



Political Ideas in Sieneese Art: The Frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti and Taddeo di Bartolo in the Palazzo Pubblico

Author(s): Nicolai Rubinstein

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 21, No. 3/4 (Jul. - Dec., 1958), pp. 179-207

Published by: [The Warburg Institute](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/750823>

Accessed: 04/06/2012 06:07

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



The Warburg Institute is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

POLITICAL IDEAS IN SIENESE ART: THE FRESCOES BY AMBROGIO LORENZETTI AND TADDEO DI BARTOLO IN THE PALAZZO PUBBLICO

By Nicolai Rubinstein

I

When between 1337 and 1340 the government of Siena commissioned Ambrogio Lorenzetti to adorn their council chamber in the Palazzo Pubblico,¹ the frescoing of town halls and palaces had already become fairly widespread in Italy. Few of these early frescoes in secular buildings have survived, but the evidence we possess shows that they were frequently meant to serve political and didactic purposes.² Inscriptions often helped to press home the message of the paintings. One of the most remarkable of these frescoes was painted in 1315 by Simone Martini in the Great Council Hall of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena (Pl. 15a). The 'Maestà'³ is more than a religious painting of the Madonna and Child. According to the Sieneese tradition, the Virgin had been the ruler of Siena since 1260, when before the battle of Montaperti against Florence the Sieneese had put themselves in her hands;⁴ thus in the 'Maestà' she addresses the spectators, who are the councillors assembled in the hall, not only as the Mother of Christ but also as the protector of Siena. "Diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram,"⁵ we read on the scroll the Christ-child is holding; and in the inscriptions below, the Virgin expresses her delight in good counsel, and her contempt for selfishness, which leads citizens to despise her and to betray her city;⁶ and she replies to the four other Sieneese patron saints interceding for the citizens at the foot of her throne, that acceptance of their prayers would not extend to those who oppress the weak and betray her town. In short, the message of the 'Maestà' turns on the two concepts of justice and of the subordination of private interest to that of the community. These are also the two concepts underlying the programme of the frescoes which about twenty-two years later Ambrogio Lorenzetti painted in the adjoining council chamber of the government, the Nove. But instead of using the direct and somewhat rudimentary approach of the 'Maestà,' Lorenzetti couches the message of his frescoes in a complex philosophical allegory.

¹ On the dates see C. Brandi, "Chiarimenti sul 'Buon Governo' di Ambrogio Lorenzetti," *Boll. d'Arte*, ser. 4, XL, 1955, pp. 119-23, who adds some new evidence to that previously published by G. Milanesi in his *Documenti per la storia dell'arte senese*, Siena, 1854, I, pp. 195-97 (cf. his edition of Vasari's *Vite*, I, Florence, 1878, p. 528).

² See H. Wieruszowski, "Art and the commune in the time of Dante," *Speculum*, XIX, 1944, pp. 18 ff.

³ See R. van Marle, *Simone Martini*, Strasbourg, 1920, pp. 9-11; G. Paccagnini, *Simone*

Martini, London, 1957, pp. 100-103.

⁴ *Cronache Senesi*, in *Rer. Ital. Script.*, XV, vi, p. 58.

⁵ Sap. i. 1. Cf. Dante, *Paradiso*, xviii, 81, 93, and G. Mazzoni, "Influssi danteschi nella 'Maestà' di Simone Martini . . .," *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, XCIV, 1938, pp. 149-51.

⁶ "Li angelichi fiorecti, rose e gigli, / Onde s'adorna lo celeste prato / Non mi diletta più ch'è buon consigli. / Ma talor veggio chi per proprio stato / Dispreza me e la mia terra inganna / . . ."

II

An interpretation of this allegory—that is, of the frescoes known as the ‘Buon Governo’ and ‘Mal Governo’⁷—should start with an attempt to understand their arrangement. As we face them, with our backs to the windows, we find on the left wall the allegory of Bad Government (Pl. 15b) and its effects on town and countryside; on the end wall in front of us, the allegory of Good Government (Pl. 15c); and on the wall on the right, its effects. The allegory of ‘Buon Governo’ thus occupies the central position among the frescoes of the Sala de’ Nove.⁸ It does so in more than one respect. It faces the windows, so that it receives the full light; and while the allegory of Bad Government and its effects occupy one wall only, two walls are reserved for the allegory of Good Government and its effects. Evidently it is on this allegory that the composition turns. Through the following attempt at interpretation of the central fresco, we may hope to obtain the clue for the understanding of the other frescoes as well.

The so-called ‘Buon Governo’ fresco can be divided into three sections: two upper sections separated—and, as we shall see, also connected—by the figure of Pax, and one lower section, running along the whole width of the fresco. Let us first consider the two upper sections, which form the main part of the fresco. They represent two allegorical scenes: on the left, Justice (Pl. 16a); on the right, a ruler with figures representing virtues (Pl. 16b).

The allegorical scene on the right appears at first sight to be a pictorial representation of a conventional “mirror of princes” motif; the contemporary *specula principum* taught kings to observe the cardinal virtues—the *virtutes politicae*⁹—and such other “political” virtues as were considered essential for good rulership, for instance magnanimity and liberality. In the Lorenzetti fresco, the ruler is surrounded by the four cardinal virtues and Magnanimity, with Peace a little apart.¹⁰ The *specula principum* placed the emphasis on the cardinal virtues; in the Lorenzetti fresco the three theological virtues appear in a higher but less central position than the cardinal virtues, being represented by much smaller winged figures floating round the Ruler’s head, somewhat removed from the main scene.¹¹

However, this interpretation of the allegory, obvious as it may seem, is handicapped by the fact that Siena was a republic. There was no monarchical ruler in Siena; the only magistrate one might conceivably think of in this

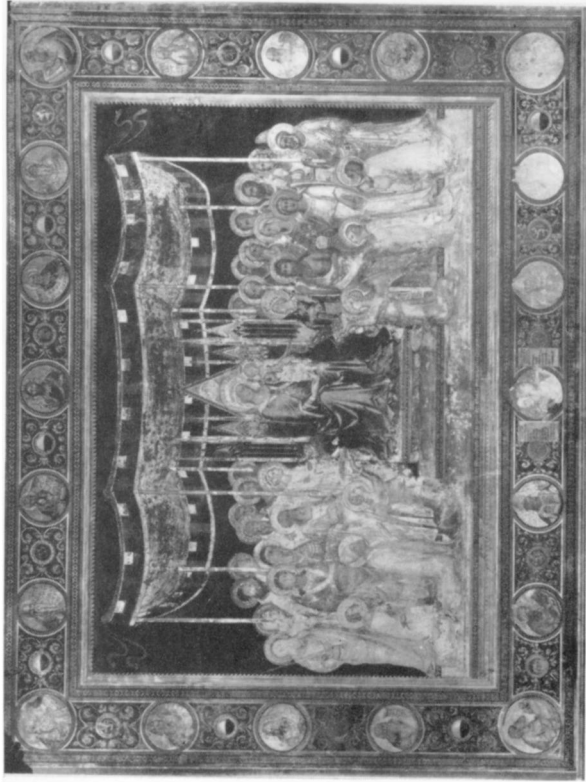
⁷ There is a considerable literature on this subject. See, e.g., P. Schubring, “Das gute Regiment,” *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst*, N.F., XIII, 1902, pp. 138-45; L. Zdekauer, “Iustitia: Immagine e Idea,” in *Bull. Senese di st. patria*, XX, 1913, pp. 402-405; O. H. Giglioli, “L’allegoria politica negli affreschi di Ambrogio Lorenzetti,” *Emporium*, XIX, 1904, pp. 265-82; P. L. Sbaragli, *Il Palazzo del Comune di Siena*, Siena, 1932, pp. 87-96. G. Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, Princeton, N.J., 1958, appeared when this article was in the press.

⁸ See John White, *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space*, London, 1957, pp. 93-99.

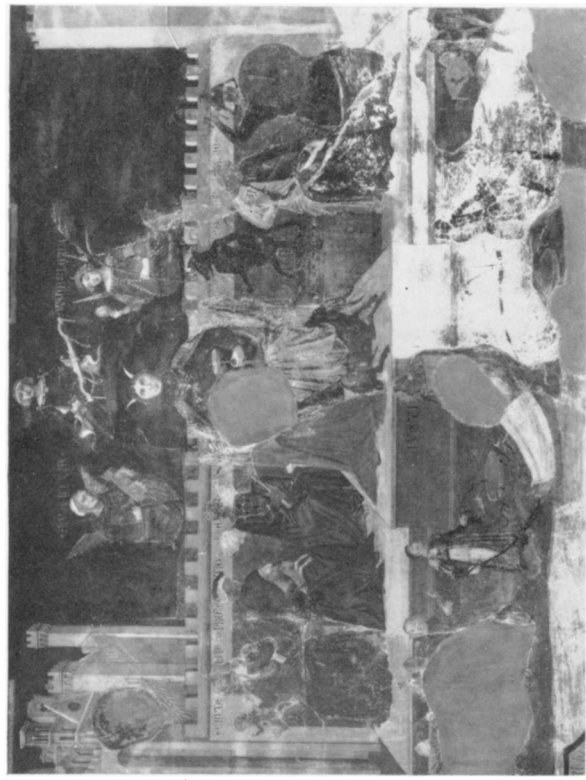
⁹ Macrobius, *In Somn. Scip.*, I, viii, 5-8.

¹⁰ The association of the figure of Magnanimity (μεγαλοψυχία) with rulers goes back to late classical art, where it was ultimately derived from the *Nicomachean Ethics*; see G. Downey, “Personification of abstract ideas in the Antioch Mosaics,” *Trans. of the American Philol. Assoc.*, LXIX, 1938, pp. 356-59.

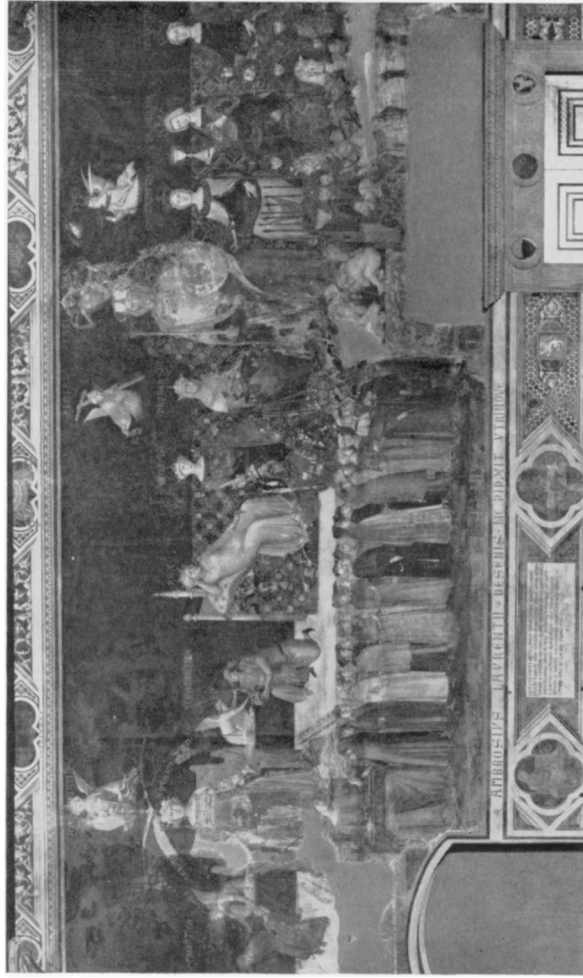
¹¹ For the iconography of rulers with virtues see A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art*, London, 1939, pp. 30 ff.; E. H. Kantorowicz, “Σύνδρομος Δέξη,” *American Journal of Archaeology*, LVII, 1953, pp. 65-70.



a—Simone Martini, 'Maestà,' Fresco, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena (p. 179)



b—Ambrogio Lorenzetti, 'Allegory of Tyranny,' Fresco, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena (p. 180)



c—Ambrogio Lorenzetti, so-called 'Allegory of Good Government,' Fresco, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena (p. 180)



a—Ambrogio Lorenzetti, 'Justice' (detail of Pl. 15c) (*pp.* 180, 182)



b—Ambrogio Lorenzetti, 'The Ruler' (detail of Pl. 15c) (*p.* 180)

connexion, the *podestà*, had lost practically all his former importance and had become a subordinate official.¹² Who, then, is the Ruler in this allegorical scene? The figure has been explained as: "an aged king,"¹³ the Good Ruler,¹⁴ Good Government,¹⁵ or Justice,¹⁶ others believe that it is meant to personify the Commune of Siena.¹⁷ This is the most satisfactory explanation so far; in fact, the ruler is dressed in the colours of Siena, black and white; at his feet lies the Sieneese Wolf with the Twins, and above his head we find the initials "C.S.C.C.V." According to some,¹⁸ the initials stand for "Comune Senarum cum civilibus virtutibus"—instead of the usual "virtutes politicae."¹⁹ But did not the original inscription read "C.S.C.V."? This was in fact the reading given in the eighteenth century by Della Valle,²⁰ and, what is more important, the one which we find on the Biccherna cover for 1344; for on this cover, which is generally attributed to Ambrogio Lorenzetti, the figure of the "ruler" is evidently modelled on that of the fresco.²¹ If this assumption is correct, the initials would clearly stand for "Commune Senarum Civitas Virginis."²² There are contemporary iconographic examples of personifications of Communes, such as that on the tomb of Bishop Guido Tarlati in the Cathedral of Arezzo.²³ Lorenzetti evidently solved the dilemma of how to adapt a mirror of princes motif to a city-republic by substituting the personified Commune for the prince.

However, if we turn to the inscription at the bottom of the fresco, we find the explicit statement that the Ruler is meant to represent the Common Good:

¹² See J. Luchaire, *Documenti per la storia dei rivolgimenti politici del Comune di Siena dal 1354 al 1369*, in *Annales de l'Univ. de Lyon*, n.s., II, *Droit, Lettres*, Lyons-Paris, 1906, pp. xxi-xxvi. It might be added that the dress of the "ruler" does not correspond to that of a fourteenth-century *podestà*.

¹³ R. Van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting*, II, The Hague, 1924, p. 401.

¹⁴ Sbaragli, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

¹⁵ A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, V, Milan, 1907, p. 704; Giglioli, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-269.

¹⁶ G. della Valle, *Lettere Sanesi*, Rome, 1785, II, p. 221.

¹⁷ Milanese, in Vasari, I, p. 529; E. v. Meyenburg, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti . . .*, Zurich, 1903, p. 51; L. Olcott, in W. Heywood and L. Olcott, *Guide to Siena*, Siena, 1904, p. 210; Zdekauer, *op. cit.*, p. 403. According to Giglioli, *loc. cit.*, he is both "il Buon Governo" and "la personificazione del Comune di Siena."

¹⁸ Milanese, in Vasari, I, p. 529; Venturi, V, p. 706.

¹⁹ See above, p. 180.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, II, p. 220, n. 1.

²¹ E. Carli, *Le Tavole di Biccherna*,

Florence, 1950, pp. 33-34.

