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Uomini illustri: The revival of the author portrait in Renaissance Florence

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University of Washington, 1993

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Uomini Illustri:

The Revival of the Author Portrait in Renaissance Florence

by

Joyce M. Kubiski

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

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Doctoral Dissertation

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Abstract

Uomini Illustri:
The Revival of the Author Portrait in Renaissance Florence
by Joyce M. Kubiski

Chairperson of the Supervisory Committee: Professor JoAnne Snow-Smith
Department of Art History

This study examines the revival of author portraits in the humanist book of fifteenth century Florence. With roots in the classical tradition, the placement of a portrait of the author at the beginning of a text survived into the Middle Ages, although with significant changes. With the waning of interest among Christian Europeans in pagan literature, manuscript copies of the works of ancient Greek and Roman authors rarely included author portraits. Only the writings of the most revered Christian authors were decorated in this manner. Portraits of the four evangelists were often spectacular full-page illustrations, while other Christian writers, such as the early Church fathers and later apologists, were often represented in much smaller portraits squeezed into the empty spaces of the opening initial, a location with no antique precedence. With the mass production of summaries, commentaries and translations of classical literature for the university classroom during the scholastic period, portraits of pagan authors once again began to appear in copies of their texts. The opening initial of the text was decorated with an image of the contemporary scholar lecturing to his students, while an image of the ancient classical author, if included, was always relegated to the back pages of the text.

It was not until the next classical revival in fifteenth century Italy that the portraits of ancient pagan authors once again attracted the attention of the miniaturist, as new editions and translations of classical texts were once again produced for the Italian humanists. The center of this book production in Italy was Florence, and it was the Florentine miniaturists who developed a new iconographic system for identifying authors. The iconographic solutions developed for these authors indicate that the Renaissance illuminator was intent upon creating a new iconographic system that would invest the earlier generic portraits of classical authors with an individuality that would reflect the

classical author's new status in Renaissance thought and lettters. This new system divides authorship into several broad categories based upon the cultural origins (e.g, Patristic, Roman, Greek or Italian) and literary genres (e.g., poets, orators, historians, or philosophers) of the authors.

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I would like to thank the members of my dissertation committee, Constantine Christofides, Patricia Failing, and Stephen Jaeger, as well as the librarians and staff at the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence and at the Biblioteca Vaticana in Rome. Special thanks to my advisor and Chair of my Supervisory Committee, Professor Joanne Snow Smith, for her help and support at all stages of my graduate career. Finally, I would like to thank Bob Anemone, Laura Rinaldi-Dufresne, and Barbara Iliff for their support and friendship.

Dedicato a due uomini illustri

Roberto e Giancarlo

Introduction

Some of the most extraordinary examples of Medieval and Renaissance manuscript illuminations are author portraits. We need only mention the famous evangelists of the Lindisfarne Gospels (fig. 61), the portrait of Virgil in Petrarch's own copy of the Aeneid painted for him by his friend Simone Martini (fig. 126), and the portrait of St. Jerome seated in a Renaissance *studiolo* in front of a panoramic view of the city of Florence (fig. 191). Author portraits certainly were the most common textual illustration in both sacred and secular literature. For example, in illuminated Bibles portraits of the evangelists far out number narrative scenes of the life of Christ. Even in the most meagerly illustrated texts, if there is any figural decoration at all, it is usually a portrait of the author, often portrayed in a thumbnail-sized sketch crowded into the empty spaces of the opening initial.

In tracing the history of the author portrait, the evidence suggests that it was a well developed motif by the first century B.C., and that its origin may reach back to Hellenistic or perhaps to Late Classical times. Its placement, originally at the beginning of a papyrus scroll, and after the first century A.D., on the frontispiece of a codex, continued without interruption throughout the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance. There is, however, an important distinction between the author portraits found in Medieval manuscripts and those of the Renaissance that can be correlated to the status of authors and their works. During the Medieval period, it was Christian, not ancient pagan authors who were the most widely read and admired. During the Renaissance, although sacred literature did not lose its preeminent position, classical literature was

raised to a level of interest and esteem it had not enjoyed since ancient times. Similarly, the function of the author portrait in Renaissance manuscripts more directly paralleled its purpose as part of the decoration of ancient classical books.

In classical times, the purpose of book portraiture was directly related to the role of any portrait in Greco-Roman culture. Pliny, the great Roman historian of the first century B.C., suggested that portraits were not only the means by which the true features of someone long deceased could be remembered by posterity, but that the portrait functioned as a symbol for the heroic deeds this person performed during life.[1] He likened portraiture to written records, which preserved the specific achievements of an individual. While lamenting the decline of portraiture in his own time, Pliny praised the attention given to this art form by his ancestors. He specifically mentioned the author Marcus Varro, who had written one of the many *de viris illustribus*, or biographies of the famous men, which were so popular in Roman times. Pliny tells us that Varro included in his text "seven hundred portraits of famous people, not allowing their likenesses to disappear or the lapse of ages to prevail against the immortality of men. Herein Varro was the inventor of a benefit that even the gods might envy, since he not only bestowed immortality but dispatched it all over the world, enabling his subject to be ubiquitous, like the gods."[2] In the classical period, portraiture was a signifier for the hero. Author portraits were no exception. They symbolized the important role of the author in the development and transmission of ideas that would continue to shape the events of history for generations.

As the Middle Ages progressed and a Church dominated culture became less interested in pagan literature, not only did the the copying of classical texts

decline, but the use of author portraits in these manuscripts almost completely disappeared. The most striking examples of author portraits from the sixth through the fourteenth century are of the four Gospel writers who are often represented in full-page illustrations. The early Church Fathers, such as Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great also appear in author portraits, but usually their images are crowded into the empty spaces of the incipit. Medieval author portraits still reflect the classical attitude to these images as a means of honoring outstanding accomplishments; however, the choices made about which authors were represented and the relative elaborateness of their portraits indicates not only the hierarchical ranking of various Christian authors, but the priority of sacred over secular literature.

A series of classical literary revivals during the Middle Ages did little to reinstate the use of the author portrait in secular literature. Although Carolingian scribes and miniaturists faithfully reproduced both the text and illustrations of classical exemplars, their efforts were short lived. The succeeding classical revivals, centered at the Cathedral School at Chartres in the mid twelfth century, and the Scholastic movement in Paris which followed, created a new iconography for the author portrait, but one that still emphasized the elevated importance of Christian over classical authors. This new iconographic system is directly related to the manner in which classical literature was published. Late medieval scholars were more concerned with applying the philosophical and rhetorical system of classical thought to Christian exegesis than in actually studying ancient literature for its own sake. Publication of scholastic translations, summaries, compilations, and commentaries of classical literature were more common than copies of the complete original text.

It was these distilled versions of ancient writers that were sanctioned for use as textbooks in the universities, and it was for these textbooks that a new composition appeared for the traditional "author portrait." Although still located in the restricted space of the opening initial, a group portrait has replaced the individual image of the author. Illustrating a teaching theme, a university professor is seated before a pulpit and lectures to a group of students. What has happened in these medieval textbooks is that a portrait of the contemporary scholar has taken the place of the original author of the text. The various scholars are broadly distinguished by aspects of their dress. Monks are tonsured and dressed in hooded robes, while secular scholars are outfitted in colorful academic gowns trimmed with ermine. In an unusual full-page miniature of this motif, the famous Dominican theologian, Hugh of St Victor lectures to a group of novices (fig. 63). This is not just a matter of the classical author being redressed in medieval garb, a phenomenon noted by Panofsky, for portraits of the ancient author often do appear in the incipits of the following chapters of the text.[3] They are usually depicted as an ancient sage dressed in vaguely classicizing garments and with long grey hair and beard. This iconographic system is illustrated in a copy of Jacopino da Reggio's commentary on Aristotle, in which Jacopino is depicted instructing his students in the opening initial to his commentary and Aristotle appears several times in the incipits to the succeeding chapters (figs. 64 & 65).[4]

Although the scholastic writers might honestly be able to claim authorship of these translations, summaries, and commentaries, what this exchange of position between contemporary and ancient author indicates is the medieval scholar's important role as the censor and disseminator of the Church approved versions of ancient literature to the detriment of the ideas of the

original thinker. So, in spite of the fact that by the end of the fourteenth century, author portraits of Greco-Roman writers are once again appearing in scholastic versions of their texts, they are small generic images relegated to the back pages.

The revival of classical literature that took place in fifteenth century Italy differed significantly from its predecessors in its attitude to ancient literature. The writings of the ancient Greeks and Romans were no longer only scrutinized to see how their systems of logic and rhetoric could be used to enhance Christian dogma. Instead, fifteenth century Italian humanists studied the writings of their ancient ancestors with the hopes that the moral rhetoric of Cicero, the histories of Livy and Plutarch, the logic of Aristotle, and the metaphysics of Plato would provide them with fresh solutions to their problems, on both a personal and civic level. With their interest in classical literature came a renewed interest in the portraits of these ancient writers. We know from their own theoretical writings that Renaissance humanists were familiar with Pliny's understanding of the symbolic nature of portraiture as a general *topos* for the hero, and classical authors (including Pliny) became some of the most revered heroes of the Quattrocento.[5] Beginning in the mid fifteenth century, Italian miniaturists began a concerted effort to create convincing portraits of these authors that would reflect the author's cultural origins, historical period, and literary genre. With no adequate models of author portraits to copy, Renaissance illuminators were faced with a formidable challenge, and the small, ubiquitous, generic looking author portrait of the Middle Ages became the vehicle for an outburst of creative energy during the fifteenth century.

How the miniaturists of the early Renaissance, in collaboration with humanists, patrons, and *cartolai* revived and reinvented the author portrait is the

topic of this dissertation. To date there has not been a systematic study of Renaissance author portraits, although Alexander, Garzelli, and Salmi, among others have discussed the topic in isolated instances.[6] Since the revival of the author portrait began in Florence, it is here that I have focused my efforts. This study concentrates on portraits that were produced in Florentine *botteghe* between 1450 and 1500. I will examine in detail the libraries created by Cosimo de' Medici and his sons Giovanni and Piero since they were some of the earliest, most richly illuminated, and best documented collections of this time. Additional manuscripts created in Florence for other patrons during the years the Medici were building their libraries will be discussed for comparative purposes, and isolated examples of author portraits from the years 1470 to 1500, created by the next generation of Florentine miniaturists will be discussed in order to trace the development of this motif in the later years of the century.

I have concentrated on the images of a limited number of authors: Cicero, Pliny, Livy, Aristotle, and Plutarch among them. These writers were popular throughout the Middle Ages (albeit the list of their surviving texts was limited) and an occasional medieval author portrait survives so that a comparison can be made with those created during the Renaissance. I also examine the portraits of several patristic writers, especially those of St. Augustine and St. Jerome to see how the images of these popular authors either followed or diverted from Medieval traditions. I will also be examining portraits of the humanists who found, translated and wrote commentaries on the classical texts and the patrons who commissioned deluxe editions. Often, not only the author portrait, but also the portraits of the translator or commentator, and patron were added to the frontispiece, affiliating themselves with the author as one of the *uomini illustri.*

Unfortunately, due to the parameters of this study, I will not be looking at the portraits of any female authors. Although the writings of Sappho were known in the Renaissance and the Renaissance certainly has its own female writers and humanists, the small circle of humanists, patrons, and miniaturists responsible for the earliest revival of the author portrait, as well as the ancients they read, were all men. It is of interest to note that Sappho does appear in Raphael's Vatican Stanze decoration in the early sixteenth century and a study of female humanists, patrons, miniaturists and the author portraits they created is certainly warranted.[7]

Throughout this study I will be investigating the choices made by all interested parties in determining the appearance and format of the author portrait. In particular, I will be asking the following questions. Who was responsible for determining the appearance of the author, was it was the patron, bookseller or illuminator? How was it determined what an ancient and long deceased author looked like? Can we identify any patrons, humanists, or artists posing as author? What classical prototypes were used, and what were the influences of the more monumental art forms of painting and sculpture on the miniatures? And finally what was the influence of the literature itself, especially of the *de viris illustribus* genre?

The working method of miniaturists for centuries was to simply reproduce their subject by copying it from another manuscript. Although styles would change throughout the years, in many cases the compositional motifs and the iconography remained constant. In their attempts to update the Medieval author portrait the Italian miniaturists would have had many twelfth and thirteenth century manuscripts to use as models, but to the best of our knowledge they had no classical exemplars, and very few, if any, manuscripts from the Early

Christian and Carolingian periods that could have provided them with a classicizing model to copy.

The miniaturist could turn to portraits in other media for inspiration, using both contemporary and antique models; however, these influences would have been general rather than specific. Most portraits produced in the early fifteenth century were of wealthy patrons and not of the literary idols of their classical past.[8] Nor could the miniaturists be guided by the archaeological remains of antiquity. The portraits found on the Roman medals, coins, and gems collected by Quattrocento humanists portrayed emperors and mythological character, not authors. After five hundred years of archaeological discoveries and research we can today recognize the individualized features of Cicero, Aristotle, Menander, and Plato created by Greek and Roman sculptors, but these faces were unknown to the early fifteenth century.

In their efforts to visualize the author, Quattrocento miniaturists created an iconographic system for the author portrait that is a fascinating synthesis between enduring medieval tradition and revived classical motifs, and that is stylistically rooted in both the decorative effects of the International Gothic and the new sobriety of Florentine Quattrocento art.

Notes to Introduction

[1] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XXXV. II.

[2] Ibid., XXXV. II. 11.

[3] Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, Stockholm, 1960, 82-103.

[4] Jacopino da Reggio's commentary on Aristotle, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6297.

[5] See for example Leon Battista Alberti's treatise, *On Painting*, rev. ed., trans. John R. Spencer, New Haven 1966, 63.

[6] Mario Salmi, *Italian Miniatures*, 2nd. ed., New York, 1956; J. J. G. Alexander, *Italian Renaissance Illuminations*, New York, 1977; and Annarosa Garzelli, *Miniatura fiorentina del rinascimento 1440-1525*, Firenze, 1985.

[7] For ancient images of Sappho, see Gisela M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, London, 1965, I, 69-72, figs. 252, 262, 263. For a fascinating study of the portraits of Christine de Pizan, see Laura Rinaldi Dufresne, "A Woman of Excellent Character, a case study of dress, reputation and the changing costume of Christine de Pizan in the fifteenth century," *Dress: The Annual Journal of the Costume Society of America*, XVII, 1990, 105-117.

[8] For general works on Renaissance portraiture, see L. Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits, European Portrait-Painting in the 14th, 15th, and 16 Centuries*, New Haven & London, 1990; and J. Pope-Hennessey, *The Portrait in the Renaissance*, Princeton, 1963.

Chapter One

The Origin and Historical Background of Renaissance Author Portraits

How short a parchment has comprised the mighty Maro!
The features of the man himself the first leaf bears.
Martial, Epigrams XIV, 186

The Classical Tradition[1]

It was a tradition throughout the Greek and Roman world to honor their esteemed authors by displaying a portrait of them in a prominent public location. These author portraits were produced in such a wide variety of different formats and media - in statues, busts, relief carvings, and mosaics - that it is safe to assume that they were also created in the more perishable painting media as vase painting, panel painting, frescoes, and miniatures. Although our evidence is decidedly meager, there are a few surviving author portraits on Greek vases (fig. 1)[2] and the famous fresco painting of Menander from Pompeii indicates a tradition for this art (fig. 2).[3] Unfortunately, these are only isolated examples which do not allow us to reconstruct the development of classical painted portraiture.

Perhaps the most significant losses are the miniature portraits that must have been included in copies of the author's own works. Although there is not a single surviving example of an author portrait in a book, in either its scroll or codex format, prior to the early fifth century A.D., if we rely upon other evidence, such as ancient literary descriptions of author portraits, medieval copies of author portraits which have remained true to their classical models, and the

evidence which emerges from a comparative analysis between the development of miniature author portraits and those in other media, there is then sufficient evidence to indicate that book portraiture was a well-established tradition as early as the first century B.C., with antecedents that probably reach back into Hellenistic times. There is also evidence to suggest that the three major compositions used for the author portrait in other media - the *imago clipeata* or bust medallion, the "standing literatus" and the "seated thinker" were all commonly used in book production in the classical world.[4]

As far back as the seventh century B.C. the ancient Greeks began a tradition of honoring their most distinguished citizens with life-size commemorative statues placed in prominent public settings. During the early stages of development, these statues were certainly idealized figures, one of the many *kouroi* and *korai* of the archaic period, distinguishable only by their inscriptions. It wasn't until the early fifth century B.C. that their features became more differentiated and specific individuals could be recognized.[5]

Some of these statues are described in ancient historical accounts and many have been preserved by Roman copies. Included among the expected honor roll of statesmen, generals, and athletes is a long list of poets, philosophers, playwrights and orators, revealing the Greeks' great appreciation for literary accomplishments. We know, for example, that statues of the famous tragic poets, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides were set up in the theater of Dionysus which Lykourgos had built in Athens about 340 B.C.[6] Modern scholarship has attempted to reconstruct Lykourgos' literary triad from Roman copies of the dramatists that have survived in bust or herm form (several of them inscribed) and one complete statue of Sophocles which indicates that he, at least, was standing (fig. 3).[7]

The standing literatus was one of two commonly used formats employed by Greek sculptors to commemorate their famous authors. Like the Lateran Sophocles, these figures stand in an imposing contrapposto with their *himation* loosely and copiously draped around their shoulders and legs as if to provide a buffer from the quotidian intrusions of the outside world. This costume iconographically distinguished the author from athletes, rulers and generals who were usually depicted either as heroic nudes or dressed in battle gear. The standing *literatus* often holds a scroll in one hand, as a symbol of literary achievements. In this statue of Sophocles, however, a *capsa*, the round box used to store scrolls, is placed at his feet and provides the writer with his distinguishing attribute.[8]

The other format for the author statue was the seated thinker. Diogenes Laertius records that in the mid fourth century B.C. the Persian ruler Mithridates commissioned the sculptor Silanion to create a bronze statue of Plato for the Academy of Athens (III, 25). Several inscribed Roman busts of Plato copied from this statue still survive which depict him with the stooping shoulders, broad forehead and serious demeanor with which he is described in the ancient accounts.[9] A reconstruction of Silanion's statue has been made combining one of these busts with a headless statuette of Plato, which was also inscribed, but which survives today only in a cast (fig. 4).[10] Like his standing counterparts, the seated Plato is dressed only in a himation, wrapped loosely over one shoulder leaving the upper chest bare. Unlike Sophocles, Plato does not project a self-conscious alertness, but is lost in his own thoughts. His hands rest languidly on his knees, one of which inertly holds a scroll. In other compositions of this type, the philosopher may use one hand to point to his forehead (fig. 5) or he might support the weight of his head on one arm, much like Roden's "Thinker." This is

the pose found in a reconstructed statue of Aristotle in which the dreamy gaze of the philosopher helps to emphasize his contemplative posture (fig. 6).[11]

These statues of Plato and Aristotle were executed in the late fourth century B. C.; however, the composition of the seated thinker can be traced back at least as far as the early fourth century, as evidenced from a relief found on the Athenian Acropolis, which depicts a "philosopher" in exactly the same pose (fig. 7). All of the various gestures used by the seated thinkers are indicative of great powers of thought and concentration. In Greek commemorative statuary philosophers were generally depicted in these more meditative states, while other writers, such as poets, playwrights and orators were shown standing in a posture of greater self-confidence and alertness.

Unfortunately, none of these commemorative statues of authors have survived in the original, and we must turn to Roman copies to study this Greek art. However, Roman sculptors often changed the medium, size or format of Greek statuary to satisfy the whims of their patrons. One of the most significant alterations made by the Romans was their habit of reducing Greek commemorative sculpture, which always included the whole figure, to a bust or herm. This procedure saved both space and money, and was preferred by wealthy patricians who wanted to equip their private villas with reproductions of Greek public monuments. Pliny tells us that busts of philosophers, poets and orators were particularly popular as decorative elements in libraries and bedrooms (*Nat. Hist.* V, 1). Other Roman authors recount more specific examples. Lucian describes Nigrinus at home surrounded by the portraits of old philosophers (*Nigrius* 2); and Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, says that he wished he were sitting in his friend's chair beneath the portrait of Aristotle, instead of in the *sella curaulis* (*Letters* V, 10).

In addition to these commemorative statues of the Greeks and their various Roman copies, the *imago clipeata* was a popular composition, portraying only the head or bust of the author within a tondo, and some original Greek portraits survive in this format engraved on gems or stamped onto coins, medals, and bowls.[12] The Romans continued this tradition, and in addition to these more diminutive media, monumental *images clipeatae* survive in relief sculpture, frescoes and mosaics (figs. 8 & 9).[13]

Author portraits which were part of larger compositions have also survived. The motif of an author represented with an inspiring muse was popular throughout the Hellenized, and later the Roman world. For example, in a Roman floor mosaic found at Trier, Aratos, the author of the famous astronomical poem, is shown writing under the influence of Urania, the Muse of Astronomy, holding her globe and identified by an inscription (fig. 10). And in the famous Louvre sarcophagus representing Socrates and the Muses, the philosopher is seated and converses with a Muse who leans against a tall pedestal (fig. 11).[14]

The Manuscript Tradition

While there is evidence that author portraits were executed in many different formats and media in the classical world, the perishable nature of manuscripts has made it difficult to evaluate whether author portraits were a traditional element of text illustration. The earliest classical texts were written on papyrus scrolls, and although no scrolls survive with author portraits, later copies of classical texts written in the new codex format do include author portraits. Since the earliest surviving author portraits in codices indicate that

they were originally copied from the scroll format it is necessary to briefly examine this older tradition.

The most convenient material for book production in the ancient world was papyrus which was indigenous to the marshy river banks of Egypt. The Greeks needed to imported it; however, it was not until Alexander the Great added Egypt to his empire in the mid fourth century B.C. that papyrus was readily available to Greek artisans and the Hellenized book began to develop.[15]

By this time, papyrus scrolls had been a common feature of Egyptian art for well over a millennium. Many of these papyri survive, the oldest dating from 1830 B.C., yet they are largely restricted to copies of the Book of the Dead, those personalized accounts of the afterlife which were placed with the deceased in the dry and obscure environment of the tomb.[16] Although these scrolls are richly illustrated, they do not include any author portraits. Nor should we really expect them to. The Book of the Dead was a chronicle of the deceased's life and his or her prospects in the afterlife and the illustrations in the text are a record of this honorific biographical drama. Whether the Egyptians included author portraits in their books of literature, history, and science is still unknown. What the Books of the Dead have made clear is that certain formal aspects of the layout and decoration of papyrus scrolls were borrowed by Hellenistic bookmakers and continued to influence the development of the book in its new codex form in the first century A.D.

Although those who read papyrus scrolls in classical times probably did not think them to be as unmanageable as we do today, the scroll format did have certain limitations.[17] Many scrolls were needed to complete a work of average length; for example, the twelve books of the Aeneid required an equal number of scrolls. One could not easily flip forward and backward through a

text since the whole length of the scroll, which was often 30 to 35 feet long, needed to be unrolled. To read a scroll, one hand unrolled, while the other hand would simultaneously re-roll the volute, leaving a manageable length of papyrus open between the hands to read. The text was written in narrow vertical columns allowing the reader to move forward in small increments. Images were generally inserted directly into these columns of writing so the reader did not have to move forward or backward in the text to view the illustrations; or often the illustrations formed a cartoon-like frieze along the top or bottom of the scroll. Intercalating the image within the columns of writing did impose certain formal restriction on the illustrations. The width of the image could not exceed that of the writing column and the height needed to be proportional to this predetermined width. In addition, the scroll format restricted the types of paint that could be used. The constant rolling and unrolling of the papyrus would have cracked a heavy use paint, so scroll illustrations were composed in ink, sometimes with a color wash, or in a light tempera.

Only a handful of illustrated papyri survive which indicate the state of the art from the late Hellenistic through the late Roman periods. An illustrated romance from the second century is typical of the surviving examples (fig. 12). The figures are intercalated directly into the text and are drawn in quick, impressionistic pen and ink sketches. The compositions are quite simple with few additional scenic elements. There is no background other than the creamy white of the papyrus and there is no frame to enclose and separate the images from the rows of script.

It is difficult to evaluate these images. Most surviving Greek and Roman literary papyri come from remote locations in the Egyptian desert. We must question whether these illustrations are examples of a provincial art, unable to

transmit the sophistication that must have existed in more urban centers such as Alexandria and Rome. [18] Or, perhaps these rough sketches are an indication of the *retardaire* nature of the miniaturists' art in general - an art that would not fully develop until the fourth century A.D., when the parchment codex replaced the papyrus scroll. This latter proposition seems unlikely. The high quality of the Egyptian Books of the Dead and the extent to which Egyptian scrolls influenced Greek and Roman artists, as well as the advanced state of Hellenistic painting, argue for a correspondingly high quality in Greco-Roman scroll illustrations, although the art will be impossible to fully interpret without further discoveries.

Without more material evidence we must rely upon literary descriptions and later copies of classical texts that remained true to their prototype in order to reconstruct the history of Greco-Roman author portraits. The earliest evidence for the use of portraiture in ancient books comes from Pliny. In describing Marcus Varro's *Hebdomades*, one of the many *de viri illustribus* texts of the Latin world, Pliny tells us that, "The existence of a strong passion for portraits in former days is evidenced....by the most benevolent invention of Marcus Varro, who actually by some means inserted in a prolific output of volumes, the portraits of 700 famous people." We are also informed that Varro "dispatched it all over the world, enabling his subjects to be ubiquitous, like the gods (Nat. Hist. XXXV, 2)." Although Varro's text is lost to us today, his format would have been the papyrus scroll since he wrote in the first century B.C., before the invention of the codex. From literary descriptions of his text we know that it was divided into fifteen independent books and his biographies were organized into pairs of sevens, the lives of seven Greeks juxtaposed with those of seven Romans, hence its unusual title, *Hebdomades.*.[19] According to the traditions of the "papyrus style" the fifteen books of his text were probably divided between

as many papyrus rolls and the 700 portraits would have been inserted directly into the columns of writing whenever it was appropriate.

Unfortunately we do not know what these portraits looked like. Weitzmann believes they were most likely *images clipeatae* and the earliest material evidence we have for an author portrait does take this form.[20] In the Vatican Virgil, an illustrated manuscript of Virgil's works dated to the early fifth century, the verso of the last page of the sixth book of the *Aeneid* (fol. 57v) has an offset of a medallion from the following page, the opening to the seventh book (fol. 58r), which unfortunately has been lost.[21] The faint traces of this ghost image suggest that it was a medallion bust of the author.

Medallion busts would certainly have been the most economical means to portray the 700 portraits of Varro's text, as demonstrated by several surviving medieval texts that may be distantly related to the *Hebdomades*. A late Byzantine medical manuscript in the Ambrosiana Library in Milan has more than sixty medallion portraits of famous physicians inserted directly into the writing columns of the text (fig. 13).[22] The tenth book of Varro's *Hebdomades* did comprise the biographies of medical experts, but if this Byzantine manuscript is a late reflection of Varro's text it has gone through many changes. It is updated with the biographies of physicians who lived long after Varro and the classical dress of the doctors has been exchanged for contemporary Byzantine fashion.

Pliny's statement that these portraits were placed within the text "by some means or other" may also indicate that several different formats were used. Perhaps a Carolingian manuscript, a copy of the *Sacra Parallela* of John of Damascus, is indicative of the *Hebdomades* format.[23] This *florilegium*, contains over 1200 portraits, almost all of them in medallion or bust-form. These images

readily reveal the Carolingian artist's dependence on classical prototypes as many of the images of Old Testament kings and prophets were originally derived from *images clipeatae* portraits of Roman emperors found on coins, medals and gems. Also included in the text are a few examples of standing and seated authors which are iconographically related to the standing literatus and seated thinker statues of the antique world (figs. 14 & 15).

The popularity of Varro's *Hebdomades* , which went through many editions in classical times, suggests that it was the inspiration behind such texts as the Carolingian *Sacra Parallela* and the thirteenth century medical text mentioned above, as well as Byzantine Old Testaments and Prophet Books in which every author or speaker of the text is accompanied by his or her image. It is not uncommon for texts of this kind, where many authorities are quoted, to have several hundred "author" portraits.

When the codex replaced the scroll, a process which took place slowly from the first to the fourth century A.D., many of the formal aspects of the scroll were transferred to the new codex format. In conformity with the "papyrus style" the text continued to be broken up into several columns of writing per page and the illustrations were inserted directly into these columns of writing. We know that author portraits were included in the new bound book from an epigram by Martial. After expressing surprise and admiration for a new edition of Virgil written on small parchment leaves, Martial informs us that the first page of the book was decorated with the likeness of the author.[24]

The previously discussed Vatican Virgil is an excellent example of the processes followed by scribes and artists when they transferred a text and its illustrations from a scroll to a codex. The only author portrait which has survived from this manuscript is an offset from the beginning of Book Seven which has

bled onto the back of the previous folio. If a portrait of Virgil graced the opening page of the seventh book then it would be reasonable to assume that the other eleven books of the *Aeneid* were also prefaced with a likeness of the author. This indeed would have been the case if the scribe of the Vatican Virgil (or its exemplar) had originally copied the text from a papyrus scroll since the twelve books of the *Aeneid* required twelve separate scrolls, and each scroll would have begun with a portrait of the author.[25] Remaining faithful to his prototype the illuminator of the Vatican Virgil repeated the author portrait at the beginning of each book regardless of the fact that all twelve books were now bound together and a single author portrait at the beginning of the text would have been sufficient.

Another early copy of Virgil, the *Vergilius Romanus*, dating from the late fifth century, indicates how the Late Antique miniaturist grappled with the new formal problems presented by the codex.[26] Three of six author portraits that were placed at the beginning of each of Virgil's Eclogues have survived. In these portraits a youthful Virgil, dressed in a toga and holding a scroll, sits in a frontal position and gazes out passively at the reader (fig. 16). The papyrus style has been followed in that the portrait is inserted directly into the writing column, but this time the artist has added a frame to separate the image from the script. The results are not fortunate as the frame only seems to enhance the disproportionately narrow picture space, almost cutting off the head and feet of the author. In an attempt to balance the composition the artist has flanked the author with a pulpit and a *capsa*. However, the end result is awkward and inorganic. The pulpit and *capsa* are not drawn in the same perspective as the seated figure and seem to float on the blue wash that serves as a background.

Artists quickly realized that the large square expanse of a sheet of parchment could be used in much the same way as a panel painting or fresco, and the permanently flat and protected nature of the page allowing a thicker application of paint that would have cracked off during the repetitious unrolling and rewinding of a scroll. A Carolingian copy of the comedies of Terence, demonstrates the artist's ingenuity in adapting the traditional *imago clipeata* portrait to a full-page illustration (fig. 17).[27] The first innovation made by the illuminator was to depict the author only once, at the beginning of the collection, rather than at the beginning of each play, thus ignoring his papyrus exemplar. Secondly, after removing the *imago clipeata*, from its surrounding text and affording it a page of its own, the artist imaginatively fills up the resulting empty space by painting the medallion on a panel, which in turn is supported on a pedestal by two masked actors.

Throughout the remainder of the text, the illustrations conform to the papyrus style with their quick diagrammatic sketches inserted directly into the columns of writing without the addition of a background or frame. We do not know whether it was a Late Classical or a Carolingian artist who first transformed the medallion portrait of Terence into a full-page illustration; however, it probably did not happen until at least the fourth century A.D., when the codex finally supplanted the scroll and full-page manuscript illuminations inspired by fresco paintings began to develop.

In the sixth century Vienna *Dioscurides*, a medicinal text commissioned as a gift for the Byzantine empress Juliana in 527, the full-page miniatures of the flora and fauna described in the book, as well as a series of author portraits and a dedication portrait are painted with results that approximate monumental painting.[28] Two of the author portraits (2v and 5v) are full-page miniatures of

Dioscurides. Between these two folios, are two more pages (3v and 4r) each decorated with seven famous physicians whose opinions are quoted in the text (fig. 18). While most of the physicians are fully dressed in both a chiton and himation, two of them are only loosely wrapped in their himation, presenting the bared chest of Greek commemorative statues. The individual figures are all painted with great illusionism; however, spatial perspective has been sacrificed. The seven physicians are so crowded that only one author is able to be shown seated on the traditional scholar's chair with footrest. The other eminent doctors are quite indecorously placed on large rocks set adrift on the solid gold background.[29]

On either side of this double illustration are the two full-page portraits of the physician Dioscurides. This time, rather than surrounding Dioscurides with a burnished gold background, the doctor is placed in a illusionistic setting which imparts a narrative quality to the traditional author portrait. One folio 2v Dioscurides sits in a cushioned chair dressed in a chiton and himation and writes in a codex held in his lap. With him is the personification *Heuresis*, or "Invention" standing above a dead dog and a depiction of the "poisonous" mandrake plant responsible for the dog's death. On folio 5v, Dioscurides assumes the same scholarly pose as before (fig. 19). This time he is attended by the personification *Epinoia* meaning the "Power of Thought." She displays the mandrake dug up by the dog in the previous illustration while an artist sketches it on a square piece of parchment attached to an easel. To distinguish him from Dioscurides the artist is dressed in work clothes and sits below the eminent scholar on a simple stool. Small dishes of paint are scattered on the table beside him. Both portraits of Dioscurides are set off by an elaborate architectural backdrop and encased by a decorative frame. Unlike the seated

portrait of Virgil from the *Vergilius Romanus,* with its neutral background and oddly juxtaposed elements, these small pages truly resemble more monumental designs with their atmospheric quality and lifelike details.

The Four Evangelists: Early Christian & Byzantine Tradition

The early development of the codex coincides with the beginning of Christian literature, and there is some evidence to suggest that it was the Christian desire to find a new format for the Gospels that helped the bound book to replace the scroll.[30] In illustrating their sacred texts, Christian illustrators relied heavily on pre-existing Greco-Roman traditions and author portraits became a common feature in biblical literature. Portraits of the four Gospel writers were especially popular. In surviving New Testament literature, portraits of the four evangelists far outnumber narrative scenes of the Life of Christ; and a tradition for evangelist portraits can be dated as early as 150 A.D., on the basis of a reference to their imagery in the apocryphal Acts of St. John.[31]

In the earliest illustrated Gospel Book to survive, the Rossano Gospels, a deluxe manuscript with silver uncials on dyed purple parchment dating from the early sixth century, the evangelists appear in two different formats.[32] On the title page of the Canon Tables, all four evangelists are depicted in bust medallions, holding a codex of their Gospels in the left hand while they raise their right hand in the traditional gesture of speech (fig. 20). They are all similar in appearance with a youthful face surrounded by short hair and a short beard. The medallions are encased in a wreath composed of multi-colored disks surrounding the title. Each Gospel was also prefaced with a full-page portrait of its author. Although only the page with the portrait of Mark survives today, missing folios indicates that portraits of the other three evangelists once did exist.

Placed in front of an elaborate architectural background and seated in a barrel-back wicker chair, St Mark leans forward to write on a scroll unfurled across his lap (fig. 21). Standing next to him a nimbed personification, possibly representing "divine wisdom," points to the scroll and dictates the Gospel.[33] Although the flat and abstract quality of the composition reveals its provincial origins, it is formally related to the more sophisticated author portraits in the Vienna *Dioscurides*. Both authors are seated in a wicker chair, are placed in front of an elaborate architectural setting, and are being directed by some personified force. We have already encountered this theme, the poet or philosopher with his muse, in a variety of other media throughout the Hellenic and Roman world (see figs. 10 & 11). One of the constant features of this composition is that the muse has always stirred her charge to action. He is often seen conversing with her or composing his opus. While this composition continues throughout the Middle Ages in both Christian and pagan texts, it was much more common for the author to be seated alone. This is particularly true of evangelists' portraits.

In the Rabbula Gospels, so named for the Syriac monk who wrote the text at the monastery of Zagba in northern Mesopotamia in 586 A.D., the portraits of the four evangelists are included in the decoration of the Canon Tables.[34] Matthew and John are depicted together on folio 9v seated below fanciful domed and conche-lined niches. Mark and Luke are shown on the facing page, folio 10r, in standing postures (figs. 22 & 23). The seated poses of Matthew and John are quite different from the "seated thinker" or the "poet and muse" models discussed above, and they curiously lack the haloes worn by their standing counterparts on the facing page. Although Matthew and John are shown seated in the traditional author's chair with footrest, they are not engaged in

their scholarly work. They sit in frontal or near frontal positions and address the viewer. John has a scroll unfurled across his lap and uses his pen to point out the words of his Gospel to the reader as a oil lamp placed on a nearby pedestal illuminates his efforts. Matthew holds a codex in his lap and his left hand is raised in a traditional gesture of speech. This rhetorical gesture was common in Roman statuary and when appropriated by Christians it also came to signify a blessing.[35]

As with the previously discussed author portraits, the prototypes for the Rabbula Matthew and John can be found in ancient commemorative statuary. This pose of a seated man teaching from an open text occurs in Late Classical art. In the British Museum there is a bronze statuette of a man seated on a folding stool with an open book in his left hand and his right arm, now broken off at the elbow was clearly raised in this gesture of speech (fig. 24).[36] A. M. Friend believes this figure represents a Sophist, one of those teachers and orators whose fame spread from the University of Athens where they were established in the second century B.C. to the other major centers of the Hellenistic world in the first two centuries of our era. Matthew and John look out at the reader with a self-conscious alertness, and perhaps what is reflected here is the Sophist's habit when teaching to begin his lecture seated and then, as he became more inspired, he would rise suddenly brandishing forceful declamatory gestures to emphasize his point.[37]

One of the problems in examining Byzantine portraits of the four evangelists is that there are no illustrated Greek Gospels extant before the tenth century. They have all been lost to the ravages of time and the more destructive forces of the Iconoclastic Controversy during the late eighth and the early ninth centuries. However, the classicizing style and iconography of tenth and

eleventh century manuscript illustrations, indicate that they are copies of texts which can be dated much earlier.[38] A manuscript from Mount Athos (Stauronikita, MS. 43), dated to the tenth century has four full-page portraits of the evangelists in which the Gospel writers assume the meditative pose of Greek philosopher statues (figs. 25a-d).[39] They sit in the traditional cushioned chair with footrest and are surrounded by the equipment necessary in book production. Before them is a pulpit which supports a book or scroll, a small table nearby holds writing implements, and scattered about are the products and detritus of scholarly thought - a *capsa* with scrolls - a finished book - a discarded page. The evangelists are all placed front of a monumental architectural background much like the ones in the Vienna *Dioscurides* and the Rossano Gospels.

The similarities between the poses of St Matthew and St John with Greek philosopher statues is striking. The pose of Matthew exactly duplicates that of a Roman copy of Epicurus now in the Palazzo Margherita in Rome (fig. 26). Note how both figures hold a scroll limply across the lap and how tightly the mantle wraps around this arm, binding it to the body. Although the head on the Epicurus statue is a restoration, an inscribed bust of the philosopher in the Capitoline Museum in Rome has facial features similar to the portrait of St Matthew with its long face and beard parted in the center of the chin (fig. 27).[40] The only discrepancy between the original state of the statue and of the miniature is the placement of the right hand. In the statue Epicurus lightly rests his chin in his hand, while St Matthew points to his mouth. This gesture finds its genesis in a statue like the one now in the Vatican, in which an unnamed thinker points to his forehead (fig. 5); perhaps chosen because it appropriately

emphasizes the Christian believe in St Matthew's role as a mouthpiece for the unerring word of God.

In most of the seated author portraits discussed above, in the Vienna *Dioscurides*, the Rossano Gospels and Stauronikita 43, all the accoutrements of a scholar's studio are depicted with detailed realism, yet we are clearly and curiously not in an interior space. Instead, the authors have been placed in front of a monumental architectural backdrop. There has been much controversy over the source for these architectural configurations. It has been forcefully argued that these backgrounds were inspired by the architecture and decoration of the Roman theater; from either the *scenae frons* - that permanent stone wall which rose behind the stage - or from temporary painted stage sets.[41] As compelling as these arguments are, the architectural settings of author portraits are so varied and often depart so radically from the conventions of stage design, that the theater cannot be the sole source of inspiration.

Part of the logic involved in associating the architecture of the theater with those behind the illuminated author portrait is that the historical records indicate that great authors, philosophers, and statesmen were honored with a commemorative portrait statue placed on display at the theater. While we might expect to see portraits of dramatists at the theater, the appearance of philosophers and statesmen is a bit more incongruous. However, the ancient theater was not only a place to present the latest drama but was a public forum where politicians plied their rhetoric and philosophers taught the art of living. We know, for example, that Saint Paul preached the Gospel at the theater in Ephesus (Acts XIX, 29-41). Given the broad use of the theater, it is not surprising that the poets and playwrights and philosophers, who read and acted and taught on the premises should be honored there with a commemorative

statue. It is not known exactly where in the theater these statues were placed during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, but by the time of the Romans they were permanently mounted in the niches of the *scenae frons*, and as miniaturists looked for ways to expand the author portrait to full-page illustrations, it does seem logical that they would duplicate the background against which portrait sculpture could be observed across the empire.

The classical *scenae frons* can be reconstructed from the archaeological remains of surviving theaters, from stone and terra cotta models of the theater, from fresco paintings illustrating dramatic scenes, and from the descriptions of Vitruvius.[42] The *scenae frons* developed from its inception in Classical Greek times, when the back wall was simply articulated with a colonnade and three portals, to the elaborate Roman system of tiered columns, exedrae, pediments, and niches. A marble relief illustrating an early Roman *scenae frons* includes a row of niches, flanked by columns which alternatively support an arch or a pediment (fig. 28). The center of the composition is marked by a much larger conche-lined niche. Another terra cotta relief depicting a play in full action shows a similar stage design (fig. 29).

This simple system developed into a grandiose three story facade delineated with niches filled with sculpture such as the one Pliny describes built by the young *aedile* M. Aemilius Scaurus in the year 58 B.C. with three stories delineated by 360 columns. The first story was made of marble, the second story of glass (mosaic?) and the third of gilded wood. In the niches between the columns were placed 3000 bronze statues. (Nat. Hist. 34. 36; 36. 5 ,50, 113-15, 189). Undoubtedly by the time Pliny recorded the tale it had become quite exaggerated, but it is indicative of the rather baroque theatrical taste of the

Romans. A reconstruction of the theater built by the Romans at Ephesus gives some indication of the appearance of the late *scenae frons* (fig. 30).

The background behind the portrait of Dioscurides most closely resembles the surviving marble and clay models of the Roman stage (compare figs. 19, 28, & 29). Note in particular the larger central niche flanked by columns and the alteration of niches and pediments. The varied architectural backgrounds behind the evangelists of the Mount Athos manuscript, on the other hand, in no way resemble the Roman *scenae frons*; however, A. M. Friend has remarked upon their great similarity to Roman fresco paintings, which he believes in turn have been modeled after painted stage sets. Friend has compared the Mount Athos manuscript to the surviving frescoes from the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale, which has been connected with the Roman theater. (figs. 31 & 32).[43]

That the Romans decorated the rooms of their private homes with frescoes modeled after painted stage sets for the theater is confirmed by Vitruvius in his treatise on architecture (V, 6).[44] The ancient author also describes the three standardized set designs that were used for these theatrical backdrops which corresponded to the three dramatic genre of the Roman stage. Tragic scenes were backed by architectural constructions of columns, pediments, statues and other objects suited to the representation of kings; comic scenes were decorated with private dwellings; and satyric scenes were surrounded with a bucolic backdrop replete with trees, caverns, mountains and other rustic elements. The designs were painted on wooden panels which were placed between the permanent stone columns of the *scenae frons* and could easily be removed and replaced by another panel whenever the play called for a change of scenery.

In Bedroom M at Boscoreale, the long East and West walls each have four panels in a *paratactic* (repeating) scheme. The four panels consist of alternating scenes of "domestic" and "monumental" architecture which would correspond with Vitruvius's set descriptions for the tragic and comedic theater. The North wall, opposite the entrance, depicts a bucolic landscape, corresponding to the set description for satyric plays. The inclusion of theater masks in the painted architrave would also seem to indicate the artist's source, as does the absence of any living thing, either human or animal which would identify the frescoes as genre scenes.

However, the assumption that set design was the inspiration for the Boscoreale frescoes is far from certain. Other theories supported by convincing documentation suggest that the architectural configurations at Boscoreale were inspired by monumental Hellenistic architecture, particularly that of Ptolomeic Egypt or contemporary Roman domestic architecture.[45] Phyllis Lehmann in her examination of the frescoes suggests that they are typical of other contemporary murals depicting views of the grand villas of the Roman gentry such as the famous villa landscape from Stabiae (fig. 33). She defines Boscoreale as an architectural portrait "in which key elements of a great establishment are combined in a suggestive panorama." Lehmann also dismisses the importance of the theatrical masks in the Boscoreale frescoes which she claims were commonly used in the architectural decoration of scenes not related to the theater.[46]

Roger Ling believes that all of these sources contributed something to "the melting pot" of architectural fresco decoration beginning in the mid first century B.C.[47] The free borrowing of motifs led to a dense conglomeration of architectural features, illusionistically painted to resemble rich building

materials and sumptuous detail. Ling suggests the fantastical constructions of these architectural frescoes perhaps brought to mind for the nobles of Pompeii "the palaces of Greek mythology...or the fabulous mansions of the potentates of contemporary Rome."[48] So while theater sets may have been one of the inspirations for the architectural frescoes at Boscoreale, they are in no way a copy of one specific source.

Whatever the inspiration for the Boscoreale frescoes, they still show many features in common with the architectural backdrops of the Mount Athos Gospel Book, and point to the importance of fresco models for the book illuminator. The evangelists John and Mark are both seated in front of a large semi-circular exedra similar to the niches in the two frescoes supposedly modeled after a tragic set design (compare figs. 25 b & d with 31 & 32). Although the niches in the fresco are actually square, curtains draped behind the niches create the illusion of a semi-circular space. The background behind Mark includes a balcony flanked by two circular towers that are reminiscent of the *tholus* in the fresco painting.

The background behind St Matthew consists of a conglomeration of architectural forms depicted at a steeply oblique perspective similar to the scene of "domestic architecture" in the Boscoreale frescoes. Placed between Matthew and the architecture is a row of low bushes, which if using a theater model, is a feature appropriate to the landscape motif of satyric sets, but not to the cityscapes of the comedic theater. According to Weitzmann, the miniaturist, when confronted with these two separate models, combined motifs from a comedic set and a satyric set to create a new monumental background for the evangelist.[49] While it is possible that the tenth century miniaturist of Stauronikita 43 used a pastiche of divergent prototypes for his architectural

backgrounds, the classicizing style of this manuscript indicates that it copied a late antique exemplar. The exemplar was in turn inspired by monumental fresco painting. It has been demonstrated that it was totally within the character of fresco traditions in the first century B.C. to create this fictitious, fantastical arrangement of architectural forms, and the combination of architecture and landscape details is an integral part of the frescoes of villa portraits.

That the mural painter enjoyed a certain amount of artistic license in creating architectural designs is confirmed by the criticism the art suffered. Vitruvius, a conservative spokesman for this age wrote, "On the plaster there are monsters rather than definite representations taken from definite things. Instead of columns there rise up fluted reeds; instead of gables, decorative appendages with curled leaves and volutes. Candelabra support shrine-like forms, above the roofs of which grow delicate flowers with volutes containing little figures seated at random....Such things neither are, nor can be, nor have been."[50] Interestingly, set designers were criticized for the same flights of fancy. For example, Vitruvius mentions an assembly hall in Tralles built to resemble a small theater including a painted *scenae frons*. Although the painted set pleased the public, the mathematician Licymnius considered it too fantastic and demanded that the sets be repainted.[51] It is this artistic tradition in monumental painting which seems a more reasonable explanation for the manner in which architectural features of both the Boscoreale frescoes and the Mount Athos miniatures are compressed and stacked upon each other in a fantastical arrangement, rather than the failings of Roman perspective or the pastiches created by Byzantine illuminators.

The importance of monumental painting for book illuminators is demonstrated by another example. Weitzmann has noted the similarities

between a fresco from the Villa Farnesina of the "Rearing of the Child Bacchus" and the evangelist portraits of St Mark in the Rossano Gospels and St John in a Byzantine Gospel Book from the tenth century (Vatican, cod. gr. 363, fol. 205r).[52] In the fresco, the infant Bacchus sits on his nurse maid's lap (fig. 34). Behind them a monumental stone gate, looking much like a triumphal arch, provides entrance into their garden setting. A curtain is draped from the cornice of the arch lending an appropriate aulic atmosphere to the scene, as well as providing the seated pair with shade from the blazing afternoon sun. In the Vatican Gospel Book, etched into the burnished gold background is the same configuration of arch and triangularly shaped curtains (fig. 35). In the Rossano Gospels the strange abstracted conglomeration of architectural elements includes these parted curtains suspended from a central pillar (fig. 21).

These three Gospel Books, The Rossano Gospel and those from Mount Athos and the Vatican, demonstrates the difficulty of trying to identify a single source as the miniaturist's inspiration for the evangelists' architectural backgrounds. Although the frescoes and the illuminated page share isolated features, the most striking similarity between the two arts is not a concordance of individual details but the general style of both works. This imaginative assemblage of sumptuous architectural detail is connected with the first phase of the Second Style of Pompeian wall painting which developed between 80 and 40 B.C. Weitzmann has suggested that the Mount Athos manuscript copied a Late Classical exemplar. If this is true, that means the miniaturist was not inspired by a contemporary fresco but one that was already 300 to 400 years old. However, it is also possible that the development of the full-page author portrait could be pushed back to the first century A.D. to coincide with the earliest development of the codex, in spite of the lack of material evidence.

In many Byzantine Gospel Books the architectural background behind the evangelists is reduced to a simply aedicula. Its conche-studded pediment is supported two columns which also hold back a parted curtain to reveal the seated author (fig. 34). Weitzmann believes that the curtained aedicula in book illumination derives from the Porta Regina of the theater - that large central niche of the *scenae frons*, that provided the actors with their main entrance to the stage and which was framed by curtains.[53] Weitzmann suggests that sometime around the first half of the fourth century this aedicula was isolated from the rest of the *scenae frons* and was used as a decorative framing devise for many types of manuscript illuminations such as the the figures in the *Calender of 354*, the canon tables of Eusebius, demonstrations in medical books, and author portraits, both secular and sacred. However, the theater was not the only venue for the display of commemorative portraits. A niche, filled with statuary, was an ubiquitous feature of Roman architecture. In addition, the isolated three-dimensional aedicula which occur in both Byzantine and Carolingian Gospel Books (figs. 36 & 58), with its columnar supports, and pediment top is similar to the facades of small Roman shrines, such as the one which appears in the famous Palestrina mosaic from the second century B. C. (fig. 37).

It is believed that the Palestrina mosaic, and others like it, were the inspiration for the "genre" landscapes that appear in Roman wall painting in the first century B.C.[54] These panoramic landscapes are filled with generalized representations of temples, porticoes, country houses, statues of deities, and sacred columns, as well as the rustic herdsman, farmers, fisherman, and worshippers that travel through the countryside. Although the landscapes are often dotted with exotic Egyptianizing features, they never reproduce an

Egyptian setting in its entirety. In a painting from the House of the Ceii at Pompeii, an Egyptianizing landscape includes several small shrines and porticoes with their simple columned and pedimented facades which could have provided a model for the miniaturist searching for a suitably aulic architectural setting for an author portrait (fig. 38).

Manuscript illuminators quickly realized the potential of the aedicula and other formal architectural motifs as a suitable framing device for their miniature scenes. For example, in the scene of Joseph and Potipher's wife in the sixth century Vienna Genesis, the seductress lies on a bed placed in front of a compressed semi-circular colonnade. It is not a very realistic use of architecture, but one that sufficiently emphasizes the rank of Potipher's wife which led to disastrous consequences for the innocent Joseph shown trying to flee through an open door (fig. 39).

Regardless of the configuration of the monumental architecture which was placed behind the Gospel writers, they are always provided with the equipment necessary for their scholarly task, items that the miniaturist often displays in great detail. In a tenth century Byzantine Gospel Book now in the Laurenziana Library (Med. Palat. 244) we see St Mark seated pensively in front of a large desk upon which are displayed the instruments necessary for book production - ink wells, pens, calipers, and a knife for sharpening quills and smoothing out rough spots in the parchment (fig. 40). One of the cupboard doors of the desk has been opened to reveal shelves lined with bottles of ink. In spite of the solid gold background, St Mark's well equipped desk gives us the impression that we are viewing the author hard at work in his private study.

Many middle Byzantine manuscripts, however, more explicitly place the Gospel writers within a personal work space. In a twelfth century Gospel

Lectionary from Mount Athos (Protaton, cod. 11) the evangelists are depicted in pairs working together in the inner courtyard of a private home (fig. 41).[55] Although the architectural background bears some resemblance to those of Stauronikita 43, there are several major differences between the two which identify this location as an inner courtyard, rather than a generalized view of monumental architecture. In Stauronikita 43, as in many other Gospels, the evangelists are placed in front of a large central niche, aedicula or exedra. In this Lectionary, the evangelists are placed in front of a low stone wall. The portals in the two flanking towers which lead into the courtyard are not topped with a pediment as in more monumental architecture, and the curtains covering these entrances were standard means in Roman homes of assuring privacy.[56] Finally, the ground surrounding the Gospel writers is covered with plants, indicative of its outdoor setting.

In another eleventh century manuscript from Mount Athos, a Lectionary from the Dionysiou monastery (cod. 587) several illustrations narrating the life of Christ depict courtyard scenes which are architecturally very similar to the backgrounds behind the Gospel writers in the Protaton Lectionary.[57] In the illustrations of "Jesus in the House of Lazarus", "The Washing of the Feet", and the "Annunciation" the action takes place on a grassy field in front of a low wall flanked by curtained portals (fig. 42). When events take place inside the house, such as in the "Last Supper," the plants disappear and the back wall is raised and fenestrated to indicate the "upper room" described in the biblical account. Unfortunately we are unable to compare the domestic settings of these narrative scenes with those of evangelist portraits in this same manuscript. The only portrait of a Gospel writer in the Dionysiou Lectionary is that of St John. In this miniature he is represented on the rocky island of Mount Patmos standing in a

trance as he receives his vision of the Apocalypse (fig. 43). This new composition for John's portrait was first popularized in the eleventh century.[58]

In the Mediterranean lifestyle of Late Antiquity it would not have been unusual for such daily activities to take place in the courtyard. The individual rooms in a house were usually quite small and dark, and the sunny courtyard was used to entertain guests, to cook (it was often the only place water was available), and to read and repose.[59] It is known that some of the more splendid villas had libraries. Pliny mentions them and the large library discovered in Pompeii at the "House of the Papyri" indicates their general layout and design.[60] However, it is in keeping with the multi-purpose function of the courtyard garden that scholars would have brought their books outside to benefit from the fresh air and natural light. In fact, a Greco-Roman relief showing the visit of the god Dionysus to a poet's house depicts the poet reclining on a divan in an inner courtyard (fig. 44). Behind him a draped curtain provides a suitably aulic background and shields him from the disturbances of house activities.

The architecture in these Byzantine miniatures conforms to the traditional conventions of manuscript illumination in which architectural detail is simplified, abstracted and flattened. However, the basic plan and elevation of these houses, a low wall flanked by two towers, can also be found in Roman mosaics and frescoes depicting the exterior of country villas. A mosaic from Tunisia of the exterior of a house, with its two towered facade flanking a low wall, depicts the same general layout as the interior views found in the Byzantine miniatures (fig. 45). It is known that some of the earliest monasteries were set up in the deserted country villas of the Roman gentry, and it is interesting to speculate that the prototype for this motif of the evangelist writing his text in a garden

courtyard might actually reflect the activities of early monastic life.[61] It is this personalized, homey setting for the author, rather than the aulic backgrounds derived from monumental Roman architecture, that became popular in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance.

Although the seated author was the most popular format for portraits of the evangelists, they were also depicted in the pose of the standing literatus.[62] The image of a figure standing with an open book in hand was also a popular motif in the earliest Christian frescoes. They were commonly used in catacomb paintings, as in the image of a young man from the catacomb of Saints Peter and Marcellinus in Rome from the third century (fig. 46). The earliest extant example of a standing author in a manuscript is in the previously discussed Rabbula Gospels. Facing the seated double portrait of Saints Matthew and John is a double portrait of Mark and Luke standing under the decorative arches of the canon tables (fig. 23).[63] Their erect posture did not leave the artist sufficient space to depict the stylized conche shell and tempietto placed over Matthew and John. The younger evangelists stand in a stiff frontal position carrying their Gospel in a left hand which has been completely covered by their heavy mantle. Mark raises one hand in a gesture of speech, and unlike the seated evangelists, Mark and Luke are nimbed.

In an early tenth century Gospel book from Mount Athos (Andreaskita, MS. 5), there are three surviving full-page frontispieces of the Gospel writers - the folio with Matthew is now missing (figs. 47a-c).[64] They all stand in a stiff, frontal contrapposto position, holding a book in one hand, with the other hand raised. Each evangelist is surrounded by an architectural frame, which is strikingly similar in design and decoration to the arches on the sixth century ivory throne of Maximian in Ravenna. The front of the throne is lined with ivory

panels which depict the standing figure of John the Baptist flanked by the four evangelists (fig. 48). Each figure is placed in a shallow niche formed by two columns holding up a conch-lined semi-dome, and like the manuscript, all the architectural features are richly embossed with geometric designs.

Most Byzantine standing representations of the evangelists lack any architectural frame whatsoever, and are simply placed on a background of shimmering gold. This is the case with the four evangelists in a tenth century Gospel book now in Paris (figs. 49 a-d).[65] This book presents a good example of a variation on the "standing literatus" pose which was common in Byzantine manuscripts. Mark and Luke are in the conventional frontal pose, standing in a slight contrapposto with a book in hand, but Matthew and John are presented in profile, walking to the right and attentively reading their Gospels. This pose was also used for author portraits of the prophets which were included in illustrated Old Testaments and Prophet Books.[66] The processional stride may ultimately derive from Eastern rather than classical models. It is similar to the line of Virgins and Martyrs at Sant' Apollinare Nuovo (fig. 50), and may have its antecedents in such ancient monuments as the processional relief at the Persian Palace of Persepolis from the fourth century B.C. Note in particular the covered hands in the Byzantine mosaic and manuscript, a feature also shared with Luke and Mark of the Syriac Rabbula Gospels.[67]

Carolingian Author Portraits

The evangelist portraits we have discussed up to this point have all illustrated Greek texts, with the sole exception of the Rabbula Gospels. In the Latin speaking West author portraits were also an important element of biblical illustration. As in Byzantium the traditions for manuscript illumination in Western

Europe were similarly grounded in classical models; however, western artists developed compositions that differed considerably from their eastern counterparts. Most significantly, the seated format took precedence over the standing evangelist in Latin Gospels. As in the East, these seated portraits of the Gospel writers borrowed all the various deportments common in antique commemorative sculpture, whether it was the philosopher's pensive gaze, the poet's inspired scribbling, or the rhetorician's forceful gestures. It is the settings within which these Gospel writers were placed, that are so remarkably different from their Greek counterparts.

There are few surviving Gospel Books from Late Antique Italy; however, it is believed that the Codex Amiatinus, a manuscript produced in Northumbria in the eighth century, is a copy of Cassiodorus' *Codex Grandior*, one of the manuscripts that Benedict Biscop brought back to England from Southern Italy.[68] On fol. 5 of the Codex Amiatinus is an unusual representation of "Ezra Restoring the Bible" (fig. 51). Ezra was the prophet and scribe who rewrote the Holy Scripture after the end of the Babylonian captivity. Usually Ezra is shown as a standing figure, but here the seated pose usually reserved for the evangelists is utilized. We see the scribe copying out his text, behind him is an open cupboard stacked with large leather bound tomes, presumably finished copies of the Bible. This miniature is the earliest extant illustration of an author (or scribe, as the case may be) working in an interior studio. It is a setting that was not reproduced in Medieval Art until the Late Gothic period, and then popularized in the Renaissance.

The dearth of manuscripts from early Medieval Italy is offset by the many extant examples from Carolingian *scriptoria* produced in the ninth and tenth centuries.[69] Perhaps the most famous Carolingian Gospel Book is the

Coronation Gospels purported to have been found at the feet of Charlemagne when Otto III opened his tomb at Aachen in the year 1000 (fig. 52 & 53).[70] This manuscript, with its dyed purple parchment and silver and gold script was subsequently used in the coronation ceremonies of the Ottonian emperors. In the full-page illustrations fronting the Gospels, each evangelist is seated in the midst of a rocky landscape painted with impressionistic brush strokes and an atmospheric haze. They all sit on Late Antique thrones and are busy either writing their Gospels or pausing for a moment of reflection they gaze knowingly out at the viewer.

The illusionistic qualities of the miniatures suggest that the ninth century illuminator copied a Late Antique prototype, which would certainly have been consistent with the ideals of Charlemagne's *renovatio*. However, it is difficult to identify the source of this motif since there is not a single surviving example of an author seated in a landscape in either ancient wall painting or Late Antique manuscripts. Pliny tells us that the Romans decorated their libraries with busts of ancient writers and statesmen, but the evidence that author portraits were also executed in fresco rests on very few examples and none of these monumental author portraits are placed within a landscape setting.

A seated portrait of Menander has survived, painted on the walls of a square aedicula surrounding the large courtyard of a private villa at Pompeii, the so-called "House of Menander." (fig. 2).[71] The author can be identified by two inscriptions; one on the hem of his garment, the other written on the scroll he holds across his lap. Menander, and another laureate-crowned author, who can no longer be identified because of the ruinous condition of the fresco, were painted on a solid ochre stained background surrounded by a simple decorative border. In another rare example, a fresco found in a Roman house

at Ephesus depicts the well-known face and crippled body of Socrates, again painted against a solid ochre background (fig. 54).[72] Although none of these authors were placed in a verdant setting, landscape was a very vital genre in Roman fresco painting. In fact, the author portraits in the House of Menander flank a large apse frescoed with a lush forest setting in which the story of Artemis and Action is acted out. Landscapes were popular in Roman painting for mythological scenes, for the standard set designs for satyric drama, and in their own right bucolic settings were used to emphasize sacral-idyllic, genre, or villa scenes.

A rare sixth century example of the four evangelists seated in a landscape can be found in mosaic at the Church of San Vitale in Ravenna. Built by the emperor Justinian, the palatine chapel, with its apse completely covered with mosaics, displays a rare combination of eastern and western influences. High on the side walls of the apse the four Gospel writers sit in a rocky landscape, identified by the inscriptions in their open books and by their animal symbol hovering overhead (fig. 55). Although the evangelists' symbolic beasts are rare in Byzantine art, they became a common feature in the West. They were originally associated with the theme of the *Maiestas Domini*, or the appearance of Christ at the Second Coming. This theme was taken from the Book of Revelation which describes the throne of God surrounded by "four living creatures, full of eyes before and behind. And the first living creature was like a lion; and the second living creature like a calf; and the third living creature, having the face, as it were, of a man; and the fourth living creature was like an eagle flying..."(Rev. 4:1-8). The theme of the Second Coming was used in the Early Christian period in fresco and mosaic decorations placed the "triumphal" arches placed before the apse or on the facade of the church. Such decorative

schemes were part of the facade of the original St Peter's in Rome finished in the early fifth century, as well as the Roman churches of St Paul's Outside the Walls and Santa Prudenziana.[73] The symbolic nature of the four beasts of the Apocalypse was transferred to the four Gospel writers at some point in the intervening centuries.

