

The Piccolomini library in Siena cathedral: a new reading with particular reference to two compartments of the vault decoration

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Abstract

The murals of the Piccolomini Library in Siena Cathedral, featuring episodes from the life of Pope Pius II, are usually discussed as distinctly separate from the vault imagery, predominantly *all'antica* and mythological scenes. The latter, combined with the centrally-placed, antique statue of *The Three Graces*, has led some authors to comment on the library's overtly 'pagan' content as shockingly incongruent with its setting in the sacred precincts of the *duomo*. Little attention is paid to the significance of the stucco relief above the entrance, *The Expulsion from Paradise*. The article proposes that such a prestigious project for so powerful and erudite a patron as Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, and painted by the highly acclaimed artist Pinturicchio, is unlikely to have been devised without careful attention to its iconographical programme. Focussing primarily on the two largest compartments of the vault, it is demonstrated that the four principal figures there should be interpreted as representatives of the four temperaments. By defining their relationship as such to the *Expulsion from Paradise* relief and to the historical narratives on the walls, this article shows that the mythological scenes in the vault play an allegorical role within the broader scheme and that a coherent programme underpins the entire decoration, with the writings of Saint Augustine and of his fifteenth century followers at its core.

The Piccolomini Library in the cathedral of Siena (Figure 1) is famous for its epic series of historical, narrative murals commemorating the life of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II), elected pontiff in 1458. The painted decoration of the library, commissioned by a nephew of Pius II, Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, from Bernardino di Betto, known as Pinturicchio, was executed by this artist and his workshop between 1502 and 1508 (1). The vault of the library (Figure 2) features at its centre the Piccolomini coat of arms, a blue cross bearing five crescent moons on a white background, set in a sculpted, festive garland (2), which is surrounded in turn by a busy agglomeration of rectangular fields of varying dimensions, inspired by the *volta dorata* of Nero's *domus aurea* for compositional form (3), and by classical relief sculpture for the iconography of the individual compartments. The *all'antica* and mythological scenes and personifications which occupy the pictorial fields of the vault have been identified without dramatic divergences of opinion. The issue has not been satisfactorily resolved, however, of the thematic relationships between the overwhelmingly mythological content of the vault and the hagiographical nature of the murals. The problem is stated simply by Donatella Toracca:

Efforts to establish a link between the mythological subjects [in the vault] ... and the commemorative nature of the library cannot be established with certainty (4).

The problem of an apparent lack of programmatic coherence between wall and vault imagery is exacerbated by the presence of a stucco relief of *The Expulsion from Paradise* above the doorway (Figures 1 and 3) (5), crowned with an inscription: 'I have offended God and posterity. To both I am in debt though neither are to me' (Figure 4) (6). The sculpture's ostensibly anomalous inclusion into the decorative scheme is noted by Steffi Roettgen, as she points out that 'the significance of the stucco relief of Adam and Eve being driven out of Paradise' has not been 'fully investigated' (7). Toracca and Roettgen thus highlight the absence of obvious conceptual relationships between these elements. Indeed, Roettgen is indecisive as to the existence of an underlying programme:

It has yet to be determined whether the figures and scenes incorporated into the picture compartments of the library vaulting represent some specific iconographic concept or are simply arbitrary borrowings from classical models ... (8).

The artist, Pinturicchio, was a leading practitioner in the *all'antica* manner and often quoted from classical precedent, however the nature of this commission argues very strongly against it being constituted simply of 'arbitrary borrowings'. Firstly, Cardinal Francesco was an intellectual, a leading humanist scholar and host to one of Rome's informal academies (9); secondly, the decoration of the Piccolomini Library was the landmark culmination of his patronage, the project carefully planned and executed at great expense (10); thirdly, the artist chosen was the papal favourite and the most sought-after in Rome of his day (11). It is implausible therefore that the pictorial and sculptural ensemble was contrived without meticulous forethought and advice.

Gyde Shepherd's interpretation of the Piccolomini Library downplays any misalignment between the various elements of the decorative scheme. He is satisfied, because of its derivation from antique sarcophagus iconography, that the vault imagery is straightforwardly 'sepulchral': it 'alludes to the death of Pius' and is to be understood as 'a pictorial apotheosis of Aeneas, Pope Pius II' (12). The *Expulsion* relief, Shepherd proposes, was incorporated as a 'Christian response' to diffuse the aura of paganism in the library. It serves, he suggests, as 'an acknowledgement of the library's location in the cathedral precinct' and 'functions as a modest but biblical antidote to the insistent and vain representation of Piccolomini papal and cardinalate arms in the decoration' (13). This interpretation belies a perceived incongruity between the expected level of devoutness proper to a member of the Sacred College of Cardinals, and the seemingly non-religious nature of much of the library decoration. Shepherd thus implies that the inclusion of the *Expulsion* relief was motivated by a prick of conscience on the part of Cardinal Francesco, or as a pre-emptive strike against potential criticism. The question arises whether Cardinal Francesco might have realistically expected to diffuse criticism by such a token of theological doctrine and, indeed, whether its presence as merely a Christian gesture is compatible with reports of the cardinal's well-regulated life of study and prayer (14). Shepherd's suggested rationale for the presence in the scheme of the *Expulsion* is symptomatic of the failure to recognise a theological programme and to read the vault compartments in allegorical terms.

The immediate problem posed here, in short, is the apparent thematic disjunction between the classicising imagery of the vault, the *Expulsion from Paradise* relief and the narrative *istorie* on the walls. It is argued that a coherent programme underpins the entire library decoration, the scope of which is encyclopaedic, in terms both of historical span and ontology, though its ultimate aim is dynastic propaganda. This article seeks to exemplify the coherence of the programme with particular reference to the two largest compartments in the vault, *Diana and Endymion* (Figure 5) and *The Rape of Proserpine* (Figure 6). A novel identification is made of the four principal characters in these two compartments - Diana, Endymion, Proserpine and Pluto - as allusions to the four temperaments of the sanguine, the melancholic, the phlegmatic and the choleric. It is proposed that the imagery in the library vault, these two compartments included, allegorises the determining factors for human existence, that the *Expulsion* relief marks the beginning of temporality and terrestrial experience, and that the murals manifest the ramifications of Original Sin for human history. Within this historical and moral framework is illustrated the virtuous life, by Divine Grace, of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (15). Beginning with a discussion of the four temperaments theory and iconography in relation to the *Diana and Endymion* and *The Rape of Proserpine* images, and followed by an interpretation of the *Expulsion* relief and select mural episodes from the life of Pius II, it will be demonstrated that, when understood in the light of Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini's intellectual and spiritual constitution, the library decoration is far from arbitrary or pagan, but has a carefully orchestrated programme with Augustinian theology at its core.

The method employed in apprehending a programme is through an iconological study combined with an investigation into the specific nature of the interests and beliefs of the patron. For this purpose, the most useful resource is the extant remainder of Cardinal Francesco's once rich collection of manuscripts. Both Pius II and his nephew were avid bibliophiles, seeking out, borrowing and having copied texts for their own collections (16). Heir to many of his uncle's manuscripts and an astute collector in his own right, Cardinal Francesco was also the dedicatee of numerous contemporary humanistic treatises. Shortly before his death in 1503, Francesco despatched many of his codices to Siena to be retained in the Piccolomini Library. Of these, a large proportion were purchased *en bloc* by Fabio Chigi in the seventeenth century and are now preserved in the Chigi foundation of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (17). The content of these manuscripts, and others proven to have belonged to Cardinal Francesco, provides a key to unlocking aspects of his knowledge, interests and beliefs, and thus a key to the programmatic content of the library decoration.

One characteristic of the vault decoration is the recurrence of at least two sets of quadruplets, which fact forms a starting point for the present interpretation. Identification has long been made (Figure 2) of the four *putti* on either side of the central coat of arms as personifications of the seasons. Another foursome appears, positioned in pairs at either end of the vault: these are personifications of four virtues, three of which are safely and unanimously identified as *Wisdom* (Figure 2, top left), *Charity* (bottom left) and *Peace* (bottom right): the fourth (top right) is subject to varying interpretation (18). In numerological symbolism, the number four has had a long-established and particular significance since the time of Pythagoras. He proposed that the tetrad was the all-inclusive principle of the cosmos and that its pattern pertains throughout the whole of creation. Passed down by the Neo-Pythagoreans, this notion of the cosmos was also repeated in the works of Plato,

Aristotle, Plutarch, Ovid and Lucian (19). It is reflected also in Saint Augustine's numerology, in which four is the number of the created universe in time, presented as teleological proof of divine order, evidenced through the four parts of the earth, the four winds, the four times of day, the four seasons and the four elements (20).

The tetradic tradition began with Pythagoras's identification of four basic conditions: hot, cold, moist and dry. Ranged between these were the four elements of fire, air, earth and water. The elements were thus considered to consist of the following mixture of qualities: fire a hot-and-dry quality; air a hot-and-moist quality; earth a cold-and-dry quality and water a cold-and-moist quality. In physiological and medical discourse, the body was understood to be constituted of four humours, an imbalance between which caused illness (21). The same humours were thought to determine a person's psychological temperament: the prevalence of the humour of blood led to the sanguine temperament; black bile to the melancholic; phlegm to the phlegmatic and yellow bile to the choleric. These tetrads were conceived to be locked into a system of equivalence, whereby each condition, each element, each season and each temperament were considered to be directly related (22).

This system of equivalence is encapsulated diagrammatically in the first printed edition (Augsburg, 1472) of Isidore of Seville's *De natura rerum* (Figure 7) (23). In the diagram, a simplified illustration of the natural sciences, the outer ring of the *mundus* shows the four elements of *ignis, aer, aqua* and *terra*, each flanked by its associated conditions, as above. In the adjacent, smaller ring are shown the four seasons of the *annus*. Innermost appear the four temperaments of *homo*. All are integrated into a harmonious unit, epitomising the Renaissance world-view. Similarly, the frontispiece of the 1502 Nuremberg edition of Conrad Celtis' *Quattuor libri amorum*, a long Latin poem based on the tetrads, is inscribed in each of the four corners with the name of an element, its corresponding temperament and one of the four seasonal winds (Figure 8) (24). Clearly tetradic theory was known and understood in Renaissance culture.

In the Piccolomini library vault (Figure 2), sandwiched between the two pairs of seasonal *putti* and the two pairs of virtues, appear the two large classicising scenes of *Diana and Endymion* and *The Rape of Proserpine*, with their four principal figures of Diana, Endymion, Proserpine and Pluto. It is proposed below, with reference to established iconography, that these figures allude, alongside their mythological significance, to the tetrad of the four temperaments.

Codices in Cardinal Francesco's possession confirm the widespread credence given to the tetradic theory, as evidenced by the following examples. Ambrogio Massari, master general of the Augustinian Order from 1477 until 1484, had presented to Francesco in 1460 his treatise *De animarum dignitate*, which the cardinal despatched to Siena for retention in the Piccolomini library (25). Making wide-ranging references to patristic and philosophical literature, Massari cites in his discussion of the nature of the soul Empedocles' theory that the soul is constituted of the principles of the four elements (26). Marsilio Ficino's *In convivium Platonis de amore*, composed in 1469 and dedicated to Francesco Piccolomini, the manuscript of which also arrived in Siena, includes reference to the four elements (27), the four humours (28), and the four temperaments (29). The family's interest in medicine and natural philosophy is indicated by a manuscript, *Opusculum de medicina ac legali scientia*,

by an anonymous author, which was donated to the Piccolomini Library in Siena by Andrea, Francesco's brother (30). It is clear that the theory of the tetrads was a commonplace in the cultural consciousness of the Renaissance and familiar to Cardinal Francesco and his circle not least through textual sources in his manuscript collection.

