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CHAPTER EIGHT

Tristan Love

Elite Self-Fashioning in Italian Frescoes of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

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Tristan will not play much of a role in this chapter — nor will Isolde. To be sure, their medieval epic will be encountered here and there in the discussion of public and private representational imagery in the Italian Duecento and Trecento. However, in this Italian material their appearance is minimal, to say the least.

Nevertheless, according to some researchers, there is one rare instance where the epic does make an appearance. In the early twentieth century art historians were convinced that they had identified this narrative of fated love in several fresco fragments from the former residence of the Teri family in Florence (fig. 8.1). The seven fragmentary pictorial fields, which originated in the late Trecento, did not survive the late-nineteenth-century demolition of this private house on the Via dei Pescioni, where they were originally located in one of the living rooms on the first upper floor; however, they were preserved in drawings and watercolor copies executed shortly before the demolition.[1] The lozenge-shaped pictorial fields were arrayed in horizontal registers one above the other. Along with stags, bulls and bears, and a series of mainly exotic birds, including pelicans, flamingos, pheas-

Figure 8.1. Fragment of interior decoration, originally from a house in Via dei Pescioni, Florence, Palazzo Davanzati, end of 14th century–early 15th century. *This and all subsequent photos in chapter 8 by the author.*

ants, and aquatic birds (fig. 8.2), the middle register displays a series of relatively small-scale scenes whose common theme is no longer identifiable. What we can identify are small groups of human figures who are turned toward one another. In the scenes we see, variously, a female figure, sometimes carrying a fruit basket and standing next to a tree facing two men; jousting scenes with two mounted knights rushing violently toward one another, riding horses attired in elaborate caparisons; a woman carrying a banner in her right hand while

Figure 8.2. Detail of interior decoration from a house in the Via dei Pescioni, Florence, Palazzo Davanzati.

riding a horse that, like her, is outfitted with an elaborate costume (fig. 8.3); a small group of people in a tent, possibly a seated woman accompanied by a man on horseback who receives tribute from the knight who kneels before her; additional scenes of figures on horseback; and, finally, a scene showing elegantly attired men and women strolling gracefully in a garden or natural setting, suggested by the presence of trees.

Given the condition of these frescoes, it is hardly possible to identify an overarching or continuous narrative sequence. The depicted protagonists go about their business, moving in various directions in juxtaposed pictorial fields, yet the fields show no obvious sequential logic. The highly animated design of the framing system—based as it is on dominant square pictorial fields, set against a pale ground embellished by vegetal forms showing individual tondi with fictive coats of arms that include freely invented heraldic motifs—does not seem to have been conceived primarily for the sake of a visibly unified or integrated progression of continuous scenes. Like the depictions of animals above and below, the scenes in the central register seem rather to be independent of one another, each offering itself up to isolated con-

Figure 8.3. Detail of interior decoration from a house in the Via dei Pescioni, Florence, Palazzo Davanzati.

templation. Their thematic substrate appears to be incorporated into an overall decorative schema whose individual motifs are of courtly provenance: natural scenery as the setting for love ambitions, a chivalrous knightly tournament, and segments of untamed wilderness composed of forests and mountains and populated by exotic birds and wild beasts.

It is impossible, therefore, to confirm the early-twentieth-century proposals that identified these scenes specifically with the narrative of Tristan and Isolde.[2] Not only were these proposals offered in a cursory fashion and without the benefit of detailed analysis, but, more relevantly, if one searches, even just in Florence, for other monumental

Figure 8.4. Mural in the Stanza della Castellana, Florence, Palazzo Davanzati, ca. 1395.