²² From 1279 onwards, we find the legend "Sena Vetus Civitas Virginis" on Sieneese coins; see D. Promis, *Monete della Repubblica di Siena*, Turin, 1868, p. 31; *Corpus Nummorum Ital.*, XI, p. 355.

²³ Completed shortly before Lorenzetti began to paint his frescoes. It has two representations of "il Comune." See A. Del Vita, *Il Duomo d'Arezzo*, Milan, n.d., p. 43; Wieruszowski, *op. cit.*, p. 24. The illuminated codex of the panegyric on King Robert of Naples, ascribed to Convenevole da Prato, contains female figures personifying Rome and Florence (Brit. Mus., Reg. 6. E. IX, ff. 11^v, 13^r) (see R. Offner, *A Corpus of Florentine Painting*, Section III, VI, New York, 1956, pp. 213-16: soon after Convenevole's return to Prato in 1336). On the representation of Augusta Perusia on the fountain in Perugia see G. N. Fasola, *La Fontana di Perugia*, Rome, 1951, p. 65, pl. 4. According to Vasari (*op. cit.*, p. 400) and Ghiberti (*I Commentari*, ed. O. Morisani, Naples, 1947, pp. 33-34), Giotto painted the Commune in the Bargello in Florence (cf. S. Morpurgo, *Un affresco perduto di Giotto nel Palazzo del Podestà di Firenze. Nozze Supino-Finzi*, Florence, 1897).

Questa santa virtù là dove regge
 Induce ad unità li animi molti,
 E questi acciò ricolti
 Un Ben Comun per lor signor si fanno . . .²⁴

Only one scholar, S. Morpurgo, seems to have noticed the significance of this inscription for the interpretation of the allegory, and dealing with another subject, did not attempt to inquire into its wider implications.²⁵ To do so, we have to turn to the left section of the fresco.

"Questa santa virtù" refers to the figure of Justice on the left (Pl. 16a). Justice is also seated on a throne and forms the centre of an elaborate allegory. Sapientia, above her head, holds a pair of scales, on each of which there is a winged figure, representing distributive and commutative justice (according to the inscriptions); the former beheads one man and places a crown on the head of another; the latter gives money to one and a weapon to another. A double cord runs from the scales to the left hand of Concordia seated below Justice, and from Concordia to the hands of the citizens at the bottom of the fresco, to end in the right hand of the Ruler.

The scene represents a complex allegory in which the Aristotelian theory of justice, in its contemporary scholastic and juristic interpretation, forms the principal theme. At the same time, there are Augustinian overtones in the combination of Iustitia and Pax; and E. H. Kantorowicz has recently pointed to the affinity between the allegory of Justice and the juristic notion of *justitia mediatrix*.²⁶ There are some iconographical similarities with the imagery of the prologue to the *Quaestiones de iuris subtilitatibus*;²⁷ it may also be added that the legal philosophy of the fourteenth-century Post-Glossators, however, was in its turn influenced by the Thomistic-Aristotelian theory of law.²⁸ Perhaps the most obvious representation of that theory in our fresco is the distinction between distributive and commutative justice.²⁹ Neither Aristotle nor St.

²⁴ Already in the fifteenth century, the last line of the first verse seems no longer to have been legible in its entirety, to judge from the transcript of the inscriptions of the Lorenzetti frescoes contained in Cod. Marc. It., Cl. IX, 204 (second half of the fifteenth century), ed. by S. Morpurgo, "Le epigrafi volgari in rima del 'Trionfo della Morte' . . .", *L'Arte*, II, 1899, p. 85: "Un ben comun per lor [signor] si fanno." The "signor" of the fresco appears to have been due to later restoration; however, from the following line, transcribed in the Marciana MS. ("El qual per governar suo stato elegge"), it is evident that the original inscription had "signor" or at least an equivalent. For the rest of the inscription see below, n. 56.

²⁵ S. Morpurgo, "Bruto, 'il buon giudice,' nell'Udienza dell'Arte della Lana in Firenze," in *Miscellanea di storia dell'arte in onore di I. B. Supino*, Florence, 1933, pp. 160-61.

²⁶ *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medi-*

aeval Political Theology, Princeton, N.J., 1957, pp. 107 ff.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 112. The *Quaestiones* were first edited by H. Fitting (Berlin, 1894), who ascribed them to Irnerius; the prologue has been partly re-edited by H. Kantorowicz, *Studies in the Glossators of the Roman Law*, Cambridge, 1938, pp. 183-84, who makes a strong case for the authorship of Placentinus. Only some aspects of the imagery of the Temple of Justice correspond to that of the fresco, especially the position of Justice under Reason; other features of it, such as the selection and arrangement of the virtues, have no bearing on Lorenzetti's allegory.

²⁸ Cf. H. D. Hazeltine, introd. to W. Ullmann, *The Medieval Idea of Law . . .*, London, 1946, pp. xxi-xxiii.

²⁹ Cf. Aristotle, *Nicom. Ethics*, V, ii, 12-13; St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, IIa IIae, qu. 61, art. 1; *Commentary on the Ethics*, nos. 927-31 (*In decem libros Ethicorum Aristotelis*

Thomas include punitive jurisdiction in the former; but the Italian version of Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* modifies the Aristotelian definition in this way;³⁰ while the lawyer Lucas de Penna argues that punishable crimes are violations of either kind of justice.³¹ In our fresco, Sapientia is on the same higher level as the theological virtues and is holding a book as well as the balance of Justice, who is lightly touching each of its scales.³² That Sapientia should inspire Iustitia corresponds to the relationship of divine and natural law with human law, which is the basic theme of St. Thomas' "treatise on law" in the *Summa Theologica* and plays an important rôle in juristic thought. "Ratio divinae sapientiae moventis omnia ad debitum finem obtinet rationem legis"; "omnis lex humanitus posita intantum habet de ratione legis, inquantum a lege naturae derivatur," says St. Thomas;³³ while the inspiration of Justice by Reason was a favourite notion of the civil lawyers.³⁴ Finally, there is the long mediaeval tradition of the pre-eminence of Sapientia in the moral system³⁵ and as a guiding principle of government, a tradition which had been expanded in thirteenth-century mirrors of princes;³⁶ and the Wisdom of Solomon, which was one of its Biblical sources, probably provided a further element for the formulation of the allegory.³⁷

"Since it belongs to the law to direct to the common good," says St. Thomas, ". . . it follows that the justice which is in this way called general is

ad Nicomachum expositio, ed. A. M. Pirotta, Turin, 1934, pp. 308-9).

³⁰ *Del reggimento de' principi di Egidio Romano, volgarizzamento trascritto nel MCCLXXXVIII*, ed. F. Corazzini, Florence, 1858, p. 40 (I, ii, 11), on distributive justice: "E così come ellino [i.e. the rulers] debbono dare ei beni e gli onori ai buoni, così debbono dare le pene e i mali ai malvagi." This passage appears to have been added to the Latin text; there is no corresponding passage in the editions of the *De regimine*, Venice, 1498 (c. iii) and Rome, 1607 (p. 78).

³¹ See Ullmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40. Lucas de Penna began to write his *Commentaria in Tres Libros Codicis* about the middle of the fourteenth century.

³² In Giotto's fresco of Justice, in the Capella degli Scrovegni, the pair of scales is floating in front of her—according to Zdekauer, p. 401, invisibly held by Divine Wisdom. Here, too, Justice is holding the single scales. A. Moschetti, *La Cappella degli Scrovegni . . .*, Florence, 1904, pp. 115-16.

There are also other similarities between Giotto's and Lorenzetti's imagery: in Giotto's fresco, too, there are small figures on the scales, the one on the left evidently crowning a man, while the one on the right cuts off the head of another. In Lorenzetti's fresco both actions are carried out by the figure of Commutative Justice. On the good effects of the rule of justice, cf. the inscription under

Giotto's Justice: "Equa lance cuncta librat / perfecta iusticia; / coronando bonos, vibrat / ensem contra vicia. / Cuncta gaudet <et> libertate / Ipsa si regnaverit, / agit cum iucunditate" etc. (*ibid.*, p. 120. The emendation is mine).

³³ *Summa Theol.*, Ia IIae, qu. 93, art. 1, concl.; qu. 95, art. 2, concl.

³⁴ See E. H. Kantorowicz, pp. 107 ff. It is possible that the application of Sapientia to Civil Law had also some bearing on the figure of Sapientia. Bartolus speaks of the "essentialis bonitas et perfectio istius civilis sapientiae," which says of itself: "Sedeo regina, vidua non sum" (Rev. xviii. 7), as Canon Law would be without Civil Law (sermon for the doctorate of his brother, in *Opera*, V, Basle, 1598, p. 506; cf. C. S. Woolf, *Bartolus of Sassoferrato . . .*, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 13-15).

³⁵ For St. Thomas, justice is the highest of the moral virtues and wisdom the highest of the intellectual ones: *Summa Theol.*, Ia IIae, qu. 66, arts. 3-5. Cf. M. R. E. Brennan, *The Intellectual Virtues according to the Philosophy of St. Thomas*, Washington, D.C., 1941, pp. 44 ff.

³⁶ Cf., e.g., Pseudo-Thomas, *De eruditione principum*, ch. 2, in St. Thomas Aquinas, *Opera omnia*, XVI, Parma, 1865, pp. 392-94: "Quod habenti potestatem terrenam necessaria sit sapientia." See also W. Berges, *Die Fürstenspiegel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, Stuttgart, 1938, pp. 188-92.

³⁷ Cf., e.g., ix, 10-13.

called legal justice, because thereby man is in harmony with the law which directs the acts of all the virtues to the common good."³⁸ That justice directs to the common good is symbolized, in the fresco, by the cord³⁹ connecting Justice with the "Ruler", i.e. with the personified common good, and by the citizens who, while holding the cord, face towards the latter.⁴⁰ The cord thus forms a link between the allegory of Justice on the left and that of the Common Good on the right.

It is this link and this direction towards the common good which may provide a further clue to the significance of the "Ruler." Just as the allegory of Justice is largely based on Aristotelian philosophy in contemporary adaptation, so also is the concept of the common good as personified by the "Ruler." This concept was familiar to mediaeval thought before the Aristotelian revival; but it achieved unprecedented importance after the translation of the *Politics* in about 1260,⁴¹ and, in the legal formulation of *utilitas publica*, played an important rôle in canonist and legist theories.⁴² St. Thomas' rendering of a famous passage of the *Ethics* provides, as it were, the leitmotif: "bonum commune . . . est melius et divinius quam bonum unius";⁴³ and both his own views and those of his followers on the state, constitutions and political obligation turn to a large extent on this notion.⁴⁴ Nor was the success of the concept of the common good limited to the schools. In the Italian city-republics, it was hailed as being able to secure civic peace and unity without recourse to despotism. It could thus serve as a republican alternative to the claims of the despots and their followers that only an autocratic ruler could bring salvation to the towns torn by factions and social struggles. At a time when more and more Italian communes were coming under the sway of the Signoria, and when the republican régime might well seem to be doomed in Lombardy and Tuscany, the Aristotelian concept of the common good as the basis and criterion of good government had a special appeal for the Italian citizens. In the early fourteenth century, it becomes a commonplace in political and didactic prose and poetry that only by placing common welfare above private interest can internal peace, economic prosperity and political power be secured and preserved; so does the view that neglect of the common good leads to civic strife and the decline and fall of cities. We find these ideas in "trattati di virtù", chronicles, rhetorical manuals, sermons and theoretical treatises.⁴⁵ The most systematic exposition of the Aristotelian idea of the

³⁸ *Summa Theol.*, IIa IIae, qu. 58, art. 5 concl.; cf. Ia IIae, qu. 90, art. 2 (I am quoting from the translation by Fathers of the English Dominican Province, X, London, 1929, p. 122); cf. *De regimine principum*, I, 1, et passim.

³⁹ On the significance of the cord itself see below, n. 57.

⁴⁰ Cf. also St. Augustine's definition of a people as a "coetus multitudinis rationalis, rerum quas diligit concordia communione sociati" (*De civ. Dei*, XIX, 24).

⁴¹ On the translation of the *Politics* cf. M. Grabmann, *Guglielmo di Moerbeke O.P., il traduttore delle opere di Aristotele*, Rome, 1946,

pp. 111-12.

⁴² Cf. G. Post, "Two notes on nationalism in the Middle Ages," *Traditio*, IX, 1953, p. 287.

⁴³ *Ethics*, I, 2; St. Thomas, *Commentary on the Politics*, no. 11 (*In libros Politicorum Aristotelis expositio*, ed. R. M. Spiazzi, Turin, 1951, p. 6).

⁴⁴ See L. Lachance, *L'humanisme politique de St. Thomas*, Paris, 1939, II, ch. 16; G. de Lagarde, *La naissance de l'esprit laïque au déclin du moyen âge*, Paris, 1942, III, pp. 96-99 and ch. 5.

⁴⁵ I intend to discuss this subject in a separate study.

common good in the context of contemporary political problems can be found in *De bono communi* by the Florentine Dominican preacher Remigio de' Girolami. Remigio sets out to prove that the neglect of the common good in favour of self-interest was the cause of much disaster in contemporary Italy.⁴⁶ Salvation, then, lies in making the common good the ruling principle in the state; in other words, the common good must be raised to the position of the ruler.⁴⁷ This, I think, is the final clue to the message of the allegory of the Ruler.

This message derived additional strength from the fact that for Italian citizens of the fourteenth century the term *bonum commune* had its peculiar overtones; was it not identical with "the good of the Commune"? Remigio de' Girolami, in one of his sermons, uses the terms "pro bono Communis" and "pro communi bono" as interchangeable.⁴⁸ The rule of the common good thus merges with that of the Commune. Such terminological ambivalence may help to explain how it was possible to represent in one and the same figure the *persona publica* of the Sienese city-state and the concept of the common good.⁴⁹

The virtue which hovers above that figure, and which accordingly corresponds to Sapientia above the head of Justice, is Caritas. According to the Pauline definition, charity is the highest of the theological virtues.⁵⁰ Now Ptolemy of Lucca, in his continuation of St. Thomas' *De regimine principum*, which was commonly ascribed to the latter, states that charity "in merito antecedit omnem virtutem," and that "communia propriis, non propria communibus anteponeat."⁵¹ With this focus on its social significance, charity is the theological virtue which bears the closest relation to the common good, just as divine Sapientia does to Justice.⁵² E. H. Kantorowicz has

⁴⁶ ". . . propter nimium amorem atque inordinatum sui ipsorum . . . castra civitates provincias totamque regionem hostilitatibus inordinatis confundunt et destruunt" (*cit.* by L. Minio-Paluello, "Remigio de' Girolami's *De bono communi*; Florence at the time of Dante's banishment . . .", *Italian Studies*, XI, 1956, p. 59, from MS. Florence, Bibl. Naz., Conv. soppr., C. 4. 940, fol. 97^r). Passages from the treatise, which was composed in about 1300, have been ed. by R. Egenter, "Gemeinnutz vor Eigennutz . . .", *Scholastik*, IX, 1934, pp. 79-92, and by Minio-Paluello, *op. cit.*, who announces that he is preparing an edition of this work.

