



# The Virtual Basilica of Saint Francis of Assisi

An Interactive, Explorable Environment  
with Integrated Text

## Introduction

English Edition

[Institute of Digital Theology](#)

*The Virtual Basilica of St Francis of Assisi: An Interactive, Explorable Environment with Integrated Text (CD-ROM and Text)*

Copyright © 2006 Saint Louis University  
ISBN 0-9791418-0-X

All Rights Reserved.

Published by INSTITUTE OF DIGITAL THEOLOGY, 3800 Lindell Blvd, St. Louis MO 63108

*Board of Directors:* Jay M. Hammond, James R. Ginther, J. A. Wayne Hellmann, OFM Conv., George J. Renard, Maurice D. Foxworth

*Project Managers:* Jay M. Hammond, James R. Ginther

*Design Team:* Daniel T. Michaels, Gerhard Ruf, OFM Conv., Stephan Diller, George Lippert, T. Kim Nguyen, Eileen Michaels

*Research Assistants:* Katy Solari, Lisa-Marie Duffield, Christine Baudin, Donna Hawk-Reinhard

Excerpts from the *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* are reproduced with permission. Copyright © 1999-2002 Franciscan Institute of Saint Bonaventure University

This project began under the auspices of the *SacraTech*™ Foundation in 2002. The INSTITUTE OF DIGITAL THEOLOGY gratefully acknowledges its former Board of Directors for entrusting us with the task of completing *The Virtual Basilica of St Francis of Assisi* CD-ROM:

Jay M. Hammond	John Cella, OFM
Daniel T. Michaels	Greg Friedmann, OFM
J.A. Wayne Hellmann, OFM Conv.	James Kothe
Ingrid Peterson, OSF	James Allen
Marilyn Aronberg Lavin	John Allen
Irving Lavin	Ann Schwartz
Jean-François Godet-Calogeras	Shawn Witmer

Dedicated to Gerhard Ruf, OFM Conv.  
and all the Franciscan Brothers and Patrons who have cared  
for the Basilica for over 700 Years

*Special Thanks to Our Donors and Sponsors*

Office of Innovation and Intellectual Property, Saint Louis University  
 College of Arts and Sciences, Saint Louis University  
 The Graduate School, Saint Louis University  
 Department of Theological Studies, Saint Louis University  
 Franciscan Province of the Sacred Heart  
 Franciscan Province of St. Mary of the Capuchin Order  
 Franciscan Province St. John the Baptist  
 Franciscan Province of the Holy Name  
 Franciscan Province of St. Bonaventure of the Conventual Order  
 Canice Conners Fund, Francis of Assisi: Early Documents  
 Sisters of St. Francis, Rochester, Minnesota  
 Franciscan Sisters of Christian Charity, Manitowoc, Wisconsin  
 The Sisters of St. Francis of Philadelphia  
 The Sisters of St. Francis of Assisi, St. Francis, Wisconsin  
 Hospital Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis  
 Sisters of St. Francis, Millvale, Pennsylvania  
 Franciscan Sisters of Perpetual Adoration, La Crosse, Wisconsin  
 Sisters of St. Francis of the Providence of God, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania  
 Franciscan Sisters of Chicago  
 Franciscan Pilgrimage Programs, Franklin, Wisconsin  
 Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure University  
 Quincy University  
 Neumann College  
 Church of St. Bonaventure, Bloomington, Minnesota  
 Sisters of St. Francis of Mary Immaculate, Joliet, Illinois  
 Thomas Schilli  
 Jay and Marilyn Hammond  
 Michael and Holly Wilonsky  
 James and Judy Stecher  
 Robert Thomure  
 Timothy J. Johnson  
 Donald Brennan  
 Alan and Kai Michaels  
 Brian and Mary O'Shaughnessy  
 Edward and Louise Kidney



## Table of Contents

Installing <i>The Virtual Basilica of Saint Francis of Assisi</i>	7
User's Guide to <i>The Virtual Basilica of Saint Francis of Assisi</i>	8
Preface by J.A. Wayne Hellmann, OFM Conv.	13
<p style="text-align: center;">The Upper Church of the Basilica of Saint Francis by Jay M. Hammond, Ph.D.</p>	
History	19
Layout	19
Artwork	20
The Narratives	20
The Nave	22
The Transept	28
The Apse	29
The Vaults	30
The Windows	31
A Chronology of the Life of St Francis	35
Abbreviations	42
Bibliography	43



## Installing *The Virtual Basilica of Saint Francis of Assisi*

### Please Read Before You Install the CD-ROM

**Requirements:** To run the CD-ROM your computer must meet the following minimum requirements:

- ME, 2000, XP Operating Systems
- 64 MB Video Card\*
- 512 MB Free Space
- Pentium IV, 1GHz Processor Speed
- DirectX 9.0
- 256MB RAM
- 32x/2x CD/DVD Speed

\* Application does not work on Intel™ on-board graphics chip sets

#### Installation:


1. Insert the CD into the CD-ROM drive.
2. The *Basilica* Setup program should start automatically. However, if Autoplay is disabled, choose Run from the Start menu, type d:\setup (use the drive letter appropriate to the drive containing the installation CD) and press ENTER. Follow the on screen instructions to navigate the installation.
3. End User License Agreement: You must select "I Agree" to continue the installation.
4. Select Destination: By default, the application is installed in the folder C:\Program Files\Institute of Digital Theology\Basilica of St Francis\. You can use the Browse button to change the destination folder.
5. Click Install; once the installation is complete click Close.
6. Two icons should have been placed on your desktop:




and






### Uninstalling:


1. Make sure no applications are running.
  2. Option 1: Click the *UninstallVB1* icon on the desktop and follow instructions.
  3. Option 2: Run the *Basilica* application and from the  menu select Uninstall.
  4. Option 3: To manually uninstall, from the Windows *Start* menu select *Control Panel*, or choose *Settings* and then *Control Panel*.
    - a. Select Add or Remove Programs
    - b. From the list of programs, select Basilica of Saint Francis (remove only)
    - c. Click the Remove button and follow the instructions.
- 

## User's Guide

1. To start *The Virtual Basilica of Saint Francis*, double click on . For optimum performance, no other applications should be running.
2. When the application begins, it will open in the smallest screen size.

You can press  3 to 4 times to enlarge the screen size to the screen's maximum resolution. Low resolution will significantly impact the quality of the model display. For full screen video mode,

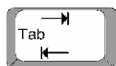
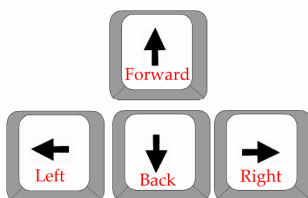
press  + . Again low resolution will notably alter image quality.

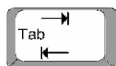
3. Press  for a complete list of the keyboard controls/commands. The same list is listed below for your convenience.

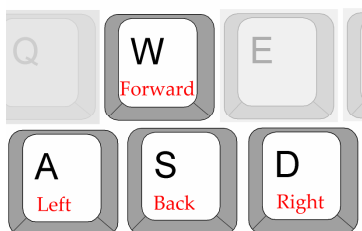
### Controls

1. **Player movement:** arrow keys provide directional commands,





Press  to switch to letter keys for directional control:



2. **Player 360 view:** The mouse provides field of vision commands; moving the mouse up moves your field of vision up, etc.

3. **Text access:** To gain access to the textual sources for the frescoes:

- a. Right click the mouse to access red “text “ (➤) arrow indicator. With this red arrow visible, you cannot use the mouse to move the field of vision, but you can use the movement keys to move about the Basilica. *Make sure that your mouse is NOT moving when you right click; if it is, you will go into a spin (right clicking again will stop it).*
- b. Left click to access the text by moving the arrow over any fresco or object. Part of the screen will darken in



order to make the text readable. Use the




keys to gain access to the entire textual resource for a given object.


- c. Left click again to remove the text. The images will return to their normal brightness.

- d. Right click to exit red “text” arrow indicator so you can freely move about the Basilica again using the mouse to control the field of vision.

4) **Keyboard Commands:** Accessed within the program via .

 and  = Scroll text

Note: Press  to exit the following options:

 = Preface / Chronology of St Francis / Abbreviations and Bibliography / Options / Credits / Quit

F1 = Help/Instructions

F2 = Display history information

F3 = Display layout information

F4 = Display artwork information

F5 = Display narratives information

F6 = Display nave information

F7 = Display transept information


F8 = Display apse information

F9 = Display vault information

F10 = Display window information

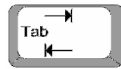
F11 = Cycle screen resolution (use shift + F11 to cycle backwards)

F12 = Exit (and then press  to confirm)

 +  = Toggle full screen video mode

Right mouse click = Toggle hotspot mode on/off

Left mouse click = Display hotspot text



= Toggle movement key sets (arrow keys or W/S/A/D)



= Toggle 1<sup>st</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> person view mode



= Take screenshot. Screenshots are saved in the basilica install directory, typically C:\Program Files\Institute of Digital Theology\Basilica of St Francis, and are named screenshot0.png, screenshot1.png, and so on.