What also emerges from Francesco Piccolomini's codices is the fact that physiology and theology were conceived of as a continuum, without disciplinary boundaries, since humoral theory was utilised to support dogmatic debate. A section of Pius II's autobiographical work *I Commentarii*, entitled separately *De contentione Diuine Sanguinis inter Predicatores et Minores*, describes his part and position in the ongoing controversy of the holy blood of Christ (31). This tract, which was despatched along with the other manuscripts for retention in the Piccolomini Library, shows that Pius subscribed to the theory of the four elements and the four humours and their equivalence. Having already cited Aristotle, Saint Augustine and Saint Bonaventure, Pius continues:

Aquinas favours this opinion in the fourth book of his *Sententiae* when he states that man is a microcosm, in other words a small world resembling the larger world, and that the humours are constituted in the human body in the same way that the elements are in the world at large: they are mixed together and are considered to be parts of a whole. Indeed in our bodies cholera corresponds to fire, blood to air, phlegm to water, melancholy to earth (32).

Another treatise on the same subject was dedicated to Francesco Piccolomini, the *Quaestio de sudore sanguinis Christi*, written by the Siennese-born doctor and professor of morals at Pisa, Oliviero Arduino Michaelis. Here also contemporary physiological discourse and theological doctrine are interwoven without fear of incongruity (33). The point being reiterated here, as made elsewhere by Saxl and Kristeller, is that in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries natural philosophy and theology shared the same system of knowledge (34). Although not previously noted, the appearance of four temperaments iconography within the framework of the Piccolomini Library programme is unexceptional, given the broad acceptance of humoral theory in theological and physiological discourse.

The iconography of the temperaments is rooted in medieval and early Renaissance types, which occur frequently in series in technical treatises on medicine, manuscript illumination, calendars and fresco decoration. It is clear from the detailed study of *Saturn and Melancholy* by Klibansky, Panofsky and Saxl that textual and visual sources for the four temperaments were decidedly more common in ultramontane regions than in Italy (35). In stating that, 'In fifteenth century Italy ... portraits of the four temperaments were practically unknown' (36), these authors appear to have been unaware that personifications of the temperaments appear in the extensive fourteenth century fresco cycle in the chapterhouse of Santa Maria Novella in Florence (37). Whether Cardinal Francesco had seen this particular mural is a moot point, however his exposure to the iconography of the four temperaments is assured by way of his protracted sojourns in Germany and Austria and his lifelong friendships and correspondence with humanists and clerics from the north (38).

For the purposes of demonstrating this iconographic tradition and its relationship with the two images in the Piccolomini library vault, reference will be made to three other sets of personifications of the four temperaments. Traditionally they may appear as single figures, sometimes on horseback, sometimes standing, as for example in Paris manuscript BN fr.19994 (Figures 9 and 10). In other instances they are shown in narrative form as a relationship between a man and a woman, as exemplified in an Augsburg calendar of 1480 (Figure 11). The complicated iconography of the four temperaments was not systematically codified into all-encapsulating, single-figure personifications until the publication of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* in the late sixteenth century, referred to here in the Giuseppe Cesari edition of 1630 (Figure 12). In all of these examples, each temperament is pictorially associated with its related element.

The figure of the sleeping Endymion (39) in the Piccolomini Library vault (Figure 5) leans on his right side against a grassy mound, his head resting on a supporting right hand, propped up by his fore-arm against a rocky outcrop. This attitude is in stark contrast to that of Endymion in antique relief sculpture, which served as compositional precedent for many of the library vault compartments. An Endymion relief visible in Rome during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (Figure 13) typically shows, centre left, the muscular physique of the shepherd, semi-draped and fully reclining, with his upper torso twisted to face the viewer, and an arm thrown backwards in sleepy abandon, framing his backward-tilted head (40). The deviation from classical precedent in Endymion's pose in the frescoed image is clear. It is proposed that this deviation is significant; that the adopted pose of the Piccolomini Endymion was intended to signify the melancholic temperament.

As observed by Panofsky, when the fifteenth century artist sought a single-figure model to personify a temperament within a narrative image, he often turned to the traditional types of the Vices (41). The *Acedia*-type (Sloth), by virtue of his/her lack of physical activity, was assimilable as the melancholic temperament (42). The Piccolomini Library Endymion (Figure 5), the somnolent shepherd leaving his animals unwatched, conforms to the *Acedia*-type: he is to be compared, for example, with the drowsing husband in the Augsburg calendar (Figure 11, bottom right), whilst, moreover, his position seated directly on the ground denotes the equivalence of the melancholic temperament with the element earth. The placement of one foot raised higher than the other came to denote, in later iconography, the melancholic's association with that element, see for example Ripa's *Iconologia* (Figure 12, bottom right).

The author of the *Teutscher Kalender* (Augsburg 1495) writes of the melancholic temperament as follows:

He resembles the earth, for the earth is cold and dry; and his signs are the Bull, the Ram and the Virgin ... it should be observed that the melancholic is lazy and of slow movement, for he is of a cold nature ... (43).

It may or may not be coincidental that our painted Endymion is accompanied in the library vault image by a chaste goddess, a bull and a ram (sitting amongst the sheep). The inclusion of the bovine creature was in any case clearly intentional (44). Its appearance may also be connected with a belief that, due to the prevailing elemental conditions at the time of its creation, the ox was a melancholic animal (45).

The besotted Diana (Figure 5) (46) alludes in the library vault to the sanguine temperament, which is traditionally associated with a certain weakness for love, as exemplified in the Augsburg calendar (Figure 11, top left). The blood, moist and warm, was co-essential according to the tetradic theory, with air and with springtime (47). In the Siena depiction, the flying Cupid and the Hora carrying her basket of flowers, common also to Diana and Endymion sarcophagus reliefs, may additionally here reflect these equivalences – Cupid signifying air through flight, and the Hora springtime (48). The sanguine temperament is frequently shown in trecento and quattrocento personifications as a falconer ready to partake in the chase, a metaphor for courtship and a reference to the element of air. This is seen for example in the Paris codex (Figure 9, left). The choice of Diana the huntress to represent this temperament would thus be congruous with established iconographic association with the chase.

The crowning action of the air-borne Cupid in the library image, not deriving in this detail from classical Diana and Endymion precedent, echoes the action in the third of the frescoed *istorie* on the walls below, where Pius II is crowned with laurel by Emperor Frederick III (Figure 14) (49). In the vault compartment, the crown is a token of Diana's love, generosity of heart being characteristic of the sanguine temperament, and the crowning motif a standard feature in medieval and Renaissance depictions of courtship ritual. The laurel wreath in the mural image and that in the vault have a shared meaning, since laurel was associated, through the myth of Apollo and Daphne, with both poetry and its perennial theme of unrequited love (50).

The preponderance of phlegm was understood to account for the phlegmatic temperament, which iconographic research has shown to be represented in diverse ways, as confirmed by Panofsky (51). The equivalences of the humour of phlegm were considered to be a cold-wet quality, the season of winter, the darkness of night and an association with the moon (52). All of these are compatible with a reading of Proserpine (Figure 6) as representative of this temperament. The lunar symbolism of Proserpine is in any case consistent with the library conceptual programme (53). The association with water is indicated by the *all'antica* dolphin decorating the chariot directly beneath her. Her cascading hair, rippling garment and blue sleeves may be conscious devices to underscore this connection. Although Proserpine is traditionally and straightforwardly associated with spring, specifically its annual return, an association with winter and darkness is appropriate in the context of her abduction to the underworld by Pluto and the consequent sombre months that followed, according to the mythological account (54).

The iconography of the phlegmatic temperament was formulated to communicate a characteristic air of coolness and imperturbability. However, under the circumstances depicted in the vault painting, Proserpine's demeanour is far from calm. The gesture which links her nonetheless with the iconography of the phlegmatic temperament is the placing of her left hand in the region of her abdomen, a recurrent motif, seen for example in the Paris manuscript, folio 13r (Figure 10, left), as well as in Ripa's *Iconologia* (Figure 12, bottom left). The placing, in the vault image (Figure 6), of Proserpine's left hand in this position looks awkward and implausible in the context of the struggle against Pluto. It is also inconsistent with antique precedent: her left arm is usually trailing limply along the ground or thrust backwards, as seen on

Cardinal Francesco's own antique sarcophagus relief, kept amongst his sculpture collection in Rome (Figure 15) (55). This conscious re-arrangement of Proserpine's physical disposition in the painting to accommodate this symbolic posture is explained by the artist's intention to make reference to the phlegmatic temperament.

There is no ambiguity whatever in the traditional iconography of the choleric temperament. Yellow bile, co-essential with fire, heat and dryness, summer, mid-day and manly maturity, was considered to lead to a fiery temper (56). Depictions of the choleric temperament are normally unmistakable: those featuring two figures commonly show a man angrily striking and kicking a woman, exemplified, typically, in the Augsburg calendar (Figure 11, top right). Where only one figure serves, he is denoted by the unsheathing of a sword or dagger or the wielding of some kind of weapon, as seen for example in the Paris manuscript (Figure 9, right) and Ripa's *Iconologia* (Figure 12, top right). In the Piccolomini Library vault, Pluto carries off by force the struggling Proserpine, in close accord with both the mythological account and sculptural *Rape of Proserpine* iconography. There is no scope here for Pluto to display a choleric temperament by the established means of wielding a weapon – his hands are full! The entirely anomalous appearance of the shouting youth brandishing a club (visible at the left of Figure 6), rarely questioned in literature to date, now becomes explicable. This anachronistic, preposterously un-classical-looking, gesticulating boy has been inserted by the artist to ensure recognition of the choleric temperament. A comparison between this angry youth in the library vault image and the typical choleric male in the Augsburg calendar woodcut (Figure 11, top right) reinforces this reading.

The argument that the four temperaments are alluded to in these four figures requires explanation of their significance within the whole library scheme. It is proposed that the figures of Diana, Endymion, Pluto and Proserpine are iconographically linked to the four temperaments in order to provide a visual exposition in the vault of the factors determining man's moral conduct, which is a fundamental theme in the narrative *istorie* on the walls below. Their signification can be established further. There existed a medieval tradition which allocated a relative, hierarchical value to each temperament (57). In the temperaments as alluded to in the Piccolomini Library programme, all four are, conversely, to be considered of equal worth. This conclusion is drawn with reference to the writings of the metaphysician and close friend of Pius II, Cardinal Nicolas Cusanus, and, more specifically, to a text written by Pius himself, which was despatched by Francesco for retention in the library.

Pius II and his nephew were close friends of Cardinal Cusanus until his death in 1464: thereafter Francesco Piccolomini continued to regard the German theologian as an authority (58). In his most important work, *De docta ignorantia*, Cusa specifically refuted the hierarchical interpretation of the elements of fire, earth, air and water. According to his cosmology, differences in all the various bodies of earthly existence are accounted for in terms of the different proportion in the mixture of the basic elements but all substances are of equal value. In accordance with his theory of microcosm and macrocosm, any difference in value is eliminated since all earthly phenomena reflect fully and equally the divine essence (59).

