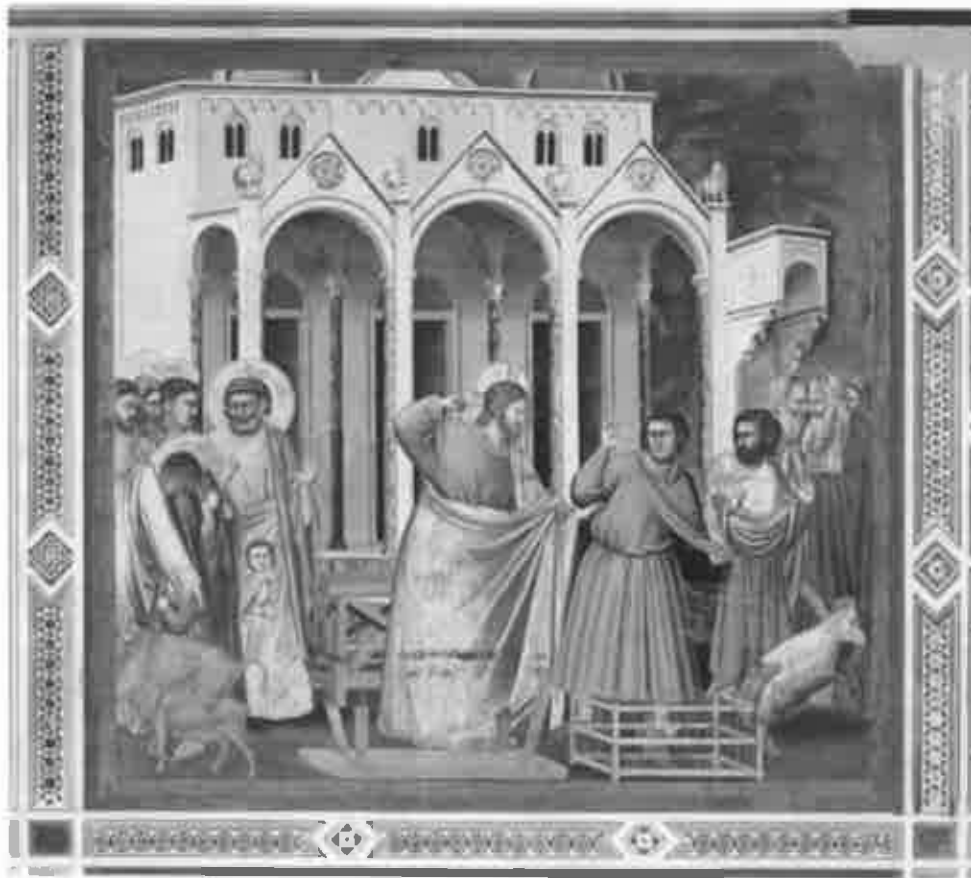
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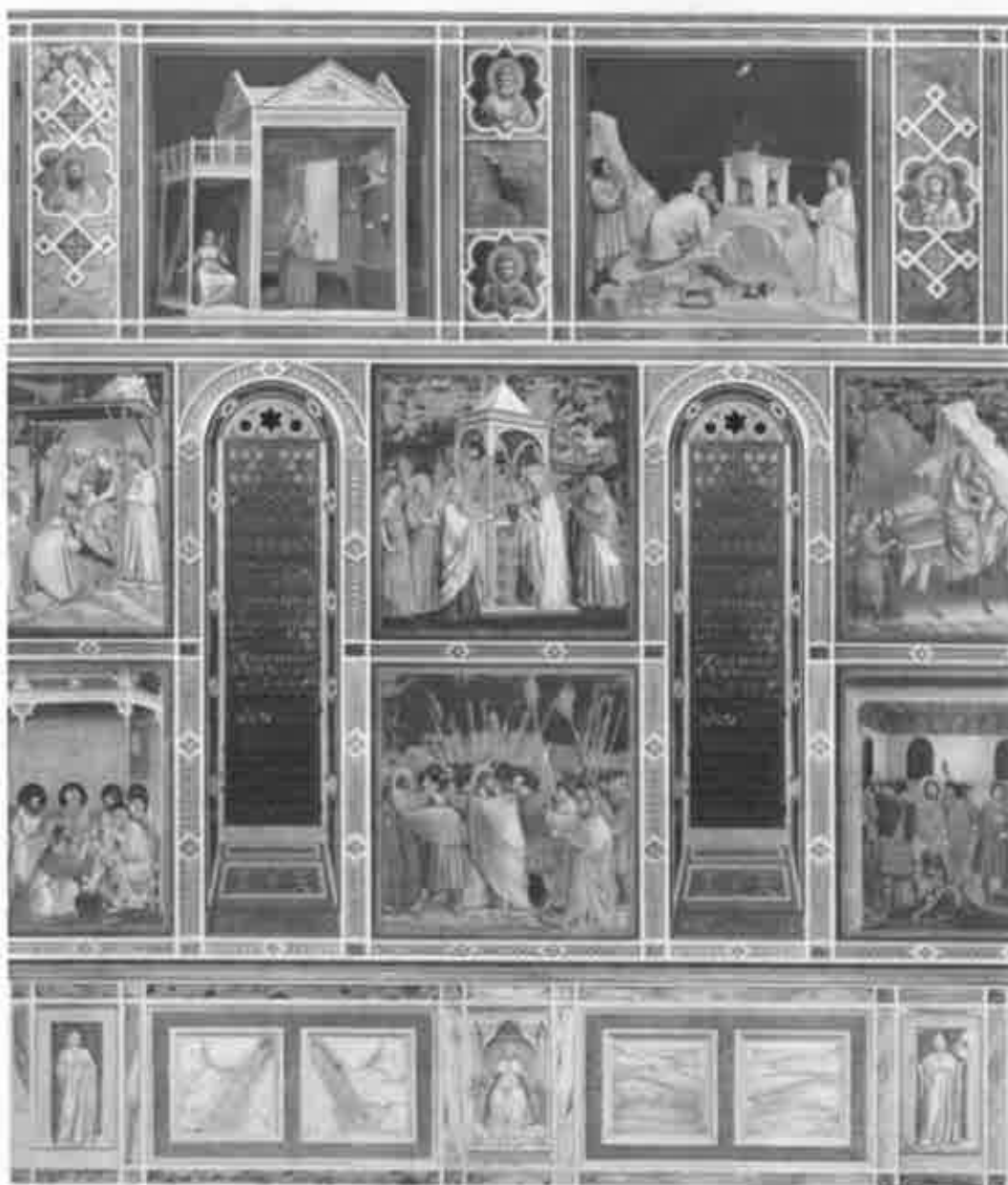
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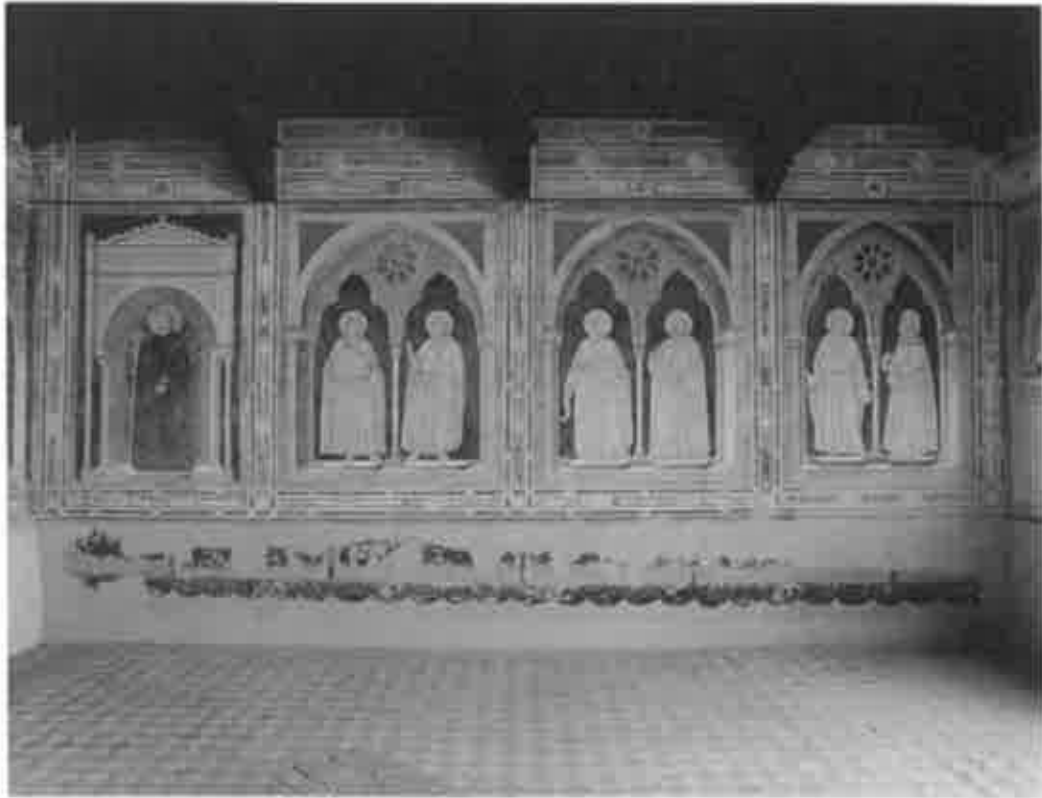
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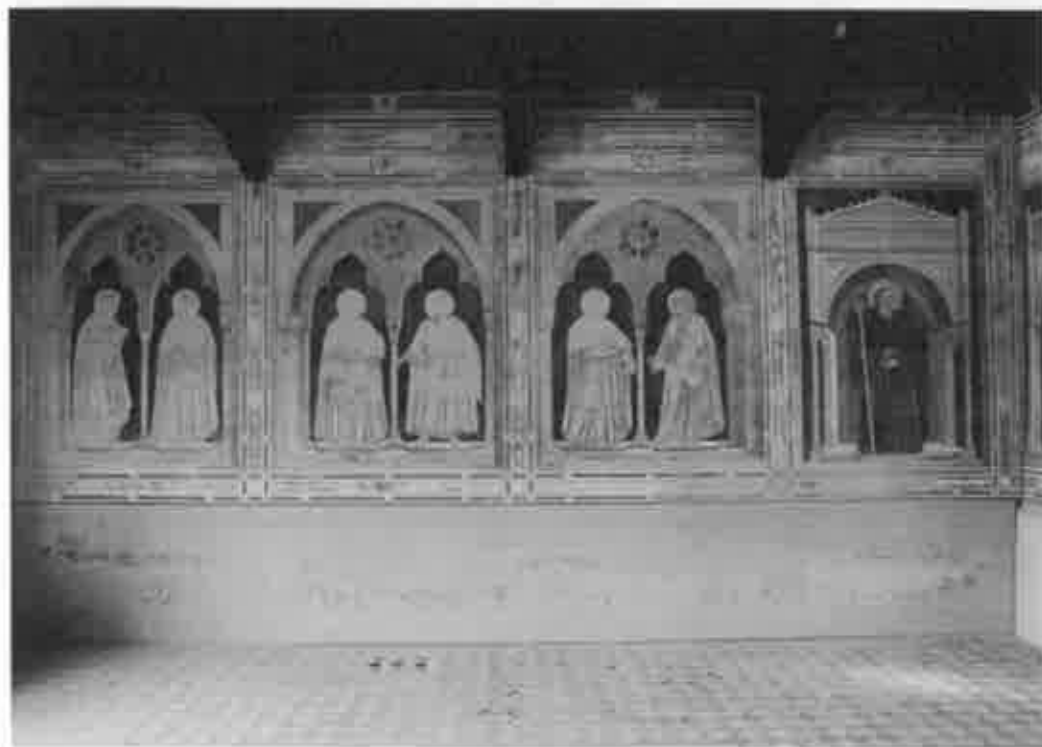
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3.2.11. Punishment (Detail of 3.2.9.)

