



The Medieval(ism) in British Library MS Yates Thompson 36

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Medievalism, by its very nature, depends on how its interpreters define the Middle Ages, and few artifacts are as controversial in this regard as the *Divine Comedy*. Often hewing to traditional Catholic dogma, addressing quintessentially medieval themes, and echoing the structure of twelfth- and thirteenth-century narratives, Dante's text has been characterized as a milestone, epitome, and/or last gasp of the Middle Ages. Yet, as it sometimes subverts that dogma, reinvents those themes, and turns those narratives towards the individual, it has also been seen as foreshadowing, catalyzing, or confirming the arrival of the Renaissance. It challenges not only the specific criteria by which we define the Middle Ages, but also the standards and methods by which we define *any* era.¹

As problematic as is the *Commedia*, however, it does not raise nearly as many questions about the borders of the Middle Ages—and, by extension, medievalism—as do its miniatures, particularly those in British Library MS Yates Thompson 36.² As mid-fifteenth-century illuminations, these paintings fit well within traditional definitions of medieval art, such as the one implicit in the mission statement for *Studies in Medievalism*: “an interdisciplinary medium of exchange for scholars in all fields [...] concerned with any aspect of the post-medieval idea and study of the Middle Ages and the influence [...] of this study on Western society after 1500.”³ Moreover, these miniatures appear to have been

¹ For more on the taxonomic ambiguity of the *Commedia*, see my article “My Own Private Dante: Tom Phillips’ Symbolic *Inferno*,” *The Year’s Work in Medievalism* 31 (2016), <<https://sites.google.com/site/theyearsworkinmedievalism/all-issues/31-2016>> (last accessed 15 March 2018).

² For on-line color reproductions of the Yates Thompson miniatures, see the relevant location on the official website for the British Library: <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Yates_Thompson_MS_36> (last accessed 15 March 2018), to which I will parenthetically refer by folio at appropriate points in my main text. For printed color reproductions of the *Paradiso* miniatures, see John Pope-Hennessy, *Paradiso: The Illuminations to Dante’s Divine Comedy by Giovanni di Paolo* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1993). For printed black-and-white reproductions of most of the miniatures in the manuscript, see the second volume of Peter Brieger, Millard Meiss, and Charles Singleton, *Illuminated Manuscripts of the Divine Comedy*, 2 vols (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969).

³ For this mission statement, see the introductory pages for any volume of *Studies in Medievalism* since the fourth, *Medievalism in England*, ed. Leslie J. Workman (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1992).

commissioned by or for a conservative patron, through a conservative book agent, and from a conservative market. Yet that patron was a famously urbane prince, the agent seems to have been an internationally renowned scholar, and the illuminators were on the cutting edge of that market. Indeed, these painters clearly demonstrate awareness of developments in Florence, the most innovative art center of their day, and when they do depart from those developments, they often promote narrative ends that are far from earlier values and interests. They add to the many contradictions that challenge the boundaries of the Middle Ages and, concomitantly, the core of medievalism.

Though, to my knowledge, no one has publicly addressed this aspect of the miniatures, they have not lacked for attention since Henry Yates Thompson acquired the manuscript in 1901 and his wife donated it to the British Library in 1941.⁴ One of the most renowned art historians of the twentieth century, Sir John Pope-Hennessy, wrote two books on them; a somewhat less famous but no less respected contemporary, Millard Meiss, discussed them in multiple articles and chapters; and they have been the focus of at least one paper or presentation by many other scholars, including Francis Wormald, Giulietta Chelazzi Dini, and Benjamin David.⁵ Nearly all of the sources since Pope-Hennessy's first monograph, *A Sienese Codex of the Divine Comedy* (1947), agree that the manuscript's decoration dates from the 1440s and that the sixty-two bas-de-page *Paradiso* miniatures are by the major Sienese artist Giovanni di Paolo.⁶ Meiss has argued that the thirty-seven bas-de-page *Inferno* miniatures, the fifteen bas-de-page *Purgatorio* miniatures, and the historiated initial at the beginning of each cantica are by Priamo della Quercia, who was a brother of the famous Sienese sculptor Jacopo della Quercia and designed the frescoes in the Sienese Spedale.⁷ But Pope-Hennessy has built a more widely accepted case that all but the bas-de-page *Paradiso* miniatures are by Lorenzo Vecchietta, a Sienese polymath renowned for such major monuments as the frescoes in the Sienese baptistery.⁸ In

⁴ For the manuscript's provenance begin with the British Library website <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Yates_Thompson_MS_36>, last accessed 15 March 2018.