The curious lack of the evangelists' symbolic beasts in the Coronation Gospels is just one of the indications that Charlemange's manuscript was executed by Greek artists who were perhaps only too eager to find employment after the victory of the Iconoclasts had made their profession superfluous in the East.[74] It has been noted that the throne of St John (fig. 52) resembles the semi-circular aedicula of the Gospel writers, John and Mark in the Greek Gospels, Stauronikita 43. This is one of the few Byzantine manuscripts that also has a few isolated landscape features. A row of low bushes separates the figure of St Matthew from his architectural backdrop; and in St Mark's portrait, several tree branches are etched into the gold background behind the architectural setting (figs. 25a & b). With so few surviving Greek Gospels, and virtually none from the seventh to the tenth century, it is tantalizing to speculate that the motif of an author, seated in a landscape, may once have been a part of the Greek repertoire. Greek artists may have subsequently brought the motif to western Europe, but in the East, the image of an author seated in a landscape did not survive the destructive forces of the Iconoclastic Controversy.

It is believed that the Coronation Gospels was produced at Charlemagne's Palace School at Aachen. It was at his palace that Charlemagne set up the machinery for his Roman *renovatio*, and the manuscripts associated with this school demonstrate the greatest fidelity to antique art lacking the decorative Germanic accretions that were common in

illustrations coming out of other scriptoria located throughout the empire.[75] For example, in the image of St Matthew from the Ebbo Gospels, a product of the Reims School of painting, the evangelist has again been placed in a landscape setting. The miniaturist has used traditional illusionistic methods to build a strongly three-dimensional figure; however, details such as the drapery folds, the vegetation, and the architectural features in the background are all defined with pen and ink in a series of squiggly energetic lines that cause the whole composition to vibrate (fig. 56).[76] The temple and portico on top of the hill resemble those in the Pompeian landscape from the House of the Ceii, further evidence for the importance of Roman frescoes for the miniaturist (fig. 38). Note that in this example, the evangelist is accompanied by his symbol, a tiny winged man unfurling a scroll in the upper right corner.

The placement of the evangelists in an verdant landscape was not the most common setting for the Gospel writers. As in Byzantium, they were usually surrounded by an architectural frame or backdrop, providing a suitably aulic atmosphere for the transcribers of the word of God. In the Ada Gospels (fig. 57), the evangelists sit on elaborate Byzantine thrones backed by a monumental architectural design that resembles the aediculae of Stauronikita 43.[77] And as in St Matthew's portrait in the Mount Athos manuscript, a zone of vegetation is sometimes placed between the seated evangelist and his architectural background in the Ada Gospels. In St. Matthew's portrait, faint traces of vegetation are etched onto a blue stripped background, a common feature of Carolingian paintings which was the result of an abstracted imitation of classical atmospheric haze.

Another common background for Carolingian Gospel writers was the two-dimensional architectural frame so common to Early Christian and

Byzantine book illumination. The Gospel writers are flanked by columns which support either an arch or a pediment, the triangular or semi-circular space often used in Carolingian examples to display the evangelists' symbol. An example of this type of composition is found in the Lorsch Gospels, which illustrates another common feature of the aedicular frame - the curtains, parted in the center and tied to the columns to reveal the evangelist at work (fig. 58).[78] In the Lorsch Gospels, as in many other Carolingian examples of this type, a flattened abstract landscape is visible behind the curtained niche, a space the Byzantine illuminator usually filled with solid gold.

The previous three examples have demonstrated the importance of Byzantine prototypes for the Carolingian illuminator of author portraits. The monumental architectural backgrounds, the aedicular frame, and more specific details, such as the elaborate jeweled and cushioned thrones of the Gospel writers all point to eastern models. It is possible that even landscape elements, so omnipresent in Carolingian settings and so lacking in surviving Byzantine examples may have originated with the Greeks. The only composition in which eastern artists included landscape features was in the "courtyard setting," a motif which has its earliest surviving examples dated to the eleventh century. However, an unusual Carolingian example indicates that the courtyard setting might have been used much earlier by Byzantine artists.

In a Gospel Book commissioned by Charles the Bald, the Codex Aureus of St Emmeram, the evangelist portraits display all the features common to the Byzantine courtyard setting.[79] For example, St Matthew sets in the midst of a grassy field dotted with flowers and is flanked by two towers (fig. 59). Behind him is the abstracted remnant of a low wall. To emphasize the nature of this setting as a private studio, the towers also function as the capsa and cupboards

traditionally used to store scrolls and manuscripts. The prodigious output of the writer is emphasized by the finished scrolls unfurling through the open cupboard doors.

Compared to later Byzantine examples, the images of the Codex Aureus are flattened and defined by abstract pattern, demonstrating the creativity and liberality with which Carolingian artists infused their more classicizing models with the decorative features of their Germanic heritage. It is this creative spirit that led to the invention of a new, but rare composition for the evangelists. In the Gospel Book of the Celestines, the thrones of the evangelists are set on a bank of clouds surrounded by a polygonal crenellated wall studded square turrets (fig. 60). Undoubtedly we have the Gospel writers placed in a celestial atmosphere, the walled city of the New Jerusalem.[80]

Throughout the remainder of the Middle Ages, in Insular, Anglo-Saxon, Ottonian, Romanesque and Gothic manuscripts, the basic format for the seated evangelist holds sway; although the styles changed, the basic iconography remained constant. The evangelists were dressed in classical chitons and himations and are seated on elaborate thrones placed before a pulpit. They appear to be either lost in meditation or actively engaged in composing the Gospels. Each evangelist was identified by his animal symbol and the whole composition was either backed by monumental architecture, or more commonly, it was surrounded by a decorative arch. While bucolic elements may be added to these compositions, the open landscape setting of the Coronation Gospels for the most part disappeared. In the famous Lindisfarne Gospels, the portrait of St Matthew adheres to this iconographic formula, the classical roots of the image still evident beneath its decorative insular gloss (fig. 61).[81]

Portraits of Classical Authors in the Middle Ages

Up to this point we have examined very few examples of secular author portraits and have relied almost exclusively on images of the four Gospel writers in tracing the development of the author portrait from classical through medieval times. We are restricted in this regard not only by the low survival rate of ancient texts but also by the fact that very few classical texts copied in the early Middle Ages were illustrated. In this Church dominated society, the time, money and talent that were expended on the illustration of religious texts were not extended to copies of pagan literature. Almost without exception, from the fifth through the eleventh century author portraits are reserved for Christian writers. The four evangelists are represented the most often, but portraits of other biblical writers, as well as those of famous Christian apologists such as St Jerome, St Augustine, and St Gregory are not uncommon.

While the Carolingian *renovatio* provides us with several fine examples of ancient pagan writers such as the Terence (fig. 17) and several portraits in scientific texts, a survey of the extant libraries of both Insular and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts do not turn up a single example of a secular author portrait.[82] The early scriptoria in Ireland and England, like those on the mainland, were associated with monasteries, and although the monks did make copies of classical literature, it must not have seemed necessary to decorate the books with the author's portrait. However, we might never know if the scribes' exemplars included an author portrait which was subsequently omitted in the medieval copy, or if the exemplars, themselves, were devoid of illustration.

While portraits of the four evangelists were generally given separate full-page illustrations, not much space was wasted on portraits of lesser saints. At a very early point in the Middle Ages the tradition developed of placing a

miniature portrait of the author within the tiny enclosed spaces of the opening initial of the text. The decorative spirit of medieval manuscript illumination used the opening initial for many purposes. It provided a frame not only for portraits, but also for narrative scenes; and its surface became a twisting arabesque of grotesques and abstract ornament; however, author portraits were one of the most common decorative uses of the opening initial. The first extant example of this tradition appears to be a half length figure of a saint, possibly St Gregory, in a mid-eighth century Anglo-Saxon copy of Bede's Ecclesiastical History (fig. 62).[83] Standing and seated formats were both used in these tiny portraits. The seated figures are usually depicted in the act of writing. Rarely do we see them imitating the ancient seated philosopher's relaxed posture and pensive gaze. This classical motif at times is still used for portraits of the evangelists, but even they are more commonly depicted in energized states of inspiration.

In the twelfth century there was a renewed interest in classical texts, particularly those of Greek authors such as Plato, Aristotle and Ptolemy as their writings, many of them long forgotten in the West, began to appear once again in Europe.[84] Some Greek texts were carried home by those returning from the second Crusade, other came by way of Spain and Sicily in the form of Arabic translations and commentaries. All of these texts needed to be translated into Latin for the European scholarly community.

The revival of Greek texts began with an interest in Platonic works and was centered at the cathedral school at Chartres; however, by the mid-twelfth century, the scholastic movement of Paris championed the logical philosophies of Aristotle over the mysticism of Plato. The rise of scholasticism coincided with the first universities and the newly discovered works of Aristotle became the foundation for course work in logistic and scientific studies. It was soon

discovered that many ideas of Aristotle, as well as those of Averroes, the Islamic commentator who helped introduce Aristotle to the West, did not correspond with the accepted doctrines of the Church. In order to reconcile some of the ideas of Aristotle and those of his heretical commentator with accepted Christian doctrine, scholars began to compose summaries, commentaries, and glossed texts of their own which would exclude or explain the controversial views of the Greek philosopher. Many commentaries began as *reportationes*, which were a record of a professor's lectures on a given topic.[85] The lecture was recorded by a designated student and corrected by the professor before sent to the copyist. These *reportationes* were often used as textbooks, in fact it was much more common at this time for the works of Aristotle to appear condensed and glossed into summaries and commentaries, than in complete translations.

It was the sudden demand for university textbooks that revolutionized the production and layout of manuscripts in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Previously, learning had been centered in small monasteries and cathedral schools with a clerical rather than a mixed body of lay and religious students. In the monastic schools the need for textbooks was rather limited and most of the manuscripts produced in monastic scriptoria were designated for ecclesiastic use. Both scribe and illuminator had the leisure to labor long on these richly illuminated texts written on fine parchment with wide margins. The increased demand for textbooks in the university system was now filled by independent publishers known as *stationarii*, who employed a score of copyists.[86] These rapidly produced texts had few, if any illustrations and were written on thin parchment with narrow margins. In addition, the invention of the new cursive

Gothic hand with its many abbreviations, saved the scribe the hours of work demanded by the more legible and painstaking Carolingian script.

At times, when the student or other learned patron could afford to commission illustrations, author portraits were the most common decoration. A new composition for the author was popularized at this time. It consisted of a professor, seated before a large pulpit and lecturing to a group of students seated at his feet. Unlike the portraits of biblical figures, these authors are all dressed in contemporary Gothic fashion. Monks are tonsured and dressed in hooded robes, while secular scholars are outfitted in colorful academic gowns trimmed with ermine. Take for example the unusual full-page miniature of the great commentator and teacher, Hugh of St Victor, which precedes a late twelfth century copy of his De Archa Noe and other texts (fig. 63).[87] The renowned professor from the University of Paris sits on a high backed chair, replete with footrest, and lectures from an open book to three young Dominican students.

These full-page illustrations are rare in secular texts. Usually the professor and students are again forced into the tiny empty spaces of the opening initial. In a commentary on Aristotle by Jacopino da Reggio, the scholar is represented in the opening initial of his text, holding an open book in his lap, and pointing out the lesson to a group of students who stand before him (fig. 64).[88] In several other incipits in the text, Aristotle, himself is pictured. He is depicted as an ancient sage with grey hair and beard and is dressed in a classical chiton and himation (fig. 65). He is not depicted teaching, but in a simple bust length or full length standing portrait with his text in hand.

This became the new formula for decorating textbooks, if they were decorated at all. The translator, commentator, or compiler is depicted in the opening incipit in his role as university professor. He is dressed in

contemporary costume to identify him as a monk or one of those new breed of lay scholars and lectures to a group of students. At times the original author may also be represented in the incipits of the remaining chapters. These ancient Greeks and Romans appear as wise old men and retain their classical garb.[89]

I would like to point out that Panofsky's theory of "disjunction," in which themes taken from classical antiquity are "invariably presented in a non-classical, normally contemporary form," does not seem to operate in these secular author portraits. In other words, ancient authors are not dressed up in the local fashion and shown lecturing to a group of university students. Although portraits of the translators, commentators, and compilers are given primacy in the opening initial of the text, usurping that position from the original author, medieval scholars and ancient authors retain their respective identities and are dressed accordingly. The only thing that has changed is the status of classical writers in regard to their Christian apologists.[90]

There is one remaining composition for author portraits which must be discussed: the presentation portrait, in which the author offers his finished opus to another, usually the patron of the manuscript. This motif can be traced back to late classical times, as evidenced by presentation scenes in the Vienna Dioscurides and a Carolingian copy of Aesop's fables.[91]

In the Vienna Dioscurides, the final frontispiece, following the two portraits of Dioscurides and the group portrait of fourteen famous doctors, is the oldest dedication miniature in existence. It depicts the princess Anicia Juliana dressed in contemporary Byzantine court fashion and seated frontally on a gold throne (fig. 66). She distributes coins with one hand and holds the *codicillus* distinguishing her as a member of the patriciate in the other. Surrounding her

are three personifications, Magnanimity, Prudence, and "Gratitude of the Arts."
The manuscript was commissioned by the thankful congregation of a church
built for them by Anicia in the suburbs of Constantinople. The presentation of
the text is performed by a small putto who holds the completed manuscript open
before the princess.

In most presentation miniatures, it is the author who presents the finished
text to its recipient. In a Carolingian copy of Aesop's fables, translated from
Greek to Latin by Avianus, a crude pen and ink drawing placed at the beginning
of the collection shows Avianus presenting a scroll of his text to Macrobius
Ambrosius Theodosius, the renowned poet of the *Saturnalia* (fig. 67).[92]
Avianus made his translation in about 400 A.D. and his dedicatory prologue
compliments Theodosius on his literary achievements in both the Greek and
Latin languages. Theodosius is represented as the most noble of the two
literary figures, depicted in the guise on an ancient philosopher or poet. His
bearded face distinguishes his advanced age and wisdom from the younger
poet, and he sits in a barrel back wicker chair, barefoot, loosely wrapped in a
himation which bares his chest. His right hand holds the scroll of Avianus, who
seated on a nearby bench extends his right hand in a gesture of speech to
symbolize his recitation of the prologue.

Goldschmidt has attributed the crude nature of the drawing to the fact
that this Carolingian copy was made from an Anglo-Saxon manuscript which in
turn had copied a late Roman prototype.[93] The presentation motif became very
common in Carolingian book illumination, and further examples depict the more
classicizing style of Charlemagne's *renovatio*. In a copy of Boethius's *De
Arithmetica*, a product of the School of Tours from about 850, the author
presents his text to his patron Symmachus (fig. 68).[94] In this case both men are

seated frontally on a single bench as the book is passed from author to recipient.

The presentation motif is particularly common when the recipient of a text is a pope or king. In a copy of Rabanus Maurus, *De laudibus Sanctae Crucis*, the author presents his manuscript to Pope Gregory IV (fig. 69).[95] Rabanus Maurus was abbot of Fulda in 822, and probably had a hand in establishing a scriptoria there based on the classicizing style of Tours. In this contemporary portrait, the author's humble status is recognized as Rabanus is not seated next to the pope, but stands before his enthroned eminence, bowing slightly as he delivers the dedicatory copy of his allegorical poem.

In the most elaborate presentation miniature of the Carolingian period, the Emperor Charles the Bald, accepts a richly illuminated Bible from Abbot Vivian of Tours (fig. 70)[96] The emperor has used the presentation miniature to emphasize his divinely decreed right to rule. He sits enthroned in the clouds surrounded by members of his court. Curtains are swagged to form a cloth baldachino overhead. His divinely chosen role is symbolized by the hand of God which reaches down from the heavens, shedding golden rays of light on his head. Vivian, the abbot of the monastery at Tours, which produced this fine manuscript stands below Charles and extends to him the heavy volume. Vivian is accompanied by some of his monks from St Martin who form a semi-circle on the *terra firma* below the emperor and engage themselves in a lively debate.

The presentation miniature in the Bible of Charles the Bald operates first and foremost as a vehicle of apotheosis for the emperor and is a forerunner of the elaborate presentation miniatures decorating legal codices produced in Bologna in the fourteenth century. In copies of both secular and sacred legal codes such as Justinian's *Corpus Juris Civilis* and the collections of papal

degrees: Gratian's *Decretum*, Gregory IX's *Decretals*, Boniface VIII's *Liber Sextus*, and Clement V's *Clementinae*, the presentation miniature becomes a stage for a narrative and symbolic enactment of Church doctrine. In an early fourteenth century copy of the *Decretals*, Pope Gregory is enthroned among a diverse group of clerics (fig. 71). In his central, elevated position he is pronouncing papal bulls under the guided inspiration of two angels who whisper in his ears. These promulgations are then debated by the learned of the Church, copied by scribes, and offered back to the Pope in an official publication. Below this miniature, painted in the opening initial of the text is a monk teaching the *Decretals* (which had become the sanctioned textbook for studies in Canon Law) to a group of novices. This elaborate presentation miniature is both a symbolic image of papal infallibility and a lively narrative of the medieval practices of book production and teaching. These images strongly influenced Renaissance presentation miniatures, particularly those found in papal libraries.

Conclusion

Briefly summarizing the history of the author portrait to this point it has been demonstrated that the tradition of placing a portrait of the author at the beginning of a book can be traced back to the first century B.C. or perhaps to Hellenistic times. Our earliest evidence of book portraiture is Pliny's description of Marcus Varro's text, the *Hebdomades*, which was illustrated with over seven hundred portraits. Varro's text would have been written on papyrus scrolls, and some of the earliest material evidence for author portraits - the offset of a medallion portrait in the early fifth century Vatican Virgil and the seated author

portraits in the late fifth century *Vergilius Romanus* - formally reveal their origins in a scroll exemplar.

The three formats used for author portraits in other media - the *imago clipeata* or bust medallion, the "seated thinker" and the "standing literatus" - were also used in book production, in both its scroll and codex formats. A fourth motif, the presentation miniature in which the author offers a copy of his or her text to its patron probably found its genesis in book illumination. The earliest evidence for the existence of author portraits in the newly developed codex format is also literary. Martial praises a copy of of Virgil's works which was decorated with "the face of the man himself." As the codex developed in the first four centuries of our era artists began to exploit the smooth flat surface of the parchment leaves to create full-page author portraits that rival the illusionistic techniques of monumental painting. The seated author format, used by the Greeks and Romans in commemorative statuary, was most commonly employed for this purpose. The artist augmented this motif by surrounding the author with a painted setting that has the homey qualities of a genre scene. The author is supplied with all the equipment needed for the manufacture of books, a pulpit supports a scroll or book and a nearby desk stores pens, ink, and scrapers. Throughout the Medieval period, the backgrounds behind the author encompassed several major variations including a conglomeration of monumental architecture, which can at times be associated with the *scenae frons* of the Roman theater, a private courtyard setting, a simple two-dimensional aedicula, a verdant landscape, or solid gold. All of these chosen backdrops provided a suitable aulic atmosphere for the esteemed author.

During the early Medieval period, although copies of pagan literature continued to be made, very few were illustrated with a portrait of the author.

That luxury was reserved for Christian texts. Full-page illustrations were generally reserved for the evangelists, while other prophets, saints, or church figures, if they were allotted an author portrait, were commonly squeezed into the empty spaces of the opening initial. With the rise of the scholastic movement and university system in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there was a renewed interest in classical literature. The texts of Plato and Aristotle were studied with particular interest. However, when author portraits were included in the many translations, summaries, and commentaries of these ancient writers, the presence of the original author was usurped by that of the medieval scholar, who had translated, compiled, or commented upon the master. The teaching author portrait was popularized at this time in which the scholastic professor sits before a pulpit and lectures to a group of students at his feet. When the aristocratic humanists of the Italian Renaissance began to build up their private libraries of classical texts the examples of author portraits available to them were restricted to images of these Gothic professors crowded into the opening initial, to full-page miniatures of the evangelists, or to the elaborate presentation miniatures in legal books. None of these images relayed the *dignitas* and *gravitas* Renaissance humanists associated with the famous writers of classical literature, and their search began for author portraits which would suitably honor these *uomini illustri* of the ancient world.

Notes to Chapter One

2 Grisela M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* (1964), abridged and revised by R. R. R. Smith, Ithaca, N.Y., 1984, III Vols.

3 Ida Baldassare, ed., *Pompei pitture e mosaici*, Roma, 1990, I, 367, fig. 204.

4 For an analysis of the author portrait in ancient art, see Kurt Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination*, Cambridge, MA., 1959; idem., *Illustration in Roll and Codex*, Princeton, 1970; idem., *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*, London, 1977; and A. M. Friend, "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts," *Art Studies*, Pt. 1, V,1927, 115-147ff and Pt. 2, VII, 1929, 3-29ff.

4 For the early development of Greek portraiture, see the writings of Grisela M. A. Richter, *Greek Portraits I, A Study of their Development*, Bruxelles, 1955, 11-13; *Greek Portraits II, To what extent were they faithful likenesses?* Bruxelles, 1959, 11-13; and more recently, *The Portraits of the Greeks*. See also Anton Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, New York, 1972 (repr. 1912) and J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge, 1986 has an excellent bibliography on Greek portraiture organized by subject.

6 As recorded by Pausanius I, 21, 1 and Plutarch, *vita Orat., Lycurgos*, 10.

7 There is no extant inscribed portrait of Aeschylus although a portrait type for him has been identified. A portrait type for Euripides, known in over 30 copies, can be identified by an inscribed herm in the National Museum, Naples. There are two inscribed versions of the features of Sophocles. The Farnese type (named after a herm in the Farnese collection and identified by a small herm in the Vatican Museum, inv. 326) presents the philosopher in the prime of life. Many copies of this type exist. The Lateran type (the only complete full length statue of Sophokles, once in the Lateran Museum and now in the Vatican, and which has been identified by a small inscribed bust in the Vatican Museum, inv. 322) depicts the philosopher as a young man. Richter believes the survival of two different versions of Sophocles' features in the archaeological record is evidence that sufficient portraits were made of Sophokies throughout his life, perhaps as sketches, paintings or frescoes now lost, that the the philosopher's features would have been remembered 60 years later when the triad of Lykourgos was commissioned. See Richter, *Greek Portraits I*, 27-28; *Greek Portraits II*, 21-24, 32-33, 41; and *Portraits of the Greeks*, 74-78, 121-123, 205-208.

8 The capsa may be the addition of the Roman copyist who often added a structural support along the legs of a statue when reproducing a bronze original in marble. However, this added reinforcement usually took the form of a large tree stump and the supportive ability of this small capsa is quite negligible.

9 Descriptions of Plato abound in ancient literature. For example, see Diogenes Laertius, III, 4. For other references, see Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, 182.

10 This reconstruction of a seated Plato was proposed by A. Hekler, *Bildnisse berühmter Griechen,* 1940, 22, pl. VI, a. However, it is still uncertain if this is a copy of the Silanion's Plato or some other version. See Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks,* 186.

11 This portrait of Aristotle survives in a reconstructed cast. See Richter, *Three Critical Periods in Greek Sculpture,*

12 For the origin of the *imago clipeata* motif, see C. C. Vermeule, "A Greek Theme and its Survivals: the Rulers Shield (Tondo Imago) in Tomb and Temple," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* CIX, December, 1965, 361-397. See also Rudolf Winkes, *Clipeata Imago,* Bonn, 1969; and Richter, *Greek Portraits,* II, 16-18.

13 *Images clipeatae* are common in Roman wall painting, but they are usually mythological figures or generalized likeness and as yet few portraits have been identified. See Maxwell Anderson, "The Portrait Medallions of the Imperial Villa at Boscotrecase," *American Journal of Archaeology,* XCI, January, 1987, 127-135, who identifies the medallion portraits of Julia and Livia in frescoes of the imperial villa at Boscotrecase. For the reliefs at the Villa Doria, see Richter, Portraits of the Greeks, I, 217- fig. 1409. For the Cologne Mosaics, see Ibid., I, 132, fig. 714.

14 For the Trier mosaic, see Ibid., II, 240, fig. 1656. For the Louvre sarcophagus, see Ibid., I, 118, fig. 563.

15 Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination,* 9.

16 W. Wolfhart, *Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture of Ancient Egypt,* New York, 1969.

17 For a comparison of the scroll and codex in the ancient world, see Colin H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex,* London, 1983; For the traditions of illuminating papyri, see the references in note 3.

[18] Most surviving Greco-Roman literary texts come from Egypt, not from the centers of great intellectual activity, such as Alexandria, where the famous library of about 700,000 scrolls burned in the time of Julius Caesar, but from provincial centers, such as Oxyrhynchus where over fifty percent of the surviving classical literary texts were discovered. The difficulty in establishing a pan-Hellenic style from this scanty information is obvious. See Roberts and Skeat, 1-4; and Roger A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*, 2nd ed., Ann Arbor, 1965.

[19] For information on the lost *Hebdomades* see, C. T. Cruttwell, *A History of Roman Literature*, New York, 1882, 150-51; and J. W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome*, London, 1910, 333.

[20] Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illustration*, 115-116. Because of Pliny's assertion that Varro "invented" this format, it has been suggested that the Hebdomades was the *first* book to include portraiture. Whereas, it may be true that Varro's text was the first of the *de viris illustribus* genre composed of short biographical epigrams accompanied by a portrait, I believe that author portraits must pre-date this, based upon the wide popularity of author images in the Greco-Roman world and the supposition that scroll painting had enjoyed several centuries of development before Varro. For a summary of the early literature on the nature of these portraits, see W. A. Becker, *Gallus or Roman Scenes of the Time of Augustus*, London, 1866, 30.

[21] *Vatican Virgil*, Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, cod. lat. 3225. For a facsimile of this manuscript, see *Fragmenta et Picturae Vergiliana Codicis Vaticani Latini 3225*, Codices e Vaticanis selecti, Vol. I, 2nd ed., Rome, 1930, and J. de Wit, *Die Miniaturen des Vergilius Vaticanus*, Amsterdam, 1959.

[22] Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, cod. E 37 sup. See Weitzmann, "The Greek Sources of Islamic Scientific Illustration," in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, Chicago, 1971, 41.

[23] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Codex Parisinus*, 923. See Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela*, Princeton, 1979.

[24] Martial, *Epigrams*, XIV, 186. See quote at beginning of chapter.

[25] Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illustration*, 116-17.

[26] *Vergilius Romanus*, Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, cod. lat. 3867. For a facsimile of the text, see *Picturae Ornamenta Complura Scripturae Specimina Codicis Vaticani 3867*, Codices e Vaticanis selecti, Vol. II, Rome, 1902; and E. Rosenthal, *The Illuminations of the Vergilius Romanus*, Zurich, 1972.

[27] Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, cod. lat. 3868, fol. 2r. For a facsimile of this manuscript, see G. Jachmann, *Terentius, Codex Vaticanus Latinus 3868*, Codices e Vaticanis Selecti, Vol. 28, Leipzig, 1929. See also L. W. Jones and C. R. Morey, *The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence*, 2 vols., Princeton, 1931; and W. Koehler and F. Mütherich, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen*, Berlin, 1971, IV, 85-100.

[28] Vienna, Nationalbibliothek cod. med. gr. 1. For facsimiles, see A. von Premerstein, K. Wessely, and J. Mantuani, *Dioscurides, Codex Aniciae Julianae picturis illustratus*, Codices Graeci et Latini, Vol. X, Leiden, 1906; and H. Gerstinger, *Dioscurides, Codex Vindobonensis med. gr. 1*, Graz, 1970. See also P. Buberl, "Die antiken Grundlagen der Miniaturen des Wiener Dioskurideskodex," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts*, 51, 1936, 114ff; and Ernst Diez, *Die Miniaturen des Wiener Dioskorides*, Byzantinische Denkmäler, III, 38ff.

[29] It has been suggested that the composition was inspired by mosaics depicting the seven wise men, see Buberl, 127ff and G. W. Elderkin, "Two Mosaics representing the Seven Wise Men," *American Journal of Archaeology* 39, 1935, 92ff and pl. 22. See also A. von Salis, "Imagines Illustrium," *Festschrift Eumusia für Ernst Howald*, Zürich, 1947, 16. Weitzmann (*Ancient Book Illustration*, 122-123) reasons that the high artistic quality of this manuscript suggests that the artist should have been able to maintain the spatial relationships of his mosaic model on a smaller format. He concludes that the composition is instead the result of the artist lifting individual author portraits from the beginning of their texts and gathering them together for a group portrait. For other images of the seven wise men in ancient art, see Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, I, 81-82.

[30] Roberts and Skeat, 44-65.

[31] Friend, I, 120. cf. Theodore Zahn, *Acta Joannis*, Erlangen, 1889, 224.

[32] Rosanno, Il Duomo di Rossano, fol. 121r. For a facsimile, see A. Muñuz, *Il codice purpureo di Rossano*, Rome, 1907. See also A. Grabar, *Les Peintures de l' Evangeliaire de Sinope*, Paris, 1948; and W. C. Loerke, "The Monumental Miniature," in *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*, Princeton, 1975, 68-97.

[33] Anton Baumstark (*Monatshefte für Kunstw.* VIII, 1915, 119) was the first to suggest that this composition was an adaptation of the poet and muse group used on Asiatic sarcophagi. See also C. R. Morey, "The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina and the Asiatic Sarcophagi," Sardis. vol. V. *Roman and Christian Sculpture*, Part I, Princeton, 1924, 95. O. Dalton (*Byzantine Art and Architecture*, New York, 1961, 454) suggests the identity of Divine Wisdom for the personification.

[34] Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. 1. 56. For a facsimile see C. Cecchelli, G. Furlani and M. Salmi, *The Rabbula Gospels*, Olten and Lausanne, 1959.

[35] Richard Brilliant traces the development of the *adlocutio* gesture in Roman sculpture in, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art*, New Haven, 1963, 87ff.

[36] This statuette was discovered in the Late Classical ruins of Antioch, see Dericksen M. Brinkerhoff, *A Collection of Sculpture in Classical and Early Christian Antioch*, New York, 1970, fig. 78. H. B. Walters, dates the statuette to the sixth century A.D. in *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan, in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, London, 1899, 153, no. 849, pl. 26.

[37] Friend, II,7; cf., John W. H. Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, London, 1912, 83-96, 107-108.

[38] See Weitzmann's articles, "Book Illustration of the Fourth Century: Tradition and Innovation," and "The Character and Intellectual Origins of the Macedonian Renaissance," both in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, Chicago, 1971, 96-125 and 176-223 respectively.

[39] For Mount Athos, Stauronikita, MS. 43, see Ibid.; and Friend, I, 134, pl. VIII, figs. 95-98.

[40] As suggested by A. M. Friend, I, 142, n. 3. For a list of the surviving representations of Epicurus, see Richter, Portraits of the Greeks, 194-200. figs. 1149-1219.

[41] Friend, I, 138-145; II, 3ff; Weitzmann, "Book Illustration of the Fourth Century," 111-113; and idem., "The Macedonian Renaissance," 195-201.

[42] Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. by Morris Hicky Morgan, Cambridge, 1914. For a historical survey of the *scenae frons*, see Margarete Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, Princeton, 1961.

[43] Friend, II, 14-21. The Boscoreale frescoes are now housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. See Phyllis Williams Lehmann, *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Cambridge, MA., 1953; and Roger Ling, *Roman Painting*, Cambridge, 1991, 28-31.

[44] Vitruvius, *De architectura*, V, 6; and *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. by Morris Hicky Morgan, Cambridge, 1914, p. 150.

[45] For a survey of this literature, see Ling, 30-1; cf. H. G. Beyen, "The wall-decoration of the cubiculum of the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor near Boscoreale in relation to ancient stage-painting," *Mnemosyne*, 4th ser., X, 1957, 147-53; A. M. G. Little, *Roman Perspective Painting and the Ancient Stage*, Kennebunk, Maine, 1971; K. Schefold, "Der zweite Stil als Zeugnis alexandrinischer Architektur," in *Andreae and Kyrieleis*, 1975, 53-9; and J. Engemann, *Architekturdarstellungen des frühen zweiten Stils: Röm Mitt Ergänzungsheft 12*, Heidelberg 1967.

[46] Lehman, 90.

[47] Ling, 30.

[48] Ibid., 31.

[49] This is in line with Weitzmann's "pastiche" theory, which claims that many miniatures from the Late Classical period through the tenth century "Macedonian Renaissance" were created by combining elements from divergent prototypes. See "The Macedonian Renaissance." Friend suggests (I, 144, n.4) that this particular setting may have been derived from the agora. The agora with its long colonnades was another location where commemorative statues were placed on display and the row of bushes would have been appropriate in this outdoor setting. Note that Friend's suggestion means that the miniaturist was inspired directly from nature, in this case the architecture and outdoor setting of the agora and did not use an intermediary fresco image.

[50] Vitruvius quote taken from Ling, 38.

[51] Vitruvius, VII, 5, 5. See also Bieber, 168.

[52] For the Villa Farnesina, see G. E. Rizzo, *La Pittura Elenistico-Romana*, Milan, 1929, pl. 108; and I. Bragantini and M. De Vos, *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le pitture II.I. Le decorazione della villa romana della Farnesina*, Rome, 1982. The similarity between the fresco and the miniatures was noticed by A. M. Friend and recorded by K. Weitzmann, "The Macedonian Renaissance," 201-202.

[53] Weitzmann, "Book Illustration of the Fourth Century," 112-116; and "The Macedonian Renaissance," 195-200. Weitzmann is here building upon the work of A. M. Friend and C. Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln*, Göteborg, 1938.

[54] For a discussion of Roman landscape painting, see Ling 142-53; and idem., "Studius and the beginnings of Roman landscape painting," *Journal of Roman Studies*, LXVII, 1977, 1-16; and E. Winsor Leach, "Sacral-idyllic landscape

painting and the poems of Tibullus's first book," *Latomus* XXXIX, 1980, 47-69. For the Palestrina mosaics, see G. Gullini, *I mosaici di Palestrina*, Rome, 1956; H. Whitehouse, *The Dal Pozzo Copies of the Palestrina Mosaic*, BAR Supplementary Series 12, Oxford, 1976; and A. Steinmeyer-Schareika, *Das Nilmosaik von Palestrina und eine ptolemäische Expedition nach Äthiopien*, Bonn, 1978.

[55] For Mount Athos, Protaton Monastery, Codex 11, see S. M. Pelekanidis, et al., *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, Athens, 1973, 389, figs. 2 & 3; and V. Lazarev, *Storia della pictura bizantina*, 252, n. 51.

[56] Curtains were often used in place of doors, to break up large volumes, to block spaces between columns in a colonnade, and to close off porticos, in addition to their more ceremonial and aulic purposes, see Yvon Thébert, "Private Life and Domestic Architecture in Roman Africa," in P. Ariès and G. Duby, eds., *A History of Private Life*, trans., A. Goldhammer, 389.

[57] Mount Athos, Monastery of Dionysiiou, Codex 587; see Pelekanidis, 434-446, figs. 189-277; Lasarev, *Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, 230ff, and Weitzmann, "The Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustrations," in *Studies in Manuscript Illumination*, 247-270.

[58] The image of St. John dictating the details of his vision Patmos to a scribe is not popularized in Byzantine art until the 11th c. See Friend II, 146-47.

[59] For a discussion of the architectural layout and function of the rooms and courtyards of the Roman house, see Thébert, 313-405; and John Clark, The Houses of Roman Italy 100 B.C. - A.D. 250: Ritual Space and Decoration. We should not be surprised to see the evangelists in front of a solid wall since at a late date in the history of Roman architecture the peristyle changed so that a low wall was built between the columns of the colonnade, high enough to swallow up the lower portions of the columns, see Thébert, 390.

[60] For Pliny, see above p. 4; for the "House of Papyri," see Ida Baldassare, ed., *Pompei pitture e mosaici.*

[61] John Percival, *The Roman Villa*, Berkeley, 1976, 196.

[62] For the tradition of the standing literatus, see Theodor Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst*, Leipzig, 1907, 162ff; and P. Courcelle, "La Tradition antique dans les miniatures inedites d'un Virgile de Naples," *Mélanges d' Architecture et d' Histoire*, 1939, 52, 249ff.

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[63] Note the elaborate arabesque of these arches: the double horse-shoe arch over Matthew and the scalloped arch over Mark. Both with show up again in Islamic architecture.

[64] Mount Athos, Andreaskita, MS. 5, is now in a private American collection. See Friend, I:125-26. There are also full-page frontispieces in this book of Christ and the Virgin.

[65] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Gr. 70. See Friend, I:24.

[66] John Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books*, University Park, PN., 1988.

[67] Friend has also noted (I,125, 133) that in these biblical texts, the evangelists or prophets almost always walk to the right.

[68] Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Amiatinus MS. 1, fol. 5. See L. S. Bruce-Mitford, "The Art of the Codex Amiatinus," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, ser. 3, XXXII, 1969, 1-23.

[69] For Carolingian manuscript painting, see A. Goldschmidt, *German Illumination*, Vol. I, *The Carolingian Period*, New York, 1939; W. Köhler, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen*, 4 vols (Vol. 4 with F. Mütherich), Berlin, 1930-1971; J. Hubert, J. Porcher, and W. F. Volbach, *The Carolingian Renaissance*, New York, 1970; and F. Mütherich and J. E. Gaehide, *Carolingian Painting*, New York, 1976.

[70] Coronation Gospels, Vienna, Schatzkammer Kunsthistorisches Museum. See Ibid.

[71] For the House of Menander, see n. 2.

[72] Richter, fig. 563a. The Villa Farnesina depicts a seated laueate author reading from a scroll. Although no inscription identifies him, two accompanying female figures, one with a mask from the tragic theater and one playing the lyre indicate that the author is a tragic poet. For the Villa Farnesina, see n. 52.

[73] Meer, F. van der, *"Maiestas Domini:" Théophanies de l' Apocalypse dans l' art chrètien*, Vatican City, 1938; and James Snyder, M*edieval Art*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1989, 42-44.

[74] Mütherich, 51.

[75] There are four major styles of Carolingian manuscript painting that have been associated with certain *scriptoria* or geographical areas of production. For

a discussion of Carolingian scriptoria, see W. Köhler, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen*, 4 vols.

[76] Ebbo Gospels, Épernay, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms.1. See references in n. 69.

[77] Gospel Book of Ada, Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 22. See references in n. 69.

[78] Lorsch Gospels, Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, Pal. lat. 50. For a facsimile, see *The Lorsch Gospels*, introduction by W. Braunfels, New York, 1967. Also see references in n. 69.

[79] Codex Aureus of St Emmeram, Munich, Bayerische Stadtsbibliothek, Clm. 14000. For a facsimile, see *Der Codex Aureus der Bayerischen Stadtsbiliothek in München*, 6 Vols. ed. G. Leidinger, Munich, 1921-25. Also see references in n. 69.

[80] The clouds and wall most likely indicate the heavenly city of Jerusalem, a motif found in contemporary Byzantine painting. Circular city walls like these are also in heavenly scenes in the Gospel Book of St Florian of Coblenz and in the Utrecht Psalter. See Hubert, 102-103; 120-21.

[81] Lindisfarne Gospels, London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero D. 4. See

[82] I came to this conclusion by searching through the illustrations in J. J. G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts 6th to the 9th Century*, London, 1978; and Thomas H. Ohlgren, *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts - An Iconographic Catalogue c. A.D. 625 to 1100*, New York, 1986. Both authors reproduced all known illustrated Insular and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Only a handful of these manuscripts are copies of classical literature, and none of them have any figural illustrations. See also N. R. Kerr, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd, ed., London, 1964; and idem.,*Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, Oxford, 1957.

[83] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, Leningrad, Public Library, Cod, Q. v. I. 18. See Alexander, no. 19, Ohlgren, no. 19. Ker, 122. For a facsimile, see O. Arngart, *The Leningrad Bede*, 2 Vols. 1952.

[84] For the revolutionary changes in the educational system in the twelfth century, see C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, MA., 1927; David Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, New York, 1962; and John W. Baldwin, *The Scholastic Culture of the Middle Ages*, 1000-1300, Lexington, MA., 1971.

[85] Baldwin, 60, 69, 80, 86.

86 For a description of this new secular business of manuscript production, see Christopher de Hamel, "Books for Students," chapter 4 of his *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, Boston, 1986, 107-135.

87 Hugh of St Victor, *De Archa Noe* and other texts, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 409, f. 3v.

88 Aristotle, commentary by Jacopino da Reggio, Paris, Bibliothèque National, lat. 6297, fol. 235. See Alessandro Conti, *La Miniatura Bolognese, Bologna*, 1981, 48, figs. 117-122.

89 Aristotle, Plato, and other classical authors appear in this fashion in images of the Seven Liberal Arts, a theme which was often part of the sculptural or stained glass decoration of Gothic cathedrals, as at Chartres and Laon.

90 Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, Stockholm, 1960, 82-103.

91 For the dedication miniature, see P. Bloch, "Dedikationsbild Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie, Rome, 1968, I, 491-4.

92 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1132. Fol. 35r. In this manuscript the text of Avianus follows an illustrated Apocalypse. See Adolph Goldschmidt, *An Early Manuscript of the Aesop Fables of Avianus and Related Manuscripts*, Princeton, 1947.

93 Ibid., introduction. Both the script and pen and ink sketches of this manuscript show insular influences.

94 Bamberg, Staatsliche Bibliothek, Misc. class. 5, fol. 9v. See Hubert, 127ff, fig. 118.

95 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 652, fol. 2v. See Hubert, 192, fig. 178; and for a facsimile, see *Hrabanus Maurus, Liber de Laudibus Sanctae Crucis. Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe des Codex Vindobonensis 652 der Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, Kommentar K. Holter, Graz, 1973.

96 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 1, fol. 205. See Hubert, 136ff, fig. 129.

Chapter 2

Humanism and the Revival of Classical
Literature in Fifteenth Century Florence

When we carefully inspected the nearby tower of the church of St.
Gall in which countless books were kept like captives and the
library neglected and infested with dust, worms and soot, and all
the things associated with the destruction of books, we all burst
into tears, thinking that this was the way in which the Latin
language had lost its greatest glory and distinction. Truly, if this
library could speak for itself, it would cry loudly: "You men who
love the Latin tongue, let me not be utterly destroyed by this woeful
neglect. Snatch me from this prison in whose gloom even the
bright light of the books within cannot be seen."[1]

These are the words of Cencio Romano describing the deplorable

conditions of the library at St. Gall in 1416 when he accompanied the Florentine

humanist Poggio Bracciolini to the old Carolingian monastery in a quest for lost

classical texts. The goal of these early humanists was to find any remaining

copies of classical works, which had been shelved and forgotten in some

ancient monastery, and to make them available once again to the reading

public.[2] Guided by references to unknown works in the books that they had, as

well as the lists and summaries of classical literature compiled during the

Medieval period, the Italian humanists were aware that many texts had

disappeared over the years. Throughout the Middle Ages, as interest in

classical literature lapsed, many pagan works were not copied in sufficient

numbers to ensure their survival. Little by little the copies which remained

succumbed to general indifference, as well as to the more actively destructive

forces of fire, mold, and erasure.[3]

Francesco Petrarch (1304-74) was the first of this new brand of humanists to seriously revive an interest in the literature of classical antiquity.[4] Born in Arezzo, Petrarch moved to Avignon, where his father was employed by the curia, when still a young boy. He received his early education here and later studied law at Montpellier and Bologna. After finishing his education he gave up the practice of law to pursue his interest in literature. To support himself, he took minor orders and worked for many years, first in the household of Cardinal Giovanni Colonna and them for the Visconti.

How he came to distrust the methods of scholasticism, with its emphasis on dialectic to the detriment of philosophy, is still a mystery. Perhaps it was his great command of Latin combined with his talent as a poet that allowed him to greatly admire both the structure and content of classical literature. He was particularly disdainful of the turgid word for word translations of Greek texts into Latin by his predecessors, which carried with them centuries of scribel error. Petrarch was the first to seriously apply the science of philology to classical literature by the careful comparison of different copies of an ancient text in search of the most faithful version.

This new approach to the Latin and Greek classics led not only to a concern for the most accurate version or translation, but to an interest in texts which were no longer in circulation. Book hunting became a popular past time for the scholar, and in 1333 he is credited with discovering two lost orations of Cicero at Liège and in 1345 he found a codex in the library of the cathedral of Verona with letters to Atticus and Quintus Cicero.

Perhaps Petrarch's greatest influence on humanist culture of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century was the way he so thoroughly internalized the philosophical point of view of his Latin heritage.[5] Whereas Cicero had been

studied in the medieval *studia* as an aid to the development of rhetorical technique, Petrarch studied the moral philosophy of the famed writer. It was through Cicero, that Petrarch became familiar with the term *humanitas*, although other Roman authors, such as Aulus Gellius, Varro, the Elder Pliny and Quintillian also discussed the concept.

Both Cicero and Quintillian attributed the idea of *humanitas* to Socrates because they believed the Greek philosopher was the first to bring a more human dimension to philosophy. Cicero defined *humanitas* as a moral order based on warm feelings toward fellow man (*de Oratore*, I, vii, 27). His civic philosophy was also influenced by Stoicism as he believed society was brought together for the purpose of justice. However, he and other Roman writers distinguished between the Greek concept of *philanthropia* and *humanitas*, the latter also implying refinement and education. And so, in the Renaissance an umanista was one interested not only in civic duty, but in intellectual accomplishment.

The *humanitas* of Cicero and the Renaissance can be summed up by the phrase, *ars bene beateque vivendi*, or the art of living well, with the character and quality of this life reflected in public service. To exemplify this life style, Petrarch revived the Roman literary genre of the *de viris illustribus* or biographical sketches of famous men and their illustrious deeds. Petrarch began writing his own *de viris illustribus* in 1338 as an accompaniment to the *Africa*, his poem reciting Rome's triumph over Carthage. He continued work on it through his life, augmenting the original series, which contained only ancient Roman lives, with biographies from men of every age. His own reputation as an *uomo illustro* was celebrated when the poet was crowned with laurel in a public ceremony in Rome on April, 8, 1341.

Petrarch had lived, worked and taught in a variety of locations from the papal court at Avignon to Venice, Verona and Padua and by the end of fourteenth century he had many students and followers throughout Italy. The most influential of these followers in Florence was Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406).[6] Although Coluccio and Petrarch never actually met, the young student did corresponded with the aging scholar, and after Petrarch's death he became the undisputed leader of the humanist movement for over thirty years.

Coluccio was born in the small town of Stignano in Tuscany between Pistoia and Lucca. He grew up in Bologna where his father was employed by Taddeo de' Pepoli, the ruler of that city. At age fourteen, Coluccio began his studies of rhetoric and prepared to become a notary. From 1350 until 1374 he practiced his profession in the small towns near his birthplace, his professional duties leaving him much leisure time to study the classics. In 1374, he was appointed notary in the office of elections at Florence; and in 1375 he was promoted to the position of chancellor, a position he held until his death in 1406.

Coluccio continued Petrarch's interest in philology and textual criticism; however his greatest influence on the incipient humanism of the fifteenth century was in the intimate connection he made between literature and politics. In his role as chancellor, Salutati was the official letter writer of Florence, essentially acting as the foreign minister of the city in his correspondence. At this period in time, Florence was struggling to define itself as a free Republic against the imperialist ambitions of the Pope, the Holy Roman Empire, and the French crown. Searching for a solution to these contemporary problems, Collucio turned to the history and philosophy of Italy's glorious past. Continuing Petrarch's interest in the *uomini illustri*, Coluccio believed the chief function of

history, was to record the deeds of past heroes which would lead others to imitation them in an attempt to solve contemporary problems.[7] In his letters he often quotes examples from Valerius Maximus, Frontinus, and Justinus, and he was particularly fond of the moral rhetoric found in Seneca and Cicero. Coluccio's letters establish the Renaissance concept of the "dignity of man" and the right of free men to govern themselves as they see fit. His letters became famous. By 1395, he had published over 1000 of them. In addition, his allegorizing treatise, *De laboribus Herculis*, and his tract *De tyranno* more formally laid the groundwork for his Republican beliefs in freedom, dignity and heroic valor.

In the beginning years of the fifteenth century, Coluccio gathered about him a group of young men who were interested in the new humanist studies. He instilled in them his great love for Latin literature, and although Coluccio himself did not know Greek, he encouraged his students to study the language with Manuel Chrysoloras at the Florentine *studia*. Of Coluccio's many disciples in Florence, the most influential of this group were Leonardo Bruni Aretino, Poggio Bracciolini, and Niccolò Niccoli.

Leonardo Bruni (1370-1444) was born in Arezzo as his nickname "Aretino" indicates.[8] He came to Florence in 1391 to continue his education in the liberal arts and law and quickly came under the influence of Salutati. Under the prompting of his mentor, he gave up his legal studies in 1398 to study Greek with Manuel Chrysolorus, and soon became one of the foremost translators of Greek literature into the Latin tongue. Bruni was one of the first to abandon the scholastic method of translation in which *sententiae* from classical authorities were cut and edited into a logical system agreeable with Christian doctrine, and

instead initiated the Renaissance *ad sententiam* method of translation, in which the original "sense" of the text was maintained.

The first translation he undertook was St Basil's letter, *On the Reading of the Books of the Gentiles*, which proposed that pagan literature and Christian culture were in fact compatible. He proceeded to translate works by Demosthenes, Plato, Xenophon, and Plutarch, among others. His new translation of the three volumes of Aristotle's *Ethics*: the *Nicomachean Ethics*, the *Economics* (then attributed to Aristotle) and the *Politics* became the standard versions for the next one hundred years. He was the first person to write a contemporary modeled after ancient examples and worked for years on his many volumed *History of the Florentine People*. He is also known for reviving the literary genres of the oration and dialogue in their ancient forms, and for his popular introductory text on moral philosophy, the *Isagogue*. Bruni, was in fact, the best selling author of the fifteenth century as the over one thousand extant manuscripts of his works attest. Vespasiano da Bisticci gives us an indication of his popularity when he reports that "in Florence a large band of scribes was always copying his works, some for that city and some to export."[9]

Although it was Bruni's literary output that established his fame, he earned his living by acting as a notary, first for the papal court from 1405-15 and then as chancellor of Florence from 1427-1444. At his own death in 1444, Florence gave their famous citizen a public funeral with all the ritual and pomp usually reserved for kings. He was crowned with a laurel wreath in recognition of his great learning and literary accomplishments and was buried in the church of Santa Croce in a splendid tomb carved by Bernardo Rossellino (fig. 153).

Another notable member of Salutati's circle was Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459).[10] Poggio and Leonardo Bruni were in fact lifelong friends and led parallel careers: both young men dedicated themselves to the classical revival, became papal notaries, and later in life, served terms as chancellor of Florence. Like Bruni, Poggio did not hail from Florence, but was born in the small town of Terranuova near Arezzo. In 1396, at the age of sixteen, he moved from his hometown to Florence to study the profession of notary. His literary interests far exceeded the practical necessities of this job and Poggio soon came under the influence of Coluccio Salutati. Coluccio instilled in Poggio his love for Latin classics, especially Cicero, and also encouraged him to study Greek at the University of Florence under the Chrysoloras in 1397, although Poggio never became as proficient in Greek as his friend Bruni. Poggio's fame rests on another passion of his master. It was under Coluccio's tutelage that Poggio became dedicated to searching out, editing and translating ancient texts that were now known only through ancient lists or summaries and that had been lost to Western civilization for centuries. Although Poggio, like Bruni, authored texts - he continued the *History of Florence* begun by Bruni and wrote several short treatises - he is best known for his letters to other leading humanists of the day. He left a total of five hundred and fifty-eight letters addressed to one hundred and seventy-two correspondents. These letters discuss the most recent literary finds, their translations and commentaries, as well as current politics and gossip.[11]

Like Bruni, Poggio made his living as a notary. In 1403, he went to Rome to work for the papacy, and a year later was made apostolic secretary. He worked in Rome for fifty years, except for the period 1481-23, which he spent in the service of Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester and later cardinal of

England. It was often during his travels with the Curia that Poggio found time to visit nearby libraries in search of lost classical texts. Throughout his employment in Rome, he remained in close contact with the other Florentine humanists and late in life he returned to his beloved city of Florence to serve as chancellor, just as Bruni had before him.

Joining Coluccio, Poggio, and Bruni was the eccentric scholar Niccolò Niccoli (1364-1437).[12] Niccolò's father had been a successful wool merchant, and Niccolò, rather than continue the mercantile activities of his family, lived as a gentleman scholar, squandering his modest inheritance on an excellent library stocked with classical literature. His house, with its library and collection of classical antiquities, became a popular meeting place for the humanist circle in Florence. Unlike the other humanists, Niccolò did not participate in translating Greek texts, in writing commentaries on the classics, or in composing new humanist literature. Nor did he publish a collection of his letters. Although hundreds of letters written in Latin by other humanists to Niccolò are preserved, only three letters written by Niccolò are extant. All of them are in the *volgare*. Niccolò's role in this group was as its critic. Many humanists sent their commentaries and compositions to Niccolò for comments and corrections before they were published. Most importantly Niccolò operated as a clearing house for newly found classical texts. Discoveries were sent to Niccolò, who could better afford the cost of copying, and many letters addressed to him are requests for these manuscripts. At the time of his death, Niccolò's library was reported to contain eight hundred volumes. Always eager to make his books available to others, he left his library in the care of a group of friends with the condition that it somehow be made available to the general public. Under the

influence of Cosimo de Medici this collection became the nucleus of the first public library of Florence housed at the monastery of San Marco.[13]

Although Florence was the center of this revival of ancient literature, scholars all over Italy were involved in the new movement. The Veneto, which had a history of classical scholarship reaching back to the the mid-thirteenth century, could now boast of the humanists Guarino da Verona, Francesco Barbero from Venice, and the bishop of Padua, Pietro Donato. From Rome came Aurispa da Serezana and his brother, Tommaso, the future Pope Nicholas V. Within a short time some of the aristocratic and patrician families of Italy such as the Medici the Florence, the Este of Ferrara, and Federico da Montefeltro, as well as The kings of Naples and Hungary joined the circle of scholars and humanism was given a wider profile, not to mention the financial means necessary to search out, copy and study classical literature.

In the early years of the fifteenth century, one of the most important activities of these humanists was the search for lost texts. These men understood the urgency of their task - to rescue these forgotten books from their obscure hiding places before they were lost forever - and it was Poggio Bracciolini who stood at the center of this movement. He led the search for new discoveries in the old Carolingian monasteries of eastern France, the Rhineland and Switzerland between 1410 and 1420, and by the time of his death he had found more texts than any of his contemporaries. His discovery of some of Cicero's Orations in 1410 and Quintillian's *De institutiones* in 1416, a work previously known only in fragments, made him the most important "book hunter" among the Italian humanists. Soon all discoveries were reported to Poggio for purchase or copying; and Poggio in turn sent all texts to his friend Niccolò in

Florence, who could more easily support the cost of parchment and scribes in having these manuscripts reproduced.

The zeal of these early book hunters is demonstrated in the letters in which they report and congratulate each other on their finds and discuss the latest translation or commentary. Poggio's Quintilian discovery was a common topic in these letters. He found the manuscript during a break in the proceedings of the Council of Constance when he, Cencio Romano and Bartolomeo Montepolitiano had visited the old monastic library at St. Gall, where they had heard a great many classical texts were stored. In a letter to Guarino da Verona, who had requested a copy of the Quintillian, Poggio describes this adventure: "There amid a tremendous quantity of books which it would take too long to describe, we found Quintilian still safe and sound, though filthy with mold and dust. For these books were not in the library, as befitted their worth, but in a sort of foul and gloomy dungeon at the bottom of one of the towers, where not even men convicted of a capital offense would have been stuck away."[14]

That day, in addition to the Quintilian, they found commentaries on eight of Cicero's orations by Asconius Pedianus, *Jason's Argonautia* by Valerius Flaccus, Lactantius, *On Men of Both Sorts*, Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, and Priscian's comments on some of the poems of Virgil. Since the abbot would not allow Poggio to remove the texts, Poggio immediately copied them all with his own hand and sent them off to Bruni and Niccolò. He then regrettably informed Guarino that if he wanted a copy of the Quintilian he would have to borrow one from Leonardo.

Undoubtedly, due to their political careers, the humanists were particularly interested in studying the persuasive rhetorical techniques of Cicero

and Quintilian. Leonardo Bruni, in a letter to Poggio discussing his finds at St. Gall wrote: "As for Asconius and Flaccus, granted that they both are pleasing, still I do not think they are worth as much trouble, since if neither of them had ever existed, Latin would have scarcely been the worse for it . But Quintilian is the father of rhetoric and the master of oratory....after Cicero's books on the Republic [he is] the most missed of Latin writers."[15]

The humanists thought highly of themselves and never underestimated the importance of their work. In their own orations and histories they continued the literary form of the *de viris illustribus* used by the ancients and revived by Petrarch. They placed emphasis on the concept of the "dignity of man," that philosophical outlook that expressed the importance of the individual and the belief that human beings had the intellectual power and the moral stamina to create on ideal life on earth.[16] In the *de viris illustribus* texts written in the fourteenth century, the ranks of the illustrious were filled mainly by church dignitaries, statesmen, and military leaders, but in the early fifteenth century, authors, both ancient and contemporary were included, as well as the humanists who studied their texts. In a letter to Poggio, the Venetian humanist Francesco Barbaro praised both the ancient writers and his friend, "You have revived so many illustrious men and such wise men, who were dead for eternity through whose minds and teaching not only we but our descendants will be able to live well and honorably." Francesco continued, "If our ancestors decided that a triumph should be awarded to those who had captured forts and cities and provinces...surely learning and reasoning power could bring the human race more benefit by far than the deeds of a few illustrious general ever brought.[17] Francesco included Poggio among these illustrious authors and suggested that a statue of him and his companions be erected "not decked with

laurel, not on horseback, not gilded, but in a toga and of bronze in the valley of the Muses."[18]

The humanists were interested not only in the revival of ancient texts, but in a total reformation in the appearance of the book, including the materials, script, ruling, layout and decoration.[19] The gothic script which had developed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was a small cursive hand full of mingling letters and abbreviations. Coluccio was familiar with Petrarch's attempts at script reform, and both scholars were primarily motivated by the desire to create a legible script. In Coluccio's correspondence we know that he often complained that ordinary Gothic writing was too small for his eyes.[20] It is amusing to think that humanistic script may have been motivated by an old man's attempts to compensate for his failing eyesight, rather than a return to a classical ideal.

In a collaborative effort, Coluccio, Poggio and Niccolò developed a new type of script around the year 1400.[21] They probably used as models twelfth century books in Niccolò's and Coluccio's libraries that were written in a hand still influenced by the Carolingian reform of the ninth century. Looking at what survives of their libraries today, about about one third dates from before the twelfth century or earlier.[22] This script which had modeled itself after late Roman uncial exemplars, featured rounded, well separated letters written straight up and down and an avoidance of abbreviations. The humanists used this script as their inspiration, modifying it even more as their knowledge of Latin improved to include spelling reforms typified by the use of diphthongs, especially "ae", and "mihi" and "nihil", instead of "michi" and "nichil."[23] They also imitated the layout of these older manuscripts, copying their text in a single

long line rather than in the double columns used in the thirteenth and fourteenth century.

The humanists called their new script "lettera antica" a term they also used to describe the hands of their exemplars from the ninth to the twelfth centuries. Surely they did not attribute Coluccio's old manuscripts to the late Roman period! But in discussing their discoveries the humanists never mention the possible dates of their manuscripts and their ability to distinguish historical periods is further cast into doubt by the style of decorated initials they chose to include in the text.

Again using as their model the books found in the older humanists' collections, this time the large patristic or biblical manuscripts copied in Tuscany in the second half of the twelfth century,[24] they adopted the opening initial Renaissance art historians have called "bianchi girari" or bianchi girali" - a stylized white vine scroll placed over a multi-colored ground of red, green, and blue.[25] Although these initials have a vague resemblance to classical acanthus scrolls found on ancient ruins, their origins are rooted in the interlace motifs of germanic art that first found their way into Christian art in the Insular manuscripts of the seventh century. Ironically, in their effort to revive classical script, design and layout for their classical texts, the humanists chose a decorated initial completely antithetical to the classical spirit. In the earliest signed and dated humanist manuscript, a copy of Cicero's letters written in 1408 by Poggio Bracciolini, a small and simple vine stem initial is used to begin the text (fig. 73).[26] A comparison between this initial and one from the twelfth century demonstrates the extent to which the Italian humanists were dependent on their Romanesque models (fig. 74). By 1420 the script, layout and style of decorative initial in the new humanist book was firmly established; however,

manuscript production was still on a small scale and was mainly restricted to this small circle of scholars. It had made headway into liturgical books only at the monastery of S. Maria degli Angeli, where Ambrogio Traversari, a humanist and Carmodolese abbot taught his monks to write in the new style.

One of the difficulties the humanists faced in building up their libraries was the cost of books. On their modest salaries, these civic humanists must have found even the smallest and most modest of books exceedingly pricey. For example, a register of prices from 1457 lists Cicero's de officiis and de natura deorum at five ducats each and Aristotle's Ethics translated by Leonardo Bruin at nine ducats.[27] During the same time period a family could be expected to live off of 18 florin a year (a ducat had approximately the same value as a florin).[28] Surprisingly, the most expensive production cost in the creation of a manuscript was generally not the illumination, but the copying of the text, taking between three-fifths and two-thirds of the total cost. The parchment would take between a quarter and a third of the total cost and the decoration and binding took only a very small share unless the illumination was very elaborate. A richly illuminated book such as Ptolemy's Cosmographia, with "cholla pictura bellissima" cost 55 ducats and was well beyond the means of these civil servants.[29] This is probably why the the early humanists chose to copy their own manuscripts when they had the time, rather than hire a scribe. Their letters to one another are full of requests to borrow manuscripts so they can be copied, pleas for manuscripts to be returned, and complaints against lazy and incompetent scribes who could not learn to write in the new humanist style.

An examination of the extant books from the humanists' libraries indicate that except for the vinescroll motif of the opening initial, which at time extended down the left hand side of the page, the books produced by them or for them are

devoid of decoration. We learn from Poggio's letters that he would occasionally send his newly scripted texts to Niccolò in Florence to be illuminated. One of the books mentioned is an extant copy of Seneca, decorated with a *bianchi girari* initial inhabited with a few putti.[30] This is the extent of the illumination this civil servant could afford.