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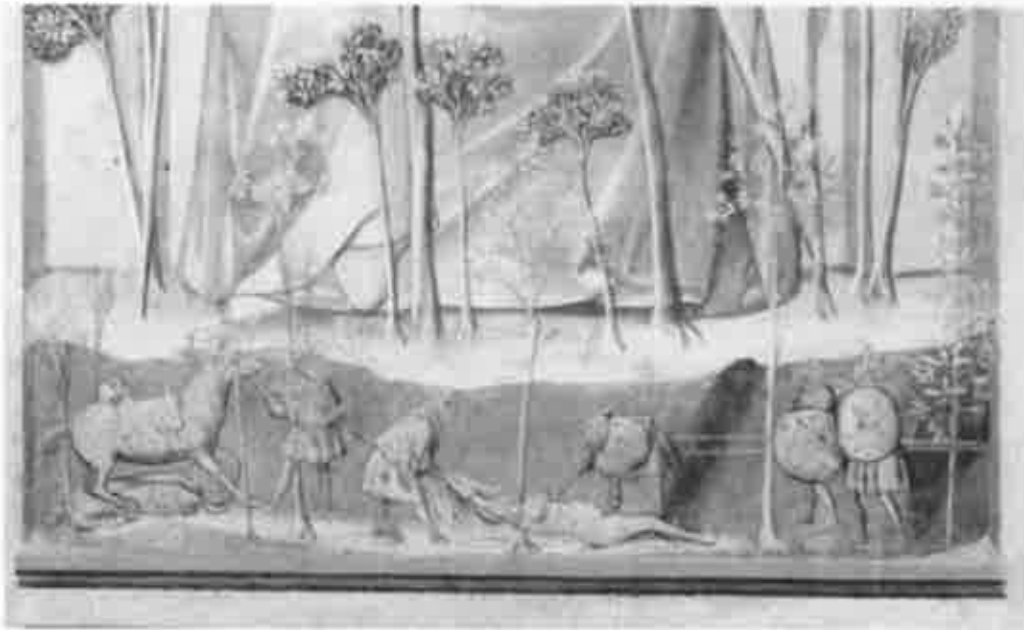
3.2.14. Predella (Detail of 3.2.10.)

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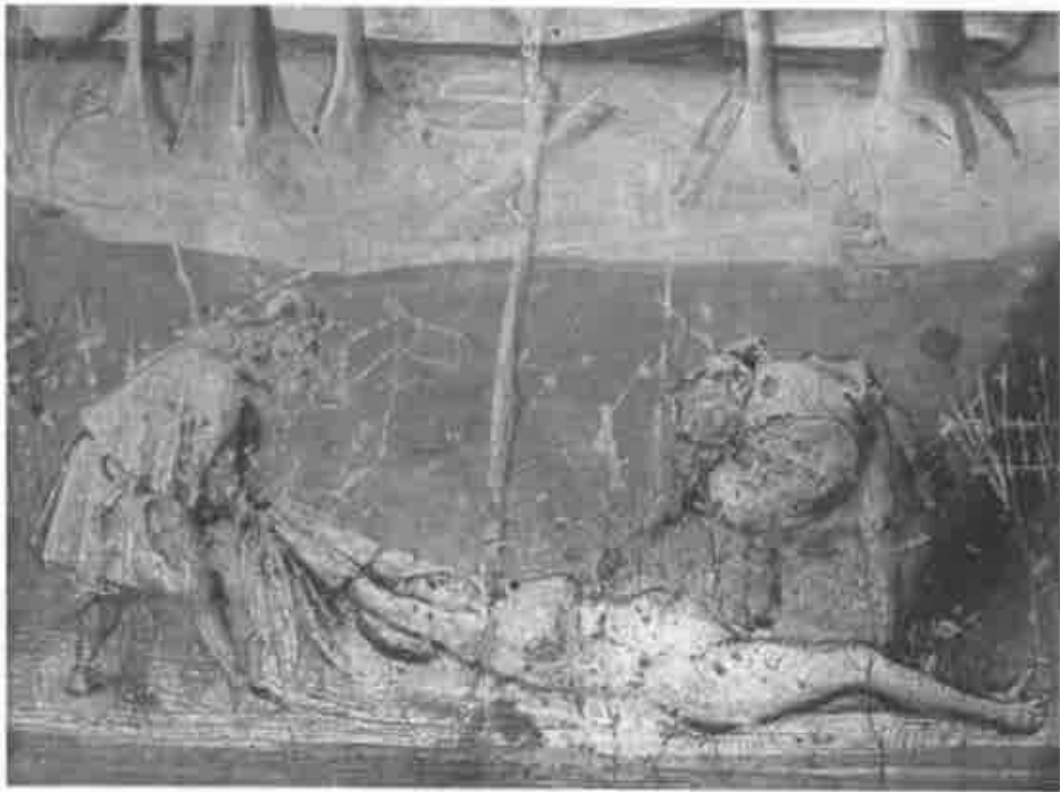
3.2.17. Rape (Detail of 3.2.10.)

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3.2.22. Dancers and tambourine player

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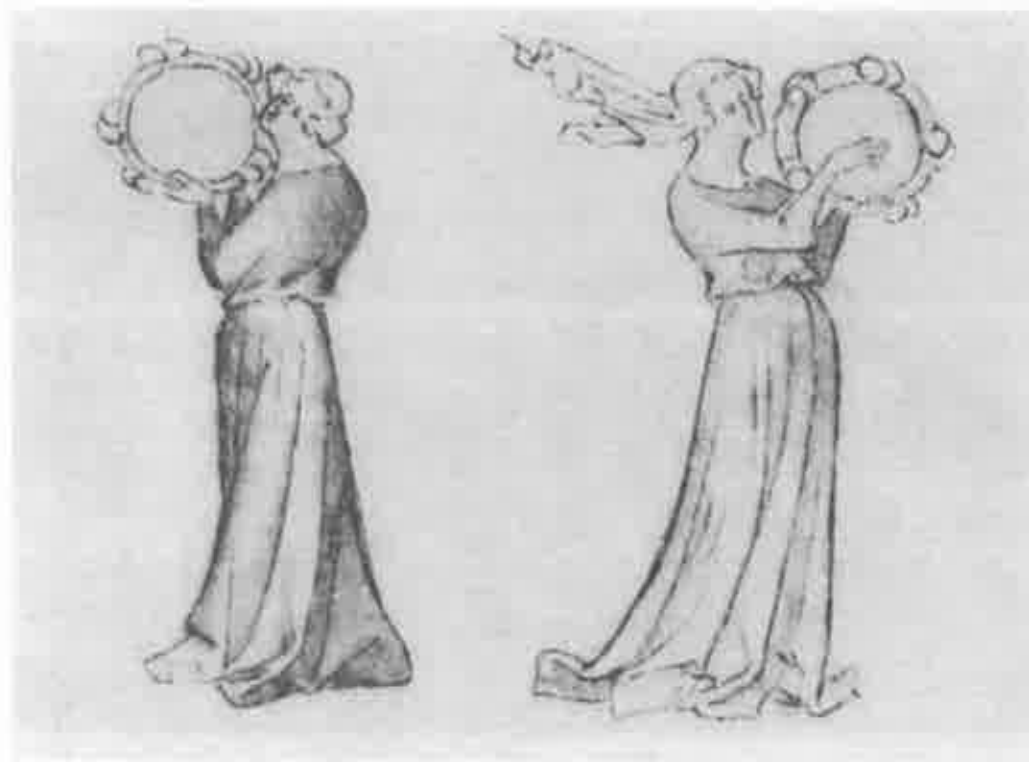
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3.2.27. Riders

3.2.28. Espousal of the Virgin

3.2.29. Dancers and tambourine player

3.2.30. Falconry

3.2.31. Rape
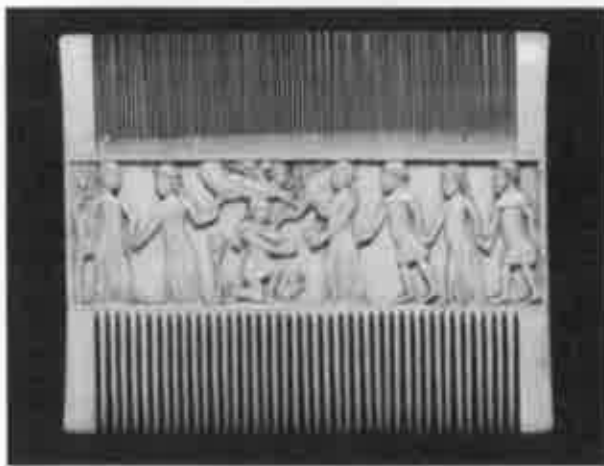
3.2.32. Comb

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3.2.34. Comb (Reverse of 3.2.33.)