As a member of the Piccolomini circle, it is not surprising to find Cusa's view reflected in Pius's own writings. In the *De contentione Diuini Sanguinis inter*

Predicadores et Minores quoted earlier, Pius II, having already referenced Thomas Aquinas's theory of microcosm and macrocosm, continues to explain that, whilst the elements can be mixed in various ratios on a small scale to constitute various earthly substances and conditions, when combined together they reflect the perfection of the whole universe. Similarly, lesser perfection in the different members and organs of the human body caused by the mix of humours in those members, becomes a perfect balance in the body as a whole (60). In including reference to the four temperaments in the library vault, the intention is not to condone or condemn one or another of them, but to provide a pragmatic visual exposition of man's condition.

The allusion to the temperaments exemplifies the role of the vault decoration in setting forth the pre-conditions for temporal, terrestrial, human experience (61). It remains to examine the relationship of the theory of the temperaments to the stucco relief of *The Expulsion from Paradise* and to the historical murals commemorating Pope Pius II's life.

During the twelfth century the theory of the four humours became assimilated into the Christian doctrine of the Fall from Grace, to account not only for illness and temperament but also to explain human propensity to vice (62). It was believed that before Adam had tasted the forbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge (63), he was immortal and sinless because he was constituted of only one fluid, namely blood. This was contaminated by the other three humours - black bile, yellow bile and phlegm - as a result of biting the apple. The equilibrium of his constitution was thus destabilised. Thereafter the temperament of each human individual was determined by a preponderance of any one of the four humours, the prevalence of which resulted in an inclination towards certain vices. The melancholic, for example, was considered prone to deceit, the sanguine to debauchery, the choleric to belligerence and the phlegmatic to laziness (64). The doctrine of the four humours thus explained in physiological terms why freedom from sin, along with immortality, was forfeited upon the Fall from Grace with the Original Sin of Adam and Eve.

In the theology of Saint Augustine, once the first sin had been committed, spotless virtue was no longer a possibility for humanity. Due to the universality of Original Sin, humanity, in his eyes, is shown to be a mass of the damned (*massa damnata*) which has turned away from God and towards the rule of self (65). According to his traducionist account, all souls are propagated from Adam's post-lapsarian soul, thus linking each soul to all previous ones in a kind of genealogical chain:

Therefore the whole human race was in the first man, and it was to pass from him through the woman into his progeny, when the married pair had received the divine sentence of condemnation. And it was not man as first made, but what man became after his sin and punishment, that was thus begotten, as far as concerns the origin of sin and death (66).

Augustine makes clear, firstly, that Adam's committal of sin was not due to a creational defect but to a wilful act of disobedience, secondly, that the Original Sin would plague human history from beginning to end, and thirdly, that at the Final Judgment only a select few of the *massa damnata* may be saved:

Hence from the misuse of free will there started a chain of disasters: mankind is led from the original perversion, a kind of corruption at the root, right up to the disaster of the second death, which has no end. Only those who are set free through God's grace escape from this calamitous sequence (67).

The corollary of the banishment of the first parents from Paradise was the transition from an atemporal existence into temporality. In Augustine's philosophy of history, the Expulsion marked the very first moment of human history, the beginning of time as experienced by the human race. The Crucifixion and the Resurrection were events which took place at points within the chronology of the world (68). This stands in contrast to his view of the Creation, which occurred not *in* time, but 'in the beginning' (*principium*)(69). The 'beginning' he interpreted as the divine Word, the uncreated Wisdom. All things were created simultaneously, in the beginning, at the same time as the creation of time itself, but not *within* time: 'Without doubt the world was not made in time, but with time' (70). The Genesis story should not be thought of

...in a childish way, as though God exerted himself by working. For he spoke, not with an audible and temporal word, but with an intellectual and eternal word, and the things were done (71).

Hence the Creation had no temporal duration, as explained simply by W A Christian in his analysis of the meaning of history for Augustine:

Thus [for Augustine] the original coming-into-being of the world of changing creatures 'begins' the temporal process and does not fall within that process (72).

The stucco relief of *The Expulsion from Paradise* thus marks the moment when man first steps across the threshold into temporal experience, the very beginning of human history (73), the scene inherently signalling its causative event - the Fall of Man - which would blight human existence and which necessitated the work of redemption carried out by Christ and continued by the vicars of His church, Pope Pius II amongst them.

There can be no doubt of Cardinal Francesco's thorough familiarity with the theology of Saint Augustine. He was the owner of at least two richly illuminated tomes of *De civitate Dei*, one inherited from the estate of Gregorio Lolli Piccolomini, his uncle's secretary (74), and another decorated by a miniaturist in 1464 specifically for Francesco himself (75). Ownership of this work was by no means rare: the inventories of monastic libraries and of book collections of humanist scholars commonly include this title. Valued as an author of the late classical period, the texts of this Latin doctor of the church were studied avidly by fifteenth century humanists for their literary quality as well as for their theological content (76). Cardinal Francesco's closest colleagues within the Sacred College were cardinal protectors over, or patrons of, the Augustinian orders in Rome; his humanist circle included accomplished writers and orators from within the Augustinian Hermits and his curial duties, as well as his friendships, brought him into contact with the convent of Sant'Agostino in Rome, only minutes' walk from his home. (77)

The relevance of Augustine's theology to the iconographic programme of the Piccolomini Library is attested to by the appearance of that saint within the library decoration. Surrounded by *grotteschi* within the central pendentive on the east CHECK side can be seen a small monochrome vignette of Augustine wearing his bishop's mitre (Figure 16), depicted as a scholar poring over his books (78). Divorced here from the other three Latin doctors of the church, in whose company he is usually shown, he appears instead amongst grisaille cameos of *all'antica* battle scenes (79). Augustine's sole appearance is thus significant. The apparently disparate nature of the various elements of the Piccolomini Library decoration, remarked upon earlier, gain thematic coherence once understood in the light of the writings of Saint Augustine and of his fifteenth century followers.

In *De civitate Dei*, Augustine weaves his philosophy around the dialectic of two metaphorical cities, the earthly city and the heavenly city, the former referring to the transitory, sensible realm of existence, the latter to atemporal eternity where the soul can be forever re-united with God. Reflecting the duality inherent in Neoplatonism and founded on man's innate longing for union with the creator, Augustine develops in *De civitate Dei* a political philosophy for peace (*pax*) and social order (*ordo*) within temporal existence. Seeking a system which is driven, not merely by an obligation to follow a social contract, but by fundamental human necessity - the yearning felt deeply within each individual - Augustine proposes the re-orienting of true love to its divine source as the restorative measure in re-attaining the harmony lost through Original Sin (80).

Saint Augustine's theology played a fundamental role in the formation and development of the thought of Nicolas Cusanus. Augustine's *ordo* and *pax* correspond to Cusa's theory of popular consent in his early work, *De concordantia catholica*, a justification for, and proposed organisation of, political authority within Church and empire, based on the attainment of unity, peace and social harmony. Following Augustine and the Fathers, Cusa believed that by the Fall from Grace man passed out of a state of nature and into a state whereby men would be governed by men: the powers-that-be are, however, ordained by God. Political authority became necessary because of man's Original Sin, and this was at the same time a partial remedy for the consequences of that sin (81). Although rarely found in Italian libraries, *De concordantia catholica* was represented in Cardinal Francesco's collection (82). His thorough familiarity with this text, which he studied in the course of his curial and ecclesiastical reform activities on behalf of Pius II, Sixtus IV and Alexander VI, is attested to by his marginal hand-written notes on his manuscript copy (83).

A connection between the four temperaments and political organisation is made explicit in *De concordantia catholica*. Writing on statecraft, Cusa uses the analogy of a living body under the influence of the four humours:

The king therefore must be a lute-player, who well understands ... how to preserve harmony ... and how to tune the string neither too high nor too low, so that through the combined tone of them all a companionable harmony sounds For that reason it is the business of the ruler, like a wise doctor, duly to keep the body of the state healthy, so that the vital spirit, "per proportionabile medium", can be at one with it. He may observe that one of

the four vital humours goes beyond or lags behind right proportion in the combination, and that thereby the body is estranged from its proper combination. This may occur through an excess of covetous melancholy, which gives rise to the most varied pestilences in the body - usury, fraud, deceit, theft, pillage, and all the arts by which great riches are won not by work but only by a certain deceitful craftiness, which can never exist without doing harm to the State; or again it may occur through choleric dissensions, wars, factions and schism, or through sanguine ostentation, excess, debauchery and suchlike, or through phlegmatic sloth in all good works, in the daily toil for existence and in the defence of the fatherland. Then the body becomes paralysed, feverish, swollen up or bled dry; then must he seek a remedy, consult books, and give ear to the wisest State physicians ... (84).

Cusa's broad conception of microcosm and macrocosm, which permeates his entire philosophy, is clear. Both Cusa and Augustine, in *De concordantia catholica* and *De civitate Dei* respectively, interrogate man's basic impulses to arrive at a political philosophy, understanding that these must be thoroughly understood and regulated to achieve the twin attainment of personal righteousness and political stability.

Within the Piccolomini Library scheme, the theory of the four temperaments alluded to in the vault is not a retardataire vestige of encyclopaedic scholasticism, but is fundamental to the dominant themes of the historical narratives on the walls below, namely of human moral behaviour and political government. The conceptual relationship between vault and wall imagery is clearly exemplified by the typically Pinturicchiesque detail in the right-hand background of the third *istoria*, where a wife-battering choleric is silhouetted against an azure sky (Figure 14).

The painted episodes from the life of Pius II, to which attention will briefly now be turned, invite comparison with other papal *istorie*. Earlier and contemporaneous examples traditionally celebrate their subject as the embellisher *par excellence* of Rome, as the inaugurator of buildings and public works, as patron of the arts, as granter of indulgences and privileges, as receiver of royal visitors kneeling to kiss the papal foot (*osculum pedum*) and as performer of posthumous miracles. Typically in such *istorie* the foremost qualities of the pontiff are delineated as his philanthropy and his superiority over temporal leaders (85). The historical narratives on the walls of the Piccolomini Library are to a large degree at variance with the traditional pattern (86): the portrayal of Aeneas Piccolomini's career, as secretary, ambassador, bishop, cardinal and finally pontiff, is engineered to place emphasis on his diplomatic missions and his role as a skilled politician. Pius's efforts are shown, as indeed they largely were, to have been channelled above all into bringing about a crusade against the Turks. His ultimate aim was thus to effect within the *res publica* as a whole the Augustinian principles of *ordo* and *pax*, by Divine Grace (87). This can be exemplified in the eighth narrative image of the library decoration, the depiction of the Congress of Mantua of 1459-60 (Figure 17).

In *De civitate Dei*, Adam's Original Sin results, for the whole of humanity, in the derangement, disorientation and incompleteness of love: the world is a realm of moral danger where human will attaches itself easily and erroneously to transitory objects (88). Forgetting that heaven is his true home - that he is merely a pilgrim on a temporary and temporal, earthly journey - man lives by the 'standard of the flesh'

instead of the 'standard of the spirit' (89). In the eighth episode from the life of Pius II (Figure 17), Aeneas, now pope, brings to a crescendo the cause for which he has worked since the Fall of Constantinople. Pius II is pictured patiently and tirelessly exhorting the ambassadors of emperor, princes, dukes and heads of state at the Diet of Mantua to unite in a holy war for the salvation of the Christian faith, cognisant that only the joint forces of the whole of Christendom could take on the might of its Turkish foe (90). Deploying his famed oratorical skills, Pius is shown urging and coaxing the great temporal leaders to realign their loyalties and longings to the 'heavenly city', to weigh the immediate mercantile and political pre-occupations of the 'earthly city' against the loftier concerns of restoring Constantinople to Christianity and of effecting peaceful re-union of east and west. In the historical event however, critical local conflicts, pressing power politics and more immediate economic concerns took precedence in the minds of the delegates at Mantua: Pius's urgent oratory promoting his noble cause fell on reluctant ears. In the absence of solidarity, sufficient funds, militia or commitment, the congress dissolved without a meaningful resolution. The image reflects the important themes of the library programme: the moral frailty of humankind following Original Sin, the consequent calamitous course of human history, the working out of Divine Providence, the singular example of Pope Pius II working resolutely for the *civitas Dei*, and Divine Grace through which Pius will be saved at the Last Judgment (91).