Coluccio and Niccolò had large libraries by fifteenth century standards. Poggio reports each library was stocked with 800 volumes.[31] After Coluccio's death in 1406 his library was sold, with Cosimo de' Medici and Niccolò buying many of the volumes. Ullman has identified 111 manuscripts that were once in Coluccio's library.[32] Only a handful of these books are illuminated, and most of these date from the twelfth century, some of them, no doubt providing models for the humanists' script and *bianchi girari* initials. Some of the fourteenth century patristic texts are beautifully illuminated; however, none of the humanist texts known to have been written specifically for Coluccio late in the century include illustrations.[33]

Of this small group of civic humanists it was only Niccolò Niccoli who could have afforded to have some of his books illuminated. However, Niccolò was more interested in the text than in decorations. It was to his library, well stocked with both patristic and classical manuscripts, that his fellow humanists turned in their search for rare texts. Of the 245 extant books from Niccolò's library, only 24 of them are illustrated, and the vast majority of these texts date from the twelfth century.[34] There are only 30 surviving texts from the fifteenth century. Seven of these were copied by Niccolò, himself, while several others are in the hands of Poggio and Ambrogio Traversari. None of these texts are illuminated. Niccolò's passion was for the text, and unlike Poggio he expressed no desire to waste funds on illustrations. In fact, although Niccolò often

provided Poggio with parchment for his copying, the old scholar did not disdain the use paper for his own books![35]

The deluxe classical manuscript, rich with miniatures, did not become a tradition until humanism became fashionable, and the small circle of dedicated scholars was enlarged to include the wealthy mercantile or aristocratic families of Europe. Cosimo de Medici was the first patron of means to join their ranks, and he was the first person outside of the original group of civic humanists to build up a library of texts written and produced in the new style.[36] His wealth was a boon for all involved in the book trade. He commissioned the scholars to write commentaries on newly discovered texts and to translate Greek manuscripts into Latin. It was this new demand by the wealthy dilettante scholar that commercialized the book trade, with *cartolaio*, scribe, miniaturist and binder all profiting handsomely.

Since the wealthy book collectors did not copy their own texts, they turned to the *cartolaio,* or bookseller. In Florence, in the fifteenth century, there were many such *cartolai.* They all sold parchment and paper, some dealt in second hand manuscripts, and others worked as binders. With the new demand for books, many of the *cartolai* became book contractors as well, taking orders from their rich clients, locating the exemplar for the text, and then hiring the scribe, miniaturist, and binder to execute the order. The most successful of these *cartolai* middle men was Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421-1498).[37]

We know a great deal about Vespasiano's operation from the surviving letters between him and his patrons, and from a book he wrote late in life entitled, *Vite di uomini illustri del Secolo XV,* a collection of personal memoirs concerning the most important personalities of the fifteenth century, including church figures, statesmen and writers.[38] Vespasiano owed his early success to

Cosimo de Medici, one of the statesman who figures prominently in his book. Cosimo commissioned him in the 1440s when he was building up both his private library of classical literature and the monastic libraries of San Marco and the Badia of Fiesole. It was his patronage of the book dealer's shop on the corner of Via del Proconsolo facing the Palazzo del Podestà (now the Bargello) that resulted in it becoming a popular meeting place for the humanists, especially during the four years of the Council of Florence (1439-43).[39]

The Council of Florence brought an eminent group of humanists to Florence including the future Nicholas V, the Cardinals Cesarini and Bessarion, Pietro Donato the bishop of Padua, Andrew Holes the proctor of the King of England at the Curia, and the Spaniard Nuño Guzman. All of them were eager to expand their collection of humanist texts and Vespasiano was only too glad to take their orders. In the 1450s, Cosimo's sons Piero and Giovanni followed their father's lead and employed Vespasiano when developing their own private collections. By the 1460s many of Europe's aristocratic and royal families were using the Florentine book monger to build up their private libraries, including the Strozzi and Acciaiuolo families of Florence, Federico da Montefeltro the Duke of Urbino, King Alfonso of Naples, and Mathias Corvinus the King of Hungary. These men were all well educated. They spoke Latin, a few read Greek, and all were genuinely interested in literature and the spirit of the classical revival.

Unlike the civic humanists, these aristocratic patrons were also interested in books as objects of art to be collected and displayed. All the new humanist books commissioned by these wealthy patrons were beautifully scripted and richly illuminated; and in their palaces *studioli* were constructed to house the books and to provide a quiet place for study. Piero de Medici kept not only his

books, but also his collection of ancient gems, coins, and other small antiquities in his *studiolo*. He had the bindings of manuscripts color coded, so, for example, all philosophy texts were bound in white leather, history in red, and all sacred texts were covered in blue leather or different colors of velvet.[40] Later in life, when crippled with gout, he spent many hours here gazing at his antiquities and browsing through his books.

One of the most magnificent *studioli* still extant is that of Federico da Montefeltro, the Duke of Urbino. His books were all stored in cupboards on which portraits of famous writers were created in an intricate *intarsia* decoration.[41] His library was an issue of great pride with the Duke and although printing had been established in Italy during the years that the he was building up his library in the 1470s and 1480s, Vespasiano informs us that the Duke refused to allow a printed book or a book written on paper into his collection.[42] What a contrast with Niccolò, that irascible old scholar whose passion was only for the text and readily copied on. How he would have welcomed the printing press!

What did the manuscripts of the aristocratic humanists look like?[43] The first humanist texts to be commissioned by wealthy patrons in the late 1430s and early 1440s had a decorated frontispiece with elaborate *bianchi girari* borders along two, three, or four sides of the page. It was as if the vine scroll initial developed by Salutati, Poggio, and Niccolò had expanded in an organic fashion creeping along the edges of the page. The use of a decorative border had been a tradition at least since the Insular manuscripts of the seventh century and the fifteenth century *bianchi girari* borders have a stylistic affinity with these early books that the Renaissance humanists were probably not aware of. Their main concern was to break away from the previous Gothic style

with its fantastic floral borders painted in strong, harsh colors that were common in the liturgical books and patristic texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The illuminators populated the *bianchi girari* with a variety of naturalistic looking plants and animals, as well as classical motifs including putti and miniature portraits inspired by the ancient gems, cameos, and coins that the aristocratic connoisseurs were avidly collecting.

A common feature of the frontispiece was a portrait of the author of the text. Inspired by the classical revival happening in all the arts, fifteenth century illuminators were intent on reinvesting the classical author with the physiognomy, costume, pose and setting that was historically appropriate. A study of early Renaissance author portraits reveals the unusual choices made by *cartolaio* and miniaturist as they strive to meet the expectations of their humanist patrons.

Notes to Chapter Two

[1] Translated by P. W. G. Gordon, in *Two Renaissance Book Hunters, The Letters of Poggius Bracciolini to Nicolaus de Niccolus*, New York, 1974, 188-89.

[2] For general works on Renaissance Humanism, see J. Burckhardt, *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore, London, 1965; C. Dionisotti, "Discorso sull' Umanesimo," in his *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana*, Turin, 1967; E. Garin, *Der italienische Humanismus*, Bern, 1947, English trans. P. Munz, *Italian Humanism*, Oxford, 1961; P. O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, Vol. 1, New York, 1961; idem, *Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance*, Stanford, 1964; L. Martines, *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists 1390-1460*, London, 1963; E. F. Rice, *The Renaissance Idea of Wisdom*, Cambridge, Mass., 1958; J. Stephens, *The Italian Renaissance, The Origins of Intellectual and Artistic Change Before the Reformation*, London and New York, 1990; C. E. Trinkaus, *Adversity's Noblemen, the Italian Humanists on Happiness*, New York, 1940; idem, *In our Image and Likeness*, London, 1970; idem, *The Scope of Renaissance Humanism*, Ann Arbor, 1983; V. Rossi, *Il Quattrocento*, 6th ed., A. Vallone, ed., Milan, 1956. For the humanists' search for ancient texts, see R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries*, Cambridge, 1954; G. Billanovich, *I Primi umanisti e le tradizioni dei classici latini*, Freiburg, 1953; idem, "Dall' antica Ravenna alle biblioteche umanistiche," *Aevum*, 30, 319-62; A. C. Clark, *The Reappearance of the Texts of the Classics*, London, 1922; R. Pfeiffer, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, Vol. 2, 1300-1850, Oxford, 1976; G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, Florence, 1952; L D. Reynolds, ed., *Texts and Transmission*, Oxford, 1983; L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, rev. ed., Oxford, 1991; R. Weiss, *Il primo secolo dell' umanesimo*, Rome, 1949; idem, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*, New York, 1981; R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci nei secoli XIV e XV*, I, 1905 and II, 1914, revised and edited with supplement 1967; and idem, *Storia e critica di testi latini*, 2nd ed., Padua, 1971.

[3] Medieval scribes would often scrape off the script of pagan literature in order to reuse the parchment for Christian texts, the resulting manuscript is today referred to as a palimpsest.

[4] For a biography of Petrarch, see J. H. Robinson and H. W. Rolfe, *Petrarch, The First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters*, 2nd ed., New York, 1914; E. H. Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch*, Chicago, 1961; C. N. J . Mann, *Petrarch*, Oxford, 1984; and Kenelm Foster, *Petrarch: Poet and Humanist*, Edinburgh, 1984. For

Petrarch's classical scholarship, see H. Baron, "The evolution of Petrarch's thought: reflections on the state of Petrarch studies," *Bibliothèque d' Humanisme et Renaissance*, XXIV, 1962, 7-41; G. Billanovich, "Petrarca e Cicerone," in *Miscellanea in onore di Giovanni Mercati*, Vatican City, IV, 1946, 88-106; V. Bosco, *Francesco Petrarca*, Bari, 1961; T. E. Mommsen, "Petrarch's conception of the Dark Ages," in his *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, New York, 1959; Reynolds and Wilson, 128-134; B. L. Ullman, "Petrarch's Favorite Books" in his *Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, Rome, 1955, 117-37. For Petrarch's humanism, see Pierre de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l' humanisme*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1907.

[5] See Nolhac; Billanovich; and Baron in n. 4.

[6] For a biography of Salutati, see B. L. Ullman, *The Humanism of Coluccio Salutati*, Medioevo e Umanesimo, no. 4, Padova, 1963; and R. G. Witt, *Hercules at the crossroads: the life, works and thought of Coluccio Salutati*, Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies, no. 6, Durham, N.C., 1983.

[7] For information on civic humanism, see H. Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance*, Princeton, 1966; idem, "Cicero and the Roman Civic Spirit in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XXII, 1938, 73-97, reprinted in his *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism*, Princeton, 1988, I, 94-133; E. Garin, *Italian Humanism*; G. A. Holmes, *The Florentine Enlightenment*, London, 1969; J. E. Seigel, "Civic Humanism or Ciceronian Rhetoric?" *Past and Present*, XXXIV, 1966, 3-48; idem, *Rhetoric and Philosophy in Renaissance Humanism*, Princeton, 1968.

[8] For Leonardo Bruni, see Martines; and G. Griffiths et al., *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni*, Binghamton, N.Y., 1987, 3-46.

[9] Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, Aulo Greco, ed., Florence, 1970, I, 478; English trans. by W. George and E. Waters, *Renaissance Princes, Popes and Prelates; The Vespasiano Memoirs*, New York, 1926 (repr. 1963), 366.

[10] The standard biography on Poggio is that of E. Walser, *Poggius Florentinus: Leben und Werke*, Leipzig, 1914; also see the introduction in Gordon.

[11] For Poggio's letters, see *Poggius Bracciolini Opera Omnia*, III, Riccardo Fubini, ed., Turin, 1964; H. Harth, *Poggio Bracciolini, Lettere*, vols. 1-3, Florence, 1984-87; P. W. G. Gordon has translated Poggio's letters to Niccolò, as well as all letters concerning his literary discoveries.

[12] M. C. Davies, "An Emperor without Clothes? Niccolò Niccoli under attack," *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, XXX, 1987, 95-148; E. H. Gombrich, "From the Revival of Letters to the Reform of the Arts: Niccolò Niccoli and Filippo Brunelleshi," in his *The Heritage of Apelles*; R. P. Robinson, "The Inventory of

Niccolò Niccoli," *Classical Philology*, XXVI, 1921, 251-55; P. A. Stadter, "Niccolò Niccoli: winning back the knowledge of the ancients," *Vestigia. Studi in onore di Guiseppe Billanovich*, Storia e letteratura, 162-3, Rome 1984, 747-64; B. L. Ullman and P. A. Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence: Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de' Medici and the library of San Marco* , Medioevo e Umanesimo, no. 10 Padova, 1972; and L. Martines, 112-16.

[13] Ullman and Stadter.

[14] Gordon, 195.

[15] Gordon, 192.

[16] See general references on humanism in note 2. For a more specific discussion of civic humanism, see C. Trinkaus, "Petrarch's views of the individual and his society," *Osiris* XI, 1954, 168-98; R. Wittkower "Individualism in Art and Artists: A Renaissance Problem," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XXII, 1961, 291-302; Pico della Mirandola, *De hominis dignitate* in his *Opera*, Basle, 1572, and in English translation in Kristeller,*The Renaissance Philosophy of Man*, 223-54.

[17] Gordon, 197-200.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Gombrich, *From the revival of letters*, 72-78.

[20] O. Pächt, "Notes and Observations on the Origin of Humanistic Book-Decoration," in D. J. Gordon, ed., *Fritz Saxl (1890-1948) A Volume of Memorial Essays*, 1957, 186-87.

[21] For many years it was believed that a copy of Cicero's letters was the earliest product of Poggio's hand (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, ms. Hamilton lat. 166, fol. 96r is dated and signed). See Stanley Morison, "Early Humanist Script and the First Roman Type," *The Library*, XXIV, 1943, fig. 11; and B. L. Ullman, *The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script*, Rome, 1960, p. 27-30. It has recently been suggested that a copy of the *Carmina* of Catullus, c. 1400-02 (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. XII 80, 4167, fol. 1r) is the first manuscript written in humanistic script. See Albinia C. de la Mare and Douglas F. S. Thomson, "Poggio's Earliest Manuscript?" *Italia medioevale umanistica*, XVI, 1973, 179-196. De la Mare has also found that Poggio wrote a replacement quire (fols. 121-8) in his early hand in Virgil (Holkam Hall MS. 303) written in a 12th century script he could have used as a model. See "New Research on Humanistic Scribes in Florence," in Anna Rosa Garzelli, *Miniatura fiorentina del rinascimento 1440-1525*, Florence, 1985, 397, n. 9. For humanist

script in general, see the above and G. Billanovich, "Alle origini della scrittura umanistica: Padova 1261 e Firenze 1397," *Miscellanea Campana*, 125-40; de la Mare, *The Handwriting of the Italian Humanists*, Oxford, 1974; idem, "Humanist Script: The First Ten Years," in F. Kraft and D. Wuttke eds., *Das Verhältnis der humanisten zum Buch*, Boppard, 1977, 89-110; and J. Wardrope, The Script of Humanism, Some Aspects of Humanistic Script, 1460-1540, Oxford, 1963.

[22] For Niccolò's library, see Ullman and Stadter. For Coluccio's library, see Ullman, *Humanism of Coluccio Salutati.*

[23] Ullman, *Origin of Humanist Script,* 141; and de la Mare, *New Research,* 396.

[24] de la Mare, 396-97.

[25] P. d' Ancona coined the term "bianchi girari" in *La miniatura fiorentina dall' XI al XVI secolo* 2 Vols., Firenze, 1914. Pächt (*Notes and Observations*) was the first to indicate the probable models for the humanist vine-scroll initial.

[26] Cicero, *Epistolae ad Atticum*, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS. Hamilton 166, f. 96r. See n. 21.

[27] de la Mare, *New Research,* 410-411.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Official extracts were taken from Vespasiano's account book and correspondence on 30 May 1471 to show that Piero di ser Francesco da San Gimignano, who had taken the books to sell for Vespasiano some time before July 1457, had defaulted with his repayments, see *ASF*, Arch. Not. T. 492 (Ser Leonardo Tolosani) second part, unfoliated); and de la Mare, *New Research,* 404, n. 63.

[30] Seneca, *Epistulae*, vat. lat. 2208. See de la Mare, *Handwriting,* I, 83, no. III; and idem., *New Research,* 398, n. 17. In Poggio's prized three volume set of Livy's *Decades* (vat. lat. 1843, 1849 & 1852), all three manuscripts are "ruled in red" just as Poggio requested. See Poggio's letter to Niccolò dated July 15, 1429, Epist. I, LXXIV and Gordon, p. 147-48; and Ullman, *Origin of Humanist Script*, 45,47,48, fig. 24.
Few books have been identified as one of the 95 volumes listed in an inventory of Poggio's library made after his death; and it is often unknown whether Poggio copied a book for his own use or for someone else. For the inventory of Poggio's library, see Walser, 417-27. For some of the texts in Poggio's hand, see Ullman, *Origin of Humanist Script,* 27-57; idem, *Calligraphy and*

Palaeography, Essays presented to Alfred Fairbank, London 1965, 47; and de la Mare and Thomson.

[31] As reported in Poggio's funeral oration for Niccolò. See Ullman and Stadter, 60; and Ullman, *Humanism of Coluccio Salutati*, 28.

[32] Ullman, *Humanism of Coluccio Salutati*, 129-209.

[33] Ibid. This analysis is based upon Ullman's description of Collucio's extant manuscripts. See n. 34.

[34] Ullman and Stadter. In their analysis of the 1232 entries in the fifteenth century San Marco inventory, Ullman and Stadter only indicate that a book includes illuminations or decorated initials (without further description) if the original inventory mentions that a particular manuscript is described as *pulcher*, *valde pulcher*, or *pulcherrimus*. By chance I have discovered that two of these manuscripts, for which the inventory makes no mention of their "beauty" and consequently Ullman and Stadter do not describe, are richly illuminated with decorative borders and author portraits. These include ms. San Marco 61, a fourteenth century copy of Aristotle purchased by Cosimo in 1412 (inventory no. 585); and ms. San Marco 66, A fifteenth century copy of Giovanni Versori's commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics*, dedicated to Piero de' Medici (inventory no. 608). Two manuscripts described only as "handsomely illuminated" and with "fine illuminated initials" include decorative borders with author portraits (ms. San Marco 175 (inv. no. 602) and ms. San Marco 452 (inv. no. 620) respectively. Although I still doubt that any of Niccolò's humanist texts were illustrated, it is necessary to reexamine the extant manuscripts from his library, as well as those of Coluccio to verify this point, as well as to investigate the role that specific medieval author portraits may have played in influencing fifteenth century illuminators.

[35] Niccolò's manuscripts of Cicero's *Oratore* (Florence, Bibl. Laur., ms. San Marco 262) and the Comedies of Plautus (Florence, Bib. Naz. Cen., ms. Naz. C.S. I,I,12) were copied by Niccolò on paper.

[36] For Cosimo's library, see F. Pintor, "La Libreria de Cosimo de' Medici nel 1418," *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, III, 1960, 190-210. For his role in establishing Niccolò's library as the nucleus of the public library at San Marco, see Ullman and Stadter.

[37] For information on Florentine *cartolai* see de la Mare, *New Research, 401-408*; idem, "The shop of a Florentine *cartolaio* in 1426," in *Studi offerti a Roberto Ridolfi*, Firenze, 1973, 236-348; G. S. Martini, "La bottega di un cartolaio fiorentino nella seconda metà del 1400," *La Bibliofilia*, LVIII, 1956, suppl., 5-82. About Vespasiano, see G. Caprin, "Il libraio fiorentino degli umanisti, Vespasiano da Bisticci," in *Il Quattrocento*; E. Frizzi, "Di Vespasiano

da Bisticci e delle sue biografie," *Annale della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, III, 1-137; and A. C. de la Mare, *Vespasiano da Bisticci, Historian and Bookseller,* Ph.D thesis (unpublished) University of London, 1965.

[38] For Vespasiano's *Vite* see n. 9. For the letters, see G. M. Cagni, *Vespasiano da Bisticci e il suo epistolario*, Rome, 1969.

[39] As Vespasiano himself tells us, see *Vite*, I: 478. For the Council of Florence, see Joseph Gill, *The Council of Florence*, Cambridge, 1959; and idem, *Personalities of the Council of Florence and Other Essays*, New York, 1964.

[40] F. Ames-Lewis, *The Library and Manuscripts of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici*, New York, 1984, 31-38.

[41] For Federico's *studiolo*, see C. H. Clough, The Library of the Dukes of Urbino," *Librarium*, IX, 1966, 102ff; D. Michelini-Tocci, "Agapito, bibliotecario 'docto, acorto et diligente' della Biblioteca Urbinate alla fine del Quattrocento," in *Collectanea vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Cano Albareda* , Studi e Testi 220 Vatican, 1962, II, 245-280.

[42] Vespasiano describes the Duke's library in great detail and informs us that, "In this library all the books are superlatively good, and written with the pen, and had there been one printed volume it would have been ashamed in such company. They were beautifully illuminated and written on parchment." Waters, 104. The Duke did, however, have a few printed books. See the inventory of his library in Maria and Luigi Moranti, *Il Trasferimento dei Codices Urbinate alla Biblioteca Vaticana*, Urbino, 1981; and C. Stornajolo, *Bibliothecae Vaticanae codices urbinates Latini*, 3 Vols., Rome, 1902.

[43] For Florentine miniature painting, see P. d' Ancona; A. Garzelli; M. Salmi, *La miniatura italiana*, Milano, 1954 and in translation, Italian Miniatures, New York, 1954; M. Levi-D' Ancona, *Miniatura e miniatori a Firenze dal XIV al XVI secolo,* Firenze, 1962; J. J. G. Alexander, *Italian Renaissance Illuminations*, New York & London, 1977; T. Kren, ed., *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts*, New York, 1983; and C. de Hamel, "Books for Collectors" in *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, Oxford, 1986.

Chapter Three

The Origins of Humanist Book Decoration:
The Medici and their *cartolaio* Vespasiano da Bisticci

Painting contains a divine force which not only makes absent men
present, as friendship is said to do, but moreover makes the dead
seem almost alive. Even after many centuries they are recognized
with great pleasure and with great admiration...Thus the face of a
man who is already dead certainly lives a long life through painting.[1]
<div align="right">Leon Battista Alberti, On Painting.</div>

At the dawn of the fifteenth century, Florence was not yet one of the major

centers of book production in Europe. Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth

centuries the most beautifully illuminated manuscripts were coming out of the

shops of Paris or created by artists working for the Burgundian court.[2] In Italy,

only the city of Bologna thrived on her book trade with its strong connections to

the University and specialization in legal texts. It was the revived interest in

classical texts, nurtured by the early Florentine civic humanists, which created

new opportunities for local scribes, miniaturists and *cartolai*. The book hunting

activities of Salutati, Poggio and Bruni during the early part of the century had

left Florence rich with the exemplars of rediscovered classical texts. Poggio had

been the most successful of all the Italian humanists in his book hunting efforts

and the texts he found had all been copied by Niccolò and eventually ended up,

along with most of Niccolò's books in the monastic library at San Marco. There

were other famous libraries in Florence: Boccaccio's manuscripts were housed

at Santo Spirito, copies of Petrarch's books were at Santa Croce; there were

also the private libraries of the Medici, Cosimo and his two sons Piero and

Giovanni.[3] Those searching for rare classical texts felt confident they could find

them in Florence and it wasn't long before humanists from Italy and throughout Europe were coming to Florence to take advantage of this situation and place their book orders with the local *cartolai*.

Under the guidance of the early humanists, Florentine scribes and miniaturists developed a new tradition for the script, layout and decoration of the humanist book. The creation of the *bianchi girari* initial and its development into a border inhabited by realistic birds and animals, as well as more classically inspired motifs such as putti, has already been discussed in the previous chapter. A motif that made a rather late appearance in the decoration of these books was the author portrait. This is somewhat surprising considering the humanists' keen interest in portraiture in other media.

The beginning of realistic portraiture, in which an individual's distinctive features are so accurately described that recognition is no longer dependent on an accompanying inscription or identifying attributes, can be traced back in the Florentine milieu to Giotto's portraits of himself, Dante, and Dante's teacher, Brunetto Latini painted for the Palazzo del Podestà.[4] Life-like portraiture in the fourteenth century, however, was slow and irratic in its development. It wasn't until the dawn of the Quattrocento that realistic portraiture began a rapid development in Italian art spurred on by the classical revival. Contemporary artists were inspired not only by surviving antique examples, but by a classical literary tradition which associated portraiture with fame.

Some of the earliest examples of Renaissance portraiture are group portraits in which the individuals are depicted as important participants in an historic event. Masaccio's lost fresco of the *Consecration of the Church of Santa Maria del Carmine*, an event which took place in 1422 and was painted by Masaccio several years later, includes the portraits of many of the leading

citizens of Florence.[5] Several years later, in 1425, Masaccio painted another "Who's Who" of Florentine society in the Brancacci Chapel frescoes of St. *Peter curing the Sick with his Shadow* and in the *Raising of the Son of Theophilus.* Appearances are made by Masaccio himself, and his colleagues, Masolino, Brunelleschi, and Alberti, as well as Coluccio Salutati, Piero Guicciardini, Cardinal Branda Casiglione, and Gian Galeazzo Visconti among others.[6] In the Brancacci Chapel, these Florentine personalities retain their own identity. Attired in fifteenth century dress, they travel back in time to witness a sacred event in which the characters are draped in the classicizing robes usually worn by biblical figures. By 1459, when Benozzo Gozzoli painted the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Medici's private chapel at their palazzo on the Via Larga, family members were no longer depicted as mere witnesses to the event, but actually impersonated the three Magi.[7]

It was the sculptors during the early Renaissance who were the most profoundly influenced by the traditions of Roman portraiture. Unlike painters, they had many antique prototypes which they could imitate, and the classical portrait bust and the more diminutive portrait medal became popular contemporary formats. Portrait busts of contemporary Quattrocento personalities functioned as many such portraits made by the Romans. They were a reminder of both the physical likeness and achievements of one's ancestors. For example, in 1453, Mino da Fiesole created portrait busts of Piero and Giovanni de' Medici and of Piero's wife, Lucrezia Tornabuoni to be displayed in the Palazzo Medici. When the Medici family moved across the Arno River to the Pitti Palace the portraits went with them and remained on display at the new *palazzo* until the eighteenth century.[8] It was crucial that a portrait bust faithfully represent the individualized features of its subject and it

was not uncommon for death masks and life masks to be made in order to guide the hands of the sculptor.[9]

Portrait medals were also extremely popular among the aristocratic classes. The tradition of minting portrait medals began in the early Quattrocento when Italians began to imitate the antique Roman coins and medals they so avidly collected.[10] A profile bust was stamped on one side of the medal and the family coat of arms, or personal emblems and mottos were placed on the reverse. Most medals were commissioned by the wealthy ruling families of Italy as a means of self-aggrandizement and were commonly exchanged among themselves. It was the portrait medal, in both its ancient and contemporary form that was to prove one of the greatest sources of inspiration for miniaturists in the creation of their more diminutive portraits.

The humanists' interest in the classical theme of the *de viris illustribus* also makes the lack of author portraits in early Renaissance copies of the classics somewhat mystifying. In the late fourteenth century, Petrarch himself composed a *de viris illustribus*, chronicling famous Roman personalities from Romulus to Caesar, and his short poem *I Trionfi*, is little more than a litany of heroic exemplars in such categories as Chastity, Love, and Fame. These texts of Petrarch were very popular with both late fourteenth and fifteenth century humanists, and most extant copies are richly illuminated with images of Petrarch's famous protagonists.[11] The theme of *de viris illustribus* also became a popular subject for fresco decoration. The *Sala dei Giganti* (also called the *Sala degl' Imperatori Romani*) in the Carrara palace at Padua used Petrarch's book as the inspiration for its series of famous men, including a portrait of the author.[12] Other fresco cycles of *uomini illustri* were painted throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth century including, Giotto's sequence of nine famous

men represented with the women they loved at the Castelnuovo for King Robert of Naples, the decoration in Azzo Visconti's palace in Milan with ancient heroes, including a portrait of himself, Taddeo di Bartolo's series of famous men in the vestibule of the chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, and Andrea Castagno's famous men and women painted in the loggia at the Villa Carducci at Legnaia 1448.[13]

In spite of the great interest in portraiture in the early part of the century and its very specific use as a symbol of the accomplishments of an *uomini illustri*, it is very rare for author portraits to be included in humanist book decoration until the 1450s. This can perhaps be explained by two factors. In the first place, the early civic humanists were primary interested in the text and not the book as a work of art, a fact which helps to explain the restrained and sober decoration of these early manuscripts. Secondly, they were trying to revive classical traditions of book making. This led them to reinstate the "lettera antica" of the Carolingian *renovatio*, the layout of the text into long lines of script rather than double columns, as well as the strange *faux pas* of the *bianchi girari* initial. Perhaps it was this determination to move away from the medieval traditions of book illumination, that led the humanists and their illuminators to leave the author portrait behind during the early years of the Quattrocento. In fact, humanist books during these years are rarely decorated with anything beyond the inhabited *bianchi girari* decoration of initials and borders. Even the narrative illuminations so popular in medieval romances and histories, including Petrarch's *de viris illustribus*, and which would have easily lent themselves to the classical histories revived by the humanists, were rejected by these early Renaissance book makers.[14]

In discussing the revival and development of author portraiture in Quattrocento Florence, the libraries created by Cosimo de' Medici and his sons, Piero and Giovanni between 1410 and 1465 are a rich source of information. All three patrons created private libraries stocked with patristic and humanist texts decorated in the new manner. In addition, Cosimo funded the establishment of two ecclesiastic libraries, the first at the Dominican monastery of San Marco, the second for the Badia of Fiesole. Among them, the three Medici commissioned several hundred books and it is their patronage which was chiefly responsible for creating a new school of Florentine book illumination.

In addition, both Cosimo's and Piero's libraries were documented by contemporary inventories. Piero's is the best documented and has the greatest number of surviving texts. Two separate inventories made of his library in 1456 and 1464 indicate that eighty percent of his books are extant today.[15] Although his library was small in comparison to those of Poggio and Niccolò, his books were richly illuminated. Giovanni developed his library at the same time as Piero; however, we know less about his collection which was dispersed after his untimely death in 1463. Luckily many of Giovanni's books, as well as several of Cosimo's were inherited by Piero and have not been lost.[16] These inventories and the numerous texts which survive allow us to elucidate certain questions about the revival of author portraits including: which texts were decorated with author portraits? where were the portraits placed? what did they look like? what medieval traditions were followed? and what new traditions were created? Because of their utility in illuminating these question, this study will focus on manuscripts commissioned by Cosimo, Piero, and Giovanni de' Medici.

Additional texts created in Florence for other patrons during the years the Medici were building their libraries will be discussed for comparative purposes. In addition, isolated examples of author portraits from the years 1470-1490, created by the next generation of miniaturists, will be discussed in order to trace the development of the author portrait in the later years of the century. I have divided the portraits into four categories based on literary genre: 1) patristic texts, 2) Roman authors, and 4) Greek authors and their translators. A fifth category will include a discussion of portraits of the patrons who commissioned these manuscripts, as well as the many nameless faces that inhabited the border decoration. I have personally viewed only the manuscripts in the Laurenziana, Vatican and Pierpont Morgan libraries, in all other cases I am only familiar with published reproductions. Since almost all of the surviving texts commissioned by the Medici, are today housed at the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence, I only give the shelf number of the manuscripts from this library.

The Manuscripts Commissioned by Cosimo de' Medici

Cosimo de' Medici (1389-1464) was the first of the wealthy patrons of Florence to build up a personal library modeled after those of his humanist friends, Coluccio Salutati, Poggio Bracciolini, Leonardo Bruni, and Niccolò Niccoli. Cosimo, as most of the other rich merchants, church dignitaries, and noble men who developed private libraries, was never more than a dilettante scholar, although there are indications that he was genuinely interested in humanist concerns and did read his books. The *cartolaio*, Vespasiano da Bisticci, reports that as Cosimo was nearing death he asked the chancellor of

his palace, Bartolomeo Scala, to read aloud Aristotle's *Ethics* and Johannes Argyropulos's commentary on this text compiled by Donato Acciaiuolo.[17]

Cosimo had played a key role throughout his life as a patron of the humanist scholars, commissioning their translations and commentaries, and many such works are dedicated to him, including the *Exposition* of Donato just mentioned, several Aristotelian texts translated by Argyropulos, Bruni's translations of both pseudo-Aristotle's *Economics* and Plato's *Letters*, translations of Plato by Marsilio Ficino, and various scholars' translations of the *Lives* of Plutarch. In their prefaces to these translations, the humanists praise Cosimo for his great learning which guided him in his prudent governing of the city.[18] Although allowances must be made for the obvious panegyric techniques of these humanists seeking patronage, Cosimo's interest in the new humanist learning and its texts need not be doubted.

Cosimo commissioned books both for himself and for various religious charities. He spent the first two decades of the 1400s building up his own library. In the 1430s he added sporadically to this core of books and by the mid 1440s his personal library was completed to his liking. In comparison to the libraries of Poggio and Niccolò, Cosimo's library was very small, but rather than increase the size of his own library, he chose to turn his bibliophilic interests elsewhere. We know that he generously funded Niccolò in his search for books as recorded in a letter from Niccolò to Cosimo and also by Vespasiano in his *Life of Cosimo de' Medici*.[19] In the 1440s he used his wealth to stock the library he had built at the convent of San Marco and in the 1460s he paid for the production of liturgical texts for the Badia of Fiesole. Many of the books from these three different libraries survive today.

An inventory made in 1418 of "all the things found in the house of his father, Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, includes a description of the "scriptoio di Cosimo."[20] By that date Cosimo personally owned sixty-six manuscripts. The inventory lists the title and author of each text, and at times the script used to copy it. Twenty-nine of the manuscripts are listed as written in "lettera antica," the name humanists had given to the script they had modeled after ancient prototypes. Two books are described as copied in "lettera longonbarda," while the script of the remaining books is not mentioned. The titles owned by Cosimo written in "lettera antica" include many of the Roman historians and rhetoricians that had gained the attention of the early humanists. Livy, Quintillian, Suetonius, Salust and Valerius Maximus are mentioned among others. Cosimo also owned seven titles of Cicero. Several copies of patristic texts by Eusebius, Augustine, Cassian, Gregory the Great and Jerome were also written in "lettera antica." Since there is no other description of these books in the inventory beyond the notation of script type, "lettera antica" must be an indication of the value these books had for Cosimo. After the completion of the inventory in the 1420s, Cosimo continued to actively build his library, commissioning texts from his two favorite scribes, Giovanni Aretino and Antonio di Mario. At this time he added Latin texts by Cicero, Seneca, and Varro, among others, and translations made for him of the Greeks, Plato, Aristotle, and Plutarch.[21]

An examination of the surviving books from Cosimo's library indicates that, despite his wealth, Cosimo rarely had his books decorated with anything beyond the vinestem, or *bianchi girari* initials that were invented and used by the civic humanists to accompany their "lettera antica" script. In a manuscript of Cicero's *Orations XXVIII*, copied and inscribed to Cosimo in 1416 by Giovanni Aretino, the text begins with a simple *bianchi girari* initial C, that is very similar to

the first signed and dated initial made by Poggio Bracciolini in his own copy of Cicero made in 1408 (compare figs. 73 & 75).[22] During the 1430s and 1440s, as manuscript illumination became more elaborate, the decoration of Cosimo's texts rarely wavered from this simple formula. At times, a simple *bianchi girari* border, placed along the left-hand side of the text, accompanied the decorated initial; however, in comparison to the richly illuminated manuscripts commissioned by other wealthy patrons at this time, Cosimo's books are quite modest. The most richly decorated of Cosimo's surviving texts, a copy of Seneca's *de Beneficii* made for the patron by the scribe Antonio di Mario, is dated 1426. The *bianchi girari* of the initial has expanded in a tendril-like fashion half way down the left-hand side of the page, and is inhabited by a fantastic array of birds and putti. In fact, Garzelli, who has attributed this manuscript to Bartolomeo Varnucci, claims it is the first dated manuscript in which putti are added to the vinestem decoration (fig. 76).[23] However, Cosimo's interest in decorating his own commissioned texts actually declined in the ensuing years.

At some point in the development of the humanist book, the scribe handed over the responsibility of decorating the opening initial of the text to the miniaturist. In Cosimo's Seneca, the elaborate nature of the inhabited *bianchi girari* initial and border indicates that a miniaturist was called in to decorate the text after the scribe had finished copying it. In another manuscript of Cosimo's this division of labor is more clearly documented. In a copy of *The Lives of the Caesars* by Suetonius, perhaps the early copy listed in his 1418 inventory, the initial letter for each biography was left blank by the scribe, presumably to be completed by the miniaturist. The manuscript, however, was never finished in Cosimo's time. When Cosimo's son Piero inherited the book, he had a portrait

of the appropriate caesar painted in the place originally reserved for the opening letter of the text (fig. 134).[24] As a result, the book is beautifully illustrated with medallion portraits of the Roman emperors, but lacks the initial letter to each chapter. This text is also an early indication of the important role of Piero's collection of antique coins in the imaging of ancient Romans. Like their minted portraits, all the emperors in the Suetonius manuscript are presented as a medallion profile bust, dressed in armor, and many of them wear the laurel wreath of victory.

Very few miniaturists who decorated humanist books in the 1420s and 1430s are known by name, although several Medici manuscripts from this time can be broadly attributed to the workshop of the "Penscroll master." In Cosimo's three volume set of Livy, copied in 1412 by Giovanni Aretino, the original decoration at the beginning of the third Decade, a simple *bianchi girari* initial I has been supplemented with a bas-de-page border added in the 1430s (fig. 77). This border with its delicate floral scroll, lightly drawn with pen and ink, and inhabited with trumpet playing putti, is at odds with the heavy vinestem initial above.[25] Other manuscripts that come from the workshop of the "Penscroll Master" combine the use of *bianchi girari* and floral penscroll borders. In a copy of Lactantius's *Institutiones divinae*, acquired by Piero de' Medici in the 1450s, but with illumination datable to about 1435, a delicate *bianchi girari* border, filled with fantasy flowers, is complimented by a floral penscroll bas-de-page (fig. 78).[26] This manuscript is one of the earliest to be attributable to Fillipo di Matteo Torelli, an illuminator who specialized in border illustration and was much used by the Medici. He soon dropped his penscroll borders in favor of the *bianchi girari* style, and it is the vinestem border which becomes the standard

decoration for the humanist book from the 1440s to the 1460s when Francesco d' Antonio del Chierico reintroduces a floral border design.

By the 1440s the standard decoration of the humanist book had been codified. The simple *bianchi girari* initials created by the humanist scholars in the early part of the century had evolved into vinestem borders framing two to four sides of the frontispiece. Miniaturists then elaborated the bianchi *girari* motif, filling the vine-like scrolls with the miniature creatures that had been a part of border decoration since the eighth century. However, instead of the fantastic monsters and hybrid beasts that had inhabited border decoration in the Middle Ages, the Renaissance miniaturists began to use real and identifiable species. They also cast their eye on the motifs of their classical past, and first putti, then designs inspired by antique gems, coins, and cameos began to fill the borders. In the 1430s the miniaturists began to weave a thin gold-leaf ribbon through the *bianchi girari* that would loop back on itself to create small framed areas for the placement of portraits, putti, miniature landscapes and narrative scenes, or the personal devices of the patron's heraldry.

The sober decoration preferred by Cosimo at this time can be compared to a manuscript made for sale by a *cartolaio* for some wealthy discriminating client that might visit his shop. The space always reserved at the bas-de-page for the owner's coat of arms has been left vacant, indicating that the manuscript was not commissioned. The manuscript is a copy of Cicero's *Epistulae ad Atticum* and was illuminated by Filippo di Matteo Torelli about 1450 or perhaps earlier. The frontispiece is surrounded on all four sides by a bianchi *girari* border inhabited by several of the fantastic birds for which Torelli was famous (fig. 79). Inside the border a vinestem C begins the text. The book entered Piero de 'Medici's library around 1464, after the death of both his father and

brother. Although it is possible that the text was originally bought by Cosimo, it was most likely purchased by Giovanni whose tastes were much more sumptuous.[27] A comparison of this copy of Cicero's *Epistulae ad Atticum* from circa 1450 with Poggio's copy of the same text, executed in 1408 and containing the first dated example of a *bianchi girari* initial, vividly demonstrate the evolution of humanist book decoration (figs. 73 & 79).

Cosimo de' Medici's preference for modestly illustrated books has been explained by his close association with the early civic humanists, who were not only more interested in the text than in the book as a work of art, but also restricted by small budgets. Cosimo may have been particularly influenced by his close association with Niccolò, who spent all his money accumulating texts, without allocating any funds on their decoration. However, Vespasiano da Bisticci gives us another explanation for what motivated Cosimo. He suggests that Cosimo's ill-gained wealth, as well as the drastic actions he took after returning from exile in 1344 to secure his political hegemony in Florence, including the execution or exile of his enemies, "was bound to leave him with certain matters on his conscience."[28] Vespasiano relates that under the guidance of Pope Eugenius, Cosimo decided to ease his guilt by using his fortune for charitable projects. Two of these projects involved the creation of large ecclesiastical libraries. The first was at the monastery of San Marco, for which Cosimo also provided the funds for new buildings designed by the architect Michelozzo, and the second library was for the Badia of Fiesole. So, although Cosimo's personal library was relatively small and meagerly decorated, he had a tremendous effect on the development of book production in Florence. First, through his patronage of the scholarly activities of the early humanists, and second, through his funding of the San Marco and Fiesole

libraries. The decoration of these ecclesiastic texts helped to stimulate the art of book illumination in Florence, and many of the same miniaturists were called upon to lend their talents to the decoration of the humanist book for both local and foreign patrons.

Cosimo and Vespasiano da Bisticci

Cosimo's patronage of the San Marco library is also the first documented evidence of his affiliation with Vespasiano da Bisticci, a partnership that undoubtedly aided the *cartolaio* in establishing himself as the bookseller of the humanists. The core of the library of San Marco came from the estate of Niccolò Niccoli. Niccolò had died in 1337 and had left his library in the hands of twelve trustees with the stipulation that the books be placed at the public's disposal. It was Cosimo's idea to establish this public library at the monastery of San Marco, where the monks were also badly in the need of books.[29] In 1441, the other executors of Niccolò's will allowed Cosimo sole control of the books, on the condition that Cosimo pay off Niccolò's remaining debts, as well as provide the funds for the decoration, the binding, and the chains necessary to attach the books to their display desks at the library. Vespasiano was given the exclusive contract to bind and chain the manuscripts from Niccolò's original library, and in 1445 Cosimo sent the *cartolaio* to Lucca with Fra Giuliano Lapacini to search for some needed legal, scholastic and liturgical texts which were not included in Niccolò's humanist collection.[30]

The first recorded evidence of Vespasiano da Bisticci (1422-1498) antedates this commission by over ten years. In the accounts of the Badia from February 1433-34, Vespasiano is listed as an apprentice in the shop of the *cartolaio* Michele di Giovanni Guarducci. Vespasiano would only have been

about twelve years old at this time, and so was born too late to be involved in the first generation of humanist book production.[31] However, there is evidence that his master and his master's old partner, Piero di Antonio Bettucci, who had opened up a shop next door to Michele, were both involved in finding used copies of the classics or in producing new ones for the early humanist patrons, and the young Vespasiano would have become familiar with the needs of his future clients at an earlier age.[32] It is possible that Cosimo frequented the shop of Michele, where he met the young apprentice. Vespasiano later reports in his *Vite* that the shops of the *cartolai,* located around the Badia and the Palazzo del Podestà (now the Bargello) were frequent meeting places for the humanists.[33]

Vespasiano was still an apprentice when the Council of Reunion came to Florence between 1349-1442 bringing with it the Byzantine courts and church dignitaries and humanists from all over Europe. Yet it was at this early point in Vespasiano's career that he began to establish himself as the *cartolaio* of the humanists. He made his first recorded sale of a book while still serving out his apprenticeship. In August of 1442, he sold a used copy of Peter Comestor's *Compendium historiae mundi,* to Pietro Donato the bishop of Padua, who was in town attending the Council.[34] Many of the patrons who commissioned books from Vespasiano beginning in the mid 1440s had also been in Florence for the Council. These men included Tommaso Parentucelli (later Pope Nicolaus V), Cardinal Bessarion of Venice, Andrew Holes, proctor of the King of England and the Spaniard Nuño Guzman.[35] Several of the books commissioned from Vespasiano in the 1440s survive, including Leonardo Bruni's Latin translation of Aristotle's *Ethics,* sold in 1446 to the monk Jean Jouffroy, as well as several manuscripts prepared for the Englishman William Gray in the mid 1440s while he was studying at Padua, including Pliny's *Natural History* and five volumes of

Cicero.[36] All of these texts are simply illustrated with *bianchi girari* initials.
Already by 1446, Girolamo Aliotti, abbot of SS. Fiora e Lucilla at Arezzo, looking
to borrow a exemplar of Pliny's *Natural History*, referred to Vespasiano as "the
best person to investigate such matters."[37]

Vespasiano entered into partnership with his master in 1450, shortly
before Guarducci's death. The years from the 1450s through the 1470s were
Vespasiano's most lucrative as he added Piero and Giovanni de' Medici, the
Englishmen Robert Flemmyng and John Tiptoft, King Alfonso of Naples,
Federico da Montefeltro, and King Mathias Corvinus of Hungary to his list of
patrons. His largest single commission in these years was again from Cosimo,
who hired him in 1462 to systematically complete the library for the Badia of
Fiesole. Vespasiano relates his role in this enterprise:

> "First, [Cosimo] determined to collect a suitable lot of books, and one
> day when I was with him, he said, 'What plan can you suggest for the
> formation of this library?' I replied that if the books were to be bought,
> it would be impossible, for the reason that they could not be found.
> Then he went on, 'Then tell me what you would do in the matter.' I
> said it would be necessary to have the books transcribed, whereupon
> he wanted to know whether I would undertake the task. I said that I
> would, whereupon he replied that I might begin when I liked, that he
> left everything to me....He was anxious I should use all possible
> despatch [sic], and, after the library was begun, as there was no lack
> of money, I engaged forty-five scribes and completed two hundred
> volumes in twenty-two months, taking as a model the library of Pope
> Nicolas and following directions written by his own hand, which Pope
> Nicolas had given to Cosimo."[38]

Almost one hundred of these manuscripts survive today in the Biblioteca
Laurenziana of Florence.

An analysis of these books reveals that Vespasiano used different criteria
for the production of his texts based upon their literary genre. De la Mare has
described the books in this manner: "They open with an illuminated initial and
border, framing three sides of the text and generally bearing the Medici arms.

Subsequent initials are usually painted in yellow rather than gold, for economy. Classical, patristic, early medieval and humanistic texts are copied in humanistic or semi-humanistic script, and decorated with humanistic borders and initials in *bianchi girari*. The patristic and medieval texts are usually written in two columns; the others in single columns (long lines). Scholastic texts are normally (though not invariably) written in gothic script, in two columns, and decorated with borders and initials in traditional acanthus style, or in a lighter more modern style with scrollings of flowers which looks forward to the style which was to become usual in Florentine manuscripts in the late 1460s and the 1470s. The borders and initials of *bianchi girari* were nearly all executed by one anonymous illuminator closely connected with Vespasiano and strongly influenced by Filippo Torelli, The gothic borders are by a number of different hands."[39] This dual tradition of decoration, in which there were different standards for scholastic and liturgical books on the one hand and patristic and humanistic texts on the other hand, is evident in most Florentine texts illuminated between 1410-1470.

Vespasiano's shop in Florence did not operate as a *scriptorium*, but as a book store where clients could buy new and used books, purchase parchment and paper, and commission texts which Vespasiano did not have in stock. After an order was placed, the *cartolaio* would search out a scribe, often providing him the exemplar and the parchment necessary to copy it, and later hire the miniaturist to decorate the text. These scribes and illuminators worked out of their own homes or shops, with Vespasiano acting as liaison with the patrons. It has been suggested that Vespasiano was able to corner the humanist market because of his access to exemplars. Florence was rich with exemplars in the fifteenth century, as it housed Boccaccio's library at Santo Spirito, copies made

from Petrarch's books at Santa Croce, and the early humanist collections of Coluccio and Niccolò which had found their way into the library at San Marco.[40] Cosimo effectively controlled the lending rights at San Marco, and Vespasiano's close affiliation with the him was probably beneficial for the *cartolaio* in obtaining texts not yet in sufficient circulation.[41]

In the late 1470s, Vespasiano's commissions lessened as the introduction of the printing press in Italy affected the trade in hand written books. In 1478, he gave up his shop in Florence and retired to a country villa to write his *Lifes of the Illustrious Men of the XV Century,* in which his own role as the humanists' *cartolaio* is recorded.

The Libraries of Piero and Giovanni de' Medici.

Although groomed for different roles in life, Piero (1416-1469) to be a statesman and Giovanni (1421-63) to be the family banker, both of Cosimo's sons were given a humanist education. Their principal teacher was Antonio Pacini, who is best known today for translating several of Plutarch's *Lives in* the 1430s. They also may have studied the classics and some Greek with Guarino da Verona when in Ferrara. Piero was in Ferrara as a young man when he accompanied the Florentine deputation to the Council of Reunion in 1438. It was Piero's uncle, Lorenzo di Giovanni, who was instrumental in getting the location of the Council moved to Florence the following year. Giovanni was there several years later to manage a branch of the Medici bank. Their Greek education seems to have had little effect on the young scholars, however. Piero had no Greek texts in his library, while Giovanni appears to have had only one.[42]

Piero's library and some of his brother's manuscripts are known to us today by two different inventories made of Piero de' Medici's estate. The first inventory is dated September 15, 1456 and includes all of Piero's possessions, but the part of the inventory which catalogues Piero's books was probably not begun until 1458. It was then added to periodically over the next five years or so until a second inventory was begun on January 20, 1464 (new style 1465). This inventory includes most of the manuscripts listed in the first inventory (unless they were deacquisitioned), manuscripts acquired in the short period of time between the two inventories, as well as those which were inherited either from Giovanni after his death in 1463 or from his father, Cosimo, who died one year later.

The inventories were first published by Piccolomini in 1874-75, but recently Francis Ames-Lewis has analyzed and re-edited the inventories and paired their entries with surviving manuscripts from Piero's collection. As with Cosimo's inventory, Piero's records little information about the texts except for the type of script and binding used. Ames-Lewis has discovered that neither inventory contains any duplicates of classical texts, and suggests that the inventory lists only those books stored in Piero's small *studietto*. When manuscripts inherited from his brother and father were of a higher quality than those already owned by Piero, either because of their humanist script or the richness of their decoration, they replaced Piero's own copies. For example, a copy of Cicero's *Libri rhetoricorum*, copied in a gothic script described as "dj lectere ghalliche antiche" in the 1456 inventory, appears to be replaced by the Cicero of the 1464 inventory which is written in the humanist script, "licteris antiquis."[43] This Cicero was probably inherited from Giovanni and is richly

decorated by Francesco d' Antonio del Chierico with an inhabited *bianchi girari* border and a fine portrait of the author (fig. 145).

Most of Piero's books contain his *ex libris*, added at the time the inventories were made and often by Piero's own hand. This has greatly aided the recognition of the surviving texts from his library. Some of these manuscripts belonged to Cosimo and can be traced back to his 1418 inventory. Giovanni, however, left no inventory of his library, nor did he add his *ex libris* to his books; since both brothers often used the same variations on the Medici coat of arms, the surviving manuscripts from Giovanni's library are recognized by other means. At times there may be a dedicatory inscription from the author, translator, or scribe to Giovanni. His books can also be recognized through the inclusion of his personal devices in the decoration of the text, such as the peacock. Occasionally individual manuscripts are mentioned in his personal correspondence.[44]

Piero's inventories reveal his specific interests in vernacular literature and in both contemporary and classical histories. The earliest commissioned book in Piero's library appears to be a copy of Petrarch's *Trionfi* which was discussed in a letter to Piero from Matteo de' Pasti in 1441.[45] It was also in 1441 that Piero collaborated with Leon Battista Alberti in sponsoring a competition for the finest vernacular poet, who was to be honored in a public ceremony and crowned with laurels. This interest in literature written in the *volgare* can be contrasted with the concerns of the first generation of Florentine humanists, who owned few texts in the vernacular. Niccolò in fact openly denigrated Boccaccio and thought that only his *De Genealogia Deorum* (1373), written in Latin, deserved merit. Piero joined the ranks of other humanists in his interest in history, and it is his history texts which are among the best scripted

and decorated manuscripts in his library. He had early copies of both Bruni and Palmieri and most of the texts dedicated to Piero were historical in nature.[46]

Piero's books were stored in a small library located in the Palazzo Medici on the *piano nobile* overlooking the via Larga. It no longer exists today, although we have Filarete's description of the room he called Piero's *studietto* in his *Trattato dell' Architettura*.[47] Filarete reported that Piero spent many hours in this room pouring over his books and his collection of antique gems, cameos and coins which were also stored there. Piero was only in his mid-thirties when he showed signs of the same arthritis and gout that plagued his father, and in his debilitated state he would spend hours sitting and admiring the possessions in his *studietto*.[48]

The room was small, measuring about 4 x 5.5 meters, and probably had a barrel vault covered with twelve glazed terracotta roundels depicting the labors of the months by Luca della Robbia, now housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.[49] Filarete does not mention any other decoration, although the *Terze Rime*, an anonymous poem from 1459 says the room included pictures and intarsia panels.[50] The decoration of other famous *studioli* included portraits of famous writers and intarsia cupboards for manuscript storage.[51]

Both inventories not only describe the style of script used for each manuscript as Cosimo's inventory had done, but also a brief description of the bindings of the manuscripts, and so we know that Piero's library was color coded. Sacred texts were covered in blue (azurro) leather, in different colors of velvet or in silver-leaf. Grammar texts were covered in yellow, poetry in purple (variously described as paghonazo, violacia, and chermisi), history in red, philosophy in white and the other "arts" in green. None of the original bindings

remain on Piero's extant manuscripts, and only one of Giovanni's retains its original cover. It is Pseudo-Seneca's *Declamationes* from 1457, covered in a chestnut brown moraoccan leather with tooled decoration including the Medici *palle* on both sides.[52] With its glazed terracotta ceiling, panel paintings, intarsia cupboards, antiquities, and colorfully bound texts, Piero's *studietto* would have offered hours of sensual and intellectual pleasures.

Piero started to build his library in the 1440s; however most of his books were commissioned in the mid 50s and by the time of the first inventory (1456-63) his private library was nearly complete. Most of the dated texts of Giovanni's fall between the same years. The brothers often used the same illuminators, preferring the talents of Filippo di Matteo Torelli, ser Ricciardo di Nanni, Francesco di Antonio del Chierico, and a comparatively mediocre artist known as the Fiesole Master.[53] All of the manuscripts commissioned by Piero and Giovanni are decorated in the new humanist style with the first page of the text surrounded on three to four sides by a *bianchi girari* border usually inhabited with a fantastic array of birds and beasts, putti, portrait medallions and other motifs influenced by Piero's collection of antique coins and cameos. At the bottom of every page the Medici coat of arms is displayed. In the most richly illuminated books a few additional pages of the text, usually the beginnings of subsequent chapters, would also be decorated in this manner. More commonly, simple *bianchi girari* initials would begin each chapter of a text. Books commissioned in the early 1460s exhibit the new floral border developed by Francesco di Antonio. Some of the manuscripts also have title pages, written and painted on a separate fly leaf. All of the classical texts commissioned by the brothers are written in humanist script with one column of text per page, while liturgical manuscripts use the older gothic script, laid out in two columns

per page according to the established tradition. The most richly decorated of

the brothers' manuscripts are patristic texts and it is with this literary genre that I

will begin a survey of Quattrocento author portraits.

Notes to Chapter Three

[1]Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, rev. ed., trans. John R. Spencer, New Haven 1966, 63.

[2] M. Meiss, *French painting in the Time of Jean de Berry*, 2 vols., London, 1967; F. Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France, The Fourteenth Century (1310-1380)*, London, 1978; idem, *Les Fastes du Gothique, Le Siècle de Charles V*, Exhibition at the Grand Palais, Paris, 1981-2.

[3] For Boccaccio's library, see A. Mazza, "L' inventario della 'parva libraria' di Santo Spirito e la biblioteca del Boccaccio," *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, IX, 1966, 2-5. For the copies of Petrarch's works made from the author's originals in Padua soon after Petrarch's death by fra Tedaldo della Casa, see C. Mazzi, "L' inventario quattrocentistico della Biblioteca di Santa Croce in Firenze," in *Rivista delle Biblioteche e degli Archivi*, VIII, 1897, passim. For the Niccolò's texts at San Marco, see Ullman and Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence*, Padua, 1972.

[4] John Pope-Hennessey, *The Portrait in the Renaissance*, New York, 1966, 4. Vasari mentions these portraits (ed. Milanesi, Florence, 1896, I, 372).

[5] Pope-Hennessey, 5. Vasari lists many of these citizens (ed. Milanesi, II, 295-96). Note also that In 1368, Andrea Bonaiuto peopled his fresco of the *Church Triumphant* in the chapter house of Santa Maria Novella with the personalities who had successfully, although temporarily, convinced the pope to return to Rome from his Avignon exile. For the identification of portraiture in the Spanish Chapel, see R. Offner and K. Steinweg, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Art*, Sec. IV, Vol. IV, *Andrea Bonaiuto*, New York, 1979; P. Watson, "The Spanish Chapel, Portraits of Poets or a Portrait of Christian Order," *Memorie Domenicane*, n.s. XI, 1980, II, 471-87; A. Luttrell, "A Hospitaller in a Florentine Fresco, 1366-68," *Burlington Magazine*, CXIV, 1972, 365-68ff; M. Devlin, "An English Knight of the Garter in the Spanish Chapel in Florence," *Speculum*, IV, 1929, 270-80. For other examples of fourteenth century portraiture, see A. M. Romanini, "Arnolfo di Cambio e il ritratto gotico," in *Studi in Onore di Giulio Carlo Argan*, Rome, 1984, I, 43-45ff; and C. R. Sherman, *The Portraits of Charles V of France*, (1338-1380), New York, 1969.

[6] The *Raising of the Son of Theophilus* is entirely by Masaccio's hand, although the fresco of *St. Peter curing the Sick with his Shadow* was finished by Filippino Lippi about 1485, and include portraits from his time. See the book published by the restorer of the Chapel, Ornella Casazza, *Masaccio and the Brancacci Chapel*, Florence, 1990. For the identification of the portraits, see Peter Mellor,

"La Cappella Brancacci," *Acropoli*, III, 1960, 186-227, and IV, 1961, 273-312, who has a complete bibliography of portrait attribution at the Brancacci Chapel dating back to Vasari.

[7] M. Lagaisse, *Benozzo Gozzoli*, Paris, 1934, 88-94; See also Rab Hatfield, *Botticelli's Uffizi "Adoration,"* Princeton, 1976, who analyzed the tradition of Medicean portraiture in this painting by Botticelli.

[8] K. Langedijk, *The Portraits of the Medici*, Florence, 1983, II, 1004-05, 1336-37, 1211.

[9] When Coluccio Salutati died in 1406, a death mask or drawing was made of his features which guided Masaccio in his portrait of the statesman in the Brancacci Chapel. See Mellor, fig. 42. A death mask of Brunelleschi (1446) was used by Buggiano in his sculpted relief medallion of the architect, and is still preserved, see Pope-Hennessey, *The Portrait in the Renaissance*, fig. 7. Antonio Rossellino used a death mask for his tomb effigy of the Cardinal of Portugal, but employed a life mask for his commemorative bust of the physician, Giovanni Chellini (before 1462). For the busts of Brunelleschi, the Cardinal of Portugal, and Chellini, see Pope-Hennessey, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, 28, 245, fig. 4; 40, 47-50, 277, 280-82, 286, fig. 64, plates 55-7; and 47-51, 280, 282, fig. 4, plate 59, respectively. For a comparison of Netherlandish and Italian portraiture during the fifteenth century, see Joanna Woods-Marsden, "Ritratto al Naturale: Questions of Realism and Idealism in Early Renaissance Portraits," *Art Journal*, XLVI, Fall, 1987, 209-217.

[10] Pope-Hennessey, *Portrait in the Renaissance*, 64ff; and G. F. Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance Before Cellini*, London, 1930.

[11] For a discussion of the illuminated copies of Petrarch's *de viris illustribus* and *I Trionfi*, see Dorothy Shorr, "Some Notes on the Iconography Petrarch's Triumph of Fame," *Art Bulletin*, XX, 1938, 100-107.

[12] The fourteenth century cycle (ca. 1367-1379) was destroyed by fire in the fifteenth century and repainted, the only original portrait which survived was that of Petrarch, himself, which suffered repainting in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. See Theodor E. Mommsen, "Petrarch and the Decoration of the Sala Virorum Illustrium in Padua," Art Bulletin, XXXIV, 1952, 96-116.

[13] For Giotto's lost frescoes, see Giuseppe de Blasiis, "Immagini di uomini famosi in una sala di Castelnuovo," *Napoli nobilissima*, 1896, IX, 5, 65-67. For the lost frescoes in Milan, see Paul Schubring, "Uomini famosi," *Repetorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXIII, 1900, 425ff. For the Taddeo di Bartolo's frescoes, see N. Rubinstein, "Political Ideas in Sienese Art: The Frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti and Taddeo di Bartolo in the Palazzo Pubblico," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXI, 1958, 179-207. Castagno's frescoes are

now detached and preserved at the Ufizzi. See, E. Schaeffer, "Ueber Andrea del Castagno's *uomini famosi*," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXV, 1902, 170-7; and Mario Salmi, *Andrea del Castagno*, Novara, 1962, 48-50. See also Raimond van Marle, "L'Iconographie de la décoration profane des demeures princières, " *Gazette des Beaux Artes*, ser. 5, XIV, 1926, (II), 249; Christine L. Joost-Gaugier, A Rediscovered Series of *Uomini Famosi* from Quattrocento Venice," *Art Bulletin*, 58, 1976,184-195; Schubring; and Mommsen.

[14] This observation was made by de la Mare, "Florentine Manuscripts of Livy in the Fifteenth Century," in T. A. Dorey, ed., *Livy*, London and Toronto, 1971, 187. See also Hugo Buchthal, *Historia Troiana, Studies in the History of Mediaeval Manuscript Illustration*, London, 1971.

[15] The inventories of Piero's library are published by E. Piccolomini, "Intorno alle condizioni ed alle vicende della libreria Medicea privata," *Archivio Storico italiano*, ser. 3, XIX, 1874, 101-129 and 254-281; XX, 1874, 51-94; XXI, 1975, 102-112, 282-298, and 538-539; and Francis Ames-Lewis, *The Library and Manuscripts of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici*, London, 1984.

[16] Ames-Lewis lists the manuscripts associated with Giovanni's patronage, 414-16.

[17] Vespasiano, *Vite*, trans. Waters, 234.