pictorial cycles containing verifiable references to specific literary models, one finds only the celebrated decorations of the so-called Stanza della Castellana in the second story of the Palazzo Davanzati (fig. 8.4). The scheme of this fresco cycle, which dates from circa 1395, encompasses a whole wall zone. A trompe l'oeil curtain hangs before simulated marble paneling, and above this, in the upper zone, a painted

arcaded gallery running around all four walls has set into it twenty-two episodes from the tragic love story of the Châtelaine de Vergy, also known as the Castellana del Vergiu.[3] This pictorial narrative shows how the fulfilled but secret love affair between a patrician woman of Vergy (i.e., the Castellana) and a knight named Guillaume, alias Guglielmo, was progressively destroyed when the duchess of Burgundy fell in love with the same knight. When Guillaume rejected her without explanation, he set in motion a highly involved and tragic dramatic entanglement that essentially follows the biblical story of Joseph and Potiphar. The narrative leads from deception to disappointment, from disappointment to misunderstanding and betrayal, and, finally, to the Castellana's death from sheer despair, followed thereafter by the knight's suicide and the murder of the duchess by her enraged husband, the duke of Burgundy, after which he travels to Palestine as a Templar to do penance for his sins. This story, traceable to an early French courtly verse epic from circa 1250, enjoyed great popularity in the later Middle Ages and was disseminated in numerous French manuscripts. It also received Italian, German, and Dutch translations, variants, and modernizations.[4]

The Florentine murals represent the sole surviving Italian instance of a monumental fresco cycle based on this thematic material; other than that, one finds the story depicted with great frequency on ivory boxes and other small luxury objects.[5] Without analyzing the pictorial scheme of these murals in more detail, it can be said that the integration of the narrative into a decorative system based on standards wholly different from those of a monumental narrative cycle does little to ensure the legibility of the sequence of scenes and perhaps even seriously prevents its comprehension. The space of a small loggia, conceived in a unified stage and offering simulated views onto a gardenlike natural setting—showing green hedges, trees bearing various fruits, and numerous birds—evidently contradicts the action's internal narrative logic. For that logic unfolds not only in a variety of different locations and diverse temporal sequences but also through a complicated interlocking of desired and undesired encounters and spatiotemporally diverse communicative situations. This contradiction is immediately noticeable in the scene in which the duchess, shown in

Figure 8.5. Detail of the Stanza della Castellana mural.

her crenellated tower, leans out to signal to her elected but resistant lover, the young knight seated on a horse (fig. 8.5). Or consider the scenario of the ducal bedchamber, in which the duchess refuses the sexual overtures of her husband the duke, in the hope that he will reveal to her the secrets of the Castellana and her knightly lover (fig. 8.6). In both examples (and there are others), the narrativistic logic of the scenes is not integrated into, or synchronized with, the narrow spatial structure and strictly repetitive sequence of the loggia.

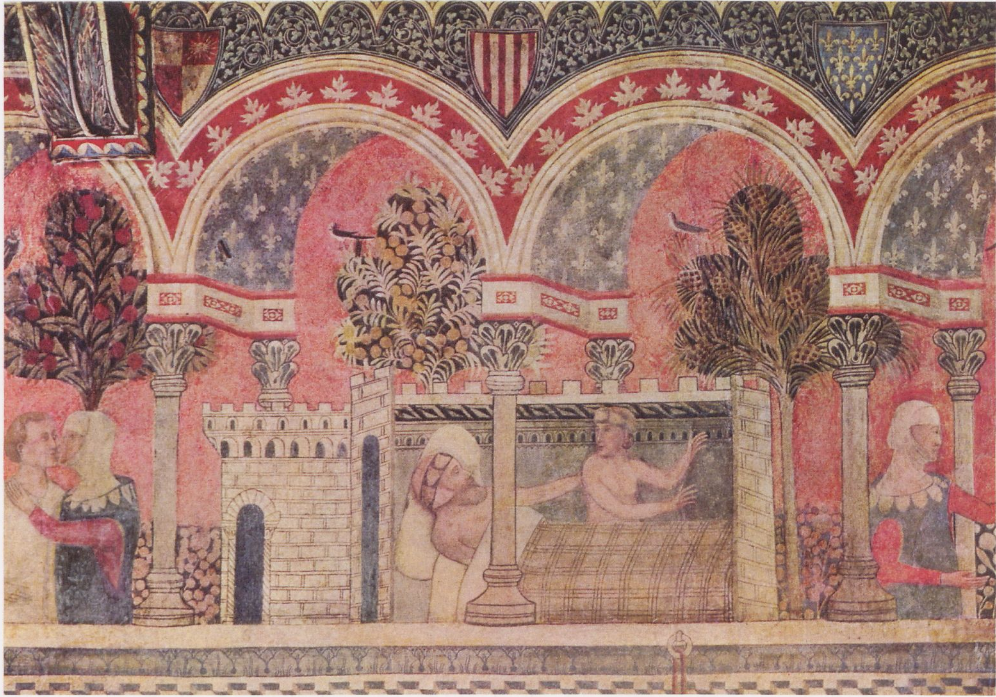

Figure 8.6. Detail of the Stanza della Castellana mural.