In the closing image (Figure 18), the ageing pontiff, disabled by gout and failing in vigour, is pictured at Ancona on the verge of setting sail to lead his crusade, as an example to those who might follow and a martyr to the cause (92). His departure never took place: Pius died there whilst preparations were still in progress. His final apologetic words uttered on his deathbed are paraphrased in the inscription above the *Expulsion from Paradise* relief, 'I have offended God and posterity. To both I am in debt though neither are to me' (Figure 4) (93). For Augustine, humility is a crucial factor in man's moral conduct and it is of intentional symbolic significance that Pius's final humble words, belonging to the timeframe of the ultimate frescoed image, make reference back to Original Sin by appearing above the stucco relief of *The Expulsion from Paradise*.

Adam's transgression, in Augustine's account, took place because of pride, self-love, the 'fountainhead of all evils' (94). 'That is why', Augustine tells us, 'humility is highly prized in the City of God ... In one city love of God has been given first place, in the other, love of self' (95). Augustine censures Adam, not only for his pride in over-ruling God's command, but also for his pride in the search for an excuse for his sin, for trying to place the blame for the eating of the apple onto the woman, and censures Eve for blaming the serpent. 'There is not a whisper anywhere here for a plea for pardon', Augustine laments (96). The inscription paraphrasing Pius's final words brings the historical narrative full circle by appearing above the scriptural moment when temporal human history was initiated. The sculpted relief, depicting the dramatic moment of Adam and Eve's expulsion from the Garden of Eden, an image spelling out the consequences for mankind of human pride, is crowned by Pius II's final declamation of humility, testament to his worthiness as a Vicar of Christ.

Renaissance humanism, primarily a literary movement based on the recovery of ancient culture, faced the problem of reconciling its anachronistic ideals with a world of acute religious anxiety in its need for moral reform. Re-appraising medieval

intellectualism on the grounds that it distracts from the practice of morally upright conduct, the humanists found normative models in the Greek and Latin church fathers, whose writings contained the desired combination of practical theology and eloquent expression. Saint Augustine attracted particular philological attention, not least for his voluntarism – his perception that the will is the vehicle by which man could choose moral or immoral action. Because the will thus had to be influenced to a course of rectitude and faith, Saint Augustine was admired, equally, for his linguistic ability to persuade, through the use of eloquent Ciceronian Latin.

Extant codices from Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini's book collection reveal his typical interest, as a scholar of the *studia humanitatis*, in historiography and oratory (97). Given his role within the Sacred College, it is unsurprising to discover there also works of ecclesiology and papal history. Saint Augustine's writings naturally are represented, whilst dedication manuscripts confirm Francesco's contact with members of the Augustinian order. These interests are characteristic of Roman humanism and would be found amongst other informal academies in Rome (98). The character of Cardinal Francesco's academy, however, must have been quite distinctive, both for its Neoplatonist orientation (99) and for the strong German and Sieneese contingent amongst his *familia* (100). All of these factors can be seen, to a greater or lesser extent, reflected within the programme of the Piccolomini Library: Augustinian 'rhetorical theology' (101), papal history, medical discourse and ultramontane iconography (102). The Piccolomini Library decoration makes sense, finally, when viewed in the light of Cardinal Francesco's zeal for moral and church reform, documented in contemporary records and evidenced by his copious, hand-written notes in the margins of Nicolas of Cusa's *De concordantia catholica* and *Reformatio generalis* (103). The decorative programme was conceived, from within Francesco Piccolomini's intellectual circle, in the language of church renewal rhetoric.

In the Piccolomini Library, the pre-conditions for human experience - the creation of the physical environment, of temporality and of the factors which regulate human behaviour (104) - are allegorised or alluded to in the vault imagery, where lunar symbolism is given prominence to serve as Piccolomini family propaganda. Re-attainment of God's order which had subsisted in Paradise, could only, in Augustine's theology, be achieved by establishing on earth the harmony lost through Original Sin. That defining moment when paradisiacal, sinless existence was replaced by a finite lifetime of toil, sorrow and pain is marked in the Piccolomini Library decoration by the fulcrum of the *Expulsion from Paradise* relief. This represents also the beginning of human history. A specific period of recent human history, namely the adult life of Aeneas Piccolomini, is played out episodically in the ten main mural narratives, exemplifying the ramifications of Original Sin in lived experience, including man's moral frailty and his misdirected loyalties. Against this backdrop, Pope Pius II is commemorated as the humble paragon, by Divine Grace, of Augustinian principles, whose righteous example will, in the fullness of time, be seen to inaugurate a return to the golden age of Ecclesia.

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Notes

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- (1) The most recent published literature on the library includes A Cecchi, *The Piccolomini Library in the Cathedral of Siena*, (Florence, 1982); C Esche, *Die Libreria Piccolomini in Siena - Studien zu Bau und Ausstattung*, Frankfurt, 1992; G V Shepherd, *A Monument to Pope Pius II: Pinturicchio and Raphael in the Piccolomini Library in Siena 1494-1508*, PhD thesis, Harvard University (1993); E Carli, 'Il Pio umanistico: La libreria Piccolomini', *Mensile di Franco Mario Ricci*, (1994), 66, 47-84; S Roettgen, *Italian Frescoes: The Flowering of the Renaissance 1470-1510*, (New York, London and Paris, 1996); S Settis and D Toracca (eds), *The Piccolomini Library in Siena Cathedral*, (Modena, 1998). The contract between Cardinal Francesco and Pinturicchio is transcribed and translated by Shepherd, op cit, 409-414. The artist was instructed to paint the episodes of Pope Pius II's life according to a '*memoriale et nota*': this is no longer extant; *ibid*, 409.
- (2) The inclusion of the cardinal's hat in the central *stemma* indicates that this and the Piccolomini arms on the 'capitals' of the painted pilasters (which actually serve as corbels) were executed before Cardinal Francesco's own election to the papacy on 22nd September 1503, whereas reference to Pius III (the name adopted by Francesco in deference to his uncle) in the inscriptions at the extreme ends of the vault and in one of the lunettes above the windows must have been completed after this date. The inscriptions in the vault read PIO II PONT EX PIETATE/PIUS III PONT MAX and PIVS III PONT MAX HAEC/PERITIS MONIMENTA.
- (3) For the *domus aurea* as prototype for the vault layout, see J Schulz, 'Pinturicchio and the revival of antiquity', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 25 (1962), 35-55; Cecchi, op cit (n1), 15; Esche, op cit (n1), 291; Shepherd, op cit (n1), 30, 41; Roettgen, op cit (n1), 298. J B Holmquist also pays considerable attention to the Piccolomini Library vault in her *The Iconography of a Ceiling Decoration by Pinturicchio in the Palazzo del Magnifico*, PhD thesis, University of Carolina at Chapel Hill (1984), 15ff.
- (4) Settis and Toracca (eds), op cit (n1), 269.
- (5) The relief is a copy of Jacopo della Quercia's marble *Expulsion from Paradise* which decorated the inner right side of the Fonte Gaia. The original relief (1414-19), much damaged and housed until recently in the open loggia overlooking the marketplace of the Palazzo Pubblico, is from 2004 part of a permanent, new exhibition of the Fonte Gaia sculpture at Santa Maria della Scala.
- (6) The inscription reads, 'DEV M MAXIMUM ET POSTEROS OFFENDI. VTRIVSQUE DEBEO NEVTER MIHI'. This paraphrases Pius II's dying words in Ancona on the eve of 15th August 1464, 'Our life among you has not been blameless. We are made of flesh. We have offended God and your charity. For the offence given to Him, may God have mercy on Us. For that given to you, We beg you to pardon this miserable dying man', cited in Settis and Toracca (eds), op cit (n1), 280. These words were reported to Cardinal Francesco in a letter recording Pius II's last days. The letter is reproduced in Giacomo Ammannati Piccolomini (1422-1479), *Lettere* (1444-1479), P Cherubini (ed), 3 volumes (Roma, 1997), PAGE???? CHECK AT WARBURG.
- (7) 'The iconographic connection between the pictorial programme and the ancient marble group of the *Three Graces* has not been fully investigated, nor has the stucco relief of *Adam and Eve*', Roettgen, op cit (n1), p301. In her forthcoming thesis the author argues the pivotal importance of the sculpture of *The Three Graces* to the iconographic programme, interpreting the statue, in accordance with a contemporary Neoplatonic reading, in terms of the spiritual cycle of love. Esche suggests, on stylistic grounds, that the *Expulsion from Paradise* relief is not contemporaneous with the rest of the library decoration and may have been inserted into its housing at a later date, op cit (n1), 29, a view not shared by the author.
- (8) Roettgen, op cit (n1), 301. Toracca, having already noted an apparent disjunction between wall and vault imagery (see n 4), also comments that, 'while the celebratory tone of the ceiling is clear, it eludes ... any definitive reading?'; Settis and Toracca (eds), op cit (n 1), 272. She appropriately, however, puts forward an in-depth interpretation of the moon symbolism at work in the vault; *ibid*, 269ff, following Holmquist, who had already construed the vault to consist of 'celestial reflections of the patron's heraldic device'; op cit (n1), 33. Shepherd's

account of the mural narratives is sympathetic to the humanistic spirit in which they were devised: Cardinal Francesco ‘could well have looked back upon his uncle’s era as a kind of golden age of papal influence and humanism, at the service of political order in Europe and amicable relations with the Holy Emperor’; op cit (n1), 272. However, he wholly fails to interpret the vault imagery; *ibid*, 29, 50, 222, 227. Only Esche has any real conviction about a programmatic relationship between the various elements of the library decoration; op cit (n1), 287, although she fails to consider the *Expulsion* relief as part of it; see n7 above. Toying with Neoplatonic readings, she concludes, ‘*Ob und inwieweit man die Allegorien und Antikenzitate im Sinne der neoplatonischen Philosophie interpretieren darf, muss offen bleiben*’; *ibid*, 295.