[18] Alison M. Brown, "The Humanist Portrait of Cosimo de' Medici, *Pater Patriae*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, XXIV, 1961, 186-221, discusses the changing character of praise bestowed on Cosimo by successive generations of humanists with different concerns and different relationships with the patron. The first generation of scholars, such as Bruni and Poggio, praise Cosimo's self-less republican patriotism; the second generation, headed by the Greek scholar Johannes Argyropulos, praised Cosimo as a wise "Aristotelian" philosopher-ruler; and a third generation of humanists seeking patronage from Cosimo and his grandson Lorenzo, praised the old man as a generous ruler guided by the models of Maecenas and Augustine.

[19] T. Foffano, "Niccolò, Cosimo, e le ricerche di Poggio nelle biblioteche francesi," *Italia medioevale e umanistici*, XII, 1969, 113-128; Vespasiano, *Vite*, trans. Waters, 227-28.

[20] E. Pintor, "La storia della libreria Medicea," *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, III, 1960, Pt. I, "La libreria di Cosimo de' Medici," 190-199, Pt. II, "Libri di Giovanni e di Pietro di Cosimo," 200-210.

[21] For the identification of the extant texts from Cosimo's Library, see Ullman and Stadter.

22 Cicero, *Orationes XXVIII*, pl. 48.10, f. 1. This manuscript was inherited by Cosimo's son Piero. See, Ullman, *Origin*, 93-4, no. 5; and Ames-Lewis, no. 28. For Poggio's copy of Cicero, see Chapter 2.

23 Seneca, *de Beneficii*, pl. 76.35 and its companion volume pl. 45.32. These two manuscripts were also inherited by Piero. See, Ullman, *Origin*, 100, no. 11; de la Mare, "New Research," in Annarosa Garzelli, *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento*, 482, no. 18; and Ames-Lewis, no. 76, fig. 17, cf. cat. no. 23. Ames-Lewis (p. 161) attributes the manuscript to the Penscroll Master; Garzelli (p. 53) attributes it to Bartolomeo Varnucci; and de la Mare (New Research, 398, n. 17) lists two other manuscripts decorated in 1426 by Varnucci with putti in the vinestem borders: Cicero, *Philosophical works* (vat. pal. lat 1516); and Seneca, *Epistulae* (vat. lat. 2208). This Seneca is the manuscript Poggio had copied in Rome for his personal use by "his good French scribe" and then sent to Niccolò in Florence to be decorated. See Chapter 2.

24 Suetonius, *de Vita Cesarum*, pl. 64.4. See Ames-Lewis, cat. no. 48, fig. 101.

25 Livy, *Dec. III*, Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 63.5 (part of a three volume set, pl. 63. 4-6). Decades I and IV have inscriptions to Cosimo from the scribe, Aretino. Although Decade III was written in the same year (1412) and by the same scribe, it appears that the client may have been a certain Nicolaus Riccius. When Cosimo acquired the Third Decade, he erased Nicolaus's name in the dedicatory inscription by the scribe and replaced it with his own. The penscroll border was either added by the original owner prior to sale, or it is possible that Cosimo commissioned the bas-de-page decoration when he had his new purchase bound together with Decades I and IV in the 1430s. See A. de la Mare, "Florentine Manuscripts of Livy," 180-81.

26 Lactantius, *Institutiones divinae*, pl. 21.5, f. 278v. See d' Ancona, no. 282 and Ames-Lewis, 161, cat. no. 5, and fig. 40-41.

27 Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum*, pl. 49.20, f. 1. It is unlikely that the manuscript was purchased by Piero since he had already bought a copy of this text prior to 1456. See, Ames-Lewis, no. 32, fig. 56, and cf. no. 33 (pl. 49.21).

28 *Vite*, trans., Waters, 218.

29 For the history of the library, see Ullman and Statder, 3-104.

30 Seventy-four books are listed as bound by Vespasiano in the records of San Marco, and he is the only *cartolaio* mentioned who was given this responsibility to bind and chain books. Lapacini had been sent to Siena with the *cartolaio* Pietro Bettucci earlier in 1445 to buy to buy books on canon law and other subjects. None of these books can be identified today. On Lapacini's and

Vespasiano's trip to Lucca they bought 49 books for 250 florins from the Franciscan friars (the notaries' record of this transaction is still preserved at Lucca). Thirty-four of these texts were given to San Marco by Cosimo, fifteen were kept and later sold by Vespasiano, seven of these books are identifiable today. See ibid., 16-19; and de la Mare, *New Research*, 402, n. 50.

[31] G. M. Cagni, *Vespasiano da Bisticci e il suo epistolario*, Rome, 1969; idem, "Agnolo Manetti e Vespasiano da Bisticci," *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, XIV, 1971, 293-312; de la Mare, *Vespasiano da Bisticci, Historian and Bookseller*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1965/6 (I have not seen this item); idem, "Vespasiano da Bisticci and Gray," idem, Vespasiano da Bisticci and the Florentine Manuscripts of Robert Flemmyng in Lincoln College," *Lincoln College Record*, 1962-63; idem, *New Research*, passim, especially 401-406 and Appendices II i, III; de la Mare and L. Hellinga, "The first book printed in Oxford: the 'Expositio Symboli' of Rufinus," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society,* Cambridge, 1978, 187,194, Vespasiano is mentioned as Guarducci's apprentice in the Badia accounts for February 1433/4 (ASF, conv. Sopp. 78, filz. 438B, fol. 140) as noted by de la Mare, *New Research*, 400, n. 34.

[32] For the recorded activity of the *cartolai* Guarducci and Bettucci, see de la Mare, *New Research*, 400, n. 36.

[33] *Vite*, ed. Greco, II, 229-30.

[34] de la Mare, *New Research*, App. III, no. 31.

[35] For Nicholas V library, see E. Müntz and P. Fabre, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XVe siècle*, Paris, 1887; For Pietro Donato's library, see Sambin, "La biblioteca di Pietro Donato (1380-1447)," *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova*, XLVIII, 1959, 53-98; For Holes manuscripts, see R. W. Hunt and de la Mare, Duke Humfrey and English humanism in the Fifteenth Century, Oxford, 1970, nos. 29-31. For Bessarion's Library, see L. Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana*, Rome 1979. For the extant works commissioned by them from Vespasiano, see de la Mare, *New Research*, appendix III, 565-574.

[36] Aristotle, *Ethics*, trans. by Leonardo Bruni, Bibl. Vaticana, vat. lat. 3000; Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, Oxford, Balliol College, ms. 249; Cicero, *Epistulae*, Oxford, Balliol College, ms. 248A-E; See de la Mare, *New Research*, 401-02 and appendices, III, no. 23; I, 62, no. 38; I, 15, no. 15. For Gray, also see Vespasiano, *Vite*, trans. Waters, 184-86; and de la Mare "Vespasiano da Bisticci and Gray."

[37] de la Mare, *New Research*, 401.

[38] *Vite*, trans. Waters, 221.

[39] *New Research*, 442-43.

[40] See n. 3. For Salutati, see also Ullman, *Humanism of Coluccio Salutati*; and Ullman and Stadter.

[41] For Cosimo's control of the library, see Ullman and Stadter, 13.

[42] Ames-Lewis, 11-12.

[43] Cicero, *Libri rhetoricum*, pl. 50.8 replaced Cicero, *De inventione*, etc., pl. 50.26. See Ames-Lewis, cat. nos. 34 and 115 and fig. 91.

[44] For a discussion of the Medici stemma and their personal devices, see Ames-Lewis, "Early Medicean Devices," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, XLII, 1979, 122-143 which was edited from chap. 2 of his published dissertation, *The Library and Manuscripts of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici*, 53-90.

[45] Petrarca, *Trionfi*, Paris, Bibl. Naz. ms. ital. 1471. See Ames-Lewis, 7, no. 88.

[46] Piero continued the patronage of humanist scholars begun by his father and the lists of texts dedicated to him is long.

[47] A. Averlino, detto "Il Filarete," *Trattato dell' Architettura*, ed. A. M. Finoli and L. Grassi, Milan, 1972, 696. For a brief discussion of Piero's *studietto* with bibliography, see Ames-Lewis, 13-16.

[48] Filarette, 686-88. Piero's gout is discussed in several family letters. See Ames-Lewis, 6.

[49] For the roundels of the barrel vault, see J. Pope-Hennessey, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, 1964, I, 104-112. The iconography of some of the roundels is based on Columella's *De re rustica*, rediscovered by Poggio Bracciolini in 1417. Piero had an early copy of this manuscript, see Ames-Lewis, 16, cat. no. 39.

[50] For the *Terze Rime*, see R. Hatfield, "Some Unknown Descriptions of the Medici Palace in 1459," *Art Bulletin*, LII, 1970, 232-49.

[51] For the studiolo of Pope Nicholas V, see E. Müntz and P. Fabre, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XVe siècle*, Paris, 1887; B. Biagetti, "Una nuova ipotesi intorno allo studio e alla Cappella di Niccolò V," *Memorie della Pontificia Accademia di Archaeologia*, III, 1932, 205-214; and G. Gilbert, "Fra Angelico's fresco-cycles in Rome," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXVIII, 1975, 245-65.

For Federico da Montefeltro's studiolo, see D. Michelini-Tocci, "Agapito, bibliotecario, docto, acort et diligent," *Collectanea vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Cano Albareda* (Studi e Test 220), Vatican, 1962, II, 245-280. Leonello d' Este's *studiolo* at Belfiore was decorated with paintings of the Muses and intarsied cupboards, see G. Pardi, "La suppellettile dei Palazzi estensi in Ferrara nel 1436," *Atti e memorie della Deputazione Ferranese di Storia Patria*, XIX, fasc. I, 1908, 170.

[52] Pseudo-Seneca, *Declamationes*, Paris, Bibl. Nat. ms. lat. 6375. The binding is reproduced in T. de Marinis, *Legatura*, I, 102, no. 1022, pl. CLXX. See also Ames-Lewis, 32.

[53] For Torelli, Ricciardo and Francesco, see Garzelli. For the Fiesole Master, see d' Ancona and Ames-Lewis.

Chapter Four

Author Portraits in Patristic Texts

I decided that the small amount of leisure which I had left, after I
had attended to my trivial affairs, I would devote to the study of
literature and especially of sacred literature, in which lies the
foundation of all honorable and just living. And in this I hope you
will help me by sending me a lot of your books to read.[1]
<div align="right">Letter of Poggio Bracciolini to Niccolò Niccoli</div>

His is a remarkable picture...in which there is a...Jerome like a
living being in a library done with rare art: for if you move away
from it a little it seems that it recedes inwards and that it has
complete books laid open in it.[2] Bartolomeo Fazio

The most elaborately decorated manuscripts of the Medici brothers were patristic texts, and although these few manuscripts were far outnumbered by copies of the classics, their richly illuminated frontispieces demonstrate the respect accorded sacred literature. The fifteenth century humanists actually included the Church Fathers among the ranks of ancient Roman authors, believing that their writings predated the influence of barbaric Gaulic tongues which had corrupted Latin during the Middle Ages, and Quattrocento book hunters eagerly searched for patristic texts as well as classical ones.[3] It was also in sacred literature that the Roman tradition of the author portrait had been kept alive throughout the Middle Ages, and Renaissance miniaturists would have been familiar with the various compositions used by their predecessors.

The surviving patristic texts once belonging to Piero and Giovanni were almost all copied by Messer Piero Strozzi, whose beautiful script was much admired and commissioned by the humanists during the 1450s and 60s. They were were also decorated by the Medici's most valued illuminators, Filippo di

Matteo Torelli, Francesco d' Antonio del Chierico, and Ricciardo di Nanni. A copy of St. Jerome's *Epistles*, scripted by Piero Strozzi and illuminated by Francesco d' Antonio, may be one of first books acquired by Piero when he seriously began to build his private library in the 1450s (figs. 79-81).[4] The place reserved for the stemma has been left vacant, so presumably Piero did not commission this manuscript, but purchased it ready made from a *cartolaio*. The *cartolaio* may very well have been Vespasiano da Bisticci, as Messer Strozzi and Francesco d' Antonio were often employed by Vespasiano.

The incipit page of the Jerome is decorated with an elaborate *bianchi girari* border surrounding all four sides of the text block. It is richly inhabited by a variety of birds, animals and putti, as well as several portraits and narrative scenes framed by a gold-leaf ribbon woven into the vinestem motif. A larger quatrefoil in the center of the left border depicts St. Jerome surrounded by a group of monks as he removes a thorn from the lion's paw, and a medallion at the top of the page has an image of St. Jerome busy at work in his study. Two small diamond-shaped frames at the bas-de-page are filled with portrait heads of unidentified saints and the opening initial D is historiated with an image of the penitent saint. He kneels before the mouth of a cave, gazing at a crucifix he holds in one hand while he uses the other to beat his bared chest with a rock. In patristic texts it was not uncommon for a narrative scene to take the place of the author portrait in the incipit, the portrait being displaced to one of the border medallions.

None of the narrative and iconographic images used in this frontispiece are inventions of the fifteenth century. The representation of St. Jerome as a penitent, scholar, and miracle worker, are themes which had long been a part of the saint's iconography; however these narrative themes from the saint's life

were usually the subject of panel paintings and frescoes, and did not begin to appear in miniatures on a regular basis until the fifteenth century.[5]

The tiny image of Jerome working in his study is particularly significant as it became a popular setting for author portraits, both sacred and secular, throughout the Renaissance. The motif of the author composing his opus can be traced back to some of the earliest extant author portraits from the Roman fresco of Menander to a tenth century Byzantine Gospels (figs. 2 & 40). In these examples the author is provided with the furniture and equipment necessary for book production: a chair, a desk or book stand, pens, knives and bottles of ink. This basic composition was then placed in front of a variety of backgrounds including monumental architectural configurations, verdant and rocky landscapes, or a solid gold surface. However, the only settings which approximate the ambiance of a personal study were those placing the author and his equipment in the inner courtyard of a private home (fig. 41). It has already been demonstrated that the courtyard in ancient Mediterranean culture often functioned as an all-purpose work space. The motif first appears in Byzantine images of the evangelists in the eleventh century; however, ninth century Carolingian texts, which were undoubtedly inspired by Byzantine exemplars also display this composition, and it is quite possible that the motif dates back to late antiquity.

As private as the courtyard setting of Byzantine manuscripts may be, the monumental architecture in the background seems to reinforce its aulic qualities rather than the homey details of its genre setting. Furthermore, it still must be considered an outdoor setting, as the plants and trees so often included in the foreground make clear. The placement of the author in a recognizably interior

space developed during the late Middle Ages as artists became more interested in depicting the realism of everyday life in greater detail.

One of the most striking examples of an author in his study which had a major influence on other such images is a fresco of Petrarch, perhaps by the north Italian master, Altichiero of Verona. This portrait was included in a series of *uomini famosi*, painted in the Carrara palace at Padua which had been inspired by Petrarch's text, *de viris illustribus*.[6] The fresco was badly damaged by fire at the end of the fifteenth century and much repainted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; however, a miniature copy of the fresco in its original state exists in the library at Darmstadt (fig. 82). It shows Petrarch seated in a Late Gothic wood paneled library. This famous portrait became the model for many different representations of authors in their *studioli*, in both monumental and miniature form, including the Church Fathers, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great, biblical figures such as the evangelists and King David, as well as portraits of classical writers.

The earliest surviving image of Jerome in his study is also found in northern Italy. It is a fresco dating from about 1370 by Tomaso da Modena in the church of San Nicolò in Treviso.[7] Here, Jerome is depicted in a modest *studiolo*, with few genre details. In the fifteenth century, under the influence of Flemish painters, the author's study became more richly furnished with genre detail. A painting of St. Jerome in his study by Jan van Eyck had a particularly strong impact on Florentine painters in the middle of the century. This painting is now lost, but it was probably similar to a panel of St. Jerome in his study from 1435, now in the Detroit Institute of Arts and attributed to van Eyck (fig. 83). In the panel, Jerome is shown seated at his desk in the corner of a Gothic interior. He reads a heavy tome placed on a book stand before him and his head rests

in the palm of his hand in imitation of the thinking philosophers of ancient commemorative statuary. The desk and books shelves behind him are crowded with items painted with detailed Flemish realism that not only allude to Jerome's scholarly activities, but have subtle iconographic meaning.[8]

The crowded trompe l'oeil illusionism of van Eyck's study was greatly admired by Bartolomeo Fazio, who describes the painting in his *De viris illustribus*, and it was often imitated later in the century by Italian artists.[9] Antonello da Messina, who spent most of his life working in southern Italy, was one of the first Italian artists to be influenced by Flemish painting techniques. In his large panel of St. Jerome in his study, painted between 1450 and 1455, Messina rivals the infinitesimal detail and saturated colors of van Eyck (fig. 84). In 1480, Ghirlandaio and Botticelli painted complementary fresco portraits of St. Jerome and St. Augustine in the Church of the Ognisanti in Florence (fig. 85). Ghirlandaio and Botticelli may have been directly influenced by the Detroit St. Jerome, as the 1492 inventory of the Medici household lists a panel of St. Jerome painted by van Eyck. However, it is still unclear at what date prior to 1492 the family acquired the painting, or whether the Detroit panel is the actual version owned by the Medici.[10]

The popularity of the image of St. Jerome in his study during the Renaissance is undoubtedly tied to the humanists' interest in classical philology and scholarship, which was extended to include patristic literature. In 1470, the humanist Laudivio Zacchia wrote a biography of St. Jerome in which he calls the Church Father *divus litterarum princeps*, the "prince of sacred literature." Laudivio's biography captures the sentiments of humanist culture in which Jerome is not only an Christian apologist and ascetic, but first and foremost an

intellectual, and during the fifteenth century he became a popular titular saint for schools, universities and men of letters.[11]

It is believed that in the Detroit panel, van Eyck gave Jerome the features of the Bolognese cardinal, Nicolò Albergati, one of the most distinguished churchmen of his time.[12] Albergati was sent on many diplomatic missions for the pope, and in 1435 he was the papal legate to the Congress of Arras, which hoped to negotiate a settlement to end the Hundred Year's War between France and England. His personal devotion and support of the growing cult of St. Jerome was well known, and it is believed that the Detroit panel was commissioned by Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy for presentation to Albergati in appreciation of his services at the Congress. Throughout the Renaissance, it was not unusual for scholars and churchmen to impersonate St. Jerome in works of art. Portraits of St. Antonino, bishop of Florence (d. 1459), Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa (d. 1464), and even Martin Luther are among the famous faces used for the Church Father.[13] Although this was a fairly common practice in the monumental arts of panel painting and fresco, I know of no examples in which contemporary humanists "posed" as St. Jerome in the many author portraits of the saint which appear in fifteenth century manuscripts.

It is perhaps unfair to compare these panel paintings and frescoes to the medallion miniature of St. Jerome in Piero de' Medici's manuscript. Yet, squeezed into this tiny space not much larger than the artist's thumb print, Francesco d' Antonio has painted a simplified but accurate representation of the wood paneled *studioli* common in Renaissance palaces. The wall in front of the saint has several rows of shelves of the kind common in Renaissance libraries on which the books were laid flat and permanently chained, and he sits at a desk furnished with a large double-sided book stand, similar to those used

in monastic churches to hold over-sized choral books. A similar *studiolo* is used in a copy of Augustine's *City of God* decorated by the Florentine miniaturist, the "Maestro della Farsaglia Trivulziana" in the 1450s. This time, St. Augustine is depicted in the opening initial, sitting in his book-filled library diligently composing his opus (fig. 86).[14] Note, however, that in both examples, a slice of cloudy blue sky appears above the *studioli*. These rooms have been taken out of their interior location and placed in a landscape.

This strange pastiche of interior and exterior spaces reveals the illuminators' working method. They have combined the motif of the richly detailed *studiolo*, which was first developed in fresco and panel paintings, with the miniaturists' tradition of placing the author in a landscape. Throughout the Middle Ages, landscape backgrounds were usually reserved for portraits of the four evangelists, and because of this close association, landscape was symbolically invested with the ability to confer honor on those it surrounded. So, while the miniaturists have followed current artistic trends in making the author's work space more intimate, they have also relied upon the traditions of their craft and surrounded this personal setting with the aulic grandeur of a landscape. And all this, within dimensions little bigger than a postage stamp.

The results of this working method often produced unusual and creative combinations. In a copy of Lactantius made for Giovanni de' Medici by the "Maestro della Farsaglia Trivulziana" in the mid 1450s, the author is once again depicted in a *studiolo* which has been lifted out of its interior setting and placed in a far reaching Renaissance landscape. The outdoor setting is detailed with the buildings of a distant city and a group of children (putti?) swimming in a nearby river (fig. 87).[15]

In another unusual miniature, ser Ricciardo di Nanni has combined the ancient motif of the author seated in front of a niche of the "scenae frons" with the Renaissance motif of the author in his study, as well as a narrative scene from the life of St. Jerome. In a manuscript decorated for an unknown patron and today in the library of Genoa, Ricciardo placed the saintly author in a framed panel above the incipit (fig. 88 & 89).[16] Jerome is seated in a semi-circular stone exedra, the tumble of books placed in several of the shallow rectangular recesses serving as the only indication that we are viewing the saint in his private study. He is not depicted writing, but in prayer, a book laid open across his lap as he stares at a vision of God the Father emerging from the seven spheres of the universe. This image may refer to Jerome's dream in which he is accused by God of preferring Cicero to the Bible and so denied entrance to the kingdom of heaven.

Jerome's exedra is strikingly similar to the semi-circular niches used to frame the portraits of the four evangelists in Byzantine Gospels, such those in the manuscript from Mount Athos, Stauronikita 43 (figs. 25a-d). In both the Byzantine and Renaissance portraits, glimpses of sky or trees are visible behind the monumental architecture indicating again that we are in an exterior space (note the tree branches scratched into the gold background of the Byzantine image of St. Mark). In an attempt to update this Byzantine setting, Ricciardo has exchanged the fussy detail and flattened perspectives of the architecture for a classicizing style more in line with the restrained tastes of the mid Quattrocento. The miniaturist, however, does not copy any particular antique model, but invents a simple niche based upon a generalized lexicon of classical architectural vocabulary.

Ricciardo uses this same niche or variations of it over and over again as settings for his author portraits as in Piero's copies of Pliny and Cicero (figs. 116 & 145). A classicizing stone *studiolo*, however, was rarely used by other fifteenth century miniaturists who preferred the more intimate genre touches of the wood paneled library. In patristic texts of the 1470s and 1480s, these *studioli* became true interior spaces. The rooms are usually sharply foreshortened so that three walls, roof, and floor are all visible. It appears as if the fourth wall has been torn down to allow the viewer access to the interior space. The author usually sits at a desk facing a wall lined with book shelves. The wall behind him is bare and the far wall is interrupted by a large window. The author's head is either fully or partially silhouetted against this window, a compositional device invented by Flemish artists and borrowed by the Italians. At times a simple landscape can be viewed through the window.

Francesco Rosselli painted several of these *studioli* as settings for his author portraits including a portrait of St. Augustine for a copy of the *City of God*, made for Federico da Montefeltro (fig. 90)[17] It is one of the most detailed of his miniature *studioli* with its tiled floor, coffered ceiling and distant landscape visible through the open window. In the 1470s and 80s, Attavante used the same format for a portrait of St. Augustine in a copy of his *Epistles* for Mathias Corvinus (fig. 91) and Gherardo and Monte di Giovanni placed Augustine and Jerome in miniature *studioli* in their manuscripts for Duke Federico da Montefeltro and King Mathias (fig. 92 & 93).[18]

During the last few decades of the Quattrocento, miniaturists moved the author's study out of the cramped and irregular spaces of the opening initial and created framed half-page or full-page images of *studioli* with detailed genre features that rivaled the more monumental arts. In a magnificently illuminated

copy of Jerome's translation of Didymus of Alexandria's *De Spiritu Sancto*

prepared for King Mathias Corvinus of Hungary, Monte di Giovanni painted a

full-page frontispiece (fig. 94).[19] A densely detailed architectural border

surrounds a large roundel with an image of the saint at his desk, which is

flanked by kneeling portraits of the King and Queen. Jerome has paused in his

reading and gazes out at the viewer. His desk is fully equipped with ink pots

and quills, an hour glass, a bell, a water ewer and platter, in addition to the

numerous books. The window behind him has been greatly enlarged, to the

point where one is left wondering if this study has once again been transported

outdoors. The view in the distance is of the city of Florence. Its precise

architectural rendering allow the Duomo, Campanile, Baptistry and Church of

Santa Croce to be easily recognized.

Often, in patristic literature, an event from the author's life replaces the

traditional portrait in the incipit. In these historiated initials, miniaturists

responded to the Renaissance concern for imagery that was both filled with

genre detail and informed by classical standards of beauty, and they began to

infuse their narratives with the illusionism, complicated perspectives, and

balanced structure then being used in panel paintings and frescoes. In

manuscripts of St. Jerome, the incipit is often historiated with images of the

penitent saint. Ricciardo di Nanni used this theme in two of his manuscripts, the

previously discussed Genoa St. Jerome (fig.79-81) and another copy of

Jerome's *Epistles*, made for a member of the Medici family (fig. 95).[20]

In copies of St. Augustine's *City of God*, the incipit is often decorated with

an image of the saint kneeling before a vision of the "Celestial City." This scene

was never a part of the legendary events in Augustine's life, and never appears

in his narrative cycles.[21] At times icons of the saint depict him holding the model

of a church. This could be interpreted as an iconographic reference to his status as the most important of the Church Fathers, or, when the image is used in copies of the *City of God*, it can be seen as a symbol of his ideal paradigm for the city of God's faithful. The image of Augustine kneeling before a vision of the Celestial City developed in the Renaissance as miniaturists looked for ways to display their talents in creating distant landscapes and complicated architectural perspectives. A copy of the *City of God*, illuminated by Ser Ricciardo for Giovanni de' Medici in the 1450s, is one of the earliest examples of this motif (fig. 96).[22] St. Augustine kneels at the edge of the picture plane gazing at a city perched on a distant hill. The deep recession of the space is emphasized by the single street which graphically functions as the center orthagonal of the perspective grid. It is flanked by two rows of neatly spaced Renaissance buildings leading to a city on the horizon, that with its crenelated walls and enormous dome bears a faint resemblance to Florence. Ricciardo's architecture is always more generalized than true to life, but in a similar image attributed to Bartolomeo di Domenico di Guido, the heavenly city floating above Augustine is a recognizable portrait of Florence, with a cupola much more reminiscent of the Duomo (fig. 97).[23]

Mariano del Buono used the same theme in his copy of the *City of God*, adding a group of equestrians battling before the city gates (fig. 98).[24] The delicate floral border includes a series of medallions filled with scenes from the saint's life and portrait heads. None of the portraits are recognizable, except that of the Bishop of Hippo, who appears in a quatrefoil placed slightly below the incipit. It seems as if the miniaturist did not want to eliminate the traditional author portrait, and has placed a three-quarter length image of the St. Augustine in a border medallion near the opening initial.

The image of St. Augustine with his celestial city can also be found in northern art of the same period. In a copy of the *City of God*, made for Jean Chevrot, bishop of Tournai, a miniature of the frontispiece is divided into three separate parts: St. Augustine as teacher, the vision of the celestial city set in a vast landscape, and a portrait of King Clovis (fig. 99).[25] The miniature was painted about 1445 by an anonymous artist, possibly Flemish, as suggested by the Eyckian qualities of the work. In comparing the Italian miniatures with this image what is most striking is the greater attention to detail used by the northern artist. Italian miniaturists at this time were more interested in well organized compositions and a restrained use of detail, as were their colleagues who painted more monumental works. It also must be noted that this book is translated into French from the original Latin. Many of the French humanists of this time, especially those associated with the French court, read neither Greek nor Latin, and commissioned scholars to translate these texts into the vernacular. King Charles V himself commissioned this translation of Augustine's *City of God*, as well as many other Greek and Latin texts.[26] This contrasts with the approach of Italian humanists who were interested in reading literature in the language in which it was written. I know of no instance in which Latin texts were translated into Italian until the last quarter of the fifteenth century when Federico di Montefeltro commissioned Landini to translate Pliny's *Natural History* into "fiorentina;" however, this is an isolated example. Greek texts did need to be translated for the aristocratic Italian patron, but they were invariably translated into Latin and not the *vulgare*.

In many examples, author portraits in patristic texts resemble the simplicity of their Medieval counterparts. The author appears in bust, three-quarter, or full-length images placed within the opening letter of the text. The

author usually holds a book in one hand, while the other might be raised in a gesture of speech. The background is simple, usually a solid color, gold-leafed, or at times painted with a blue sky dotted with clouds.

In an elaborately decorated manuscript of Cassian made for Giovanni de' Medici by Filippo di Matteo Torelli, there are two *bianchi girari* frontispieces densely inhabited with medallions containing narrative scenes and portraits, as well as the traditional flora and fauna.[27] In the author portrait of the first frontispiece a three-quarter length image of the sanctified monk appears in the incipit V (fig. 100). Other manuscripts from the 1450s that use this simple format are a copy of Eusebius, made for Giovanni by Filippo di Matteo Torelli and a Lactantius by Ricciardo di Nanni in the Getty Museum. (figs. 101 & 102).[28] Note that Ricciardo's Lactantius is represented in profile, a pose rarely found in Medieval portraiture and certainly influenced by the profile portraits found on antique Roman coins.[29]

Another composition for the author portrait commonly used in the Middle Ages and which was continued during the Renaissance was the image of author as teacher. In the same copy of Cassian made for Giovanni discussed above there is another author portrait on the second frontispiece placed at the beginning of the *Collationes vitae patrum* on folio 46v. Filippo has informed this image with the Quattrocento's interest in landscape by seating the saint and the monks he instructs on the ground in front of a vast landscape. The monastic buildings in the distance are a reminder of their ascetic lifestyle and the topic of most Cassian's writings (fig. 103). In a copy of Cyprian made for Piero c. 1463-64 and decorated by Francesco d' Antonio del Chierico the opening initial D is also illuminated with an image of a teaching saint (fig. 104).[30] In this example, the traditional hierarchical relationship between professor and student, as well

as Cyprian's status as bishop is retained by his placement on a throne high above his listeners. Note also, that the standard *bianchi girari* border motif has been replaced by del Chierico's floral style, which was to become the new tradition for Florentine borders during the 1470s and 80s. The delicate penscrolls, flowers, swags of fruit, pinecones, and shimmering gold-leaf dots that make up this design are inhabited, as were the *bianchi girari,* with birds, animals, putti, and medallions filled with small narrative scenes and portraits.

Representations of the author are not the only portraits that appear on Quattrocento frontispieces. Included in the border decoration, along with the birds, beasts, putti, and tiny narrative scenes are numerous portrait medallions. It might be more accurate to refer to these miniature "portraits" merely as faces, since it is doubtful that very few of them were ever meant to be individually recognized. For example, in Piero's copy of Jerome (pl. 19.12, figs. 79), two small diamond-shaped frames at the bas-de-page are filled with the portrait heads of male saints. They are not identified, either by inscription or iconography, their presence merely signifying the sacred nature of the text.

These miniature portraits have their genesis in the medallion portraits of antiquity and were common features in the decorative borders of sacred texts throughout the Middle Ages. Sometimes, the medallion busts were identified by inscriptions, as when Old Testament figures appeared in the margins of New Testament scenes, thereby setting up an exegetical correspondence. Usually, however, the generic looking faces of patriarchs and saints were left unidentified. Their function was decorative, or, perhaps their presence can be interpreted in a very general sense as a way to stress the authority of those chosen by God to record and disseminate Holy Scripture.

In rare instances, these tiny faces are identified. In Piero's Cyprian, decorated by Francesco d' Antonio, the floral border is filled with medallion figures of female saints, but only two of them, Saints Lucy and Catherine placed in medallions at the bas-de-page, can be recognized by their attributes (fig. 104). These fifth century virgin saints were both very popular in the Renaissance and may have been chosen to illuminate the topic of Cyprian's text, de Habitu Virginum.[31] St. Catherine of Alexandria may also have been chosen because of her legendary status as one of the most erudite women of antiquity. During the Renaissance she was often invoked as the patron saint of education.

The faces that appear in the borders of patristic texts do not always represent saints, monks, and churchmen. In the Genoese St. Jerome, illuminated by Ser Ricciardo, four female faces are included in the vinestem decoration (fig. 88); and in a St. Jerome, possibly made for Giovanni de' Medici (fiesolana 28, fig. 95), Ricciardo places a single female bust in the border at the top of the page. These female figures are not saints, nor do they have any attributes which could identify them as a sacred personifications. The features of these faces, as well as the clothing and hairstyles are quite generalized. At times the necklines resemble Roman dress, but at other times the costume is contemporary. Ricciardo di Nanni often uses these tiny nondescript, unidentifiable faces as a standard part of the diverse menagerie he placed in the vinestem borders.

It is quite possible they were inspired by the portraits found in Piero's large collection of antique coins, gems, and cameos. The miniaturist was a favorite of the Medici and he may have seen Piero's prized collection of antiquities which was displayed in the studietto along with his books. Piero's

inventory of 1456 lists twenty coins, cameos and engraved gems with a short description of their medium and subject matter. In the 1465 inventory, this number has been increased to thirty. We know that his collection included images of putti, maenads, satyrs and several mythological scenes, as well as portraits of several Roman emperors, a handful of pagan gods and goddesses, and some merely described as representing a *donna* or *uomo*.[32] Although Piero's collection may have provided the inspiration for the miniaturist's "portrait" medallions, Ricciardo never directly copied any of these ancient Roman faces.

There also remains the possibility that the faces are contemporary portraits and represent the members of the patron's household. However, none of these miniature portraits are specific enough to be called true portraits. In the Giovanni's Cassian decorated by Torelli (fig. 100), the border medallions are all filled with images of hermits and monks, except for a dapper young man wearing the latest in fifteenth century headgear in a medallion at the top of the page. Beginning in the mid 1460s, this was one of the locations often reserved for portraits of the patron or members of his family. However, the youthful, generalized features of this portrait in no way resemble the bust of Giovanni de' Medici sculpted by Mino da Fiesole at roughly the same time.[33] During the 1450s and early 1460s it seems that the function of these border "portraits" is mostly decorative. Although it is possible that the Renaissance fascination with portraiture, which they associated with their Roman heroes and the values of courage, dignity, and civic responsibility, invests these faces with added meaning so that they become a general *topos* for fame.

In conclusion, this survey of patristic texts commissioned by the Medici brothers demonstrates that many of the conventions used for author portraits in

the Middle Ages were continued in the Renaissance. During the Quattrocento, the sacred author was represented in several different compositions including: the author at work, the author in a landscape, the author as teacher, the author participating in a narrative scene from his life, or a simple representation of the author in a bust, half-length, or full-length figure. Following medieval tradition, the image is usually crowded into the empty spaces of the opening initial, but on occasion the portrait is located in a framed area within the text block, or displaced to a border medallion. Full-page miniatures of patristic authors are extremely rare.

Although the Quattrocento miniaturists created no new iconographic themes for these well-known Church figures, there were several stylistic innovations as their exemplars were updated to include many of the artistic concerns of the Renaissance. Most significantly, these tiny images were invested with the qualities of more monumental art. Genre detail, landscapes with sweeping perspectives, and quotations of classical architecture became standard features of the background setting for author portraits. The most significant innovation was the development of the composition of the author within his study. Although the author had always been depicted with the equipment necessary for his profession, the motif was placed in monumental settings far removed from the intimate details of a private study. It was not until the late fourteenth century that artists began placing the author in a true interior space, that resembled contemporary home libraries. The motif of the artist in his study developed first in fresco and panel painting. In its first expressions in book illumination, the miniaturists often combined their new interest in genre detail with more traditional compositions. It was not uncommon to see the author seated in the corner of a richly detailed Renaissance *studiolo*, which had

been removed from its interior location and placed in a landscape. It wasn't until the 1460s that miniaturists painted *studioli* which were true interior spaces.

Miniaturists were also influenced by the Renaissance concern for the individual. In the Middle Ages, author portrait were all pulled from the same mold. The identification of medieval authors rested solely on basic iconographic features. Church men were distinguished from lay scholars, bishops from priests, Franciscan from Dominican, and contemporary scholar from ancient only by their dress, headgear, and hair styles. Beginning in the 1450s and 60s miniaturists began to give these figures a personality by individualizing their features. This attempt at true portraiture was actually quite slow in developing. In Giovanni's copy of Lactantius (fig. 87) the miniaturist demonstrates an interest in landscape, perspective and genre detail, but the face of Lactantius is still quite generalized. In the Getty Museum copy of Lactantius, on the other hand, Ser Ricciardo has demonstrated a keener interest in portraiture (fig. 102). First, he has presented the author in profile, a new format inspired by the portraits on ancient coins and cameos. Secondly, he has individualized the features of Lactantius, giving the impression of "true" portraiture to this third century Christian apologist. In his attempt to invest his author with personality, the miniaturist has also dressed him in the habit of a "rocettino" monk and placed a skull in his hand. This interest in portraiture increased during the 1470s and 80s. Not only did author portraits become more individualized, but recognizable portraits of the patron and his family began to replace the nameless faces that populated the border medallions.

Notes to Chapter Four

[1] P. W. G. Gordon, *Two Renaissance Book Hunters, The Letters of Poggius Bracciolini to Nicolaus de Niccolis*, New York, 1974, 41-2.

[2] The comment was made by Bartolomeo Fazio, describing a lost painting of "St. Jerome in his Studio" by Jan van Eyck in a chapter on painters in his *De viris illustribus* (1456), English trans. by Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators*, Oxford, 1971, 106.

[3] For humanist attitudes to patristic literature, see E. Garin, "La *dignitas hominis* e la letteratura patristica," *La Rinascita*, I, 1938, 102-46; P. O. Kristeller, "Augustine and the Early Renaissance," in *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, Rome, 1956, 355-72; Charles L. Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439) and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance*, Albany N.Y. 1976.

[4] St. Jerome, *Epistles*, pl. 19.12. See Bandini, I, cols. 531-39, d' Ancona, no. 278; Ames-Lewis, no. 4, figs. 102-103; de la Mare, New Research, 530 no. 14.

[5] Eugene Rice, *St. Jerome in the Renaissance*, Baltimore and London, 1985. The earliest known author portrait of St. Jerome is an eighth century image from the School of Corbie, *Beatus Hieronimus presbyter*, Leningrad, State Library, MS. Q.v.I. no 13, f. 3v (Rice, fig. 1), in which Jerome is seated under an aedicula holding an open book. An early example of the inclusion of narrative scenes in a manuscript is the frontispiece to the First Bible of Charles the Bald, School of Tours, c. 845, Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. lat. 1, f. 3v The scenes include Jerome departing Rome for the East, Jerome paying his Hebrew teacher. Jerome teaching Paula and Eustochium while monks take dictation, and Jerome distributing copies of his translation of the Bible. See Rice, fig. 9; J. Hubert, J. Porcher, and W. F. Volbach, *The Carolingian Renaissance*, New York, 1970; and F. Mutherich and J. E. Gaehide, *Carolingian Painting*, New York, 1976. Full page miniatures of events from the life of St. Jerome were painted by the Limbourg brothers in the *Belles Heures of Jean, Duc de Berry*, 1408-9, New York, Met. Mus., Cloisters Collection, 1954, fols. 184, 184v, 187. See Rice, figs, 10, 13, 15; and facsimile of manuscript.

[6] Theodor, E. Mommsen, "Petrarch and the Decoration of the Sala Virorum Illustrium in Padua," *Art Bulletin*, XXXIV, 1952, 95-116, figs. 3 and 5; R. Weiss, "Some Van Eyckian Illuminations from Italy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XVIII, 1955, 319-21. The fresco was badly damaged by fire at the end of the fifteenth century and repainted in the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries. A miniature copy of the fresco in its original state exists in Darmstadt, Hessische Landsbibliotek, MS. 101, f. 1v.

[7] For Tomaso's fresco, see Luigi Coletti, *Tomaso da Modena*, 2nd ed. Venice, 1963, 28, 121-22, figs. 50-52, color pl. 6. For a discussion of the genesis and development of the theme of St. Jerome in his study, see Rice, 102-115, and his excellent bibliography which includes, M. Meiss, "French and Italian Variations on an Early Fifteenth-Century Theme: St. Jerome and His Study," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, CV, 2, 1963, 147-70; and P. H. Jolly, "Antonello da Messina's Saint Jerome in His Study: An Iconographic Analysis," *Art Bulletin*, LXV, 1938, 238-53. H. A. Friedmann, *A Bestiary for St. Jerome, Animal Symbolism in European Religious Art*, Washington, D.C., 1980, 29-47, surveys paintings of St. Jerome made between 1400 and 1600 and separates them into iconographic categories.

[8] For the Detroit panel, see E. Panofsky, "A Letter to St. Jerome: A Note on the Relationship between Petrus Christus and Jan van Eyck," in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, Princeton, 1954, 102-8; *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization*, Exhibition catalogue, Detroit, 1960, 69-72; Edwin Hall, "Cardinal Albergati, St. Jerome, and the Detroit Van Eyck," *Art Quarterly*, XXXI, 1968, 2-24; idem, "More about the Detroit Van Eyck: The Astrolabe, the Congress of Arras, and Cardinal Albergati," *Art Quarterly*, XXXIV, 1971, 181-201; and A. Garzelli, "Sulla fortuna del Gerolamo mediceo del Van Eyck nell' arte fiorentina del Quattrocento," in *Scritti di Storia dell' arte in onore di Roberto Salvini*, Florence, 1984.

[9] See n. 2.

[10] E. Müntz, *Les collections de Médicis au XVe siècle*, Paris, 1888, 78.

[11] Laudivio Zacchia, *De vita beati Hieronymi*. There is a facsimile of the edition published in Hungary in 1479 prepared by Elizabeth Soltesz, Budapest, 1975. For surviving manuscript copies of the work see Rice, 236-37, notes 59, 60.

[12] Albergati was made titular cardinal priest of the church of Santa Croce in Jerusalem. Note the letter on the table in the St. Jerome panel is addressed, "To the most reverend father and lord in Christ, Lord Jerome, cardinal priest of the title of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme." See the two articles by Edwin Hall.

[13] Rice, 108 and 239, n. 77 for a complete bibliography.

[14] Augustine, *Civitate Dei*, London, British Library, ms. add. 14783, f. 1, Maestro della Farsaglia Trivulziana. Reproduced in Garzelli, fig. 43.

[15] Lactantius, pl. 21.12, f. 1. Ames-Lewis (pp. 172, 414, figs. 64-66) attributes the miniature to the Fiesole Master; Garzelli (p. 37) attributes it to the Mastro della farsaglia trivulziana. She also suggests that it was made for Piero, but Ames-Lewis notes that the manuscript is dated (1458) and dedicated to Giovanni by the scribe G. del Ciriagio. The use of Giovanni's personal device, the peacock, prominently displayed in the border decoration also suggests that this is one of the books Piero inherited from Giovanni.

[16] Jerome, Genova, Bibl. Civica Berio, ms. m.r.c.f. 2.15, f. 5. Reproduced by Garzelli, fig. 150. The richly inhabited vinestem border of this manuscript also has an image of the penitent Jerome.

[17] Bibl. vaticana, urb. lat. 72 and urb. lat. 79; Florence, Bibl. Laur. med. pal. 24.

[18] Augustine, *Epistulae*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 653, decorated by Attavante for Federico da Montefeltro. See Garzelli, 230, fig. 813, Augustine, Bibl. Vaticana, urb. lat. 34, f. 2, decorated by Gherardo di Giovanni for Federico da Montefeltro. See Moranti; Garzelli, fig. 936. Jerome, *Commentary on the Bible*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 930, decorated by Monte di Giovanni, for Mathias Corvinus, see Csaba Csapodi, *Illustrated Manuscripts from the Library of Mathias Corvinus*, Budapest, 1969; Garzelli, 312, fig. 915).

[19] Didymus of Alexandria, *De Spiritu Sancto*, trans. by St. Jerome, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 496, f. 2, see d' Ancona I, 80, 84, 88; Csaba Csapodi, *Illustrated Manuscripts*, 61-62, figs. 192-94; Rose Stein, "Mathais Corvinus and his Library," *Hungarian Studies Review*, XIII, no. 1, 1986, 48.

[20] Jerome, *Epistulae*, Florence, Bibl. Laur., fiesolano 28, f. 1. Ames-Lewis does not list this manuscript among those which he suggests were possibly commissioned by Giovanni de' Medici (p. 144). The Medici arms, the peacock device, and the use of the miniaturist Ricciardo di Nanni all indicate it was commissioned by Giovanni and was given to the library of the Badia fiesolana after his death in 1463, perhaps by Cosimo, who was then engaged in equipping the monastery with books. Folio 1 is reproduced by Garzelli, fig. 144.

[21] For the iconography of St. Augustine, see Kaftal

[22] Augustine, *Civitate Dei*, pl. 12.19. See Bandini, I, col. 24; d' Ancona, no. 268; Ames-Lewis, 185-86, no. 1, figs. 39, 79; Garzelli.

[23] Augustine, *Civitate Dei*, New York, New York Public Library, Spencer Collection, ms. 30. f. 1v, Bartolomeo di Domenico di Guido. Reproduced in Garzelli, fig. 588.

[24] Augustine, *Civitate Dei*, London, British Library, ms. add. 15246, f. 29.

[25] Augustine, *Civitate Dei*, Brussels,

[26] For Charles V library see, Sherman

[27] Cassian, *De Institutis coenobiorum*, Florence, pl. 16.26. See Bandini, I, col. 274-76; d' Ancona, no. 273; Ames-Lewis, 170-71, no. 3, figs. 49-51; de la Mare, *New Research*, 530, no. 13.

[28] Eusebius, *De preparatione*, trans. by George Trapezuntius, pl. 17.25, f. 1. This manuscript was probably commissioned by Giovanni de' Medici, but was not inherited by Piero. See Ames-Lewis ; Garzelli, fig. 41. Lactantius, Malibu, Getty Museum, Ludwig XII 7, f. 2. Reproduced by Garzelli, fig. 122.

[29] Genesis of profile portraits, Pope-Hennessey, Campbell.

[30] Cyprian, *Opera varia*, pl. 16.22, f. 1. See Bandini, I, cols. 267-69; d' Ancona, no. 272; Ames-Lewis, no. 2, fig. 98; de la Mare, *New Research*, 530, no. 12.

[31] For Saints Catherine and Lucy, see James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, rev. ed., New York, 1979.

[32] Piero de' Medici's inventories are printed by Müntz; The gems are listed by Nicole Dacos, *Il Tesoro di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, vol. I, *Le gemme*, Florence, 1973, 87, 119. The female faces found in the manuscripts often wear thin headbands similar to the fillets worn by Romans on their carved and minted images. These may have been the inspiration for the *lenza*, a ribbon or braid Quattrocento women tied around the crown of the head and often decorated with a jewel over the forehead. See Jacqueline Herald, *Renaissance Dress in Italy 1400-1500*, London, 1981, 222. It is also possible that border medallions are an imitation of contemporary jewelry, which was loosely designed in an *all' antica* manner. These rings, cut gems and cameos are often decorated with profile portraits of men and women dressed in fifteenth century fashions. For Italian jewelry, see Herald, 166-188.

[33] See Karla Langedijk, *The Portraits of the Medici, 15th - 18th Centuries*, Florence, 1983, II, 1004-05, fig. 53,1.

Chapter Five

Author Portraits of Roman Writers

Filled with amazement endless and profound
At the sight of these heroic men of Rome,
Ne'er in the world was such another host,
I turned to records of the olden age
Wherein great names and virtues are inscribed[1]...
Petrarch, Triumph of Fame, II, 1-5.

Portraits of Cicero

One of the most popular Roman authors during the Quattrocento was
Cicero, that "Renaissance" man who juggled the roles of orator, philosopher,
and statesman. He may be the most commonly represented author in the
humanist book. Piero de' Medici, whose library was quite small, owned twelve
manuscripts of Cicero's works. Some of these he had acquired from his father
and were not decorated beyond simple *bianchi girari* initials. His other
Ciceronian texts were either purchased ready made, commissioned from a
cartolaio, or inherited from his brother. Of the seven extant manuscripts of
Cicero from his library that were specifically commissioned by either Piero or
Giovanni, six of them include author portraits.

Francesco d' Antonio del Chierico executed four author portraits of
Cicero for the Medici brothers in which he repeats the same distinctive face with
its high forehead, rather plump cheeks that seems to dwarf the tiny eyes, nose,
and mouth, and a strange hairdo consisting of a thick fringe of curly hair circling
a pate completely bald except for a bulbous tuft of hair sprouting from the

forehead (figs. 105 - 108).[2] If one were only familiar with del Chierico's author portraits of Cicero, it would seem as if the miniaturist were trying to create a consistent portrait type for this ancient author; however, this face, or one very similar to it appears again and again in his portraits of the Romans authors Pliny, Titus, Varro, and Pomponius Mela, as well as the contemporary translators, Jacopo Angeli and Guarino da Verona. These faces vary slightly, usually in the amount of hair depicted, or whether the figure wears a beard or is clean shaven, one is left wondering if this face is an imaginary creation of del Chierico, easily reproduced whenever there was the demand for an author portrait, or, if it represents some actual Quattrocento personality, maybe that of the artist himself. If it is a portrait, it does not compare to the verism del Chierico used for his portraits of some of the leading humanists of the day, such as that of Poggio Bracciolini and and the double portrait of Federico da Montefeltro and the scholar Cristoforo Landino (fig. 162). However, the miniaturist's major concern in creating these images of Cicero was not necessarily to construct a portrait type for the author, but to identify him as an ancient Roman rhetorician.

To this end, the miniaturist has dressed his Cicero's in the same costume, which can clearly be recognized as the official academic dress worn during the Trecento. As early as the late thirteenth century university professors had adopted a style of dress commonly worn by nobles of the time. It consisted of a loose undergarment with sleeves reaching to the ankles known as the *cappa manicata*.[3] Over this was worn a mantle which either opened down the front or down both sides. The mantle was usually lined in ermine and often had a large round ermine collar. The third item of dress was a hood, attached to a shoulder piece, which was again either lined or trimmed in ermine. Most

universities had statutes which described this dress and restricted its use to those who had matriculated as a master, also called professor or doctor.

At times, the colors of this costume indicated the professors' faculty affiliation. At the University of Bologna, doctors of Civil Law wore red, while doctors of Canon Law wore blue.[4] There are many representations of this dress in art, particularly in the law books produced in Bologna during the fourteenth century. One of these miniatures depicts G. Duranti, a doctor of Civil Law, offering a copy of his *Speculum Juridicae* to a cardinal (fig. 110).[5] He wears a vermilion gown with a red hood, both trimmed with ermine, and a long red fur-lined mantle with a fur collar. Professors who had mastered the degrees of both Civil and Canon Law wore both colors, choosing one color for the *cappa* and the contrasting color for the mantle. This is how del Chierico has dressed up Cicero for his author portraits. In addition, Cicero has been provided with the traditional identifying attributes of authorship. In all four images he holds a book and in the three bust length images he is also supplied with a quill pen.

In using this costume, the miniaturist was following medieval precedence. Cicero appears dressed in this fashion in two mid fourteenth century Florentine miniatures (figs. 110 & 111). In both examples he also wears a *pileus* or *biretta*, a rounded cap with fur trim that was also part of academic dress. Note that in the Laurenziana Cicero (fig. 111), the traditional red and blue robes have been painted orange and green, which is probably not a reference to any particular faculty affiliation, but rather indicate two of the most popular colors in the Trecento's rather garish palette.

While academic dress was conservative and slow to change in comparison to the fashions of court, mid-fifteenth century scholars had for the most part abandoned this costume, and it only lingered on for many years as

part of the standard dress of cardinals, many of whom were also doctors of Canon Law (fig. 112). Although it still was required dress for doctors of Civil and Canon Law at the University of Bologna, in Florence, most professors had exchanged this formal dress for a more modest and comfortable costume currently in fashion among the general population. It consisted of a simple tunic usually referred to a *gonella* or *gamurra* in Florence, worn under a *giornea*.[6] The *giornea* was either sleeveless or had sleeves, but its distinguishing feature was that it opened down the front, as well as down both sides. It was usually held against the body by a belt which also helped to pleat the heavy fabric into small even folds. The *giornea* often had a low standing color, occasionally trimmed with a thin border of fur. This was the standard dress worn by those in non-academic professions which required advanced schooling such as notaries, accountants, and other government clerks. Since many of the early humanists were notaries, this costume was also adopted by the early aristocratic patrons for their everyday dress, in imitation of their scholarly friends. Almost all of the humanists whose portraits appear in Quattrocento books are attired in this fashion, such as the early portraits of Leonardo Bruni (figs.) and the portrait of the humanist Guarino da Verona by del Chierico (fig. 113).

In Francesco Rosselli's portrait of Bruni (fig. 156), the humanist is shown wearing the *cappuccio*, a common head covering worn by all levels of society throughout most of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The *cappuccio* consisted of three parts: a padded rolled base called the *mazzocchio*, the *foggia*, a short pleated piece of hanging fabric, and the *becchetto* also known as the liripipe, a long tail often reaching to the middle of the back which the wearer used to pull the *cappuccio* on and off his head (fig. 114).[7] In the academic and

humanistic circles of the Quattrocento, the *cappuccio* began to be worn in a new manner. Rather than be worn as a head covering, it was trailed by the *becchetto* (liripipe) over one shoulder. Guarino da Verona wears his *cappuccio* in this fashion in a presentation miniature painted in a copy of Plutarch's *Lives* owned by Piero de' Medici, and decorated by del Chierico in the early 1460s (fig. 113).[8] Guarino, the renowned professor of Greek, who taught first at the University of Florence and later in Ferrara, kneels before Leonello d' Este and offers the patron his translation of Plutarch's *Lysander*. Guarino also wears the preferred dress of the fifteenth century academic, a *giornea* modestly trimmed with fur at the neck and wrists.

In this portrait of Guarino, the miniaturist has given the humanist the same facial features he used for his four portraits of Cicero. It is possible that del Chierico did not know what Guarino looked like. Guarino had taught Greek at the University of Florence only from 1410-1414, after which he left the city for a tutoring post at the Este court in Ferrara. He never returned to Florence, except for a brief period during the Council of Reunion. This generic portrait created by del Chierico poses several question about the miniaturist's working methods. It is possible that the exemplar for this text, loaned to Piero de' Medici for copying, did not include a presentation miniature. It is also possible that the exemplar did include a portrait of Guarino and that del Chierico either never saw the exemplar or that he chose to ignore his model. Although these particular question cannot be answered at this point, the choices that del Chierico made in creating his images of both Cicero and the contemporary humanist Guarino, reveal how firmly grounded the construct of the author portrait was in iconography rather than in recognizable portraiture. Guarino is identified not by individualized facial features but by his fifteenth century

costume, by his role as the presenter in this traditional format of the author offering his work to his patron, and by the placement of this scene within the opening initial of the text, the standard location for author portraits.

The identification of Cicero also relies upon iconographic information. Del Chierico has used the standard signifiers of the book and pen and placed his author within the opening initial of the text. However, the question remains, why did the miniaturist consistently dress Cicero in the outdated academic fashions of the fourteenth century? He could have simply been following his medieval models. We have already seen that in the fourteenth century Cicero was often dressed in contemporary academic robes, perhaps to more closely associate him with university professors who modeled their lecturing style after the great rhetorician. This is in contrast to medieval images of other classical writers, especially philosophers, who usually appeared as bearded sages wrapped in draperies that bore some resemblance to the Roman toga and mantle. Or, the miniaturist may have been making a conscious decision to place Cicero in an historic past by using this outmoded academic garb which would have stood out in sharp contrast to the newer *giornea* worn by the humanists.

Del Chierico's imaging of Cicero as a fourteenth century academic is a curious solution in light of the great interest artists of this time had in reviving aspects of ancient Roman portraiture and dress. Donatello borrowed many features of Roman portraiture, drapery style, and rhetorical gesture when sculpting his series of prophets for the niches of the Florentine Campanile between 1416 -1465.[9] In the armor worn by the equestrian, Gattamelata, Donatello borrowed motifs from the ancient statues of military leaders, such as that of the emperor Marcus Aurelius.[10] Del Chierico was certainly not oblivious

to an interest in classical antiquity, and in his images of ancient Roman heroes painted in a copy of Plutarch, he dresses his soldiers in suits of armor that are modeled after antique prototypes. In his images of Cicero, he may have believed it more important to preserve an older medieval image of the author, so that it was recognizable to the reader.

Other miniaturists, while joining del Chierico in depicting Cicero as a fourteenth century scholar, find other ways to update the image and include some of the new concerns of the classical revival. Cicero was best known as an orator, and miniaturists often used the ancient standing orator's pose for his author portraits. A full length portrait of a standing Cicero was not unknown in the fourteenth century. It has has already been seen in the Marciana Cicero (fig. 111) and is found more than fifty years later in another Florentine manuscript now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in which Cicero is represented in an unusual full-page miniature (fig. 115).[11] He is simply dressed in a red tunic and mantle and holds a large black volume under one arm. The one element this Cicero shares with the earlier fourteenth century Cicero at the Marciana is that they both stand on a podium.

The miniaturist, Ricciardo di Nanni, has taken this pose of the orator standing on his "soapbox" and reinvested it with more classicizing features. In a Cicero decorated for Piero de' Medici in the mid 1450s, the miniaturist has treated the author portrait as if it was a miniature panel painting, placing Cicero within a rectangular frame rather than in the irregular empty space of the incipit (fig. 116).[12] As in the fourteenth century examples, Cicero stands on a stone plinth; however, Ricciardo has placed this podium inside a classicizing exedra. His niche may have been inspired by a tabernacle sculpted in 1450 by Bernardo Rossellino for the church of St. Egridio in Florence. This relief

features the same barrel vaulted niche flanked by rectangular entrances all set within a larger triumphal arch motif (fig. 117).[13] Ricciardo has added a shell pattern in the spandrel immediately behind Cicero's head. This motif was often used in Roman architecture and was revived early in the fifteenth century. Ricciardo could have seen it in the niche commissioned by the Arte del Cambio for the exterior of Orsanmichele in 1419 in which the Gothic *cosmati* work decorating the earlier niches has been replaced with classical pilasters and a radiating shell motif in the spandrel of the still-pointed arch.[14]

Ricciardo's pose for Cicero is also more firmly grounded in the classical past, and may have been inspired by either antique or contemporary sculpture. He stands in a relaxed contrapposto position, the subtle twist of his spine turns his head slightly over one shoulder and tilts it down toward his audience below. Ricciardo may have been aware of this subtle pose through antique examples such as the portrait of the Roman orator Quintus Sulpicius Maximus found on his tombstone, or from any of the Donatello's prophets then on view on the Campanile (figs. 118 & 119). The fact that Ricciardo placed his image of Cicero in a painted stone niche further suggests that his inspiration was sculptural. Ricciardo has also given his Cicero the traditional rhetorician's gesture of speech, with one hand raised and pointing upward.

Although Ricciardo modeled Cicero's pose and gesture and the niche he stands in after classical models, he has made no attempts to dress Cicero in antique costume. However, unlike the identifiable academic robes del Chierico used for his Cicero's, Ricciardo's is very difficult to historically categorize. The simple *biretta* on his head, the leather soled hose, and the shortened length of his *gonella* are all features of contemporary dress. The heavy ermine lined mantle, however, may again be a reference to fourteenth century academic

dress or it may have been used by the miniaturist as a mark of honor, as are the two putti hovering in the barrel vault above as they position a crown above the orator's head.

In another Cicero made for an unknown member of the Medici family, possibly Giovanni, Ricciardo di Nanni, has placed a simple bust of the author in the opening initial (fig. 120).[15] This image, published here for the first time, I would attribute to Ricciardo di Nanni, based upon the portrait's facial type and the similarity of its dress to an image of Seneca made for Giovanni de' Medici (fig. 121).[16] In Cicero's portrait bust, the neckline is barely visible, and its simple silhouette could be of an Italian *gonella* or a Roman toga. In the half-length portrait of Seneca, Ricciardo has dressed the philosopher in the classicizing draperies that had been traditionally used for images of philosophers throughout the Middle Ages. In both portraits; however, Seneca and Cicero wear the contemporary *cappuccio*. This time it is worn according to another Quattrocento fashion tradition with the two cloth extensions, the *foggia* and *becchetto*, wrapped around the head into a loose turban.[17] Occasionally Cicero will even appear dressed in the *gonella* and *giornea* of the contemporary humanist. He appears in this guise in portraits by the Fiesole Master's Workshop in a manuscript made for Piero (fig. 122) and in another for Giovanni, posed in profile, and crowned with laurels.[18] One of the least skilled of the miniaturists used by the Medici brothers, the Fiesole Master and his workshop used this format for all of his author portraits from Cicero to Catullus to Leonardo Bruni.

In this survey of author portraits of Cicero prepared for the Medici brothers by their three favorite illuminators, it has been demonstrated that several widely different iconographic models were utilized. In the four portraits

created by Francesco d' Antonio del Chierico, the miniaturist adhered to a medieval prototype for Cicero, dressing him in fourteenth century academic robes. Whether del Chierico used this archaic dress to consciously historicize his image, or, if he simply employed it as an easily recognizable symbol for Cicero as author, can not be determined. The costumes used by Ricciardo di Nanni are not as specific as those used by Francesco d' Antonio. He freely combines aspects of fourteenth century, fifteenth century, and ancient dress; yet, in an attempt to update his author portraits he employs many classicizing details used by other artists of the time. This is most evident in a manuscript made for Piero (pl. 48.8) in which Cicero is placed in the pose of an ancient orator and surrounded by an architectural niche inspired by classical models. The Fiesole Master chose a simple laureated profile bust for his two images of Cicero made for the Medici brothers that was undoubtedly inspired by late antique examples, perhaps from some of the Roman coins or gems in Piero's collection. However, the Fiesole Master has exchanged the antique dress of his model for a contemporary *giornea*, and in doing so he has closely affiliated the contemporary humanist with the antique author. This sharing of costume between contemporary and ancient scholar may have been done to symbolize a parallel sharing of intellectual abilities. It was a means for the humanist reading this ancient text to identify with the author. Perhaps this is also the reason Cicero is represented in the academic robes of a lawyer in fourteenth century manuscripts. In a traditional scholastic education, students of Canon and Civil Law would concentrated on the works of Cicero for their course work in rhetoric.