⁵ Prior to *Paradiso: The Illuminations*, Pope-Hennessy published *A Sienese Codex of the Divine Comedy* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1947). Meiss referred to the manuscript repeatedly, but at greatest length and detail in "The Smiling Pages," in the first volume of *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 31-80, esp. 70-80. See also Francis Wormald, "The Yates Thompson Manuscripts," *British Museum Quarterly* 16 (1951): 4-6; Giulietta Chelazzi Dini, "Lorenzo Vecchietta, Priamo della Quercia, Nicola da Siena: Nuove osservazioni sulla *Divina Commedia* Yates Thompson 36," in *Jacopo della Quercia fra Gotico e Rinascimento: Atti del convegno di studi, Siena, Facoltà di Letture e Filosofia, 2-5 ottobre 1975*, ed. Giulietta Chelazzi Dini (Florence: Centro di Firenze, 1977), 203-28; as well as two articles by Benjamin David: "Sites of Confluence: The Master of the Yates Thompson *Divine Comedy*," in *Tributes to Jonathan J. G. Alexander: The Making and Meaning of Illuminated Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, Art and Architecture*, ed. Susan L'Engle and Gerald B. Guest (London and Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 21-32, and "The Paradisal Body in Giovanni di Paolo's Illuminations of the *Commedia*," *Dante Studies* 122 (2004): 45-70. For additional bibliography on the manuscript, begin with the British Library website <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Yates_Thompson_MS_36>, last accessed 15 March 2018.

⁶ For publishing details of Pope-Hennessy's book, see note 5 above. Note that, on page 70 of "The Smiling Pages," even Meiss agrees with Pope-Hennessy about the attribution of the *Paradiso* miniatures, while completely disagreeing about the attribution of the other miniatures in the manuscript.

⁷ Meiss, "The Smiling Pages," esp. 70-80. (This essay appears to have been completed by 1964, when Brieger, Meiss, and Singleton wrote their dedication pages for *Illuminated Manuscripts*, and it would appear that this is the 1964 paper to which Pope Hennessy refers on pages 15-16 of *Paradiso: The Illuminations* when he says that Meiss incorrectly ascribed the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* miniatures to Priamo.)

⁸ Pope-Hennessy made his initial case for Vecchietta in *A Sienese Codex* and, from that same year, in *Sienese Quattrocento Painting* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1947), esp. 16, 29. He then extended and strengthened that case in *Paradiso: The*

any case, the Aragonese coat-of-arms on the first folio and the consensus on the date of the miniatures leave little doubt that they were commissioned by or for Alfonso V of Aragon, and documents showing that the king employed the *Commedia* commentator Guiniforto Barzizza at his court in 1432 and thereafter to collect books for the royal library suggest that Barzizza may have coordinated the commission.⁹

Precisely how much control Barzizza, or anyone else, had over the manuscript can no longer be determined, as we lack any documentation pertaining directly to the commission. But even if Alfonso did not pay for the codex, even if it was, say, the “bello e ricco presente” that the Sienese gave him in 1447, it evidently suited his tastes, for it was accepted into the royal collection and passed down through his descendants until the Duke of Calabria, Fernando de Aragón, gave it to a convent in 1538.¹⁰ Moreover, it parallels many of Alfonso’s (other) commissions in not only coming from outside Florence, which was already establishing a Europe-wide reputation for artistic innovation, but also departing from those developments.¹¹ While Andrea del Castagno, Paolo Uccello, and other Florentines were refining Giotto’s and Masaccio’s emphasis on realistic space and volumetric forms, which have long been equated with the Renaissance, Alfonso favored painters who sacrificed those effects for narrative clarity and extreme detail.¹² Perhaps motivated by his political and military conflicts with Florence, he looked to work from Siena and other markets where the Middle Ages endured in vestiges of the so-called International Gothic style.¹³ That is, to the degree that he himself was not medieval, he often practiced medievalism.