- (9) C M Richardson, ‘The lost will and testament of Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini (1439-1503)’, *Papers of the British School at Rome* (1998), 66, 193-214, here 194; J F D’Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation* (Baltimore and London, 1983), 273; E Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters*, (Rome, 1978), 47.
- (10) This commission, followed by that for the Piccolomini altar (1481) in Siena cathedral, was the most ambitious and costly of any other act of patronage by Cardinal Francesco, proven by Pinturicchio’s high level of remuneration; Roettgen, op cit (n1), 298. On the Piccolomini altar, see H R Mancusi-Ungaro Jnr, *Michelangelo, The Bruges Madonna and the Piccolomini Altar* (New Haven and London, 1971); L Jenkins, ‘Michelangelo, the Piccolomini and Cardinal Francesco’s chapel’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 144 (2002), 752-4.
- (11) See for example the chapter by M R Silvestrelli ‘Pintoricchio tra Roma e Perugia (1484-1495)’ in the most recent monograph *Pintoricchio* by P Scarpellini and M R Silvestrelli (Milan, 2003), 97-143.
- (12) Shepherd, op cit (n1), 222, 29 and 227 respectively.
- (13) *Ibid*, 217, 219; see also 227, where Shepherd comments that, on entering the library, one has ‘left the sacred precinct of the Duomo’ (author’s italics). As Roettgen comments, ‘Inasmuch as the only access to the library was through the cathedral, it was, according to the perceptions of the time, a public space’; op cit (n1), 297. Such perceived continuity would have applied to sacredness as well as space.
- (14) Pastor cites several primary sources, L von Pastor, *History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Age. Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and other original Sources*, edited and translated by F I Antrobus, 4th edition (London, 1923), Volume 4, 185ff. Cardinal Francesco’s participation in Alexander VI’s curial reform commission is described by A A Strnad, ‘Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini; Politik und Mäzenatentum im Quattrocento’, *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 8-9 (1964-6), 101-425, specifically 380ff. A contemporary cleric who was eager for church reform, Pietro Delfino, General of the Camaldolensian order, voiced his belief that it would be Cardinal Francesco who would re-new the golden age and create a blessed and saintly life on earth, *ibid*, 382.
- (15) Poet, novelist, historian, biographer, educational theorist and topographer, Pius II is most renowned for his autobiographical work, *I Commentarii*. This has been translated by F A Gragg and edited by L C Gabel, *Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope: the Commentaries of Pius II* (London, 1959).
- (16) The earnestness of humanist bibliophilia can be gauged from Vespasiano da Bisticci’s memoirs, available in translation in *Renaissance Princes, Popes and Prelates: The Vespasiano Memoirs, Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century*, translated by W George and E Waters (New York, Evanston and London, 1963). The success of Pius II and of his nephew in this respect is the subject of a study by A A Strnad, ‘Studia piccolomineana’, in *Enea Silvio Piccolomini: Papa Pio II. Atti del Convegno per il quinto centenario della morte e altri scritti raccolti da Domenico Maffei* (Siena, 1968), 295-390, see particularly 343. E Piccolomini estimated from the evidence of his research that Cardinal Francesco owned approximately 400 volumes, and it must be borne in mind that one volume could incorporate several single works; E Piccolomini, ‘De codicibus Pii II et Pii III deque bibliotheca ecclesiae cathedralis Senensis’, *Bulletino Senese di Storia Patria*, 6 (1899), 483-496. This is comparable with the collection of his friend Cardinal Marco Barbo, who owned 500 volumes at his death in 1491; A V Antonovics, ‘The library of Cardinal Domenico Capranica’ in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, C H Clough (ed) (Manchester, 1976), 141-159, here 150 n6. The largest collection in the quattrocento was reputed to be that of Cardinal Bessarion, who bequeathed in 1468 to Saint Mark’s in Venice 746 manuscripts (not volumes), which formed the nucleus of the Libreria Marciana; *ibid*, 158

- n162. Bearing in mind that Francesco Sassetti's library barely exceeded 120 volumes at any one time, Francesco Piccolomini's collection of 400 can be seen to be of a high order; A de la Mare, 'The library of Francesco Sassetti (1421-90)', in *ibid*, 171.
- (17) Strnad explains that a passage in Vasari was erroneously interpreted to mean that the library was destined to receive only the works *written* by Pius II (rather than those *bequeathed* by him) and that this was misleadingly repeated in subsequent literature. He goes on to point out that the longstanding misconception was corrected by E Piccolomini, *op cit* (n12), who insists that the Piccolomini Library was to be home to the collection of the complete family; Strnad, 'Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini' *op cit* (n9), 340. See also A A Strnad, 'Pio II e suo nipote Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini', *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Marche*, IV/II (Ancona, 1966), 35-84, especially 76. Shepherd supposes that, pending completion of the frescoes, the manuscripts that arrived in Siena in 1503 were probably stored in the library of the cathedral sacristy, *op cit* (n1), 108. No inventory listing the codices that arrived in Siena is known, although the 213 volumes purchased by Fabio Chigi (Pope Alexander VII, 1655-67) from the Piccolomini Library were listed in a sale catalogue, which was published by J Cugnoni, *Aeneae Sylvii Piccolomini Senensis qui postea fuit Pius II. Pont. Max. opera inedita descripsit ex codicibus Chisianis vulgavit notisque illustravit* (Rome, 1883). See M Lenzi, 'The codices of the Library, their later history', in Settis and Toracca (eds), *op cit* (n1), 313-320 for the very complicated and incomplete history, with references, of the remainder of Pope Pius II's original collection. The Chigi collection, embracing the Piccolomini Library acquisition, was eventually subsumed into the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV) in 1922, *ibid*, 315, thus a substantial number of those manuscripts which Cardinal Francesco himself dispatched to Siena for retention in the Piccolomini Library are available for inspection at BAV. Strnad's 'Studia piccolomineana' goes farthest in attempting to re-construct from the sources available the specific contents of Pius II's and Cardinal Francesco's collections, *op cit* (n12).
- (18) Cecchi accepts a previous appellation, calling her *Truth*, *op cit* (n1), 15, as does Roettgen, *op cit* (n1), 301; Esche identifies her with the *festina lente* hieroglyph in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, *op cit* (n1), 288; Shepherd refers to her as *Venus-Intelligentia*, *op cit* (n1), 227 n230; Toracca makes a case for her identification as *Providence*, Settis and Toracca (eds), *op cit* (n1), 276, whilst Holmquist argues that she is *Celestial Venus*, *op cit* (n3), 31, an interpretation with which the author is broadly in agreement.
- (19) Plato's *Timaeus*, Aristotle's *De caelo* and *Metaphysica*, Plutarch's *Opuscula moralia*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Lucian's *Dialogues*; S K Heninger, 'Some Renaissance versions of the Pythagorean tetrad', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 8 (1961), 7-35, specifically here 7-12.
- (20) This is elaborated in G M A Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*, 2 volumes, (Cambridge, MA, 1951), Volume 1, 150ff, 198, 247; G B Ladner, *The Idea of Reform: its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (Cambridge, MA, 1959), 212ff; F Benzi, *Sisto IV Renovator Urbis: Architettura a Roma 1471-1484* (Rome, 1990), 50 and n5. The ancient tradition provided a pattern for early Christian writers for further elaboration, for example the four Evangelists, rivers of Paradise, wheels of the Ark, colours of the garment of the High Priest, beasts of the Apocalypse, and so forth, Hanfmann, *op cit*, Volume 1, 198.
- (21) The doctrine of the four humours originated in Greece at the end of the sixth century BC but was expressed systematically for the first time in the Hippocratic writings: Galen developed it into a definitive medical system of physiology in the second century AD. Tetradic theory was elaborated into a philosophical system (as opposed to a straightforwardly medical one) by Aristotle; R E McGrew, *Encyclopedia of Medical History* (London, 1985), 142-6; I Loudon (ed), *Western Medicine: an Illustrated History* (Oxford and New York, 1997), 30-5. See also D W Graham, 'Empedocles', in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*, 2nd edition, R Audi (ed) (Cambridge, 1999), 261f and R J Hankinson, 'Galen', in *ibid*, 338f. A Whyte's discussion of the humours in his book *The Four Temperaments* (London, 1895) demonstrates that this theory was still given some credence even at the end of the nineteenth century.
- (22) Hanfmann, *op cit* (n20), Volume 1, 188; E Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*, (Princeton, New Jersey, 1955), 84ff and 157ff; R Klibansky, E Panofsky, F Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art* (London, 1964), 3-15, 103 n114; J Seznek, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1972), 47. Panofsky, when referring to this notion of equivalence between the tetrads, employs the terminology 'co-essential' or 'co-essentiality'.

- (23) Isidore of Seville was a sixth century Spanish archbishop whose final encyclopaedic work had already been circulated in separate parts prior to his death in 636 AD. The work is discussed by F Saxl in 'Illustrated mediaeval encyclopaedias', *Lectures*, Volume 1 of 2 (London, 1957), 228-241; Heninger, op cit (n19), 22.
- (24) Ibid, 28. The woodcut frontispiece by Albrecht Dürer is discussed in some detail by Klibansky *et al*, op cit (n22), 277-285. Two of the seasonal winds, Boreas and Auster, have been transposed to reflect the differing regional climate in the north, *ibid*, 280; Panofsky, op cit (n22), 157. Through the German contingent of his *famiglia*, through the regular visits to his household by German clerics and humanists and through his friendly correspondence with, for example, Johann Kämmerer von Dalberg, Bishop of Worms, and with Emperor Maximilian I, Conrad Celtis' patron, Cardinal Francesco was probably familiar with the latter's *Libri amorum*. On Francesco's German connections, see n38 below. On Conrad Celtis and his founding of the Rhenish humanist sodality, see L W Spitz, *Conrad Celtis: the German Arch-humanist* (Cambridge, MA, 1957), especially 45ff.
- (25) The manuscript, which has been examined by the author, is in the Chigi foundation of the Vatican, codex Chigi E V 153. A page bound into the front by Fabio Chigi, who purchased the manuscript in the seventeenth century, notes, '*De animarum dignitate libellus. Donatus Francisco Piccolomineo nepoti ex sorore Pii II Pontificis ann. Circ. 1460 hoc est Paulo ante quam cardinalis crearetur, qui postea anno 1503 obbit Pont. M. Pius III. Nuncupatus. Auctore fratre Herem. S. Aug ...*'; Strnad, 'Studia piccolomineana', op cit (n12), 357-8.
- (26) Specifically earth, water, air, fire, harmony and disharmony; BAV, Chigi E V 153, fol 10v. The reference to harmony, disharmony and warring elements derives from Empedocles' theory of the two principles of attraction and repulsion, which activated the four elements.
- (27) BAV, Chigi E IV 122; Strnad, 'Studia piccolomineana', op cit (n12), 350. Reference to the elements occurs at fols 36v-37r.
- (28) BAV, Chigi E IV 122, fol 101r.
- (29) Ibid, fol 102r.
- (30) The manuscript is now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, codex Digby Ms 131. This was one of the manuscripts purchased from the Piccolomini collection in Siena in the seventeenth century by the Englishman, Sir Kenelm Digby, six manuscripts of which are now held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; Strnad, 'Studia piccolomineana', op cit (n12), 372-3; G D Macray, *Catalogi codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars nona. Codices a Viro Clarissimo Kenelm Digby, Eq. Aur., anno 1634 donatos, complectens* (Oxonii, 1883), 138.
- (31) *Tractatus ... II Pii Secundi Pont. Max. De contentione Diuini Sanguinis inter Predicatores et Minoras coram se habita Liber incipit feliciter*, a section from Book 11 of Pius's *I Commentarii*, transcribed in Cugnoni, op cit (n13), 299-336, here 333. (This section was one of those edited out of Gragg and Gabel's abridged translation, see n11 above.) This reference to the theory of the four humours constitutes part of Pius's account of the dispute over the blood of Christ, which first erupted on Easter Sunday 1462, when a Franciscan Observantist, Fra Giacomo della Marca, preached that the blood of Christ shed on the ground during the Passion had lost the hypostatic union of the Logos. The Dominican Inquisitor concluded after deliberation that the spilt blood returned to Christ's body and never lost hypostatic union. Pius, reluctant to jeopardise the support of the Observantists for his crusade, refused to publish his decision supporting the Dominican view, Pastor, op cit (n10), Volume 3, 298f. In 1463, as Minister General of the Franciscan Minorite friars, Francesco della Rovere (later Sixtus IV) made a presentation to Pope Pius II arising out of the dispute of the holy blood. The year after his accession to the papal throne in 1471, Sixtus published his treatise *De sanguine Christi*, which incorporates detailed passages on physiology and anatomy; Benzi, op cit (n20), 15ff.
- (32) '*In hanc sententiam et doctor Aquinas inclinat in quarto sententiarum libro, qui hominem microsmon, idest paruuum mundum, esse ait, et maioris mundi similitudinem gerere, atque ita se habere humores in corpore humano quemadmodum elementa uniuerso mundo, que mixta componunt et inter partes uniuersi numerantur, et in corpore quidem nostro coleram igni, sanguinem aeri, flema aque, melancoliam terre correspondere.*'; Pius II cited by Cugnoni, op cit (n13), 333.
- (33) The dedication copy is in the Libreria Angelica, Rome, Codex 1032: Strnad, 'Studia piccolomineana', op cit (n12), 356; H Narducci, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Angelica olim coenobii sancti Augustini de Urbe* (Roma, 1893), 426. The palaeography of this small codex is difficult: the humours are discussed on fols 1r-3v.