Portraits of Poets

As with their images of Cicero, the mid-Quattrocento miniaturists did not develop a consistent iconography for their portrayal of Roman authors of other literary genre, including poets, philosophers, grammarians, and geographers. They are also depicted in odd combinations of antique and modern dress that indicate the miniaturists' interest in historicizing these images, but which usually fail to place them into a definite past. However, it is in images of Roman poets that the Quattrocento miniaturists come the closest to imitating any Roman prototypes available to them. The author portraits of Columella and Horace created by the Fiesole Master for the Medici brothers are similar to the miniaturist's portraits of Cicero in that he presents the authors in a profile pose crowned with laurels. Unlike his images of Cicero, however, the poets of the Fiesole Master are dressed in Roman togas and not in the contemporary *giornea* (figs. 123 & 124).[19] The most available prototypes for these classicizing images could be found in Piero's collection of antique coins, gems, and cameos. Although the 1456 inventory of Piero's collection indicates that it did not include any portraits of poets, the laureated profile images of the emperors, gods, and maenads that where in the collection could have provided an exemplar.[20]

Other miniaturist followed this format of dressing poets in toga and laurels. On the frontispiece to a copy of Virgil's *Buccolics* made for Giovanni by the "Master of the Medici Virgil," the poet is wrapped in a toga and mantle and crowned with laurels (fig. 125).[21] In Giovanni's copy of Catullus, painted by an unknown miniaturist, the author portrait is actually depicted in a trompe l' oeil imitation of an antique cameo.[22] The image of the ancient poet laureate can actually be traced back to the late fourteenth century. In a copy of Servius's

commentary on Virgil once owned by Petrarch and decorated by his friend, Simone Martini, Virgil is depicted on the frontispiece reclining in a landscape (fig. 126).[23] He is dressed in a toga, crowned with laurels, and has paused for moment, pen poised in the air as he waits for inspiration. He surrounded by Servius and some of the other characters from his poems. The miniaturists' interest in dressing these Roman poets in antique costume was probably influenced by the Quattrocento revival of the Roman tradition of the poet laureate. Petrarch was the first of the Renaissance poets to be given this honor in a public ceremony in Rome. In the early fifteenth century, Piero de' Medici in collaboration with Alberti sponsored a competition in Florence for the best contemporary Italian poet, the winner to be awarded with a victory celebration and a crown of laurels; and the great humanist Leonardo Bruni Aretino was posthumously awarded the laurels during his funeral ceremony.

The miniaturists were not consistent, however, in their use of a toga and laurels in their author portraits of Roman poets. In Giovanni's Virgil, discussed above, there is another portrait of the poet placed at the beginning *Aeneid.* He is presented in profile reading his book, but in place of the toga and laurels of the *Buccolics* portrait, Virgil is here dressed as a contemporary (fig. 127). It is the same costume worn by Carolus in a portrait by the "Master of the Naples Virgil" (fig. 128).[24] In both cases the *cappuccio*, is worn on the head in the old fourteenth century fashion.

Portraits of Historians

Roman histories were the most elaborately decorated of the classical texts owned by the humanists. The ancient Roman histories commissioned by Piero and Giovanni de' Medici rival their patristic manuscripts in both the quality

of script and decoration, indicating the high value they placed on these texts. While most copies of classical texts during the last half of the Quattrocento were simply illuminated with an inhabited *bianchi girari* border and at times an author portrait in the opening initial, historical texts often included a variety of narrative scenes, placed either within the incipit or in framed areas of the border, much like decorated patristic texts. Both Medici brothers owned copies of Silius Italicus's historical poem, *The Second Punic War* and Pliny's *Natural History*. Piero and his father owned a copy of Livy's *Decades*, one of the most popular ancient histories of the Quattrocento; and although there is no record of Giovanni owning a copy, it can be assumed that he had one or was planning to acquire one for his library. The brothers owned copies Josephus's *Jewish War* and translations of Plutarch's *Lives*. Piero also owned copies of Aulus Gellius, Justin, and Suetonius, inherited from his father, as well as manuscripts of Caesar, Tacitus, Aelius Spartinus, Valerius, and Curtius Rufus.

These titles indicate the rather broad definition of what the Renaissance humanist considered to be history. Histories included not only texts written as a sequence of narrative events, such the works of Livy and Tacitus, but also biographies as the *Vitae* of Suetonius and the Greek author, Plutarch. Both these literary genre, however, were approached from a similar point of view - history was recorded as a series of great deeds performed by great men. Although some of these heroes were philosophers and statesmen, and a handful were even women, the figures regarded as the most important in Roman history were military leaders who helped to preserve and expand the political borders of Rome against her enemies. The Renaissance interest in Roman military history reveals that as much as contemporary readers admired the republican rhetoric and moral philosophy of such writers as Cicero and

Quintillian, the volatile political landscape of Italy in the fifteenth century encouraged many Italian communities to resort to war rather than to depend on debate for their safety. In the Quattrocento, the mercenary was as important as the statesman, and one of the most important heroes of this era was the *condotierre* hired to protect and enforce Republican values.

This fascination with military heroes may explain why the author of a Roman history occasionally appears dressed in the armor of those military heroes he writes about, as in the author portrait of Silius Italicus painted about 1450 by Zanobi Strozzi (fig. 129).[25] It is one of the earliest humanist books to include an author portrait in its decoration. It is unknown who commissioned this book, although it has been suggested that Pope Nicholas V was its patron.[26] The attribution of the frontispiece to Zanobi Strozzi has been widely accepted, in spite of the fact that it is very atypical in the miniaturist's oeuvre. The only secular texts that are attributed to him today include a copy of the *Decretals*, Boccaccio's *Decameron*, and this Italicus. Zanobi is best known for the illumination of liturgical books for San Marco, the Badia Fiesolana, and the Cathedral of Florence. Much of his work was also done in collaboration with Filippo di Matteo Torelli, who specialized in the border designs, leaving Zanobi to historiate the opening initials. All of the liturgical books created by Zanobi and Filippo use the traditional heavy acanthus border design or a new lighter version of this pattern. The humanistic texts decorated by Torelli, however, use the *bianchi girari* motif for the border decoration. This copy of the Silius is decorated with such a border, inhabited by the butterflies, grasshoppers and recognizable bird species so often used by Torelli, indicating the presence of the two masters in a rare collaboration in a humanist text.

On the frontispiece a continuous chain of medallions, quatrefoils, and ellipses is placed inside the vinestem border. The medallions and quatrefoils are filled with the portraits of fourteen Roman warriors holding a variety of scepters and weapons and all identified by inscription. In the ellipses are putti, who humorously mimic the military activities of these warriors. In the opening initial O of the text, Silius Italicus is depicted in front of a far reaching landscape. He stands in a frontal contrapposto position and is dressed in Roman armor. He could easily be mistaken for another of the ancient *condotierri* if the inscription "SILUS AUCTOR" did not appear over his head. He is further differentiated from the warrior portraits by the fact that he holds no weapon. Both hands rest jauntily on his hips akimbo style, and his helmet is topped with a large laurel wreath, the emblem of both the victorious poet and general.

Although the copies of Silius Italicus owned by Piero and Giovanni de' Medici are not as richly decorated as the one by Zanobi, in both manuscripts Silius appears in a profile bust in the opening initial dressed as a Roman warrior.[27] The inspiration for these images of Silius undoubtedly came from the bust medallions of Roman emperors found on coins and gems, although the form fitting Roman cuirasses and bulbous helmets are more generalized than accurate in detail (fig. 130). While it is possible that this image is not Silius, but an unidentified Roman soldier whose image is only meant to signal the military nature of the text, I believe it represents the author for several reasons. First, the fact that Zanobi Strozzi dressed his image of Silius in Roman armor set a precedence for other Florentine miniaturists. Secondly, although the portraits in the Medici manuscripts do not hold a book, the identifying attribute for most authors, neither to they hold weapons, which is always true of the portraits of Roman soldiers when they appear in illuminated biographies. Thirdly, these

are the only portraits included in the manuscripts making it doubtful that they represent some famous hero of the war, especially of the enemy Hannibal, a suggestion made by Garzelli.[28]

It is actually quite rare to find Roman historians dressed up as soldiers, and these early images of Silius may have been modeled after images of Caesar, who as both a soldier and an author often appears in the opening initials of copies of his *Civil War* or *Gallic War* dressed in armor and holding a book. Such images can be found in a manuscript made for Francesco Sassetti by Francesco d' Antonio in the 1460s, and in a another Florentine book decorated by the "Master of the Lattanzio Riccardiano" and now in the Earl of Leicester's collection at Holkam Hall, (figs. 131 & 132).[29]

These images of Caesar as author are in turn related to the portraits found biographies of the ancient *uomini illustri*. The tradition of using portraits to illuminate historical biographies can be traced back to the earliest evidence for book portraiture, to the legendary *Hebdomades* of Varro written in the first century B. C., which is reported to have been illustrated with over seven hundred portraits. That tradition continued throughout the Middle Ages in both secular and sacred texts as demonstrated by biblical literature and by a thirteenth century Byzantine treatise with portraits of the famous physicians who are quoted in the text (fig. 13).[30] In the late fourteenth century, this format was used in illustrations of Petrarch's *de viris illustribus*, in which portraits of the famous Romans he discusses inhabit the opening initial of their *Vitae*. One of the most beautifully decorated copies of Petrarch's text claims a provenance from northern Italy, and is now codex 101 at the State Library of Darmstadt. In addition to the full-page author portrait of Petrarch is a copy of the fresco in Padua, and the many narrative friezes which illuminate the text, each chapter

includes a portrait in its opening initial (fig. 133). The famous Romans who appear in the incipits are a testimony to Panofsky's "theory of disjunction," as they are all dressed in contemporary medieval costumes. This contrasts with the interest of Renaissance illuminators in returning to Roman models as a guide in fashioning their portraits of ancient warriors.

For example, in Piero de' Medici's copy of the *de vita Caesarum* by Suetonius, a medallion portrait of each emperor is placed on the page that begins his life history.[31] This copy of Suetonius was probably made for Cosimo before 1418, at which time the opening initial for each life was not completed by the scribe. Presumably, a miniaturist was to be hired to add a decorated initial. This was never done in Cosimo's lifetime and when Piero acquired the book in the early 1450s, he commissioned a miniaturist to add portraits of the emperors. As a result, each *vita* lacks its initial letter, but has gained some of the most expertly painted portrait busts of this early period.

A portrait of Julius Caesar, illustrating his *Life*, begins the text (fig. 134). He is presented in profile, wearing a helmet, with the neckline of his cuirass barely visible. There face has been individualized, in particular by the age lines added around the eyes, but these details seem to be a creation of the miniaturist and the portrait is not a copy of any particular antique example. Once again, the miniaturist is borrowing ideas and not specific details from his classical models. However, this illuminator more than any other working for Piero, has been able to approximate the appearance of antique portraiture. However, few miniaturists during the 1450s and early 1460s followed their classical prototypes so assiduously, in contrast to the sculptors of the same period. For example, Desidero da Settignano's bas-relief of Julius Caesar also does not model his portrait after Roman portraits of the emperor found on many

ancient coins, but he has so internalized the ideals of late Republican portraiture that he was able to create an image in the *maniera all' antica* (fig. 135).[32]

Miniaturists were undoubtedly exposed to the same classical prototypes as their sculpting colleagues, but they responded to them quite differently. Miniaturists needed to make their author portraits recognizable to the reader, and to do this they often relied upon medieval iconographic codes. The images of Caesar created by Francesco d' Antonio and the Maestro del Lattanzio Riccardiano are good examples of how miniaturists often combined aspects of Renaissance classicism and medieval art (figs. 131 & 132). In both portraits, Caesar has been dressed in armor that approximates Roman examples. In fact, del Chierico's *cuirass* has been expertly detailed with an acanthus motif. However, both miniaturists use medieval poses for their authors, placing the figures in a three-quarter profile pose while prominently gesticulating to a book held in one hand. Instead of using the profile bust, which was the standard format for emperor portraits on antique coins, the miniaturists have placed Cicero in one of the traditional poses for the author. In other words, this portrait of Cicero has drawn upon a familiar iconography to ensure that it functions as a sign of authorship, not as a sign for imperial rule.

Miniaturists not only modified their classical models to fit into a recognizable iconographic system, but they were also guided by another esthetic which competed with the interests of a classical revival. Manuscript illumination at the beginning of the fifteenth century was as much influenced by the decorative qualities of the International Gothic as it was by the more sober style of the *maniera all' antiqua*. I believe it was the miniaturists' interest in decorative effects that that led to the creation of portraits that seem more like

caricature than true portraiture. This is especially true in their images of Roman warriors. For example, in Francesco d' Antonio's decorated the incipits of a Livy with depictions of Roman soldiers (figs. 136).[33] In the third decade, a warrior stands along the length of the letter I, spear in hand. The exaggerated wings on the helmet, the gold decorations on his skirt, and the leather boots of medieval fashion, have more in common with the International Gothic style still being used in the illustration of romances and *cassone* than in the ideals of the classical revival.

While author portraits were popular in Roman histories, they were by no means universal, especially in copies of two of the most popular classical texts during the Renaissance, Livy's *Decades* and Pliny's *Natural History* . Livy's *Decades* traced the history of the Roman Republic from its origins in 753 B. C. as a city state founded by Romulus to 9 B. C., the early years of the Empire. It was divided into 142 books, of which only 35 survived to reach the fifteenth century. Livy's organization of these thirty five books into *pentads* and *decades* was retained during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. The first decade, *Ab Urbe Condita Libri*, containing books I-X, dealt with the origins of Rome; the second decade with books XI-XX was lost; the third decade, concerning the Second Punic War, made up of books XXI-XXX; and the topic of the fourth Decade, books XXX-XLV, was the Macedonian War. The remaining books were lost, known only from brief summaries.[34] While these books were sometimes bound into one volume, during the Renaissance they were usually divided into three volumes and designated as *Decades* I, III, and IV.

Renaissance humanists were particularly interested in Livy's account of how the rich senatorial class and the poor plebeians were able to create a Republican form of government that could govern them all fairly. While in

practice the Quattrocento government of Florence was an oligarchy, run in the early part of the century by the Albizzi and after 1434 by the Medici, in theory the city was a Republic and the Florentine humanists eagerly read Livy searching for answers to their own political problems. Florence was also the center of philological work on Livy's text as the humanists set out to correct the errors that had accumulated during the Middle Ages.[35]

Among the Florentine humanists, Pliny's *Natural History* was as popular as Livy. This ancient "encyclopedia" includes descriptions of the flora, fauna, geography, and history of the Mediterranean world. Its historical sections are written in the style of other ancient histories with the emphasis placed on the lives of the important rulers, generals, philosophers and artists who shaped the the events of their time.

The copies of Pliny and Livy owned by the Medici brothers are the best documented manuscripts in their collection. In 1458, Piero hired the *cartolaio*, Vespasiano da Bisticci to prepare a three volume copy of Livy's *Decades*, as well as a copy of Plutarch's *Lives*, while both Piero and Giovanni commissioned copies of Pliny. Information about these manuscripts survives in several letters from Vespasiano to Piero in which he discusses the progress of Piero's commission.[36] Piero's Livy is only one of two manuscripts owned by the brothers in which the presence of a particular miniaturist is documented. In his letters, Vespasiano suggests that the results of the scribe, Messer Piero Strozzi, and the miniaturist, "Pipo" (Filippo di Matteo Torelli), will greatly please his patron.[37]

Torelli's three volumes are certainly some of the most richly illuminated manuscripts in Piero's library. Not only is the frontispiece of each Decade surrounded on all four sides by a *bianchi girari* border filled with the birds and

animals of recognizable species for which Torelli was so famous, but many other pages throughout the three volume set are decorated along the left hand side and bottom of the page with the inhabited vinestem motif.[38] None of the three volumes includes an author portrait; and although Torelli specialized in border decoration, often leaving the illumination of figures to others, the Cassian and Eusebius texts he decorated for the Medici brothers include fine examples of both narrative scenes and author portraits (figs. 100, 101, & 103).

It has been suggested that the completion of Piero's Livy was rushed to fulfil a deadline imposed by Vespasiano since the energetic putti typically used by Torelli in all his border decorations are eliminated from the frontispieces of Decades I and III, and appear only in the last volume.[39] Time restrictions may also have forced the miniaturist to forego the painting of author portraits. It seems more likely that neither Piero nor Vespasiano requested an author portrait from the miniaturist. Piero's Plutarch, prepared during the same summer by Vespasiano, has fine vinestem borders and initials by the "Fiesole Master," but it does not have an author portrait.[40] Neither does Piero's Pliny decorated by Francesco d' Antonio have an author portrait, although the same miniaturist did include a portrait of the author in his study in a copy of St. Jerome's *Epistles* made for Piero at about the same time (fig. 79). Although Giovanni's Pliny, decorated by Ricciardo di Nanni does include a striking portrait of the author (fig. 145), it would seem that the use of author portraits in ancient history texts was not *de rigueur*. In fact, it was more common for the incipit of Roman histories to frame a narrative scene inspired by events in the text, a development undoubtedly influenced by the rich narrative tradition of book illumination that had flourished throughout the Middle Ages. Like the patristic texts commissioned by the Quattrocento humanists, narrative scenes

were not scattered throughout the texts, but were gathered together within small framed areas on the frontispiece.[41]

Like the portraits of Cicero, the portraits of Livy reveal a variety of iconographic models for the author. The earliest Florentine example known to me of an author portrait of Livy was painted in 1464 by Mariano del Buono di Jacopo. In Riccardiano ms. 484, the Roman historian appears as a half-length figure in the opening initial of the first decade (fig. 137).[42] He is depicted as a middle aged man with a short grey beard and balding head crowned with laurels. Voluminously robed in a toga with a mantle draped across his shoulders in a *maniera all' antica*, his authorship is indicated by the book he is attentively reading.

In 1470 Mariano joined forces with Ricciardo di Nanni to create a three volume Livy for the Hungarian Archbishop Janos Vitez.[43] Mariano was responsible for the first and fourth Decades and placed an author portrait on both frontispieces. In the frontispiece to the fourth decade, Mariano painted a portrait of the author which resembles the Livy of 1464 with his balding pate and grey beard, but this time the miniaturist has eliminated the laurel wreath and has dressed his subject in the the fur-lined robes of a fourteenth century academic (fig. 138). In a small medallion placed next to the incipit, Mariano has repeated the portrait of Livy holding his book, although this time the author is crowned with laurels. This same repetition of the author portrait, in which he is placed both in the incipit and in a border medallion near the incipit, was used by Mariano in an illustrated St. Augustine (fig. 98). The *bianchi girari* border contains two large medallions depicting battle scenes from the Macedonian War as well as several smaller portrait medallions of young men in armor. In the frontispiece to the Archbishop's first decade, also illuminated by Mariano,

the opening initial is historiated with a representation of the "Rape of the Sabine Women" (fig. 139).[44] The portrait in the medallion placed immediately adjacent to the historiated initial is a replica of Mariano's author portraits of Livy in the fourth decade; however since this figure does not hold a book, it is difficult to know if Mariano intended him to represent the author.

The third decade of this set was illuminated by Ricciardo di Nanni, and is also decorated with narrative scenes inspired by the text including medallions containing several of the labors of Hercules. To these narratives Ricciardo has added an image taken from the standard iconography of Petrarch's "Triumph of Fame" (fig. 140). Ricciardo himself decorated several copies of the *Trionfi*, one of his most famous in now in Madrid (fig. 141).[45] In the Munich Livy, in a large framed area of the right border, there appears a Roman warrior riding on a horse-drawn cart and holding a sword and scepter in his outstretched hands. Ricciardo has replaced the standard winged personification of Fame with a Roman soldier and the crowd of earthly exemplars who usually mill about the cart with two sole attendants. This soldier, whose appearance is remarkably similar to that of the main protagonist in the other narrative scenes on this page, is probably the triumphant Scipio Africanus, who successfully defeated Hannibal to end the Second Punic War and establish Rome as the dominant power in the Mediterranean world.

Another tradition for illustrated Livy's used unidentified Roman soldiers in the incipit of each frontispiece to signal the military nature of the text. This was the format use adopted by Francesco d' Antonio del Chierico in the Livy he decorated for Alphonso II of Aragon, the future King of Naples.[46] We have already looked at the soldier he placed in the incipit to the third Decade (fig. 136). From the 1470s until the 1490s, the frontispieces for Livy's decades

follow these same three traditions for the incipit decoration. The opening initial is either filled with an author portrait, a narrative scene, or an unidentified soldier. No single iconographic model ever developed for Livy, even by miniaturists who repeatedly decorated his text. For example, in the manuscripts decorated by Mariano del Buono between 1460 and 1470, the miniaturist always used an older bearded figure, but dressed him in a variety of costumes, from the classicizing dress of the Ricardiano Livy to the contemporary academic gown of the Munich Livy. In the 1480s, Mariano decorated two more Livys in which he updates his author portraits to be more classicizing.

In a copy illuminated for King Mathias Corvinus, Mariano again uses an older bearded type; however, not only has he dressed the author in toga and laurel leaves, he has painted the figure in white on a tinted background, giving it the monochromatic appearance of grisaille (fig. 142).[47] This is a direct reference to the growing interest of miniaturists in using Roman gems, coins, and larger sculptures as prototypes. In another Livy decorated in 1478 for Ferdinand of Aragon, Mariano has used the new border style developed by Francesco Rosselli in which vases and candelabra influenced by antique "groteschi" are inserted into a delicate floral design and the medallion in the borders are true imitations of Roman coins and cameos.[48] In the incipit, Mariano has painted an unidentified emperor, dressed in armor and holding a scepter, but a portrait of Livy appears in a large medallion in the right hand border (fig. 143). At first glance, he seems to be just another Roman warrior, dressed in armor, with a mantle loosely wrapped around his shoulders and a crown of laurels. His authorship is made clear, however, by the small book he clasps in his right hand and the rhetorical gesture he makes with his left, pointing upward. It is one of several gestures of speech found in Roman

statuary, and was used mid century in an image of Cicero by Ricciardo di Nanni (fig. 116) and most famously by Raphael in his portrait of Plato in the Stanza della Segnatura.

In spite of the many different portrait types used for Livy in the fifteenth century, it is obvious that the miniaturists were searching for new ways to invest the author portrait with the humanist concerns of the Quattrocento, yet still making it recognizable as an iconographic symbol for authorship. At times, there are attempts to classicize the image as when Livy appears dressed in Roman armor, or in toga, mantle, and crowned with laurels. In other portraits, Livy is dressed in the academic robes of the fourteenth century. This solution, however, is used less often in portraits of Livy than in those of Cicero. Although the solutions for Livy's portrait greatly varied, even within one artist's oeuvre, it seems that the Florentine miniaturists were making conscious effort to update medieval images of the Roman historian. Their portraits can be compared to a late thirteenth century copy of Livy now in the Vatican which is representative of the images used to represent classical authors in medieval texts. In the opening initial there is a half-length portrait of the author. With his long grey beard and voluminous garments he looks more like an Old Testament prophet than a Roman writer (fig. 144).[49]

Unlike the many different formats used for portraits of Livy, a more consistent iconography developed for images of Pliny. The author is usually depicted at work in his study, an image borrowed from fourteenth century images of Petrarch and often used in author portraits of the Church Fathers. In Giovanni de' Medici copy of the *Natural History*, decorated by Ricciardo di Nanni, Pliny is shown working in a *studiolo* which resembles the classicizing open air study Ricciardo used for the St. Jerome (figs. 88 & 145).[50] The

miniaturist has presented his classical historian as an ancient sage and dressed him in prodigious layers of drapery that bear some resemblance to the Roman toga and mantle, the generalized historical costume also used for Ricciardo's biblical figures. His head covering, however, is the contemporary turban-wrapped *cappuccio*, which Ricciardo used in his portraits of Cicero and Seneca (figs. 120 & 121).

Francesco del Chierico uses the theme of Pliny in his study twice in copies of the *Natural History* now in Vienna and Naples. These *studioli* are identical to those commonly used for other authors in which the front wall of the study has been removed to reveal a true interior space. In the Naples Pliny, the author sits at his desk and reads a book placed on a stand before him (fig. 146).[51] The wall in front of him is lined with book shelves, the wall behind him clearly show its wood grain, and the far wall uses the Netherlandish tradition of the open window, revealing a blue sky dotted with clouds. Below the window rests a globe, symbolizing the subject of Pliny's ambitious text. Francesco has made even less of an attempt than Ricciardo to portray Pliny as an ancient Roman. The miniaturist has used his standard portrait face and dressed Pliny in the costume of a fourteenth century professor, the solution used for all his portraits of Cicero.

Between 1479 and 1482 Pliny again appears in his study in the incipit of a *Natural History* made for Filippo Strozzi by Gherardo di Monte (fig. 147 & 148).[52] The details of this miniature are striking, especially the armillary sphere held by the author and the cityscape viewed through the open window. The manuscript is also an excellent example of the new style of border illustration used by Florentine miniaturists in the late 1470s and 1480s with its quotations of antique *groteschi*, coins, cameos and jewels. With all of these classical

influences, it is surprising that Gherardo did not attempt to portray Pliny as an ancient Roman.

In other Roman histories acquired by the Quattrocento humanists, but not as highly valued as those by Livy and Pliny, the illumination is usually very simple. The frontispieces of Piero de' Medici's copies of Valerius Maximus, Cornelius Tacitus and Aelius Spartinus are decorated with sparsely inhabited vinestem borders surrounding only three sides of the text. Each has a simple bust-length portrait of the author in the opening initial.[53] The portrait of Valerius was executed by a miniaturist in the Fiesole Master's Workshop. It is a nondescript profile bust of mediocre quality in which the beard has been hastily added with pen and ink (fig. 149). In the copies of Tacitus and Aelius, both executed by del Chierico, the face the miniaturist resorted to for almost all his author portraits appears again. In both images the author has lost his curly forelock, but has gained a long grey beard (fig. 150).

Conclusion

In their attempts to update the medieval author portraits of Roman writers, Florentine miniaturists in the last half of the Quattrocento arrived at a variety of solutions that mingled aspects of their medieval prototypes with some of the new classical concerns of the Renaissance. The profile portraits found on Roman coins, gems, and cameos were an inspiration to them with their images of laureated toga-clad figures or soldiers in full armor; however, it was only in rare instances, usually in portraits of poets, that the fifteenth century miniaturist faithfully imitated these antique examples. For other authors medieval prototypes exerted a lasting influence. For example, Cicero was depicted in the fourteenth century as a contemporary doctor of law, often standing in a

rhetorical pose on a raised platform. This tradition continued in the Renaissance, but by the fifteenth century this official academic dress was antiquated, and we are left wondering if the miniaturist is consciously historicizing his image by using outdated fashions or whether he was simply adhering to an established model. The many different solutions used by these miniaturists include depictions of the Roman author as soldier, as fourteenth century scholar, as contemporary scholar, or as a Renaissance image of the poet laureate. Often articles of antique, fourteenth century, and fifteenth century dress were combined to create a hybrid image which satisfied the Renaissance interest in both genre and classical detail. The Renaissance interest in depicting scenes of everyday life gave rise to one of the most popular settings for Roman authors, as well as for patristic writers - the contemporary study, a solution which may have catered to the vanity of the humanist patron who stored these precious books in his own private *studiolo*.

Notes to Chapter Five

[1] Petrarch, *Triumphs*, trans. E. H. Wilkins, Chicago, 1962, 78.

[2] Cicero, *Philippicae*, pl. 48.31. See Bandini, II, col. 457; Ames-Lewis, no. 30. Cicero, *Libri Rhetoricorum*, pl. 50.8. See Bandini, II, cols. 505-06; Ames-Lewis, no. 34. Cicero, *De Oratore, Orator, Brutus, Partitiones Oratoriae, and Topica*, pl. 50.38. See Bandini, II, col. 521; Ames-Lewis, no. 35. Cicero, *de Natura Deorum*, etc., pl. 83.7. See Bandini, III, col. 209; d' Ancona, no. 470; Ames-Lewis, 87.

[3] For a history of medieval academic dress in Italy, see W. N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *A History of Academic Dress in Europe until the End of the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford, 1963, 1-26.

[4] Ibid, 14.

[5] See, H. J. Hermann, *Italiensche Handschriften*, II, 186, plate lxxv ; Hargreaves-Mawdsley, plate Ia. Del Chierico could have also seen examples of fourteenth century academic dress in the fresco of the "Church Triumphant," in the Chapter House of Santa Maria Novella, which was the most important institution of learning until the establishment of the University of Florence.

[6] For a description of this dress, see Jacqueline Herald, *Renaissance Dress in Italy 1400-1500*, London, 1981, 53-56.

[7] For descriptions of the *cappuccio* (also known as the *chaperon* in France), see Hargreaves-Mawdsley, 7, 192; Herald, 55, 212; and Turner Wilcox, *The Mode in Hats and Headdresses*, 40-41.

[8] pl. 65.27.

[9] H. W. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello*, Princeton, 1963, 33-41; idem., "Donatello and the Antique," in *Donatello e il suo tempo, atti dell' VIII convegno internazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento*, Florence, 1966.

[10] Janson, *Donatello and the Antique*, 95.

[11] Cicero, *Opera vari*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. 1002, f. 2v. It was written in 1410 by an Augustinian monk of Signa, near Florence. See William M. Voelkle, ed., *The Pierpont Morgan Library: Masterpieces of Medieval Painting: The Art of Illumination*, Chicago, 1980, M. 1002. Note the *giotteschi*

features of this image which were still popular in Florence at the turn of the century, including Cicero's bulky weight and simple drapery folds. The slight sway of his contrapposto pose, the dainty feet and hands, as well as the acanthus border design on the incipit page also indicate that the decoration of this book is stylistically rooted in the Italian Gothic.

[12] Cicero, *Orationes XXXVII*, pl. 48.8. See Bandini II, cols. 434-35; d' Ancona, no. 359; Ames-Lewis, 154, 181-83, no. 27, figs. 32, 68; Garzelli, 56-59, figs. 139-42.

[13] Rossellino created two such tabernacles in Florence. Little survives of the one he made in 1437 for the Badia. Desidero da Settignano carved a similar tabernacle for San Lorenzo. These ultimately lead back to the tabernacles of Donatello and the famous fresco of the "Trinity" by Masaccio in Santa Maria Novella, painted in 1425. See Pope Hennessey, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, 28ff, 254, 277-78, 285-86, figs. 38, 39, 44, 45.

[14] Illustrated by F. Hartt, *History of Italian Renaissance Art*, 2nd ed., New York, 1979, fig. 175.

[15] Cicero, *Oratore*, pl. 48.14, f. 1; See Bandini, II, 442.

[16] Seneca, *De Ira*, Paris, Bibl. Nat. ms. lat. 6376, f. 1. See Garzelli, 56, fig. 138.

[17] Herald, 55.

[18] Piero's manuscript is Cicero, *Philippicae*, pl. 48.30. See Bandini, II, cols. 456-57; d' Ancona, no. 364; Ames-Lewis, no. 29. Giovanni's copy is *Opera Rhet.*, pl. 50.19. See Ames-Lewis, 144.

[19] Columella, *de Re Rustica*, pl. 53. 32. See Bandini, II, col. 623; d' Ancona, no. 387; Ames-Lewis, no. 39. Horace, *Opera Omnia*, pl. 34.8. See Bandini, II, col. 148; d' Ancona, no. 298; Ames-Lewis, no. 12.

[20] For the inventories of Piero's antiquities collection, see E. Müntz, *Les collections des Médicis au XVe siècle*, Paris 1888, 16-17, 38-39; and reprinted in the catalogue by N. Dacos, et. al., *Il Tesoro di Lorenzo il Magnifica*, II, *Le gemme*, 87, 119. For the extant gems from Lorenzo's collection, see Dacos, cat. nos. 2, 3, 6, 11, 15, 17, 18, 23, 30, 37, plates III, IV, IX, and figs. 3, 8, 10, 11, 17, 25, 33, 34.

[21] Virgil, pl 39.8. This manuscript is inscribed in the colophon as copied for Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici in 1453. It never was incorporated into Piero's library. See Ames-Lewis, 144, figs. 22-25; Garzelli, fig. 60.

[22] Catullus, pl. 33.12. see Ames-Lewis, 414, fig. 27.

[23] Servius, *Commentary on Virgil*, Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, ms. S.P. 10, n. 27, f. 1v. The manuscript includes the glosses added by Petrarch. See Salmi, 29; de Hamel, fig. 221.

[24] Carolus, pl. 53.20. See Garzelli, 49-51, fig. 109.

[25] Silius Italicus, *de Secondo Bello Punico*, Venice, Bibl. Marciana, cod. lat. XII, 68, f. 3. This book may have been made for Pope Nicholas V. Toesca attributed the decoration to Zanobi, and both Salmi and Garzelli agree. See P. Toesca, "Francesco Pesellino miniatore," *Dedalo*, XII, 1932, 85-91; M. Salmi, *Italian Miniatures*, 49; Garzelli, 21-24, fig. 29.

[26] See references for Toesca and Salmi in n. 25.

[27] Silius Italicus, *de Secondo Punico*, pl. 37.15 (Piero's) and 37.16 (Giovanni's). See Bandini, II, col 254; Ames-Lewis, 414, no. 315, fig. 100; d' Ancona, no. 315.

[28] Garzelli, 26.

[29] For pl. 68.14, see Bandini, II, col. 843; d' Ancona, no. 795; de la Mare, "The Library of Francesco Sassetti (1421-90)," in C. Clough, ed., *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, 183; Garzelli (fig. 365), does not discuss the image. For Holkam Hall, Viscount Coke, ms. 341, see W. O Hassall, *The Holkham Library. Illuminations and Illustrations in the Manuscript's Library of the Earl of Leicester*, Oxford, 1979. See also V. Brown, "The Textual Transmission of Caesar's *Civil War*," *Mnemosyne*, Leiden, 1972, suppl. XXIII, 55.

[30] Discussed in chapter 1.

[31] pl. 64.4. Profile portraits of the following emperors appear in the manuscript: f. 1, Caesar; f. 23, Octavian; f. 54v, Tiberius; f. 76v, Germanicus; f. 95, Claudius; f. 110v, Nero; f. 130, Galba; f. 137, Otho, f. 141v, Vitellius; f. 147v, Vespasian; f. 155, Titus; f. 158v Domitian. See Bandini, II, col. 714; Ames-Lewis, no. 48.

[32] Desidero da Settignano's bas-relief of Julius Caesar, Paris, Louvre. See Pope-Hennessey, Italian Renaissance Sculpture, London, 1958

[33] Livy, *Decae*, Florence, Bibl. Naz. Banco Rari MSS. 34-36. The incipit to the first Decade has a representation of the she wolf suckling Romulus and Remus. All three frontispieces are reproduced in Ames-Lewis, figs. 80-82. See also de

la Mare, "Florentine Manuscripts of Livy in the Fifteenth Century," in *Livy*, T. A. Dorey, ed., London and Toronto, 1971, 177-199.

34 For the history of the Livy text, see G. Billanovich, "Petrarch and the textual tradition of Livy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XIV, 1951, 137-208; idem, "Dal Livio di Raterio (Laur. 63.19) al Livio del Petrarca (B.M., Harl. 2493)," *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, II, 1959, 103-178; and T. A. Dorey, ed., *Livy*.

35 De la Mare, "Florentine Manuscipts of Livy in the Fifteenth Century."

36 Piero's Pliny is pl. 82.3; Giovanni's is pl. 82.4. See Ames-Lewis, nos. 43-45, 84, 85. The three letters written by Vespasiano are respectively Florence, Bibl. Laur., ASF, MAP XVII, 165; MAP XVII, 176 and Forlì, Bibl. Comunale, Autografi Piancastelli, no. 304. The first two were published by V. Rossi, *Tre Lettere di Vespasiano da Bisticci per la prima volta pubblicata*, Venice, 1890, 16-18. The Forlì document was discovered and published by A. C. de la Mare, "Messer Piero Strozzi, a Florentine Priest and Scribe," in A. S. Osley, ed., *Calligraphy and Palaeography: Essays presented to Alfred Fairbank*, London, 1965; All three letters appear in Cagni, *Vespasiano*, 141-42 and excerpts from them in Ames-Lewis, 109-112.

37 The other manuscript in which the miniaturist is documented is one of Piero's Plutarchs (pl. 65.26). The title page was signed by Francesco d' Antonio del Chierico.

38 Livy, *Decae*, pl. 63.10-12. All three frontispieces and an additional folio are reproduced by Ames-Lewis, fig. 45-48.

39 Suggested by Ames-Lewis, 111-12.

40 Plutarch, *Vitae quaedam*, Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Faculté de Médecine, MS. H. 106. See Ames-Lewis, no. 89.

41 In spite of Medieval precedents, the use of narrative scenes in humanistic copies of Livy was slow to develop. We have already discussed Cosimo de' Medici's three volume set of Livy, in which the opening of each Decade begins with a modest *bianchi girari* initial, probably executed by the scribe, himself. The exception to this simple rule of decoration is the penscroll bas-de-page added to the frontispiece of the fourth Decade of Cosimo's set sometime around 1435, and probably before it was puchased by Cosimo (fig. 77). In 1427, Cosimo had another set of the Decades made as a gift for King Alphonso of Naples. Decades I and IV of this set survive and are once again decorated only with vinestem incipits. For some reason, in 1444, King Alphonso replaced the third Decade which Cosimo had given him with a new copy made in a Florentine workshop. The frontispiece of this manuscript is surrounded on all

four sides by an inhabited vinestem border which includes the King's stemma at the bas-de-page; however, neither narrative scenes nor author portraits are included in the decoration (see plate III in de la Mare, *Livy*).

[42] Livy, Deca I, Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, ms. 484, f. 1. Reproduced in Garzelli, fig. 672.

[43] Livy, *Decae*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbiliothek, cod. lat. 15731-33. See, Garzelli, 74, 192-93, figs. 156-62, 678-81, 685; de la Mare *Livy*.

[44] Border medallions of this frontispiece contain vignettes of Romulus and Remus suckled by the she wolf and two scenes from the legend of Hercules and Cacus, which is related by Livy as part of the legendary history of the founding of Rome. In one narrative Cacus steals several of the cattle of Geryon from Hercules, pulling them backward into his cave to put Hercules off the track. In the next scene Hercules is seen clubing Cacus to death. Other scenes of struggle fill the border: a putto fights a lion in imitation of Hercules, a two-headed centaur battles with another lion, and at the top of the page, two affronting knights sit on rearing horses as they prepare to charge. These small scenes appear to be specifically chosen to underline the struggles of early Rome to establish its superiority in the plains of Latvium.

[45] Petrarch, *Trionfi*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, vit. 22.4, *Triumph of Fame*, f. 57. Ricciardo has placed several of the labors of Hercules in the border medallions surrounding the full-page illumination of the "Triumph of Fame" demonstrating the reciprocal exchange of iconography between the textual illustrations of Livy and Petrarch. See Garzelli, 64, and figs. 196-203 where both frontispieces and all six Triumphs are reproduced.

[46] Livy, *Decae*, Florence, Bibl. Naz. Banco Rari MSS. 34-36. Alphonso II was the son of Alphonso I to whom Cosimo de' Medici had given a three volume set of Livy in 1427, see n. 41. The incipit to the first Decade has a representation of the she wolf suckling Romulus and Remus. All three frontispieces are illustrates in Ames-Lewis, figs. 80-82.

[47] Livy, *Deca III*, New York, New York Public Library, Spencer Collection, ms. 27 f. 1. See Garzelli, 193-94, fig. 689.

[48] Livy, *Deca IV*, Valencia, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 757, f. 7. See Garzelli, 193, fig. 732.

[49] Livy, *Deca IV*, Bibl. Vat. MS. Ferrajoli 562, f. 1. See de la Mare, *Livy*.

[50] Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, pl. 82.4. Piero's Pliny (pl. 82.3), decorated by Francesco d' Antonio, has a fine vinestem border on all four sides of the text,

inhabited with the traditional birds, beasts and putti, but does not include an author portrait nor any narrative scenes. Vespasiano highly praises both the script and decoration of this manuscript and we know that it was highly regarded by Piero. Usually when Piero inherited a book from Giovanni that was more beautifully scripted or illuminated than his own, he would de-acquisitioned the manuscript he had commissioned, replacing it with his brother's. He did not do this with his Pliny, but kept both his copy and Giovanni's in his *studietto*. For these two manuscripts, see Bandini, III, cols. 188-189; d' Ancona, nos. 468, 469; Ames-Lewis, nos. 84, 85, figs. 33, 71, 72; Garzelli, 57-59, 134-35, figs. 127, 128, 130, 133, 134, plate IIb.

[51] Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, Naples, Bibl. Naz. ms. V. A. 3, and Vienna, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, ms. lat. 2. See Garzelli, 136, fig. 384.

[52] Pliny, *Historia Naturale*, trans. by Cristoforo Landino, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 310. See Garzelli, 292-95, figs. 928-933.

[53] The Valerius Maximus and Cornelius Tacitus (fragments) are bound together in pl. 63.24. Aelius Spartianus, et al, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* is pl. 62.31. See Ames-Lewis, nos. 46 & 47.

Chapter Six

Portraits of Greek Authors, Translators, and Patrons

Opposite to the Pope's seat, on the other side, was a chair covered with a silken cloth on which sat the Emperor, clad in a rich robe of damask brocade and a cap in the Greek fashion, on the top of which was a magnificent jewel. He was a very handsome man with a beard of the Greek cut. Round about his chair were posted the many gentlemen of his retinue...the Greeks in their robes of silk in the Greek fashion had a more goodly and dignified appearance than the Latins.[1] Vespasiano da Bisticci describing the Council of the Reunion in Florence.

Portraits of the Translators

The interest in classical texts during the Quattrocento was not restricted to Latin authors but included Greek literature. The humanists' concern for textual accuracy meant that new translations from Greek into Latin were needed. The quest for more accurate translations began with Petrarch, who although he studied Greek, never became a proficient translator. Italian knowledge of the Greek language was aided by the migration of Byzantine scholars to Italy during the fifteenth century, especially during the Council of Reunion from 1438-42 and after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. In the last days of the Trecento, Florence had already established itself as one of the centers of Greek studies. Coluccio Salutati, like his mentor Petrarch, never learned his Greek well enough to make translations, but he encouraged all his students to study it for this end. Jacopo Angeli heeded his advice and traveled to Constantinople in 1395 to study with Manuel Chrysoloras. While in the East,

Coluccio wrote a letter to Jacopo encouraging him to bring back as many Greek books as he could.[2] In 1397 Chrysoloras, himself came to Florence and taught for three years at the University where Jacopo, Leonardo Bruni, Poggio Bracciolini, Ambrogio Traversari and others took his courses.[3] These four Florentine humanists were responsible for translating many Greek texts into Latin. Although Poggio was a poor translator, Jacopo's translation of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, Bruni's many translations of Plato and Aristotle, and Fra Traversari's translations of patristic texts were widely circulated throughout the fifteenth and into the sixteenth century.[4]

Many of the translations made by the civic humanists were commissioned by learned patrons, and in Florence, the most generous of these wealthy book collectors were Cosimo de' Medici and his son Piero. Cosimo commissioned Latin translations of Aristotle and Plato from Leonardo Bruni, Marsilio Ficino, and Johannes Argyropulos, who had come to Florence to be the new professor of Greek in 1456.[5] Piero continued the patronage of Ficino and Argyropulos after his father died, as well as the scholars, Niccolò Tignosi, Donato Acciaiuolo, and Aretino Rinuccini.[6]

Although most humanist scholars were employed as professors or notaries, many relied upon the patronage of the wealthy at some point in their careers in order to continue their intellectual activities. Their translations of Greek texts into Latin, or in rare cases Latin texts into the vulgate, as well as their original compositions were often dedicated to their patron in gratitude for the financial support. At times, the humanist included a prologue to his translation or text in which he praises his patron's great learning and humanistic concerns.[7]

Often, the original dedicatory copy of a translated text is written in the humanist's own hand, and is only decorated with *bianchi girari* initials or very simple border designs. Of the ten extant books with dedicatory inscriptions to Piero de' Medici, seven are illuminated in this manner, while the remaining three also include author portraits. In these more elaborately decorated presentation manuscripts, it was probably the patron and not the humanist who commissioned and paid for the illumination.[8] A curious feature of all the future copies of a presentation manuscript is that the copy always includes the dedicatory statement to the original patron. The subsequent copies are also more richly illuminated than the original and often included author portraits in the decoration.

An examination of the author portraits in translated texts quickly reveals that Quattrocento miniaturists have continued the medieval tradition of replacing the original author of the text with an image of its translator. Medieval texts, especially during the scholastic period of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, used the new format of the teacher instructing a group of students for images of either the translator, commentator or compiler. This was in effect a genre scene, illustrating the dual role of these scholars as university professors (fig. 64). The professor, as well as his students are dressed in contemporary academic clothing that identifies their position as lay or clerical scholars. A portrait of the actual author may appear in one or more of the subsequent decorated initials of the manuscript. These ancient and foreign authors were distinguished from contemporary scholars by their aged countenance and draperies that resembled ancient Roman dress without imitating it - the same long tunics and mantles that had been used for biblical figures throughout the Middle Ages. Using these portrait formulas, the scholastic reader could readily

distinguish between his contemporaries and the ancients and their respective roles in the dissemination of knowledge.

Unlike scholastic texts, it was unusual for the humanist book of the 1450s, to have any decorated pages other than the frontispiece. Consequently, the medieval tradition of placing a portrait of the author in a subsequent initial was not followed. Nor does the miniaturist transpose an image of the author from its traditional location in the back pages of the text to some place of importance on the frontispiece. So while illuminators were actively creating author portraits in ancient Latin texts, the Greek author was temporarily forgotten, and his portrait does not appear in the humanist book until the 1460s. Instead, these manuscripts provide us with many portraits of the early civic humanists who translated this Greek literature.

Some of the earliest representations of the humanist translators of the Quattrocento appear in the manuscripts of Piero de' Medici.[9] In all of these portraits, the translator is no longer represented in the medieval composition of teacher and students, but appears in a simple bust length profile portrait placed in the opening initial of the frontispiece. Piero's translation of the *Lives of the Philosophers* by Diogenes Laertius was made for him by the Calmodolese monk, Fra Ambrogio Traversari.[10] A member of the original humanist circle including Niccolò, Salutati, Poggio, and Cosimo de' Medici, Traversari was abbot of the camaldeneses monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli. He was the first to introduce the new humanist script into a religious order, when other monastic *scriptoria* were still using an outdated Gothic hand. Ambrogio's portrait in the incipit was painted by the Fiesole Master's Workshop, and like other portraits coming from this source it is not very individualized; however Traversari can be identified by his tonsured head and calmodolese habit.

The Fiesole Master's workshop is also responsible for two portraits of Leonardo Bruni decorating copies of his translations of Plato's *Epistles* and a three volume set of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics, Economics*, and *Politics* owned by Piero (fig. 151 &152).[11] Typical of the Fiesole Master's portraits, the miniaturist has relied upon the context of the portrait to identify the humanist rather than a true likeness. In both cases, Bruni appears in a profile bust, dressed in the high necked red *giornea* of his notary profession, and crowned with laurels, which is here not only a symbolic token of esteem, but must refer to the posthumous laureate ceremony that took place at Bruni's funeral. It can also be assumed that the patron, who was well acquainted with Bruni, was satisfied with this symbolic portrait, since many manuscripts in Piero's library were decorated in this workshop with similar results. The standards for life-like portraiture in other media far exceeded the mediocre attempts of the Fiesole master, as the effigy on Bruni's tomb demonstrates.

Bruni died in 1444, and sometime between 1446-47, the monumental tomb Bernardo Rossellino sculpted for the famous humanist was completed and installed at Santa Croce (fig. 153).[12] The elaborate, many tiered monument surrounded by a triumphal arch includes a reclining effigy of the deceased. The *giornea* he wears, the book in his hands and the crown of laurels on his head realistically depict Bruni's funeral ceremony as it was described by Vespasiano da Bisticci.[13] The *cartolaio* informs us that the corpse was dressed in a long silk robe like that which Bruni had worn in life, and a copy of his history of Florence was placed in his hands. The lengthy ceremony was held, "according to the custom of the ancients," and after his eulogy, Gianozzo Manetti, crowned the head of the dead man with a laurel wreath. Not only does the effigy include

these small details of Bruni's public funeral, but Rossellino's portrait seems to be unmodified by the idealizing tendencies of Italian Renaissance artists.

About fifteen years later, Francesco Sassetti commissioned a text of *Miscellenae* translated by Bruni in which there appears a portrait painted by an unknown miniaturist, that more closely resembles Bruni's tomb effigy (fig. 154).[14] The highly individualized features of the portrait include the humanist's rather bony nose ending in a bulbous hook, his weak chin, and sagging jowls. Once again the author is crowned with a laurel wreath and dressed in his professional robes. Nevertheless it is doubtful that this face could be unmistakenly identified as Bruni's if the portrait was taken out of context.

One of the most faithful miniature depictions of Bruni appears in the incipit of a copy of his *Historia fiorentina* decorated by Francesco Rosselli for Federico da Montefeltro in the 1470s (figs. 155 & 156).[15] This time the image is painted in imitation of the portrait medals that were currently in vogue among the aristocratic classes. The tradition of minting portrait medals began in the early Quattrocento when Italians began to commemorate themselves by imitating the antique Roman coins and medals they so avidly collected.[16] A profile bust was stamped on one side of the medal and the family coat of arms, or personal emblems and mottos were placed on the reverse. Most medals were commissioned by the wealthy ruling families of Italy as a means of self-aggrandizement and were commonly exchanged among themselves. By the mid 1460s, Francesco Rosselli began to introduce gold-leafed monochromatic imitations of these portrait medals into his illuminated borders. Several of these images appear in Federico's copy of Bruni's *Historia fiorentina*. Besides the author in the incipit, images of the some of the leading Italian aristocrats appear in the border, including Pandolfo Malatesta, Francesco Sforza, Filippo Maria

Visconti, and Alfonso d' Aragon. While all of the aristocrats had commissioned portrait medals, there is no evidence that a medal with Bruni's image was ever struck during the Quattrocento.[17] For his author portrait of Bruni, Rosselli simply copies the format for these painted medals using a profile pose and the identifying inscription around the rim of the medal. Yet, even without the abbreviated inscription of his name, LEONAR DE ARE, Bruni's distinctive features are easily recognizable.

These four images of Bruni are typical of the development of true portraiture in the humanist book. Many miniaturists, especially during the 1450s and early 1460s relied upon context and iconography for their authors to be recognized. It is perhaps for this reason that naturalistic portraiture in manuscripts seems to lag behind portraits created in the more monumental media. In the case of Bruni's portraits, his tomb effigy by Rossellino provides the model for the recognition of his miniature portraits. In many instances, however, these miniature portraits are the only surviving indication of the physical appearance of these famous scholars.

Other than Leonardo Bruni, one of the most famous humanists of the first half of the Quattrocento was the author/translator Poggio Bracciolini. In a mid-fifteenth century copy of Poggio's translation of Xenophon's *Life of Socrates*, for which both patron and miniaturist are unknown, a rather generic image of a fresh-faced young man appears in the incipit (fig. 157).[18] He is dressed in the traditional high-necked *giornea* and a tight fitting cap worn by professionals, but the image is too generalized to be called true portraiture. The miniaturist Francesco d' Antonio painted two images of Poggio. The first was a tiny presentation miniature in the incipit of Poggio's translation of Diodoro Siculo in which the humanist is seen presenting his text to Pope Nicholas V (fig. 158).[19]

Again, the portrait is too generalized to be recognized as a specific individual. However, in another portrait of Poggio which appears in a copy of his own work, *The Variability of Fortune*, again painted by Francesco between 1455-62, the face of the humanist comes to life (fig. 159).[20] It is a highly individualized portrait, but does it truly represent the feature of Poggio? Unlike Leonardo Bruni, there is not a tomb effigy of Poggio, nor were any portrait medals of the famous book hunter minted which would provide a second source to judge the accuracy of the miniature. However, Poggio was still alive, or just recently deceased when del Chierico painted this image and certainly the miniaturist would have been familiar with the features of this man who had served the last years of his life as Chancellor of Florence. We have seen that del Chierico often used the same face over and over again for his portrait of Roman authors. Even in his presentation miniatures, the contemporary humanists and patrons he depicts are too generalized to be identifiable. Nevertheless, del Chierico was capable of some insightful and highly individualized portraits of contemporary personalities, such as his double portrait of Federico da Montefeltro and Cristoforo Landino (fig. 162). For this reason, I believe that del Chierico's portrait of Poggio can be trusted, and this image, and perhaps other miniatures of the humanist which I am not familiar with, are the only surviving testimony to the true likeness of Poggio Bracciolini.[21]

Another humanist whose image is recorded only in book portraiture is Niccolò Tignosi, the author of a commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics* which was dedicated to Piero de' Medici. Piero's copy is one of the few dedicatory texts in his library which includes an author portrait (fig. 160).[22] Possibly created in the workshop of Francesco d' Antonio del Chierico, this face, with its sloping forehead, prominent nose and double chin call to mind an individual

personality, although further research on Tignosi is needed before we can assign this face to him which assurance.

The variable accuracy with which miniaturists would paint the portraits of famous contemporary authors is again demonstrated by del Chierico in several portraits of Cristoforo Landino. In the dedicatory copy of Landino's *Disputationes camaldulenses*, written for the Duke of Montefeltro, the humanist appears twice on the frontispiece decoration (fig. 161).[23] In a medallion in the left border, the scholar is presented working in his study. A medallion in the right border depicts the author offering his opus to the patron. Both of these images are stock compositions used by del Chierico, and it is not surprising that their minute size precludes the ability to create truly realistic portraits. In contrast, a full-page miniature of the Duke and Cristoforo Landino, painted by del Chierico on a separate folio and attached to the inside back cover of this same manuscript, is one of the most penetrating miniature portraits of the Renaissance (fig. 162). The miniaturist uses a composition for the portrait then popular in panel painting showing the figures in half-length profile poses directly behind a sill draped with an oriental carpet.

The presentation miniature was another format in which the translator of a text made an appearance. The composition can be traced back through the Middle Ages to its origins in late classical book illumination. It may have been particularly popular with the wealthy bibliophiles of the Quattrocento because of its innate qualities of self-aggrandizement. The presentation miniature often occurs in dedicatory copies of translations. We have already seen that whenever the dedicatory manuscript was borrowed and copied for another patron, it was standard procedure at this time, for any dedicatory inscriptions, dedicatory prefaces or prologues, or presentation miniatures found in the

original manuscript to be copied as well. This is particularly true of the many Quattrocento copies of the translations of Plutarch and Ptolemy.

One of the most important translating activities of the mid fifteenth century to occupy the attention of many different scholars was Plutarch's *Vitae*. Piero de' Medici supported several humanists in this enterprise, and in his library are four dedicatory manuscript each containing several of the *Lives*.[24] None of these four manuscripts are illustrated beyond the use of a simple vinestem border on the frontispiece. Between 1462 and 1464 Piero had several of these translations, as well as Aretino Rinuccini's translation of the *Agesilaus* dedicated to his son, Lorenzo, and Guarino da Verona's translation of *Lysander* made for Leonello d' Este, collected into a beautiful two volume set illuminated by Francesco d' Antonio.[25] The frontispiece of the first volume includes a miniature of "Theseus and the Minotaur" placed with the incipit. The second volume is more richly illuminated. In addition to the biographical portraits included in the incipits of each *Vita*, there are two presentation miniatures. On folio 1, within the initial P, Guarino da Verona presents his translation of *Lysander* to Leonello d' Este (fig. 113), and on folio 113v, the opening initial has a miniature of Rinuccini offering his *Agesilaus* to the young Lorenzo. Once again in his presentation miniatures, del Chierico has relied upon context rather than portraiture to identify his subjects. For his portrait of Guarino da Verona, the miniaturist has even resorted to his standard portrait type, using the same round face surrounded by a bushy fringe of hair that he commonly used for ancient Roman authors.

One of the most popular texts to include a dedication miniature was Jacopo Angeli's translation of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, made for Pope Alexander V before his death in 1410. The original dedicatory copy of the manuscript is no

longer extant, so it is not known if it contained a presentation miniature; however, the many extant copies of this manuscript demonstrate that there was no portrait tradition for Jacopo. Not only does his facial type vary greatly, but so does the iconography of his dress. This contemporary scholar is either depicted in fourteenth century academic robes, the fifteenth century *giornea*, or in semi-Byzantine fashions. Francesco d' Antonio del Chierico decorated three copies of Jacopo's translation (figs. 163-165).[26] In the manuscripts in London and Milan, a kneeling Jacopo offers his text to the enthroned pope who is accompanied by several of his cardinals. Once again del Chierico has recycled his standard portrait face in imaging Jacopo and has even dressed the humanist in the fourteenth century academic robes he used for his images of Cicero. In a copy of the *Geographia* made for Borso d' Este, del Chierico breaks from this formula. He has costumed Jacopo in the fifteenth century *giornea* and refrained from using his standard portrait type; however Jacopo's rather generalized features, which are partially obscured as he turns his back to the viewer, cannot be considered true portraiture. Added to this miniature is a stylishly dressed young man looking over the pope's left shoulder. Although this face is also quite generalized, it is probably a portrait of the young Borso, who wished to include himself in the important role as patron of this text.

Francesco Rosselli decorated two copies of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, and like del Chierico, he relied more on context and iconography than in true portraiture in identifying the donor and translator. In both examples Rosselli has used an image for Jacopo that in its costume, headdress, and facial features resembles the portrait types he used for his Greek authors (figs. 167 & 168).[27] In this, he was perhaps identifying the translator with the Greek author, whose own portrait does appear later in the text (fig. 185). It wasn't until the 1490s, that

an individualized portrait of Jacopo is used in this presentation miniature. In a copy of the text made for Camillo Maria Vitelli by Monte and Gherado di Giovanni, the features of both pope and translator are specific enough to be called true portraiture (fig. 169).[28] However, since neither personality has a portrait history, it seems as if the miniaturists have constructed a suitably realistic likeness for their purposes. In fact, Jacopo looks somewhat like the many portraits Monte painted of Mathias Corvinus, the King of Hungary.

Portraits of Greek Translators and Greek Authors

There were also many Greek emigre scholars who made translations for Italian bibliophiles. They came to Italy in search of the lucrative teaching posts offered in Italian cities where humanists were anxious to read the Greek philosophers in their original language, and many stayed after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. In Florence, Greek had been taught at the university since the late fourteenth century by a succession of both Greek and Italian masters. The most famous of them all was Johannes Argyropulos who began his tenure at the University of Florence in 1456 and remained there until 1471.[29] It was probably Cosimo de' Medici who provided the funds to hire the Greek scholar to come to Florence and Argyropulos dedicated several of his translations of Aristotle to Cosimo, while others were dedicated to his heirs, Piero and Lorenzo di Piero who continued the patronage of the Greek scholar.

Only one of the dedicatory copies Argyropulos made for Cosimo and Piero is illuminated. The translation of Aristotle's *de Interpretatione*, made for Piero de' Medici, includes an "author portrait" of Argyropulos on the frontispiece (fig. 170).[30] Painted by Francesco d' Antonio it is one of the miniaturist's more realistic portraits, although the exaggerated features of the Greek scholar, with

his heavily lidded eyes, flat nose, fleshy lips, and round face surrounded by a bushy brown beard, seem more like caricature than portraiture. Several other miniatures of Argyropulos have more generalized features, but they conform to del Chierico's basic portrait type. In drawing of Argyropulos made by one of his students when he was still teaching at the Katholikon Mouseion in Constantinople, and in another miniature of the Greek humanist in a translation of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* made for Federico da Montefeltro the same round face, flat nose and bushy beard define the portrait (figs. 171 & 172).[31] In all three portraits, the translator wears a variety of tunics topped by a fantastic array of hats which reflect the exotic fashions of the contemporary Byzantine wardrobe. In the drawing from Constantinople he wears a fanciful headdress similar to the crown or *stemma* worn by the empress with its high crown and ray-like top.[32] Del Chierico gives him a black hat with a pointed crown surrounded by a brim made up of two ermine lined volutes; and in Federico's book, he wears a hat that resembles an inverted truncated cone.

Not only the Florentines, but much of western Europe had long been acquainted with Byzantine fashions as merchants, diplomats, and scholars had maintained a lively interchange with the Eastern empire ever since the crusades. The glistening silks, heavy brocades, rich colors and unusual silhouettes of Byzantine costume appealed to courtly tastes in both France and Italy. It was the presence of so many Greek aristocrats living in Florence during the four years the Council of Reunion was located there, which provided artists with the opportunity to more closely observe Byzantine fashions. The many drawings, paintings, and medals produced of the Byzantine court during this time influenced Italian artists for generations, especially the various representations made of the Byzantine emperor, John Palaeologus VIII. He

appears in a painting with the Patriarch Joseph, in a drawing by Pisannello which the artist later had stamped on a medal (fig. 173), and in a bronze bust attributed to Filarete and now in the Vatican.[33] All four images depict John VIII in a profile pose, with classic features framed by a short jutting beard and shoulder length hair naturally twisted into ringlets. The most prominent feature in all these portraits is the emperor's hat. Known as the *skiadion*, it has a high rounded crown with a brim that was turned up in the back and projected far over the wearer's face in front. It was a head covering worn by private citizens, and the Palaeologan dynasty was the first to make it an official part of their wardrobe.[34] The emperor also wears a mantle cut differently from the Italian *giornea*. Although, it is able to button up the front into a high standing collar, it is always worn partially unbuttoned, allowing the collar to fold down over the shoulders. It is the same style of mantle worn by Argyropulos in del Chierico's portrait. Usually these robes are multi-colored, but the miniaturist has dressed Argyropulos in black, the prescribed color worn by all professors in the faculty of arts at the University of Florence.[35]

It was the luxurious style of the International Gothic and the enduring taste of the wealthy class for courtly romances that kept alive the memory of the Byzantine court long after it left town. There were not many opportunities to depict contemporary Greeks in art, but this problem was solved by dressing up historical characters in the latest Byzantine fashion. Not only were ancient Greeks (and sometimes Romans) attired as modern day Byzantines but so were characters of any vaguely eastern provenance, such as the three magi, Old Testament figures, and Egyptians. For example, in a French Book of Hours decorated by the Rohan Master between 1419-27, both the three magi and the Roman soldiers present at the crucifixion of Christ wear Byzantine dress.[36] In

Italian art, a choral book decorated by Francesco d' Antonio has an historiated

initial with a representation of the boy Joseph being sold by his brothers into

slavery in which the Israelites are dressed in contemporary Florentine dress

and the Egyptians wear current Byzantine fashions (fig. 174).

One of the most popular artistic forums in which Byzantine fashion

appears in Italy is in the courtly *Roman di Troie*. In Florence, in the second

quarter of the fifteenth century, one of the most sought after illuminators for this

theme was Apollonio di Giovanni, who painted narrative scenes from the Trojan

war in illuminated *Aeneids* as well as on marriage *cassone*.[37] In his unfinished

masterpiece, a copy of the *Aeneid* painted in 1465, all the narrative

illuminations depict the ancient Greeks in an astonishing variety of Byzantine

costume. For example, in an illustration of the "Sack of Troy," the ancient

Greeks wear a combination of Greek and Italian dress as they scale the walls of

Troy which are painted to resemble the rusticated *palazzi* of Quattrocento

Florence. Once again it is the hats worn by these figures that are the most

fascinating. There is quite a variety of styles. The *skiadion* worn by John VIII is

represented, as is the truncated cone worn by Argyropulos in Federico's

Aristotle. Another popular headdress has a high rounded crown surrounded by

a variety of brims, including one that resembles a turban and another with the

double scrolls as the one worn by Argyropulos in Piero's Aristotle.