And the same could be said for Barzizza, whose 1440 commentary on the *Inferno* suggests he would not have needed much prodding to arrange for retardataire miniatures.¹⁴ Rather than join other

⁹ Illuminations, where he notes on page 16 that the recent cleaning of Vecchietta’s frescoes in the Sienese Baptistery reveal many more, even closer parallels to the Yates Thompson *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* miniatures.

¹⁰ For more on Alfonso’s possible patronage of this manuscript, see Pope-Hennessy, *Paradiso: The Illuminations*, 10-12. For a discussion of Barzizza’s possible participation in it, see Peter Brieger and Millard Meiss’s catalogue in the first volume of *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 209-339, esp. 269 and 319.

¹¹ As noted above, see <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Yates_Thompson_MS_36> (last accessed 15 March 2018) for the provenance of the manuscript. For the possibility that it represents the Sienese gift, see Pope-Hennessy, *Paradiso: The Illuminations*, 12.

¹² For more on Alfonso’s patronage, begin with Alison Cole, *Virtue and Magnificence: Art of the Italian Renaissance Courts* (London: Calmann and King; New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995), esp. 42-65.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ For more on Alfonso’s patronage in the specific context of politics and the Yates Thompson codex, see Pope-Hennessy, *Paradiso: The Illuminations*, 10-11. For more on Alfonso’s politics in general, begin with Alan Ryder, *Alfonso of Magnanimous: King of Aragon, Naples, and Sicily* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), and Jerry H. Bentley, *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987). For more on the Sienese perpetuation of what has been termed the “International Gothic” style, particularly for the relationship of this perpetuation to the Yates Thompson miniatures, see Pope-Hennessy’s three books noted above, particularly the pages mentioned above in *Siennese Quattrocento Painting*.

¹⁵ The authoritative edition of Barzizza’s commentary is still *Lo Inferno della Commedia di Dante Alighieri col commento di Guiniforto dell’Bargigli*, ed. Giuseppe Zacheroni (Marseilles: Leopoldo Mossy; Florence: Giuseppe Molini, 1838). For a brief contextualization of Barzizza’s commentary relative to fourteenth- and fifteenth-century responses to the *Commedia*, begin with Pier Giorgio Ricci’s entry on him in the first volume of the *Enciclopedia dantesca*, ed. Umberto Bosco, 6 vols (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1970-78), 529. For a longer such contextualization, see my dissertation “Engaging the Viewer: Reading Structures and Narrative Strategies in Illuminated Manuscripts of the *Divine Comedy*,” Columbia University (1999), esp. 190-92.

fifteenth-century commentators in concentrating on the literary merits of Dante's text, on the historical contexts from which it emerged, and on biographies of its characters, he echoes, and often goes so far as to copy, fourteenth-century commentators who dwell on Dante's classical, mythical, and biblical sources.¹⁵ Moreover, at least one dedication copy of his commentary was decorated by the extraordinarily old-fashioned *Vitae Imperatorum* Master.¹⁶ Though, as with the Yates Thompson manuscript, it is impossible to know precisely what role Barzizza played in the production of this codex, which is now split between Bibliothèque nationale MS italien 2017 in Paris and Biblioteca Comunale MS 32 in Imola, it was not uncommon for authors to choose and advise the illuminators of their dedication copies, and it may be no coincidence that, as with the Yates Thompson miniatures, those in the Paris-Imola manuscript depart from the latest Florentine art and look back to much older models.¹⁷ Indeed, as the Master invokes his Lombard roots in late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century miniatures, he privileges narrative clarity and decorative pattern even more than do the Yates Thompson illuminators.¹⁸ To an even greater degree than they, he joins Barzizza and Trecento commentators in presenting Dante's narrative as a window into another world quite distinct from our own.