+ movement keys = Run



= Jump (if walk mode) / Move up (if fly mode)



= Move down (if fly mode)



= Toggle fly/walk mode

1, 2, 3, 4 = Display maps/schemas: general layout / nave / apse / transept

1 = General Layout

2 = Nave Schema

3 = Apse Schema

4 = Transept Schema



## Preface

After a journey of six years, it is a pleasure to present to devotees of Francis of Assisi and to all who love the great treasures of the Christian tradition, this three-dimensional, real-time, virtual reconstruction of the Basilica of Saint Francis. The original thirteenth century church, constructed on a slope of Mt. Subasio near Assisi, celebrates Francis's fidelity in following Jesus Christ, his Lord and Master who spoke to his heart. In response, Francis found purpose for his life: to listen, ponder and preach the Word of God. This new twenty-first century reconstruction of the basilica makes it possible for anyone anywhere to enter and taste something of the grace of God that touched Francis. On this new CD-ROM the sacred space of the church built over Francis's final resting place comes alive. The newest technology invites the contemporary pilgrim to discover or re-discover the Word of God, ponder it in the unfolding of Francis's life, and go forth to preach to all nations.

Francis loved the sacred space of churches. In his *Testament*, written shortly before he died in 1226, Francis reflected on the journey of his life. He wrote: "And the Lord gave me such faith in churches that I would pray with simplicity in this way and say: 'We adore You, Lord Jesus Christ, in all your churches throughout the whole world and we bless You because by Your holy cross You have redeemed the world.'" Later Brother Thomas of Celano in his *Life of Francis* narrates that Francis taught his first brothers to pray this same prayer on their own journeys: "in whatever place a church had been built, even when they were not near it, but could glimpse it from a distance." For Francis of Assisi, churches were places of prayer before a cross, places to hear the Word of God, and places where, as he writes in his *Letter to the Clergy*, one is able to "revere above all else the most holy Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ and His holy names and the written words that sanctify His Body." Churches are places of Word and Sacrament and the very visible structure of a church is a visual invitation to share in the redemption of the world brought about on the cross. Francis often lived in churches and most of his life comprised travel from one church to another, either as he preached to the people or sought places of solitude for prayer. It is no

wonder that the early biographers spoke of Francis's vocation as a response to the invitation of Christ: "Rebuild my church."

The first and second generations of friars who followed Francis in the thirteenth century utilized all the technological means available to them to build a church to honor the memory of one whose life and vocation was to rebuild the church. As churches were primarily symbol and sacrament of God's presence in the world for Francis, so also is the church that was built in his honor. For centuries the Basilica of Saint Francis in Assisi has invited weary pilgrims on the journey of life to find rest, renewal, and strength. In that sacred space even today one is nurtured by the Word of God, nourished by the most holy Body and Blood of the Lord, and inspired by the example of the faithful follower of Christ. The church in Assisi empowers today's pilgrim to go forth on the journey and preach Good News of Our Lord Jesus Christ throughout the whole world.

Today at the beginning of the twenty-first century the Institute of Digital Theology, inspired by the life and example of St. Francis, has virtually re-built the church of St. Francis. Today's virtual visitors are thereby invited to enter and remember Francis's vision, appreciation and faith in churches. In that same sacred space, virtually constructed, each visitor may find a place of quiet contemplative prayer and possibly be moved to pray the prayer Francis prayed whenever he saw or entered churches: "We adore you, Lord Jesus Christ, in all your churches throughout the whole world..."

In his earlier years, Francis labored to rebuild churches around Assisi. After his death, for over a period of sixty years two generations of friars, artisans, and architects invested every skill available to build what we now know as the Basilica of Saint Francis. The task to rebuild this basilica in new digital media also has a history. It began not sixty but six years ago in a 2000 doctoral seminar on medieval architecture conducted by Professor Jack Renard at Saint Louis University. As a doctoral student in this seminar, Daniel Michaels produced the first 2-D virtual model of the basilica in his attempt to study and interpret the theology operative in the basilica's frescoes of the upper church. As a result of this work, Daniel then changed his dissertation topic and discussed with me the possibility of doing his doctoral dissertation on the biblical exegesis operative in the theology of the basilica. In view of the dynamism that was emerging from our discussion, this theme was presented at the College Theology Society meeting at Seattle University in June 2001 where Daniel was joined by Dr. Jay Hammond and myself. All three of us then realized that the inter-connectivity of all frescoes of the basilica

was much grander than ever imagined and that it was rooted in the biblical exegesis of St Bonaventure (1221-1274).

To facilitate research for the dissertation, Daniel journeyed to Rome to meet with Professors Marilyn Aronberg Lavin and Irving Lavin to discuss the intuition concerning the inter-connectivity of the basilica's frescoes. From Rome he traveled to Assisi to visit Father Gerhard Ruf, OFM Conv. and shared with him the news of his developing project. In that first virtual model, Father Ruf saw the photos that he and Stefan Diller had acquired over the previous thirty years. Daniel's trip was fruitful. Marilyn shared with Daniel her "theory of narrative disposition" and Father Ruf helped him begin to unlock the theological inter-connectivity of the frescoes. Daniel eventually completed and defended this dissertation on the upper church's façade and counter-façade in spring 2005.

Since the first virtual model created by Dr. Michaels had already received much attention, in 2002 Dr. Hammond initiated an effort to create a second and more technologically advanced 3-D model of the basilica. His vision was that it should be accessible for those interested in the basilica, St Francis, and St Bonaventure's theology. And so, through the energy and enthusiasm of both Jay and Daniel, a non-profit foundation with the name *SacraTech*<sup>TM</sup> was established to fund the project. All proceeds from future sales were to be designated for support of further scholarship in the Franciscan tradition. An international team was established to produce the second and more advanced model.

However, it became apparent the demands of developing the technology for the new 3-D model required larger institutional backing. In 2004, Dr. Hammond had moved to Saint Louis University. Dr. James Ginther, also of Saint Louis University, already had expertise in digital theological media and he too became interested in seeing the project through to completion. Together the two of them successfully approached the Saint Louis University Office of Innovation for institutional and financial support. *SacraTech* subsequently divested itself of the project and handed it over to the newly created 501 (c)(3) non-profit, INSTITUTE OF DIGITAL THEOLOGY, incorporated in the State of Missouri and affiliated with the University. Now, as a result of further infusion of funds by Saint Louis University, this even more advanced model has finally been completed and made available.

This new 3D CD-ROM has, however, had even a longer history. It is rooted in Francis's early conversion that he initially expressed in rebuilding churches. The hope of the many who contributed to the

realization of this new digital endeavor is for the future. May the new opportunity here presented foster conversion and thereby encourage the rebuilding of the church in the twenty-first century. The Assisi frescoes, stone, and glass now present anywhere with the simple click of a mouse proclaim one inter-connected visual message: the Gospel of Our Lord Jesus Christ!

J.A. Wayne Hellmann, OFM Conv.,  
Feast of St Francis, 4 October 2006



## The Upper Church of the Basilica of Saint Francis





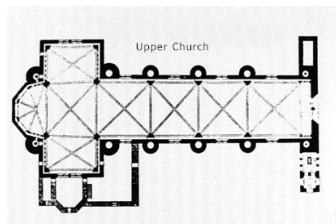
## The Upper Church of the Basilica of Saint Francis

### History

Pope Gregory IX's decree, *Recolentes qualiter* (April 29, 1228), formally called for a burial church to be built to honor St Francis. Soon thereafter, Gregory himself laid the first stone of the lower church the day after Francis's canonization on July 16, 1228. Brother Elias of Cortona, second Minister General of the Franciscan Order (1232-39), is likely the architect who designed the double church. His tenacity brought the completion of the lower church in 1230. The saint's body, which had been resting in the church of St George (Francis's parish church and the future church of St Clare), was then secretly brought to the new church and buried in a hidden location on May 25, 1230. Fear of looting by relic seekers was the reason for the secrecy and it was so effective that the tomb was not rediscovered until 1819. It is unclear when work began on the upper church, but Elias's untiring fundraising and supervision aided the substantial completion of the upper church's architecture by 1236-39. To some, Elias's efforts to build such a splendid church in honor of the *poverello* were excessive, and this sentiment contributed to his removal as Minister General in 1239. A building hiatus likely ensued after Elias's removal. Nevertheless, Pope Innocent IV (1243-54) consecrated the altars of both the lower and upper churches on May 25, 1253, before work began on the fresco decorations of the upper church. The delay in the consecration may have been political rather than architectural given that the deposed Elias died in Cortona on April 2, 1253, and the church was consecrated soon after his death on May 25, 1253. Pope Nicholas IV (1288-92), formerly Girolamo Masci, the former Minister General of the Franciscan Order (1274-79), raised the church to the status of papal basilica in 1288.