The decorative system of the room as a whole is traditional and, in this period, was widely disseminated. It coincides with decorative systems found among the standard repertoires of painters' workshops specializing in commissions to decorate the interiors of these private residences. Thus one may speak of a decorative system in which there is a limited and determinate range of standardized variables, all of which are common to fresco painting: for example, a painted and thus simulated patterned carpet set before a painted and thus simulated marble wall paneling, all of which covers the lower two-thirds of the walls, while the upper third is typically decorated with a simulated loggia decorated with coats of arms. This loggia was featured either as a columned arcade or as roofed with consoles projecting the illusion of a background natural setting of trees and exotic birds. Such stereotyped designs were produced in other rooms of the Palazzo Davanzati as well, for example, in the Stanza dei Papagalli, the Stanza dei

Figure 8.7. Sala Impannate, detail, Florence, Palazzo Davanzati.

Pavoni, and the Sala delle Impannate (fig. 8.7). Likewise we find similar designs in the Villa Tornabuoni-Lemmi to the north of Florence (Careggi; fig. 8.8) and in surviving remnants of the former decorations of the Casa dei Sassetti and the Casa dei Lamberti.[6] It is clear that adjusting the epic narrative cycle to suit a decorative schema already in place constituted a hybridization or, to be more precise, an importation of an element substantially alien to the decorative system that transformed its aesthetic logic.

In the Stanza della Castellana, the story of courtly love was apparently not adopted with the intention of providing a faithful visual or pictorial translation of a literary prototype, or with the intention of reconceptualization in a different media in order to provide the beholder with a moral narrative of internal psychological tension. Rather, what we see is an abstraction away from the narrative, away from its core intention of demonstrating ideal love produced through a conventional repertoire of references (to devotedness and fidelity, betrayal and deception, despair and penance, in fine: to virtue and love),

Figure 8.8. Interior decoration, Florence, Villa Tornabuoni-Lemmi di Careggi.

toward the creation of a metasystem of references produced by being incorporated into an already meaningful system of decorative signs. The significance of the representation does not lie in its transparent legibility but rather in its opacity. Nevertheless, this system of representation acquires cultural distinctiveness by becoming the product of its elite patrons' self-fashioning.

To make this argument clearer, let us consider the social significance of the aesthetic derived from this decorative system, which is widely used in communal residential buildings and might be described as an opaque medium of distinctiveness. These decorative programs were doubtless designed to evoke imaginary realms or ambiences of elegance and luxury. This was the point of showing gardens abundant with foliage and flowers, exotic animals and birds—a tranquil paradise detached from the hustle and bustle of everyday life, psychologically and physically removed from an urban environment. To create such imaginary realms within domestic interiors produced an obvious alterity to the dark and narrow streets outside; a spatial contrast to

the crammed feel of the city, with its absence of park and landscaped areas; and a temporal contrast to exploited and hurried lives. These pictorial settings, which so obviously expressed a yearning for escape, aimed at approximating the residential interiors with their existing parameters of cultural habits and elite self-conceptions found in the literary discourse of, for example, Boccaccio's *Decameron,* in which members of a wealthy urban society escape into a safe and unspoiled *locus amoenus* with its "lush greenery, singing birds and open skies in place of the depressing view of the blank walls of the town," and into the luxurious pleasures of commodious country houses "with their richly outfitted, spacious rooms and in particular with the embellishments of their cheerful paintings *(liete dipinture).*"[7]

At first view, therefore, the combination of these motifs and the whole pictorial setting found in the decorative schemes may be interpreted as attempts to transform or to metamorphose domestic interiors into refuges or imaginary realms offering refreshing and spacious access to the natural world. But, at the same time, this natural world was more than simply natural. It was encoded also with social habits and cultural signs. To the extent that the images mirrored more truthful forms of virtue and love, the natural world could be interpreted as establishing a horizon over which the proprietor's self-image was elevated and idealized. Implicit in this interpretation is the idea that the significance of the specific motivic references was not made explicit. Foregrounded in the decorations instead was cultural practice as determined by the social conventions embedded in the iconography. The meanings may be elucidated by referring to conventions of social behavior.