The question thus arises as to why the Yates Thompson patron did not hire the Master to illuminate this manuscript, particularly if Barzizza served as the project coordinator. The answer may lie in the availability of the Master, the identity of the patron, particularly if this codex was indeed a gift from the Sienese, and the fact that, while Siena may not have been quite as artistically far from Florence as were the Master's earlier, northern Italian sources, it still represented a much more retroactive art scene than that of its arch-rival. While the Florentines and other local competitors built on their inheritance from Giotto's and Masaccio's brand of optical illusionism, the Sienese looked back to Duccio and other artists from Siena's political, military, and economic peak in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.¹⁹ Long after the Florentines had abandoned their Italo-Byzantine heritage in favor of convincing shading and one-point perspective, the Sienese still employed gold leaf, flat fields of color, and an "intuitive" perspective that blatantly departs from how eyes actually operate.²⁰

¹⁵ Fugelso, "Engaging the Viewer," 191.

¹⁶ For on-line color reproductions of some miniatures from this manuscript, see <[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Inf._09_Vitae_Imperatorum_Master,_Dante_e_Virgilio_osservano_il_mese_saggero_celeste_che_apre_la_porta_di_Dite_\(Inferno_IX\),_ca._1440.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Inf._09_Vitae_Imperatorum_Master,_Dante_e_Virgilio_osservano_il_mese_saggero_celeste_che_apre_la_porta_di_Dite_(Inferno_IX),_ca._1440.jpg)> (last accessed 15 March 2018), or search the Web with the terms "Vitae Imperatorum Master" and "Dante". For printed color reproductions of a few of the miniatures and for black-and-white reproductions of almost all of the miniatures, see the second volume of Brieger et al., *Illuminated Manuscripts*. For more on this copy and its relationship to the Master, begin with the essay, "Catalogue," in the first volume of Brieger et al., *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 318-19.

¹⁷ For more on Barzizza's possible participation in the Paris-Imola manuscript, begin with Brieger and Meiss, "Catalogue," 318-19. For more on the relationship of authors to illuminators, particularly with regard to dedication copies, begin with Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), esp. 52-72. And for more on the *Vitae Imperatorum* Master, begin with Anna Melograni, "Appunti di miniature lombarda. Ricerche sul 'Maestro delle Vitae Imperatorum,'" *Storia dell'arte* 70 (1990): 273-314.

¹⁸ On the *Vitae Imperatorum* Master's sources, begin with Melograni.

¹⁹ As mentioned in note 13 above, see the three Pope-Hennessy books I have cited, particularly *Sienese Quattrocento Painting*, for more on the retroactive nature of Sienese painting relative to the Yates Thompson miniatures.

²⁰ Ibid.

As in the multi-point perspective and heavy black outlines of the Yates Thompson miniatures, they resist the viewer's optical, if not mental, entrance to the images.

Yet, though the Yates Thompson illuminators often invoke artistic conventions that reach back to the earliest Middle Ages, they sometimes demonstrate awareness of contemporaneous innovations that originated in Florence and are usually considered central to Renaissance art. Indeed, perhaps because Alfonso often made a point of advertising his extraordinary urbanity, or because Barzizza was an exceptionally well-traveled scholar, or because the Yates Thompson illuminators could not completely ignore, much less be oblivious to, developments in the most fashionable art-market of their time, they sometimes manipulate or conspicuously depart from those Florentine innovations even while promoting post-medieval ends.²¹ That is to say, they comment on the relevance of Dante's political and theological themes by selectively shaping perspective and other means of pictorially engaging us.

This manipulation begins as early as Canto Two of the *Inferno*, when Virgil and the Pilgrim are approaching the gate of hell (fol. 4). In most fourteenth-century miniatures of this scene, the portal turns not towards the figures of Dante and his guide, who almost always approach it from the left side of the image, but towards the surface of the folio.²² It welcomes the viewer to hell and suggests that we are to share the Pilgrim's journey with him, that this afterlife awaits us just as much as it did him.²³

Indeed, one of those fourteenth-century illuminators angles the portal in such a fashion as to give us the same view of it as the Pilgrim has of the tower in which the gate is embedded, for the inner edge of the doorway suggests the portal opens approximately the same degree to our right as the crenellations, and implicitly the rest of the tower, face to our left, towards the Pilgrim.²⁴ In accord with Guido da Pisa's 1327-28 *Expositiones et Glose super Comediam Dantis*, which is the only early commentary to suggest that Dante actually experienced the narrative and which appears directly above this miniature in Musée Condé MS 597, Buonamico Buffalmacco puts us in the protagonist's shoes.²⁵ Just as Dante launches Canto Three with the inscription over the gate, just as he tricks us into initially reading it as if we were the Pilgrim, so, too, this miniature suggests that we should pass through the