It may at first seem strange that Renaissance artists did not extend their

renewed interest in classical portraiture from their representations of ancient

Romans to those of ancient Greeks, but I believe there are two factors which

may explain this. The first reason is linked to the enduring taste of the wealthy

Italian patron for the rich color, texture, and gold-leafed surfaces of the

International Gothic style. The exotic dress of the Byzantine court appealed to

this desire for the extravagant particularly in Florence, where anti-sumptuary laws restricted the dress of its own inhabitants. The fifteenth century Renaissance patron not only commissioned artists such Masaccio, Donatello, and Ghiberti who were interested in a classical revival, but they also supported a group of artists such as Benozzo Gozzoli, Gentile da Fabriano, and Domenico Veneziano (all famous for their paintings of the "Adoration of the Magi") who continued to create works of art rooted in the decorative effects of the International Gothic. Miniaturists in particular found themselves caught between these dual aesthetics, wavering between classical sobriety and Gothic extravagance. While many miniaturists incorporated elements of classical imagery into the decoration of humanist books, they continued many of the traditional aspects of Gothic illumination, especially in liturgical books, Books of Hours, and illustrated romances.

Secondly, Renaissance humanists actually had an explanation for the fact their images of ancient Greeks dressed up as their modern day counterparts. This explanation was first recorded by Vespasiano da Bisticci In his *Lives of Illustrious Men*. After giving a brief description of the splendor of the Byzantine court during its residency in Florence for the Council of Reunion, Vespasiano remarked that Greek dress had not changed since ancient times.[38] It is doubtful that Vespasiano can be credited with establishing this idea, yet his role as one of the most important *cartolaio* of the second half of the fifteenth century undoubtedly influenced the imaging of Greeks in the humanist book.

After the 1460s, portraits of ancient Greek authors which had been displaced by images of their translators, began to appear in the frontispiece decoration. Two manuscripts decorated by Francesco Rosselli for unknown Medici patrons between 1464-70, are copies of various works of Aristotle

translated by Argyropulos for Cosimo and Piero de' Medici (figs. 175-78).[39] In

the frontispiece incipits, Francesco Rosselli has not painted the well known

features of the Greek scholar and translator who taught in Florence until 1471,

but portraits of Aristotle, who is represented as an old sage and dressed as

other ancient Greeks of the Renaissance in contemporary Byzantine costume.

In both images, Aristotle wears a tunic with a front buttoned closure under a

mantle with a large pointed collar decorated with hanging gems. It is a colorful

costume with tunic, mantle, the mantle lining and collar all of contrasting hues,

which is not in character with the sober black robes worn by Florentine

professors and donned by Argyropulos in Piero's manuscript (fig. 170). In one

portrait, Aristotle wears a hat with a scrolled brim, and in the other, the *skiadion*

made famous by John VIII.

Not only do I believe that these portraits represent Aristotle rather than

the translator because of the differences between the the facial features of

Argyropulos's portrait type and these author portraits, but it is at this time that

other miniaturists begin to use similar images for their Greek authors. Rosselli's

image of Herodotus created for a Medici patron is similar to the Aristotle of pl.

84.1 (fig. 181).[40] In this case, it certainly cannot be a portrait of the translator

who was the Italian humanist Lorenzo Valla. Similar portraits of ancient Greek

authors appear in Greek editions of their texts when no translator is involved, as

in a copy of the *Phaenomena* of Aratus also painted by Rosselli, in a copy of

Homer's *Iliad* painted by either Rosselli or the "Master of the Medici Iliad," and

in a copy of Theodore Gaza's *Greek Grammar* painted by the "Master of Edili

116." (figs. 182-184).[41] None of these author portraits are inscribed, which

would secure their identification; however, images of ancient Greek authors

placed in contexts other than the author portraits are often labeled. Aristotle, in

particular, was a popular member of the *famosi* in illustrations of Petrarch's "Triumph of Fame," and beneath his identifying label he always appears in Byzantine costume.

The tradition of dressing ancient Greeks, as well as other personalities of a vaguely eastern provenance in Byzantine costume continued well into the sixteenth century. By the late fifteenth century, the costume was so recognized as a signifier for "the other," that not only the three magi, Old Testament patriarchs, and Egyptians were represented in this dress, but other foreigners of decidedly European heritage. An episode in the fresco decoration of the Piccolomini library, painted by Pinturicchio between 1502-08 and which chronicles the life accomplishments of Pope Pius II (Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini), depicts the young Aeneas on a diplomatic mission to King James I of Scotland in 1435 (fig. 187). The king is enthroned in the center of the fresco and is costumed in the Byzantine dress made popular by the Council of the Reunion sixty years earlier. With his long grey hair and beard he is imaged in the tradition of an ancient author rather than as a European king.

Portraits of the Patrons

We have already mentioned several cases in which portraits of the patron are included as part of the frontispiece decoration. Portrait medallions had always been a part of the classicizing imagery included in the decorative borders of the humanist book. In the 1450s, these faces are unrecognizable, their general distinctions as soldier or saint only serve to identify the literary genre of the text. It is not until the mid 1460s that these border medallions begin to hold recognizable images of the patron and his family. In the previously discussed copies of Aristotle's works, translated by Johannes Argyropulos, and

decorated by Francesco Rosselli for unidentified members of the Medici family, portraits of Cosimo and Piero de' Medici appear in the border medallions (figs. 175-178). In pl. 71.7, the images of the two Medici are painted imitations of their portrait medals, and in fact may be some of the earliest examples of this tradition as popularized by Rosselli. The books could not have been painted prior to 1464, since Cosimo's portrait bears the inscription, *Pater Patriae*, a title officially bestowed upon the elder Medici by the Signoria after his death in 1464. It is believed that a commemorative medal of Cosimo bearing this title, as well as medals of his sons Piero and Giovanni were created shortly after this date (figs. 179 & 180). In pl. 84.1 the portrait of Piero is again an imitation of his portrait medal while the image of Cosimo is painted and does not bear the commemorative inscription.

Even though the portraits of Piero are placed in the space at the bottom of the page usually reserved for owner's stemma - the Medici coat of arms appearing elsewhere in the border decoration and on the title page - it is not known if these manuscripts were commissioned by Piero. They are not inscribed with his ex libris nor included in the inventory of his books. The manuscripts contain works of Aristotle already present in Piero's library in the dedicatory copies made by Argyropulos for either him or Cosimo. The manuscript pl. 71.7 includes the *Analytica Priora*, dedicated to Piero and listed in both the 1456 and 1464 inventories of his library, and a copy of the *Analytica Posteriora*, which was dedicated to Cosimo. Manuscript 84.1 has several works of Aristotle including the *De interpretatione*, of which Piero already had an illuminated copy (pl 71.18). While it is possible that Piero commissioned these deluxe editions to replace his dedicatory copies and the miniaturist did not finish the manuscripts before Piero's death in 1469, it is more likely that these

manuscripts were commissioned by a patron of the next generation of Medici who included portraits of Piero and Cosimo to honor the important role of his ancestors in the patronage of Argyropulos, the translator of these Aristotelian texts.

Other patrons of the next generation of book collectors between 1470 and 1490 often had their portraits included in the frontispiece decoration of their manuscripts, especially Federico da Montefeltro and King Mathias Corvinus of Hungary. Simple profile busts were the most common format used, although the patron also appears in presentation miniatures and narrative scenes. In a copy of Francesco Berlinghieri's geographical treatise owned by Federico, a portrait of the Duke has actually usurped the traditional location for the author in the opening initial (fig. 187).[42] Berlinghieri has not been forgotten, however. He appears in no less than five of the border medallions engaged in studying a globe of the world, in writing his treatise, in scholarly dispute, and in contemplation before a vision of God.

The full-page image of Federico and the humanist Cristoforo Landino has already been discussed (fig. 162); and although full-page portraits are very rare in humanist books, Federico's library included at least one other. In a copy of Poggio's *Historia fiorentina* is a full-page miniature of a young man dressed in armor and crowned with laurels, which may be an image of the Duke's son, Guidobaldo (fig. 188).[43] The young man sits on a horse depicted in a profile image that resembles the portrait of the condotierre, Sir John Hawkwood, painted by Uccello on the walls of Florence Cathedral. The horses trappings are decorated with several of the Dukes personal devices. Stretched out behind the equestrian portrait is a vast landscape showing well tended orchards and farmland surrounding the walled mountain top city of Urbino.

The books of Mathais Corvinus, created during the 1480s and 1490s often include a portrait medallion of the King in the border decoration. Usually he is placed in the center of the left border. In the King's missal decorated by Attavante, Corvinus appears in this location, while his wife is represented in a medallion in the opposite border (fig. 189).[44] In a deluxe edition of St. Jerome's commentary on the Bible decorated by Monte di Giovanni, Corvinus again appears in the left border next to the author portrait (fig. 190).[45] He has placed himself in good company, the other border medallions contain images of the four evangelists and the Salvator Mundi.

The King not only appears in border medallions, but as the miniatures in his books began to imitate the illusionistic effects of more monumental styles of painting, he begins to appear in these miniatures in the same manner as patrons of panel paintings and frescoes. On the frontispiece to St. Jerome's translation of *Didymus*, the king and his queen kneel below a tondo of the saint in the traditional posture of donors (fig. 191).[46] In a miniature preceding the frontispiece to a three volume edition of the Bible also illuminated by Monte, King Corvinus is represented with the Emperor Carl VIII and another unidentified young man standing in the same landscape as the praying King David. Both kings point to a vision of God floating above a Florentine landscape where the Hebrew and Philistine armies gather for war. (fig. 192) [47]

In the last years of Florentine book illumination, from the late seventies to the early nineties, miniaturists made a more systematic attempt to portray all of the important individuals involved in the production of the humanist book, including the author, the translator or commentator, and the patron. Often the portraits were divided between two frontispieces. This development first occurred in illuminated copies of Ptolemy's *Geographia*. In the manuscripts

decorated by Francesco Rosselli, the first frontispiece, which contained the translators dedicatory preface, had a presentation miniature of the translator, Jacopo Angeli, and his patron, Pope Alexander V. Ptolemy's text actually began several pages later, at which point another frontispiece was inserted with an author portrait of the Greek scientist in his study (figs. 166, 167 & 185).

One of the most organized examples of book portraiture at this late date can be found in a copy of Pliny illuminated by Gherardo di Giovanni for Filippo Strozzi between 1479-82 (figs. 193 & 195).[48] This incunabula contains the translation of Pliny's *Natural History* made by Cristoforo Landino under the patronage of King Ferdinand of Aragon. In the incipit, which decorates Landino's preface to the text, Pliny is depicted in his *studiolo* studying a globe of the world. In medallions at the bottom of the page are the two patrons. King Ferdinand, who originally financed the translation, is represented in the left corner and Filippo Strozzi, who commissioned this particular manuscript, appears with his young son in the right medallion. The profile portrait of Filippo faithfully duplicates the feature of the humanist as found on his portrait medallion and in a portrait bust by Mino da Fiesole (fig. 194).[49] The second frontispiece has Landino's prologue, written to extol the humanist virtues of his patron, the King of Aragon. At the bas-de-page is a large medallion with a portrait of Landino displaying an open book of his completed translation. Although Landino's portrait is somewhat generalized, it does resemble the more individualized feature found in del Chierico's full-page miniature (fig. 162).

By displaying these many portraits - the author, the translator, the patron of the translation, and the patron of this particular manuscript - each individual is accorded his proper role in this literary enterprise. These portraits, however, are more than a visual symbol of accomplishment. They are a culmination of

the renewed interest of the Italian Renaissance in the classical idea of the *viri illustri* begun one hundred years earlier by Petrarch. By including their portraits in this much honored classical text, King Ferdinand, Filippo Strozzi and his son, and the humanist Cristoforo Landino have elevated themselves to the same status as Pliny. They too can be considered as one of the *famosi*, whose deeds will continue to affect the events of history for many generations to come.

Notes to Chapter Six

[1] Vite, trans. Waters, 25.

[2] For Coluccio Salutati's Greek studies, see B. Ullman, *The Humanism of Coluccio Salutati*, Padua, 1963, 119-25.

[3] For Manuel Chrysoloras and other emigre Greek scholars in Italy and the important translations made by their students, see D. J. Geanakoplos, *Constantinople and the West*, Madison, 1989, 3-37. In 1401, Chrysoloras was asked by the Greek emperor who was passing through northern Italy on his way to France to join him in Milan where he stayed to be the Greek ambassador at the Visconti court and taught Greek at the University of Pavia, see Ullman, 122-23.

[4] For the translations made by these humanists, see R. Weiss, "Jacopo Angeli da Scarperia," in *Medioevo e Rinascimento, Studi in onore di Bruno Nardi*, Florence, 1955, II, 809ff; G. Griffiths et al., *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni*, Binghamton, N.Y., 1987; Louise Ropes Loomis, "The Greek Studies of Poggio Bracciolini," in Roger Sherman Loomis, ed., *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis*, New York, 1927, 489-512. Ambrogio Traversari also studied with the Greek monk Scaranus, see C. Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance*, Albany, 1977.

[5] For Argyropulos, see A. Gamelli, *Giovanni Argiropilo*, Florence, 1941; and Jerrold E. Seigel, "The Teaching of Argyropulos and the Rhetoric of the First Humanists," in *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe*, T. Rabb and J. Seigel, eds., Princeton, 1969, 237-260.

[6] For a list of the translations commissioned by and/or dedicated to Cosimo, see Alison M. Brown, "The Humanistic Portrait of Cosimo de' Medici, Pater Patriae," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, XXIV, 1961, 186-221. For Piero's commissioned translations, see Ames-Lewis, *The Library and Manuscripts of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici*, London, 1984, 9-12.

[7] A. Brown reproduces the preface addressed to Cosimo from Argyropulos in his translations of Aristotle's *Physica*, *de Anima*, and *Ethica Posteriorum*, 214-221. Jerrold Seigel reproduces Argyropulos's preface to Piero in his translation of *De interpretatione* in "The Teaching of Argyropulos and the Rhetoric of the First Humanists," in T. Rabb and J. Seigel eds., *Action and Conviction in Modern Europe*, Princeton, 1969, 256-60.

[8] Texts dedicated to Piero without author portraits include: pl. 33.25, Cristoforo Landino, *Xandra;* pl. 34.54, Francesco di Ottavio, *de Coetu Poetarum* (bound with other texts dedicated to Cosimo, Lorenzo di Piero, and Giovanni di Lorenzo); pl. 54.6, B. Accoliti, *de Bello contra Turcas*; and the four Plutarch texts listed in n. 24. See Ames-Lewis, nos. 11, 14, and 40.

[9] Cosimo's original copy of Argyropulos's translations of Aristotle dedicated to him is pl. 54.10. Other Greek texts translated by Leonardo Bruni for Cosimo and inherited by Piero include, Aristotle's *Ethica* (pl. 79.7) pseudo-Aristotle's *Economica* (pl. 79.19) and Plato's *Gorgias* and *Phaedo* which was bound together with the *Orationes* of Demosthenes and the work of Aeschines (pl 82.8). See Ames-Lewis, no. 80, 81, and 86.

[10] Diogenes Laertius, *de Clarorum Philosophorum Vitis,* trans. by Fra Ambrogio Traversari, pl. 65.22. See Ames-Lewis, no. 54.

[11] Plato, *Epistulae,* pl. 76.43; and Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea, Economica,* and *Politica,* pl. 79.6, pl. 79.21, and pl. 79.22. See d' Ancona, nos. 461, 463, and 464; Ames-Lewis, nos. 79, 82, 83.

[12] Pope-Hennessey, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture,* London, 1958, 278-79, plates 52, 54.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Plato's *Epistulae,* Xenophon and Basil, translated by Bruni; Onosander, translated by Niccolò Sagondino, pl. 76.42. See Bandini, III, col. 113-14; d' Ancona, no. 456; de la Mare, "The Library of Francesco Sassetti," in Cecil H. Clough, ed., *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance, Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller,* Manchester, 1976, 184; Garzelli, 214, fig. 771. Garzelli (214-15, fig. 771) has called this miniaturist the "Miniatore del Tucidide Sassetti."

[15] Bruni, *Historia fiorentina,* Bibl. Vaticana, urb. lat. 464, f. 2. See Garzelli, 183; Maria and Luigi Moranti, *Il Trasferimento dei Codices Urbinates alla Biblioteca Vaticana,* Urbino, 1981, 407, no. 653; C. Stornajolo, *Bibliothecae Vaticanae codices urbinates Latini,* Rome, I, no. 464.

[16] G. F. Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance Before Cellini,* London, 1930.

[17] Cf. the entries for these persons in Hill.

[18] Xenophontis, *vita Socratici,* trans. by Poggio Bracciolini, Florence, Bibl. Laur., Strozzi 50, Florentine workshop, mid-1450s.

19 Diodoro Siculo, translated by Poggio Bracciolini, Bibl. Vaticana, vat. lat. 1811, f. 1. See Garzelli, 142, n. 8, fig. 380.

20 Poggio Bracciolini, *De varietate fortune*, Bibl. Vaticana, urb. lat. 224. This text was originally dedicated to Pope Nicholas V. This particular manuscript was made for an unknown patron and later purchased by Duke Federico da Montefeltro. Medallions in the vinestem border contain representations of the seven virtues. See Garzelli, 140, fig. 424-26; Moranti, 391, no. 424; Stornajolo, I, no. 224.

21 It has claimed that the prophet Joshua carved for the campanile by Bernardo Ciuffagni (often wrongly attributed to Donatello) is an effigy of Poggio. His features do bear a resemblance to those in the miniature of Poggio by del Chierico; however, this tradition can only be traced back as far as the 18th century. See J. W. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello*, Princeton, 1963, 225-28.

22 Niccolò Tignosi, *Commentarium super Ethica Aristotelis*, pl. 76.49. According to de la Mare this is presumably the presentation manuscript to Piero dating from ca. 1461. See also Bandini III, col. 119; Ames-Lewis, no. 78.

23 Cristoforo Landino, *Disputationes camaldulenses*, Bibl. Vaticana, urb. lat. 508. See Garzelli, 141, fig. 427-28; Stornajolo, II, no. 508.

24 1) pl. 65.32, *Agis et Cleomenes*, translated by A. Rinuccini dedicated to Piero on September 11, 1458 has simple vinestem illumination by the Fiesole Master's workshop; 2) pl. 65.33, *Nicias et Crassus*, translated by A. Rinuccini, dedicated to Piero on December 24, 1455 has such simple vinestem decoration that it is not yet attributed; 3) pl. 65.34, *Demetrius*, translated by D. Acciaiuoli and presented to Piero between 1454 and 1459, fairly high quality vinestem decoration perhaps by a follower of Francesco d' Antonio; 4) 67.19 *Alcibiades*, translated by D. Acciaiuoli, presented to Piero between 1454 and 1459, vinestem decoration by the same illuminator as pl. 65.34. See Ames-Lewis, nos. 57, 58, 59, 66.

25 Vol. 1 (pl. 65.26) and Vol. 2 (65.27). See d' Ancona, no. 792; Ames-Lewis, nos. 55 and 56, Garzelli, This is one of the two manuscripts in which the miniaturist has signed his name, inscribing "FRANCISCUS PINXIT" inside the incipit. Francesco d' Antonio also signed his name in Greek on the title page of Giovanni's Pliny (pl. 82.4), although the frontispiece of this manuscript was illuminated by Ricciardo di Nanni, see Chapter 5.

26 London, Brit. Lib. ms. Harl. 7182, f. 1; Paris, Bibl. Nat. ms. lat. 4801, f. 2; and Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, ms. B 52 inf., f. 1. See Garzelli, 138-39.

[27] Bibl. Vatican, urb. lat 277 made for Federico da Montefeltro. See Garzelli, figs. 560-564; Moranti, 393, no. 488; Stornajolo, I, no. 277. Paris, Bibl. Nationale, ms. lat. 4802. See Garzelli, fig. 573.

[28] Florence, Bibl. Centrale, cl. XIII. 16, f. 1. See Garzelli, 300-01, figs. 959, 960, 964-96.

[29] For Argyropulos, see n. 5. He moved to Rome in 1471 and lived there until his death in 1490 or 1491.

[30] Aristotle, De Interpretatione, etc., trans. by Johannes Argyropulos, pl. 71.18, f. 1. See Bandini, III, cols. 5-6; d' Ancona, no. 452; Ames-Lewis, no. 70.

[31] Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Barocci 87. The drawing, made with pen and red, yellow, and blue wash on paper was inserted into a manuscript containing works of Aristotle, Porphyrius, and Psellus. Behind the portrait is written "Johannes didaskalos Argyropulos." The Katholikon Mouseion at the Xenon in Constantinople was a school for the training of clerics, See H. Belting, Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft, Heidelberg, 1970, 26, n. 88; and J. Spatharakis, The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts, Leiden, 1976, 258-59, who believes it is a portrait of Aristotle not Argyropulos. Urb. lat. 1324 is a copy of the translation made for Cosimo de' Medici and includes Argyropulos's dedicatory preface to Cosimo on f. 2. See Stornajolo, III, no. 1324; Moranti, 388, no 369. Cf. Bandini III, col. 169-171.

[32] As defined by Spatharakis, 263.

[33] For Pisanello's images, see J. A. Fasanelli, "Some notes on Pisanello and the Council of Florence," Master Drawings, 3, 1965, 36-47, fig. 2. These images resemble a miniature of John VIII of western origin that was painted on paper and, added to a 13th century Greek Psalter and New Testament, Sinait. gr. 2123, f. 30v. Reproduced in Spatharakis, fig. 20.

[34] Spatharakis, 53, 263. The term skiadion refers to the shadow the brim casts over the wearer's face.

[35] Hargreaves-Mawdsley, A History of Academic Dress in Europe until the End of the Eighteenth Century, Oxford, 1963, 24.

[36] Paris Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 9471, ff. 99, 27.

[37] For Apollonio di Giovanni, see E. H. Gombrich, "Apollonio di Giovanni: A Florentine Cassone Workshop seen through the Eyes of a Humanistic Poet," in Norm and Form, London, 1966; E. Callman, Apollonio di Giovanni, Oxford, 1974; Garzelli, 41-48.

[38] *Vite*, trans. Waters, 26.

[39] pl. 71.7 and 84.1. Neither manuscript could have been produced earlier than 1464, since the portraits of Cosimo and Piero which appear in the border decoration of pl. 71.7 are painted imitations of their portrait medals which could not have been struck before this date. Cosimo's is inscribed *Pater Patriae*, a title officially bestowed upon the elder Medici by the Signoria after his death in 1464. It is believed that medals of Piero and Giovanni were created at the same time. Garzelli, 183; K. Langedijk, *The Portraits of the Medici*, I, 398-400, II, 1005, 1334-37; and G. F. Hill.

[40] pl. 67.1, f. 10. Garzelli reproduces (fig. 543) but does not discuss this image.

[41] London, British Library, ms. add. 11886, f. 1, was made for an unknown Medici patron. See Garzelli, fig. 523. Homer, Iliad, pl. 32.4, f. 43, painted by Francesco Rosselli or the Master of the Medici Illiad was also made for an unknown Medici patron. See Garzelli, fig. 524, 525. Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 55.15 by Master of Edili 116 was painted for an unknown patron, the stemma is blank, See Garzelli fig. 654.

[42] Berlinghieri, *Geographia*, Bibl. Vaticana, urb. lat. 273. See Moranti, 396, no. 496; Stornajolo, I, no. 273; Garzelli, fig. 491.

[43] Poggio Bracciolini, *Historia fiorentina*, Bibl. Vatican, urb. lat. 491, f. 2v., attributed to the Maestro del Senofonte Hamilton. See Moranti, 406, no. 644; Stornajolo, I, no 491; Garzelli, 157-62, fig. 469. Federico and his son were often painted together. For example, the paintings by Justus van Ghent in which the Duke and son are represented in the Duke's library and a panel in the Royal Collection of Hampton Court (1418) of "Federico da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, his Son Guidobaldo and Others listening to a Discourse."

[44] Missal, Bruxelles, Bibl. Royal Albert Ier de Belgique, ms. 9008, f. 8v. See E. Müntz, "Le Missel de Mathias Corvin à la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles," *Gazette archéologique*, VIII, 1883, 116-20; C. Gaspar and F. Lyna, *Le Principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, Paris, 1937, vol. II; Garzelli, fig. 735.

[45] St. Jerome's *Commentary on the Bible*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 930, f. 1. See Garzelli, 312-13, fig. 915.

[46] Didymus, translated by St. Jerome, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. 496, f. 2. See, William Voelkle, *Renaissance Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, New York, ms. 496; Csaba Csapodi, *Illuminated Manuscripts from the Library of Mathias Corvinus*, Budapest, 1969, 61-62, figs. 192-94; M.

Harrsen and G. K. Boyce, *Italian Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, New York, 1953; William Voelkle, Renaissance Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1981; Garzelli, 310, fig. 563.

[47] *Corvinus Bible*, pl. 15.17 See K. Csapodi, "Le tre figure storiche della Bibbia fiorentina," *Scriptorium*, XXVIII, 1974, 133ff; Garzelli, 303-06, figs. 903-914.

[48] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, translated into Florentine by Cristoforo Landini, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 310. See O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford*, II, 109, Plate LXXXVII, 48.

[49] For Filippo Strozzi's medal and his portrait bust by Benedetto da Maiano, see Pope-Hennessey, *The Portrait in the Renaissance*, New York, 1966, 82, figs. 84, 85.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

It was the Greeks who first began to honor their famous authors by placing commemorative statues of them on public display, and undoubtedly author portraits were created in other less durable media that have not survived. In Roman art, author portraits were the subject not only of monumental statuary, but of statuettes, busts, bas reliefs, frescoes, mosaics, coins, gems, cameos, and the miniatures decorating both scroll and codex. During the Middle Ages, this ancient tradition of commemorating the author through portraiture survived only in the illuminated book.

Medieval illuminated manuscripts demonstrate that the three formats popularized by the ancient Greeks and Romans for author portraits - the seated philosopher, the standing orator, and the bust medallion - continued with few changes. The presentation miniature can also be traced back to late classical times. The major difference between classical and Medieval author portraits is in the identities of the writers whose books were decorated with author portraits. In Christian Europe the interest in pagan literature waned, and when the works of ancient Greek and Roman authors were copied, the manuscripts rarely included author portraits. Only the writings of the most revered Christian authors were decorated in this manner. In fact, the most common illustrations in the Medieval biblical literature are spectacular full-page portraits of the four Gospel writers. Other Christian writers, such as the early Church Fathers and later apologists, were often represented in much smaller portraits squeezed into the empty spaces of the opening initial, a location with no antique precedence.

The periodic revivals of classical literature during the Middle Ages did little to reestablish the tradition of the author portrait in pagan literature. Although Carolingian miniaturists often reproduced the author portraits of the classical texts they copied, this practice did not survive beyond the tenth century, except in a few scientific texts. Even during the scholastic period the summaries, commentaries and translations of classical literature created for the university classroom relegated a portrait of the author to the back pages. The frontispiece was decorated with an image of the contemporary scholar lecturing to his students.

It was not until the next classical revival in fifteenth century Italy that the portraits of ancient pagan authors once again attracted the attention of the miniaturist. In general, the Renaissance interest in portraiture paralleled that of the ancient Romans. In Roman society, portraits operated not only as a reminder of the physical characteristics of one's deceased ancestors, but as a symbol of their noted achievements while alive. Pliny actually compared portraiture to historical records. Renaissance humanists were well aware of the classical use of portraiture as a *topos* for the hero. Throughout the fifteenth century, there was a marked increase in the commissioning of portraits as not only aristocrats and churchmen, but also merchants, condotierri, doctors, and statesmen immortalized themselves in permanent images.

In the illuminated book, the author portrait became a symbol for the role of the author in the creation and transmission of ideas that would influence future generations for centuries; however, author portraits did not begin to appear in the humanist book until the 1450s. The late appearance of author portraits in manuscript illumination may be explained by the nature of its earliest patrons. The earliest humanists were not wealthy patrons, but scholars who

were more concerned with the text than its decoration and who were also restricted by limited budgets. In Florence, where the movement began in the final years of the fourteenth century, the civic humanists concerned themselves with the search for classical texts which had long ago been forgotten in remote monastic libraries and the editing and translating of these texts in order to correct centuries of scribal error. In the books commissioned for their libraries they were mainly concerned with developing a script and layout that would more accurately reflect classical prototypes, a feat hampered by the fact that no classical books survived.

Their first priority was the development of a legible script to replace the florid and highly abbreviated Gothic hand. They based their new script, called "lettera antica" upon an earlier Carolingian script which had been copied from classical prototypes. Since the fifteenth century humanists were familiar with few books that could be dated to the Carolingian period, it was examples of twelfth century Tuscan literature, still using the script of the Carolingian reform, that inspired the script reform of the Renaissance humanists. It was also these Romanesque texts which provided both scribes and miniaturists with the *bianchi girari* motif, a vine-like pattern with its roots in germanic not classical art. The *bianchi girari* motif became the standard decoration for the incipits and borders of the Florentine humanist book from 1400 to 1460.

It wasn't until the 1440s that the humanist book became more richly illuminated as wealthy bibliophiles began to create private libraries stocked with the newly revised and translated editions of classical literature. Florence was the center of book production as the book hunting activites of its early humanists had left the archives stocked with many hard to find exemplars. For the first ten years, this decoration consisted of an expansion of the *bianchi girari* initial into

a decorative border that surrounded one to four sides of the text block. The border was inhabited with a variety of miniature plants and animals, as well as motifs of a more classical origin such as putti and portrait medallion inspired by the antique coins and gems collected by these same patrons. Textual decoration was for the most part restricted to the frontispiece and it wasn't until the mid 1450s that author portraits began to make their appearance as part of the frontispiece decoration.

For the miniaturist, the author portrait presented a challenge not faced by artists in other media. While sculptors and painters approached their subject with increasing naturalism, miniaturists were hampered in this goal by the fact that their subjects were mostly men who had been dead for hundreds of years and their features, so well recorded in antiquity, had not yet surfaced in the archaeological record. It was also necessary for the miniaturist to create a portrait that the reader could easily identify as the author of the text. For this purpose miniaturists could rely upon the medieval tradition, which consistently placed author portraits in the opening initial of the text and provided them with the traditional identifying attributes: a book, a pen, or other paraphernalia of the writer's craft. However, in the quest for an author portrait that expressed the renewed interest of the Renaissance humanist in the use of portraiture as a signifier for fame, these iconographic traditions were no longer adequate. Between 1450 and 1465, Florentine miniaturists developed a new iconographic tradition for the author portrait. This new system divides authorship into several broad categories based upon the cultural origin of the authors and their literary genre. Patristic, Roman, Greek, and Italian authors were differentiated, as were poets, orators and historians.

Patristic texts were some of the most beautifully illustrated books in the libraries of the Renaissance humanists, indicating the enduring respect of the humanists for Christian literature. The writings of Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome were particularly popular at this time, as it was believed that they wrote in a Latin style that had not yet been corrupted by Gaulic influences. In the author portraits for these and other patristic authors, the Quattrocento miniaturist often used established iconography in new ways. Rather than place a lone figure within the incipit, miniaturists often historiated the initial with scenes from the saint's life, investing these small scenes with the Renaissance concern for genre, landscape, perspective, and classical detail. It was also common to use the motif of the author in his study, which had developed in fresco painting at the end of the fourteenth century. The author was depicted in a wood paneled room that resembled the private *studioli* of wealthy bibliophiles. He was depicted seated at a desk, hard at work on his opus and surrounded by books and other genre details. The miniaturist developed an interesting variation on this theme by combining the motifs of the author in his *studiolo* and the author in a landscape. In this image the author's *studiolo* has been transferred from its interior location and placed in a landscape setting, combining the intimate with the monumental. This conflation of two separate motifs indicates the book illuminator's dual interest in both past traditions and contemporary trends, as the ancient tradition of the author at work in a landscape is combined with a new concern for genre detail. It is also possible that the miniaturist was interested in maintaining the traditional association between landscape and revelation that can be traced back in Christian tradition to the Revelation of St. John on the island of Patmos, and in humanist culture to Petrarch's vision on Mount Ventoux. This syncretism of medieval tradition and the new interest in

classical motifs, informs all the iconographic variation developed for the author portrait.

Perhaps the most powerful classical influences on miniaturists at this time were Roman antiquities such as coins, medals, engraved gems and cameos that were also collected by their patrons. These are most likely the inspiration for the unidentified faces of saints, soldiers, and fashionably dressed Italians that appear in the border medallions during the 1450, and are certainly the inspiration for the illusionistic imitations of cameos and gems that inhabit the border decoration in the 1460s. However for the most part, the influence of these miniature portraits is general rather than specific, and no author portrait can be traced to a specific Roman exemplar. Rather the miniaturist borrowed the basic laureated profile pose. This image was used most often for portraits of poets, undoubtedly because of the Quattrocento's revival of the ancient tradition of the poet laureate.

Cicero was probably the most represented author during the Renaissance, and his author portraits combine aspects of medieval and classical traditions to create a recognizable symbol for the orator. In late scholastic tradition, Cicero was often attired in the red ermine trimmed gown of a doctor of Canon or Civil Law. This may have originally developed as a means for lawyers to identify with the great rhetorician after whom they modeled their own speech. During the fifteenth century, Cicero continued to be attired in this anachronistic academic garb, at a time when instructors at the university and other professionals, including the humanists themselves, were wearing the new and rather modest *giornea*. Whether miniaturists used this outdated fashion to historicize their image, placing the author in an indefinite past, is difficult to determine. Nevertheless it functioned as an immediately recognizable sign for

the ancient rhetorician, and separated him from his modern counterparts. To reinforce his identity as a rhetorician, Cicero is often depicted standing on a podium in imitation of the classical orator's stance. He was also depicted in this manner in the late fourteenth century; however, the Renaissance artist replaced the earlier Gothic sway with a classical contrapposto, and placed the orator in a niche that resembled both ancient models and the classicizing examples of contemporary sculptors.

The iconographic formula for ancient historians was less firmly established than those created for either classical poets or the rhetorician, Cicero. Historians also appear less frequently in the frontispiece decoration, since the incipits of historical texts were often illuminated with narrative scenes, rather than with an image of the author. It was also more common in historical texts for the portrait of the author, if it appears, to be transferred to one of the border medallions. If this happens, the author can always be identified by the book he prominently holds in one hand. Historians are costumed in a variety of fashions including the same fourteenth century academic robes worn by Cicero, in the fifteenth century *giornea*, the classical toga, or in rare instances as Roman soldiers, in imitation of the *viri illustri* who are the subject matter of their histories.

Images of Greek authors do not appear in the humanist book until the mid 1460s. Prior to that time the opening initial is filled with a portrait of his translator or commentator, following medieval tradition. The Italian and Greek translators are distinguished by their dress. Italians are attired in their *giornea* and either wear their *cappuccio* or drape it over one shoulder in the new fifteenth century fashion. Greek scholars are always depicted in contemporary Byzantine fashion. When portraits of ancient Greek authors begin to appear in

copies of their works in the 1460s, they too are attired in exotic Byzantine costume. This tradition of dressing ancient Greeks as their modern day counterparts can be traced back to the late fourteenth century. It was used to define characters of any vaguely eastern origin including the three magi, Egyptians, and Old Testament figures, in addition to the ancient Greeks. In Italy, it was particularly popular in illustrations of the Trojan War which illustrated copies of the *Aeneid* as well as marriage *cassone*. The Greek astronomer Ptolemy is often depicted in a Renaissance *studiolo* detailed with maps and armillary spheres that define his interests.

In the mid 1460s, the patrons who commissioned these books began to appear on the frontispiece in realistic images that rival their portraits in the more monumental media. They always retain their own identity and never impersonate the author, as was common in religious paintings when their faces were often superimposed over those of biblical characters. By the 1480s, the frontispiece had become a showcase for portraits, with images of the author, the translator, the patron, and members of the patron's family all making an appearance. By joining the ancient author, these contemporary humanists also claim distinction as *uomini illustri*, and celebrate their role in keeping alive the literary, scientific and philosophical knowledge of the ancients.

Figure 1. Hydria with portrait of Sappho. National Museum, Athens, #1260.

Figure 2. Menander. House of the Menander, Pompeii. Exedra 23, left wall.
Third quarter of 1st century A.D.

Figure 3. Sophocles (restored). Vatican Museum.

Figure 4. Plato (reconstructed cast by Hekler).

Figure 5. Philosopher. Vatican Museum (drawing by Reinach).

Figure 6. Kleanthes? British Museum.

Figure 7. Philosopher, Stele found on the Acropolis.

Figure 8. Demosthenes (inscribed). Villa Doria Pamphili, Rome.

Figure 9. Sophocles (inscribed). Mosaic found at Cologne and now in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne.

Figure 10. Aratos and Muse. Mosaic. Trier Museum.
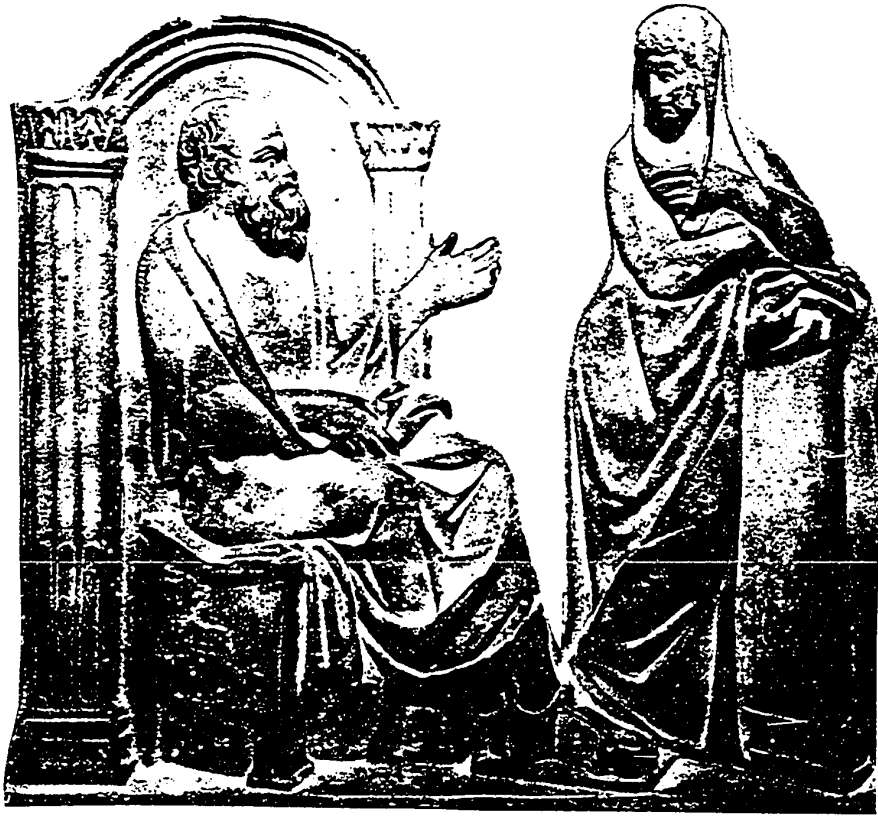
Figure 11. Socrates and Muse. Roman sarcophagus. Louvre.
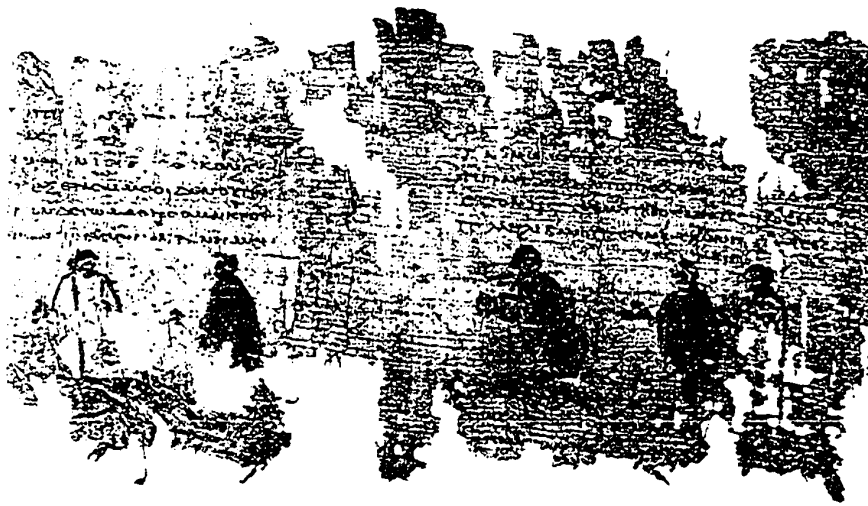
Figure 12. Hellenistic papyrus. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. suppl. gr. 1294.

Figure 13. Galen. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, cod. E 37 sup., f. 82r.

Figure 14. Sacra Parallela, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. Parisinus, 923.

Figure 15. Sacra Parallela, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. Parisinus, 923.
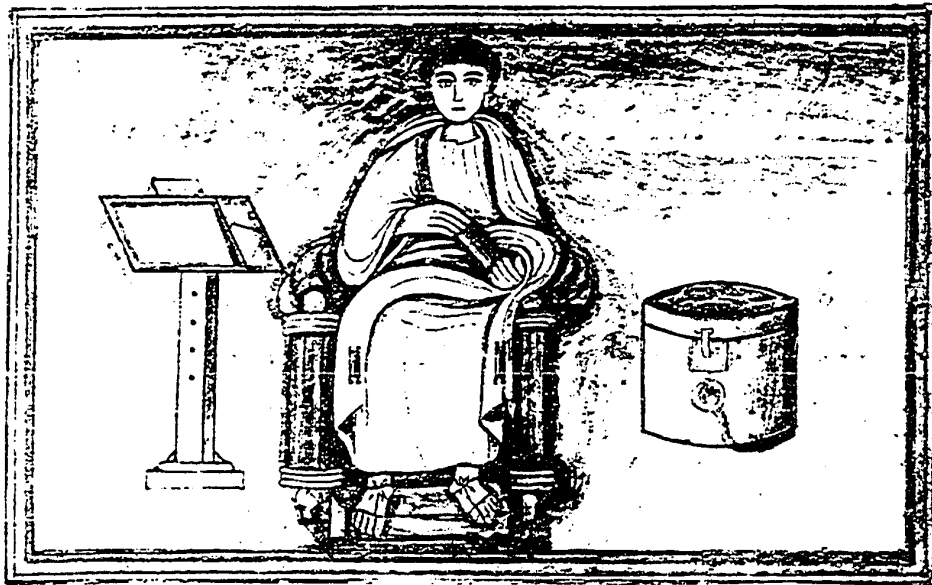
Figure 16. Vergilius Romanus. Biblioteca Vaticana, lat. 3225, f. 3v. *Virgil.*

TERENTI

Figure 17. Terentius. Biblioteca Vaticana, cod. lat. 3868, f. 2r. *Terence*.

Figure 18. Dioscurides. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek cod. med. gr. 1, f. 3v.
Seven Physicians.
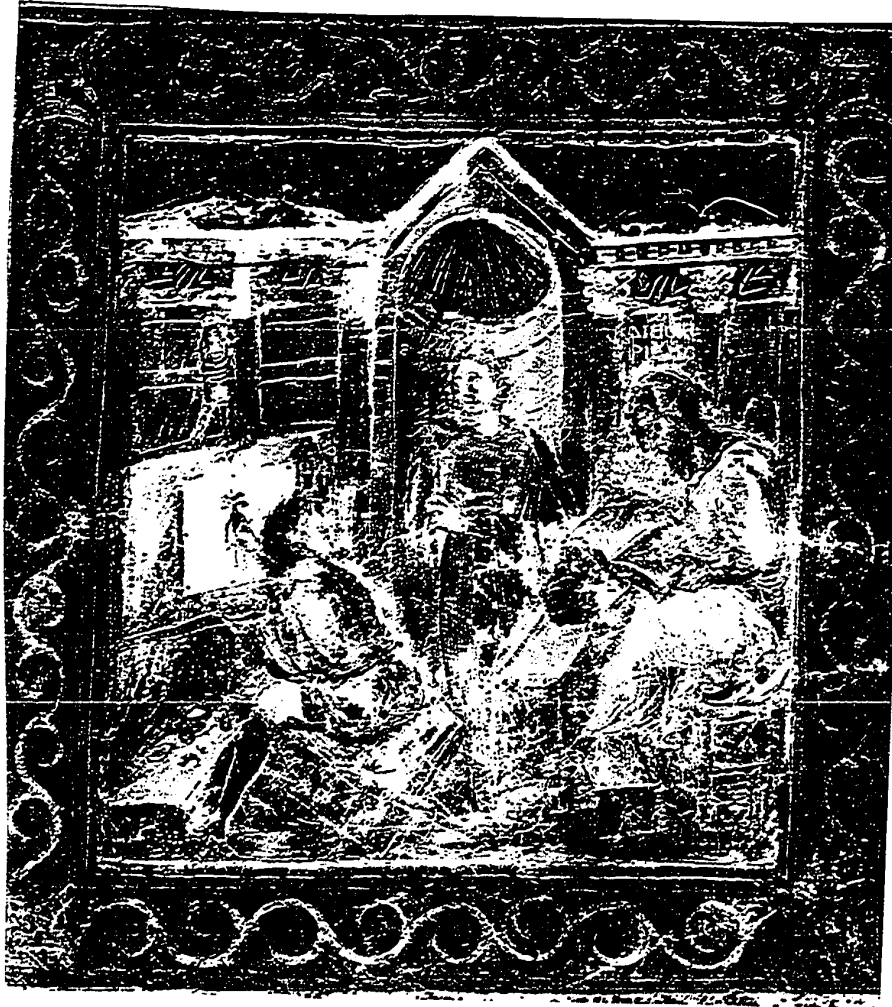
Figure 19. Dioscurides. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek cod. med. gr. 1, f. 5v.
Dioscurides.

Figure 20. Rosanno Gospels. Il Duomo di Rossano. *Canon Tables.*
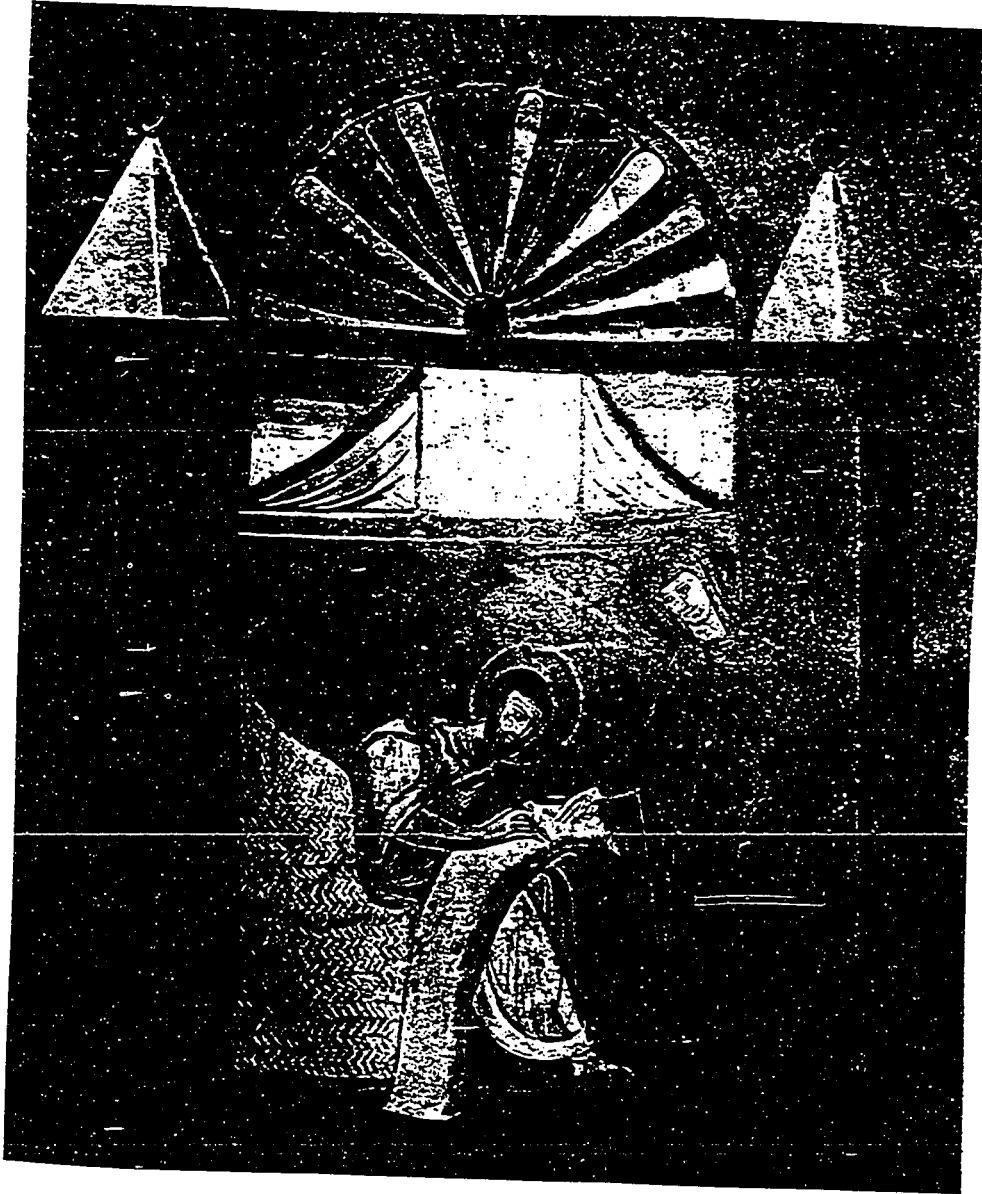
Figure 21. Rosanno Gospels. Il Duomo di Rossano. f. 121r. *St. Mark.*

Figure 22. Rabbula Gospels. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, pl. 1. 56,
f.9v. *Saints Matthew and John.*
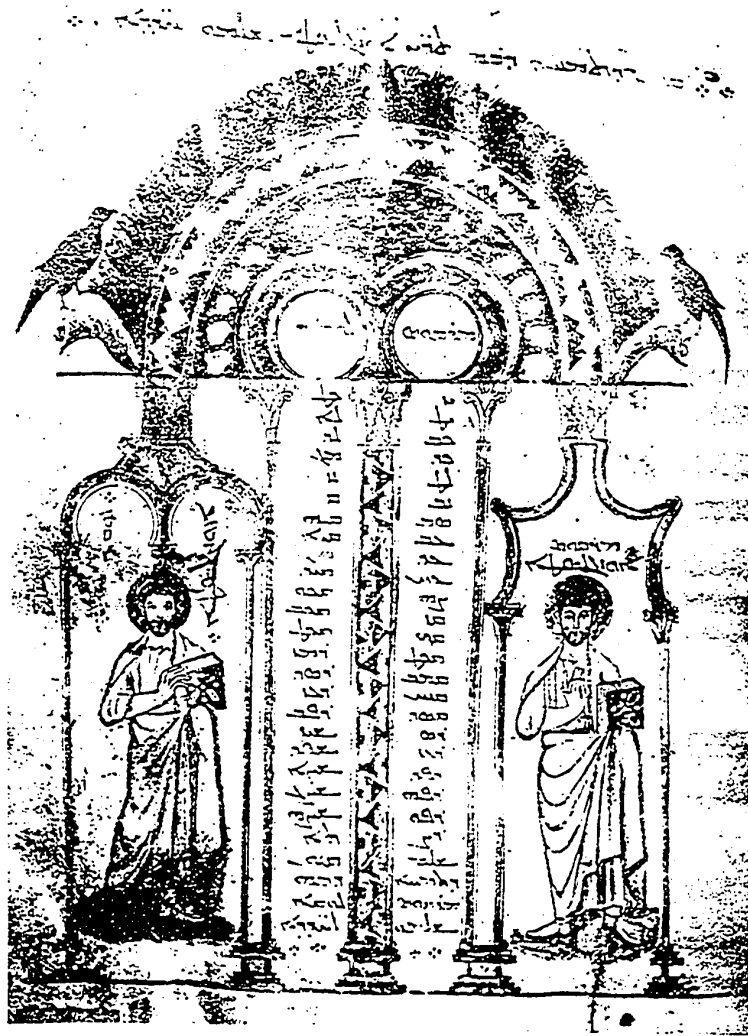
Figure 23. Rabbula Gospels. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, pl. 1. 56, f. 10r. *Saints Luke and Mark.*

Figure 24. Statuette, London, British Musuem.
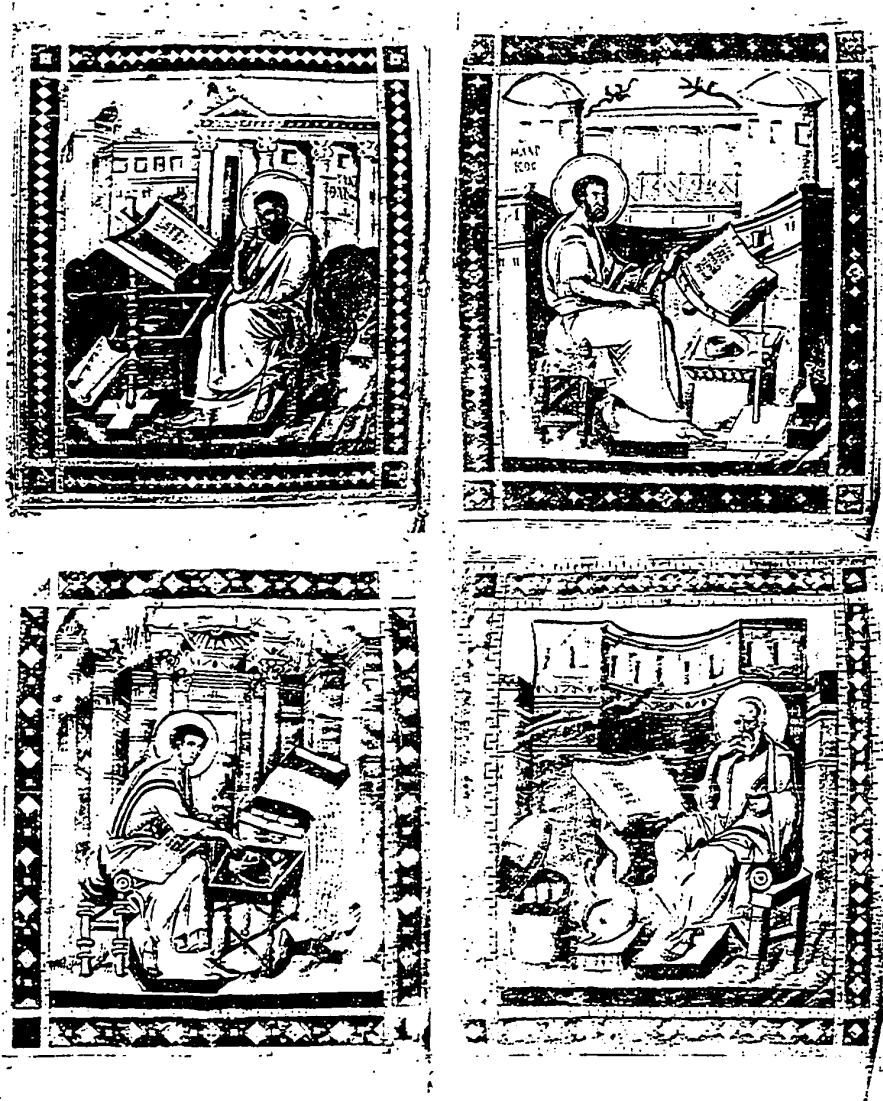
Figure 25. Gospels. Mount Athos, Stauronikita MS. 43, fol. 10v *Matthew*,
fol. 11 *Mark*, fol. 12v *Luke* and f. 13 *John*.

Figure 26. *Epicurus* (restored). Garden of the American Embassy, Rome.
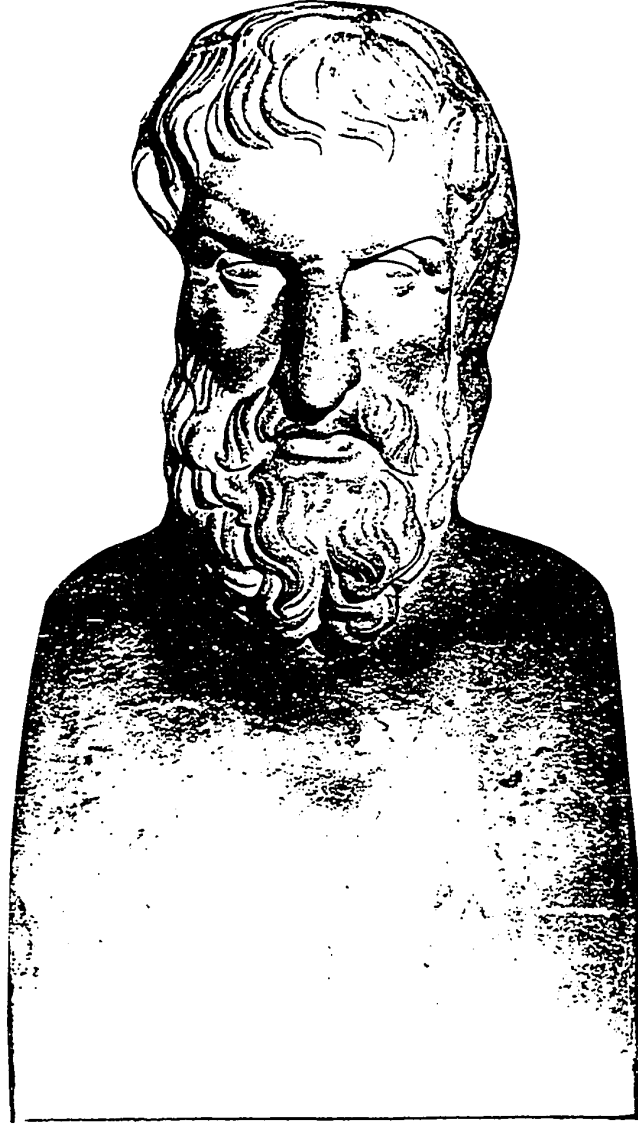
Figure 27. *Epicurus.* Capitoline Museum, no. 13.