- (34) A link between medicine and philosophy had been transmitted to the Latin West from Greek and Arab culture during the late-eleventh and twelfth centuries: in Italy medical instruction became concentrated in universities which were traditionally centres of theology, philosophy and civil and canon law; P O Kristeller, 'Philosophy and Medicine in Medieval and Renaissance Italy', *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, Volume 3 (Rome, 1993), 434, 440f; idem, 'Renaissance Aristotelianism', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 6/2 (1965), 157-174; idem, 'Thomism and the Italian thought of the Renaissance', in *Medieval Aspects of Renaissance Learning: Three Essays by Paul Oskar Kristeller*, edited and translated by E P Mahoney (Durham, North Carolina, 1974), 29-94, especially 44, 53; Klibansky *et al*, op cit (n22), 82-97. In a lecture of 1938 entitled 'Science and Art in the Renaissance', Saxl reminded his audience that Nicholas of Cusa, who denied a geocentric cosmology almost one hundred years before Copernicus, was a theologian and not a scientist; nevertheless his cosmology had a profound influence on the future development of modern science; F Saxl, *Lectures*, op cit (n23), Volume 1, 118ff.
- (35) Klibansky *et al*, op cit (n22), 291ff; Panofsky, op cit (n22), 158.
- (36) Klibansky *et al*, op cit (n22), 288.
- (37) The four temperaments appear as single figure personifications (as influencing factors in man's moral conduct) in the *Via Veritatis* wall of the Chapterhouse (the 'Spanish Chapel') of Santa Maria Novella in Florence; S J May, *The Chapterhouse Frescoes of Santa Maria Novella: Contemporary influences and attitudes reflected in the iconographical programme*, MA Thesis, 2 volumes, University of Central England in Birmingham (1996), 47ff.
- (38) Following an early, extended stay accompanying his uncle in Germany in 1451, when he learnt the language and cultivated a circle of lifelong friends, Francesco went on to study at the university of Vienna (the subject he read and the length of his studies are unknown). In the course of his various travels, he often stayed in Regensburg with his long-standing, humanist friend Dr Thomas Pirkheimer. With numerous, wealthy church benefices in Germany, the cardinal welcomed many emissaries and legates from the dioceses to his *palazzo* in Rome, lavishing favours on his German friends; indeed his *famiglia* included many resident Germans. In 1471, because of his facility with the language and culture of Germany, Pope Paul II entrusted to Francesco the apostolic legation to the north and the Diet of Ratisbon. Through his long-term exchange of friendly letters with Johannes Reuchlin and other German humanists and through his close friendship with Johann K ammerer von Dalberg, Cardinal Francesco was an inspiration in the foundation of the *sodalitas Rhenana* in which Conrad Celtis was active (see n24 above). Strnad describes Germany as Francesco's spiritual home, whither his sympathies belonged; 'Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini', op cit (n10), 120-124, 212, 238 n119, 279, 349f; Strnad, 'Studia piccolomineana', op cit (n12), 334f; M Sanfilippo, 'Pio III', *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, Volume 2 of 3 (Rome, 2000), 22-30. On his death, Francesco (now Pius III) left 100 ducats, 300 volumes of his library and a chalice to the German Hospice del Anima; Pastor, op cit (n10), Volume 6, 207. On his uncle's part in the development of a German national consciousness, see E Bernstein, *German Humanism* (Boston, MA, 1983), 8-12.
- (39) The tale of Diana and Endymion is related in Lucian's *Dialogues of the Gods* (19). The mortal shepherd Endymion, loved by Diana, was sent into eternal sleep by Jupiter in exchange for his perpetual youth. In her identity as moon goddess, Diana visited nightly in order to gaze on the handsome shepherd.
- (40) The presence of this particular Roman sarcophagus, c150 AD (now at the Palazzo Rospigliosi) was recorded at San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome in 1530, and had probably been there throughout the fifteenth century. Many other examples of this type exist; P P Bober and R O Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources, with contributions from S Woodford* (Oxford, 1986), 69. The sleep of Endymion had been a popular theme for antique and early Christian sarcophagi, due to its association with the sleep of death and the arising to a life of paradise, therefore surviving examples were numerous; M Lawrence, 'Three Pagan themes in Christian Art', in M Meiss (ed), *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, 2 volumes (New York, 1961), 323-334, here 324.
- (41) Panofsky, op cit (n22), 159; Klibansky *et al*, op cit (n22), 300.
- (42) For the most thorough historical and iconographic analyses of the melancholic temperament, see Panofsky's discussion of D urer's engraving, *Melencholia I*, op cit (n22), 156-171 and Klibansky *et al*, op cit (n22). See also Seznec, op cit (n22), p47 and M L Shapiro, 'The Four Temperaments reliefs in Budapest', *Acta Historiae Artium Hungarorum*, 14 (1968), 83-88.

- (43) *Teutscher Kalender*, Augsburg 1495, fol g.5r-v, cited without the original German by Klibansky *et al*, op cit (n22), 117f. Two other manuscripts associating the melancholic temperament with the zodiacal signs of the Ram, the Bull and the Virgin are also referenced there at the foot of 117.
- (44) The bull's head in the Diana and Endymion image links to the *bucranium* amongst the grotesques of the illusionistic painted pilaster on the library wall just below this area of the vault, which flanks the left side of the final episode from Pius II's life, where he is pictured just prior to his death, about to set sail from Ancona. The antique device of the *bucranium* was associated with sacrifice and is one of many visual motifs within the library decoration on this theme, pertaining to Pius II's claim of self-sacrifice for the cause of the crusade, made in his *I Commentarii*, Book VII.
- (45) Klibansky *et al*, op cit (n22), 102, citing William of Conches' twelfth-century *Philosophia*, in which the doctrine of the temperaments was incorporated into a framework of Christian cosmology.
- (46) See n39 above.
- (47) Panofsky, op cit (n22), 157ff; Sez nec, op cit (n22), 47; Shapiro, op cit (n42), 86. Saxl, citing Hildegard of Bingen and other sources, demonstrates the belief that man's blood flow increased during the waxing of the moon. Before blood-letting could take place it was imperative that doctors should check the position of the moon; no limb was to be touched when the moon was in the sign to which it belonged in the astrological code, F Saxl, 'Macrocosm and microcosm in mediaeval pictures', in *Lectures*, op cit (n23), Volume 1, 58-72, especially here 64, 67.
- (48) On the development of the *Horae* in late antique art and on their relationship with the seasons, see Hanfmann, op cit (n20), Volume 1, Chapter VII.
- (49) The inscription accompanying this narrative image reads: 'HIC AENEAS AFOELICE. V. ANTIPAPA LEGATVS AD FEDERICVM. III. CAESAREM MISSVS LAVREA CORONA DONATVR ET INTER AMICOS EIVS AC SECRETARIVS ANNVMERATVR ET PRAEFICITVR', ('Here Aeneas, sent by Antipope Felix V as legate to Frederick III Caesar, is presented with the laurel crown and numbered and preferred among his [Frederick's] friends and as his secretary'); transcribed and translated by Shepherd, op cit (n1), 163. The incident is recorded in Book 1 of *I Commentarii*; Gabel, op cit (n11), 40.
- (50) As pointed out by G Warwick, poetry was consolation for an inaccessible love; 'Speaking statues: Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne* at the Villa Borghese', *Art History* (2004), 27/3, 353-381. Aeneas Piccolomini's early writings, for which he was awarded the laurel crown, concerned such themes, for example his *Historia de duobus amantibus*. Panofsky's interpretation of *Melencholia*'s head-dress in Durer's famous engraving of 1514 is also worthy of consideration in relation to the library image of Diana and Endymion. Panofsky construes the wreath in *Melencholia I* to be a palliative against the dangers of the *humor melancholicus*. In order to counter in the melancholic the effects of dryness, it was recommended to place on his/her head the leaves of plants of a watery nature; Panofsky, op cit (n22), 163. Diana, in her passion for Endymion, may be attempting to correct the imbalance of humours which is causing her lover's prolonged indisposition.
- (51) *Ibid*, 159. Whyte too writes that, 'There is some confusion about the derivation and transmission of the epithet phlegmatic', op cit (n21), 57. The author's own findings substantiate this. The phlegmatic character offered little scope for artistic interpretation and sometimes exchanged its iconography with the sanguine. According to one convention, the phlegmatic couple play instruments harmoniously together to denote their unruffled temperaments. In other cases, for example, in a manuscript in the British Museum (codex BM Add MS 17987, a calendar from the Upper Rhine of 1446, folios 226 and 227), the sanguine couple play instruments, since 'music be the food of love'. The phlegmatic couple in this manuscript sit instead in composed discussion. It will similarly be noted that in the Ripa reproduction (Figure 12), the sanguine (rather than the phlegmatic) is shown playing a lyre.
- (52) Panofsky, op cit (n22), 157; Sez nec, op cit (n22), 47; Shapiro, op cit (n42), 87. Galen's medical tenet that the female is colder, moister and more phlegmatic than the male was considered congruous with the biblical account of Eve's creation out of Adam's rib, according to William of Conches in his *Philosophia*; Klibansky *et al*, op cit (n22), 105.
- (53) The mythological account of the rape of Proserpine is related in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 5:358-424, the *Fasti* 4:393-620 and in Claudian's *De raptu Proserpinae*. Struck by one of Cupid's arrows and suddenly consumed by love, Pluto, king of the underworld, abducted the goddess Proserpine and carried her down to his domain, whence she was eventually released,

on Jupiter's dispensation, for only part of each year. Since her mother, Ceres, had spread barrenness across the earth pending Proserpine's return, the latter is associated with the returning season of spring following the dark months of winter. Iconographical analysis of the vault decoration discloses a typically Renaissance multi-layering of meaning. The selection of the two goddesses Diana and Proserpine for depiction in the Piccolomini Library is related to their established significance as moon deities (Fulgentius 2:16), hence they have a symbolic connection with the crescent moons of the Piccolomini crest, which is prominently displayed in painted stucco at the centre of the vault: this connection is already noted by Holmquist, op cit (n3), p33, and explored in more depth by Toracca, in Settis and Toracca (eds), op cit (n1), 257-288. Their additional significance as allusions to the temperaments presents a tier of meaning not previously noted.