### Layout

The architectural layout of the upper basilica is T-shaped, or cruciform, i.e., the nave's four bays end at the transept and pentagonal apse, which are all connected by eight cross vaults. A narrow walkway gallery wraps the entire architectural perimeter, with doorways



cutting through the pillared columns. The basilica's thirteenth century frescoes form an iconographic program that illustrates the continuity between the Old and New Testaments in the story of salvation, highlighting the roles of Jesus Christ, Mary, the Church and St Francis in that salvation. Specifically, each of the basilica's five basic parts (nave, transept, apse, vaults, windows) presents distinct pictorial cycles, which contribute different elements to the overarching theme of salvation history. The life of the Church is the main theme of the apse and transept while the prefiguration and imitation of Christ is the nave's main theme. Thus, the dual message of Christ and His Church dominate the sacred space.

### *Artwork*

No other thirteenth- or fourteenth-century Italian architectural space has been so lavishly adorned with the innovation and creative power of artistic genius. The realization of the basilica's iconographic program was entrusted to a group of artists drawn from all over Europe, endowed with different styles and artistic expression: the Roman Jacopo Torriti, Pietro Cavallini and Filippo Rusuti, the Sienese Duccio di Boninsegna, the Florentine Cimabue and the young Giotto. Other unknown masters like the Umbrian "St Francis Master," the French "Master from beyond the Mountains," the Italian "Isaac Master" (Arnolfo di Cambio?), and the Roman, German and French "workshops" also contributed their artistic expertise. Such collaboration among Europe's best artisans was a catalyst for a new age in European art: the birth of realism via the recovery of the three-dimensional, spatial perspective. In short, the upper church was decorated by the greatest medieval artists of their time, giving the upper church of the Basilica of Saint Francis an unequalled importance in the development of European art.

### *The Narratives*

To appreciate the artwork more fully, the modern viewer needs to understand how the images in the upper church function. Their pictorial decoration serves a larger purpose than merely making the space more solemn and beautiful. Rather, they participate in the activity of preaching. Like the liturgy and the "new" Franciscan preaching that was rapidly growing in popularity when the Basilica of Assisi was decorated, the images are instructive because their pictorial narratives spread God's word visually. Even though the pictorial patterns may be unfamiliar, their primeval function remains: to preach and teach God's word to all

including the unlettered. Thus, there is a very close relationship between the figurative representations and the written and spoken word. Accordingly, all the pictorial cycles in the upper church have textual roots. Three of the most prominent are: Scripture, Bonaventure's *The Major Legend of Saint Francis* and *The Golden Legend* by James of Voragine. When a modern viewer "reads" a pictorial representation, it is very helpful to reference its textual source. Moreover, the viewer should realize that the figurative representations are not restricted by a text's linear sequence. Rather, the three-dimensional space allows for multiple and simultaneous inferences and associations that bathe the imagination in metaphor and symbol. For example, the pictorial narrative of the Francis Cycle does not simply represent Francis's life in chronological order, but also communicates with the themes and protagonists in the scenes from the Old and New Testaments in the two registers above, as well as with adjoining frescoes or those across the nave. In short, the space allows multi-directional and multi-dimensional communication among images. Thus, individual scenes should not simply be "read" in isolation, but should be interpreted within the metaphoric associations that were so familiar to the medieval worldview. An entrée into this worldview is the medieval practice of exegesis according to the four senses of Scripture, which provides a helpful example of multivalent interpretation. St Bonaventure describes the four senses in which the Scriptures may be understood:

Scripture has depth, which consists in the multiplicity of its mystical understandings. For, besides its literal meaning, in many places it can be interpreted in three ways: allegorically, morally, and anagogically. Allegory occurs when by one thing is indicated by another, which is a matter of belief. The tropological or moral understanding occurs when, from something done, we learn something else that we should do. The anagogical meaning, a kind of "lifting upwards," occurs when we are shown what it is we should desire, that is, the eternal happiness of the blessed. . . Thus, Sacred Scripture, given to us by the Holy Spirit, takes up the book of creation, making it relate to its own end through a three-fold manner of understanding. The tropological meaning lets us know what we should resolutely do; the allegorical meaning, what we should truly believe; the anagogical meaning, what we should desire for our eternal delight. In this way, cleansed by virtuous deeds, illumined by radiant faith, and made perfect by burning love, we may come at last to the prize of eternal happiness.<sup>1</sup>

The application of Bonaventure's description of Scriptural exegesis to the nave's iconographic decoration as a "book of creation" can generate innumerable insights. For example, the scene of *Francis Renouncing His*

<sup>1</sup> Bonaventure, *Breviloquium*, trans. D. Monti, Works of Bonaventure, 9 (St. Bonaventure NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2005), prol.4.4-5 (pp. 15-16).

*Inheritance and Earthly Possessions* can be viewed literally in that it recounts a purportedly historical event during Francis's conversion. It can be viewed allegorically with the scenes above in that Francis's gesture of renunciation points to Abraham's near sacrifice of Isaac, which teaches that one must be willing to forsake all to follow God. It can be viewed tropologically in the sense that the scene challenges the viewer to an examination of conscience and to the awareness of possessions that hinder intimacy with God. And Francis's nudity can be interpreted anagogically in that he stands naked and unashamed before God's blessing hand, which is in contrast to the scene of Adam and Eve above, who respond to their decisive decision to disobey God by covering their nakedness in shame. This teaches the viewer to hope for and desire a relationship with God where the shame of sin has no place. Of course there are a myriad of other possible interpretations, but the interpretive principle is rather simple: the scenes in the iconographic decoration can be interpreted on at least four levels: according to the depicted event in isolation (literal) and by faith (allegory), hope (anagogy), and love (tropology) in relation to the surrounding scenes. In all of this, the viewer is drawn into the iconographic narrative via his or her meditation on and imitation of the scenes' exhortations.

While the richness of the Basilica's theology is indeed magnificent, the medium that conveys the theology, the artwork of the upper church, has unfortunately suffered serious damage over its 700-year history. Throughout, several frescoes suffer significant damage or are completely destroyed, with only white plaster remaining. Periodic earthquakes that shake the Umbrian valley have caused much of this damage. The most recent was in 1997, which damaged the counter-façade archway, the Vault of the Church Doctors and the Vault of the Evangelists. However, not all the damage is seismic. Over time Cimabue's white lead paint oxidized, resulting in a look that resembles a "negative" photograph. Moreover, Cimabue did not employ the technique of "true fresco" (*buon fresco*) where the paint was applied to a still damp plaster, which absorbs and bonds with the pigment. Rather, he painted on dry plaster, a technique that is not as durable or long lasting. In contrast, *buon fresco* was first applied to the frescoes in the nave, and helps explain their drastic difference from the frescoes in the apse and transept.

### *The Nave*

The nave contains three pictorial cycles arranged in three registers, which form a single narrative: the Old Testament where Adam represents the "Old Man," the New Testament where Christ represents

the “New Adam,” and the Francis Cycle where Francis represents the “New Man” conformed to Christ.<sup>2</sup> The upper two registers of the north wall contain sixteen Old Testament frescoes that parallel the sixteen New Testament frescoes on the upper two registers of the south wall. Both cycles begin at the transept and run from west to east, first in the upper register and then again in the middle register. The lower register, wrapping around the entire nave, contains the twenty-eight frescoes of the Francis Cycle. It is doubtful that Giotto painted this entire cycle. Rather, these frescoes, based on Bonaventure’s *The Major Legend of Saint Francis*, were probably painted by the “Giotto Workshop” as they worked from Giotto’s preestablished artistic plan. The counter-façade’s two registers add two more New Testament frescoes in the upper register and two frescoes of the Francis Cycle in the lower register. The counter-façade also has an image of Mary with Child flanked by angels over the main door and images of Paul (north) and Peter (south) on each side of the great rose window. The north and south walls of the nave’s four bays contain a two-light stained-glass window topped with a small rose window. The lunette archways of the four bays and counter-façade are covered by numerous figures. Overall there are sixty-eight painted busts of female saints (counter-façade and first bay, north and south wall), male saints (second bay, north and south wall), martyr and warrior saints (third bay, north and south wall), and prophets (fourth bay, north and south wall). None are identifiable. The counter-façade also contains a second wider archway over the two-pillared galleries, which contain sixteen frescoes of saints; only six are not identifiable. While most visitors to the upper Basilica enter through the main nave doors, the iconographic sequence of both the Old Testament Cycle and the Francis Cycle actually begins from the transept (bay 4, north wall) where the friars from the Sacred Convent or the pilgrims from the lower church would enter the upper church.