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3.2.38. Birth of Mary

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3.2.40. Tympanum - Blessing (Detail of 3.2.38.)

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3.2.42. Tympanum - Blessing. Detail of *Birth of Mary*.

3.2.43. Last Supper

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3.2.45. Bird with serpent (Detail of 3.2.43.)

3.2.46. Bird (Detail of 3.2.44.)
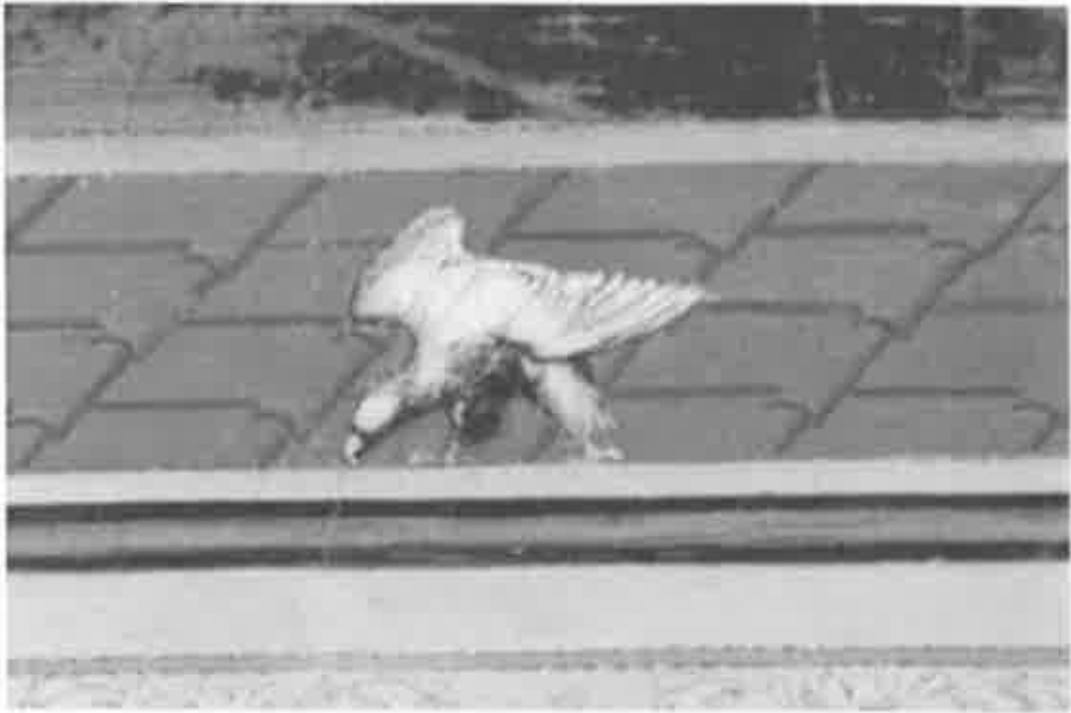
3.2.47. Bird (Detail of 3.2.43.)

3.2.48. Bird (Detail of 3.2.44.)
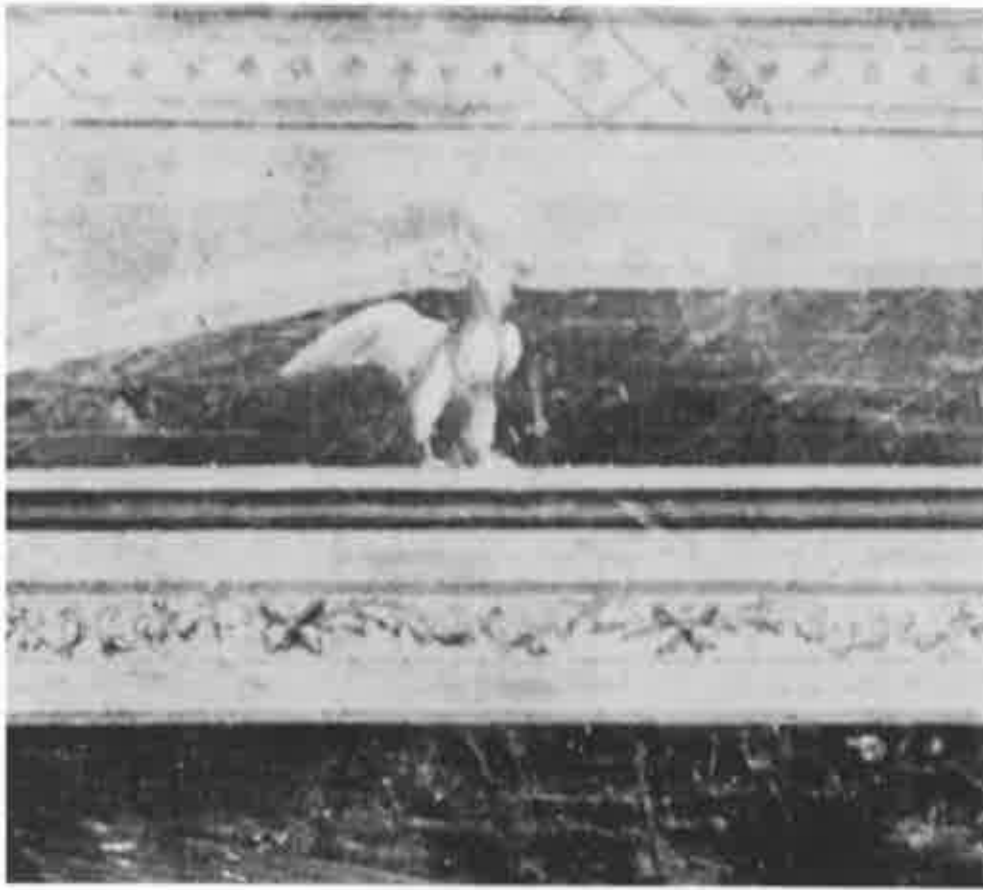
3.2.49. Bird with serpent (Detail of 3.2.43.)

3.2.50. Bird with serpent (Detail of 3.2.44.)

3.2.51. Bowl (Detail of 3.2.43.)

3.2.52. Modified version of 3.2.43

3.2.53. Last Supper

3.2.54. Devil (Detail of 3.2.55.)

3.2.55. Last Supper

3.2.56. Last Supper

3.2.57. Last Supper

3.2.58. Inner façade

3.2.59. Bird (Detail of 3.2.58.)

3.2.60. Bird (Detail of 3.2.58.)

3.2.61. Pact of Judas

3.2.62. Envy

3.2.63. Isaac blessing Jacob

