

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ITALIAN
SCHOOLS OF PAINTING

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MADONNA AND CHILD

*From Domenico di Bartolo's polyptych, Gallery,
Perugia.*

Photo Alinari.

THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE
Italian Schools
of Painting

BY

RAIMOND VAN MARLE

Doctor of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Paris

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N.B. The terms “right” and “left” are used from the standpoint of the spectator unless the contrary be stated.

INTRODUCTION

The pictorial production which, in Tuscany, belongs to the cosmopolitan Gothic style, exhibits certain peculiarities which differentiate it from the other local groups. The cause of this phenomenon must be looked for in the artistic movement in Florence and Siena before the beginning of the 15th century. It is evident that in these two towns artistic currents were established which were so to say autonomous and provided in themselves a strong reaction against any outside influence. Moreover, contrary to the regions of Northern Italy, both the towns of Florence and Siena were too far distant from other countries to feel the effects of the evolution that took place in the field of figurative art.

It is true that certain districts to the south of Tuscany were influenced by foreign schools but this can be accounted for by the feebleness of local centres of any importance, if not their entire absence.

With regard to Florence and Siena it was quite the contrary : during the whole of the 14th century these two towns, particularly the latter, disseminated their traditions throughout Italy and even beyond the frontiers, so that it was against all conventions to accept a place in a movement whose chief centre was not only elsewhere but far distant; further it must be admitted that although these two towns produced many painters of considerable merit at the beginning of the 15th century, it was not the period during which either centre possessed really first class artists. As we remarked in previous volumes, the end of the 14th century was a time of decadence in Florence as well as in Siena and the latter never again retrieved a pre-eminent place in the history of Italian painting; as for Florence its second great epoch started with Masaccio, Uccello, Angelico and Domenico Veneziano.

The painting which in Florence immediately preceded these

great masters was really the continuation of the decadence of 14th century art in which Lorenzo Monaco and Masolino were the only figures of really great merit. Nevertheless, in every case, Lorenzo's included, the spirit of the art remained the same as that of the previous generation, that is to say exclusively religious, limited to the portrayal of saints against gold backgrounds, without either the human side or that propensity for genre painting with figures attired in costumes of the time, which at this moment pervaded the art of Northern Italy. In some instances, however, exception may be made for the painters of Cassino. In their productions we find a connexion in style with the cosmopolitan Gothic movement and the works are often profane, not only in subject but also in the secular spirit of the representations. But these artists were of too minor an importance to exercise any influence on the general evolution of the Florentine school at that moment.

At Siena the situation was slightly different. There, too, the great tradition of the 14th century continued to dominate with the result that the art is of a religious and traditionalistic nature; sacred subjects against gold backgrounds were in general favour. Nevertheless, painters like Sassetta and Giovanni di Paolo reveal that they came into contact with the pictorial movement of the rest of Italy; elements of genre painting are noticeable in their works and the Gothic line often bears a resemblance to that found in the works of Gentile da Fabriano, and in those of the Marchigian and Umbrian schools, with all of which these two artists in particular seem to have been more familiar than were most of the Florentine masters, with the exception of Bicci di Lorenzo, in spite of the fact that Gentile's name is found inscribed in the roll of Florentine painters.

CHAPTER I

BICCI DI LORENZO, PAOLO DI STEFANO, DELLO DELLI, ROSSELLO DI JACOPO FRANCHI, GIOVANNI DAL PONTE, PSEUDO-AMBROGIO DI BALDESE, THE PAINTERS OF CASSONI AND SOME MINIATURISTS

Although a certain effect of the diffusion of the cosmopolitan Gothic style can be observed in Florentine painting of the beginning of the 15th century, we notice that in this town which was so much under the domination of the Giottesque school, the Trecentesque forms continued to exist with more force and for a greater length of time than elsewhere in Italy.

In this chapter I have grouped together several painters who, at the beginning of their careers at least, were true Trecentists, although at more advanced stages they came under the influence first of Gentile da Fabriano who, it will be remembered, was inscribed in the corporation of Florentine painters in 1422, and secondly of the great masters of the Florentine Renaissance of the 15th century, who were soon to revolutionize the entire pictorial movement and whose contemporaries the artists in question actually were.

A very characteristic case and one in which the different consecutive influences are clearly demarcated, is that of Bicci di Lorenzo (¹) who was besides one of the most productive painters of his day.