The nave’s iconographic decoration was begun during the pontificate of Nicholas IV (1288-92), the first Franciscan elected pope. The date of 1296, which is scratched into the plaster in the gallery walkway between the nave and north transept, may indicate its completion date because the fresco below, “Francis Honored by a Fellow Citizen,” was the last fresco to be painted in the Francis Cycle. While the nave’s architecture was already planned and largely completed by Elias before his removal as Minister General in 1239, the nave’s iconographic program may have been the genius of Matthew of Aquasparta, who was Minister General of the Franciscan Order (1287-89) and friend to his Franciscan brother Nicholas IV. He was made a cardinal in 1288 and

<sup>2</sup> See a schematic of the entire nave in Appendix 1 (nave.pdf).

died in 1302. Thus, it is possible that he oversaw the completion of the nave's iconographic decorations, which may not have been completed until 1300. Regardless of who the theological "mastermind" of the iconographic decoration was, the pictorial narratives of the four bays evidence a uniform program (see descriptions of bays 1-4 below), even though they also contain numerous technical changes, stylistic interruptions, and artistic innovations. In terms of execution, the vaults were painted first, then the work moved from bay to bay, starting in the third register and working down, and from west to east (bay 4 to 1). The following provides a thumbnail description of the "narrative" of the iconographic decoration.

### **Creation and Fall: Old Testament Cycle (Upper Register, North Wall)**

These eight scenes convey that everything originates from the Creator (scenes 1-3) and everything therefore is absolutely dependent on God. The ensuing rebellion of Adam and Eve against God (scene 4) results in their alienation from God (scenes 5-6), which devolves into the rebellion of Cain murdering Abel (scenes 7-8). Sin has separated humans from the order that God gave to creation. In effect, God creates cosmos while human rebellion against God's order creates chaos. That is why the figure of Cain, the "destroyer" contrasts with the "Creator" and concludes the cycle of the primordial history of humankind.

### **The Patriarchs: Old Testament Cycle (Middle Register, North Wall)**

These eight scenes contain four great models from the Old Testament: Noah, Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph. Each span depicts two scenes from the life of each patriarch. The relationship of these frescoes to those above indicates that God will not allow sin to destroy creation. Instead, God saves those who trust Him. Thus, just as Adam was the founder of humanity in the upper register, Noah becomes the founding patriarch of the renewed creation of the covenant after the flood (scenes 9-10), which the other patriarchs strive to fulfill: Abraham through his ten trials and covenant with God (scenes 11-12), Jacob through receiving Isaac's blessing from which Israel's twelve tribes descend (scenes 13-14), and Joseph who forgave his brothers and saved Israel during famine (scenes 15-16).

### **The New Adam: New Testament Cycle (Upper Register, South Wall)**

These eight scenes of the "New Adam" parallel the scenes of the "Old Adam" and the subsequent story of the hoped for fulfillment of the covenant promises through the four patriarchs, which are realized in the



“new Adam” Jesus Christ, who manifests the new covenant. Throughout, there are allegorical allusions between the creation and fall and the Incarnation, but the main message is that the miracle of the Incarnation completes God’s creation.

### **Jesus’ Passion: New Testament Cycle (Middle Register, South Wall)**

These eight scenes teach that Jesus Christ not only completes God’s creation, but also redeems it by His Passion. Just as the patriarchs strove for salvation through the adherence to the covenant of God’s Law, Jesus offers salvation through His unconditional obedience to His Father’s will, which reveals itself as the new covenant of God’s grace sealed in Christ’s blood. Throughout, there are allegorical allusions between the patriarch and Christ’s Passion, but the main message is that the mystery of the crucifixion and resurrection reconciles the alienation between God and creation. Above all, Christ’s act of salvation is an exaltation and glorification of God.

### ***Alter Christus: Francis Cycle* ( Lower Register, North, Counter-Façade and South Walls)**

These frescoes comprise the most famous and most discussed pictorial cycle in the western world. The Francis Cycle is the first European attempt to tell the complete story of a saint’s life, and it was also the first to position such a large cycle just above eye level. The entire cycle is based on St Bonaventure’s (1217-74) *The Major Legend of Saint Francis*, which was the official hagiography of St Francis at the time the frescoes were created; the captions below each fresco were taken directly from it. The Latin term *legenda* does not mean a “legend” that is fictitious or historically untrue; rather, *legenda* comes from the Latin verb *legere* meaning “to read” indicating that the text was intended to be read publicly. Moreover, a *legenda* is not a biography in the modern sense of a chronicle from birth to death of the protagonist, but a theological meditation on Francis’s sanctity, which is to be emulated. Thus, the particular task of a *legenda* is: 1) to illustrate the conformity of the Saint’s life with Jesus’, and 2) to inspire a person to imitate Francis so as to follow Jesus more faithfully. In short, the *legenda* of the Francis Cycle presents a Franciscan interpretation of the gospel truly and totally lived. The cycle accomplishes this in a dramatic way by the realism and familiarity of the frescoes wherein Francis “walks” the streets of Assisi and surrounding Umbrian countryside amidst its familiar locations, recognizable faces, and everyday problems. Such realism poignantly conveys Francis’s message of evangelical salvation to the throngs of past and present pilgrims who visit his tomb.

In the thirteen scenes on the north wall, segmented by the four bays and read from west to east, Francis is analogously compared with the Old Testament (OT) scenes in the registers above.

Bay 4, north: the three scenes of Francis's initial conversion and new life (scenes 1-3) 1) parallel the new creation of Noah's covenant with God (OT, scenes 9-10), and 2) indicate that just as God created Adam (OT, scene 2) Francis's conversion is a product of God's work.

Bay 3, north: Francis's call before the crucifix, renunciation of his father, and rebuilding of the Church (scenes 4-6) 1) corresponds with Abraham's response to God's call by leaving his fatherland, which engenders a covenant with God (OT, scenes 11-12); specifically, just as the divine spoke to Abraham through the angels (OT, scene 12), the divine also spoke to Francis via the crucifix at San Damiano, and just as Abraham nearly sacrificed Isaac to follow God's will (OT, scene, 13) Francis renounces everything to obey God. 2) The bay also shows that, in contrast to Adam and Eve (OT, scene 4), Francis chose to obey God, and such obedience rebuilds the Church, i.e., the new Eve (OT, scene 3), brought forth from the new Adam, Christ.

Bay 2, north: Innocent III's blessing of Francis's Rule, which makes Francis like a new Elijah (LMj prol.1, p. 526; 4.4, p. 552) come to prepare the world for heavenly glory (scenes 7-9), 1) conforms with Jacob's reception of the birthright blessing from Isaac (OT, scene 13), which is emphasized by the twelve friars that correspond to Israel's twelve tribes descended from Jacob, and 2) shows that Francis, in contrast to Adam and Eve whom the angel drives from Paradise (OT, scene 5), remains in God's favor because an angel offers him a heavenly throne. Likewise, Francis's ecstatic contemplation is in contrast to Adam and Eve's toiling in the fruits of wrath (OT, scene 6; lost).

Bay 1, north: Francis restoring peace to Arezzo, his peaceful encounter with the Sultan, the peace he attained in ecstasy, and his hospitality to the "Prince of Peace" at Greccio (scenes 10-13) 1) compares to Joseph's restoration of peace among his brothers (OT, scenes 15-16, and 2) illustrates, in contrast to Cain's violence (OT, scenes 8-9), that imitation of Christ is a way of peace.

In the thirteen scenes on the south wall, segmented by the four bays and read from east to west, Francis is analogously compared with the New Testament (NT) scenes in the registers above.

Bay 1, south: The three preaching scenes and the stigmata (scenes 16-19) 1) illustrate that Francis's life of preaching led to his mystical death just as Christ's death led to the good news of the resurrected life (NT,

scenes 15-16), and 2) shows that just as Jesus taught (NT, scene 7) and was sealed by the power of the Spirit (NT, scene 9), Francis's prophetic power, preaching and seraphic passion all result from that same Spirit (the theme of the Spirit continues from the fresco of "Pentecost" in the counter-façade's chiastic cycle).

Bay 2, south: Francis's death, the two visions, and the verification of the stigmata (scenes 20-22) 1) signify that the impressed stigmata on Francis's body express his true conformity with the suffering and crucified Christ (NT, scenes 13-14), and 2) connects the anguish over Francis's death among his brothers with the Holy Family's anguish over Jesus' salvific destiny (NT, scenes 5-6).

Bay 3, south: Clare's visitation, the canonization, and the pope's dream (scenes 23-25) 1) indicate that those who doubt Francis's sanctity betray and mock Christ like Judas and the scourging (NT, scenes 11-12), but 2) those who venerate Francis are like the wise men who honor Christ and the Holy Family who humbly receive Christ (NT, scenes 3-4).

Bay 4, south: The three miracle scenes (scenes 26-28) 1) demonstrate that Francis's miracles are as wondrous as Christ's miracles at Cana and the raising of Lazarus (NT, scenes 9-10), and that 2) those miracles announce the Good News of God's Kingdom (NT, scene 1) and rejoice in the salvation offered by Jesus, which fulfill God's promises (NT, scene 2).