Figure 28. Marble model of a Roman stage. Terme Museum, Rome.
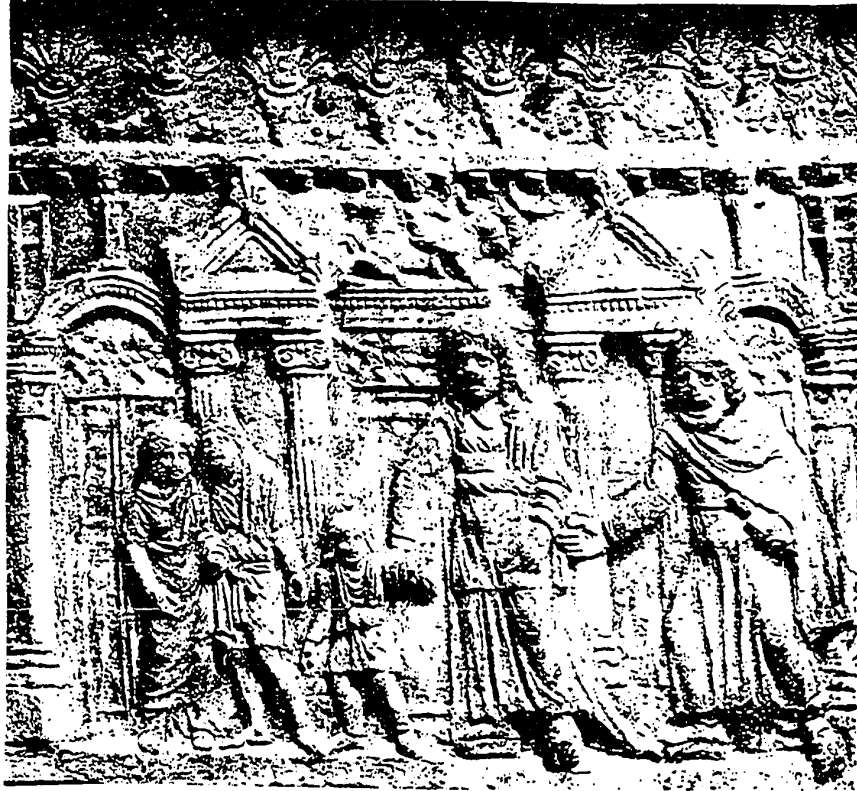
Figure 29. Scene of a tragedy. Terracotta relief. Terme Museum, Rome.
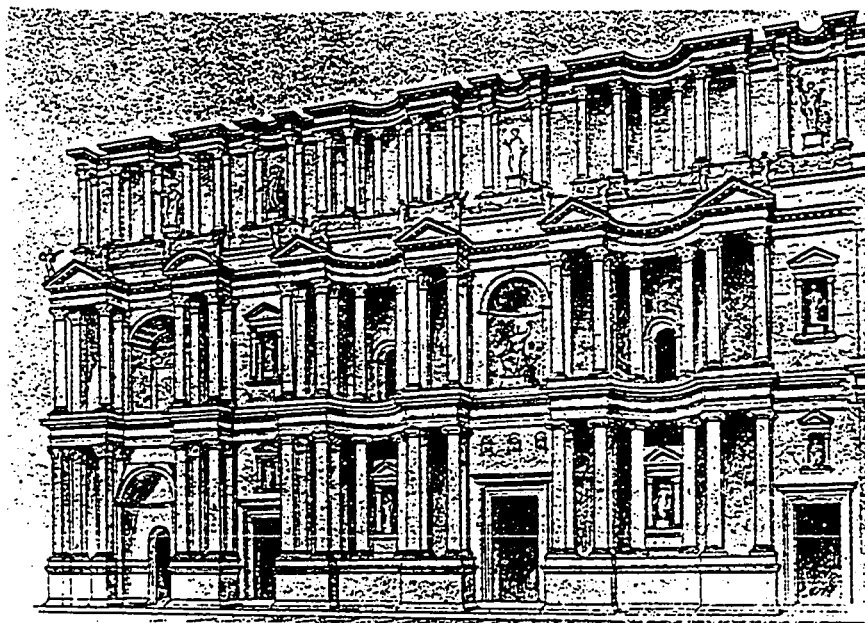
Figure 30. Reconstruction of Roman *scenae frons* of the Theater at Ephesus
by Niemann.
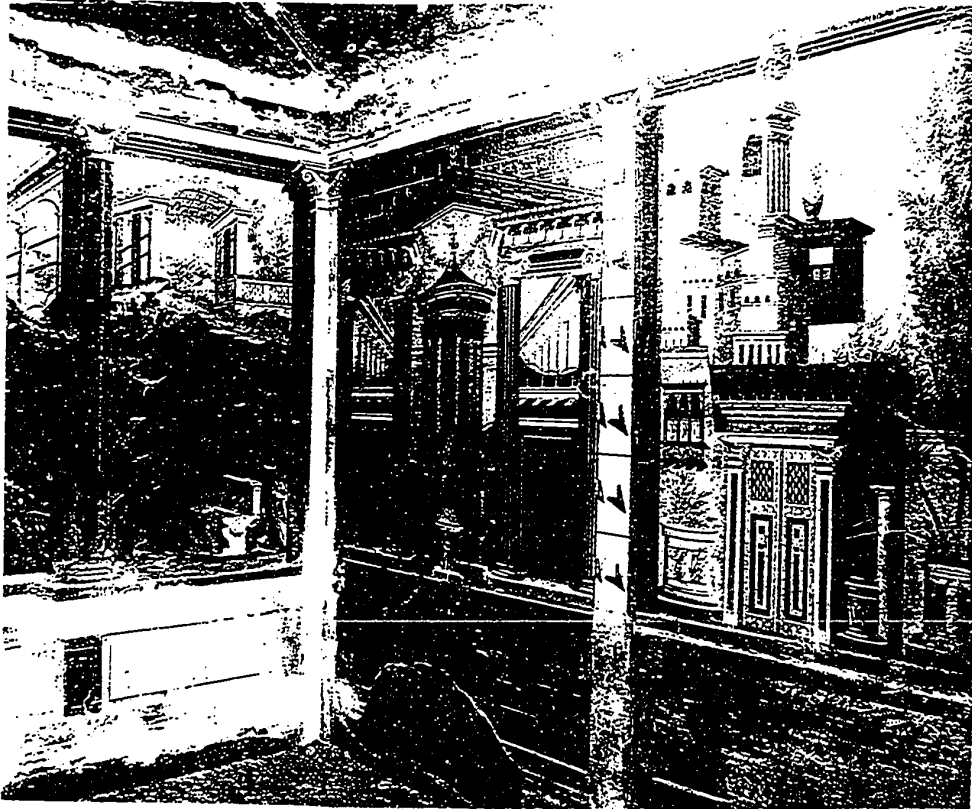
Figure 31. Boscoreale, Villa of P. Fannius Synistor. Bedroom M, north-east corner. c. 50-40 B.C. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
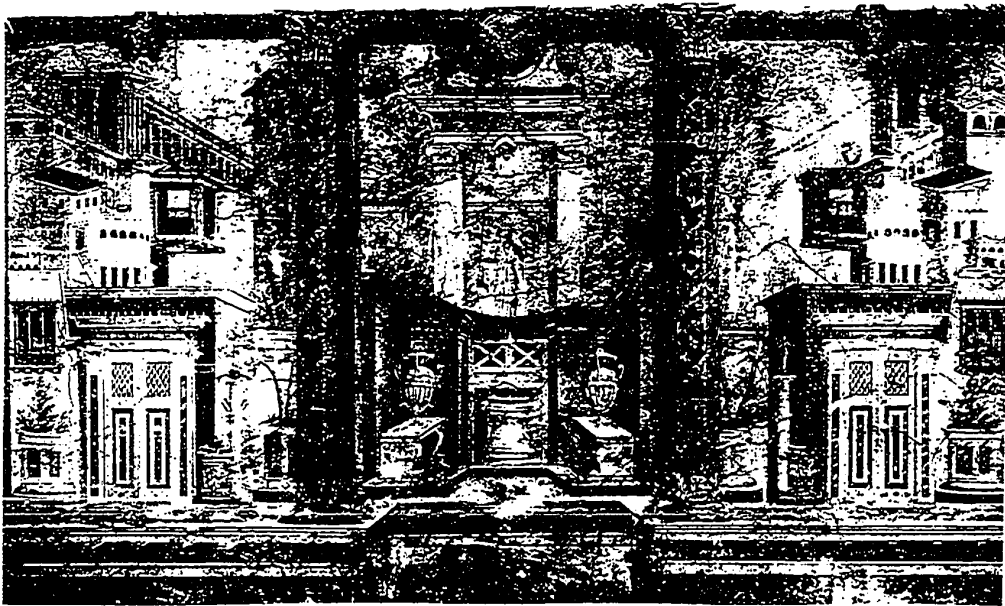
Figure 32. Boscoreale, Villa of P. Fannius Synistor. Bedroom M, west wall.
c. 50-40 B.C. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure 33. Stabiae. Lakeside or seaside villa landscape. Third quarter of 1st century A.D. Naples, Archaeological Museum.
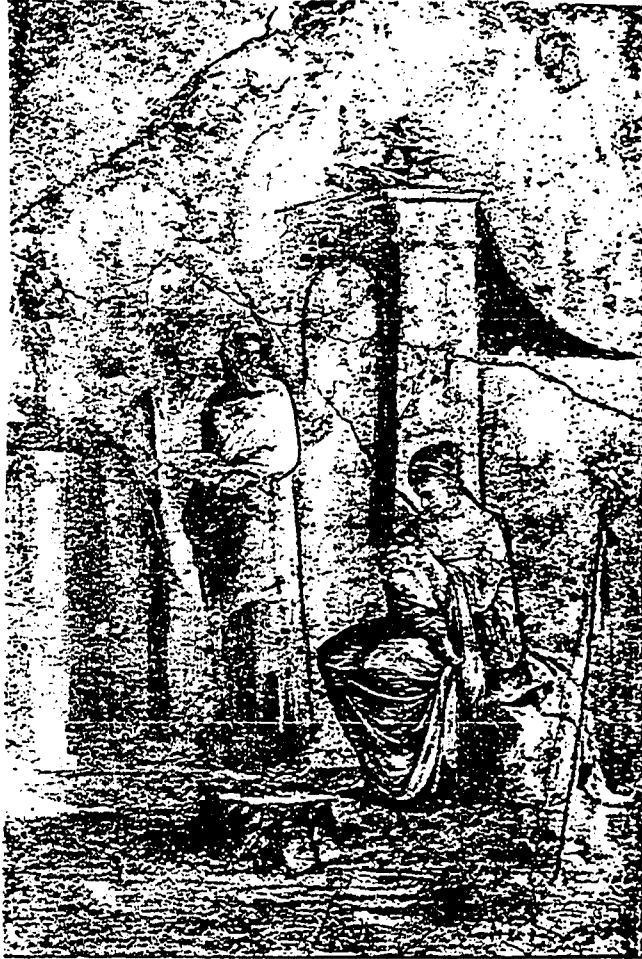
Figure 34.Villa Farnesina, Rome. *Rearing of the child Bacchus.* 1st century.
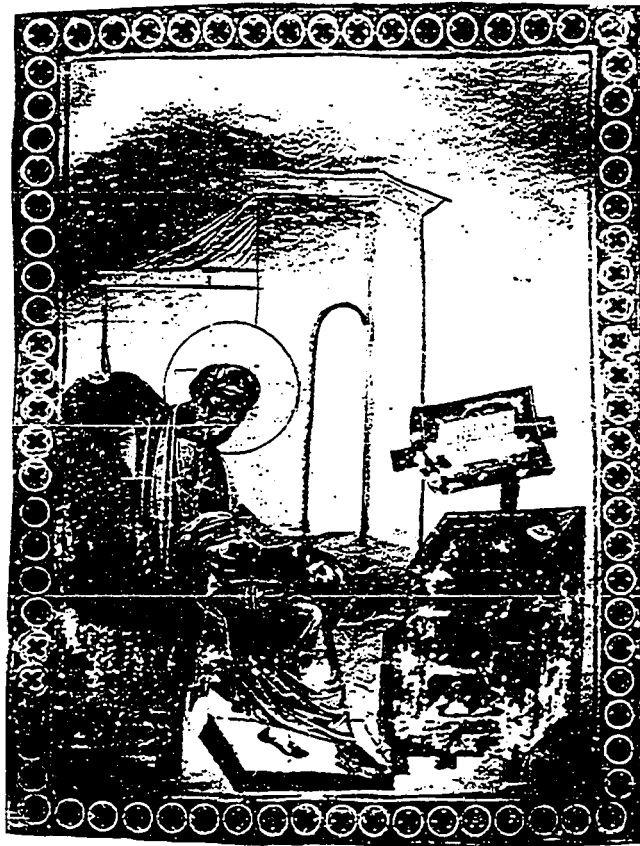
Figure 35. Gospels. Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. gr. 364, f. 205r. *John.*

Figure 36. Gospel Lectionary. Protaton Monastery, Mt. Athos, cod. 41, f. 87v.
St. Mark. Byzantine. 10th century.

Figure 37. Nile Mosaic from Palestrina. Late 2nd century B.C. Palestrina, Palazzo Barberini.

Figure 38. *Egyptianizing landscape*. Pompeii, House of the Ceii (I 6, 15), east wall of garden. Third quarter of 1st century A.D.

Figure 39. Vienna Genesis. Vienna, Nationatbibliothek, cod. theol. gr. 31, f. 31,
Temptation of Joseph.

Figure 40. Gospel Book. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, med. palat. 244.
St. Mark. Byzantine. 10th century.

Figure 41. Gospel Lectionary. Protaton Monastery, Mt. Athos, cod. 11, f. 1v.
Saints Matthew and John. Byzantine. 11th century.

Figure 42. Gospel Lectionary. Dionysiou Monastery, Mt Athos, cod. 587, f. 50r.
Jesus in the House of Lazarus. Byzantine. 11th century.

Figure 43. Gospel Lectionary. Dionysiou Monastery, Mt Athos, cod. 587, f. 1v.
John on Patmos. Byzantine. 11th century.
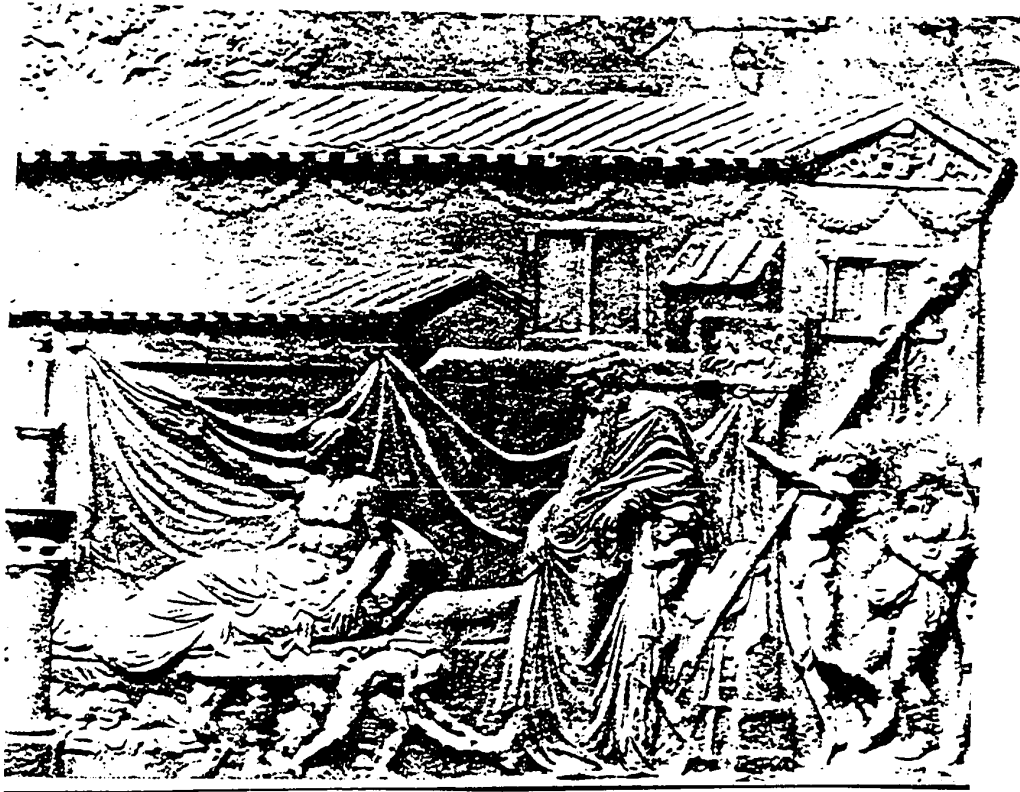
Figure 44. *Dionysos in a Poet's House*, British Museum.

Figure 45. Mosiac of Roman villa, Tunisia.

Figure 46. Catacomb of Saints Peter and Marcellinus, Rome. 3rd century.

Figure 47. Gospel Book. Mt. Athos, Andreaskita MS 5. *Matthew.*
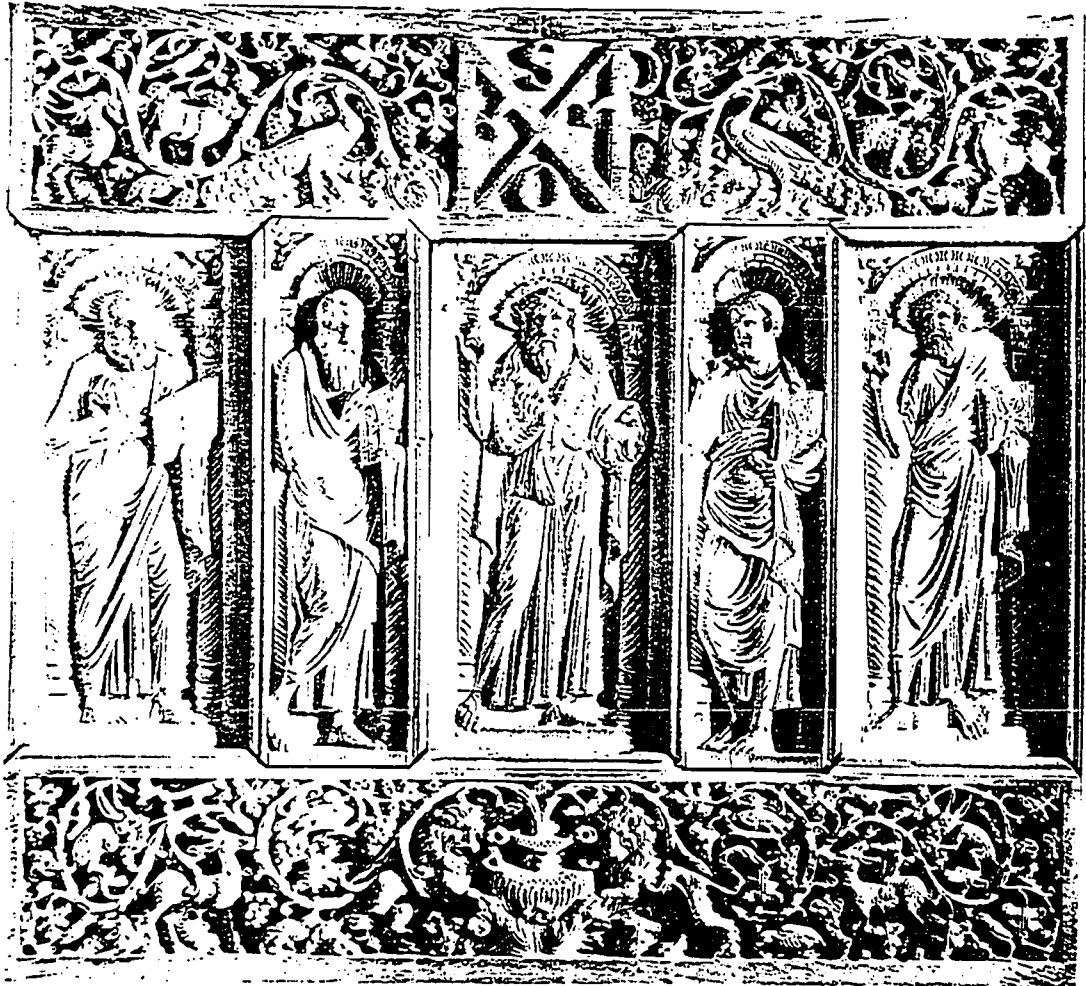
Figure 48.Throne of Maximian, Ravenna. *John the Baptist and Evangelists.*

Figure 49. Gospel Book. Paris, Bibliothèque National, gr. 70. Byzantine. 10th century. *Luke*.
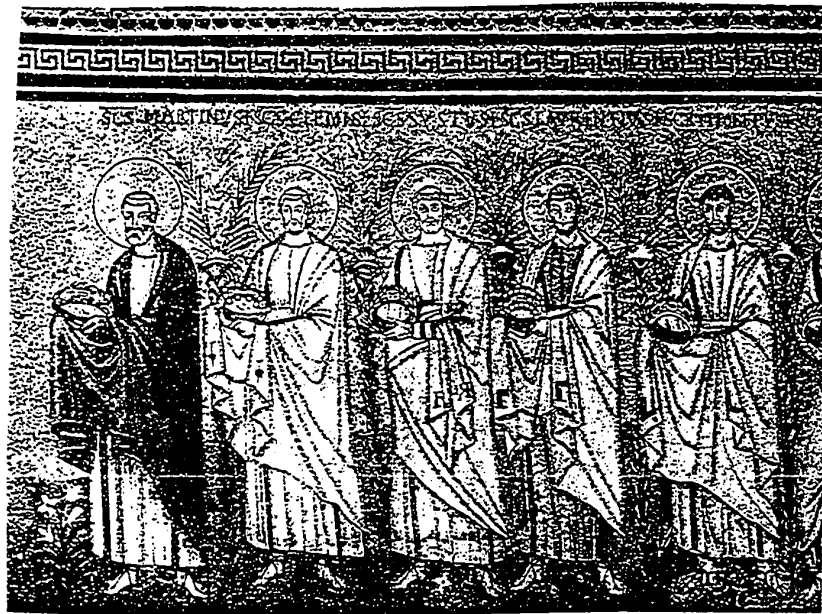
Figure 50. Procession of Martrys. Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna. Mosaic.

Figure 51. Codex Amiatinus. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS. 1, f. 5r.
Ezra Transcribing the Bible. 8th century.

Figure 52. Coronation Gospels. Vienna, Schatzkammer Kunsthistorisches
Museum, f. 178v. *St. John.* ca. 800.
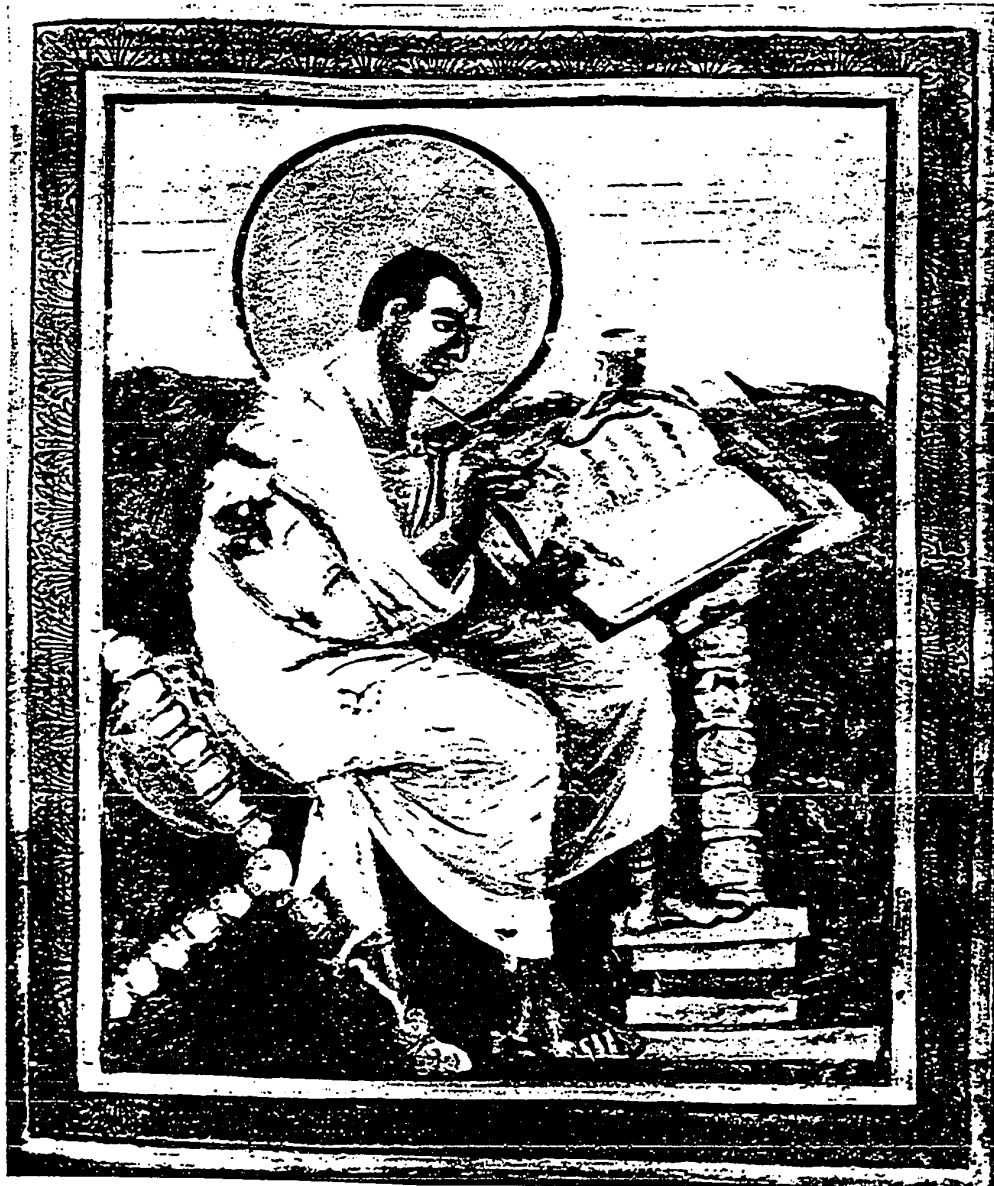
Figure 53. Coronation Gospels. Vienna, Schatzkammer Kunsthistorisches Museum, 15r. *St. Matthew.* ca. 800.

Figure 54. Socrates. Roman wall painting from Ephesus.
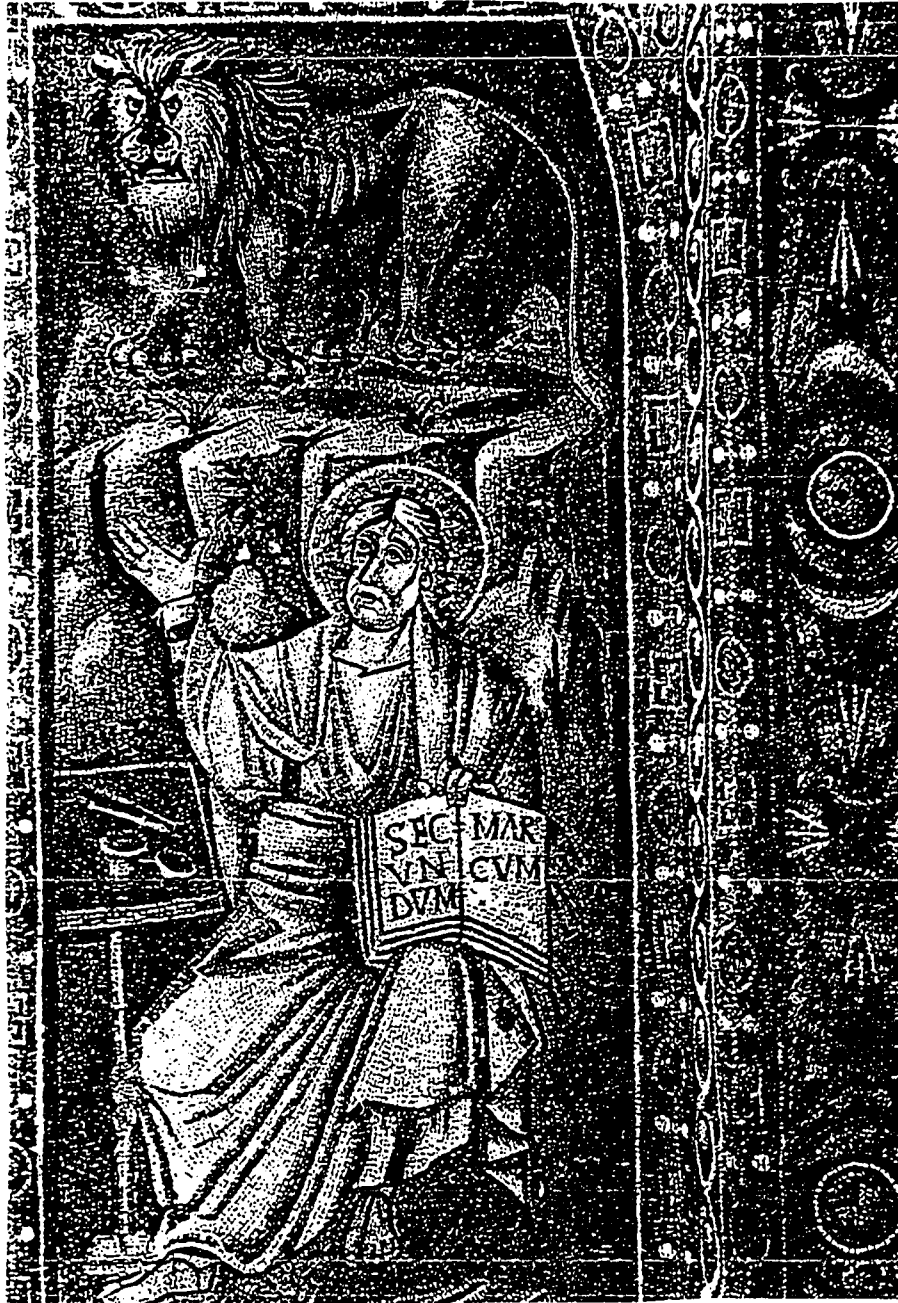
Figure 55. San Vitale, Ravenna. Apse mosaic. 6th century. *St. Mark.*

Figure 56. Ebbo Gospels. Épernay, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms.1, f. 18v
St Matthew. 1st quarter 9th century.

Figure 57. Gospel Book of Ada. Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 22, f. 15v.
St. Matthew. ca. 800.

Figure 58. Lorsch Gospels. Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, Pal. lat. 50, f. 67v.
St. John. ca. 800.

Figure 59. Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram. Munich, Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14000, f. 97. *St. John.* ca. 830.

Figure 60. Gospel Book of Celestines. Paris. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 1171, f. 17. *St. Matthew.* Mid 9th century.

Figure 61. St Matthew. Lindisfarne Gospels. London, British Library, MS
Cotton Nero D. 4, f.

Figure 62. *Portrait of Bede*. Beda, *Historia ecclesiastica*. Leningrad, Public Library, Cod, Q. v. l. 18, f. 26v. Anglo-Saxon.

Figure 63. Hugh of St Victor, *De Archa Noe* and other texts. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 409, f. 3v. *Hugh of St Victor teaching.*

Figure 64. Jacopino da Reggio's commentary on Aristotle. Paris, Bibliothèque National, lat. 6297, f. 235. *Jacopino da Reggio teaching.*
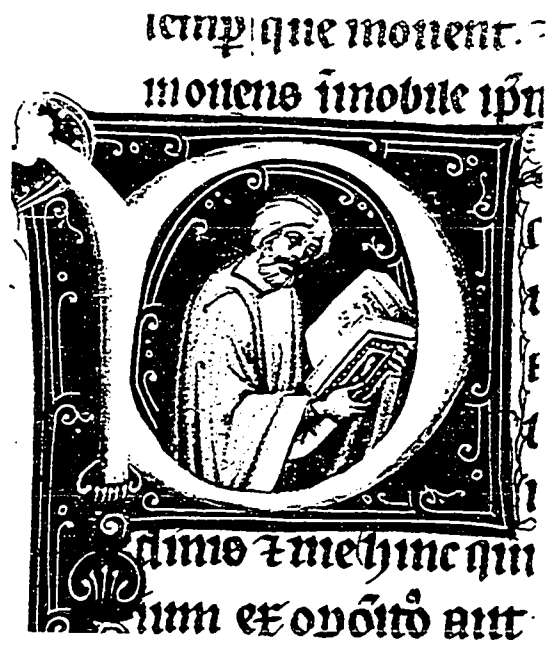
Figure 65. Jacopino da Reggio's commentary on Aristotle Paris, Bibliothèque National, lat. 6297.
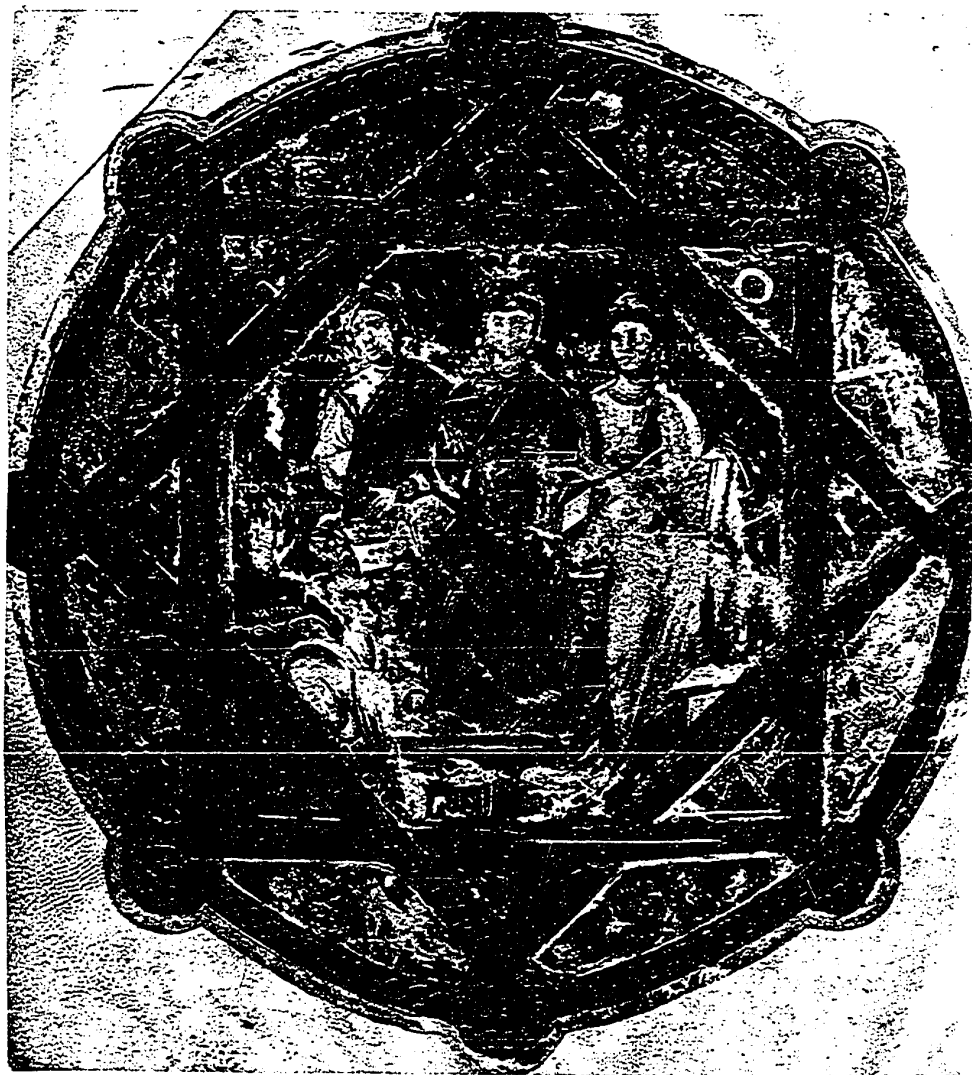
Figure 66. Dioscurides. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod. med. gr. 1, f. 6v.*Presentation of text to Anicia Juliana.*

Figure 67. Aesop's fables translated by Avianus. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1132, f. 35r. *Avianus presenting his text to Macrobius.*

Figure 68. Boethius, *De arithmetica.* Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Misc. class. 5, f. 9v. *Boethius and Symmachus.* ca. 850.

Figure 69. Rabanus Maurus, *De laudibus Sanctae Crucis*. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod. 652, f. 2v. ca. 840.

Figure 70. Bible of Charles the Bald. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 1, f. 205. *Abbot Vivian of Tours presents his opus to King Charles.*
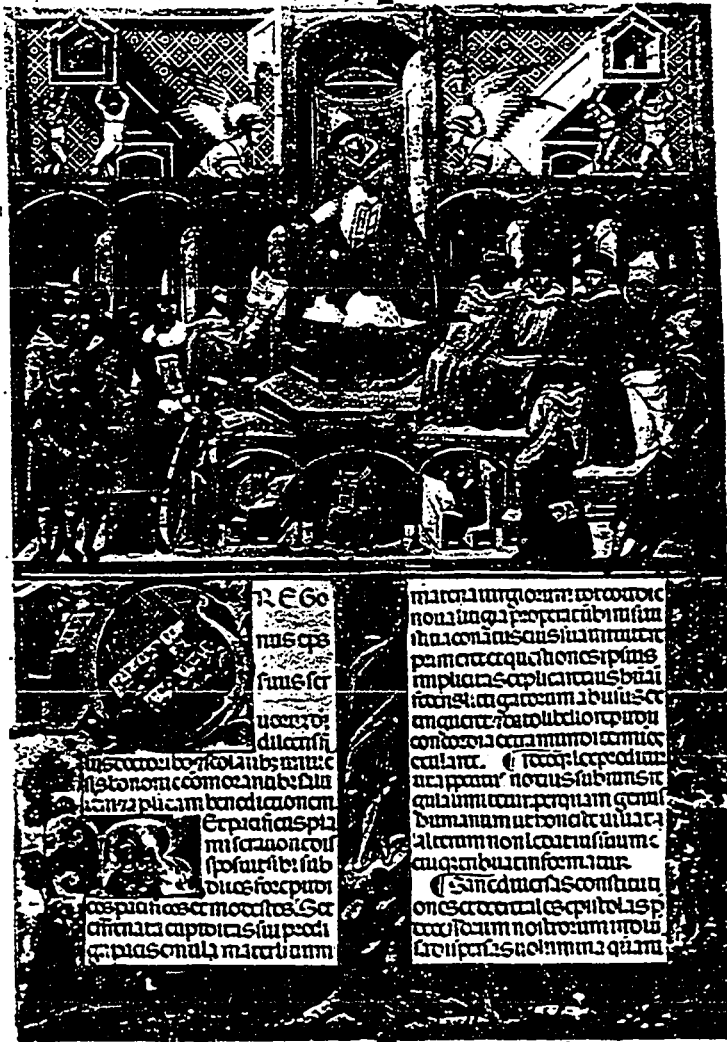
Figure 71. Decretals. Pierpont Morgan Library.

Figure 72. Eadwine. Tripartite Psalter with gloss. Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. R. 17.1, f. 283v. Canterbury School. c. 1150.

.M.TVLLII. CICERONIS.I

AD.ATTICVM.LIBER. C

CIT, INCIPIT. LIBER.N

ICERO ATTICO SALVTI

luttaf legttef putabam fore ut fcirem iam qu

fio.vm. kl. profectuf ctxr. cn.. hec autē fcribeb

cunufio monetur tamen angebar fingulari hor

Figure 73. Cicero. *Epistolae ad Atticum*, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS. Hamilton 166, f. 96r. 1408.
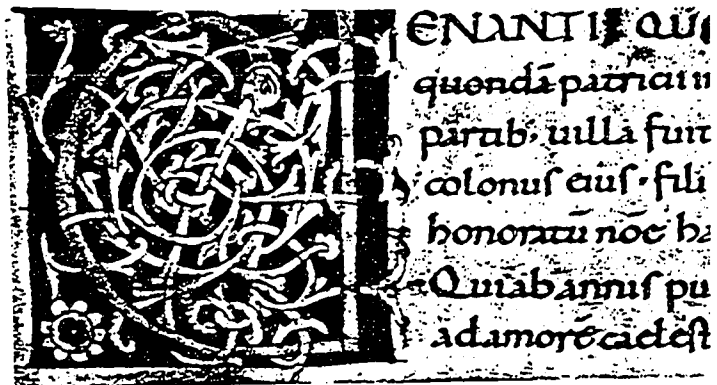
Figure 74. Romanesque vinestem initial. Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Can. Pat. Lat. 105, f. 3v.

M. TVLLII CICERONIS ORATIO PRO SEX. ROSCIO INCIPIT FE
LICITER.

REDO EGO VOS IVD. MIRARI QVID SIT QVOD
quom tot summi oratores hominesque nobilissimi sedeant
ego potissimum surrexerim: qui neque etate neque inge
nio neque auctoritate sim cum iis qui sedeant comparandus
Omnes enim ii quos videtis adesse in hac causa iniuriam
nouo scelere conflatam putant oportere defendi. Defendere ipsi prope
iniquitatem temporis non audent. ita fit ut adsint propterea quod offi
cium sequuntur: taceant autem idcirco: quia periculum metuunt. Quid
ergo audacissimus ego ex omnibus? minime. at tanto officiosior q ceteri?
ne istud quidem laudis ita sum cupidus: ut aliis eam preripiam uelim. Que
me igitur res preter ceteros impulit: ut causam Sex. Rosci reciperem? Quia
si quis istorum dixisset: quos uides adesse: in quibus summa auctoritas est atq
amplitudo: si uerbum de r.p. fecisset: id quod in hac causa fieri necesse est:
multo plura dixisse q dixisset putaretur. Ego etiam si omnia que dicenda
sunt libere dixero: nequaq tamen similiter oratio mea exire atq in uulg
emanare poterit. Deinde quod ceterorum neq dictum obscurum propter
nobilitatem et amplitudinem potest esse: neq temere dicto conceditur ppter
etatem et prudentiam. Ego si quid liberius dixero: uel occultum esse prop
terea quod nondum ad r.p. accessi: uel ignosci adolescentie mee poterit:
tam et si non modo ignoscendi ratio: uerum etiam cognoscendi consuetudo
iam de ciuitate sublata est. Accedit illa quoq causa quod a ceteris for
sitan ita petitum sit: ut dicerent utrumuis saluo officio se facere posse
arbitrarentur: a me autem ii contenderunt qui apud me et amicitia et
beneficiis et dignitate plurimum possunt: quorum ego neq beneuolentiam
erga me ignorare: nec auctoritatem aspernari: nec uoluntatem neglegere
debeam. his de causis ego huic causae patronus exstiti: non delectus unus q
maximo ingenio: sed relictus ex omnibus: qui minimo periculo possem

Figure 75. Cicero. *Orationes XXVIII*. Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 48.10, f. 1.

NTER MVLTOS AC VARIOS ERRORES TEME:
uiuentium inconsulteq: nihil prope modum uir opti
me liberalis dixerim. q beneficia nec dare scimus nec ac
cipere. Sequitur enim ut male conlocata male debean
tur: dequibus non redditis: sero querimur. ista enim pe
rierunt cum darentur. Nec mirum est inter plurima maximaq:
uitia nullum esse frequentius q ingrati animi. Id euenire ex causis
pluribus uideo: Prima illa est: q non eligimus dignos: quibus tribua
mus. Sed nomina facturi diligenter patrimonium. & uitam debi
toris inquirimus. Semina in solum effetum: & sterile non spargimus
beneficia sine ullo dilectu magis proicimus. qui damus nec facile di
xerim utrum turpius sit inficiari. an repetere beneficium. Id enim
genus huius heredita est ex quo tantum recipiendum sit quanti ul
tro refertur. De quo quem uere fidissimum obba ipsum qa non opus
est ad liberandam fidem facultatibus sed animo. Reddit enim bene
ficium qui debet: sed cum sit ut ipsis crimen qui ne confessione quide
grati sunt innobis quoq est. Multos experimur ingratos: plures faci
mus quia alias graues exprobatores exactoresq sumus: alias leues a
quos paulo post muneris sui peniteat. alias queruli & minima mo
momenta calumniantes grantam omnem corrumpimus. non tantu
postq dedimus beneficia sed dum damus. Quis nostrum contentus
fuit: aut lauter rogari. aut semel? Quis no cum aliquid a se peti su
spicatus est frontem adduxit: uultum auertit: occupationes simu
lauit: longis sermonibus & de industria non inuenientibus exitu
occasionem petendi abstulit: & uariis artibus necessitates properantes
elusit. In angusto uo conpressus: aut distulit. idest tumide negauit
g

Figure 76· Seneca. *de Beneficii*. Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 76.35, f. 1.

T. LIVII PATAVINI HISTORIARVM AB VRBE CONDITA LIBER XXI INCIPIT

IN PARTE OPERIS MEI LICET MIHI PREFARI QVOD IN

principio summae totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores: bellum maxime omnium memorabile quae unquam gesta sint me scripturum. quod hannibale duce carthaginienses cum populo .r. gessere. Nam neque validioris opibus ullae inter se ciuitates gentesque conuulerunt arma. neque ipsis tantum uirium aut roboris fuit. Et haud ignotas belli artes inter se sed expertas primo punico conferebant bello. et adeo uaria belli fortuna anceps marsque fuit ut propius periculo fuerunt qui uicerunt. Odiis etiam prope maioribus certarunt quam uiribus. romanis indignantibus quod uictoribus uicti ultro inferrent arma. poenis quod superbe auareque crederent imperatum uictis esse. Fama etiam est hannibalem annos ferme nouem pueriliter blandientem patri hamilcari ut duceretur in hispaniam. cum perfecto africo bello exercitum eo traiecturus sacrificaret: altaribus admotum tactis sacris in ...

[remainder of body text illegible]

Figure 77· Livy. *Dec. III.* Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 63.5, f. 1.

.L.

L CAECILII. FIRMIANI. LACTANTII
EPITOMA SEXTI. ET. SEPTIMI LIBRI
INSTITVTIONVM IN C I P I T
FELICITER

AM. SI. IVSTITIA. EST. VERI
da culzuf. quid enum tam iuftum ad ae
quitatem. tam pium ad honorem tam ne
ceffanum ad falutem quam deum agnofce
re ut parentem ueneran ut dominum.
cuifque legi aut praeceptif obtemperare: nefcierunt ergo
iufhtiam philofophi. quia nec ipfum deum ignouerunt.
nec cultum eiuf legemque tenuerunt. Et ideo refelli po
tuerunt a carneade. cuiuf haec fuit difputatio nullum
effe iuf naturale. Itaque omnef animantef ipfi ducentena
tura commoda fua defendere et ideo iufhtiam fi alienis
utilitatibuf confulat fuaf nec legit ftultitiam effe dicenda
Quod fi omnef populi penef quof fit imperium ipfiq roma
ni qui orbem totum poffederint iufhtiam fequi uelint
ac fuum cuique reftituere quod ui et armif occupaue
rint ad cafas et egeftatem reuertentur. quod fi fecerit in
ftof quidem fed tamen ftultof iudican neceffe eft qui
ut aliif profint fibi nocere contendant deinde fi repe
rur aliquif hominem qui aut aurum pro aurichalco
aut argentum pro plumbo uendat per errorem atque
id emere neceffitaf cogit utrum diffimulabit et emet

Figure 78. Lactantius. *Institutiones divinae*. Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 21.5,
f. 278v.

Figure 79. St. Jerome. *Epistulae*. Florence, Bibl. Laur. pl. 19.12, f. 5. Francesco d' Antonio del Chierico. Mid -1450s.

Figure 80. St. Jerome. *Epistulae.* Florence, Bibl. Laur. pl. 19.12, f. 5, detail of incipit. Francesco d' Antonio del Chierico. Mid-1450s.
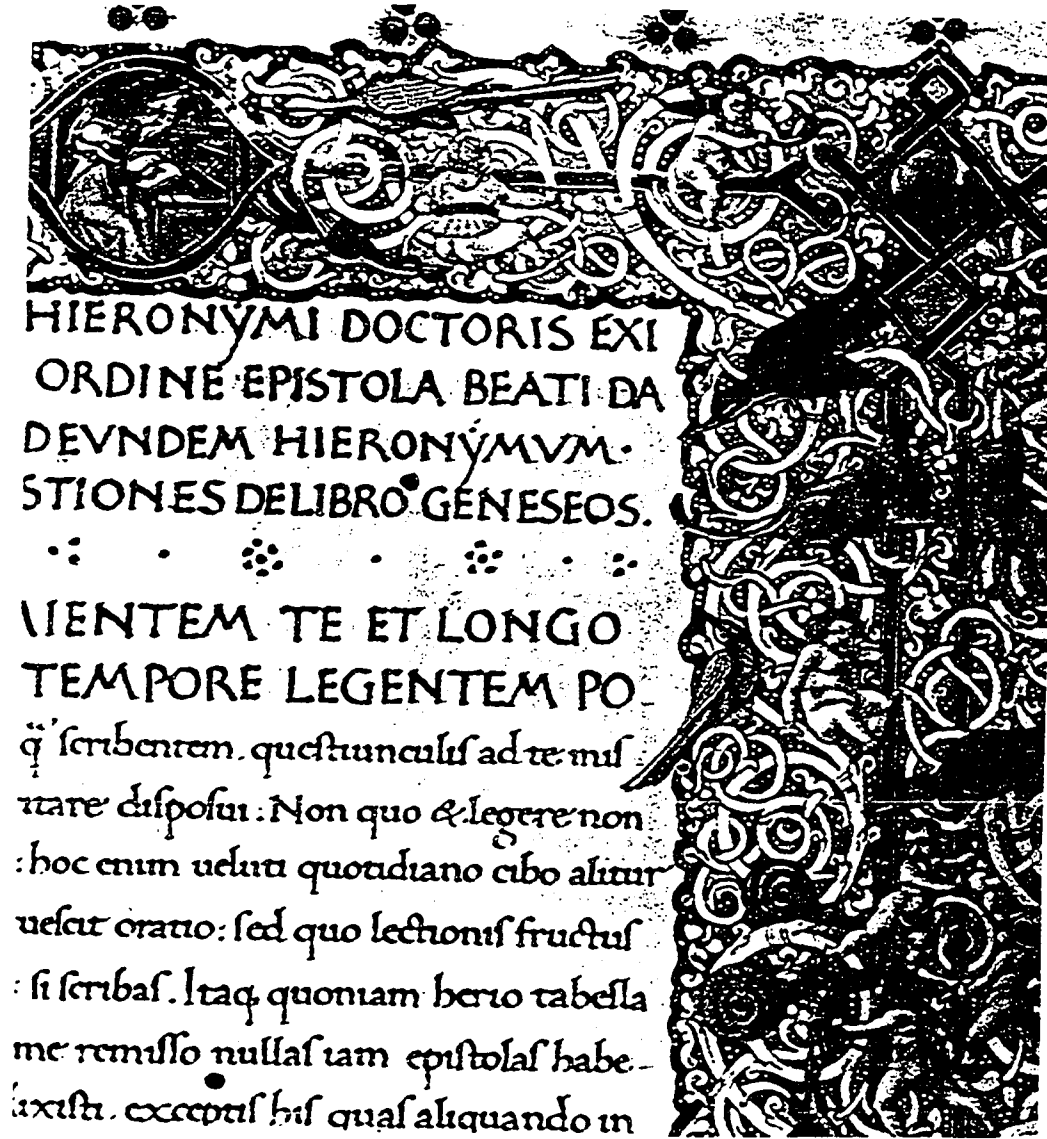
HIERONYMI DOCTORIS EXI
ORDINE EPISTOLA BEATI DA
DEVNDEM HIERONYMVM·
STIONES DELIBRO GENESEOS.

VIENTEM TE ET LONGO
TEMPORE LEGENTEM PO
q̃ ſcribentem. queſtiunculiſ ad te miſ
itare diſpoſui : Non quo & legere non
: hoc enim uelut quotidiano cibo alitur
uelut oratio : ſed quo lectioniſ fructuſ
: ſi ſcribaſ. Itaq̃ quoniam berio tabella
me remiſſo nullaſ iam epiſtolaſ habe -
iixiſti. excepiſ hiſ quaſ aliquando in

Figure 81. St. Jerome. *Epistulae*. Florence, Bibl. Laur. pl. 19.12, f. 5, detail of top margin. Francesco d' Antonio del Chierico. Mid-1450s.
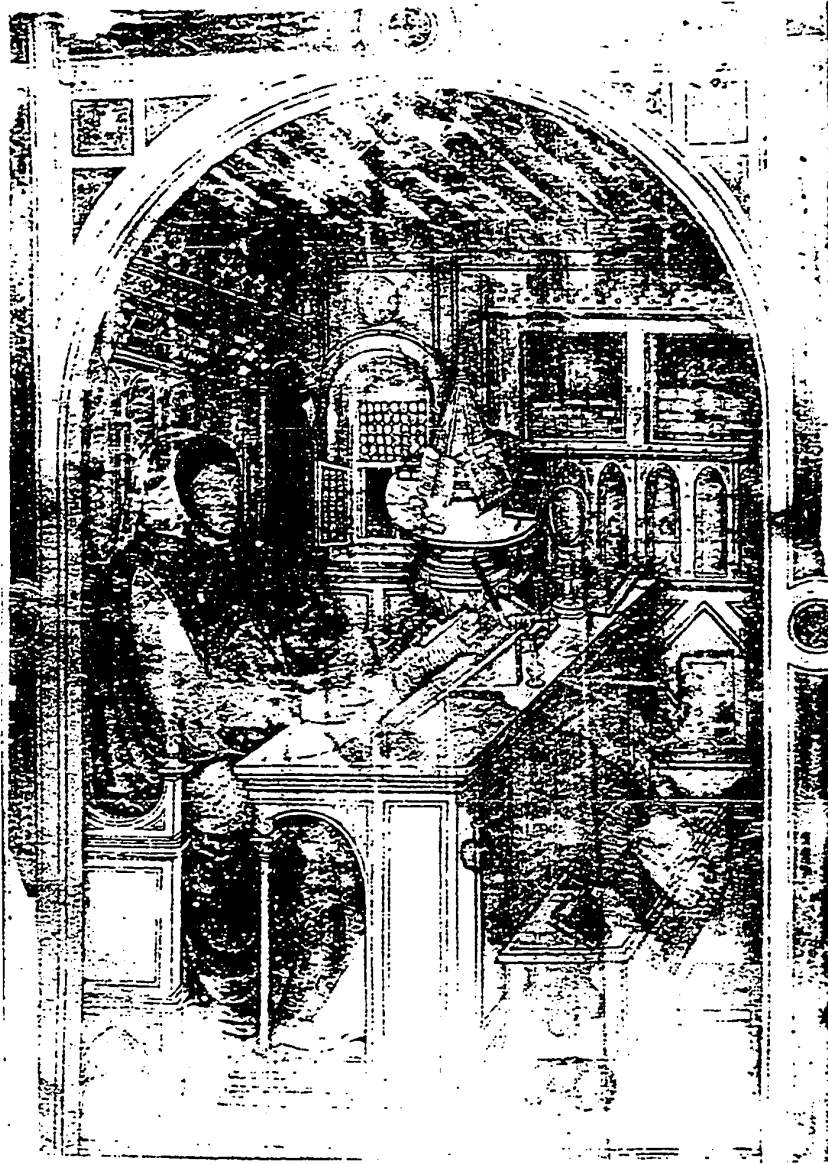
Figure 82. Petrarch. *De viris illustribus.* Darmstadt, Hessische Landsbibliotek, MS. 101, f. 1v. *Petrarch.* Late 14th century.

Figure 83. *St. Jerome in his Study.* The Detroit Institute of the Arts. Attributed to Jan van Eyck. ca. 1435.

Figure 84. *St. Jerome in his Study*. London, National Gallery of Art. Antonello da Messina. 1450-55.
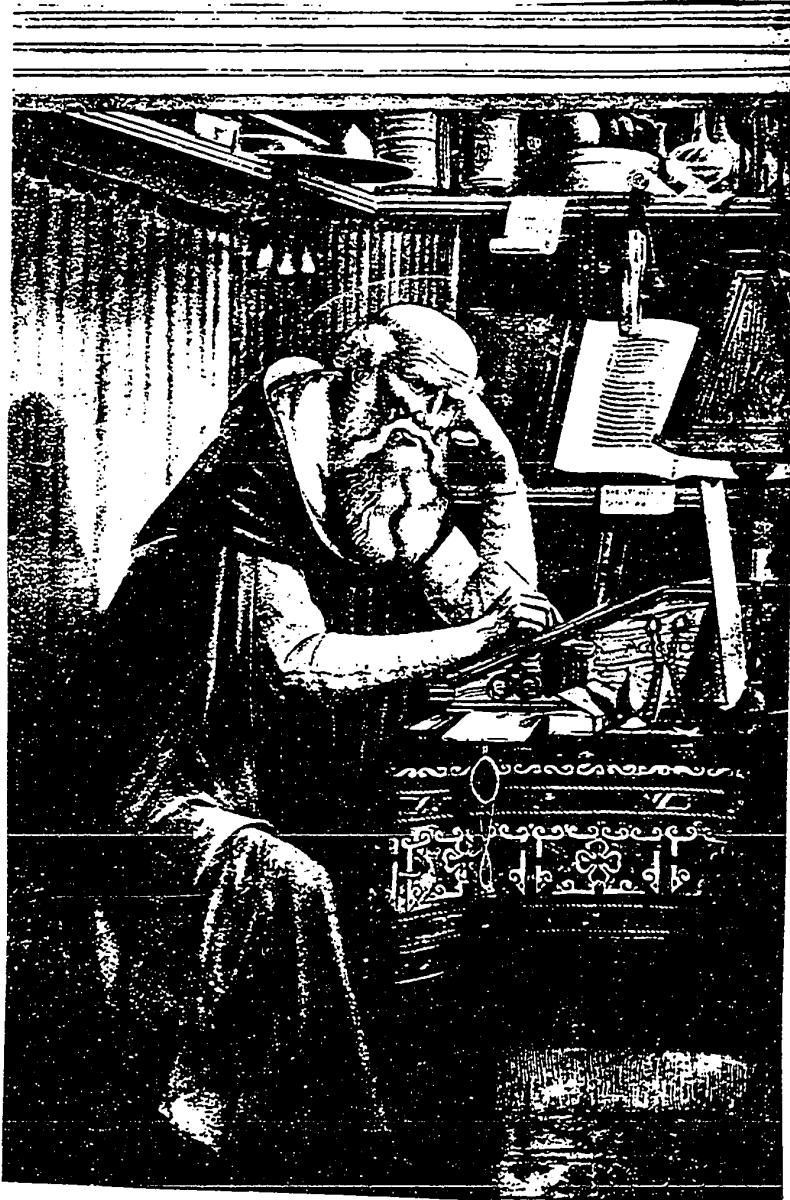
Figure 85. *St. Jerome.* Florence, Fresco in the Church of the Ognisanti.
Ghirlandaio.1480.
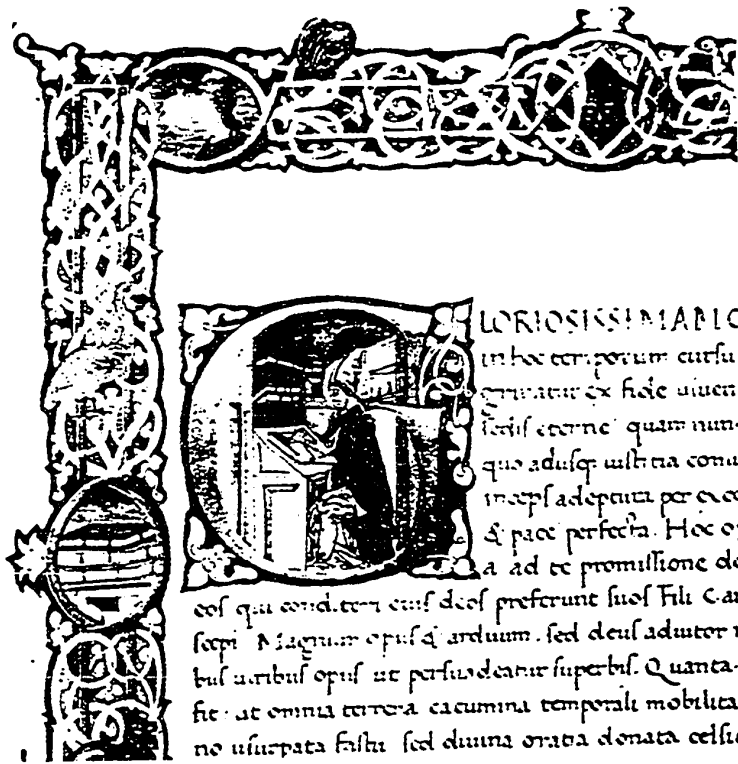
Figure 86. Augustine. *Civitate Dei.* London, British Library, ms. add. 14783, f. 1, detail. Maestro della Farsaglia Trivulziana. Mid-1450s.
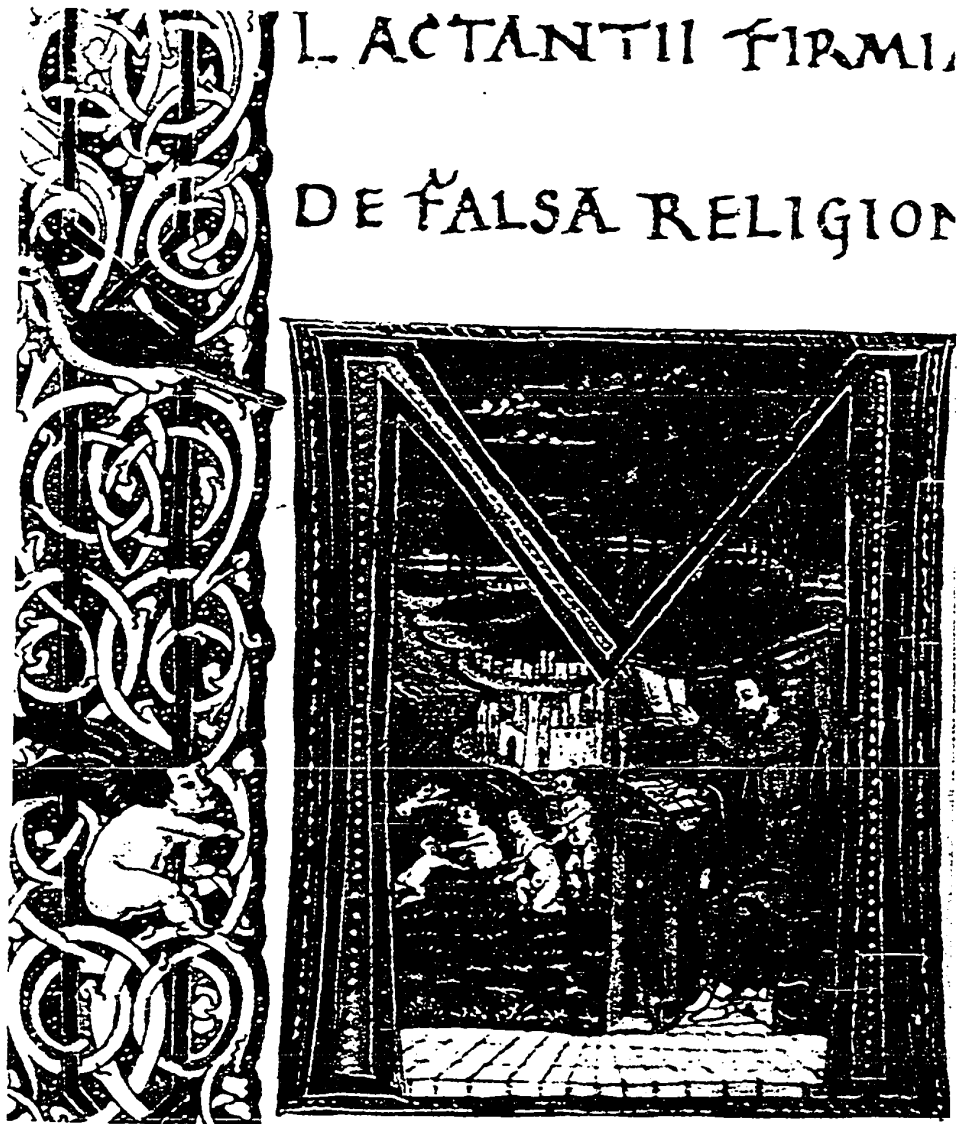
Figure 87. Lactantius. Florence, Bibli. Laur. pl. 21.12, f. 1, detail. Maestro della Farsaglia Trivulziana. ca. 1458.

Figure 88. Jerome. Genova, Bibl. Civica Berio, ms. m.r.c.f. 2.15, f. 5. Ser Ricciardo di Nanni. Mid-1450s.

Figure 89. Jerome. Genova, Bibl. Civica Berio, ms. m.r.c.f. 2.15, f. 5, detail.
Ser Ricciardo di Nanni. Mid-1450s.

Figure 90. Augustine. Vatican City, Bibl. Vaticana, urb. lat. 72, f. 2, detail of incipit. Francesco Rosselli.
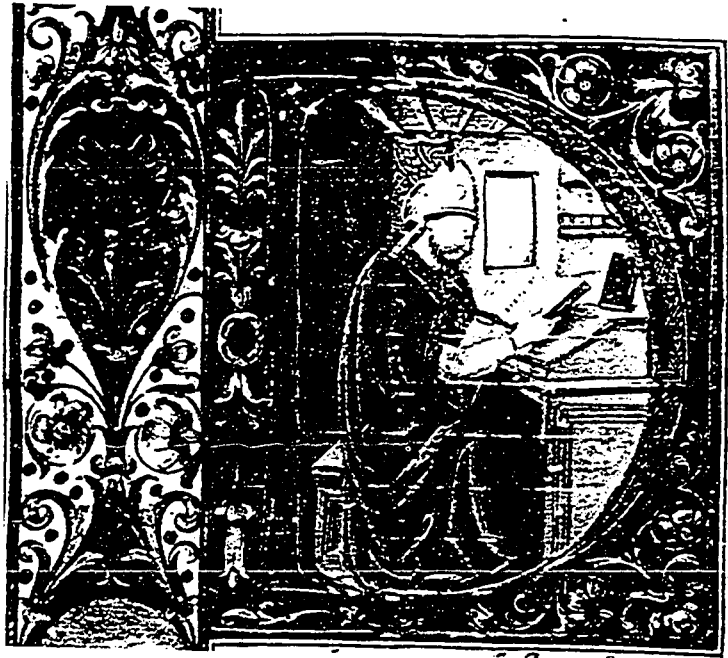
Figure 91. Augustine. *Epistulae*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 653, f. 1, detail of incipit. Attavante.

Figure 92. Augustine. Vatican City, Bibl. Vaticana, urb. lat. 34, f. 2, detail of incipit. Gherardo di Giovanni.