⁴⁷ Lagarde sums up St. Thomas' concept of "sovereignty" in the following words: "Au sein d'une multitude ainsi unifiée, le véritable souverain est le 'bien commun'" (*op. cit.*, p. 108).

⁴⁸ "I Sermoni . . .", ed. G. Salvadori and V. Federici, in *Scritti vari di filologia*, dedicated to E. Monaci, Rome, 1901, p. 482; cf. Minio-Paluello, p. 58.

⁴⁹ There have recently been a number of

important studies on the influence of mediæval corporation theories upon the concepts of *ecclesia* and of *regnum*: cf. B. Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory . . .*, Cambridge, 1955, pp. 106 ff.; E. H. Kantorowicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 193 ff. Despite the studies of Woolf and Ercole, work still remains to be done on the influence of these theories on the notion of the Commune.

⁵⁰ 1 Cor. xiii. 13. On the iconography of Caritas cf. R. Freyhan, "The evolution of the Caritas figure in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries," this *Journal*, XI, 1948, pp. 68-82.

⁵¹ In St. Thomas, *De regimine principum*, III, 4. On Ptolemy's continuation cf. M. Grabmann, *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben*, I, Munich, 1926, p. 355.

⁵² Cf. also Remigio de' Girolami, *De bono communi*, on the order of charity, quoted by Egenter, *op. cit.*, p. 88, n. 22: "Quia igitur totum creaturarum rationalium magis assimilatur Deo quam quaecumque pars eius, ideo post Deum magis debet amari a parte qualibet quam una pars eius ab altera vel etiam a seipsa."

convincingly argued that the figure of Caritas in the Lorenzetti fresco may also refer to *amor patriae*, according to Ptolemy of Lucca's statement that "amor patriae in radice charitatis fundatur."⁵³ Our interpretation of the figure of the "Ruler" gives this an even wider significance. For if the notion of *bonum commune* can be interchangeable with that of the *bonum Communis*, then it is only a step further to connect it also with *amor communis* or *amor patriae*.⁵⁴ Taken in this sense, the allegory of the "Ruler" appears almost like an illustration of Ptolemy's definition, which ends with these words: "Ergo amor patriae super caeteras virtutes gradum meretur honoris. Hoc autem est dominium."⁵⁵

The allegory of Justice and the Common Good provides a pictorial representation of the twin elements of Aristotelian political philosophy, which, however, can only be understood if we bear in mind the contemporary adaptations of Aristotelian theory as well as its political implications. The two images are closely linked with one another, thus symbolizing the twofold rule of Justice and the Common Good. At the same time, the links connecting them are intended to show the effects of their rule, as well as to supply a connexion with the contemporary world, which is represented, in the bottom section of the fresco, by citizens (probably councillors and magistrates) and soldiers. The two monumental figures of Pax and Concordia, as well as the cord running through the latter's hand, symbolize in a general fashion the effects of the rule of Justice and the Common Good. The soldiers and the two feudal lords submitting to the Commune show its effects on political power;⁵⁶ the cord held by Concordia and the citizens represents its effects on civic unity.⁵⁷

In the mediaeval classifications of virtues, peace and concord were subsidiary virtues, and there were doubts whether peace was a virtue at all.⁵⁸ There was no traditional iconographic reason why they should have been

⁵³ *Op. cit.*, p. 113.

⁵⁴ Cf. Remigio de' Girolami, *op. cit.*, in Minio-Paluello, *op. cit.*, p. 68: "De innumeris virtuosis Romanis legitur quod frequentissime exponebant se morti pro republica, idest pro bono communi populi . . ." On *amor patriae* see Kantorowicz, "Pro Patria Mori in mediaeval political thought," *Am. Hist. Review*, LVI, 1951, pp. 472-92, and now *The King's Two Bodies*, pp. 232 ff.; Post, "Two notes . . .", pp. 281-96 (I: "Pugna pro patria").

⁵⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁵⁶ The inscription at the bottom of the fresco reads, with reference to this group: ". . . con triunfo allui si danno / Censi, tributi e signorie di terre: / Per questo, senza guerre, / Seguita poi ogni civile effetto . . ."

⁵⁷ The cord had been used since the thirteenth century as a symbol of civic unity: see Brunetto Latini, *Tesoretto*, in *Poemetti allegorico-didattici del secolo XIII*, ed. L. di Benedetto, Bari, 1914, p. 8: "ma tutti per comune / tirassero una fune / di pace e di ben fare . . .";

cf. Morpurgo, *op. cit.*, p. 160, n. 2, who also quotes later examples. In Siena, we also find the cord as a symbol of unity on the Biccherna tablet of 1385; Carli, *op. cit.*, pl. xviii. The image of "pulling in unison" is also used by St. Thomas: "Multi enim congregati simul trahunt, quod divisim per partes singulariter a singulis trahi non posset" (*De reg. princ.*, I, 3). The plane on Concordia's lap evidently signifies the smoothing of differences, and corresponds to the saw held by Discord in the allegory of Tyranny (see below, p. 188).

⁵⁸ See, e.g., Pseudo-Hugh of St. Victor, *De fructibus carnis et spiritus*, *PL*, 176, cols. 1004-5. On peace as a virtue see *Summa Theol.*, IIa IIae, qu. 29, art. 4. On classifications of virtues before St. Thomas, see O. Lottin, *Psychologie et morale aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, III, Louvain-Gembloux, 1949, pp. 99 ff., 153 ff. Cf. also L. Dorez, *La Canzone delle virtù e delle scienze di Bartolomeo di Bartoli . . .*, Bergamo, 1904, pp. 57-58.

chosen to supplement the cardinal virtues round the figure of the Ruler. But in the political philosophy of St. Thomas and his successors, justice and the common good are closely connected with concord and peace. "Bonum autem et salus consociatae multitudinis est, ut eius unitas conservetur, quae dicitur pax";⁵⁹ and it is "per iustitiam" that "conservatur pax civitatis."⁶⁰ Graziolo Bambaglioli expresses an idea which was widely accepted in contemporary Italy when he says of the common good that "nascene unione e dolce pace."⁶¹ The reason for the presence of Pax and Concordia in our fresco is that they represent, according to contemporary political thought, the most desirable effects of just government in the interest of the common welfare, or, in St. Thomas' words, of the *ordo ad bonum commune*.⁶² The unity "consociatae multitudinis" is represented by the citizens. Pax is seated above them, and forms the top of a triangle of which they are the base.

While the figures of Pax and Concordia appear to derive primarily from Thomistic sources, they may also have been influenced by classical and Augustinian ideas. For St. Augustine, "peace between man and man is well-ordered concord,"⁶³ and temporal peace and justice are the cornerstones of the good Christian state. *Pax* and *concordia* were twin ideals of Roman political thought, which would have been familiar to the thirteenth century through authors like Cicero and Sallust, and it is perhaps not a mere coincidence that the figure of Pax distinctly shows the influence of classical art.⁶⁴ Another connexion familiar to Roman antiquity was that between *pax* and *securitas*; and it is *securitas* which is the key concept of the fresco on the right wall of the Sala de' Nove, which depicts the effects of the rule of justice on town and country. Security is represented as a woman hovering over the countryside; she is holding a scroll telling the onlooker that the people will be safe as long as "questa donna", i.e. justice, rules; while the long inscription at the bottom of the fresco addresses the magistrates of Siena with the words: "Behold the good things she [that is, justice] provides us with and how sweet and tranquil is life in the city in which she is maintained . . ."⁶⁵ In fact, the

⁵⁹ *De reg. princ.*, I, 2. Cf. Remigio de' Girolami, *De bono pacis*, MS. cit., f. 106^v: "Summum bonum multitudinis et finis eius est pax, sicut dicit philosophus in 3^o ethicarum."

⁶⁰ *Comm. in Pol.*, no. 271. Cf. Remigio de' Girolami, *Sermoni*, op. cit., p. 483: "Sine iustitia nulla civitas potest bene vel in concordia regi . . ."

⁶¹ *Trattato . . . sopra le virtù morali*, rubr. 27, ed. L. Frati, in *Rimatori bolognesi del Trecento*, Bologna, 1915, p. 19: "Quanto è perfetto il ben, tanto più vale, / Quant' egl' è più comune e generale; / Perchè ciascun contenta e satisface, / E nascene unione e dolce pace." The first two lines are a paraphrase of St. Thomas' *Comm. in Pol.*, no. 11; see above, n. 43.

⁶² Ia IIae, qu. 90, art. 2.

⁶³ *De civ. Dei*, IX, 13. See H. Fuchs, *Augustin und der antike Friedensgedanke*, Berlin, 1926, pp. 36 ff. See also E. Bernheim,

Mittelalterliche Zeitanstimmungen in ihrem Einfluss auf Politik und Geschichtsschreibung, Tübingen, 1918, pp. 29 ff.

⁶⁴ Cf. A. Momigliano, "Camillus and concord," *Classical Quarterly*, XXXVI, 1942, p. 11; "The Peace of the Ara Pacis," this *Journal*, V, 1942, p. 229. On the Roman concept of *pax* see Fuchs, pp. 182-205. Iconographically, the figure of Pax may have been influenced by representations of reclining figures on Roman coins and sarcophagi. Cf. R. Krautheimer, *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, Princeton, N.J., 1956, p. 298: "proof of the impact of antique vocabulary on the art of Siena"; see also Meiss (*cit.* below, n. 68), p. 157: "knowing approximation of ancient statuary."

⁶⁵ *Volgiete gli occhi a rimirar costei / Voi che reggiete, ch'è qui figurata, / E per sue ciellencia coronata: / La qual sempr' a ciascun suo dritto rende. / Guardate quanti ben vengan da lei / E come è dolce vita e*

entire scene of peace and prosperity reads like an illustration of St. Thomas' words: "per iustitiam autem conservatur pax civitatis."⁶⁶

It is, accordingly, the neglect of justice and of the common good which forms the subject of the allegory on the left wall. Tyranny sits on the throne of justice, who lies at her feet; she is surrounded by vices which, like the virtues of the central fresco, have a political significance and do not strictly conform to the traditional schemes: avarice, pride, vainglory; cruelty, treason, fraud; fury, discord and war.⁶⁷ *Timor*, the opposite to *securitas*, reigns over the desolate countryside, while the scenes at the bottom of the allegory itself show the disastrous results of tyrannical government in the city. The horns of tyranny, which signify its diabolical origin, are in the Biblical and mediaeval tradition;⁶⁸ but the concept which the figure personifies appears as an adaptation of Aristotelian theory to contemporary conditions in an Italian city-state. The Aristotelian contrast between king and tyrant, distinguished by concern for or negligence of the common good, is replaced by that between the common good itself, or the good state, and tyranny; a contrast which was evidently much better suited to the contemporary political realities of a republican régime.⁶⁹ Tyranny, in its turn, could mean despotism of one or of many; the Signoria or collective oppression as exercised by magnates and nobles of city-republics.⁷⁰ The rule of Tyranny thus forms the negative counterpart to that of Justice and the Common Good, and the inscriptions press home the meaning of this allegory by providing the link with the central fresco:

Per volere el ben proprio in questa terra
Sommess' è la Giustizia a Tyrannia . . .

and, in its turn, the defeat of justice means that respect for the common good no longer unites the citizens:

Là dove sta legata la Iustitia
Nessuno al Ben Comune già may s'acorda
Nè tira a dritta corda,
Però convien che Tirannia sormonti . . .

Thus neglect of the common good and of justice brings with it tyranny; and

riposata / Quella de la città du' è servata /
Questa virtu ke più d'altra risprende . . .
(cf. Arist., *Eth.*, V, 3, in Moerbeke's version: "praeclarissima virtutum esse videtur iustitia, et neque hesperus neque lucifer ita admirabilis"). Variants in the Marciana MS. (see above, n. 24): "riguardar" for "rimirar"; "sopra acciaschun" for "sempr' a ciascun"). Cf. also Isaiah xxxii. 17: "Et erit opus iustitiae pax, et cultus iustitiae silentium, et securitas in sempiternum."

⁶⁶ Above, n. 60.

⁶⁷ See M. W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, Michigan, 1952, ch. 3.

⁶⁸ Cf. Dante, *Inf.*, XVIII, 35. *Superbia* with horns: Giovanni del Biondo's panel of John the Evangelist in the Uffizi; cf. M. Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 51-53, who points out the resemblance with the *Tirannia*.

⁶⁹ See above, pp. 184-5.

⁷⁰ Cf., e.g., St. Thomas, *De reg. pr.*, I, 5: "si quis praeterita facta et quae nunc fiunt diligenter consideret, plures inveniet exercuisse tyrannidem in terris, quae per multos reguntur, quam in illis, quae gubernantur per unum."

tyranny means "sospetto / Guerre, rapine, tradimenti e'nganni." In this way, the allegory of Tyranny completes, in a negative fashion, that of the central fresco.

The allegories of Justice, the Common Good and Tyranny—for this is how the frescoes of the Sala de' Nove should perhaps be renamed—form a unique pictorial manifestation of communal political thought of the Trecento. One would like to know the author of the programme of the frescoes and of the inscriptions; but there is not enough extant evidence to identify him. Lorenzetti seems to have had the reputation of being philosophically inclined;⁷¹ but it is more likely that some learned notary or chancellor with legal training and philosophical interests was the author—someone like Graziolo de' Bambaglioli, chancellor of Bologna, whose *Trattato delle virtù morali*, written between 1334 and 1343, shows the influence of contemporary political Aristotelianism.⁷² At any rate, the government of the Nove must have accepted programme and inscriptions. It can be argued that the allegories bear little relation to conditions in Siena in the first half of the fourteenth century. However, the frescoes were primarily meant to represent political ideals. The Nove doubtless felt that their message would find general acceptance, and indeed it conformed to a popular trend in contemporary political thought. But it could also be read as a panegyric on the relative political stability and prosperity which the merchant oligarchy of the Nove had succeeded in preserving over two generations; and the members of this oligarchy itself could regard the frescoes as expressing a message addressed to the ruling class: that only through unity could they hope to preserve the republican régime and their own ascendancy.

Both Lorenzetti's frescoes and Simon Martini's 'Maestà' contain civic political philosophy. The programme of the Lorenzetti frescoes, however, is not only much more complex—it also has a less religious, more secular character. Lorenzetti's Iustitia, too, has the inscription: "Diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram." But in Lorenzetti's fresco, it is not the Virgin who appears as the ruler of Siena, but Iustitia, together with the Common Good.⁷³

This process of secularization is carried a step further in another set of frescoes which, about seventy-five years later, were painted by order of the Sienese government in the antechapel of the Palazzo Pubblico.

III

The work was entrusted to Taddeo di Bartolo, who had previously, in 1406-7, painted the chapel with scenes from the life of the Virgin,⁷⁴ and who

⁷¹ According to Ghiberti, *Commentari*, p. 38, he was "uomo di grande ingegno." Cf. Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanese, I, p. 524: "avendo dato opera nella sua giovinezza alle lettere . . . praticò sempre con letterati . . ."