The narrative structure has the Francis Cycle ending where the New Testament Cycle starts; thus, Francis leads the pilgrim to meditate on the mysteries of Christ's life in the Incarnation and death in the Passion.

### **From the Old to the New' Chiastic Counter Façade Cycle: Lower and Upper Registers, East Wall**

The four main frescoes of the counter-façade form a chiastic cycle that transitions from the Old Testament of the north wall to the New Testament of the south wall: "The Miracle of the Spring" is the first scene in the chiasm, the "Ascension" is second, "Pentecost" is third, and "Francis Preaching to the Birds" is fourth. In short, Francis prays to the ascended Christ who sends the Holy Spirit that inspires Francis's preaching. Moreover, the position of the two "nature scenes" of the lower register act as windows looking out over the Umbrian valley below, reminding the exiting pilgrims to pray and preach in a manner akin to Francis as they journey home and back into daily life. In effect, the chiasm merges Heaven and Earth as it connects the rest of the narratives in the nave.

Scene 1: In the eight frescoes of the patriarchs (middle register, north wall), Moses is noticeably absent, but in “The Miracle of the Spring” (scene 14 in the Francis Cycle), Francis typologically represents the new Moses who leads the Church from the Old Testament Cycle of the north wall to the New Testament Cycle of the south wall. While Moses’ faith faltered (Num 20:11-13), preventing him from leading Israel into the Promised Land, Francis’s imitation of Christ is an exemplar of faith that leads the Church into the fullness of living the gospel. The position of Francis’s clasped hands points the viewer to the ascended Christ in the upper right fresco. Thus, it is to Christ that Francis offers his prayer.

Scene 2: In a posture similar to Francis’s below, Christ reaches toward heaven, symbolically represented by three concentric circles. It is the ascended Christ who sends the Holy Spirit to the disciples at Pentecost. Thus, this fresco recounts Acts 1:1-11, which is followed by the Pentecost episode of Acts 2:1-13 in the next scene of the chiasm.

Scene 3: The Holy Spirit descends from a celestial orb within a three-ring circle surrounded by tongues of fire. The three concentric circles mimic the symbolism for heaven in the previous scene, and the bird, symbolizing the descent of the Holy Spirit, points to the bird flying toward Francis in the next scene.

Scene 4: The bird that flies from the tree toward Francis mimics the bird symbolizing the descent of the Holy Spirit in the Pentecost scene. Thus, Francis preaches to the birds with the Spirit’s inspiration.

### *The Transept*

The transept contains three cycles depicting the life of the Church. The south transept shows two frescoes from the Passion and Glory of Christ Cycle (east wall, lower and upper registers) and six frescoes from the Visions of the Apocalypse Cycle (south wall, lower register and west wall, upper register).<sup>3</sup> The main wall of the south transept contains a large stained-glass window comprised of a four-light window topped by two quadrilobe windows, and a large rose window flanked by two small roundels and decorative glass. The heavily damaged frescoes to the left and right of the windows depict the angelic orders. The two five-pillared galleries of the middle register contain six archangels, who are surmounted by six angels each (east and west walls); some are destroyed. The archways over the three transept walls are covered with thirty busts of angels; some are destroyed. The Altar of St Michael the Archangel stands under the crucifixion scene and highlights the theme of

<sup>3</sup> See the schematice for the Transept in Appendix 2 (transept.pdf).

this transept's iconography: the apocalypse and coming of the heavenly Church. Cimabue's workshop likely decorated the north transept between 1277-80.

The north transept contains the other two frescoes of the Passion and Glory of Christ Cycle (lower and upper register, east wall), which creates four symmetrical scenes on the east wall, and six frescoes from the Lives of the Apostles Cycle (north wall, lower register and west wall, upper register). The fresco, *Enthroned Christ Flanked by the Four Evangelists* (west wall, upper register), belongs to the Apostle Cycle because it shows that the evangelists were either apostles (Matthew and John) or associated with the apostles (Mark with Peter and Luke with Paul). The main wall of the south transept contains a large stained-glass window comprised of a four-light window topped by two quadrilobe windows and a large rose window flanked by two small roundels and decorative glass. The walls to the left and right of the windows depict the figures of Isaiah and David. The two five-pillared galleries of the middle register contain six apostles each, who are surmounted by ten angels (east and west walls); some are destroyed. The archways over the three transept walls are covered with decorative motifs. The Altar of the Apostles stands under the north crucifixion scene and highlights the theme of this transept's iconography: the apostles and the perseverance of the earthly Church. Cimabue himself likely decorated the north transept between 1265-68.

The six frescoes of the Visions of the Apocalypse Cycle stand in symmetrical balance with the six frescoes of the Lives of the Apostles Cycle. Taken together, the south and north transept signify the heavenly or triumphant Church of the angelic order and the earthly or militant Church of the apostolic order. Combined with the three altars dedicated to the Apostles, Mary, and St Michael the Archangel, the transept and apse celebrate the Church, which is spiritually born of Mary (apse), perseveres through the leadership of the apostles (north transept), and is fulfilled with the eschatological Kingdom of God (south transept).

### *The Apse*

The apse contains two closely related cycles that comprise the Life of the Virgin Cycle, which is arranged in two registers.<sup>4</sup> The four frescoes of the apse's lower register covers events from the end of Mary's life. The four scenes of the upper register above the two two-pillared galleries covers the back-story to Mary's birth and marriage. These scenes signify the Church that symbolically comes from Mary just as Christ was born of

<sup>4</sup> See the schematice for the Apse in Appendix 3 (apse.pdf).

her. The archways above the two two-pillared galleries depict three prophets holding scrolls (south) and three prelates holding books (north). They are surmounted by two depictions of the virgin flanked by angels (south) and Joachim, Anne and Joseph (north). The five archways of the apse contain sixteen prophets in the upper register and thirty-six prophets and angels in the three window archways. The east wall of the apse contains three sets of stained glass. Each set contains a two-light window topped by a rose window flanked by decorative glass. The papal throne with its six steps and pillared canopy resides beneath the central window. Two lions standing over their prey serve as armrests, and a string of animals decorate the sixth step footrest. Two unidentified saint-popes flank the throne. The upper church's frescoed decoration first began in the apse. It was started by the French Gothic "Master from beyond the Mountains" and completed by Cimabue's workshop during the mid-1270's

### *The Vaults*

The eight cross vaults, divided by painted ribbing (see figures 1-3: the nave has four vaults, the transept three, and the apse one), contain three fresco cycles and one decorative theme. Two of the cycles, the Four Doctors and the Four Intercessors, are in the nave, while the Four Evangelists occupy the vault over the presbytery in the transept. The other five vaults all depict the starry firmament.

#### **The Four Evangelists**

A winged lion, the symbol for Mark, resides at the base of Mark's desk as he writes his gospel in Italy. A winged ox, the symbol for Luke, resides at the base of Luke's desk as he writes his gospel in Greece. An eagle, the symbol for John, resides at John's left foot as he writes his gospel in Asia Minor. A winged human, the symbol for Matthew, resides at the base of Matthew's desk as he writes his gospel in Judea (destroyed by the 1997 earthquake). All the evangelists have an angel reaching toward their ears signifying that their gospels were inspired. Cimabue's workshop completed this vault between 1277-80.

#### **The Four Intercessors**

Jesus holds a scroll, i.e., the Book of Life, in his left hand and offers benediction with his right. The three other figures in the vault all point to Him, signifying that they convey the prayers of the faithful to Christ who reconciles all things to the Father. The inscription around Jesus reads,

“Jesus Christ King of Glory.” Mary gestures with her hands toward her Son Jesus. The inscription around her reads, “Holy Mary Mother of God Pray for Us.” John points to Christ with his right hand. The inscription around him reads, “Saint John the Baptist Pray for Us.” With both hands, Francis gestures toward Mary, who in turn gestures toward Jesus. The inscription around Francis reads, “Pray for Us Saint Francis.” The Franciscan Jacopo Torriti and his workshop completed this vault between 1288-90.

### **The Four Doctors**

Sts Ambrose, Augustine and Gregory the Great all instruct a prelate while St Jerome instructs a monk, which signifies that the four doctors are the leading teachers in the Church. Giotto’s workshop completed this vault around 1290.

The three four-figure cross-vaults connect the themes of the apse, transept and nave according to a Franciscan interpretation of the Church’s relation to the gospel: the Evangelists in the apse and transept connect the Church’s inception with the gospel, the Doctors connect the pilgrim or militant Church with the correct teaching of the gospel, and in the center, the Intercessors connect the heavenly or triumphant Church with Christ and the saints who fully and truly live the gospel. Throughout, the gospel message of salvation dominates. In short, Christ is the author of the gospel, and the Church, the community of the gospel, is comprised of all the iconographic decoration below: Mary, Francis, patriarchs, apostles, angels, saints, and most importantly the pilgrim who enters the sacred space, thereby becoming a participant in the story of Christ’s Body.