3.2.64. Esau asking for blessing

3.2.65. Bed (Detail of 3.2.64.)

3.2.66. Bed (Detail of 3.2.63.)

3.2.67. Bed (Detail of 3.2.66.)
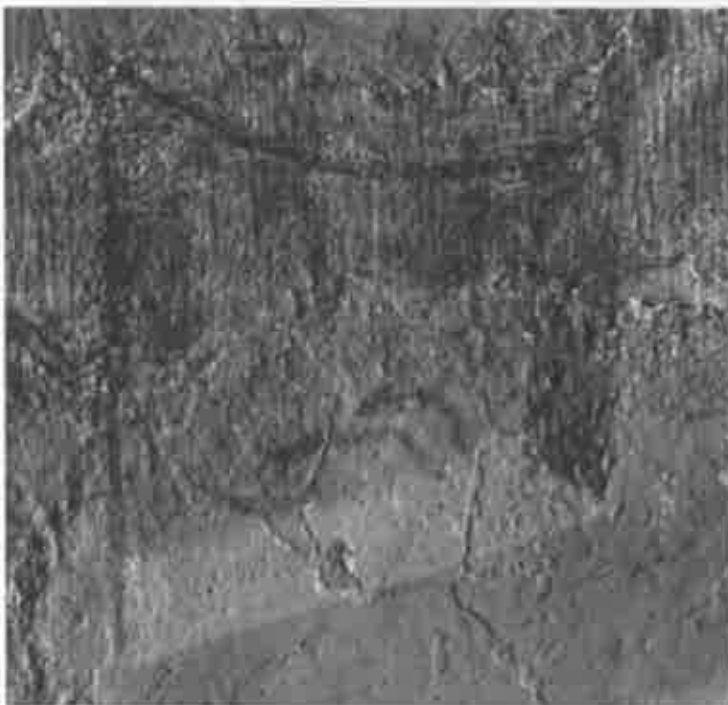
3.2.68. Bed (Detail of 3.2.66.)

3.3.1. **Stefaneschi** polyptych – Apse

3.3.2. Stefaneschi polyptych – Nave

3.3.3. Model of the Stefaneschi polyptych (Detail of 3.3.2.)

3.3.4. Sphinxes (3.3.5.)

3.3.5. Saving of the Knights

3.3.6. Princes Expressing their Gratitude

3.3.7. Tympanum (Detail of 3.3.6.)

3.3.8. Tabernacle (Detail of 3.3.9.)

3.3.9. Presentation to the Temple

3.3.10. Christ among the Doctors

3.3.11. Putto (Detail of 3.3.10.)

3.3.12. Allegory of Chastity
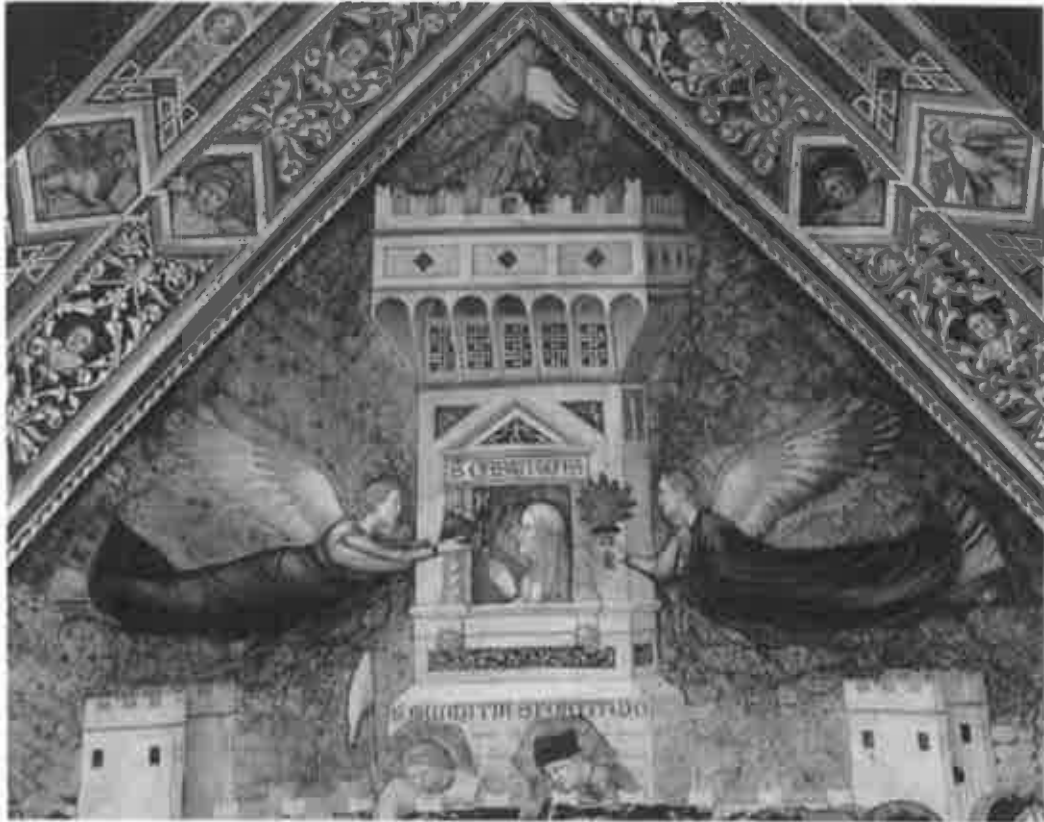
3.3.13. Tower of Chastity (Detail of 3.3.12.)

3.3.14. Putto (Detail of 3.3.12.)

4.1. West wall
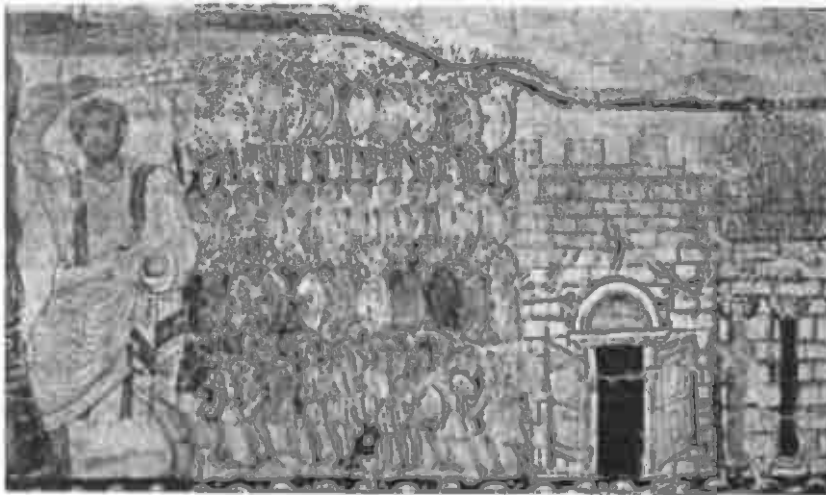
4.2. Crossing of the Red Sea (Detail of 4.1.)
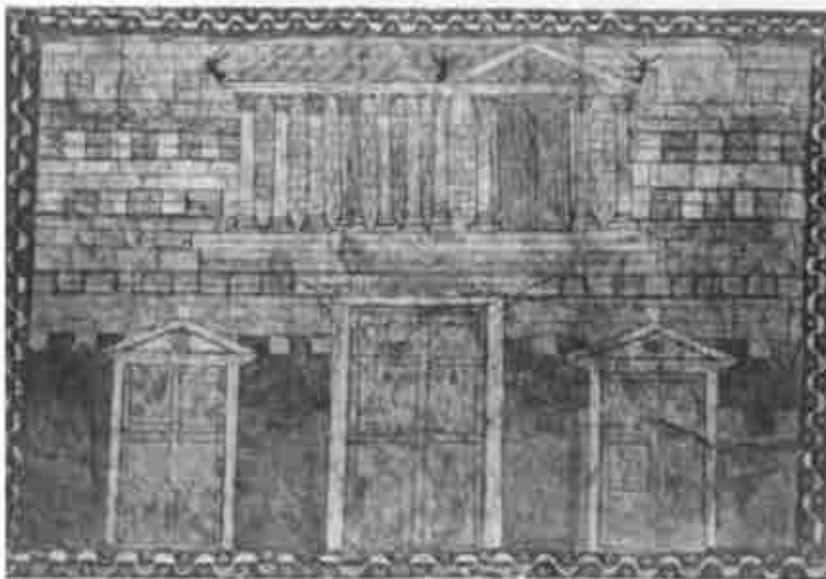
4.3. Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem (Detail of 4.1.)
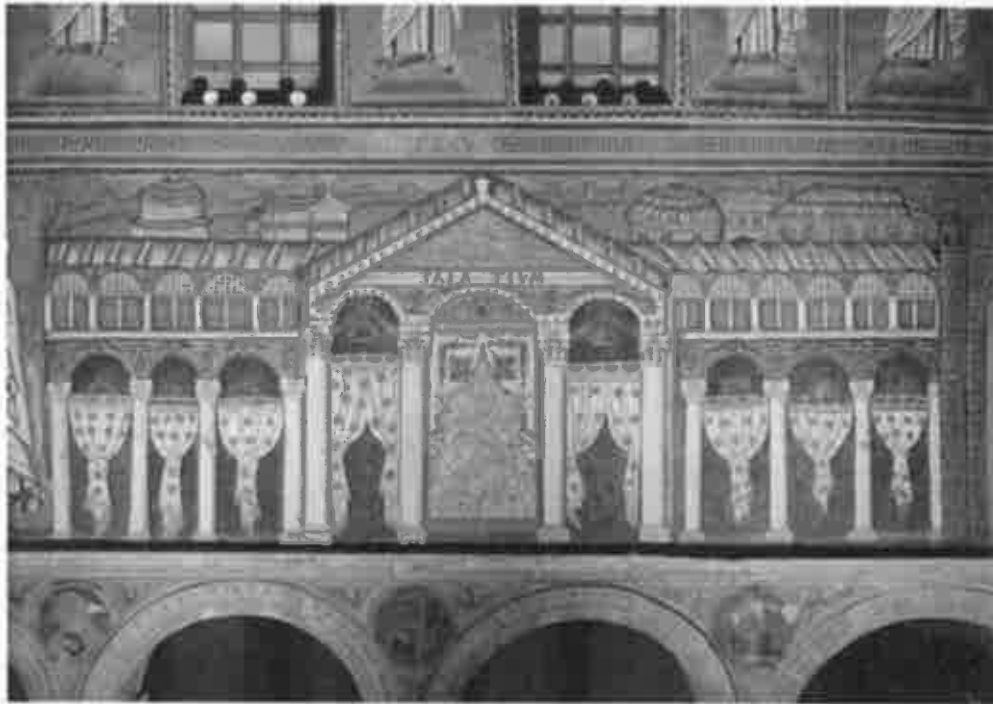
4.4. PALATIUM