⁷² On Bambaglioli see L. Frati, in *Giorn. Stor. d. Lett. Ital.*, XVII, 1891, pp. 367-80; *Giornale Dantesco*, I, 1894, pp. 212 ff.; T. Casini, in *L'Archiginnasio*, XI, 1916, pp. 146-170; L. Sighinolfi, in *Strenna Storica Bolognese*,

II, 1929, pp. 11-14. See also above, n. 61.

⁷³ For a twelfth-century example of a substitution of Iustitia for the Virgin see E. H. Kantorowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 111, n. 73. But in Siena the Virgin had a special position as the "ruler" of the city.

⁷⁴ Milanese, *Documenti*, II, Siena, 1854, pp. 27-28. He received his commission on 25 August 1406, and had completed his work by the end of 1407. A brief description of the

had already been commissioned, in 1408, to paint a St. Christopher in the antechapel.⁷⁵ In 1413, the government once more turned its attention to the antechapel and commissioned Taddeo to paint "honoratas et pulchras figuras" on its remaining walls;⁷⁶ he completed this work in 1414.⁷⁷ The antechapel, apart from being the vestibule to the chapel, served as a kind of corridor between the council chambers of the highest magistracies and of the Great Council, the Consiglio della Campana: for it would be used by magistrates and council members who went from the Sala de' Nove (actually of the Undici, as the government was now called) or from the Sala del Consiglio or del Mappamondo alongside the chapel to the new Sala di Balia or to that of the Concistoro. Perhaps this was one of the reasons why Taddeo, who had been left a free hand in the decoration of the chapel,⁷⁸ was ordered to follow, in the antechapel, the directives of two prominent citizens, Messer Pietro de' Pecci and Ser Cristoforo di Andrea.⁷⁹ Pecci was a doctor of law and teacher at the Siense *studio*, who repeatedly held important offices, including membership of the Signoria;⁸⁰ Ser Cristoforo had been chancellor of Siena with brief interruptions since 1404.⁸¹

The programme they adopted bears some significant resemblance to that of the Lorenzetti frescoes in the Sala de' Nove. Formally, it centres, like the Lorenzetti frescoes, on virtues with a political meaning, although the selection is not quite the same. In addition to three cardinal or political virtues, Justice, Prudence and Fortitude, we again find Magnanimity (Pl. 17a, b, c, d); but Peace and Concord are missing. There are no theological virtues at all, perhaps because they had already been incorporated into the programme of the chapel.⁸² On the other hand, we find the virtue of Religio (Pl. 17e).⁸³ Instead of the philosophical allegory of the Lorenzetti frescoes, the virtues are

frescoes can be found in Sbaragli, pp. 99-105. The four frescoes represent the Virgin's farewell to the Apostles, her death, her funeral and the Assumption. In that year, the Signoria also decided to have the new Sala della Balia decorated, the work being entrusted to Spinello Aretino and Martino di Bartolomeo: *ibid.*, pp. 32-33 (18 June 1407). On Taddeo di Bartolo see F. M. Perkins in Thieme-Becker, XXXII, pp. 395-97; C. Brandi, *Quattrocentisti senesi*, Milan, 1949, pp. 26-28, 168-71.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29. The fresco was completed by April 11.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 29 (11 October).

⁷⁷ The date results from an inscription on the pillar of the arch between the chapel and the antechapel next to the St. Christopher: "Thadeus bartholi de senis pinxit istam capellam MCCCCVII cum figura sci. christofori et cum istis aliis figuris. 1414."

⁷⁸ ". . . cum illis figuris, orationibus et auro et modis et formis, de quibus eidem videbitur" (Milanesi, p. 27).

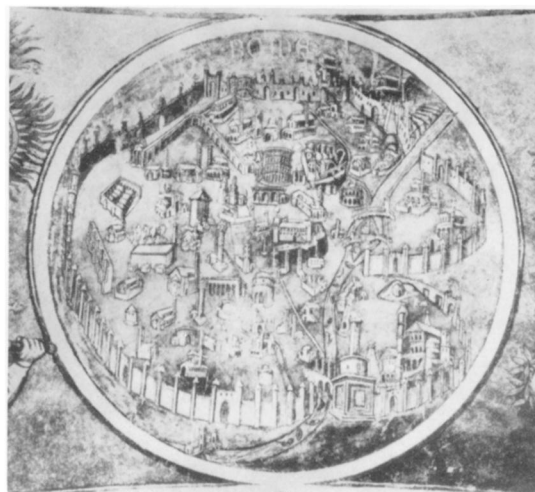
⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 29 (11 October 1413): "remiserunt in egregios viros dominum Pietrum de Pecciis, et Ser Christoforum Andree cancellarium, quod in ipsis muris et locis pingi faciant illas honoratas et pulcras figuras de quibus eis videbitur . . ." (Siena, Archivio di Stato, Concistoro, 286, f. 20v).

⁸⁰ Siena, Archivio di Stato, Libri de' Leoni, III, Concistoro, 2335, f. 40v: Capitano del Popolo for November-December 1416. He was one of the Priori in 1426 and again Capitano del Popolo in 1435 (*ibid.*, ff. 70v, 97v). See also below, p. 205.

⁸¹ Siena, Arch. di St., Concistoro, 2335, ff. 3v-6r (1404-5), *et passim*. He was chancellor in 1413 (*ibid.*, f. 31r), and Capitano del Popolo in January-February 1414 (*ibid.*, f. 32r).

⁸² The cycle of virtues in the chapel is, in fact, entirely traditional: it consists of the three theological and the four cardinal virtues.

⁸³ See below, p. 197.

a—'Fortitude' (*p.* 190)b—'Prudence' (*p.* 190)c—'Justice' (*p.* 190)d—'Magnanimity' (*p.* 190)e—'Religion' (*p.* 190)f—Map of Rome (*p.* 197)

Taddeo di Bartolo, Frescoes in the Antechapel, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena

a—Aristotle (*p.* 193)b—Jupiter and Mars (*p.* 197)c—Apollo and Pallas (*p.* 197)d—Caesar and Pompey (*p.* 196)

Taddeo di Bartolo, Frescoes in the Antechapel, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena

illustrated by Famous Men (Pl. 19a);⁸⁴ but as in the Lorenzetti frescoes, the significance of the figures and of the programme as a whole is explained by a large number of inscriptions.

A brief description of the frescoes may help to explain this programme. They are arranged on two levels (Fig. 1). On the upper level, the virtues are

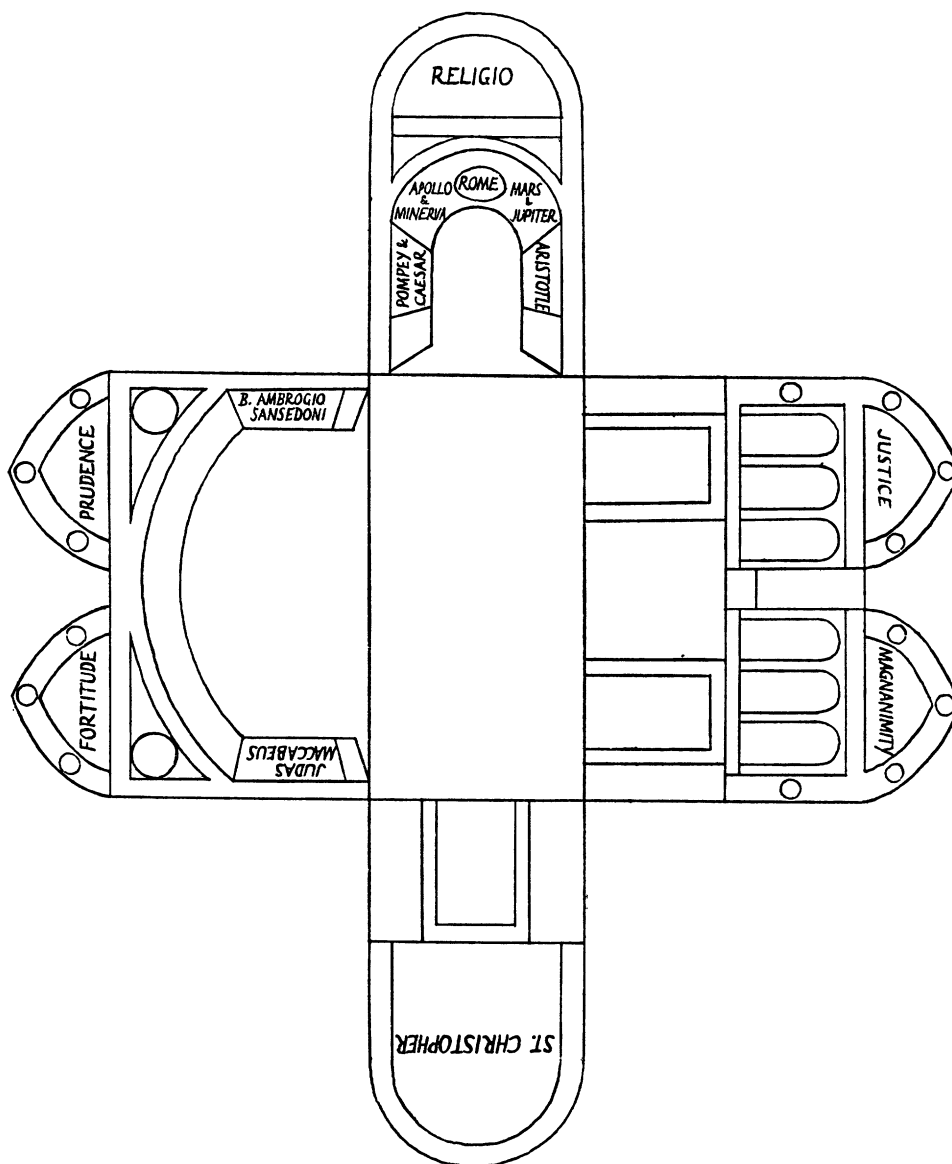


Fig. 1. Diagram showing the arrangement of the frescoes in the antechapel of the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena (not drawn to scale).

⁸⁴ Lorenzetti's allegory of Tyranny seems to have included portraits of tyrants of antiquity in medallions placed in the frieze which runs along the bottom of the fresco (only that of

Nero is now clearly distinguishable). In the corresponding friezes, under the other two frescoes there are medallions with representations of the liberal arts.

placed in lunettes, and are surrounded by an acanthus frieze with medallions containing portraits of "uomini famosi," with two larger portraits in the spandrels of the arches leading to the chapel, next to Fortitude and Prudence. The arrangement of medallions in a frieze had been used in Simone Martini's 'Maestà' and in the Lorenzetti frescoes, and more recently in the acanthus of the Porta della Mandorla of the Duomo of Florence;⁸⁵ it has a long iconographical tradition,⁸⁶ but the combination of portrait medallions with virtues is unusual, and reminds one of the reverse scheme of rulers surrounded by virtues in medallions which was fairly common in mediaeval illuminations.⁸⁷ On the other hand, the connecting of virtues with *exempla* bears some resemblance to the cycle of the liberal arts in the Spanish Chapel in Florence.⁸⁸ On the lower level, full-length figures of Famous Men cover the main wall facing the chapel and the walls inside the arches leading to the chapel and to the Sala del Mappamondo; in the latter, they are placed under figures of pagan gods and, in the apex of the arch, a map of Rome. The principal full-length figures of Famous Men stand in painted porticoes. On the base of these porticoes are *tituli*; one figure, to be described presently, holds an inscribed scroll, and there are also inscriptions under the virtues.⁸⁹ One long inscription is in the centre of the main wall and divides the Famous Men into two groups of three each; it is in Italian, while all the other inscriptions are in Latin.⁹⁰ On the wall facing the entrance to the Sala del Mappamondo, the St. Christopher painted six years earlier remains unconnected with the programme of the new frescoes.

The figures on the two pillars of the arch dividing the chapel from the antechapel—and thus in a special position, belonging as it were to both—are Judas

⁸⁵ See O. Wulff, "Giovanni d'Antonio di Banco und die Anfänge der Renaissanceplastik in Florenz," *Jahrb. d. preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIV, 1913, pp. 135 ff., and H. Kauffmann, "Florentiner Domplastik, II," *ibid.*, XLVII, 1926, pp. 216 ff. Cf. also W. and E. Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz*, III, Frankfurt a. M., 1952, pp. 366-67, 486-88.

⁸⁶ Cf., e.g., the roundels in the early ninth-century mosaics in front of the chapel of S. Zeno in S. Prassede (A. Venturi, *Mosaici Cristiani in Roma*, Rome, n.d., p. 32, fig. 37). See J. v. Schlosser, "Giusto's Fresken in Padua und die Vorläufer der Stanza della Segnatura," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen d. Allerh. Kaiserhauses*, XVII, 1896, pp. 31 ff. I should like to thank Dr. L. D. Ettlinger for suggestions on this subject.

⁸⁷ See Katzenellenbogen, *loc. cit.*

⁸⁸ Schlosser, pp. 44 ff.; Meiss, pp. 94 ff.

⁸⁹ Under Iustitia:

Iustitia omnium virtutum preclarissima
regna conservat (cf. Giles of Rome, *De
reg. princ.*, I, ii, 11).

Propter iniustitiam transferuntur regna de
gente in gentem (Eccl. x. 8).

Under Magnanimitas:

Nec successibus extollitur nec infortuniis
deicitur (cf. *Nicom. Ethics*, IV, iii, 18).

Opus eius parcere subiectis et debellare
superbos (*Aen.*, VI, 853).

Under Fortitudo:

Fortitudini nullum terribile invium

Nec eam metus quivis maximus commovet
(cf. *Nicom. Ethics*, III, 1-2).

Under Prudentia:

Sapientia edificabitur domus et prudentia
gubernabitur (Prov. xxiv. 3: "roborabitur" instead of "gubernabitur").

For the inscription under Religio, see below, n. 114.

⁹⁰ For a description of the frescoes of the antechapel see also Sbaragli, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-111, who also gives the text of the inscriptions. At some points, the text requires emendation, mainly because some lettering has vanished or has been badly restored. The inscriptions had already been published by Della Valle, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-91, in 1785.

Maccabeus and a Sieneſe patron ſaint, the Bleſſed Ambrogio Sansedoni.⁹¹ All the other Famous Men, both in the “porticoes” and in the medallions, are Roman citizens, with one exception: the figure on the pillar of the arch leading to the Sala del Mappamondo contiguous to the main wall of the antechapel. This figure, which is in its turn ſomewhat detached from the main group of frescoes in the antechapel, is none other than Aristotle (Pl. 18a); and his ſpecial poſition at the entrance to the antechapel from the hall of the Great Council is explained by his function: for he introduces the Famous Men to the onlooker.⁹² In two inſcriptions, as in Simone Martini’s ‘Maestà,’ he addreſſes the citizens who would enter the antechapel from the Sala del Mappamondo; in both, he extols the civic virtues of the Romans for the Sieneſe to emulate. As “exemplum civile,” reads the ſcroll, I ſhow you theſe men; if you follow in their ſacred footſteps your fame will grow at home and abroad, and liberty will always preſerve your honour; while the *titulus* below the figure proclaims: I am the great Aristotle, and I tell you in hexameters about the men whoſe virtue made Rome ſo great that her power reached to the ſky.⁹³

This meſſage is elaborated in the central inſcription on the main wall, and in Italian—evidently for the benefit of thoſe counſillors who might find the Latin hexameters too difficult: Take Rome as your example if you want to rule a thouſand years; follow the common good, and not ſelfiſh ends; and give juſt counſel like theſe men. If you only remain united, your power and fame will continue to grow as did that of the great people of Mars. Having ſubdued the world, it loſt its liberty becauſe it ceaſed to be united.⁹⁴

This, then, is the central concept of the programme; and it is cloſely akin to that of the Lorenzetti frescoes. Once again, we find the ideals of the common

⁹¹ They were both patriots. According to Sieneſe tradition, Ambrogio Sansedoni perſuaded Pope Gregory X in 1273 to raiſe the interdict under which Siena had been placed becauſe of her loyalty to the Hohenſtaufen; cf. G. Sansedoni, *Vita del B. Ambrogio Sansedoni*, Venice, 1717, pp. 38-46; I. Tauriſano, *Catalogus Hagiographicus Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 1918, p. 22; G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting*, Florence, 1952, pp. 31-32.