### *The Windows*

The upper church contains approximately forty windows (depending on how one counts). These were the first figured stained-glass windows in Italy, and still remain the largest. They are among the best examples of 13<sup>th</sup> century glasswork. The descriptions below follow the chronological order of the windows’ completions.

### **Apse**

The apse contains three two-light windows that apply the medieval exegetical practice of typological concordance between the Old and New Testaments to represent the life of Christ. In effect, these windows



demonstrate how Christ's childhood (left), public ministry (center), and passion (right) were all prefigured in the Old Testament. The windows are the artwork of German-influenced workshops that completed the work between 1235-55. They were likely completed sometime during the papacy of Gregory IX (1227-41), before Brother Elias's removal in 1239. However, some argue for a completion date closer to the church's consecration in 1253, during the papacy of Innocent IV (1243-54). The central rose window presenting Sixtus IV's coat of arms was added in 1477. Regardless of the precise date of completion, most of the stained-glass in the right window of the left two-light and some of the right window of the right two-light have been restored with modern glass.

### **Transept**

The south transept's stained-glass in the four-light window contains scenes depicting "Creation" and "Original Sin and Its Consequences" in the left two-lights and the "Order of Virgins" in the right two-lights. Above the four-light window are two quadrilobes; the left contains Christ in benediction between Sts Francis and Anthony of Padua, and the right presents Mary and Child between Isaiah and Jeremiah. The rose window shows ornamental motifs with two roundels containing Jeremiah (left) and Abraham (right) bordering each side. The windows are the artwork of French origin with features reminiscent of "rayonnant" Gothic. Since the "Order of Virgins" includes a haloed St Clare, the window postdates her canonization in 1255 and was likely completed around 1275. Some of windows in the upper portion have been restored with modern glass.

The north transept's stained-glass in the four-light window contains ornamental motifs in the left two-lights and scenes of Old Testament appearances of angels that typologically concord with the appearances of the Risen Christ in the right two-lights. Above the four-light window there are two decorative quadrilobes surmounted by a rose window that depicts the Ascension. Therein, an enthroned Christ is surrounded by six angels and the apostles and Mary below. Two roundels containing David (left) and Isaiah (right) border the rose window on each side. The windows are attributed to the Umbrian workshop of the anonymous "St Francis Master" who completed the work between 1275-80.

### **Nave**

The massive rose window, restored in the 1890's, dominates the nave from its location in the counter-façade. The wheel within wheel configuration signifies Ezekiel's vision (Ezek 1:1-28; 10:1-22). The initials



IHS, a monogram for Jesus Christ, reside in the center. The rest of the nave contains eight two-light windows. Five of these (bay 2, north wall and bays 3-4) comprise an apostolic cycle, which includes all the apostles except Peter and Paul. Their exclusion is probably intentional because they have been replaced by Sts Francis and Anthony of Padua (bay 1, north wall), who are now identified as apostles because of their preaching activity. However, Peter and Paul are not absent from the nave, rather, their frescoed representations are prominently found on each side of the great rose window in the counter-façade. The remaining two-light windows represent "Christ Presenting St Francis" and "The Virgin and Child" (bay 1, south wall) and "God the Father and Prophets" and "Christ and Saints" (bay 2, south wall), which parallel the prophets of the Old Testament with the saints of Christianity. Together, the nave's windows form a pictorial cycle that begins with Christ and Mary, proceeds to the prophets and saints, continues through ten apostles, and ends with Sts Francis and Anthony of Padua. The apostolic windows depicting James the Greater and Andrew (bay 4, north wall) and John and Thomas (bay 3, north wall) were created by the same French workshop that produced the window in the south transept. The remaining six two-light windows were created by Umbrian workshop of the anonymous "St Francis Master" who also completed the window in the north transept. Work on the nave windows were commissioned during the papacy of Alexander IV (1254-61) and were finished during the last quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, but the windows depicting Sts Francis and Anthony of Padua (bay 1, north wall) may have been completed as late as 1315-25. The windows in bays 2-4, south wall, have been restored with modern glass.



## St Francis of Assisi Biographical Chronology

- ca. 1181/2 Francis is born to Lady Pica and Pietro Bernadone in Assisi. Pica has him baptized Giovanni in the church of San Rufino while Pietro, a cloth merchant, was away on business in France. Upon return, Pietro renames his son Francesco or "Frenchman."
- 1189 At 8, Francis begins his schooling at the parish church of San Giorgio (1C 23), run by the canons of the cathedral. It was Francis's only formal education, which likely included grammar, rhetoric and mathematics.
- 1195 At 14, Francis joins his father's business and officially enters the cloth merchant trade by becoming a member of the Corporation of Merchants, but in a more general sense Francis joins the Assisi bourgeoisie, and the form of life that often accompanies it (1C 1-2).
- 1198 At 17, Francis likely assists the Assisi townspeople in the destruction of the Rocca Maggiore fortress in Assisi. After the uprising, Francis helps rebuild the fortress and learns rudimentary masonry skills. The uprising signals the socio-economic changes brought about by the shift from the feudal system where the aristocracy wielded power to the mercantile system where the growing bourgeoisie wielded power because of its growing wealth.
- 1199 The socio-economic changes erupt into a civil war in Assisi. The war ends with the city's emancipation from the feudal lords and reconstitution as a commune. However, the unrest in Assisi spreads to the neighboring town of Perugia, and the two towns remain in conflict until 1209.
- 1202 At 21, Francis fights in the November battle of Ponte San Giovanni between Assisi and Perugia (L3C 5; 2C 4). Francis is captured and imprisoned in Perugia for a year. The conditions of the prison make Francis sick.
- 1203 Francis's deteriorating health spurs his ransom from prison. He returns to Assisi seriously ill.
- 1204 During Francis's long convalescence the inner stirrings of his conversion begin (1C 3-5).

- 1205 At 23, Francis struggles to discern the feelings stirred up by his illness. In the spring, his first response was to join the military campaigns of the papal army, which was fighting against the German empire in Apulia (1C 4). However, illness returned during Francis's way to Spoleto, where Francis had a dream in which Christ commanded him to return home (1C 5). After returning to Assisi with his military dreams gone, Francis's second response differs drastically. He begins to withdraw from the worldly life and from his former friends, dresses as a hermit, and retreats beyond the Assisi walls into the Umbrian countryside for solitude and prayer (1C 6-7). In the summer, he begins living with lepers and other outcasts of society at Rivo Torto (1C 17, 42, 103; ER 9). Later that fall, he experiences Christ at San Damiano (L3C 13; 2C 10) and quarrels with his father over the family's reputation and money, which Francis was using to assist the poor and rebuild churches (1C 10-12). During this period, Francis writes *The Prayer before the Crucifix*.
- 1206 In the spring, Francis's father brings formal charges against him (1C 13-15). The trial is held before Bishop Guido of Assisi. Pietro demands that his merchandise be returned. Francis responds by renouncing his father and all his worldly belongings. The bishop offers Francis refuge.
- 1206-08 While still living with outcasts, Francis continues his work as a penitent-mason. He rebuilds the three churches of San Damiano, San Pietro, and San Maria degli Angeli, which is also called the Portiuncula (1C 8, 18, 21).
- 1208 At 27, Francis hears the Gospel at the newly rebuilt Portiuncula on the feast of St Matthias (February 24). He asks the priest to explain the Gospel to him (1C 22). When Francis hears that Christ's disciples should not have possessions but should preach God's kingdom and penance, he decides to live as a mendicant disciple of Christ by following the Gospel to the letter. Thereafter he begins his itinerant preaching throughout Umbria, which soon attracts his first companions (1C 23-25). Francis designs a habit to be worn by his new mendicant brothers, and they begin to preach outside Umbria (1C 29-30).
- 1209 In the spring, the first twelve brothers present the Pope their "form of life" that Francis had written (1C 32-33). Pope

Innocent III verbally approves it, and the companions begin calling themselves “lesser brothers” (1C 38). During this time, Francis begins to write *The Earlier Rule*.