4.5. Victory

4.6. Earthquake in Asia

4.7. Idol (Detail of 4.6.)

4.8. Idols (Detail of 4.6.)

4.9. St. Agnes led to the Brothel

4.10. Idols (Detail of 4.9.)

4.11. The Ordeal by Fire

4.12. Victory (Detail of 4.11.)

4.13. Victory (Detail of 4.11.)

4.14. Throne (Detail of 4.11.)

4.15. Throne (Johann Anton Ramboux)

4.16. Banquet of Herod

4.17. Victory (Detail of 4.16.)

4.18. Ordeal by Fire

4.19. Statuette (Detail of 4.18.)

4.20. Confirmation of the Rule

4.21. St. Peter (Detail of 4.20.)

4.22. Statuettes (Detail of 4.23.)

4.23. Banquet of Herod

4.24. Statuette (Detail of 4.23.)

4.25. Statuette (4.23.)

4.26. Statuette (4.23.)

4.27. Statuette (4.23.)

4.28. Statuette (4.23.)

4.29. Presentation to the Temple
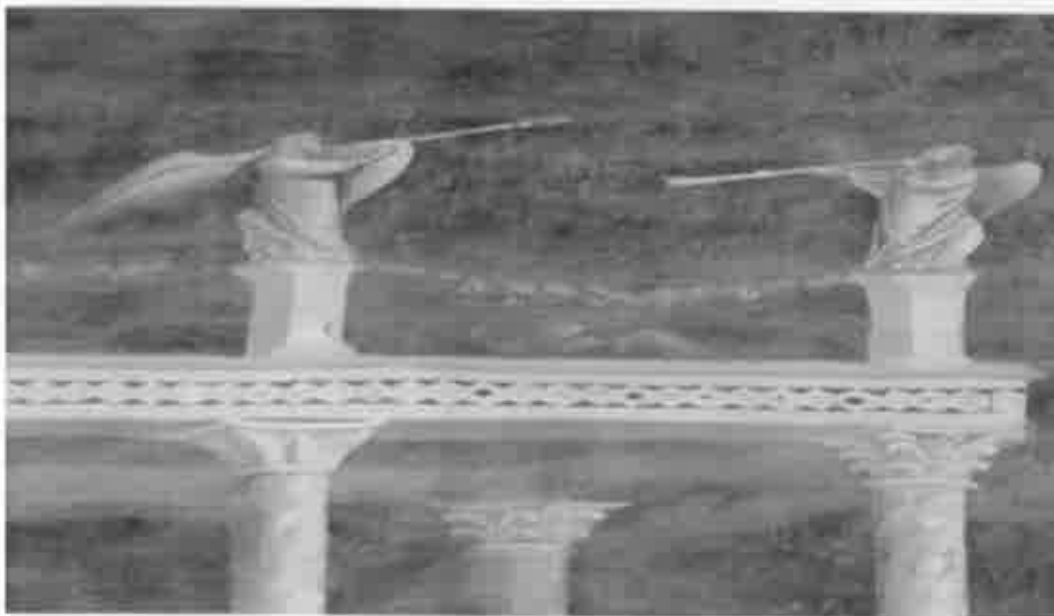
4.30. Angels (Detail of 4.29.)

4.31. Angels (Detail of 4.29.)

4.32. Presentation to the Temple

4.33. Idols and lions (4.32.)

4.34. Idols

4.35. Lions

4.36. Christ among the Doctors

4.37. Statuette (Detail of 4.36.)
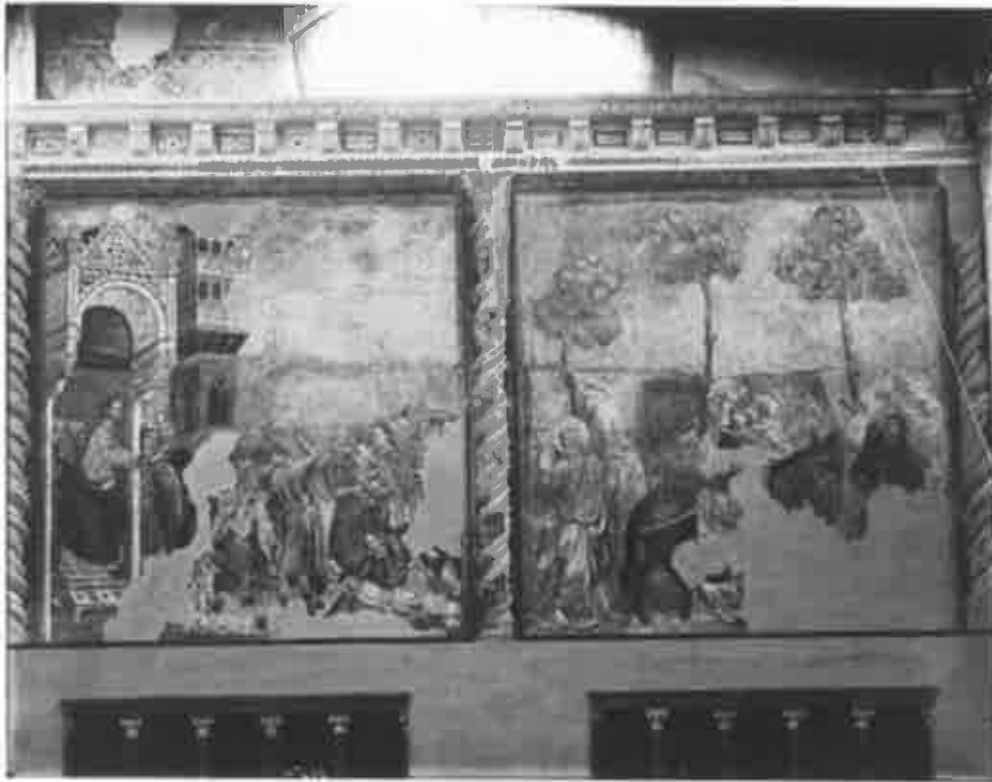
4.38. Twisted column

4.39. Statuettes

4.40. Christ among the Doctors

4.41. Prophet (Detail of 4.40.)

4.42. Prophet (Detail of 4.40.)

4.43. Tympanum (Detail of 4.44.)

4.44. Christ among the Doctors

4.45. Relief (Detail of 4.44.)

4.46. Statuette

4.47. Statuette

4.48. Martyrdom of St. Stephen

4.49. Angels (Detail of 4.48.)

4.50. Statuette (Detail of 4.48.)

4.51. Statuette (Detail of 4.48.)
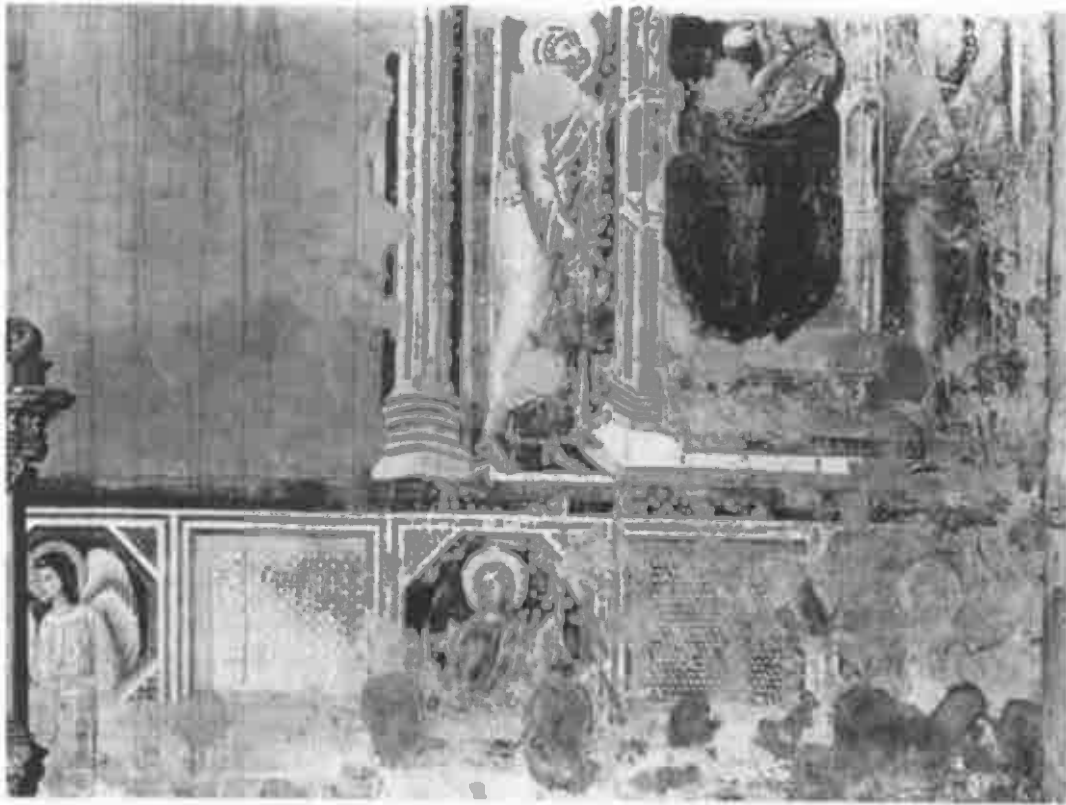
5.1. Virgin and Child

5.2. Angel (Detail of 5.1.)

5.3. Angel (Detail of 5.1.)

5.4. Virgin and Child

5.5. Virgin and Child

5.6. Virgin and Child

5.7. Angel

5.8. Santa Cecilia altarpiece

5.9. Angel (Detail of 5.8.)

5.10. Angel (Detail of 5.8.)

5.11. Crypt

5.12. Virgin and Child

5.13. Angel (Detail of 5.12.)