These schemas recapitulated visual models found in the collective imaginary and the self-conceptions of the society they served. Consider the artistic paradigm associated with the Florentine chancellor and humanist Brunetto Latini as early as 1260 in his widely known encyclopedia, *Li livres dou Trésor.* In this text Latini asserts that thus far the Italians had only known how to wage war against one another and accordingly preferred to erect plain towers and stone buildings, in contrast to the French who, enjoying themselves without warfare, noise, or commotion, preferred to award themselves imposing, spacious, and well-decorated residences.[8] Latini's model was both cultural and social: a model in which the interior decorative scheme con-

firmed both the proprietor's cultivated lifestyle and his desire for peaceful and prosperous circumstances.

In the Florentine Trecento, the painted decorative schemes found in private residential rooms served also as *opaque* media of cultural and social distinction. They manifested specific qualities and levels of style indicative of an owner's social standing and self-assertions whose significance went far beyond the surface of iconographic codes. No longer did social equals contend on the battlefield. Rather, they sought to surpass their opponents by advertising their prosperity and the distinctiveness of their cultural deportment. Put differently: contests between social actors were enacted through artistic means in the domain of symbolic communication. However, this claim must be qualified, given how much the decorative schemes, as I stressed earlier, were already highly standardized and executed by highly specialized painters of domestic interiors *(dipintori di camere)*. Down to the very last details of their artistic work, these painters tended to display all the trademarks of serial execution and division of labor prevailing in their workshops, procedures that were designed to optimize efficiency. Subject, that is to say, to conditions of production and of marketing, they were left with little freedom significantly to modify or vary the painted settings or to introduce distinctions of quality.

The stereotypical patterns of production tended to rule out, therefore, the introduction of motivically or thematically individualized iconographic programs. In his novellas that appeared roughly at the same time that the paintings originally contained in the Palazzo Davanzati or the Casa dei Teri were produced, the humanist man of letters, Franco Sacchetti, made repeated and ironic reference to this very state of affairs. He comments, for example, on how one Bartolo Gioggi, who specialized in private interior paintings, was commissioned to decorate a private residential chamber for his client Pino Brunelleschi with frescoes showing "numerous birds among the trees."[9] When Bartolo completed his work, however, Brunelleschi charged him with having painted far too few birds, to which Bartolo replied with this laconic remark: "It is true that I didn't paint very many. Unfortunately, one of your servants left the window open, and most of them escaped through it and flew away."[10] This anecdote shows the ironic reaction to contemporary demands for depictions of nature, depictions that were

increasingly drained of symbolic or narrative significance the more completely conventionalized or standardized they became. In these terms, the conventionalizations themselves came to determine the reference, function, and significance of the signs and representational motifs themselves. The birds—but implicitly also the trees, their foliage, fruit, and all other natural motifs—were, although carrying illusory significance, deprived of their potency. One might even say they were desubstantialized. Consequently, their continuing significance resided far less in their depictive reference and far more in the spectacular value qua representations. Such works cannot be evaluated solely according to their artistic quality but must be assessed according to the quantifiable or professional standards they maintained in this highly competitive setting of social relations. Regarded as both media of distinction and egalitarian media, determined according to economic criteria, the works become vivid mirrors of contemporary Florentine society. This said, however, one should not ignore how the dissemination of the symbol system and the greater accessibility to its signs led to an impoverishment of meaning overall.

This thesis, that the decorative programs are interpreted as opaque media of social and cultural distinction, can be further corroborated. An examination of the surviving interior decorations of Florentine private residences shows us that the numerous coats of arms embellishing the frescoes were often derived from freely invented heraldic figurations bearing no connection whatsoever to specific families or noble houses. Even where the individual emblems are more or less identifiable as self-representations of specific patrons and of their broader familial or sociopolitical networks, there was a simultaneous proliferation of nondeterminate and largely unverifiable references that seemed to connect the patron's family to noble houses or dynasties from the remotest provenances. In this way, these decorations produced imaginary elitist communities as projections of patrons promoting their own social and cultural status. The opaque symbol system testifies to layers of reference upon reference extending far beyond the only apparently transparent or concrete narrativized scenes.