- 1210 Clare likely hears Francis preach at the church of San Rufino, which was directly across from her family residence. In an effort to avoid an arranged marriage, Clare makes arrangements to meet Francis, who advises her to “marry Christ” instead (LSC 5).
- 1211 At 30, Francis moves from Rivo Torto to the Portiuncula after the Benedictines present Francis with the little chapel (1C 44). Several more men join the Order at the Portiuncula. During this period (1209-15), Francis writes the *Earlier Exhortation to the Brothers and Sisters of Penance* for lay men and women, single and married, who wanted to live the gospel amongst their daily, secular concerns. This activity lays the foundation for the establishment of the Third Order.
- 1212 On Palm Sunday, the eighteen-year-old Clare and her cousin Pacifica receive Bishop Guido’s permission to go to the Portiuncula and make their profession to the Franciscan life (LSC 7). Francis receives them and then escorts them to the nearby Benedictine convent. Four months later, the first Poor Dames of the Second Order, later called Poor Clares, move to the newly rebuilt San Damiano (1C 18-20), where Clare remains cloistered until her death on August 11, 1253. During this period, Francis writes a very short “form of life” for Clare and her sisters, which Pope Innocent III approves. Later that year, inspired to preach the gospel accompanied by a desire for martyrdom, Francis attempts to travel to Syria, but he is shipwrecked in Dalmatia. He returns to Italy (1C 55), where the number of brothers continues to increase (1C 57).
- 1213 At 32, Francis receives the mountain of La Verna as a gift from the count Orlando di Chiusi on May 8, 1213. In the fall, Francis again tries to embark on a preaching mission, now to Morocco, but illness in Spain prevented its realization (1C 56).
- 1214 Remaining in Spain because of illness, Francis continues preaching. While in Spain he may have visited the shrine of St James (Santiago de Compostela) before returning to Italy in 1215 (DBF 3.1; 1C 56).

- 1215 At 34, Francis attends the Fourth Lateran Council in Rome during November. In response to the Council's decrees, the brothers begin to embark on the communal formation of the Franciscan Order. While in Rome, Francis meets St Dominic (AC 49; 2C 148).
- 1216 Francis continues his itinerant preaching as he makes his way back to Umbria to oversee the Order's growth. Cardinal Hugolino (the nephew of Innocent III and future Pope Gregory IX) becomes a strong supporter of Francis. He grants Francis's request for an indulgence for those who attend Mass at San Maria degli Angeli. More pilgrims begin visiting the Portiuncula.
- 1217 At 36, Francis is the Minister General of an expanding Order, which holds its first General Chapter at the Portiuncula on Pentecost, May 14 (AC 108). The Chapter enacts major decisions to: organize provinces, gather the brothers annually at Chapters, establish an obligatory novitiate, build convents and places for study, institute a more defined "form of life," and embark on preaching missions throughout Europe. These changes coincide with the Order's rapid expansion. In response, Francis likely updates *The Earlier Rule*, especially the sections on provinces, ministers and preaching. During this period (1217-21), he also writes the *Earlier Exhortations to the Clergy* and *A Rule for Hermitages*.
- 1218 The brothers implement the decrees of the Portiuncula Chapter that extend the Order beyond Italy into Britain, France, the Holy Land, Germany, Portugal and Spain. This rapid expansion means that most of the novices now joining the Franciscan Order never personally met Francis. In response to the Chapter's call for more missionary activity, Francis tries to go to France, but Cardinal Hugolino stops him in Florence (1C 74). Francis sees Hugolino as a supporter who can help organize the Order, and Hugolino sees Francis and his Order as examples of evangelical simplicity that can help inspire a Church needing reform (1C 73-75, 99-101).
- 1219 At 38, Francis attends the General Chapter at the Portiuncula in May. The Chapter discusses problems related to the expanding Order, but, more importantly, it decides to send Franciscan missionaries all over the world. Francis responds

to the charge by announcing that he would go and preach to the Saracens. Thus, Francis succeeds with his third missionary attempt outside Europe by reaching Damietta during the fifth crusade where he met the Sultan of Egypt, Malik-al-Kamil (1C 57). However, his desire for martyrdom was again not fulfilled.

- 1220 Learning of the difficulties and changes facing the brotherhood during his yearlong absence in the Holy Land (ChrJG 11-15), Francis returns to Italy. Upon his return, Francis resigns as Minister General in September (AC 11). His resignation may have been because of his displeasure over the conflicts within the Order (AC 44; 2C 188), or due to his deteriorating health, or a combination of both. Upon his resignation, Francis appoints Peter Catanii to replace him, and asks Pope Honorius III to name Cardinal Hugolino the protector of the brotherhood (1C 99-101). Peter soon dies and Elias of Cortona becomes vicar minister. During this period, Francis writes the *Later Admonition and Exhortation to the Brothers and Sisters of Penance*, the *Later Exhortations to the Clergy*, *The First Letter to the Custodians*, *A Letter to the Rulers of the Peoples*, and *The Second Letter to the Custodians*.
- 1221 The General Chapter at the Portiuncula in May rejects *The Earlier Rule*, and Francis withdraws further from governing the Order (AC 63; 2C 115). This Chapter also formally established the Franciscan Third Order of lay brothers. Francis's illness has advanced to the point that he has difficulty talking, seeing, and walking. He likely suffers from conjunctivitis and malaria, which he contracted during his mission to Egypt; he may have also suffered from leprosy that he acquired while living with and caring for lepers at Rivo Torto. During this period, Francis again redacts *The Earlier Rule* and writes *A Letter to a Minister*.
- 1222 At 41, Francis attends the "Chapter of Mats" in May. The main issue was the drafting of a new version of the Rule, which was urgently needed. At the Chapter the ministers voiced their opinions and concerns. Francis responds by rejecting the idea of simply adopting an existing Augustinian, Benedictine or Cistercian Rule (AC 18). Taking up the challenge to write a New Rule, Francis retreats to Fonte Colombo with a few close companions (AC 17). Francis main concern was for the new Rule to state clearly

that the brothers are bound to observe the gospel of Jesus Christ. To emphasize this, *The Later Rule* begins (LR 1.1) and ends (LR 12.4) with admonitions to the brothers to live the gospel of Jesus Christ. When Francis finished *The Later Rule*, he personally delivered it to Cardinal Hugolino in the spring of 1223 to ask his advice. After Hugolino edits the text, they submit a draft to Pope Honorius III. Francis likely wrote *True and Perfect Joy* sometime during this challenging period (1220-22).

- 1223 Pope Honorius III confirms the canonical Rule for the Order of Lesser Brothers on November 29 (LMj 4.11). The shorter “Later Rule” is written in more ecclesiastical and juridical language. After the stress of writing the “Second Rule,” Francis retreats to Greccio and celebrates Christmas by creating the first nativity scene where he reenacts Christ’s birth (1C 84-87). During this period, Francis writes *A Letter to Brother Anthony of Padua*.
- 1224 At 43, exhausted by the Order’s struggles and chronic illness, Francis travels to La Verna with some of his closest companions for a forty day fast lasting from the feast of the Assumption (August 15) to the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel (September 29). During the fast, Francis receives the stigmata (1C 94-96), which tradition reports happened on the feast of the exaltation of the cross on September 14. During this period, Francis writes *The Praises of God*.
- 1225 Francis’s health deteriorates further (1C 97-98, 105-07). He convalesces at San Damiano where he receives multiple medical treatments including cauterization for his ophthalmitis (AC 83). While at San Damiano, severe spiritual desolation accompanies his physical ailments (AC 83). During his stay, Francis writes *The Canticle of the Creatures*. Later he adds the verses on forgiveness and peace (stanzas 10-11) in the aftermath of a quarrel between the podestà and bishop of Assisi, which Francis helped settle (AC 84). At this time, Francis also writes *The Canticle of Exhortation for the Ladies of San Damiano* and *A Letter to Brother Leo*.
- 1226 At 45, Francis dies on October 3 at the Portiuncula (1C 109-11). He is buried at the church of San Giorgio (1C 118). As his death neared, Francis redacts his *Testament* (AC 23, 56, 59, 106) and adds the verses about death (stanzas 12-13) to



*The Cantic of the Creatures* (AC 7). Shortly before his death, Francis also writes *A Letter to the Entire Order*.

- 1228 Pope Gregory IX, Francis's former confidant Cardinal Hugolino, canonizes Francis on July 16 (1C 123-26). The next day, Gregory lays the first stone in the construction of the lower church (L3C 72). During this time, Gregory also commissions Thomas of Celano to write an official hagiography of St Francis.
- 1230 Translation of St Francis's body from San Giorgio to the crypt of the newly completed church built in his honor (LMj 15.8).
- Undated Although some of Francis's undated writings offer clues as to when they were written, they remain difficult to date because he wrote most of them over extended periods of time as he prayed and contemplated the Gospel life he lived. These writings include: *The Admonitions*, *Exhortation to the Praise of God*, *The Office of the Passion*, *A Prayer Inspired by the Our Father*, *The Praises to be Said at All the Hours*, *A Salutation of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, and *A Salutation of the Virtues*.