5.14. Angel (Detail of 5.12.)

5.15. Virgin and Child

5.16. Fume (Detail of 5.15.)

5.17. Virgin and Child

5.18. Fume (Detail of 5.17.)

5.19. Madonna dell'Opera

5.20. Courtyard

5.21. Virgin and Child

5.22. Lions (Detail of 5.21.)

5.23. Lion (Detail of 5.21.)

5.24. Lion (Detail of 5.21.)

5.25. Lion (Detail of 5.21.)

5.26. Virgin and Child

5.27. Lions (Detail of 5.26.)

5.28. Lion (Detail of 5.26.)

5.29. Throne of Solomon

5.30. Santa Felicità altarpiece

5.31. Charity (Detail of 5.30.)

5.32. Faith (Detail of 5.30.)

5.33. Hope (Detail of 5.30.)

5.34. Humility (Detail of 5.30.)

5.35. Virtues

5.36. Charity (Detail of 5.35.)

5.37. Charity

5.38. Faith (Detail of 5.35.)

5.39. Faith

5.40. Hope (Detail of 5.35.)

5.41. Hope

5.42. Humility (Detail of 5.35.)

5.43. Humility

5.44. Lanckoronski Madonna

5.45. Gabriel (Detail of 5.44.)

5.46. Mary (Detail of 5.44.)

5.47. Louisville Madonna

5.48. Gabriel (Detail of 5.47.)

5.49. Mary (Detail of 5.47.)

5.50. Virgin and Child

5.51. Virgin and Child

5.52. Virgin and Child

5.53. Monument of Antonio Fissiraga

5.54. Virgin and Child

5.55. St. George (Detail of 5.54.)

5.56. Hermit (Detail of 5.54.)
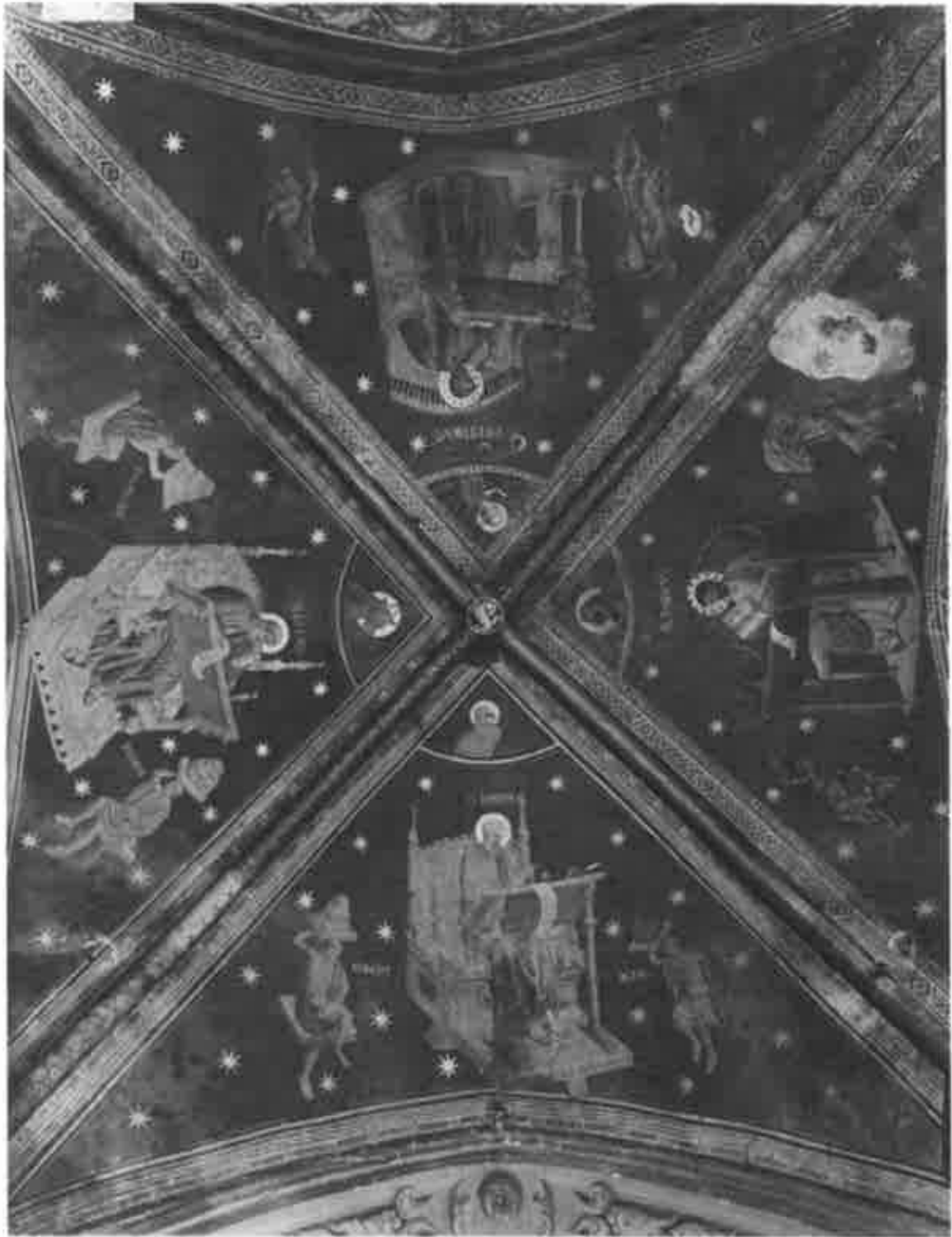
5.57. Four Evangelists

5.58. Virgin of Mercy

5.59. Tympanum (Detail of 5.58.)

5.60. St. George (Detail of 5.61.)

5.61. Virgin and Child

6.1. Road to the Calvary

6.2. Stigmatization of St. Francis

6.3. Washing of the Feet

6.4. Entry to Jerusalem

6.5. Idolatry (Detail of 6.4.)
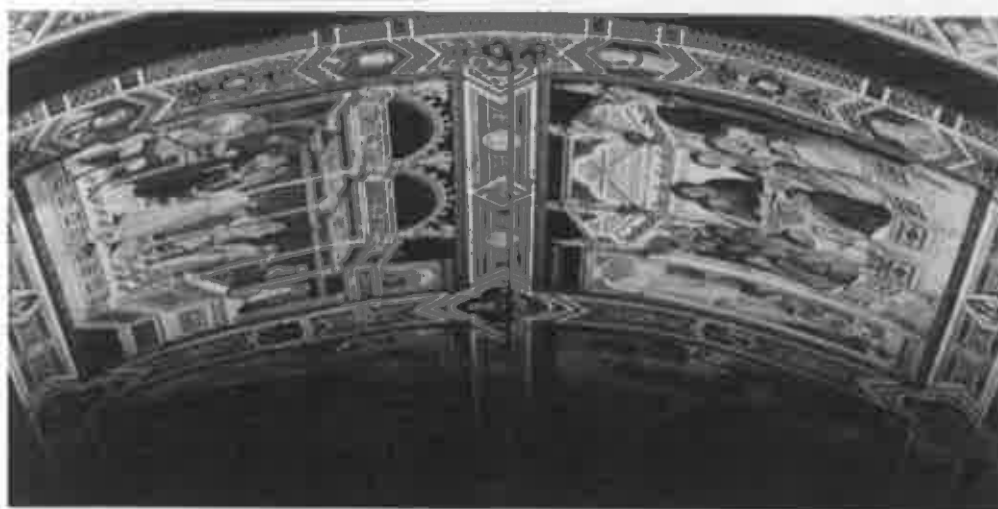
6.6. Transept

6.7. Last Supper
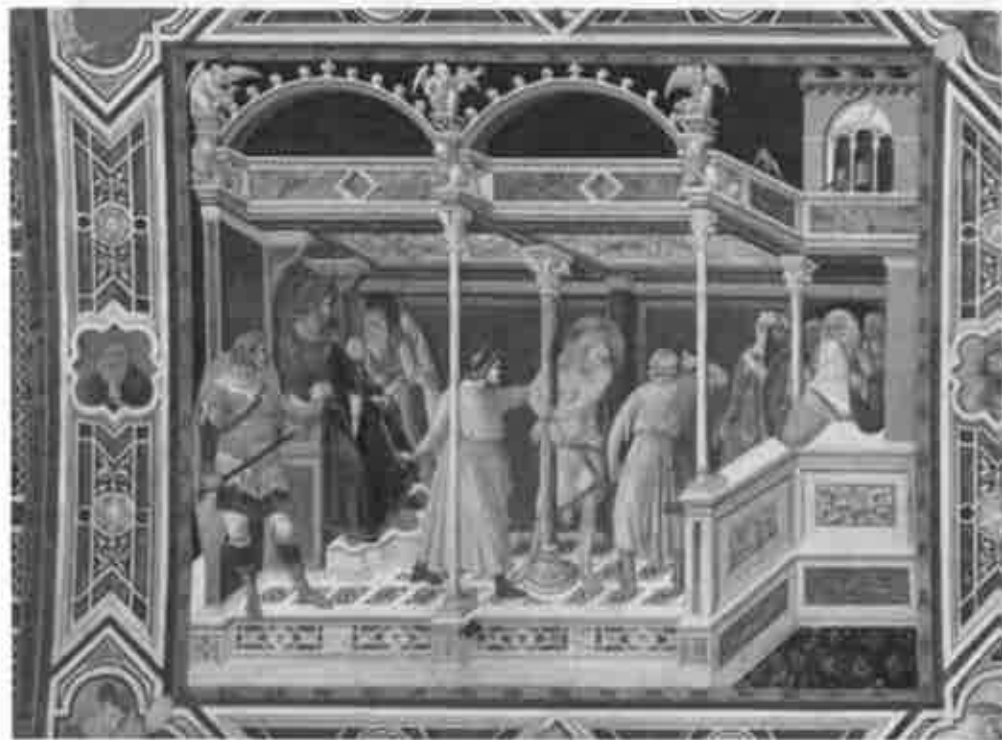
6.8. Flagellation

6.9. **Putto with dog** (Detail of 6.7.)

6.10. **Putto with cornucopia** (Detail of 6.7.)

6.11. Putto with cornucopia (Detail of 6.7.)

6.12. **Putto with hare** (Detail of 6.7.)