Figure 93. Jerome. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 930, f. 1, detail. Monte di Giovanni.
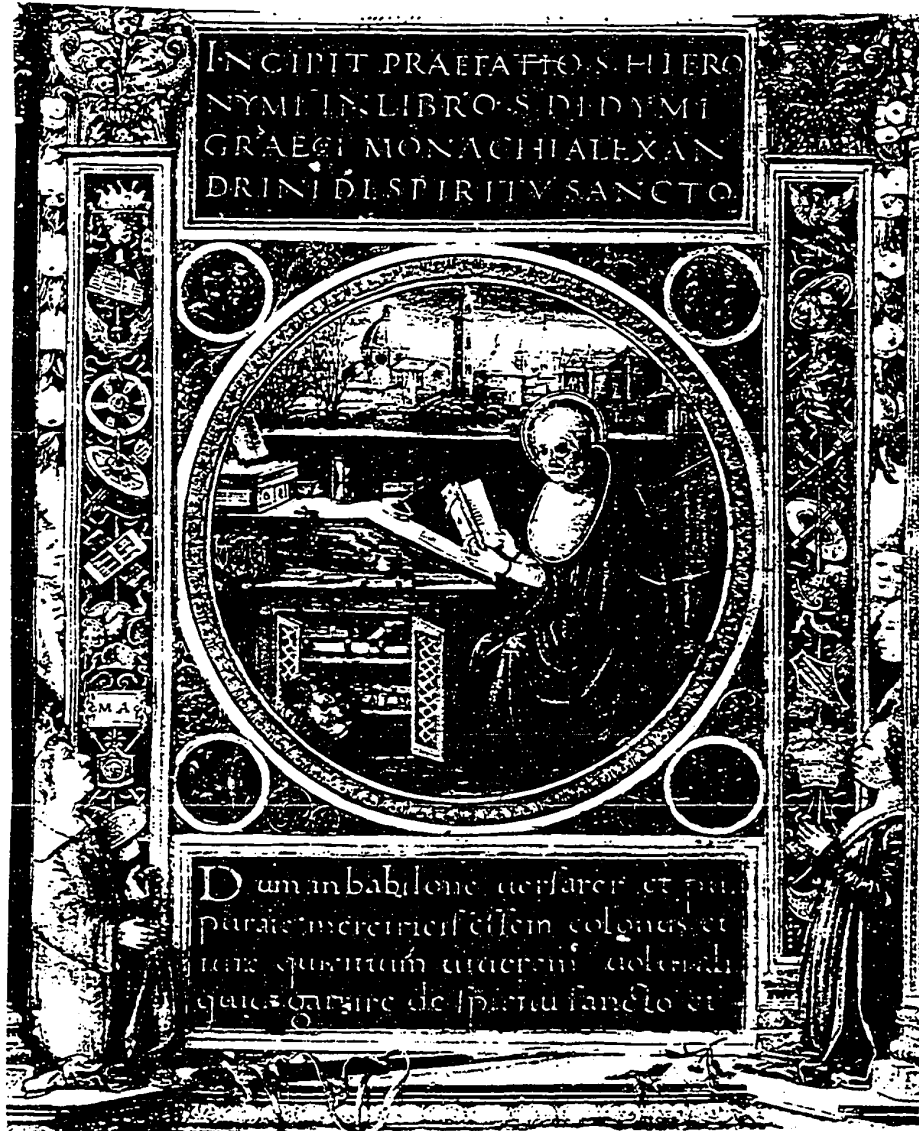
Figure 94. Jerome. *Didymus*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. 496, f. 2. Monte di Giovanni. 1488.
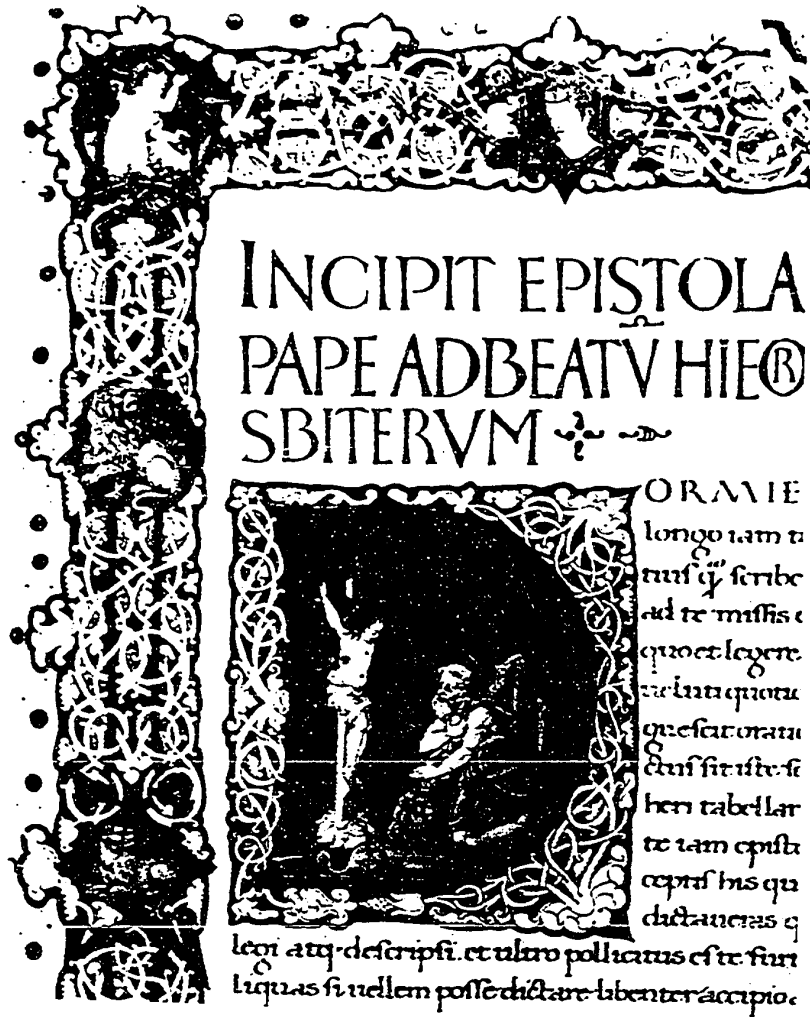
Figure 95. Jerome. *Epistulae*, Florence, Bibli. Laur., fiesolano 28, f. 1, detail. Ricciardo di Nanni. Mid 1450s.

Figure 96. Augustine. *Civitate Dei*. Florence, Bibl. Laur. 12.19, f. 1, detail.
Ser Ricciardo di Nanni. Mid-1450s.

Figure 97. Augustine. *Civitate Dei.* New York, New York Public Library, Spencer Collection, ms. 30. f. 1v, detail. Bartolomeo di Domenico di Guido. Mid-1450s.

Figure 98. Augustine. *Civitate Dei*. London, British Library, ms. add. 15246, f. 29, detail. Mariano del Buono. Mid-1450s.

Figure 99. Augustine. *Civitate Dei*, trans. into French by Raoul de Presles. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9015, f. 1, detail. Southern Netherlandish, 1445.
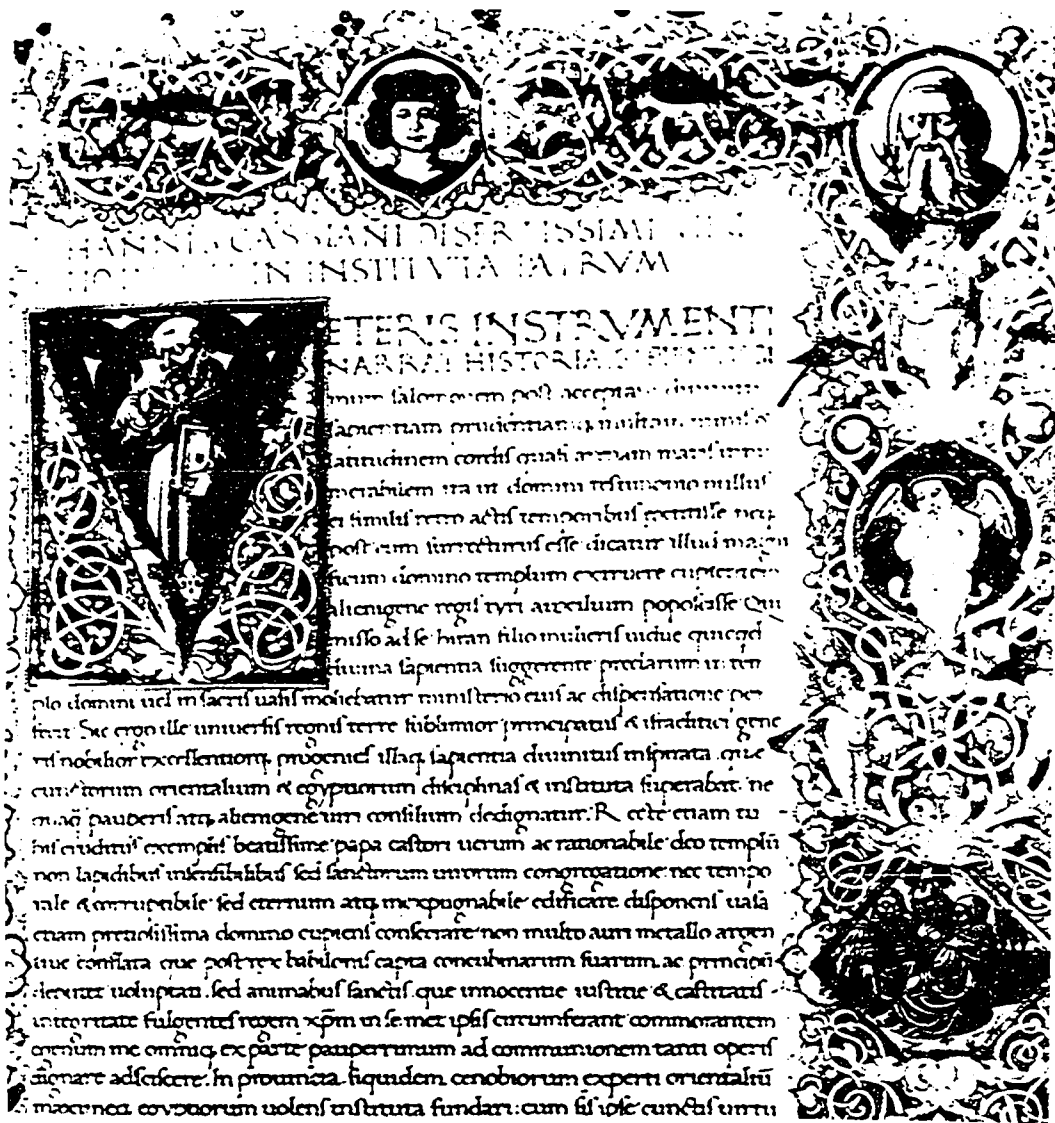
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Figure 101. Eusebius. *De preparatione*. tran. by George Trapezuntius, Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 17.25, f. 1, detail. Filippo di Matteo Torelli. ca. 1450..
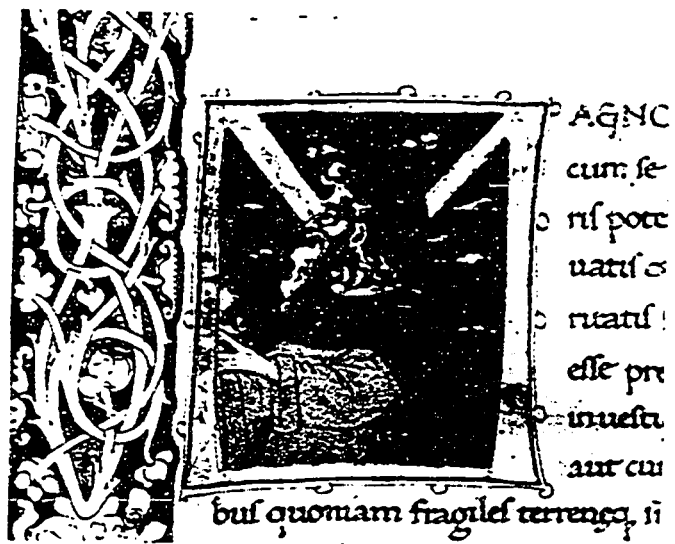
Figure 102. Lactantius. Malibu, Getty Museum, Ludwig XII 7, f. 2, detail. Ser Ricciardo di Nanni. ca. 1450.

Figure 103. Cassian. *De Institutis*. Florence, Bibl. Laur. pl. 16.26, f. 46v, detail. Filippo di Matteo Torelli. ca. 1450.
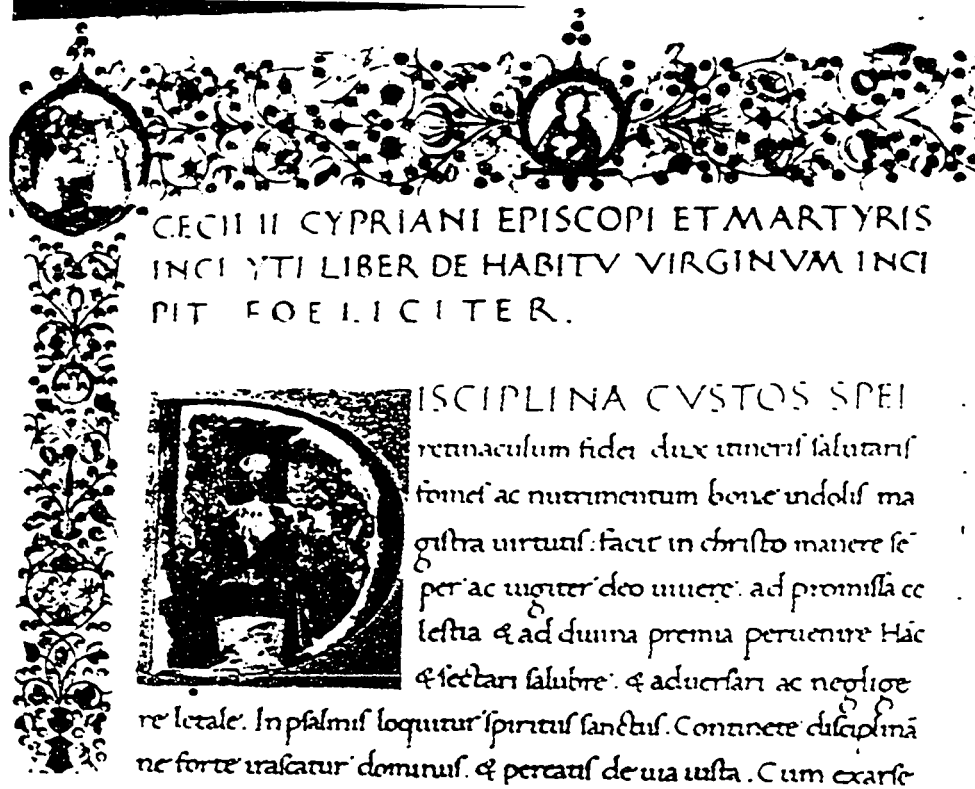
CECII II CYPRIANI EPISCOPI ET MARTYRIS INCI YTI LIBER DE HABITV VIRGINVM INCI PIT FOEI.ICITER.

Figure 104. Cyprian. *Opera varia*. Florence, Bibl. Laur. 16.22, f. 1, detail. Francesco d' Antonio del Chierico. ca. 1463-4.

Figure 105. Cicero. *Philippicae*. Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 48.31, f. 1, detail of incipit. Franceso d' Antonio del Chierico. Mid-1450s.

Figure 106. Cicero. *Libri Rhetoricorum.* Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 50.8, f. 1, detail
of incipit. Franceso d' Antonio del Chierico. Mid-1450s.

Figure 107. Cicero. *de Natura Deorum*, etc. Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 83.7. f. 1, detail of incipit. Franceso d' Antonio del Chierico. Mid-1450s.

Figure 108. Cicero. *De Oratore, Orator, Brutus, Partitiones Oratoriae, and Topica.* Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 50.38, f. 1, detail of incipit. Franceso d' Antonio del Chierico. Mid-1450s.

Figure 109. G. Duranti. *Speculum Juridicae.*1354.

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Figure 111. Cicero. Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 48.17, f. 1. Florentine. 14th century.

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Figure 113. Plutarch. *Vitae*. Florence, Bibl. Laur. pl. 65.27, f. 1, detail of inicipit.
Guarino da Verona presenting his text to Leonello d' Este. Francesco d' Antonio
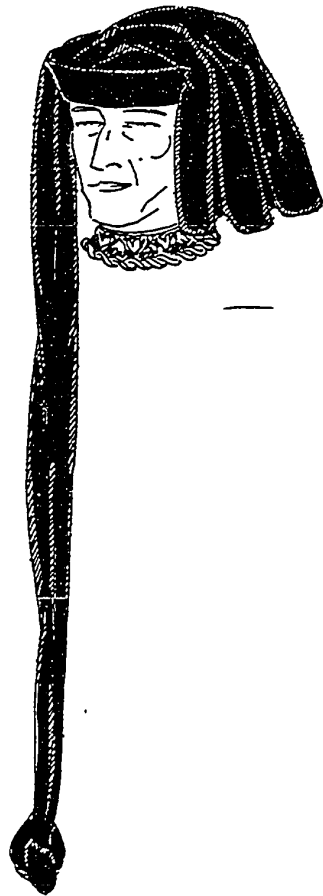del Chierico. ca. 1463-64.

Figure 114. Drawing of cappuccio (taken from W.Turner).

Figure 115. Cicero. *Tuscalanarum disputationum.* New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. 1002, f. 2v. Florentine. 1410.

Figure 116. Cicero. *Orationes XXXVII.* Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 48.8, f. 1, detail.
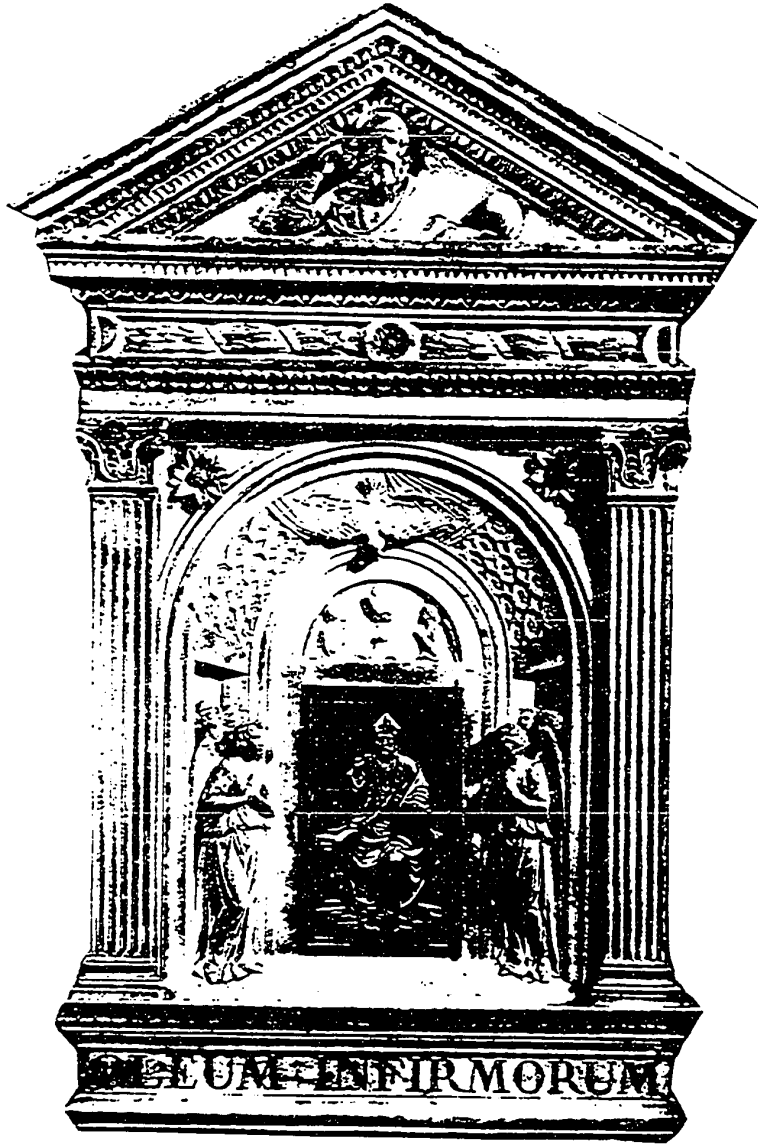Ser Ricciardo di Nanni. Mid- 1450s.

Figure 117. Bernardo Rossellino. *Tabernacle.* Florence, St. Egridio in Florence. 1450.

Figure 118. *Tombstone of Quintus Sulpicius Maximus*, detail. Rome, Museo Nuovo Capitolino.

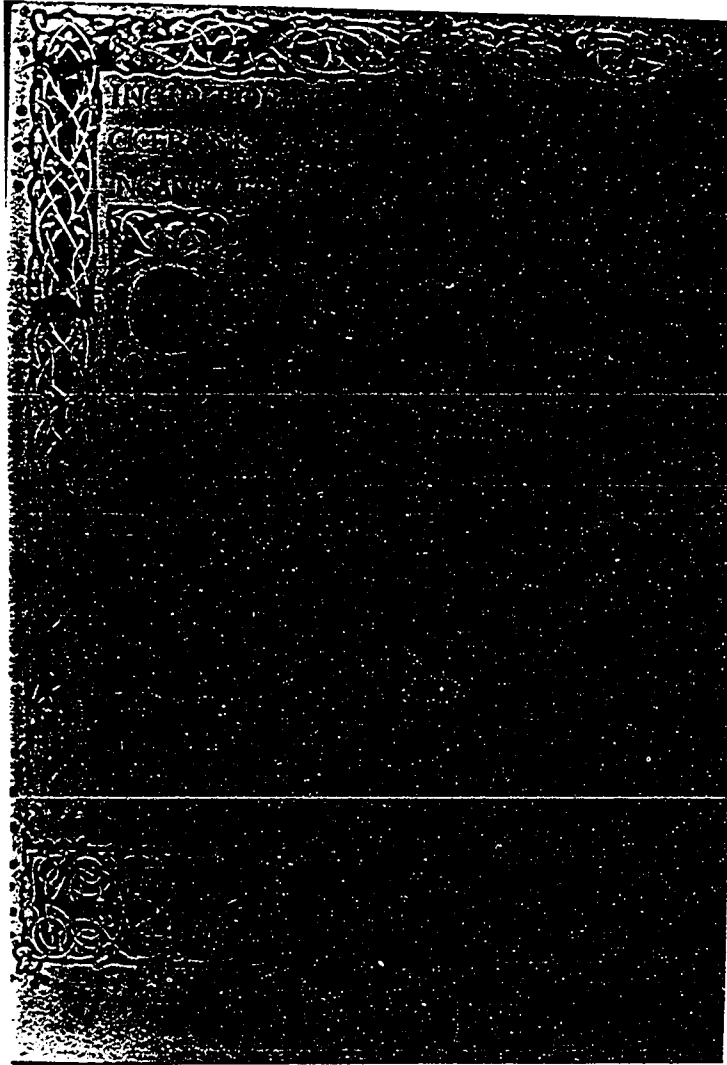Figure 119. Jeremiah. Donatello. Florence, Cathedral Museum. 1427-35.

Figure 120. Cicero. Oratore. Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 48.14, f. 1. Ricciardo di Nanni. Mid-1450s.

Figure 121. Seneca. *De Ira*. Paris, Bibl. Nat. ms. lat. 6376, f. 1, detail of incipit.
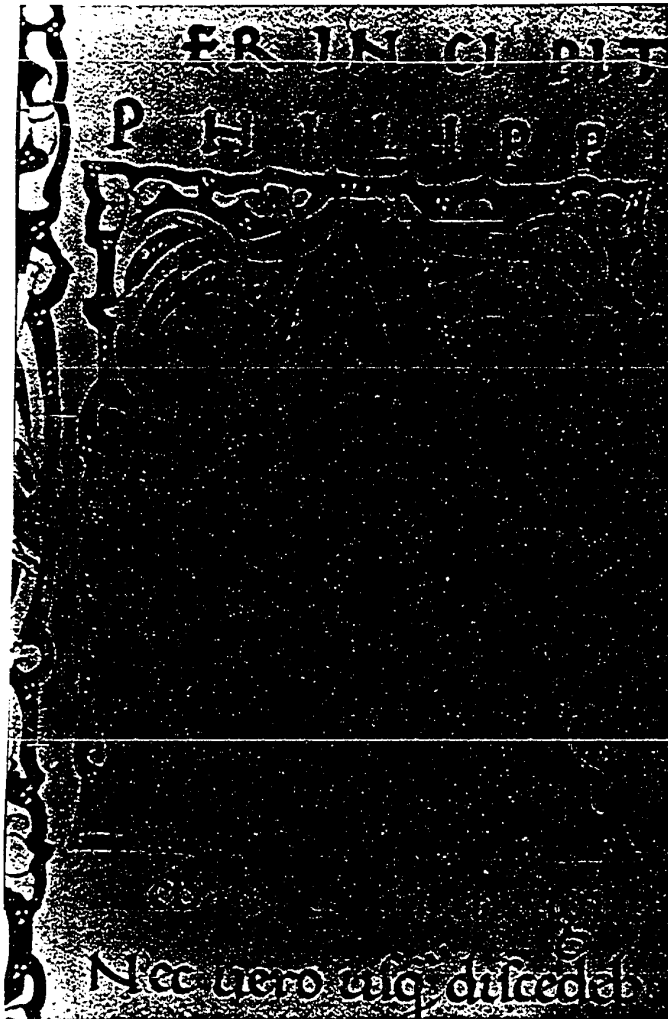Ricciardo di Nanni. Mid-1450s.

Figure 122. Cicero. *Philippicae*. Florence, Bibl. Laur. pl 48.30, f. 1, detail of incipit. Fiesole Master's Workshop. Mid 1450s.

Figure 123. Columella. *de Re Rustica*. Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 53. 32, f. 5, detail of incipit. Fiesole Master's workshop. Mid-1450s.
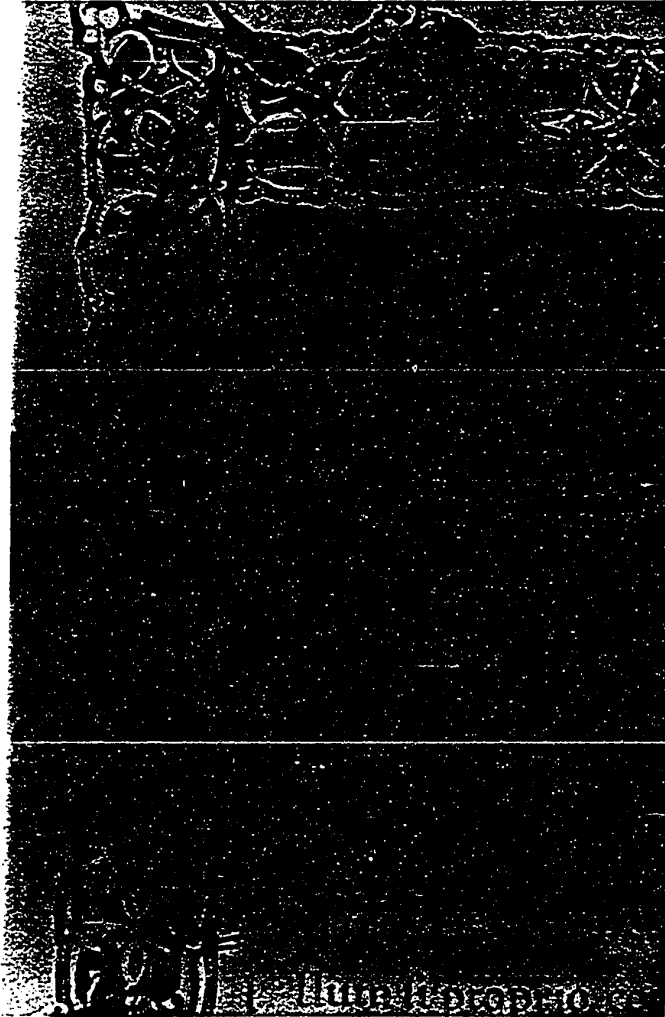
Figure 124. Horace. *Opera Omnia.* Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 34.8, f. 1, detail of incipit. Fiesole Master's workshop. Mid-1450s.

Figure 125. Virgil. Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl 39.8 f. 1, detail of incipit. Master of the Medici Virgil. 1453.

Figure 126. Servius. Commentary on Virgil. Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, ms. S.P. 10, n. 27, f. 1v. Simone Martini.
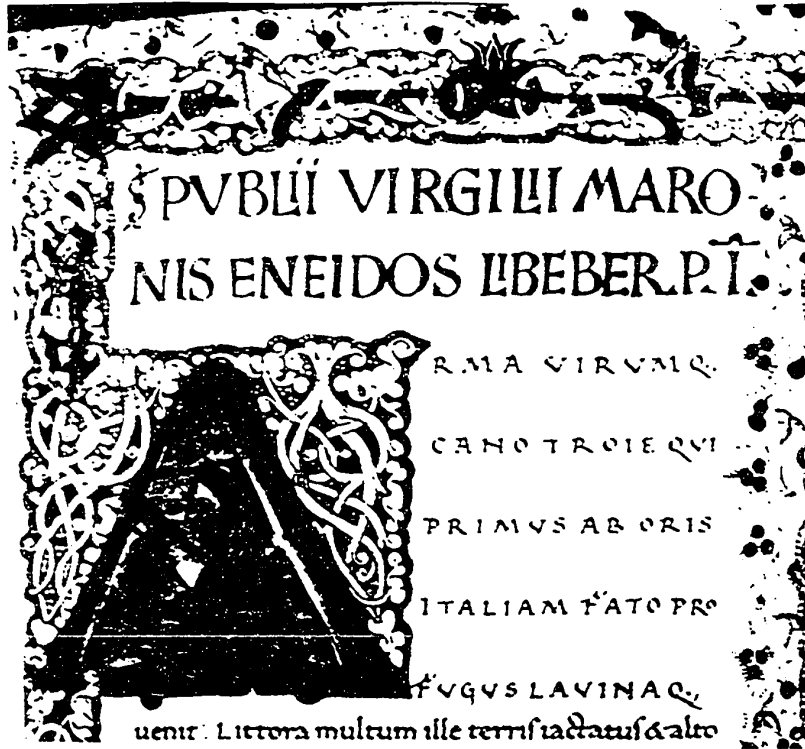
Figure 127. Virgil. Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl 39.8 f. 51, detail of incipit. Master of the Medici Virgil. 1453.
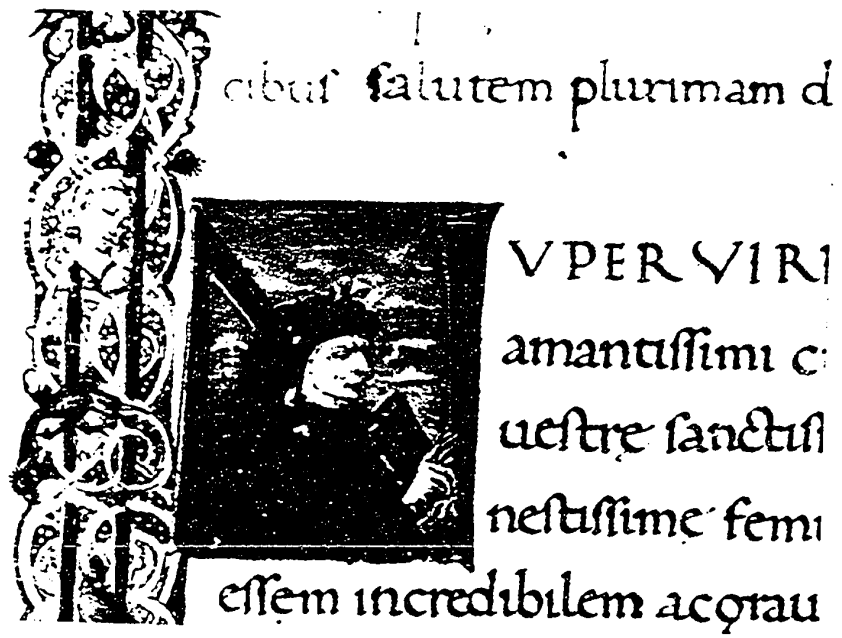
Figure 128. Carolus. Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 53.20, f. 2, detail of incipit. "Master of the Naples Virgil." Mid 1450s.

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cum perfida pach

Gen cad mea fuper regno certamina mouit
Quefituror diu qua tandem ponere arce
Terrai un fortuna caput rer marte finithro
Iuratumq: touif fedul conuentaq: patrum

Figure 129. Silius Italicus, *de Secondo Bello Punico*. Venice, Bibl. Marciana, cod. lat. XII, 68, f. 3. Zanobi Strozzi. ca. 1450.

Figure 130. Silius Italicus. *de Secondo Punico*. Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 37.16,
f. 1, detail. ca. 1450.

Figure 131. Caesar. *Civil Wars*. Bibl. Laurenziana, pl. 68.14, f. 1, detail of incipit.
Francesco d' Antonio del Chierico. 1460s.

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Figure 132. Caesar. *Civil Wars*. Holkam Hall, Viscount Coke, ms. 341, f. 1, detail of incipit. Maestro del Lattanzio riccardiano.

Figure 133. Petrarch. *de viris illustribus*. Darmstadt, Hessische Landsbibliotek, ms. 101, f. 8v, detail of Horatius Cocles in incipit. Late 14th century.

Figure 134. Suetonius. *de Vita Cesarum*. Bibl. Laurenziana, pl. 64.4, f. 1, detail of incipit. Unidentified miniaturist. ca. 1450.

Figure 135. Bas-relief of Julius Caesar. Paris, Louvre. Desidero da Settignano.

Figure 136. Livy, *Deca III*, Florence, Bibl. Naz. Banco Rari, ms. 35, f. 1, detail of incipit. Francesco d' Antonio del Chierico. Mid-1450s.
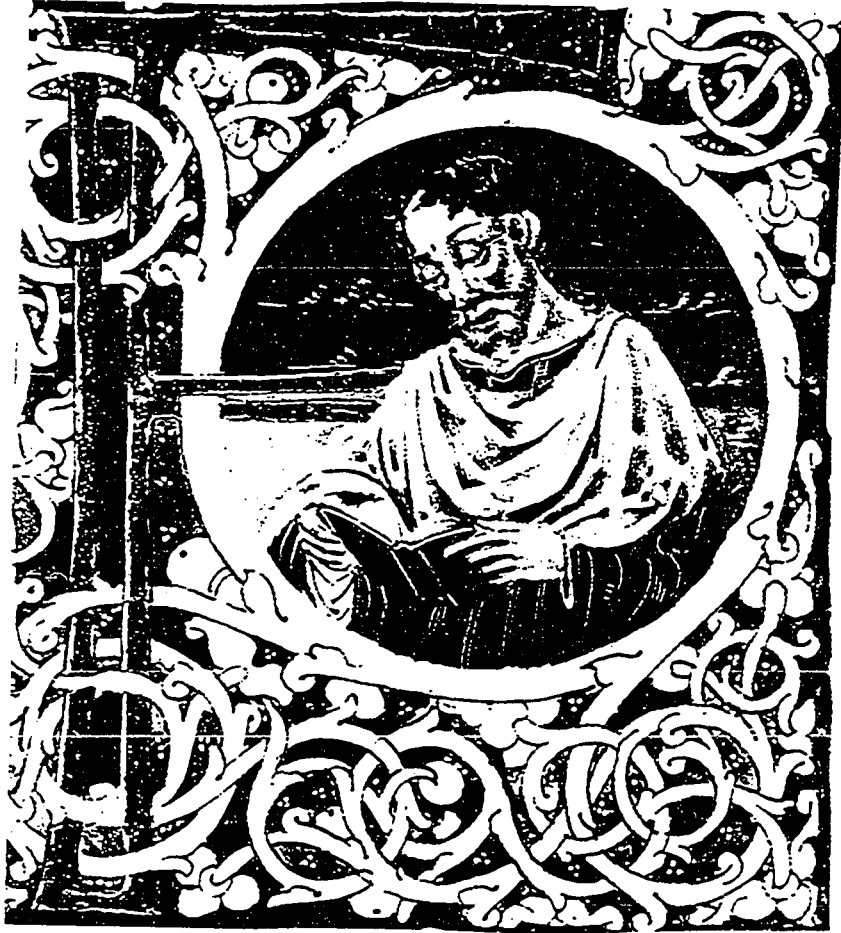
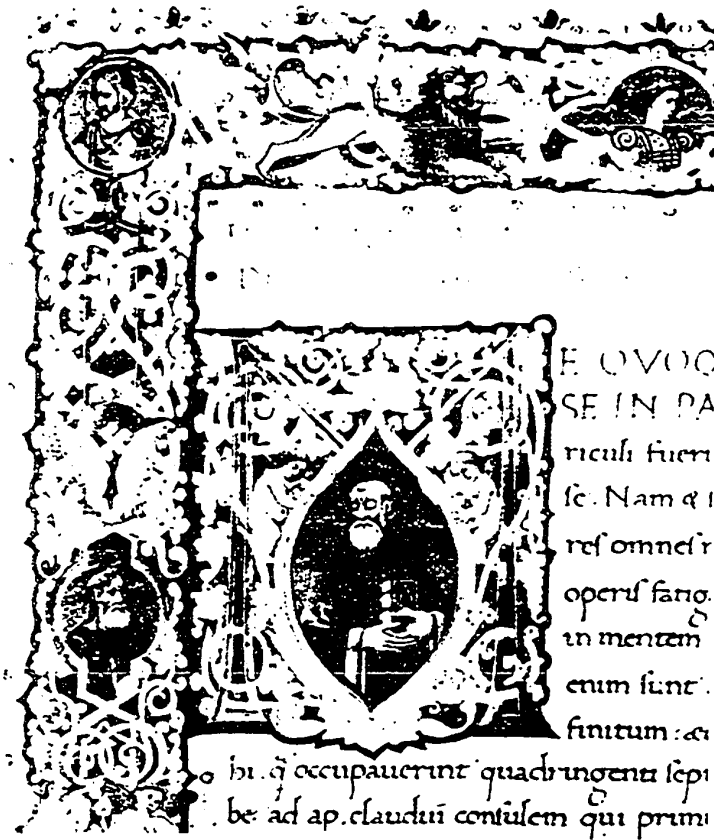Figure 137. Livy. *Deca I*, Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, ms. 484, f. 1, detail of incipit. Mariano del Buono di Jacopo. 1464.

Figure 138. Livy. *Deca IV*. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbiliothek, cod. lat. 15733, f. 2v, detail of incipit. Mariano del Buono. 1470.

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Figure 139. Livy. *Deca I.* Munich, Bayerische Staatsbiliothek, cod. lat. 15731, f. 2. Mariano del Buono. 1470.

Figure 140. Livy. *Deca III.* Munich, Bayerische Staatsbiliothek, cod. lat. 15722, f. 1, detail. Ser Ricciardo di Nanni. ca. 1470.

Figure 141. Petrara. *Trionfi*. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, vit. 22.4. *Triumph of Fame*, f. 57. Ser Ricciardo di Nanni.
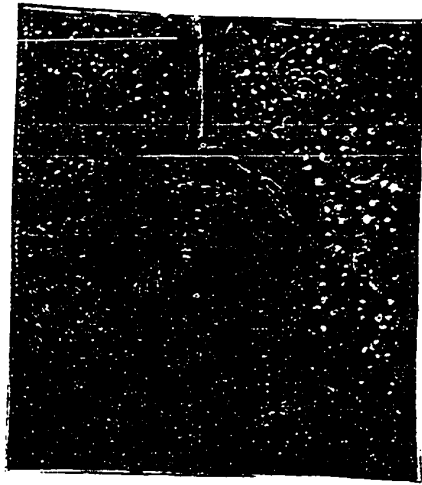
Figure 142. Livy. *Deca III*. New York, New York Public Library, Spencer Collection, ms. 27 f. 1, detail of incipit. Mariano del Buono. ca. 1475.

Figure 143. Livy. *Deca IV.* Valencia, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 757, f. 7, detail of incipit. Mariano dei Buono. ca. 1480.

Figure 144. Livy. *Deca IV.* Bibl. Vat. MS. Ferrajoli 562, f. 1, detail of incipit. 14th century.

Figure 145. Pliny. *Historia naturalis.* Florence, Bibl. Laur. pl. 82.4, f. 3, detail of incipit. Ser Ricciardo di Nanni. 1458.

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Figure 147. Pliny. *Historia Naturale,* trans. by Cristoforo Landini. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 310, preface folio. Gherardo di Monte. ca. 1479-82.

Figure 148. Piiny. *Historia Naturale*, trans. by Cristoforo Landini, Oxford,
Bodleian Library, Douce 310, detail of preface incipit. Gherardo di Monteca.
1479-82.

Figure 149. Valerius Maximus. Florence, Bibl. Laur. pl. 63.24, f. 3, detail of incipit. Fiesole Master's workshop. ca. mid 1450s.

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Figure 152. Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea* , *Economica*, and *Politica,* Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 79.6, f. 1, portrait of Leonardo Bruni in incipit, Fiesole Master's Workshop, mid-1450s.

Figure 153. Bernardo Rossellino, Leonardo Bruni Aretino's Tomb, Florence, Santa Croce, marble, 1446-47.

Figure 154. *Miscellanea*, Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 76.42, f. 1, portrait of Leonardo Bruni in incipit, Miniaturist of the Sassetti Thucydides, ca. 1470.

Figure 155. Leonardo Bruni, *Historia fiorentina*, Vatican City, Bibl. Vaticana,
urb. lat. 464, f. 2, Francesco Rosselli, ca. 1470.

Figure 156. Leonardo Bruni, *Historia fiorentina*, Vatican City, Bibl. Vaticana, urb. lat. 441, f. 2, detail of incipit, Francesco Rosselli, ca. 1470.
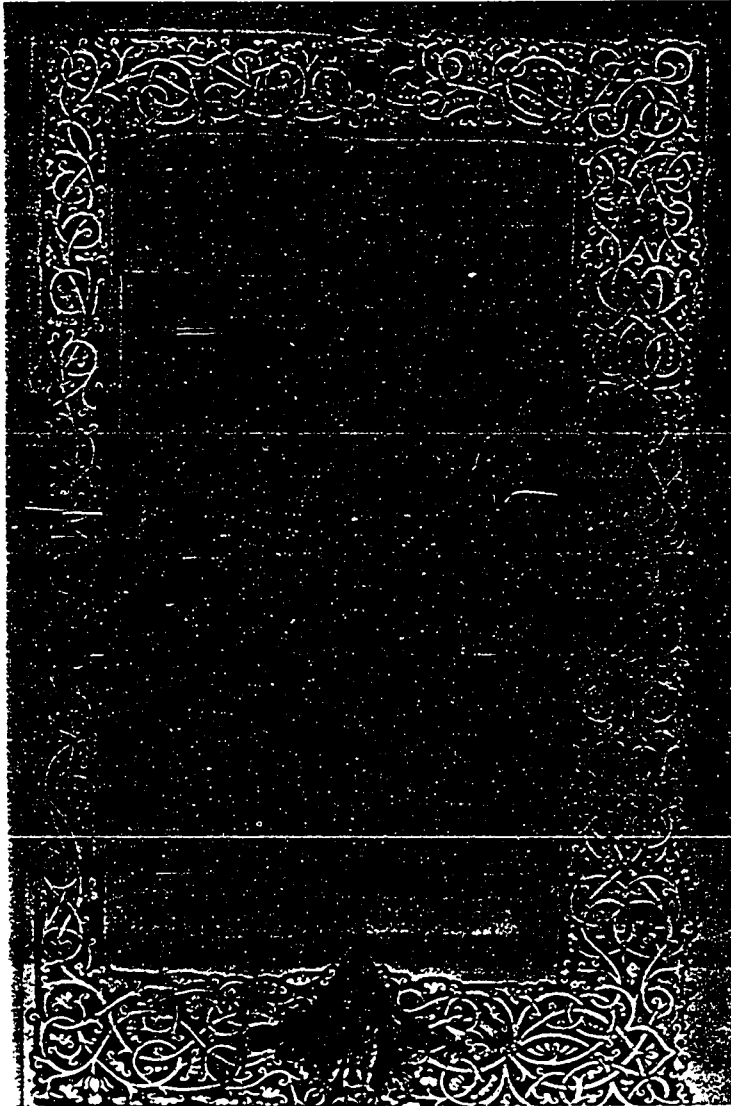
Figure 157. Xenophontis, *vita Socratici*, trans. by Poggio Bracciolini, Florence, Bibl. Laur., Strozzi 50, f. 1, portrait of Poggio in incipit, Florentine workshop, mid-1450s.

Figure 158. Diodoro Siculo, translated by Poggio Bracciolini, Bibi. Vaticana, vat. lat. 1811, f. 1, detail of incipit, Francesco d' Antonio del Chierico.

Figure 159. Poggio Bracciolini, *De varietate fortune*, Vatican City, Bibl. Vaticana, urb. lat. 224, f. 2, detail of incipit, Francesco d' Antonio del Chierico, 1455-62.

Figure 160. Niccolò Tignosi, *Commentarium super Ethica Aristotelis*, Florence,
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Figure 163. Ptolemy, *Geographica*, translated by Jacopo Angeli, London, Brit. Lib. ms. Harl. 7182, f. 1, detail of incipit, Francesco d' Antonio del Chierico.

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Figure 166. Ptolemy, *Geographica*, translated by Jacopo Angeli, Bibl. Vatican, urb. lat 277, f. 2, detail of incipit, Francesco Rosselli.

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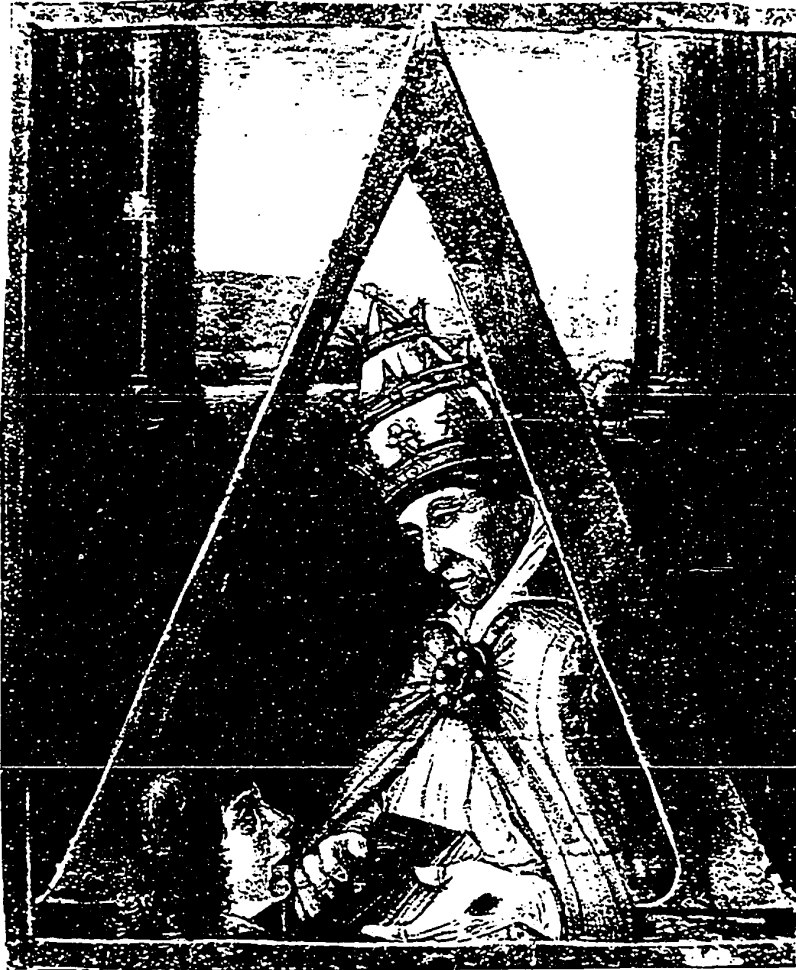
Figure 169. Ptolemy, *Geographica*, translated by Jacopo Angeli, Florence, Bibl. Centrale, cl. XIII. 16, f. 1, detail of incipit, Monte and Gherardo di Giovanni, 1490s.

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Figure 171. Anonymous, *Argyropolus* teaching from the cathedra of the Katholikon Mouseion at the Xenon in Constantinople.
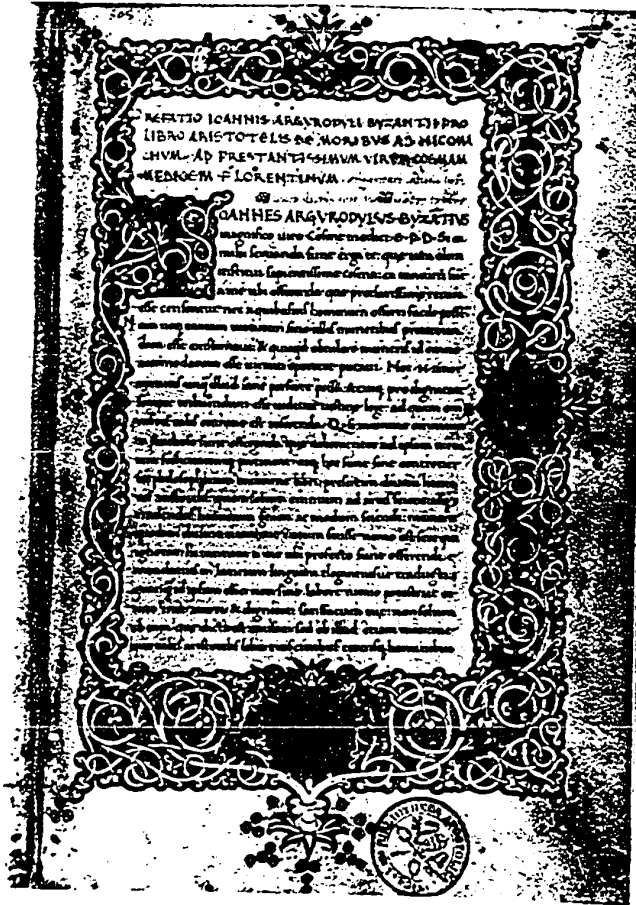
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Figure 173. Pisanello, Medal of John Palaeologan VIII.

Figure 174. Joseph sold into slavery, Florence, Basilica of San Lrenzo, Choral 203, f. 1, detail of incipit, Francesco d' Antonio del Chierico.

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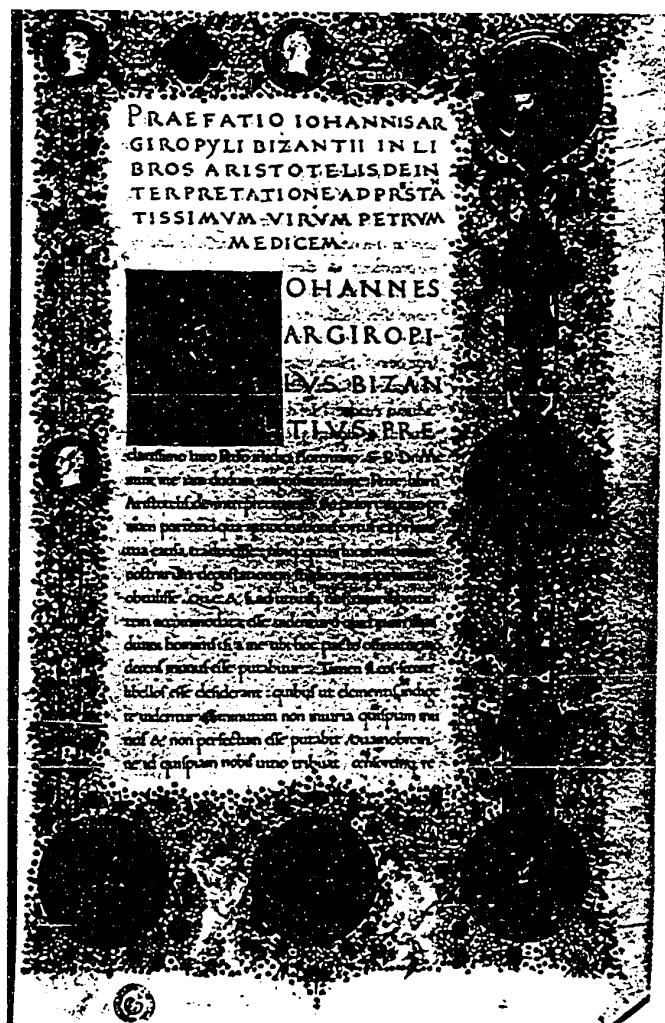
Figure 175. Aristotle, Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 71.7.

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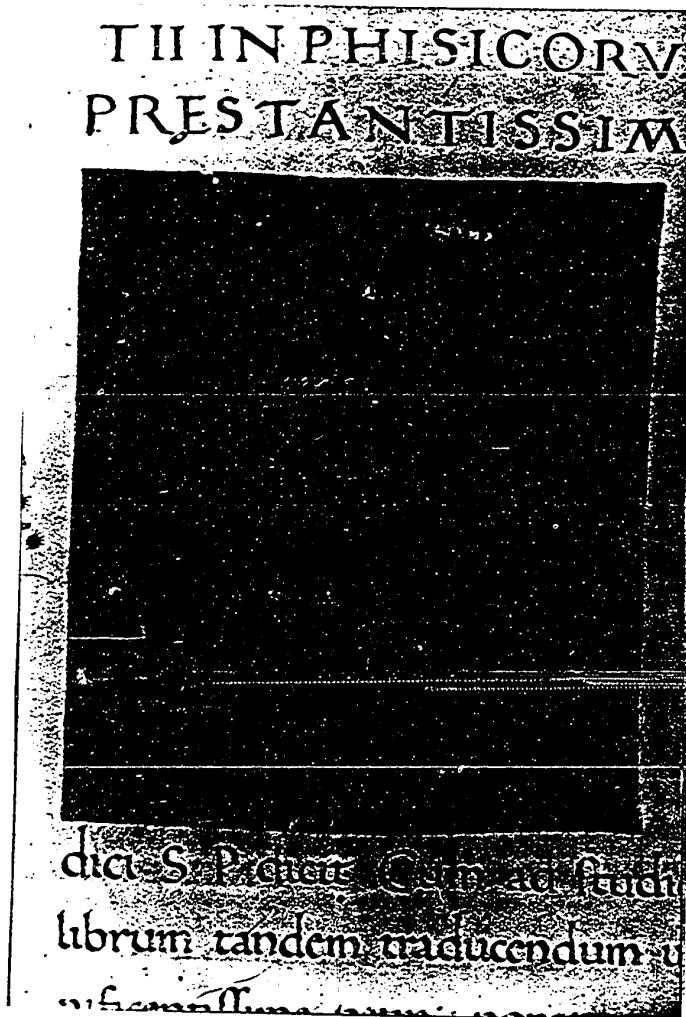
Figure 176. Aristotle, Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 84.1.

Figure 177. pl. 71.7 detail of Piero.

Figure 178. pl. 71.7 detail of Cosimo.

Figure 179. Piero's Medal.

Figure 180. Cosimo's Medal.

Figure 181. Herodotus pl. 67.1, f. 10.
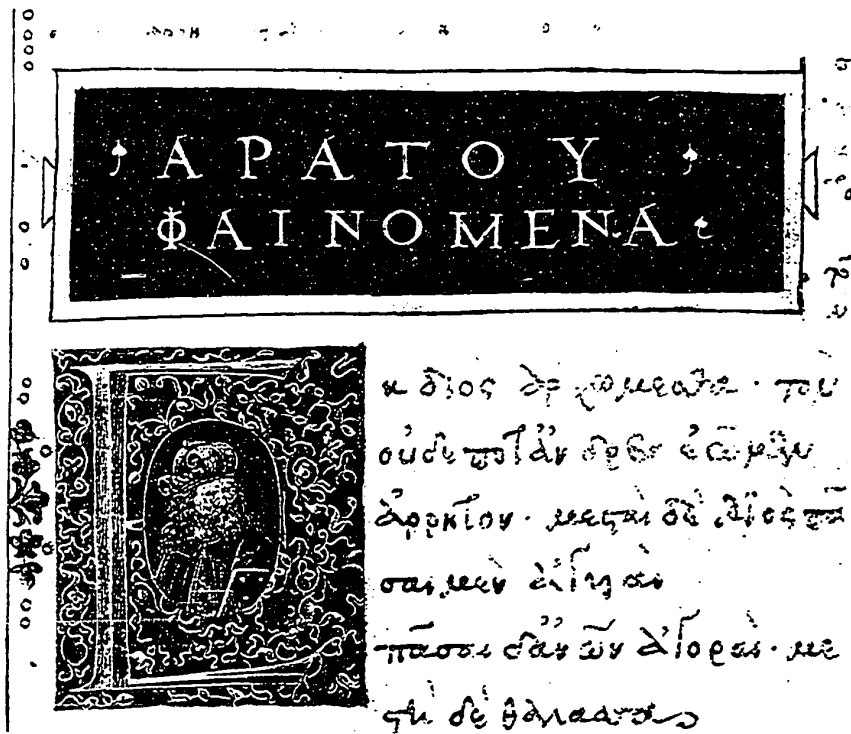
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Figure 183. Homer, *Iliad*, Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 32.4, f. 43, detail of incipit, Francesco Rosselli or the Master of the Medici Illiad.
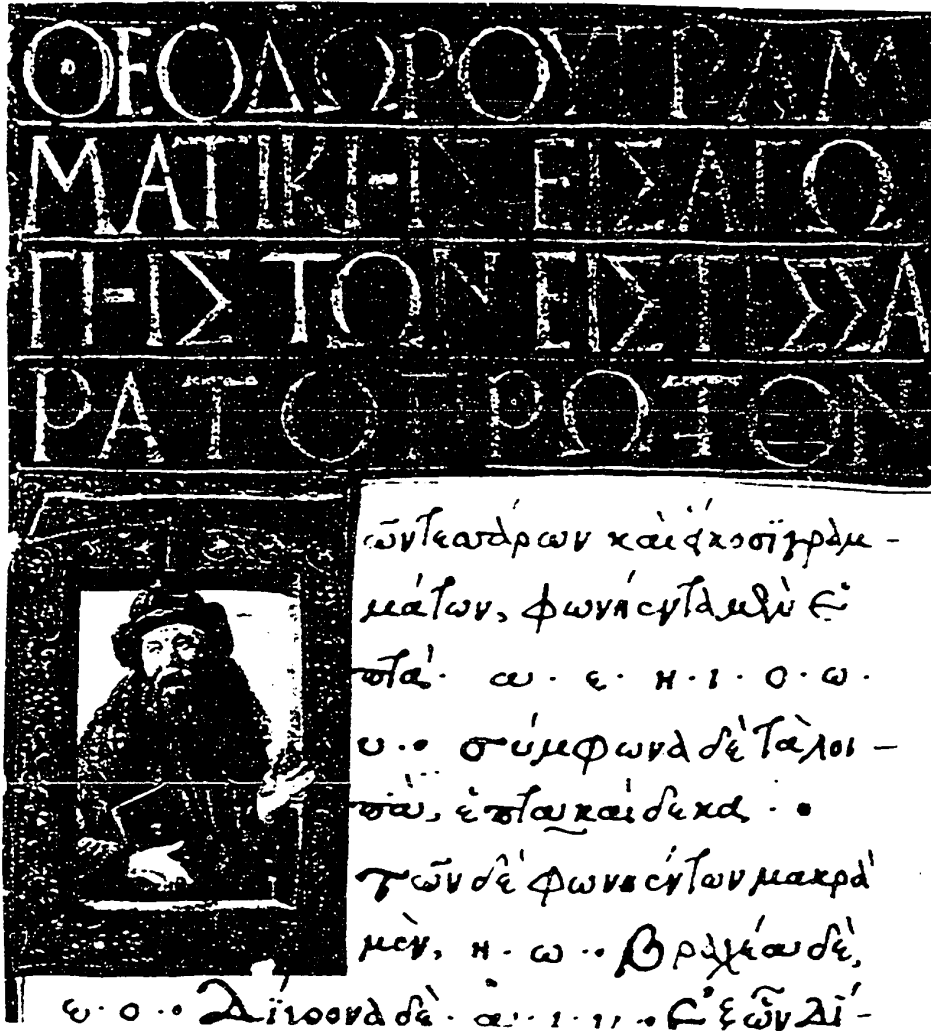
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Figure 188. Poggio Bracciolini, *Historia fiorentina,* Bibl. Vatican, urb. lat. 491, f. 2v., attributed to the Maestro del Senofonte Hamilton.
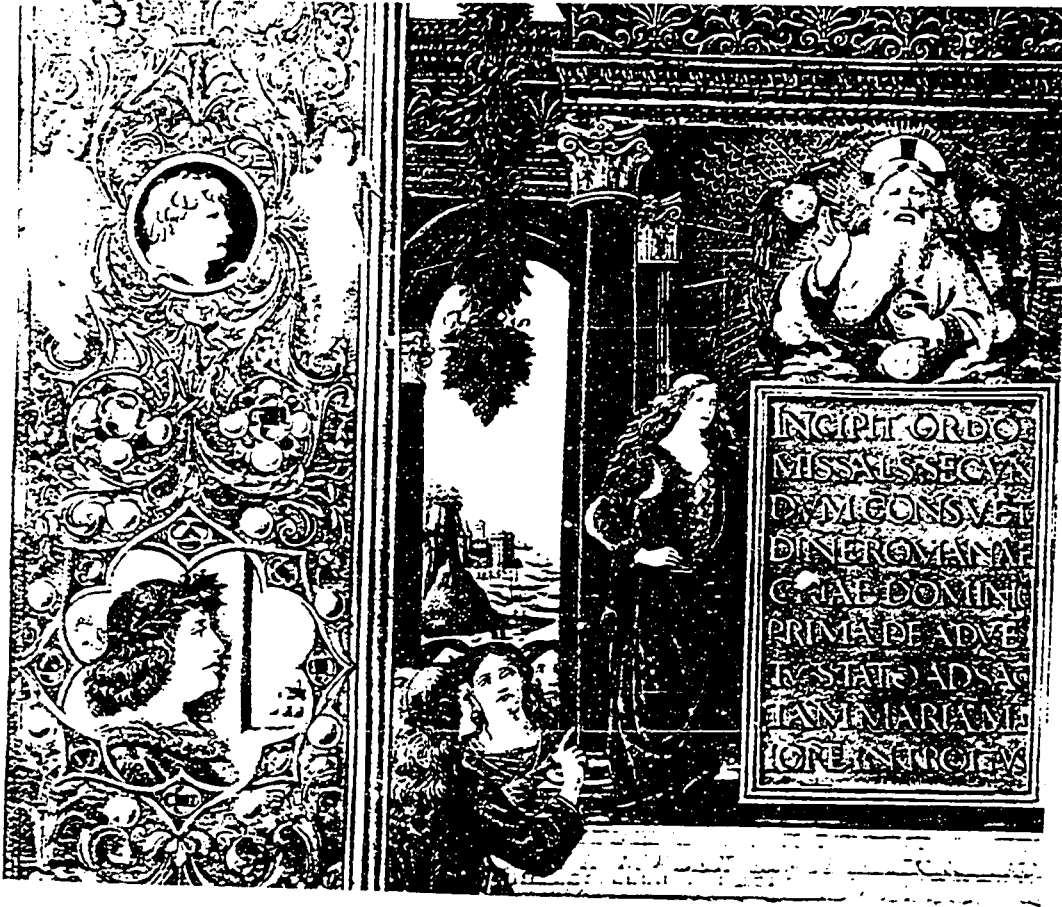
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Figure 192. Bible, Florence, Bibl. Laur., pl. 15.17, f. 2v, detail, Monte di Giovanni.

LIBRO PRIMO DELLA NATVRALE HISTORIA DI. C. PLINIO SECONDO TRADOCTA IN LINGVA FIOREN TINA PER CHRISTOPHORO LANDINO FIORENTI NO AL SERENISSIMO FERDINANDO RE DI NAPOLI. PREFATIONE

Figure 193. Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, translated into Florentine by Cristoforo Landini, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 310, preface frontispiece, Gherardo di Giovanni, 1479-82.

Figure 194. Strozzi medal.

Figure 195. Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, translated into Florentine by Cristoforo
Landini, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 310, prologue frontispiece, Gherardo
di Giovanni, 1479-82.

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