- (54) See n53.
- (55) Bober and Rubinstein trace the provenance of this Roman sarcophagus relief (dating to the mid-second century AD), including Cardinal Francesco's ownership of it; Bober and Rubinstein, op cit (n40), 56.
- (56) This derives from the iconography of *Discord*, Panofsky, op cit (n22), 160; Klibansky, op cit (n22), 300; Shapiro, op cit (n42), 86.
- (57) There existed a tradition in medieval thought according to which each of the four temperaments was attributed a qualitative value. This derived from Aristotle's allocation to each of the four elements of a specific place in the structure of the cosmos: closest to the central point of the universe was earth, farthest from it fire (because it strives to move upwards) and between them air and water, thus the higher the element the purer its nature; see n19. Because of the equivalence of the four temperaments with the four elements, medieval thought accordingly endowed these also with an equivalent scale of value, except that the sanguine temperament, as the original temperament of Adam, was regarded the most auspicious, the melancholic the least; Panofsky, op cit (n22), 158; Klibansky et al. op cit (n22), 14, 104-6. In the philosophical disciplines the writings of Aristotle and of his most influential commentators Avicenna and Averroes were the main textbooks in thirteenth century universities. During and after the thirteenth century Aristotelian philosophy developed in close connection with medicine, notably in Naples and Siena; Kristeller, 'Philosophy and medicine', op cit (n34), 157-174.
- (58) On the friendships and exchanges between Cusanus, Bessarion and Aeneas Piccolomini, see Pastor, op cit (n10), Volume 3, 32; P O Kristeller, 'A Latin Translation of Gemistos Plethon's *De Fato* by Johannes Sophianos dedicated to Nicholas of Cusa', in *Studies*, op cit (n34), Volume 3, 21-38; Seznec, op cit (n22), 49; M Watanabe, *The Political Ideas of Nicholas of Cusa with Special Reference to his De Concordantia Catholica* (Geneve, 1963), 19. Cardinal Francesco's own close personal relationships with Cardinals Cusanus and Bessarion are described by Strnad, in 'Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini', op cit (n10), 81f. That the cardinal referred to Cusanus as an authority in matters of protocol is recorded by Johannes Burckard, papal master of ceremonies, in his report of a secret consistory held in 1493: Strnad, 'Studia piccolomineana', op cit (n12), 363-5.
- (59) The basic elements in everything are the same but individuality is caused by differing proportions thereof, so that even the sun consists of, besides fire, a layer of water, air and earth: '*In Sole si quis esset, non appareret illa claritas quae nobis: considerato enim corpore Solis, tunc habet quandam quasi terram centraliorem et quandam luciditatem quasi ignilem circumferentialem et in medio quasi aqueam nubem et aerem clariorem ... Unde si quis esset extra regionem ignis, terra ... in circumferentia suae regionis per medium ignis lucida stella appareret, sicut nobis, qui sumus circa circumferentiam regionis Solis, Sol lucidissimus apparet*', *De docta ignorantia* cited in E Cassirer, *The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy*, with introduction and translated by M Domandi (Oxford, 1963), 26. *De docta ignorantia* is known to have been available in Italy, since a copy was ordered in 1460 by Filelfo from Giovanni Andrea de Bussi, erstwhile secretary to Nicholas of Cusa and first librarian of the Vatican library; E Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (London, 1958), 58 n5. Bussi and Cardinal Francesco were on friendly terms: upon Bussi's death, Francesco secured a loan from the Spannocchi for the purposes of acquiring manuscripts from his personal library, Sanfilippo, op cit (n38), 30.
- (60) '*Elementa uero in uia generationis esse ad corpora mixta, cum sint eorum materia; non tamen adeo ut semper in corpora mixta transmictentur, aut in transmutatione persistant. Sed habere proprias ac determinatas formas, ratione quarum ad perfectionem pertineant uniuersi; sicut et corpora mixta, eodem modo et humores in homine ad membra se habere, quoniam et*

proprias retineant formas per se ipsos non corrupti aut in membra transmutati. Sicque de perfectione humani corporis esse, quemadmodum partes reliquas quamuis minorem perfectionem assequantur. Nam et elementa minus perfectas habent formas, quam corpora mixta, et sicut omnes mundi partes non equaliter, sed secundum modum uniuscuiusque perfectionem consequitur; ita et humores aliquo modo ab anima rationali in homine perfici, non tamen eque ac membra principalia et partes perfectiores, quia non sentiunt, sicut neque capilli neque ungues aut ossa. ' ; Pius II, cited by Cugnoni, op cit (n13), 333.

- (61) The allusions to the four temperaments (as a visual exposition of man's post-lapsarian condition) in *Diana and Endymion* and *The Rape of Proserpine*, discussed in this article, take their place in the vault alongside the *Scenes with Satyrs*, which allegorise the creation of the world out of chaos, and the *Pastoral Scenes*, which allegorise the six ages of man and eternal life after death, together with the four seasonal *putti* representing cyclical temporality. These *in toto* map out the pre-conditions for terrestrial experience, the foundation for the historical narratives on the walls below. As stated at the head of these notes, these interpretations will be fully expounded in the author's forthcoming doctoral thesis.
- (62) Panofsky, op cit (n22), 84f, 157f; Klibansky *et al*, op cit (n22), 103-111, citing evidence from twelfth century texts of William of Conches, Hugues de Fouilloi and Hildegard of Bingen.
- (63) The scriptural account of the first sin is in Genesis (3:1-7).
- (64) See n84 below.
- (65) For example, *De civitate Dei* XIII.14. The English translation used in the production of this article is that provided in D Knowles (ed), *Concerning The City of God against the Pagans: A new Translation by Henry Bettenson with an Introduction by David Knowles* (Harmondsworth, 1972). The reference given here is found in Knowles (ed) at p523. Augustine's view of humanity as a *massa damnata* and the implications of the Fall from Grace for his political philosophy are analysed by E Pagels, 'The Politics of Paradise: Augustine's Exegesis of Genesis 1-3 versus that of John Chrysostom', *Harvard Theological Review* 78 (1985), 67-99.
- (66) *De civitate Dei*, XIII.3; Knowles (ed), op cit (n65), 512.
- (67) *De civitate Dei*, XIII.14; Knowles (ed), op cit (n65), 523.
- (68) W A Christian, 'The Creation of the World' in R W Battenhouse (ed), *A Companion to the Study of Saint Augustine* (New York, 1955), 326.
- (69) Augustine was intrigued by the first sentence of Genesis, examining it in his *Confessions*, in his treatises on Genesis and in *De civitate Dei*. From this he develops a theory of the meaning of history which has since been woven into the fabric of western culture; *ibid*, 317.
- (70) *De civitate Dei*, XI.6, cited in *ibid*, p318; Knowles (ed), op cit (n65), 436.
- (71) *De civitate Dei*, XI.8, cited in *ibid*, p318; Knowles (ed), op cit (n65), 437.
- (72) *Ibid*, 318.
- (73) The period up to the Fall remains the mythical prologue to history, the timeless age of perfection; H Levin, *The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance* (New York, 1969), 168ff. For Augustine, the creation of Eve from Adam's side foreshadowed the relationship of Christ and the Church. The Church is the new Eve, born from the sacraments of the water and the blood that flowed from the side of Christ, the second Adam; *De civitate Dei*, XXII.7; Knowles (ed), op cit (n65), 1057. This typology was continued by Nicolas of Cusa in his *De concordantia Catholica*; see nn 81, 82 below.
- (74) BAV, codex Vat. Burghesianus 366. The manuscript was copied and signed by Petrus Honestus and the frontispiece decorated by Giuliano Amedei for Gregorio Lolli Piccolomini. The manuscript is dated 12th June 1462; Strnad, 'Studia piccolomineana', op cit (n12), 347; J Ruyschaert, 'Miniaturistes 'romains' sous Pie II', in *Enea Silvio Piccolomini: Papa Pio II. Atti del Convegno per il quinto centenario della morte e altri scritti raccolti da Domenico Maffei* (Siena, 1968), 245-294, specifically here 263 and 282.
- (75) BAV, codex Reg.lat.1882. After Pius II's death, Jacopo da Fabriano, the most important of his manuscript illuminators, completed for Cardinal Francesco the decoration of Augustine's *De civitate Dei* which had been begun earlier for Gilforte Buonconti of Pisa, Pius II's late bursar. On folio 3r appears the Piccolomini arms with the cardinal's hat and the inscription: FRANCISCVS CARDINALIS SENENSIS; Strnad, 'Studia piccolomineana', op cit (n12), 316 and n83.
- (76) The humanists studied and admired Augustine's classical Ciceronian polish. For the full significance of the writings of this saint to the humanists, see P O Kristeller, 'Augustine and the Early Renaissance', in *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, Volume 1 of 4 (Rome, 1969), 355-72, specifically here 360-65.

- (77) The Augustinian order was enjoying an ascendancy during the latter fifteenth century, resulting in extensive conventual building activity in the vicinity of Cardinal Francesco's *palazzo* in Rome; see for example Pastor, *op cit* (n10), Volume 4, 142ff; D Hay, *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, London, New York, Melbourne, 1977), 60, 74, 77f, 89; Benzi, *op cit* (n20), 17-19. Francesco Piccolomini's colleague and neighbour, Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville was cardinal protector of the Augustinian order until his death in 1483; his friend Cardinal Carafa, was made cardinal protector of the Augustinian Canons Regular of the Lateran Congregation in 1488; his very close collaborator and neighbour, Cardinal Raffaele Riario, was cardinal protector of the Lombard Congregation of Augustinians from 1480. For humanist treatises written and dedicated to Cardinal Francesco by contemporary Augustinians, see Strnad, 'Studia piccolomineana', *op cit* (n12), 354f, 357f. On Francesco's friendship with Aurelio Brandolino at Sant'Agostino in Rome, see D'Amico, *op cit* (n15), 99. For his acquaintance with Egidio da Viterbo, see J W O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church Reform: a study in Renaissance thought* (Leiden, 1968), 21. These, and further connections between Cardinal Francesco and fifteenth century Augustinianism, are explored in the author's forthcoming doctoral thesis.
- (78) The four Latin Doctors of the church frequently appear together in series, often in the four severies of a vault between the cross-ribs, as they do for example in the Chapel of Branda Castiglione, San Clemente, Rome. By elimination, the Piccolomini Library figure can be identified as Saint Augustine by his attributes: Saint Ambrose usually holds a crozier or a whip, whilst Saint Gregory is shown wearing the triple crowned tiara and accompanied by a dove. Saint Jerome is also sometimes depicted amongst books in his study, though he is almost invariably accompanied by his traditional attribute of the lion. Saint Augustine commonly appears sitting at a desk or a lectern amongst books, both in manuscript miniatures and in fresco: famous examples include the vault severy of the Upper Church at San Francesco, Assisi and Taddeo di Bartolo's *Saint Augustine* in the Cappella di Signori in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena. R Stapleford discusses several instances of quattrocento images of Saint Augustine in his study, including the Ognissanti version, in 'Intellect and Intuition in Botticelli's Saint Augustine', *The Art Bulletin* 76 (1994), 69-80.
- (79) The significance of the positioning of the Saint Augustine grisaille in relation to its counterpart opposite it and to those at either end of the library will be discussed elsewhere.
- (80) *De civitate Dei* XIV.28, XV.1, XV.2; Knowles (ed), *op cit* (n65), 593-7. The twenty-two books of *De civitate Dei* were written between c413 and c426 AD in the aftermath of the sack of Rome by the Visigoths in 410 AD. The circumstances and motivation behind its composition are described by D Knowles in his introduction, *op cit* (n65), vii-xxxviii. Augustine's exposure to Neoplatonism was mainly through the *Enneads*, an edition of the teaching of Plotinus by his disciple Porphyry, *ibid*, xxiiiif.
- (81) Watanabe, *op cit* (n59), 30, 40, 46. Prepared for the Council of Basle in 1433, *De concordantia catholica* defends the conciliarist position against the pope, although Cusa later allied himself with the papacy.
- (82) Nicholas of Cusa, *De concordantia catholica*, BAV, bound into Cod. Vat. lat. 4193; Strnad, 'Studia piccolomineana', *op cit* (n12), 363ff and nn 239, 240.
- (83) Cardinal Francesco also owned and annotated reports of the reform councils of Constance and Basle (BAV, Codex Vat. Lat. 4178 and 4193) and Cusa's own reform designs (BAV, Codex Vat. lat. 8090, folios 109r-122v); *ibid*, 364. The reform initiatives of Pius II, Sixtus IV and Alexander VI resulted in nothing more than innocuous rearranging of executive procedures: in each case the drafted bull was never published. These were Pius II's *Pastor aeternus*, drafted 1464, Sixtus IV's bull, *Quonian regnantium cura* and the reform material for Alexander VI's bull *In apostolicae sedis specula*, dating to 1497-8, contained in BAV, Vat. Lat. 3883 and 3884; Hay, *op cit* (n77), 86f. On Francesco's part in Alexander VI's reform commission and the resultant optimism of Church reformers, see Strand, 'Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini', *op cit* (n10), 380-3.
- (84) *'Debet itaque citharoedus rex esse, et qui bene sciat ... concordiam observare ... nec nimis nec minus extendere, ut communis concordantia per omnium harmoniam resonet. Sit itaque cura imperatori, ut recte ad modum experti medici corpus in sanitate servet, ut vitalis spiritus recte perproportionabile medium sibi iungi posit. Nam dum viderit aliquam ex quattuor complexionibus excedere a temperamento vel deficere, et propterea corpus distemperatum, vel propter abundantem avaritosam melancoliam, quae pestes in corpus seminavit varias, usuram frauds, deceptions, furta, rapinas et omnes eas artes, quibus absque labore cum quadam calliditate deceptorie divitiae magnae quaeruntur, quod absque lesione Reipublicae*