⁹² On the iconography of Aristotle in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance ſee W. Stammſler in *Reallexikon zur deutſchen Kunſtgeſchichte*, I, 1027 ff.; L. Planiſcig, “Leonardos Porträte und Ariſtoteles,” *Festschrift für Julius Schloſſer*, Vienna, 1927, pp. 137 ff. To preſent Aristotle without a beard is entirely contrary to the traditional iconography. There is a portrait of Aristotle on the (reſtored) pavement deſign of the Wheel of Fortune, which was executed, according to Tizio, in 1372: cf. R. H. H. Cuſt, *The Pavement Masters of Siena*, London, 1901, pp. 29-30.

⁹³ Ille ego, qui rerum cauſas ſcrutatus et artes
Publica res docui surgat quibus omnis [in] aſtra

Exemplum civile tuum, preclara ſenarum
Urbs, tibi monſtro viros, quorum veſtigia ſacra
Dum ſequeris foris atque domi tua gloria [cre]ſcet
Libertasque tuos ſemper ſervabit honor[es].

Magnus ariſtoteles ego ſum, qui carmine ſeno,
Eſt enim numerus perfectus, duxit ad actum
Quos virtus tibi ſigno viros, quibus atque ſuperne
Reſ crevit romana potens, celosque ſubivit.

I have preſerved the original ſpelling, but have modernized the punctuation.

⁹⁴ Spechiatevi in coſtoro voi che reggete
Se volete regnare mille et mille anni,
Seguite il ben comune et non v'inganni
Se alcuna paſſione in voi avete.

Dritti conſegli come quei rendete,
Che qui di ſotto ſono co' longhi panni
Giuſti co' l'arme ne' comuni affanni
Come queſti altri che qua giù vedete.

Sempre maggiori ſarete inſieme uniti
Et ſaglirete al cielo pieno d'ogni gloria,
Si come fecie il gran popolo di Marte,

El quale, avendo del mondo victoria,
Perchè infra loro ſi furo dentro partiti,
Perdè la libertade in ogni parte.

good, of *amor patriae*, and of internal peace and unity; and here, too, power and prosperity depend on the rule of justice; although there is a stronger emphasis on the elements of freedom and power. The Roman heroes almost seem to illustrate Remigio de' Girolami's praise of the virtuous Romans who "plus . . . curabant de communi bono quam de proprio."⁹⁵ It was only fitting that Aristotle should have been chosen to serve as a guide to the antechapel; for he provides the link between the philosophical allegory of the Sala de' Nove with its Aristotelian theme and the historical *exempla* of the antechapel. He still appears as the prime teacher of civic philosophy.

By 1413, cycles of "uomini famosi" had become a favourite subject for the frescoing of princely and civic palaces.⁹⁶ There were two main treatments of this subject: the mediaeval tradition of the Nine Worthies,⁹⁷ and the new humanist glorification of classical antiquity. This new approach to the "uomini famosi" is shown in the frescoes which Francesco da Carrara the Elder had painted in about 1370 in his palace in Padua, in close relation with Petrarch's *De viris illustribus* and probably under his guidance;⁹⁸ and half a century later, in the frescoes of Famous Men in the Palazzo of the Trinci in Foligno, which were probably completed in 1424.⁹⁹ The new tradition was not limited to princely courts; in about 1400 the humanist chancellor Coluccio Salutati wrote *tituli* for a cycle of Famous Men in a hall of the Palazzo della Signoria in Florence.¹⁰⁰ The Siense frescoes belong to this new humanist tradition, and constitute, in fact, the earliest extant example of it in a city-republic.¹⁰¹ This humanist approach is shown not only in the selection of the

⁹⁵ *De bono communi*, cit. by Minio-Paluello, p. 68.

⁹⁶ See Th. E. Mommsen, "Petrarch and the decoration of the Sala Virorum Illustrium in Padua," *Art Bulletin*, XXXIV, 1952, pp. 95-116, esp. pp. 113 ff.; cf. also I. Toesca, "Gli uomini famosi della Biblioteca Cockerell," *Paragone*, 25, January 1952, p. 19.

⁹⁷ See J. v. Schlosser, "Ein veronesisches Bilderbuch und die höfische Kunst des XIV. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen . . .*, XVI, 1895, pp. 177 ff., 224 ff.; P. d'Ancona, "Gli affreschi del Castello di Manta nel Saluzzese," *L'Arte*, VIII, 1905, pp. 94-106, 183-98; F. Novati, "Un cassone nuziale senese . . .", *Rassegna d'Arte*, XI, 1911, pp. 61-67.

⁹⁸ See Mommsen, *op. cit.* (between 1367 and 1379).

⁹⁹ See M. Salmi, "Gli affreschi del Palazzo Trinci a Foligno," *Bollettino d'Arte*, XIII, 1919, pp. 139-80; A. Messini, "Documenti per la storia del Palazzo Trinci di Foligno," *Rivista d'Arte*, XXIV, 1942, pp. 74-98.

¹⁰⁰ In his *Vita Ambrosii Traversarii*, Florence, 1759, p. cclxvi, L. Mehus states that in a codex of the Badia Fiorentina are contained "Epigrammata Virorum illustrium posita in aula minori Palatii Florentini," that "his

autem viri illustres intermixti sunt Romanorum," and that the epigrams were composed by Coluccio Salutati. Mehus points out (p. cccxiv) that Domenico di Bandino used these epigrams in his *Fons rerum memorabilium*, and edits several of them (pp. clxx, cxcviii, cccxiv-cccxv) as being found both in the *Fons* and in the Badia manuscript. Dr. T. Hankey has been able to collect further epigrams from the *Fons*, and will publish Salutati's epigrams in the near future, and I am grateful to her for permission to consult her transcript of Cod. Vat. Urb. lat. 300.

¹⁰¹ According to the *Cronaca Senese* ascribed to Agnolo di Tura (*Cronache Senesi cit.*, p. 518), with reference to 1337, the Siense, after having had constructed "sopra la sala del consiglio . . . le camere de' signori e d'altri famegli . . . fecelle dipegnare di fuori a storie romane di mano di maestro Anbrugio Lorenzetti da Siena"; while Vasari (Vasari-Milanesi, I, p. 523) states that Lorenzetti "nel medesimo palazzo fece otto storie di verdeterra." But there is no other evidence of Lorenzetti having painted such "storie romane", and Ghiberti does not mention it. At any rate, there is no reference in this tradition to Roman "uomini famosi." Cf. also Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 115, n. 158.

Famous Men from Roman history, but also in the literary form of the *tituli*; these are in Latin hexameters and, like the epigrams by Salutati for Florence and by Francesco da Fiano for Foligno,¹⁰² follow classical models.¹⁰³ The very way in which figure and inscription are combined may represent an attempt to imitate ancient Roman statues with their *elogia*.¹⁰⁴

But while the Sieneese frescoes of famous men belong to the same tradition as the cycles in Padua and Foligno, they are distinguished from the latter in one significant respect. The famous Romans in Padua and Foligno were citizens of the republic, kings, and emperors;¹⁰⁵ those in Siena belong exclusively to the republican age. Indeed, they span the history of the Roman republic from the beginning to the end—from the first Brutus to Caesar and Brutus Iunior; and in doing so, they appear both on an historical and on a moral plane.

The arrangement of the famous Romans in the Sieneese frescoes is as follows:

Medallions in the frieze
surrounding Fortitude:

P. Decius Mus
"Cato stoico" (Uticensis)¹⁰⁶
T. Manlius Torquatus

In the spandrel next to
Fortitude:

M. Iunius Brutus (Pl. 19b)

Medallions in the frieze
surrounding Justice:

C. Mucius Scaevola
C. Fabricius
M. Curius Dentatus

Medallions in the frieze
surrounding Prudence:

M. Claudius Marcellus
L. Iunius Brutus
Q. Fabius Cunctator

In the spandrel next to
Prudence:

Caius Laelius (Pl. 19d)

Medallions in the frieze
surrounding Magnanimity:

Scipio Africanus Minor
P. Aemilius
M. Attilius Regulus

¹⁰² Ed. by Salmi, pp. 176-80; Messini, pp. 84-98.

¹⁰³ Until the publication of Bertalot's article in 1911 (see below, p. 198, n. 121), Francesco da Fiano's epigrams, which are included in the *Anthologia latina* (ed. A. Riese, Leipzig, 1906, nos. 834-41, 843-46, 851, 854, 855^d), were generally believed to be of classical origin.

¹⁰⁴ Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, XXXV, 11, contains the information that Varro's *Imagines* had comprised 700 portraits *inlustrium*. On inscriptions on statues: Suetonius, *Augustus*, 31; Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, XXXIV, 17; on *elogia* in public places (probably with reference to the Forum Augusti) see Horace, *Carm.*, IV, viii, 13-15: "non incisa notis marmora publicis, / per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis / post mortem ducibus . . ."; cf. Suetonius, *loc. cit.*

On metric *elogia* cf. Cornelius Nepos, *Vita T. Pomponii Attici*, xviii, 5-6. See A. v. Premerstein, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, V, cols. 2442-2445; M. Schanz-C. Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, I, Munich, 1927, pp. 39-40. On the mediaeval tradition of *tituli* see Schlosser, *La letteratura artistica*, 2nd ed., Florence-Vienna, 1956, pp. 34-43.

¹⁰⁵ For the frescoes of the so-called Sala dei Giganti in Padua, see the list in Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 103; for those of the Palazzo Trinci, see Salmi, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-64; Messini, *loc. cit.* If Salutati's epigrams as quoted by Domenico di Bandino are in their entirety identical with those he wrote for the Palazzo della Signoria, the latter included Augustus and Constantine the Great.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Cicero, *Parad. Stoic.*, *præm.*; *De finibus*, I, II, 7, 14.

In the continuation of the frieze on the lower level:

next to Justice:

Appius Caecus

next to Magnanimity:

M. Livius Drusus

Full-length figures on the lower level (Pl. 19a):

under Justice:

Cicero

M. Porcius Cato (Uticensis)

P. Scipio Nasica

under Magnanimity:

M. Curius Dentatus

M. Furius Camillus

P. Scipio Africanus Major

In the arch, facing Aristotle:

Caesar and Pompey (Pl. 18d)

On moral grounds alone, there was a strong case for selecting Roman heroes from the republican age; St. Augustine, for one, had shown the way to this, and he had formed the last link in a classical tradition.¹⁰⁷ In Leonardo Bruni's *Dialogi in Petrum Paulum Histrum*, Coluccio Salutati, who had just written his defence of Caesar in the *De tyranno*, says: ". . . nec parricidam fuisse unquam putabo, nec unquam desinam Caesarem in caelum tollere pro magnitudine rerum quas gessit. Si tamen filii mei ad virtutem hortandi forent, vel a Deo id petendum, potius equidem optarem, ut M. Marcello aut L. Camillo similes essent, quam C. Caesari."¹⁰⁸ The programme of the antechapel reflects the same attitude. The moral significance of the republican heroes is emphasized by their connexion with the four virtues of Justice, Magnanimity, Fortitude and Prudence, which form points of reference both for the portraits in the medallions and for the six figures on the main wall. There is, however, one exception to this scheme. The figures of Caesar and Pompey are not connected with a virtue: they stand apart from the others, inside the arch leading to the Sala del Mappamondo, opposite Aristotle who thus does not include them when he points to the famous men on his left as exemplars of civic virtue. The reason for this special treatment is explained by their *titulus*: As long as they were "concordi mente", the "maiestas romana" shook the world with awe; but blind ambition plunged them into civil war, in which Roman liberty perished—"Ambitio sed ceca duos ubi traxit ad arma, / Libertas romana perit . . ."¹⁰⁹ They are thus meant to serve, unlike the other Roman citizens, as deterrents rather than as models of civic virtue; and they illustrate the warning contained in the central inscription that selfish ambition and disunity

¹⁰⁷ In fact, both at Padua and at Foligno (and, probably, at Florence) the republican heroes are considerably more numerous than the kings and emperors.

¹⁰⁸ *Dialogi ad Petrum Paulum Histrum*, ii, ed. E. Garin, in *Prosatori latini del Quattrocento*, Milan-Naples, 1952, p. 78. Dialogus II, in which this passage occurs, was, according to H. Baron, composed between 1403 and 1405

(*Humanistic and Political Literature in Florence and Venice at the Beginning of the Quattrocento*, Cambridge, Mass., 1955, pp. 159 ff.).

¹⁰⁹ Hos spectate viros animisque infigite, cives,
Publica concordi nam dum bona mente secuti
Majestas romana duces tremefecit et orbem.
Ambitio sed ceca duos ubi traxit ad arma,
Libertas romana perit scissoque senatu
Heu licet puero caput alte ascindere rome.

are bound to lead to political decline and loss of freedom. By illustrating the causes not only of the greatness of republican Rome but also of its decline and fall, they press home, on an historical as well as on a moral plane, the lesson which the history of the Roman Republic could present to contemporary Siena.

The cycle of famous Romans is completed by two frescoes of pagan divinities and the circular map of Rome (Pl. 17f) in the arch leading to the Sala del Mappamondo. The map of Rome is in the apex of that arch, thus crowning the main entrance to the antechapel; its position may be meant to illustrate the words of the central inscription: "et saglirete al cielo . . . si come fecie il gran popolo di Marte." The figures of Jupiter and Mars (Pl. 18b),¹¹⁰ and of Apollo and Pallas (Pl. 18c), with their attributes, are above those of Aristotle and of Caesar and Pompey. As gods of war and peace, they symbolize the distinction between military and civic exploits by which the six figures of the main wall are divided into two groups. To the circular map of Rome¹¹¹ there corresponds, in the lunette of the antechapel, the virtue of Religio (Pl. 18e). The presence of this virtue here, together with the political virtues, requires some explanation, the more so since the theological virtues had already found their place in the chapel. In fact, Religio was not identical with Fides: "Religio non est fides," says St. Thomas,¹¹² "sed fidei protestatio per aliqua exteriora signa;" through it "redditur debitum Deo." Moreover, while Fides as one of the theological virtues was specifically Christian, Religio was also a Roman virtue connected with the pagan cult. Religio, according to Cicero, "superioris cuiusdam naturae, quam divinam vocant, curam caerimoniamque affert."¹¹³ In our cycle, Religio holds a symbol of Christ, and her inscription contains a Christian admonition;¹¹⁴ but enthroned as she is above pagan deities, her character is ambivalent. The author of the programme evidently wished to use a term which could apply equally to Christian and to Roman religion—one century before Machiavelli claimed that the latter was one of the prime sources of the greatness of republican Rome.¹¹⁵

With remarkable coherence of thought, the cycle of the antechapel tries to convey the lesson which could be derived from Roman republican greatness and the decline which set in when disunity and ambition gained the upper hand over civic virtue. Let us look into the antecedents of this concept. The view that the decline of Rome was due to civic strife goes back to classical

¹¹⁰ On the figures of Jupiter and Mars, cf. F. Saxl, "Rinascimento dell' antichità," *Repertorium für Kunstwiss.*, XLIII, 1922, p. 244; J. Seznec, *La survivance des dieux antiques . . .*, London, 1940, p. 166, fig. 42.