²¹ For a starting point on these interpretations of Alfonso's self-promotion, of Barzizza's fame, and the market-awareness of the Yates Thompson illuminators, see Pope-Hennessy's introduction to *Paradiso: The Illuminations*, 7-64.

²² See, for example, the miniature from ca. 1370 of Dante and Virgil Entering Hell (*Inferno* 3), by an anonymous Neapolitan artist, on the recto of folio 4 in British Library MS Additional 19587, which is available on-line in color at <<https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8337&CollID=27&NStart=19587>> (last accessed 15 March 2018). For a black-and-white print reproduction of it, see the second volume of Brieger et al., *Illuminated Manuscripts*, pl. 56b.

²³ For more on this aspect of fourteenth-century miniatures of the gate, see my article "Historicizing the *Divine Comedy*: Renaissance Responses to a 'Medieval' Text," *The Year's Work in Medievalism* 15 (2000): 83-106, esp. 94-95.

²⁴ For an on-line color reproduction of this miniature, see the first image on <<https://www.pinterest.com/pin/396035360969484924/>> (last accessed 15 March 2018), and for a black-and-white print reproduction of it, see the second volume of Brieger et al., *Illuminated Manuscripts*, pl. 54a.

²⁵ For a transcription of Guido's commentary, see Vincenzo Cioffari's edition (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1974). For more on this interpretation of Guido's commentary, particularly in relationship to Buffalmacco's miniatures, see my articles "Historicizing," 89-92, and "The Artist as Reader: Buffalmacco's Illuminations for the *Divine Comedy*," *Dante Studies* 122 (2004): 137-71, esp. 143-45.

underworld not by the protagonist's side but as him, that this narrative is so important and true to the afterlife that we should experience every detail of it first-hand.²⁶

Which is a far cry from how Barzizza and the Yates Thompson illuminators approach Dante's poem. Though Barzizza treats it as more than just an entertaining excuse to display a great deal of erudition and opinion, he does not speculate as to whether and, if so, how Dante may have been inspired by God.²⁷ Indeed, while allowing that we may have much to learn from the *Commedia*, Barzizza's survey of Dante's sources underscores the poem's fabrication and suggests it is as far from us as are the Yates Thompson miniatures.²⁸ Whereas the fourteenth-century gates open towards us, Vecchietta's is almost completely perpendicular to the surface of the image and opens directly towards the Pilgrim. With a perspectival consistency that aligns with contemporaneous Florentine values, it pretends to ignore us and promotes a reading that is far from how the earliest commentators approached Dante's text.²⁹

Nor are those early approaches promoted by the manner in which Vecchietta's city walls, including those extending from the portal, overtly depart from a Florentine consistency of perspective. If the artist were striving for a unity of viewpoint, the wall extending towards us from the near side of the gate in Canto 2 (fol. 4) and from the gate in the miniature immediately after it (fol. 5), as well as the wall extending from the portal of Dis in Canto 8 (fol. 14), should not angle down as steeply as they do, unless we are to assume that hell is perched on a steep cliff that drops away immediately below the bottom edge of the frame. By exposing their top they give us an elevated perspective that distances us from their contents, as it suggests we are far above them and as it radically departs from our much more horizontal perspective of the buildings, landscape, and figures within them. They join with the metal wall that sweeps uninterruptedly between us and Dis in the following two images (fol. 16, 18), as well as with the walls in many other non-Florentine miniatures of the *Inferno*, to suggest that, as Dante was exiled from Florence, so we are banned from an underworld that he and these artists famously associate with his former hometown.³⁰

²⁶ For more on this interpretation of the miniature, see my articles "Historicizing," 87-91, and "The Artist as Reader," 157-60. For more on the manner in which the inscription over the gate of hell in Dante's text may locate the reader in the protagonist's shoes, see not only my articles "Historicizing," 88-89, and his "The Artist as Reader," 159-60, but also John Freccero, "Infernal Irony: The Gates of Hell," *MLN* 99 (1984): 769-86.