*fieri nequit, vel si ex colericis dissidiis, bellis, discisionibus et divisionibus, aut sanguineis pompositatibus, luxuriis, comessionibus et similibus, aut flegmaticis acediositatibus in cunctis bonis operibus, et lucrandi victus causa, et ob patriae tutelam laboribus corpus torpescere, febrescere, tumescere vel exinaniri: quaerat medelam et audiat libros et consilia peritissimorum quorundam Reipublicae medicorum...'. Nicholas of Cusa, Opera, Paris 1514, Volume 3, folio 75v, cited by Klibansky et al, op cit (n22), 119f. Cusanus was well known for his interest and experiments in medicine; Watanabe, op cit (n59), 180. His exposition of the theory of the four elements and the four conditions, following Aristotle and Albertus Magnus, is found in his *De Venatione Sapientiae* (Chapter 39), written in 1462-3. This is available in translation in *Nicholas of Cusa, Metaphysical Speculations: Six Latin Texts translated into English by Jasper Hopkins* (Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1998), 152-238, specifically here 233, 297 n1, 321 n341.*

- (85) The most extensive, near-contemporaneous and extant example of a papal life cycle is that of Pope Sixtus IV in the Sistine wing of the Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Rome (Umbrian school, c1476-84). In a poor state of repair and positioned high on the walls and between windows, the frescoes are difficult to see. These are however fully illustrated in E D Howe, *The Hospital of Santo Spirito and Pope Sixtus IV* (New York, 1978). In her essay 'Painted histories of the Popes', Toracca reconstructs from various textual sources the six papal *istorie* of Alexander VI painted by Pinturicchio (c1495-97) in the lower garden tower of Castel Sant' Angelo, but destroyed in c1628 during reconstruction work carried out by Urban VIII Barberini; Settis and Toracca (eds), op cit (n1), 227-236. In his study of the Piccolomini Library, Shepherd surveys the literary tradition of *uomini famosi* as well as extant and lost visual precedents concerning the lives of the popes; op cit (n1), 261-281. In geographical terms, the nearest papal life cycle to the Piccolomini Library is that of the eleventh century pope, Alexander III pictured in the Sala di Balìa, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena (Spinello Aretino, completed 1308); see the study by E C Southard, *The Frescoes in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico, 1289-1539: Studies in Imagery and Relations to Other Communal Palaces in Tuscany*, PhD thesis, Indiana University (1978), 372-391.
- (86) The *istorie* in the Piccolomini Library which are nonetheless broadly in keeping with the traditional pattern are the sixth, seventh and ninth of the series, namely the elevation of Aeneas to the cardinalate, the procession following his pontifical coronation and his canonisation of Catherine of Siena. The appearance of Aeneas Piccolomini riding a white stallion, seen in the library in the opening fresco, is a common device in papal *istorie*.
- (87) Pius's ambition to lead a crusade may seem at face value incompatible with a desire for peace. Saint Augustine, in *De civitate Dei*, is at pains to expound his 'just war' theory. Whilst peace is the end of mankind's endeavours, it may be necessary and right to conduct war as a means to attain that end; *De civitate Dei*, XV.; Knowles (ed), op cit (n65), 599f.
- (88) *De civitate Dei*, XIII, 14-15, XIV.28; Knowles (ed), op cit (n65), 523f, 593f.
- (89) *De civitate Dei*, XIV, 4; Knowles (ed), op cit (n65), 553.
- (90) The epitaph beneath the *istoria* reads: 'PIVS.II.PONT.MAX. ALVDOVICO MANTVANOR/ PRINCIPE CLASSE IN NAVMACHIE SPECIEM EXCEPTVS. VI. CALEN IVNIAS MANTVAM AD IN DICTVM DE EXPEDITIONE IN TVRCOS CONVENTVM INGREDITVR', (Pope Pius II, welcomed by Ludovico Prince of the Mantuans by a fleet in a mock sea-battle, on 27 May enters Mantua for the congress proclaimed on account of the expedition against the Turks); Shepherd's transcription and translation, op cit (n1), 174. Pius II officially opened the Diet of Mantua on 1st June 1459, concluding it in January 1460. His own account of the congress, evincing disappointment and frustration, constitutes Book 3 of *I Commentarii*; Gabel, op cit (n11), 118-144. Aeneas Piccolomini's early rise to high office is charted in the narratives on the east wall. His commitment to the cause of a crusade is made clear in the inscription accompanying the sixth narrative, which marks the beginning of his curial office as cardinal. The remaining four narratives on the west wall show episodes from his pontificate.
- (91) According to Augustine, because of its loss of orientation following original sin, the majority of humanity is cut off from the heavenly city and from God. A small minority, by virtue of God's grace, has been predestined to be saved from eternal punishment (*De civitate Dei*, XIII.14; Knowles, op cit (n65), 523). The recurring theme of self-sacrifice in Pius's autobiography, in contemporary tributes to him and within the iconography of the library decoration, suggests that Pius is to be understood as one of this elect body.
- (92) The epitaph reads: 'PIVS CVM ANCON. EXPEDITIONE IN TVRCOS. ACCELERARET EX FEBRE INTERIIT CVM ANIMAM HEREMITA CAMALDVLEN. INCOELVM

- EFFERRI VIDIT CORPVS VERO PATRVN DECRETO INVRBEM REPORTATVM EST', (Pius, whilst at Ancona hurrying on with the expedition against the Turks, died with fever; whose soul a Camaldolese hermit saw carried off to the heavens; whose body however by decree of the fathers was carried back to Rome); transcription and translation by Shepherd, op cit (n1), 140. The final book of *I Commentarii* remaining incomplete, the facts of Pius's final days are recounted in a letter written by Cardinal Iacopo Ammanati to Cardinal Francesco; Strnad, 'Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini', op cit (n10) 206 n213; Strnad, 'Pio II e suo nipote', op cit (n13), 72 n121. The letter is reproduced in Giacomo Ammannati Piccolomini, Cherubini (ed), op cit (n6), p????PAGE????
- (93) See n6 above.
- (94) *De civitate Dei*, XIV, Chapter 3; Knowles, op cit (n65), 552.
- (95) *De civitate Dei*, XIV, 13; Knowles, op cit (n65), 573.
- (96) *De civitate Dei*, XIV, 14; Knowles, op cit (n65), 574. In his memoirs, *I Commentarii*, Pius writes in a decidedly self-righteous and sometimes arrogant manner; humility would not be perceived as a prominent quality. However, the episodes selected for depiction on the library walls accentuate this virtue, so that Aeneas is frequently shown in an attitude of submission, and the *osculum pedum*, so conspicuous in other papal istorie (see n86), is singularly lacking here.
- (97) Cardinal Francesco's active interest in Ciceronianism is recorded in relation to a particular genre, known as epideictic oratory. According to the contemporary testimony of Johannes Burchard and Paris de Grassis, Francesco and his close associate Cardinal Oliviero Carafa were important in actively promoting epideictic oratory by specially commissioning sermons for the sacred ritual of the papal court; Norman, PhD, 142 and n161.
- (98) Humanism in Rome appeared in embryonic form from about 1420, though it triumphed in the decades following the death of Pope Pius II: J F D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome; Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation*, Baltimore and London, 1983, p3ff; J F D'Amico, 'Humanism in Rome', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms and Legacy* (3 vols), A Rabil (ed), (Philadelphia, 1988), 1, 264-295. Wind describes the intellectual circle around Raffaele Riario as similarly cultivating an Augustinian revival of Christian mysticism combined with a formal cult of Cicero and Virgil; E Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (London, 1968) 186.
- (99) Aeneas Piccolomini had referred to Plato as '*philosophorum maximus*' (65). Two of Pius II's closest friends were the cardinals Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464) and Giovanni Bessarion (?1403-72), both of whom were profoundly influenced by Neoplatonism; Francesco Piccolomini remained friends with them until their deaths in 1464 and 1472 respectively; see n58 above. From extant letters, Cardinal Francesco is known to have corresponded with Angelo Poliziano, Marcantonio Coccio (Sabellico), Bartolomeo Scala and Marsilio Ficino, his relationship with the latter being described by Sanfilippo as 'close'; op cit (n?), 30. Poliziano is documented as a visitor on at least one occasion to Francesco's Palazzo di Siena in Rome; E Piccolomini, 'De codicibus', op cit (n?), p?? Ficino dedicated to him his treatise *In convivium Platonis de amore (Commentary on Plato's Symposium on Love)*; Strnad 'Studia piccolomineana', op cit (n?), 349f. No other Roman academy since the death of Bessarion in 1472 had any fascination for Plato or had any set philosophical commitment; D'Amico, 1983, op cit (n?), 90ff.
- (100) On his relationship with Germany, see n38 above.
- (101) Charles Trinkaus has coined the term *theologia rhetorica* to describe the humanist involvement in theology. 'Rhetorical theology' he defines as the presentation of theological concepts in an eloquent fashion, developing from the principles of ancient rhetoric, so as to move the will of the hearer or reader to embrace them more fully and easily. This was fully dependent on the notion of voluntarism, since it was the will that the orator sought to influence; D'Amico 'Humanism and Pre-Reformation Theology', in Rabil (ed), op cit (n?), 3, 349-379, here 349f],
- (102) On Siena and medicine, see n57 above. 'Ultramontane iconography' refers here to that of the four temperaments, see n35 above.
- (103) See nn82, 83 above.
- (104) See n61 above. Paradoxically, an early challenge to the theory of the tetrads in relation to physiology came within only four decades of the painting of the Piccolomini Library: Jean Fernel (1497-1558) of the Paris medical faculty argued in *De naturali parte medicinae*, published in 1542, that there were some illnesses 'beyond the power of the

elements'; R Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity to the Present* (London, 1997), 173.