¹¹¹ Cf. Ch. Huelsen, *La Roma antica di Ciriaco d'Ancona*, Rome, 1907, p. 30; C. Scaccia Scarafoni, *Le piante di Roma . . .*, Rome, 1939, pp. 66-67, with bibliography.

¹¹² *Summa Theol.*, IIa IIae, 94, art. 1; cf. Ia IIae, art. 3. Cf. also St. Augustine, *De quantitate animae*, PL, XXXII, col. 1080: "Est enim religio vera, qua se uni Deo anima . . .

reconciliatione religat." See Lottin, *op. cit.*, pp. 313 ff.

¹¹³ *De inventione*, II, liii, 161; on the legists' notion of *iuris religio* see now E. H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, cit., p. 138, n. 159.

¹¹⁴ "Omne quodcumque facitis in verbo aut in opere

In nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi facite."

¹¹⁵ *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio*, I, 11-15. Cf. also Marsilius of Padua, *Defensor Pacis*, I, 5 (ed. C. W. Previtè-Orton, Cambridge, 1928, pp. 19-20).

authors such as Sallust, and had been handed on to the Middle Ages by St. Augustine;¹¹⁶ but it had assumed a new significance in the faction-torn Italian communes. Already Brunetto Latini had advised the *podestà* to warn the citizens of the example of "Romme et les autres bonnes viles ki por la guerre dedens sont decheues et mal alees";¹¹⁷ and the Siensese frescoes express the same sentiment which is contained, later on, in Matteo Palmieri's *Della vita civile*: "Il singulare et amplissimo imperio della città di Roma . . . solamente dalle discordie civili è stato in estreme afflizioni e miserie condotto . . . Le divisioni civili sono quelle che sempre hanno disfatto e per l'advenire disfaranno ogni repubblica . . . Piglino esempio coloro che posseggono la dolce libertà; imparino dalle ruine altrui resistere e riparare alle proprie."¹¹⁸ The condemnation of Caesar as responsible for the destruction of the *libertas romana* already appears in fourteenth-century literature; at the beginning of the fifteenth century it was vigorously voiced by Leonardo Bruni, while Salutati in contrast follows the traditional glorification of Caesar.¹¹⁹ In the controversy over Caesar, the Siensese frescoes represent the republican view of Cino Rinuccini and Leonardo Bruni, while Salutati's epigram on Caesar for Florence¹²⁰ and Francesco da Fiano's for the Salone dei Giganti at Foligno conform to the traditional panegyric pattern.¹²¹ It is therefore not surprising to find Brutus, whom Dante had placed in the lowest circle of Hell,¹²² among the exemplars of civic virtue, in an exalted position in one of the two large medallions, next to the virtue of Fortitude.

The republican approach to Roman history is, however, most forcefully expressed in the principal figures on the main wall of the antechapel, and particularly by the group on the left. Of these, two were defenders of Roman republican liberty against subversion and tyranny, while the third, Scipio Nasica, *vir optimus*, appears in Roman literature as a signal example of civic virtue; Valerius Maximus calls him "togatae potentiae clarissimum lumen."¹²³

¹¹⁶ *Bellum Catil.*, x-xiii; *De civ. Dei*, III, 23-30.

¹¹⁷ *Trésor*, III, 82 (ed. F. J. Carmody, Berkeley and Los Angeles, Cal., 1948, p. 404). Cf. also St. Thomas, *De regimine principum*, I, 4: "cum dissensionibus fatigaretur continuis, quae usque ad bella civilia excreverunt, quibus bellis civilibus eis libertas, ad quam multum studuerant, de manibus erepta est . . ."

¹¹⁸ Ed. F. Battaglia, Bologna, 1944, pp. 111, 112-13. Cf. also, e.g., Vespasiano de' Bisticci, *Vite di uomini illustri*, "Proemio alle vite di Messer Palla, Matteo e Marcello Strozzi" (ed. P. d'Ancona and E. Aeschlimann, Milan, 1951, p. 386).

¹¹⁹ See H. Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance . . .*, Princeton, 1955, I, pp. 39-44; cf. also pp. 61 ff., 126 ff.

¹²⁰ Salutati's epigram on Caesar, as quoted by Mehus, and by Domenico di Bandino in his life of Caesar, reads: "Marte ferox Cesar positus placidissimus armis / Quinque micat victor sumptis ex hoste triumphis" etc. Cf.

his *De tyranno*, chaps. 3 and 4 (ed. F. Ercole, Bologna, 1942, pp. 21-33). See also Baron, *op. cit.*, ch. 7; F. Ercole, *Dal Bartolo all'Althusio*, Florence, 1932, pp. 225 ff.; G. Martellotti, "Petrarca e Cesare," *Annali d. Scuola Norm. Sup. di Pisa, Lettere, Storia e Filos.*, ser. II, XVI, 1947, pp. 152 ff.

¹²¹ See L. Bertalot, "Humanistisches in der Anthologia Latina," *Rhein. Mus.*, N.F., LXVI, 1911, pp. 71-72, and Messini, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91. Bertalot was the first to identify Francesco da Fiano as the author of the epigrams of the Salone dei Giganti in the Palazzo Trinci at Foligno: *op. cit.*, pp. 74-76; cf. also Messini, pp. 71-81. On Francesco da Fiano see now Baron, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 401-8.

¹²² See, e.g., Salutati, *De tyranno*, chs. 4 and 5 (pp. 27-38); Baron, I, pp. 39 ff. In fact, down to the early fifteenth century, the controversy on Brutus turns largely on *Inf. XXXIV*, 64-66; cf., e.g., Salutati, *op. cit.*, ch. 5 (pp. 35-38). See also Ercole, pp. 226-28.

¹²³ *De factis et dictis mem.*, VII, v, 2.

The inscription under the figures of Cicero and Cato explain that they both gave their life in the service of freedom, and that it was Cato who named Cicero *pater patriae*.¹²⁴ Let us briefly consider the sources of these figures and of their inscriptions.

Scipio Nasica had had a curious fate in antiquity; Valerius Maximus combined four different men of this name, each the father of the next, into one exemplar of Roman patriotism—perhaps intentionally so; and other Roman authors also confused the Scipio Nasica *vir optimus* who brought the image of Cybele to Rome in 204 B.C., with his son Scipio Nasica Corculum who opposed Cato the Censor's demand that Carthage should be destroyed (according to tradition, because he was convinced that Rome's healthy development depended on the preservation of that city) and his grandson Scipio Nasica Serapio who led the assassination of Tiberius Gracchus in 132 B.C.¹²⁵ The confusion between the first and second Scipio Nasica can also be found in Petrarch's *Rerum Memorandarum libri*.¹²⁶ In 1400, Coluccio Salutati raised the question of the identity of the various Scipio Nasicas in a long digression in his *De tyranno*, and criticized Valerius Maximus for believing that Scipio Nasica *vir optimus* could be the same as the leader of the Senate against Tiberius Gracchus; but he too seems to assume that he was identical with his son, the opponent of Cato the Censor.¹²⁷ So does our *titulus*: it only combines the two first Scipio Nasicas, without following Valerius Maximus' reference to the third; and by doing so, conforms to the approach of contemporary humanism.¹²⁸

The principal source of the inscription on Cicero seems to have been either Plutarch's *Life of Cicero*, which had recently been translated into Latin by Jacopo Angeli,¹²⁹ or Leonardo Bruni's biography of Cicero (in which he used this translation freely), written almost contemporaneously with the painting of our frescoes, in about 1414.¹³⁰ In this work Bruni, like Salutati before him,

¹²⁴ M. Tullius Cicero.

Ingeniis patriam propriis ego consul et omnes
Servavi cives tandem catilina rebellis,
Ad mortem dulci pro libertate coactus
Hinc cato me patriae patrem reliquique vocarunt.

M. Porcius Cato Uticensis.

Quem [vera liber]tas aluit, quem gloria nulla
Ambiret licet invitum distrahit; amator,
Iustitiae ac recti cato sum, civilia bella,
Ne domino premerer, fugi q[ua]m morte[m] secutus.

¹²⁵ See Münster, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, IV, cols. 1494-1505.

¹²⁶ IV, 3 (ed. G. Billanovich, Florence, 1943, p. 192).

¹²⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 13-15. Cf. also F. Novati, *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, III, Rome, 1896, pp. 398-99.

¹²⁸ Scipio Nasica vir optimus.

Si mea prerigidum superasset dicta catonem
In vitium non versa foret romana potestas.
Hospitium dignata meum materque deorum,
Optimus ac iussu dicor persecla senatus.

Cf. Florus, *Epitoma*, I, xv, 4-5: "Cato inexpiablem odio delendam esse Carthaginem . . .

pronuntiabat. Scipio Nasica servandam, ne metu ablato aemulae urbis, luxuriari felicitas inciperet"; *De viris illustribus*, xlv: "a senatu vir optimus iudicatus, Matrem Deum hospitio recepit."

¹²⁹ See R. Weiss, "Jacopo Angeli da Scarperia . . .", in *Medioevo e Rinascimento. Studi in onore di Bruno Nardi*, Florence, 1955, II, p. 823. Cf. Jacopo Angeli's translation in *Plutarchi Vitae*, Venice, 1538 (see Novati, III, p. 522), f. 294^r: Cato "Ciceronis consulatum adeo pro rostris extulit, ut Ciceronem honoribus omnium maximis dignatus sit, illum patrem patriae appellans, quod cognomen primum ex hac Catonis oratione Ciceroni inditum, apud caeteros emanasse perhibetur."

¹³⁰ *Cicero novus*, ed. A. Mai, in *M. Tullii Ciceronis sex orationum partes*, Milan, 1817, pp. 255-301. For the date see Baron, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino. Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften*, Berlin, 1928, pp. 163-64; Baron prefers the date 1415, but does not exclude 1414 or 1413. Cf. *Cicero novus*, p. 271: "M. Cato,

praised Cicero as an exemplar of republican virtue—in contrast to the mediaeval view of him as a Stoic sage, a view which had still been shared by Petrarch.¹³¹ Our *titulus* follows the new approach to Cicero among Florentine humanists, which received its fullest expression in Bruni's *Cicero novus*. On the other hand, the inscription on Cato reflects a view which had been held in the Italian communes for a long time; thus Remigio de' Girolami says of him that "interfecit se ipsum, ut aliqui opinantur, quia dominium urbis venerat ad manus Iulii Caesaris, existimans ex hoc rem publicam in magnum periculum incidisse."¹³² Dante praised the sacrifice "severissimi vere libertatis auctoris,"¹³³ and in about 1400 the Florentine Cino Rinuccini writes of "il frutto della bella libertà, per la quale non dubitò morire quello esquisitissimo Cato posteriore."¹³⁴ Thus traditional republican views were combined with new humanist interpretations in the representation of the three Roman exemplars of civic virtue.

While Cicero and the younger Cato personify Roman republican patriotism in its resistance to tyranny, Furius Camillus and Curius Dentatus (on the right side of the wall) provide a historical connexion between the civic virtues of ancient Rome and contemporary Siena. According to a classical tradition found, for instance, in the *Építome* of Livy, the colony of Senae was established during the consulate of M. Curius Dentatus.¹³⁵ It seems at least possible that the author of the programme of the frescoes knew of this tradition and consequently selected Curius Dentatus as one of his principal heroes.¹³⁶ But the connexion is quite explicit in the case of Furius Camillus; for the *titulus* under this figure¹³⁷ states that one of the Sienese Terzi, that of Camollia, owed its name to it: "nostro de nomine dicta est / Camillia tue pars urbis terna senensis." Thus Camillus appears among the republican heroes of Rome not only as an exemplar of civic virtue but also as one of the founders of Siena.

What are the sources of this part of the programme? Once more, we can recognize the influence of humanist scholarship. The Neoptolemus mentioned in M. Curius Dentatus' epigram was the son of Achilles, from whom the

vir severus . . . [rerum gestarum] gratia patrem patriae putaverit appellandum: quod . . . primo omnium Ciceroni contigit."

¹³¹ On the changes in the judgment on Cicero, see Baron, "Cicero and the Roman Civic Spirit in the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XXII, 1938, pp. 72-94, and *Crisis*, pp. 97 ff.

¹³² *De bono communi*, quoted by Minio-Paluello, *op. cit.*, p. 68. Girolami reports St. Augustine's condemnation of Cato's suicide, without, however, accepting it. John of Salisbury, too, had praised Cato's sacrifice for liberty; see *Policraticus*, VII, 25 (ed. C. C. J. Webb, Oxford, 1909, II, p. 218).

¹³³ *De monarchia*, II, 5; *Purgatorio*, I, 73-75. Cf. also the *Libro Imperiale* ascribed to Cam di Castello and others, n.p., 1488, I, 14. (On

the *Libro Imperiale*, see L.-F. Flutre, "*Li Fait des Romains*" dans les littératures française et italienne du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle, Paris, 1932, pp. 272-95.)

¹³⁴ In Coluccio Salutati, *Invectiva in Antonium Luschum Vicentinum*, Florence, 1826, p. 248.

¹³⁵ *Épit.*, XI: "Coloniae deductae sunt Castrum, Senae, Hadria." Cf. O. Malavolti, *Historia de' fatti e guerre de' Sanesi*, Venice, 1599, I, p. 9.

¹³⁶ "Hic ego sum curius patriis qui finibus arma, Atque neotholomum samnitum victor abegi. Me probat et medici scelus ad sua castra remissi, Et spretum aurum, proh, quod nunc inficit orbem.

¹³⁷ Restitui patriam, consumpti gloria galli Sunt mea, quos etiam victor dum multa ruentes Haec* per rura sequor, nostro de nomine dicta est Camillia tue pars urbis terna senensis.

* For *hanc*.