²⁷ See Ricci's entry on Barzizza in the *Encyclopedia Dantesca*, and my dissertation "Engaging the Viewer," 192.

²⁸ Fugelso, "Engaging the Viewer," 191-92.

²⁹ For more on this interpretation of the nearly perpendicular gates by Vecchietta and other fifteenth-century illuminators, see my article "Historicizing," 95.

³⁰ For a starting point on the manner in which Dante conflates Florence with hell, begin with Joan Ferrante, *The Political Vision of the Divine Comedy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984). For more on how the illuminators iconographically join or resist Dante in that conflation, see my article "Defining the State in *Commedia* Miniatures: Pictorial Responses to Dante's Condemnation of Florence," *Studies in Iconography* 28 (2007): 171-207. And for more on how Vecchietta and other non-Florentine illuminators shape the walls of hell and manipulate the viewer's apparent accessibility to the underworld as Florence, see my article "Mural Morality: Manipulating Walls to Define Politics in *Commedia* Miniatures," *Dante Studies* 126 (2008): 109-41.

Indeed, perhaps lest that message be missed, Giovanni di Paolo employs a similar pattern in murally manipulating our access to Dante's ex-patria in the Yates Thompson *Paradiso*. Whenever Florence or its allies appear in one of these miniatures, the foreground wall of that city runs much higher and straighter than the foreground wall of cities that opposed Florence. For example, in Giovanni's second illustration of *Paradiso* 17 (fol. 159), the horizontal wall at left impedes our access to Florence Cathedral and the rest of the city from which Dante is expelled, while the dipping wall at right welcomes us to a city that harbors Dante and features a church much like Verona's Sant'Anastasia. Post-medieval consistency of perspective is sacrificed to depart from a medieval focus on theology, as the artist makes a political point of condemning the very city that was the leading exponent of that consistency.³¹

Yet, other post-medieval means of engaging the viewer are employed in the Yates Thompson *Inferno* precisely in the service of a medieval focus on theology. As Count Ugolino pauses from gnawing on Ruggieri's head in Canto 33 to tell how the archbishop starved him and four of the Count's offspring to death, Virgil looks towards us for the only time in this cycle (fol. 61). With a skeptical glance from the corner of his eye, he undermines not only the pictorial conventions up to this point in the manuscript, but also the Count's obfuscation of his own culpability in these events. He sows doubt that Ugolino is innocent of the cannibalism hinted at in the *Commedia*, in historical accounts, and in such details of this miniature as the wolves chasing the children in Ugolino's dream, the Count biting his hands as his offspring beg him to take their flesh, and the juxtaposition of his blood-red mouth with their faces on the floor of their prison. Amid a series of other pictorial betrayals pointing to Ugolino's narrative and historical treachery, Virgil punctures the pictorial fiction at precisely the moment and in precisely the manner as to indicate the Count deserves his particular punishment, that Dante's penal system is just and fair.³²

In thus departing from contemporaneous Florentine principles of illusionism, this scene, like those featuring perspectively inconsistent walls, could be seen as not fully Renaissance in means, as paralleling medieval(ist) impulses elsewhere in Alfonso's patronage, Barzizza's writing, and Sienese art. Yet, these means join with the city gates to serve literary, political, and theological ends that differ from earlier approaches to the *Commedia*. And as these exceptions promote post-medieval values, as they invoke the manuscript's contemporaneity, they call into question how we define the Middle Ages and medievalism. To an even greater degree than many other late miniatures, they encourage flexibility in our definitions of any era or academic field.

³¹ For more on this particular artist's manipulation of the viewer's apparent access to Florence, to its allies, and to its enemies, see my article "Mural Morality," esp. 109-21.

³² For more on this interpretation of the miniature, see my article "Pictorial Treachery as Narrative Faithfulness: Virgil's Gaze in British Library MS Yates Thompson 36," *Enarratio: Publications of the Medieval Association of the Midwest* 17 (2010): 13-36.