Franco Sacchetti showed us the extent to which contemporaries were fully aware of this opacity. In his novellas he repeatedly ironized the arbitrary status of the heraldic emblems evidenced in the painted

coats of arms, and also the ways in which social distinctions were constructed with little consideration of the facts of family genealogy and far more by reference to financial influence and success: a construction that contributed, as we know, to the formation of a nouveau riche nobility. Sacchetti shows how the coats of arms were freely invented artistic inventions bearing little relation to any socially binding or legitimate substance. The Florentine painter Luchino, so Sacchetti tells, produced coats of arms and devices for his clients according only to their ability to pay, as though these were "the loveliest accidents in the world."[11] In another novel he recounts that when the celebrated painter Buffalmacco was commissioned to paint the coat of arms of Bishop Guido Tarlati of Arezzo in the bishop's private palazzo, he inverted the prescribed figuration that should have shown an eagle rending a lion and painted instead a lion tearing the eagle apart.[12] To renaturalize the conventionalized language of signs in this ironic way subtly points to the loss that had befallen the domain of symbolic communication and its significations, which were once authentic and binding.

This loss testified to broader political, economic, and social upheavals. It is well known that the transformation of the Florentine community into a republic of the guilds ushered in a far-reaching disempowerment of the nobility and the magnates holding large estates by dramatically curtailing their political and legal claims.[13] In the formation of a new collective identity, the bourgeoisie and *popolo* who rose now to political power and assumed legal authority sought to disempower and quite radically to displace in the public sphere the former modes of self-fashioning favored by the nobility: for example, by the strict interdiction of painted coats of arms or even of portraits of officials on governmental or administrative buildings. In the private sphere, however, the new rulers oriented themselves to the very modes they disapproved of so vigorously in public. There was a marked transition, therefore, from representative staging in the *public* and now depersonalized realm to representative self-staging in the *private* domestic realm. The former implicitly critiqued the values associated with the latter: the noble way of life, the aristocratic self-understanding, the projections of elite community. This appropriation of symbolic codes in the establishment of the new bourgeoisie was inevitably contradictory and led to further draining of meaning from the codes.

The contradiction may be seen in both private and public pictorial programs found in the communal context. The Cerchi family, for example, many of whose members became active in the Republican government, commissioned a set of frescoes (now almost entirely destroyed) to be painted in the second upper story of their palazzo, erected during the later thirteenth century in immediate proximity to the seat of government at the Palazzo dei Priori.[14] The frescoes show courtly hunting scenes (fig. 8.9) and a splendid jousting tournament (fig. 8.10). The horses of the well-attired knights are equally well clothed with elaborate banners and textiles, showing coats of arms whose heraldry identifies them as representatives of the French and English royal houses. If the account of Enrica Neri Lusanna is correct (the first account of this recently discovered fresco cycle)—according to which representatives of other great families or ruling houses figure in the decorative scheme alongside the two knights—then it is clear that the Cerchi family's motivation for including them may be read as this family's imaginary self-positioning of themselves on the stage of international relations.[15] If we remember that the social and political influence of the Cerchi was falling at just this time (ca. 1320–30), their frescoes may be read as testifying to the displaced or compensatory character of their claims to power.

In other contexts of comparable subject matter, it is possible to clearly identify the instrumental and compensatory core of topically determined references inherent in the pictorial schemes, undercutting and even contradicting interpretations of these images that find in them visually concretized poetry, courtly modes of deportment, chivalrous ideals, or tales of courtly love. Consider another example, from the celebrated fresco program of the Camposanto in Pisa, dating from circa 1335.[16] Appearing in the monumental mural showing the *Trionfo della morte,* and surrounded by scenes manifesting the horrors of death, a company of young nobles is shown, amid shrubs and orange trees, seated on a colorful, checkered bench amply decorated by references to courtly values (fig. 8.11). This particular pictorial segment, with its green arbor and its intimate group of young people playing music and engaging in amorous intrigues, creates the impression of a genuine citation, displaying in condensed form topical visions of courtly love, falconry, musical amusements, and aristocratic idleness

Figure 8.9. Hunting scene, Florence, Palazzo dei Cerchi, first half of the 14th century.