Pyrrhi claimed to be descended.¹³⁸ The story of Curius Dentatus' victories over the Samnites and over Pyrrhus, and of his contempt for the Samnite gold, is told by many Roman authors;¹³⁹ that of his refusal to accept the treacherous offer of Pyrrhus' physician¹⁴⁰ is based on a confusion with C. Fabricius, for which Florus appears to be the only authority.¹⁴¹ As to the inscription for M. Furius Camillus, it combines classical sources and local tradition on the foundation of Siena. Livy, and after him Florus and other authors, relate Camillus' victory over the Gauls, his pursuit of them, and his restoration of Rome;¹⁴² that Camillus took part in the foundation of Siena, on the other hand, was a local Sieneese legend which we find recorded for the first time in the fifteenth century, although it was doubtless of earlier origin.

Siena, like most other Italian towns, prided herself on her classical origins—although these were not so easy to prove as, for instance, those of Florence, where many Roman remains survived throughout the Middle Ages;¹⁴³ the Florentine Giovanni Villani altogether denied that the city had existed in antiquity, and maintained that it had been founded by Charles Martel, who left all his aged and infirm men there on his departure from Italy.¹⁴⁴ John of Salisbury records a *celebris traditio* according to which Siena owed its origins to the Galli Senones under Brennus.¹⁴⁵ This "Gallic" tradition, which is also recorded by Fazio degli Uberti,¹⁴⁶ was in Siena in the fifteenth century "communis incolarum opinio."¹⁴⁷ Agostino Patrizi, in his *De antiquitate civitatis Senensis*,¹⁴⁸ reports it in the following fashion: the Gauls, "post direptam incensamque Romam, domum repetentes . . . illuc contendisse, ubi tunc Senae sunt conditae . . ." Agostino Dati speaks of the theory of the Gallic foundation of Siena as one of the two prevalent explanations of the origins of the city: it was opposed by those who maintained Siena's Roman origins—"urbis originem, de qua Galli praesertim Senones ac veteres Romani certant."¹⁴⁹ It is not surprising to find Sieneese humanists as exponents of the Roman theory.

¹³⁸ Cf. K. Ziegler, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, XVI, cols. 2440 ff. Salutati had begun to write a *carmen de gestis Pyrrhi* (Novati, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 58-59).

¹³⁹ See Münzer, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, IV, cols. 1841-45. Cf. also Petrarch, *De viris illustribus*, ed. A. Razzolini, Rome, 1874, I, p. 150.

¹⁴⁰ According to Petrarch, the traitor was a "minister" of Pyrrhus.

¹⁴¹ *Epit.*, I, viii, 21, 22: "cum medicum venale regis caput offerentem Curius remisit . . . cum Curius fictilia sua Samnitico praeferret auro." Petrarch, who tells the story of the Samnite gold (*loc. cit.*), correctly attributes that concerning the traitor (*quidam regi[us] minister*) to Fabricius: *op. cit.*, p. 146.

¹⁴² *De urbe cond.*, V, 46 ff. Florus, *Epit.*, I, xiii, 17 ff. There was a statue of Camillus on the Forum Augusti; cf., e.g., Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, XXXIV, 23.

¹⁴³ On the origins of Siena see P. Rossi, "Le

origini di Siena: I," in *Conferenze della Comm. Sen. di storia patria*, I, Siena, 1895.

¹⁴⁴ *Cronica*, I, 56 ("è assai nuova città").

¹⁴⁵ *Policraticus*, VI, 17 (ed. Webb, II, p. 45): "quod urbem Senensium . . . construxerint, non modo fides historiae sed celebris traditio est"; and he adds that this is confirmed by the fact that "Senenses et liniamentis membrorum et uenustate faciei et coloris gratia moribus quoque ipsis ad Gallos et Britones, a quibus originem contraxerunt, videntur accedere . . ."

¹⁴⁶ *Il Dittamondo* . . . , ed. G. Corsi, Bari, 1952, I, p. 207: "questa cittade per alcuno intesi / che, lasciando ivi molti vecchi Brenno, / quando i Roman per lui fun morti e presi / si abito prima . . ."

¹⁴⁷ See following note.

¹⁴⁸ Siena, Bibl. Comunale, MS. A. VI. 3, f. 83^r.

¹⁴⁹ *Orationes*, III, 1, in *Opera*, Siena, 1503, f. lxxviii^v.

Whatever the origins of her name, says Dati, "illud certo affirmare possumus, matrem Senensem populum profiteri urbem Romam."¹⁵⁰ This belief was, apparently, confirmed by an old history of Siena's antiquities, which was purported to be the work of "Tisbo Colonnese," and to have been discovered in Rome at the beginning of the fourteenth century, but which was probably composed in Siena in the fifteenth century.¹⁵¹ According to the Tisbo legend, Senio and Aschio, the sons of Remus, fled from Romulus, taking with them the image of the wolf with the twins. On reaching the banks of the Tressa, they built the castle Senio (later Castelvecchio), defeated troops from Rome and two kings, Montonius and Camelius, who finally settled down with them in the new city.¹⁵² The district where Camelius pitched his camp came to be called Camporegio; "e disteselo infino ala via oltramontana, dove in su la via edificò una forteza di legniamè . . . questa è la via di Chamellio . . . e al presenti si dicie Kamollia."¹⁵³ If the legendary king Camelius thus appears as "el nostro avolo," for the Siene humanists the historic Camillus could fulfil the same function much better, for he could do so on grounds of classical evidence, however freely interpreted. The pursuit of the Gauls by the saviour of Rome which Florus relates¹⁵⁴ tended to suggest that there was some connexion between Camillus and the *terzo Camollia*; and according to Agostino Patrizi, the *communis opinio* of the Siene in his time was that, while the Galli Senones had founded Siena, Camillus had been responsible for the *terzo Camollia*, for it was there that he had pitched his camp before defeating them.¹⁵⁵ "Quamvis absurda haec, et impossibilia non esse putem," adds Agostino Patrizi, it is certain "esse autem hanc urbem antiquam et Romanorum coloniam," as can be proved from the evidence of coins, from such authors as Pliny and Tacitus, from the "Romani populi insignia, civitati concessa" and from the "fama vulgaris";¹⁵⁶ and Francesco Patrizi clinches the matter by making Camillus responsible for establishing this colony, and not only the *terzo Camollia* to which he gave his name, and which "candido vexillo ex

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ The "Tisbo" chronicle exists in a number of MSS. in the Biblioteca Comunale in Siena, none of which is earlier than the fifteenth century. The best text appears to be the one contained in MS. A. VI. 8, ff. 1^r-15^v. The "Tisbo" chronicle has been edited by L. Banchi, *Le origini favolose di Siena secondo una presunta cronica . . . di Tisbo Colonnese*, Nozze Papanti-Giraudini, Siena, 1882, from an eighteenth-century copy of the chronicle in the Archivio di Stato (Manoscritti, D. 26, pp. 3-10). He suggests, without giving evidence for this, that it was the work of Agostino Patrizi (p. 8). On the "Tisbo" chronicle and other foundation legends, see also G. Rondoni, *Tradizioni popolari e leggende di un Comune medioevale . . .*, Florence, 1866, and Rossi, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-24.

¹⁵² MS. A. VI. 8, ff. 1^r ff. Banchi, *ed. cit.*, pp. 13 ff.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, ff. 5^v-6^r.

¹⁵⁴ *Epitoma*, I, 8.

¹⁵⁵ *De antiquitate*, f. 83^v: "Gallos deinde in his locis commorantes, a Romano dictatore Furio Camillo defectos; locumque ubi dictator tetenderat appellatum Camilliam; hinc, castrorum loca, ab accolis militia[e]que emeritis viris habitari coepta, et urbis principium." On Agostino Patrizi, who served Pius II and was from 1483 bishop of Pienza, see Apostolo Zeno, *Dissertazioni Vossiane*, II, Venice, 1753, pp. 96-124; cf. also J. P. Dengel, "Eine Beschreibung Tirols aus dem Jahre 1471," *Festschrift H. v. Voltellini, Veröffentlichungen d. Museum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck*, Heft 12, 1932, pp. 209-12; H. Kramer, "Agostino Patrizi's Beschreibung der Reise" etc., *Festschrift z. Feier d. zweihundertjährigen Bestandes d. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchivs, Vienna*, 1949, pp. 549 ff.

¹⁵⁶ *De antiquitate*, ff. 84^r-85^r.

vetustissimo archetypo ductam Camilli effigiem ostendit.”¹⁵⁷ Thus in the fifteenth century Furius Camillus was accepted as one of the founders of Siena; our inscription is, in fact, the earliest evidence of a thesis that was bound to appeal to humanist criticism more than the Tisbo legend, for which, with the best will in the world, no support could be found in classical authorities.

The revision of foundation legends on the basis of classical texts had led in Florence, shortly before the completion of our frescoes, to a break with the mediaeval tradition, according to which Florence owed her origins to Caesar. The humanists Salutati and Leonardo Bruni maintained, and adduced for this the evidence of Cicero and Sallust, that Florence had been founded as a colony for Sulla’s veterans. This new approach to the antiquities of Florence had its political implications; for it showed that the Florentine republic, the self-styled bulwark against Visconti despotism, owed its origins to the Roman republic and not to Caesar.¹⁵⁸ This republican re-interpretation we find fully developed in Leonardo Bruni’s *Laudatio urbis Florentinae*, which was written in the first years of the century,¹⁵⁹ and in the first book of his *Historiae Florentini populi*, which was finished in 1415,¹⁶⁰ the year after the completion of the frescoes in the antechapel.

There can be no doubt that the *tituli* of our frescoes, as well as the programme as a whole, derive their inspiration from contemporary humanism, and it is probable that there is either a direct or indirect connection with the Florentine humanists. The admiration of the Roman republic as an example for the contemporary city-republic, though not new, was given vigorous and more articulate expression in the writings of Leonardo Bruni; and in his *History of Florence* we also find the concept which underlies the programme of the antechapel—that the decline of Rome began with the fall of the republic.¹⁶¹ While the historical approach to the *uomini famosi* cycle itself appears to reflect

¹⁵⁷ *De origine et vetustate urbis Senae*, Siena, Bibl. Comunale, MS. A. VI. 3, f. 36^v. On Francesco Patrizi see F. Battaglia, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini e Francesco Patrizi. Due politici senesi del Quattrocento*, Florence, 1936, pp. 75-157; cf. also A. Lisini, *Cronache Senesi*, in *Rev. Ital. Script.*, XV, vi, pp. xxviii, xxxi. Lisini believes that the *De Senarum urbis origine*, which incorporates the Tisbo legend, was an early work by Francesco Patrizi. Pius II was more cautious: “Fama est,” he said in a speech on “the nobility of Siena”, “fugatis a Camillo Gallis Senonibus, qui Romam incenderant, hoc loco nonnullas exercitus reliquias condesisse, et ab his Senam conditam [corr. for contendit]” (“Oratio . . . de rosa aurea pontificia, habita Senis 1459 . . .”, in Pius II, *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*, ed. J. D. Mansi, II, Lucca, 1757, p. 2).

¹⁵⁸ See Baron, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.; Rubinstein, “Il Poliziano e la questione delle origini di Firenze,” in *Il Poliziano e il suo tempo . . .*, Florence, 1957, pp. 103-104.

¹⁵⁹ According to Baron, in 1403 or 1404:

Humanistic and Political Literature, pp. 97-98.

¹⁶⁰ A. Gherardi, “Alcune notizie intorno a Leonardo Aretino . . .”, *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, 4a ser., XV, 1885, pp. 418-19.

¹⁶¹ Ed. E. Santini, *Rev. Ital. Script.*, XIX, iii, p. 14: “Declinationem autem romani imperii ab eo fere tempore ponendam reor quo, amissa libertate, imperatoribus servire Roma incepit . . . si quis excellentes viros primum a C. Iulio Caesare bello, deinde ab ipso Augusto triumviratu illo nefario crudelissime trucidatos . . . reputare voluerit, negare non poterit tunc romanum imperium ruere caepisse, cum primo caesareum nomen, tanquam clades aliqua, civitati incubuit. Cessit enim libertas imperatorio nomini, et post libertatem virtus abivit.” Cf. also the *Laudatio*, in Th. Klette, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Litteratur der italienischen Gelehrtenrenaissance*, II, Greifswald, 1889, pp. 93-94: “postea quam respublica in unius potestatem deducta est, praeclara illa ingenia, ut inquit Cornelius, abiere . . .”

humanist enthusiasm for Roman history, the Aristotelian element in the programme would equally have met with the approval of humanists like Bruni.¹⁶²

On October 13, 1413, Pietro de' Pecci and Ser Cristoforo di Andrea had been put in charge, as will be remembered, of the supervision of the new frescoes for the antechapel; on November 1, Pecci was sent as ambassador to Florence.¹⁶³ One of the purposes of this embassy was to confer with John XXIII before his departure for Bologna,¹⁶⁴ which took place a few days later. The Pope had been staying outside Florence since June, when he fled from Rome after its capture by King Ladislas of Naples; he had brought the Curia with him,¹⁶⁵ among them Leonardo Bruni, who had been apostolic secretary since 1405.¹⁶⁶ It would have been strange if Pecci had not taken advantage of the opportunity offered by his embassy to discuss the programme of the antechapel with some of the scholars who were then in Florence, and to secure their advice and help; and it is tempting to think that one of them may have been Leonardo Bruni himself.¹⁶⁷ Such a course of action would have been natural enough for a man like Pietro de' Pecci, who was a lawyer of some

¹⁶² See E. Garin, *L'umanesimo italiano*, Bari, 1952, pp. 57-59. In 1438, Leonardo Bruni presented the city of Siena with a copy of his translation of the *Politics*. In their letter of thanks, of November 29, the *Signori* assure Bruni that the work will serve as a guide to the citizens who govern Siena: "id nobis acceptissimum est videre apud nos divinos hos libros, in quibus per secula possint cives nostri, quibus civitatem populumque nostrum regendi dabitur cura, tanquam speculum ante oculos habentes contemplari quod sequantur, quod caveant, quemnam in modum habenas reipublice moderentur" (S. Borghesi and L. Bianchi, *Nuovi documenti per la storia dell'arte senese*, Siena, 1898, pp. 123-24).

¹⁶³ He and his colleague were elected on November 1, after the election made on October 31 of Carlo d'Angiolino and Ser Cristoforo di Andrea—the other official put in charge of the supervision of the frescoes—had been annulled (Arch. di Stato, Concistoro, 286, f. 32^r; 287, f. 3^v).

¹⁶⁴ "Paolo di Tommaso Montauri", in *Cronache Senesi, Rer. Ital. Script.*, XV, vi, p. 777: "E Sanesi mandoro due inbasciadori a Fiorenza a componare e informarsi co' Fiorentini e col detto papa, e gionsero prima che si partisse, e furno questi: misser Pietro del Pecia e Aringhieri . . ." Pecci was again sent as ambassador to Florence in June 1414, after peace had been concluded with Ladislas; *ibid.*, p. 779. In June 1413, Ser Cristoforo di Andrea, in his turn, had passed through Florence as envoy to King Sigismund; *ibid.*, p. 775.

¹⁶⁵ He entered Siena on June 18 (*ibid.*) on his way to Florence, where he arrived on

June 21. He was not allowed to stay inside the city and resided at S. Antonio del Vescovo, while the *curiales* were able to stay in Florence (H. Finke, *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, I, Münster i. W., 1896, pp. 170-71). According to the *Istorie di Firenze* in Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, XIX, col. 995, he left Florence on November 8; according to the *Cronache Senesi*, p. 777, on the 10th.