## Abbreviations

1C	The Life of Saint Francis by Thomas of Celano
2C	The Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul by Thomas of Celano
3C	The Treatise on the Miracles by Thomas of Celano
AC	The Assisi Compilation
ChrJG	The Chronicle of Jordan of Giano
DBF	The Deeds of Blessed Francis and His Companions
ER	The Earlier Rule
L3C	The Legend of the Three Companions
LJS	The Life of Saint Francis by Julian of Speyer
LMj	The Major Legend by Bonaventure
LMn	The Minor Legend by Bonaventure
LR	The Later Rule
LSC	The Legend of Saint Clare
Off	The Divine Office of Saint Francis by Julian of Speyer

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

- Armstrong, Regis, J.A. Wayne Hellmann and William Short, eds. *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*. 4 vols. New York: New City Press, 1999-2002.
- Fontes Franciscani*. Eds. Enrico Menestò and Stefano Brufani. Assisi, Italy: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1991.
- Monti, Dominic. *Breviloquium*. In *Works of St. Bonaventure*, vol. IX. St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2005.
- Pennacchi, Francesco, ed. *Legenda Sanctae Clarae Virginis*. Assisi: Società Internazionale di Studi Francescani, 1910.
- Przewozny, Bernard, ed. *Life of St. Anthony, "Assidua"* Padua: Edizioni Messaggero, 1984.
- Rolandinus, Grammaticus. *The Chronicles of the Trevisan March*. Trans. Joseph Berrigan. Lawrence, KS: Coronado Press, 1980.
- de Voragine, Jacobus. *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. 2 vols. Trans. William Granger Ryan. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

### Secondary Sources

- Armstrong, Gregory. "Constantine's Churches: Symbol and Structure." In *Studies in Early Christianity: A Collection of Scholarly Essays*. Ed. Everett Ferguson, pp. 1-12. New York: Garland, 1993.
- Armstrong, Regis. "'Mira Circa Nos': Gregory IX's View of the Saint, Francis of Assisi." *Greyfriars Review* 4 (1990): 75-100.
- Battisti, Eugenio. *Giotto, Biographical and Critical Study*. Cleveland: Lausanne, 1960.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Cimabue*. Milano: Istituto editoriale italiano, 1963.
- Belloso, Luciano. "La barba di S. Francesco (nuove proposte per il problema di Assisi)." *Prospettiva* 22 (1980): 11-34.
- Belting, Hans. *Die Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi: ihre Dekoration als Aufgabe und die Genese einer neuen Wandmalerei*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1977.

- Bonsanti, Giorgio, ed. *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*. 4 vols. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2002.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *La volta della Basilica superiore di Assisi*. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Basilica of St. Francis of Assisi: Glory and Destruction*. New York: H.N. Abrams, 1998.
- Brilliant, Richard. *Visual Narratives: Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984.
- Caravaggi, Roberto, ed. *Patriarchal Basilica in Assisi: Saint Francis, Artistic Testimony, Evangelical Message*. Trans. Kate Singleton. Milan: Enel, 1991.
- Cook, William. "Tradition and Perfection: Monastic Typology in Bonaventure's 'Life of St. Francis.'" *The American Benedictine Review* 33 (1982): 1-20.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Fraternal and Lay Images of St. Francis in the Thirteenth Century." In *Popes, Teachers, and Canon Law in the Middle Ages*. Eds. James Sweeney and Stanley Kuttner, pp. 263-89. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Images of St. Francis of Assisi in Painting, Stone and Glass from the Earliest Images to ca. 1320 in Italy: A Catalogue*. Ed. Leo S. Olschki. Perth: The University of Western Australia, 1999.
- Cowen, Painton. *Rose Windows*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1979.
- Derbes, Anne. *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Dozzini, Bruno. *Giotto: The 'Legend of St. Francis' in the Assisi Basilica*. Assisi: Editrice Minerva, 1992.
- Esmeijer, Anna. *Divina Quarternitas: A Preliminary Study in the Method and Application of Visual Exegesis*. Amsterdam: Van Gorcum Assen, 1978.
- Giandomenico, Nicola and Paolo Rocchi. *Basilica patriarcale di San Francesco in Assisi: il cantiere dei restauri*. Milan: Electa, 1999.
- Giuseppe, Basile and Pasquale Magro. *Il cantiere pittorico della Basilica superiore di San Francesco in Assisi*. Assisi: Casa editrice francescana, 2001.
- Goppelt, Leonhard. *Typos*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969.

- Hertlein, Edgar. *Die Basilika San Francesco in Assisi: Gestalt, Bedeutung, Herkunft*. Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1964.
- Kleinschmidt, Beda. *Das Basilika San Francesco in Assisi*. 4 vols. Berlin: Atlantis Verlag, 1915-28.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Die Wandmalereien der Basilika San Francesco in Assisi*. Berlin: Atlantis Verlag, 1930.
- Lavin, Marilyn Aronberg. *The Place of Narrative: Mural Decoration in Italian Churches, 431-1600*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Liturgy of Love: Images from the Song of Songs in the Art of Cimabue, Michelangelo, and Rembrandt*. Kansas: Spencer Museum of Art, 2001.
- Lunghi, Elvio. *The Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi*. New York: Riverside Book Company, 1996.
- Magro, Pasquale. *Assisi: History Art Spirituality*. Assisi: Casa Editrice Francescana, 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *La Basilica sepolcrale di San Francesco in Assisi*. Assisi: Casa Editrice Francescana, 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Il simbolismo teologica dell'orientazione della chiesa di S. Francesco in Assisi*. Assisi: Casa Editrice Francescana, 1993.
- Malafarina, Gianfranco and Elio Ciol. *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2005.
- Martin, Frank and Gerhard Ruf. *Die Glasmalereien von San Francesco in Assisi: Entstehung und Entwicklung einer Gattung in Italien*. Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner, 1997.
- Michaels, Daniel. "Prophecy in Stone: The Façade of the Basilica of Saint Francis in Assisi." In *The Art of the Franciscan Order in Italy*. Ed. William Cook. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2005.
- Miles, Margaret. *Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1985.
- Nessi, Silvestro. *La Basilica di S. Francesco in Assisi e la sua documentazione storica*. Assisi: Casa editrice francescana, 1994.
- Pietramellara, Carla, et al., eds. *Il Sacro Convento di Assisi*. Rome: Laterza, 1988.
- Poeschke, Joachim. *Die Kirche San Francesco in Assisi und ihre Wandmalereien*. München: Hirmer, 1985.

- Rocchi, Giuseppe. *La Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi Interpretazione e Rilievo*. Firenze: Sansoni Editore Nuova, 1982.
- Romanini, Angiola Maria. *Assisi: The Frescoes in the Basilica of St. Francis*. New York: Rizzoli, 1997.
- Romano, Serena. *La basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi: Pittori, botteghe, strategie narrative*. Roma: Viella, 2001.
- Ruf, Gerhard. *Franziskus und Bonaventura: die heisgeschichtlich Deutung der Fresken im Langhaus der Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi aus der Theologie des heiligen Bonaventura*. Assisi: Casa Editrice Francescane, 1974.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Das Grab des hl. Franziskus. Die Fresken der Unterkirche von Assisi*. Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1981.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Die Fresken der Oberkirche San Francesco in Assisi: Ikonographie und Theologie*. Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner, 2004.
- Scarpellini, Pietro. *Descrizione della basilica di S. Francesco: e di altri santuari di Assisi*. Treviso: Canova, 1982.
- Schrenk, Sabine. *Typos und Antitypos in der Frühchristlichen Kunst*. Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1995.
- Simon, Robin. "Towards a Relative Chronology of the Frescoes in the Lower Church of St. Francis at Assisi." *Burlington Magazine* 118 (1976): 361-66.
- Sindona, Enio. *L'opera completa di Cimabue e il momento figurativo pregiottesco*. Milan: Rizzoli, 1975.
- Smart, Alastair. *The Assisi Problem and the Art of Giotto; A Study of the Legend of St. Francis in the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- Supino, Igino Benvenuto. *La Basilica di San Francesco d'Assisi*. Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1924.
- Thode, Henry. *Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien*. Vienne: Phaidon-Verlag, 1934.
- Troiano, Constantino and Alfonso Pompei. *Illustrated Guide of Assisi*. Trans. Benedict Fagone. Assisi: Casa Editrice Francescana, 1970.
- Vasari, Giorgio. *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*. Ed. Rosanna Bettarini. Florence: Sansoni, 1966.
- Venturi, Adolfo. *La Basilica di Assisi*. Rome: Casa Editrice de "L'Arte," 1908.

- White, John. "The Date of the 'St. Francis Legend' at Assisi." *Burlington Magazine* 115 (1973): 439-47.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London, 1967.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Cimabue and Assisi: Working Methods and Art Historical Consequences." *Art History* 4.4 (1981): 372-73.
- Wiener, Jürgen. *Die Bauskulptur von San Francesco in Assisi*. Werl: Dietrich-Coelde-Verlag, 1991.
- Wolff, Ruth. "*Dicitur allegoria quasi alieniloquium*: Das erste Bild der Franziskuslegende in der Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi." In *Hagiographie und Kunst*. Ed. Gottfried Kersch, pp. 385-400. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Der Heilige Franziskus: in Schriften und Bildern des 13. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1996.
- Zaccaria, Giuseppe. "Diario storico della basilica e sacro convento di S. Francesco in Assisi (1220-1927)." *Miscellanea Francescana* 1 (1963): p. 141-46.