Figure 8.10. Tournament scene, Florence, Palazzo dei Cerchi, first half of the 14th century.

on the part of ladies of wealth, sitting with their lap dogs, and so on. It is well known that especially in the realm of handcrafted objects—whether jewelry boxes, ivory caskets, or mirror cases (as we have seen already in the case of the *Castellana di Vergiu*)—such images of the theme Garden of Love were widely disseminated as representing gardens of paradise, places of carefree joy, and are thus generally considered to be emblematic of chivalric and noble virtues.[17] The images assumed fixed topoi both in courtly love poetry and in allegorical literature. In the Camposanto, the formal structure of the image evidences a citation of just such a topos through its frieze style and nearly isocephalic arrangement of the figures on the surface of the picture plane. The motif is not developed as an argument; it is not thematically individualized, nor is it notably specific regarding its content. It is, instead, semantically inverted in relation to the composition as a whole, so as to become a negative image of the "vita oziosa," of a life dedicated to love and consecrated to death. As such, it contradicts the larger panoramic image of the Thebaid, painted next to the *Trionfo della morte,* an image that confronts the viewer with the monastic and hermetic life of the early desert monks as an ideal paradigm of a Christian and pious paradise lived out here on earth (fig. 8.12). In a manner consistent with the pictorial program in Pisa, this topos reappears later in Florence in the complex decorative program of the chapter room of S. Maria Novella (ca. 1365). Here, too, one sees the Garden of Love with its music-making nobility showing a time and place either prior to or beyond paradise and from which no direct path is offered that would lead to the gate of heaven guarded by Saint Peter (fig. 8.13).

I could mention many other examples, say, the well-known *camera* in the tower building of the Palazzo Communale in San Gimignano, which might have been among the semiprivate spaces of the *Podestà* (fig. 8.14).[18] Most interpretations of these murals are shrouded by aporias and uncertainties. Alongside the story of Aristotle and Phyllis and that of the Prodigal Son, the scenes include an unidentified narrative involving the dangers faced by a young man who (not unlike the Prodigal Son), so tempted by love, forgets the tasks assigned to him. As Jean Campbell has stressed, in the apparently intimate imagery there is no direct or personal connection to the Podestà, whose office rotated at

Figure 8.11. Buffalmacco, Triumph of Death, detail, Pisa, Camposanto, ca. 1335.

Figure 8.12. Buffalmacco, Thebaid, detail, Pisa, Camposanto, ca. 1335.

Figure 8.13. Andrea di Bonaiuto, Via Veritatis, detail, Florence, S. Maria Novella, Spanish Chapel, ca. 1365.

Figure 8.14. Memmo di Filippuccio (attr.), Aristotle and Phyllis, San Gimignano, Palazzo Communale, ca. 1305–15.

six-month intervals. It is conceivable that the rather banal representation of the *curialitas,* suggesting a more moderate or circumspect approach to love, was intended, as Campbell writes, to show a generalized "code of civilized behavior, rather than anything specifically chivalric or courteous."[19] If this is correct, then the imagery is consistent with the distinctive institutionalized topoi relating to the deportment and maxims of conduct in the rhetorical texts and educational writings of Brunetto Latini and others. Both ethically and socially, the historical context was thus conditioned by a social contradiction: while the Podestà and the dominant classes of the commune pursued their politic

stratagems in direct opposition to the nobility's specific cultural practices, they appropriated the nobility's images and ideals of chivalrous love and virtue for the sake of their own self-fashioning. As I argued above, these appropriative practices gave the images second-order meanings or new levels of reference liberated from older meanings while simultaneously untethering those images from the substantial or authoritative meanings they once had.

None of the clients who commissioned such pictorial programs, and certainly not the Podestà of San Gimignano, would therefore have thought to interpret the story of the young Tristan (kidnapped by Norwegian merchants while preoccupied by a game of chess) in terms of maxims of noble comportment, even if, and this has been my point all along, what we *seem* to be shown is a knight or nobleman, setting out on a hunt, only to become emotionally entangled on the way with an enticing young maiden.