¹⁶⁶ Bruni had accompanied John XXIII on his flight from Rome; see *Rerum suo tempore gestarum commentarius, Rer. Ital. Script.*, XIX, iii, p. 412; Vespasiano de' Bisticci, *Vite de uomini illustri*, Milan, 1951, p. 250. On Bruni's career in the Papal chancery cf. W. v. Hofmann, *Forschungen zur Geschichte der kurialen Behörden . . .*, Rome, 1914, II, p. 107.

¹⁶⁷ A few of the *tituli* bear some resemblance to those composed about ten years later by Francesco da Fiano for the Roman heroes in the Palazzo Trinci (see above, p. 195, n. 102); cf. the epigram on Camillus: Siena: "Restitui patriam consumpti gloria galli, / Sunt mea quos etiam victor dum multa ruentes . . ."; Foligno: "Qui fuit en patrie quondam spes ampla ruentis . . ."; on Cato: Siena: "Ne sua servitio premerentur colla potentis, / fugi q[ua]m morte[m] secutus"; Foligno: "Ne sua servitio premerentur colla potentis, / Fortia crudeli penetravit pectora ferro." Francesco da Fiano had been for years a colleague of Bruni's in the Papal chancery as *scriptor* and *abbreviator* (he was also chancellor of the Commune of Rome); see Baron, *Crisis*, II, pp. 402-4. He is still mentioned as "scriptor et abbreviator litterarum apostolicarum" in a Papal rescript of September 1412 (Messini, *op. cit.*, p. 79). Did he

distinction, and later one of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini's teachers at the University of Siena.¹⁶⁸

But apart from such humanist contacts, there were also other circumstances which in 1413 could have helped to bring about a specifically Florentine inspiration of the new Siene cycle of frescoes. Those years were one of the rare periods when Florence and Siena stood united in defence of their independence. At the turn of the century, Florence had fought Giangaleazzo Visconti single-handed, while Siena had accepted his rule; but now the two Tuscan republics were united in their resistance to King Ladislas of Naples who, after taking Rome, was pressing north, thus resuming his advance into Tuscany of 1409, which had been halted by the Florentine-Siene league.¹⁶⁹ For the Florentines, in their struggle against Visconti expansion, the defence of their political independence had been tantamount with that of their republican régime;¹⁷⁰ they had time and again sought to defend both by concluding leagues with other Tuscan republics; and much the same implications were again present in their resistance to Ladislas.¹⁷¹ In Siena, on the other hand, the republican régime had been restored after Giangaleazzo's death in 1402, and provided a further bond with Florence in their common action against Ladislas. Florentine republicanism in its new humanist formulation may therefore have proved particularly attractive to Florence's ally in those years. It seems, in these circumstances, hardly a coincidence that the programme of the antechapel centres on three citizens who upheld Rome's republican régime at home and three who defended her independence in the field: a combination which would have come naturally enough to Florentine political humanism of the early Quattrocento.

The humanist inspiration of the programme and the inscriptions of the antechapel may also have left their mark on the execution of the frescoes. We have seen that the combination of figure and *titulus* probably presented an attempt to imitate ancient statues and *elogia*;¹⁷² the architectural setting of the principal figures in an open portico may equally have been influenced by information regarding the statues in ancient Roman *fora* and temples, as, for instance, in the Forum Augusti, although the execution of the arcade is traditional enough.¹⁷³ The armour of the three Roman generals is evidently intended to reproduce ancient armour, as is shown, for instance, by the lion-

accompany John XXIII on his flight to Florence in June 1413? Although this seems possible, owing to his position at the Curia, I have not found any evidence on his whereabouts in that year.

¹⁶⁸ See Pius II, "De viris aetatis suae claris," in *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*, ed. Mansi, III, Appendix, Lucca, 1759, p. 175. Cf. I. Ugurgieri Azzolini, *Le Pompe Sanesi*, Pistoia, 1649, I, p. 435.

¹⁶⁹ A. Cutolo, *Re Ladislao d'Angiò-Durazzo*, Milan, 1936, I, pp. 397 ff. É. G. Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, Paris, 1954, pp. 480-81; Baron, *Crisis*, I, pp. 318-19. On the league of 1409, cf. Cutolo, I, pp. 340-41.

¹⁷⁰ See Rubinstein, "Florence and the des-

pots. Some aspects of Florentine diplomacy in the fourteenth century," *Trans. of the Royal Hist. Soc.*, 5th ser., II, 1952, pp. 36 ff.

¹⁷¹ Baron, *Crisis*, pp. 318-23; but Baron seems to me to concentrate too exclusively on what was only one aspect of Florentine policy—the defence of republican freedom.

¹⁷² See above, p. 195.

¹⁷³ Cf. Cicero, *In Cat.*, iii, 19; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 31: "Itaque et opera cuiusque manentibus titulis restituit et statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utraque fori sui porticu dedicavit"; Macrobius, *In somn. Scip.*, I, iii, 2. See also O. Vessberg, *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik*, Lund-Leipzig, 1941, pp. 71 ff.

heads on Scipio Africanus' greaves.¹⁷⁴ Like Roman legionaries, they carry sword and *pilum*, and in the case of Curius Dentatus and Scipio Africanus, the *clipeus*; ¹⁷⁵ Furius Camillus wears on his head a fillet which bears some resemblance to the *corona civica* as found on Roman monuments.¹⁷⁶ But the artistic vocabulary of the figures is still basically Trecento, with the addition of elements derived from classical sources.¹⁷⁷ Much the same is also true of the dress of the citizens, which represents a not very successful fusion of contemporary civic dress and the Roman toga. The pagan gods follow mediaeval iconographical tradition, but the execution is simpler and less overloaded with allegory.¹⁷⁸

As we have seen, the acanthus frieze round the virtues, with its inserted medallions, bears some resemblance to the jambs of the Porta della Mandorla in Florence.¹⁷⁹ This frieze is continued on the main wall alongside the figures of the six Roman heroes, down to the bottom of the frescoes; in that on the right, next to the figure of Scipio Africanus, we find two *putti*, one of them facing the Roman hero and blowing a horn. Both by their position within the acanthus and their execution they have much in common with those of the Porta della Mandorla.¹⁸⁰ Professor Krautheimer has recently emphasized the antique inspiration of these figures as well as of the acanthus scrolls of the Porta della Mandorla, although much of the execution is pseudo-classical;¹⁸¹ and the same seems to apply, in a more modest fashion, to Taddeo di Bartolo's *putti* (Pl. 19c), which may be influenced by the Florentine model, and indeed to some of his figures of Romans and pagan gods. However, while the masters of the Porta della Mandorla used classical models, Taddeo di Bartolo seems to have tried primarily to bring up to date a traditional artistic vocabulary by infusing into it elements based on literary information rather than visual knowledge. That the result is somewhat bizarre is not surprising; but what matters to us above all is the intention; and, indeed, perhaps the very inadequacies of Taddeo di Bartolo's pseudo-classical figures reflect some of the problems of a period when links began to be forged between humanism and art.¹⁸²

The Sienese citizen who, coming from the Sala de' Nove, entered the antechapel from the Sala del Mappamondo, found himself in a memorial hall of Roman republican heroes with pagan divinities, which formed a curious contrast to the adjoining chapel. At the same time, he would find here the same

¹⁷⁴ Cf. J. W. Crous, "Florentiner Waffenpfeiler und Armilustrium," *Mitteil. d. deutschen Archäol. Instituts, Röm. Abtlg.*, XLVIII, 1933, pp. 74-75.

¹⁷⁵ See *Dictionnaire des antiquités . . .*, article "legio"; on oval *clipei*, *ibid.*, article "clipeus."

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, article "corona."

¹⁷⁷ Cf. also the costumes of the *uomini famosi* in the "Cronaca figurata" of Leonardo di Besozzo, in the so-called "Libro di Giusto" (A. Venturi, "Il libro di Giusto per la Cappella degli Eremitani in Padova," *Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane*, IV, 1899, pp. 345-76; P. Toesca, *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lom-*

bardia, Milan, 1912, pl. xxvii and fig. 389) and in the "Cronaca Cockerell" (I. Toesca, *op. cit.*, pls. 8-12).

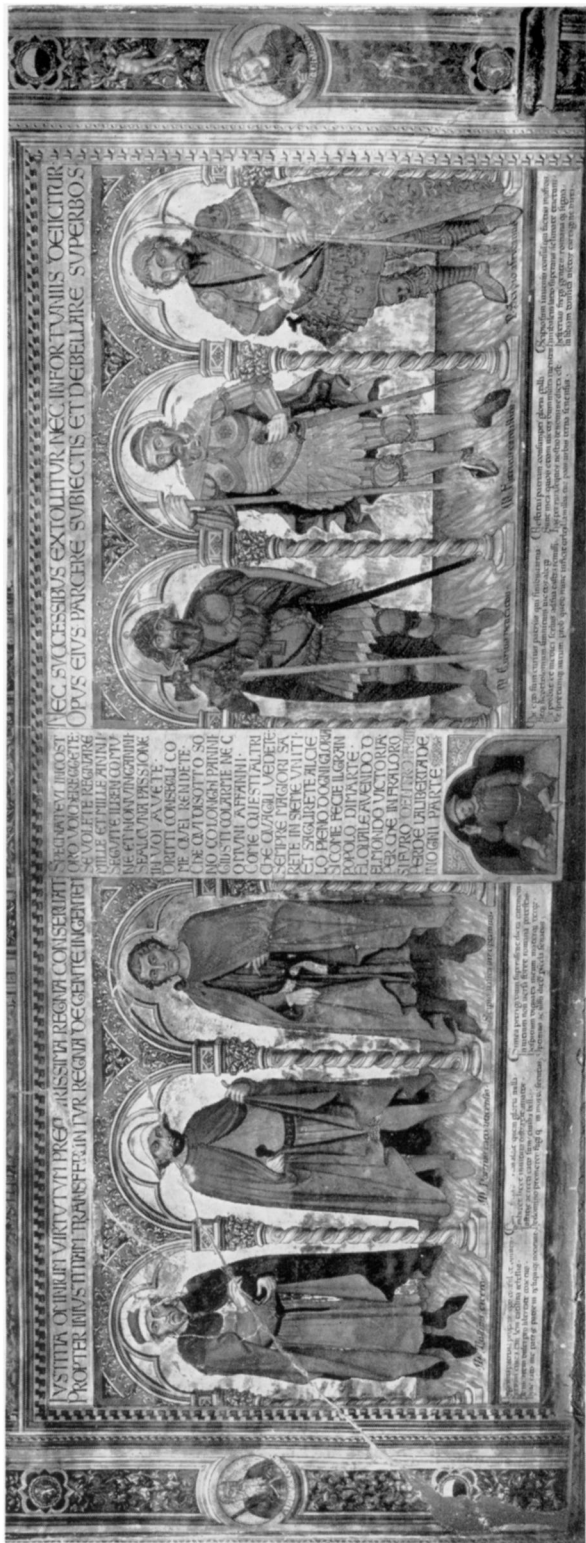
¹⁷⁸ Cf., e.g., the "De deorum imaginibus libellus", in H. Liebeschütz, *Fulgentius Metaphoralis*, Leipzig-Berlin, pp. 118, 119-20. However, in our fresco Apollo carries a stringed instrument only, and instead of bow and arrows a musical bow.

¹⁷⁹ See above, p. 192.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, fig. 6.

¹⁸¹ *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, pp. 280-81.

¹⁸² See *ibid.*, p. 279.



a—The Six Famous Men (Cicero, M. Porcius Cato, P. Scipio Nasica, M. Curius Dentatus, M. Furius Camillus, P. Scipio Africanus Major) (*p.* 191)



b—M. Junius Brutus (*p.* 195)



c—Putto in frieze on main wall (*p.* 206)



d—Gaius Laelius (*p.* 195)



a—Antonio Federighi, Stone bench in Loggia dei Mercanti, Siena (p. 207)



b—D. Beccafumi, 'Amor Patrie,' Ceiling panel, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena (p. 207)



c—Mucius Scaevola, Cicero and Brutus, Fresco, 1445, Town Hall, Lucignano (p. 207)



d—Caesar, Constantine and Noah, Fresco, 1445, Town Hall, Lucignano (p. 207)

political concepts which had been expressed in a rudimentary way in the 'Maestà' and then, in a much more complex and philosophical fashion, in the allegories of the Sala de' Nove; justice and the common good as the basic principles of good government, and the all-importance of internal peace and unity for the preservation of the state. Thus in the new language of humanism, the political philosophy of Trecento Siena finds a fresh formulation which may have satisfied both traditionalists and modernists.

From now onwards, the use of Roman republican heroes remained a permanent feature of Sieneese civic art. In 1445 we find Cicero with Mucius Scaevola and the first Brutus in a fresco (Pl. 20c) in the town hall of Lucignano, a small but strategically important Sieneese town on the border of Florence's territory;¹⁸³ in 1464, Antonio Federighi decorated one of the marble seats of the Loggia di Mercanzia in Siena with reliefs of Roman citizens and soldiers, including the first Brutus, Cato Uticensis and, probably, Furius Camillus (Pl. 20a).¹⁸⁴ And when in 1529 the Sieneese government commissioned yet another cycle of frescoes for its palace, this time for the Sala del Concistoro, Domenico Beccafumi based his programme once more on a combination of virtues and Roman citizens, with the addition of Greek heroes.¹⁸⁵ The images and portraits of Taddeo di Bartolo are replaced by historical scenes, and the virtues have been further reduced in number; but side by side with Justice and Concord we find *Patrie Amor* (Pl. 20b), which condenses in one single concept most of the political ideals of the earlier frescoes.¹⁸⁶ To teach civic virtues by pictorial representation had remained a tradition dear to the Sieneese,¹⁸⁷ and the spell of the Roman republic had survived the despotism of Pandolfo Petrucci.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸³ Caesar and Constantine, together with Noah, are also represented at Lucignano (Pl. 20d).

¹⁸⁴ Cf. A. Schmarsow, "Antonio Federighi de' Tolomei . . .", *Rep. f. Kunstwiss.*, XII, 1889, pp. 291-92; P. Schubring, *Die Plastik Sienas im Quattrocento*, Berlin, 1907, pp. 55-57.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. J. Judey, *Domenico Beccafumi*, Diss. Freiburg in Br., 1932, pp. 66-70, 104-5; M. Gibellino-Krasceninnicowa, *Il Beccafumi*, Siena, 1933, pp. 25-26.

¹⁸⁶ See above, pp. 186, 193-4.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Francesco Patrizi, *De institutione rei-publicae* (c. 1465), l. I, tit. x (Strasburg, 1954), p. 56: "Quae clarissimorum virorum statuae, iuvenum animos erigunt, et ad parem laudem consequendam excitant . . ."

¹⁸⁸ I would like to thank Dr. Enzo Carli for his kind assistance in procuring the ante-chapel photographs, and the Comune of Siena for so generously having this complicated task carried out.