6.13. Putto and lion (Detail of 6.8.)

6.14. Putto and lion (Detail of 6.8.)

6.15. Putto and lion (Detail of 6.8.)

6.16. Lion

6.17. Lion

6.18. Mocking of Jesus

6.19. Lions

6.20. Painted bench

6.21. Martyrdom of the Franciscans
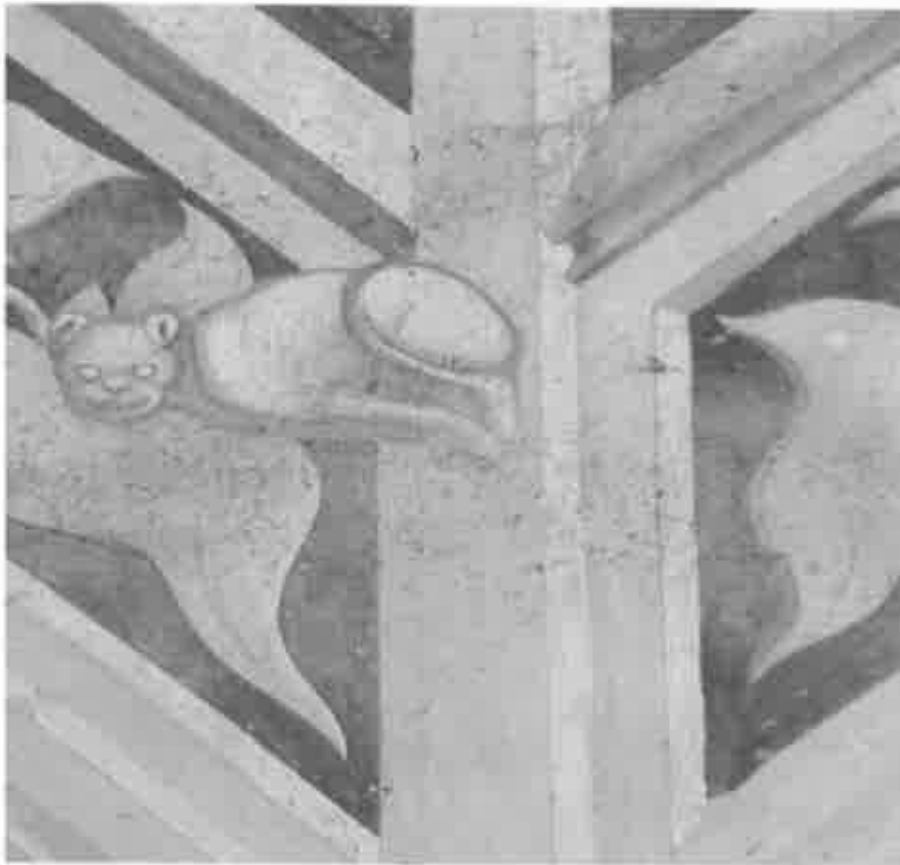
6.22. Dog (Detail of 6.21.)

6.23. Statues (Detail of 6.21.)

6.24. Statues (Detail of 6.21.)

6.25. Statue (Detail of 6.21.)

6.26. Statue (Detail of 6.21.)

6.27. Statue (Detail of 6.21.)

6.28. Statue (Detail of 6.21.)

6.29. Statue (Detail of 6.21.)

6.30. Statue (Detail of 6.21.)

6.31. Statue (Detail of 6.21.)

6.32. Presentation in the Temple

6.33. Façade
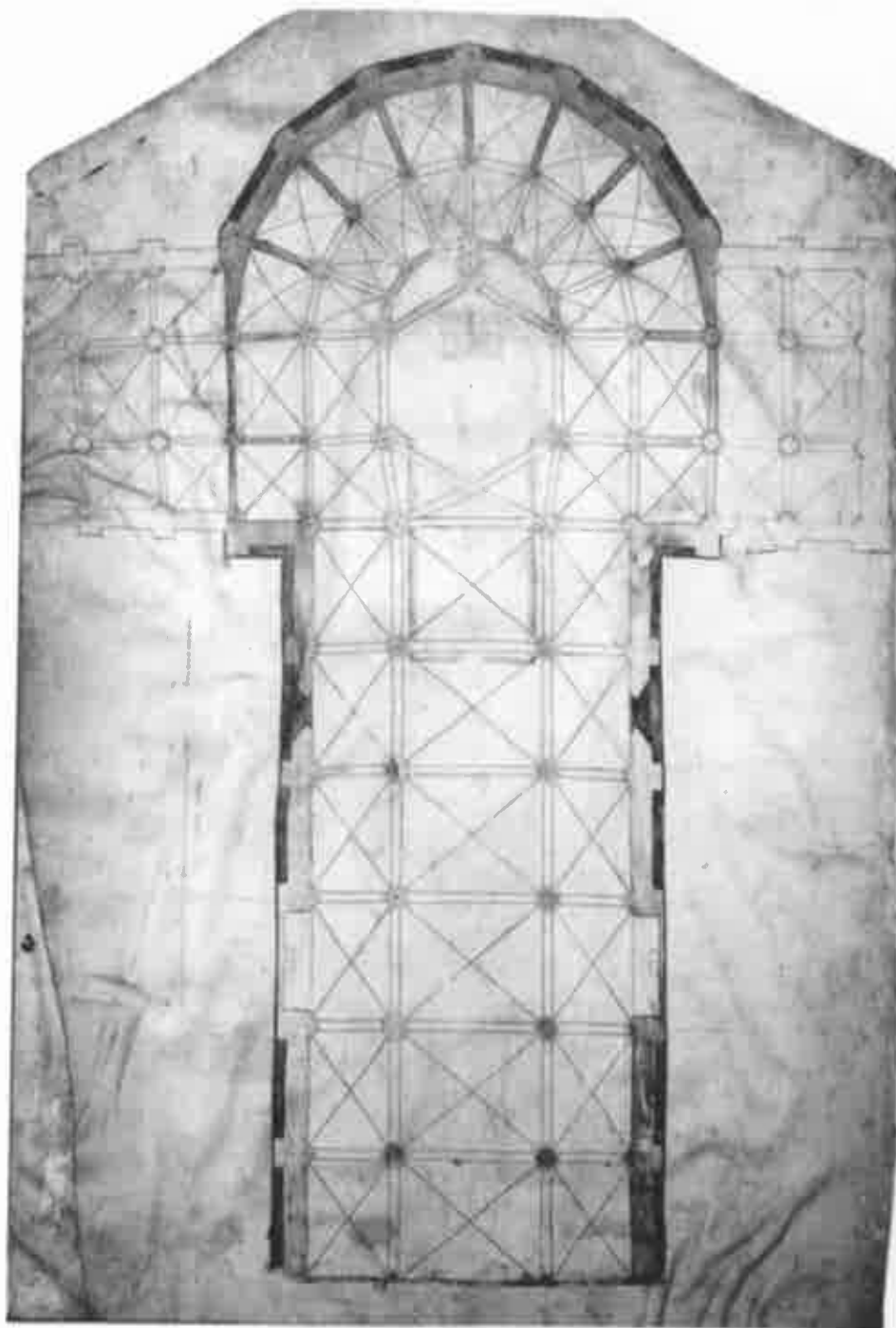
6.34. Groundplan
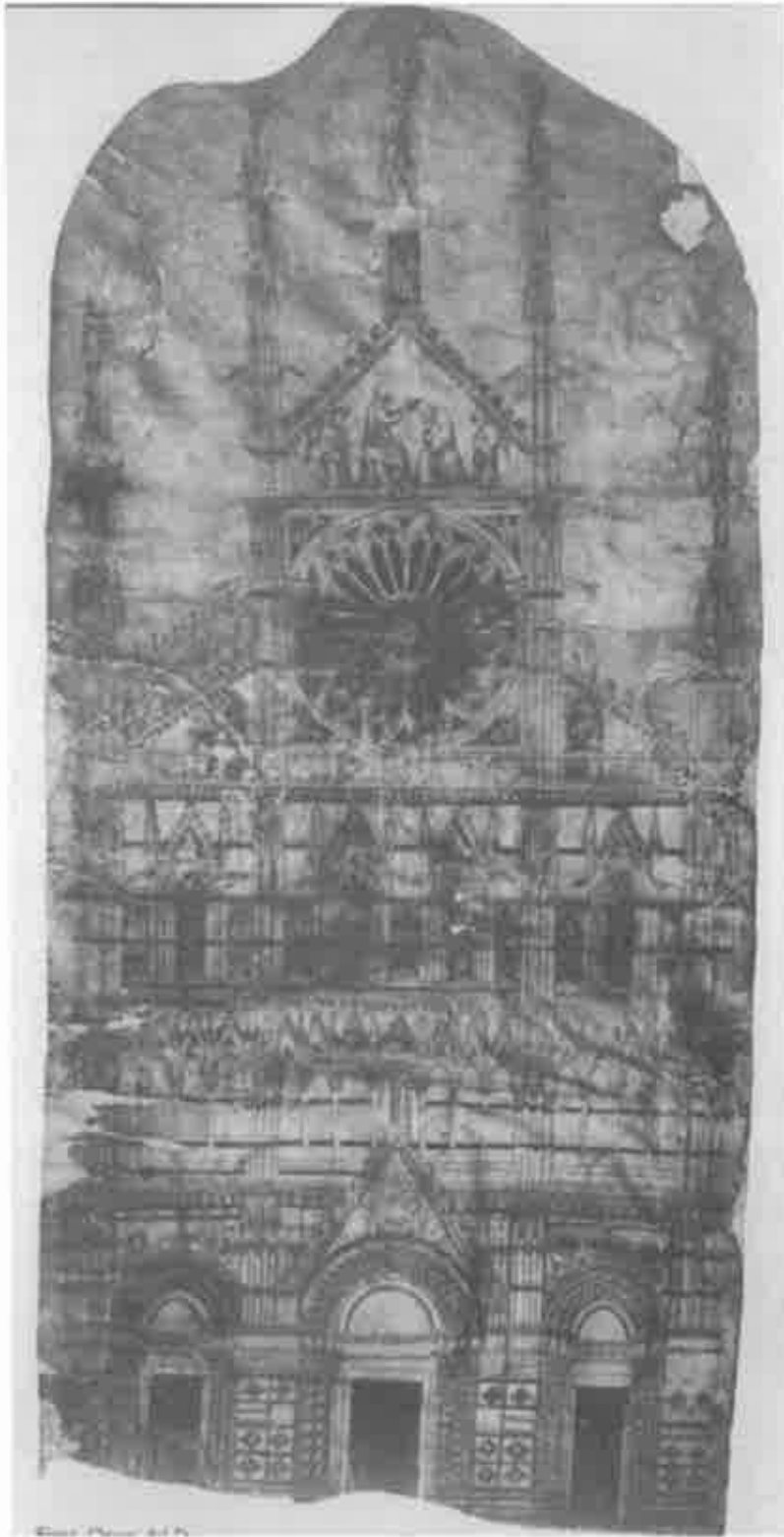
6.35. Plan