Notes

This article is based on a conference paper. Only the most indispensable references have therefore been inserted in the notes. The manuscript was completed in 2007; subsequent publications on the subject have not been considered.

1. Attilio Schiaparelli, *La casa fiorentina e i suoi arredi nei secoli XIV e XV,* ed. Maria Sframeli and Laura Pagnaotta (Firenze, 1908; reprint, Firenze: Le Lettere, 1983), 157–59; Maria Sframeli, *Il centro di Firenze restituito: Affreschi e frammenti lapidei nel Museo di San Marco* (Firenze: Bruschi, 1989), 164, cat. 10 (with citations of the literature).

2. See Sframelli, *Centro di Firenze restituito,* 164, cat. 10.

3. Maribel Königer, "Die profanen Fresken des Palazzo Davanzati in Florenz: Private Repräsentation zur Zeit der internationalen Gotik," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 34 (1990): 245–78.

4. Ibid., 249–51.

5. Walter Bombe, "Die Versnovelle der Kastellanin von Vergi in Elfenbein-Schnitzereien des Florentiner Museo Nazionale," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 7.2 (1914): 61–66; Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann, "La Châtelaine de Vergi auf Pariser Elfenbein-Kästchen des 14. Jahrhunderts: Zum Problem der Interpretation literarischer Texte anhand von Bildzeugnissen," *Romanisches Jahrbuch* 27 (1976): 52–76.

6. See Monika Dachs, "Zur ornamentalen Freskendekoration des Florentiner Wohnhauses im späten 14 Jahrhundert," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 37 (1993): 71–129, passim.

7. Giovanni Boccaccio, *Il Decamerone,* ed. Vittore Branca (Milano: A. Mondadori, 1985), 20: "s'odono gli uccelletti cantare, veggionvisi verdeggiare i colli e le pianure . . . il cielo più apertemente . . . le quali molto più belle sono a riguardare che le mura vòte della nostra città." *Decamerone,* 23: "e con logge e con sale e con camere, tutte ciascuna verso di sé bellissima e di liete dipinture ragguardevole ed ornata." The translations in the text are my own.

8. Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou Trésor,* ed. Spurgeon Baldwin and Paul Barrette (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2003), I, 129: "de fere tor & autres maisons de pierres"; "font maisons grant & pleinieres & peint"; and "por avoir joie & delit sans guerre & sans noise."

9. Franco Sacchetti, *Il Trecentonovelle,* ed. Valerio Marucci (Roma: Salerno, 1996), 568 (Novella CLXX): "che tra gli alberi di sopra dipignessi molti uccelli."

10. Ibid.: "Messere, io ce ne dipinsi molti piú; ma questa vostra famiglia ha tenute le finestre aperte, onde se ne sono usciti e volati fuori maggior parte."

11. Ibid., 474 (Novella CL): "la più bella ventura del mondo."

12. Ibid., 533–38 (Novella CLXI).

13. Marvin Becker, *Florence in Transition,* 2 vols. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967–68); Gene Adam Brucker, *The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977).

14. Brenda Preyer, "Two Cerchi Palaces in Florence," *Villa I Tatti* (1985): 613–30; Enrica Neri Lusanna, "Interni Fiorentini e pittura profana tra Duecento e Trecento: Cacce e giostre a palazzo dei Cerchi," *Opere e giorni: Studi su mille anni di arte europea,* ed. Klaus Bergdolt and Giorgio Bonsanti (Venezia: Marsilio, 2001), 123–30.

15. For the account of this fresco cycle, see Neri Lusanna, "Interni Fiorentini e pittura profana."

16. Friederike Wille, *Die Todesallegorie im Camposanto in Pisa: Genese und Rezeption eines berühmten Bildes* (München: Allitera, 2002).

17. Paul F. Watson, *The Garden of Love in Tuscan Art of the Early Renaissance* (Philadelphia: Art Alliance Press, 1979).

18. C. Jean Campbell, *The Game of Courting and the Art of the Commune of San Gimignano, 1290–1320* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), esp. 107–90.

19. Ibid., 112.