6.36. Angel (Detail of 6.32.)

6.37. Angel and lion (Detail of 6.32.)

6.38. Angel and lion (Detail of 6.32.)

6.39. Lion

6.40. Angel

6.41. Tympanum (Detail of 6.32.)

6.42. Tympanum (Detail of 6.32.)

6.43. Tympanum (Detail of 6.32.)

6.44. Consecration of St. Nicholas

6.45. Tympanum (Detail of 6.43.)

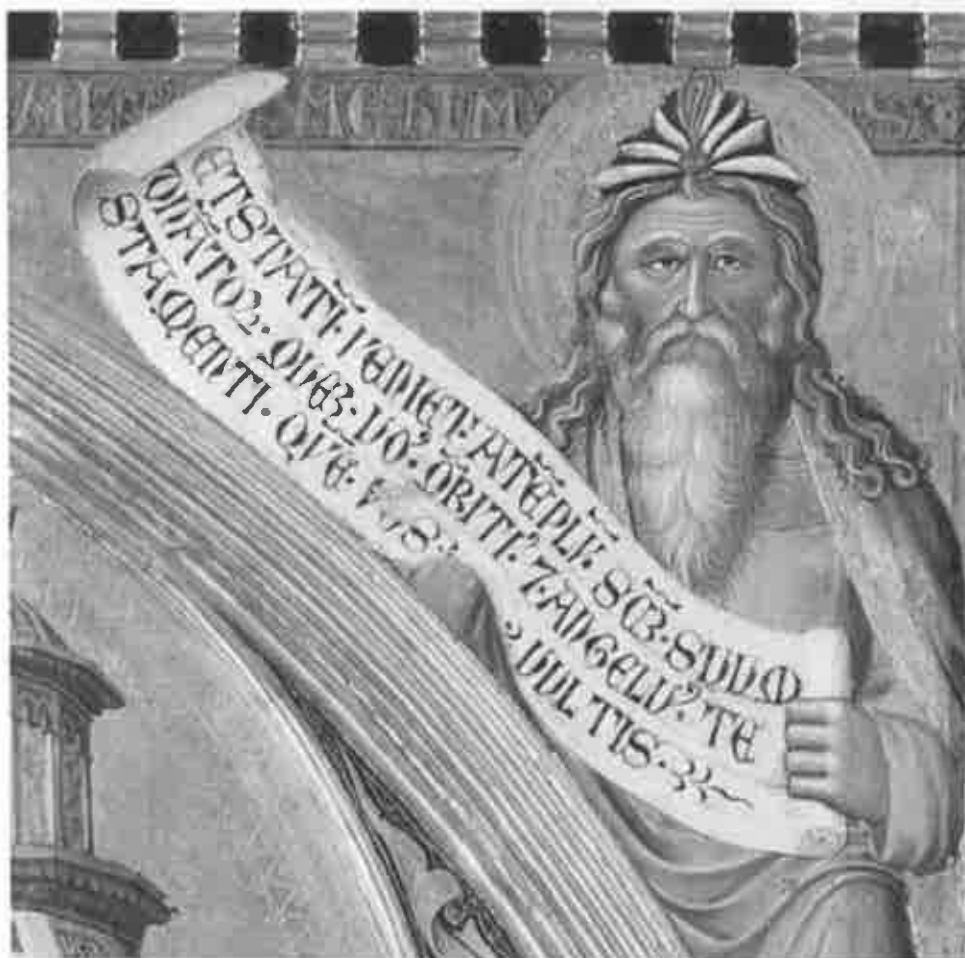**6.46. Moses** (Detail of 6.32.)

6.47. Joshua (Detail of 6.32.)
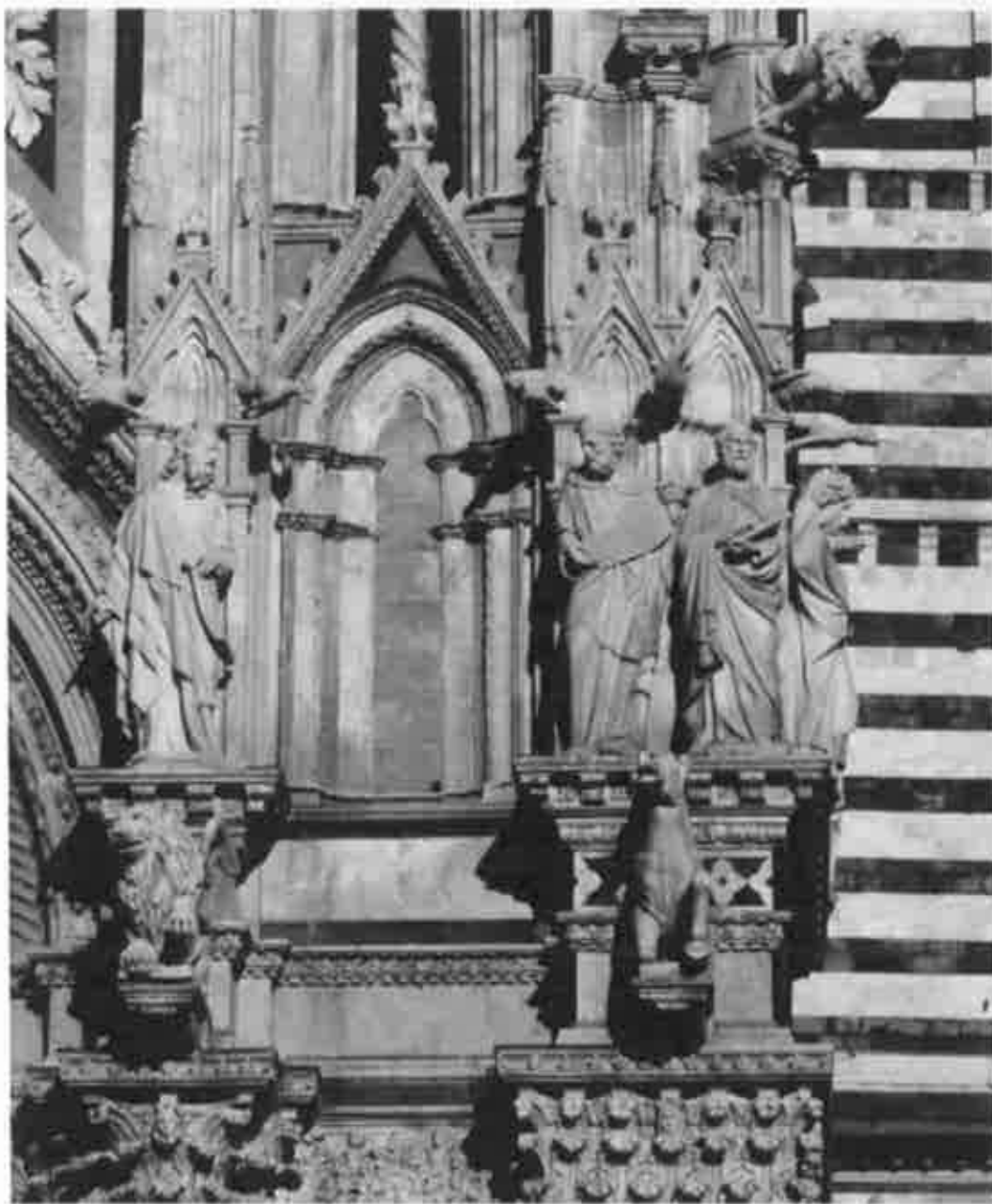
6.48. Moses
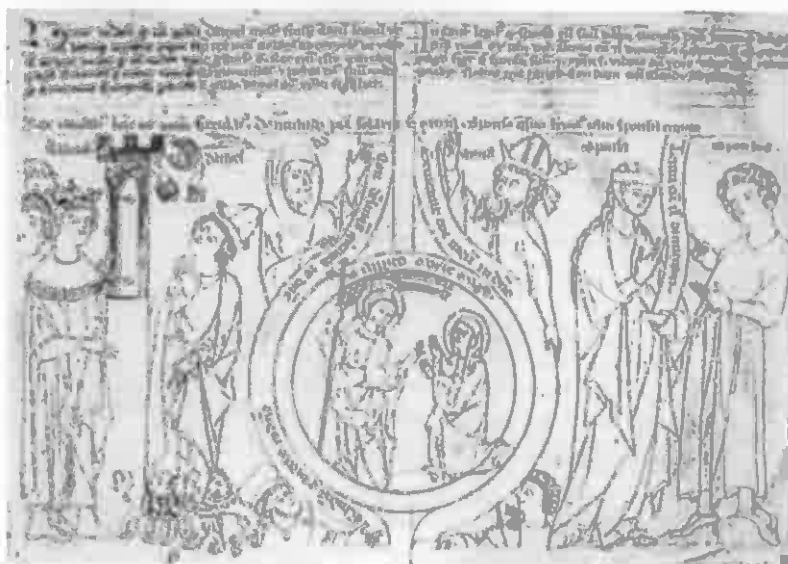
6.49. Moses

6.50. Annunciation

6.51. Virgin and Child

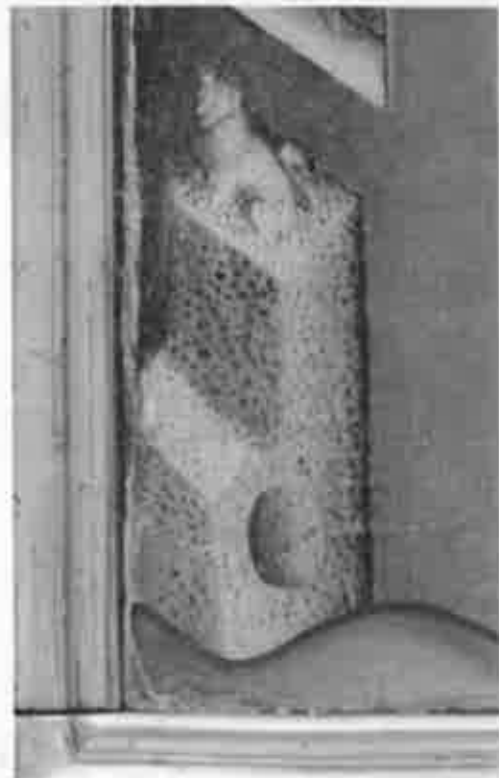6.52. Malachi (6.32.)

7.1. Morning of the Resurrection

7.2. Noli me tangere

7.3. Daniel (Detail of 7.1.)

7.4. Lion (Detail of 7.1.)