As several writers have remarked, Milanese in the first place, Vasari confused Bicci di Lorenzo with his father, Lorenzo

(¹) *Vasari*, Vite, ed. *Milanesi*, II, p. 49. *Milanesi*, Commentario alla vita di Lorenzo di Bicci, id., p. 63. *O. Sirén*, Di alcuni pittori, fiorentini chi subirono l'influenza di Lorenzo Monaco. *L'Arte*, IV, 1907, p. 345. *M. Salmi*, *L'Arte*, 1913, p. 216. *M. Logan Berenson*, Opere inedite di B. di L., *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1915, p. 209. *G. Gr(ou)au*, in Thieme Becker's *Künstler Lexikon*, III, p. 605.

di Bicci with whom we have dealt in another volume ⁽¹⁾ and almost all the data he gives regarding Lorenzo, concern the son; he even adds to the confusion by including some facts from the life of Neri di Bicci, the son of Bicci di Lorenzo and not his brother as Vasari imagined.

The knowledge we have of the career of Bicci di Lorenzo is very considerable, thanks to the researches of Milanesi. I shall not detail all the evidence which frequently concerns lost works.

The more important facts are that he was born in 1373, that his son Neri was born in 1418, that his wife was called Benedetta di Amato Amati and that he died in May 1452 and was buried in the church of Sta. Maria del Carmine. All the other documents refer to his paintings and his constant activity. Between 1420 and 1446, there are but very few years for which Milanesi does not provide us with documentary evidence of Bicci's diligence and often there is more than one record for each year.

The earliest date concerning his pictorial activity is 1414 when we find him at work in the church of Porciano, in the Casentino; to this we shall return later on. Milanesi was in ignorance of this date, as also of that of 1416 which shows him gilding and colouring candle sticks and church pews, a modest occupation, more suited to an apprentice than to a mature artist of forty-three years of age ⁽²⁾. But, as I said before, it is not until after 1420 that we find his name mentioned with great regularity. In the last six years of his life, that is to say between 1446 and 1452, there is no record of his activity, although Vasari informs us that in 1450, in spite of his illness, he decorated the façade of Sta. Croce. The altar-

⁽¹⁾ v. Vol. III, p. 574.

⁽²⁾ Bicci di Lorenzo and his fellow-artists receive payment for gilding and colouring two candle-sticks and for working on the pews in the oratory of the Bigallo. It is not absolutely clear that the document regarding the pews bears reference also to Bicci di Lorenzo. *Poggi, Supino e Ricci, Il Bigallo*, p. 50. The documents of 1439 (1440) in connexion with the figures of the saints executed in a chapel of the cathedral and on the tomb of the Marsili family have since been published in their entirety by G. *Poggi, Il Duomo di Firenze (Italienische Forschungen)*, Berlin, 1909, Nos. 1082, 1083, 1084, 1086 and 1087.

piece in the cathedral of Fiesole reveals that the artist was still at work.

Very important is a document of 1424 which proves to us that Bicci was also a sculptor, for at this time he executed



Fig. 1. Bicci di Lorenzo, the Annunciation and saints.
Parish Church, Porciano.

Photo Alinari

for the church of S. Egidio some reliefs in enamelled terracotta, representing the Apostles and four Fathers of the Church and he adorned the lunette over the entrance door with a group of figures depicting the Coronation of the Virgin.

According to Vasari, Lorenzo di Bicci, that is to say Bicci di Lorenzo, also made projects for buildings such as the palace of Niccolò da Uzzano, for whom he executed as well the beginning of a superb "Sapienza" or "Studio". Vasari further

informs us that in 1418 he made the model for the reconstruction of the church of S. Egidio where he was also active as painter. Perhaps worthy of mention too is Vasari's affirmation that Bicci decorated a room in the palace of the Medici, adjacent to that now known as the Palazzo Riccardi, with a series of famous men, a well known subject, which was ordered by Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici. Naturally no importance should be attached to Vasari's statement that Bicci was assisted by Donatello while the latter was still in his youth; for this fact he gives the date 1450 when Donatello was sixty-five old! The information, also from the same source, that Bicci helped his father, is probably much nearer the truth.

As Milanese rightly observes, the taxes that Bicci had to pay prove that his activity must have been enormous and this is confirmed by the information we gather from the other documents.

We know the names of two of Bicci's helpers: they are Stefano d' Antonio and Bonaiuto di Giovanni.

We have a fairly large number of dated works by Bicci di Lorenzo but with one exception they are all but one later than 1423. The only work of an earlier period in the artist's career is the triptych representing the Annunciation and four saints in the church of S. Lorenzo at Porciano, near Stia in the Casentino, which dates from 1414 (fig. 1) ⁽¹⁾. In the central panel we see the Virgin sitting reading in a room and the angel Gabriel kneeling before her and in the lateral panels the figures of SS. Michael, James the Apostle, Helen and John the Evangelist; the medallions in the pinnacles are adorned with a representation of Christ on the Cross and two cherubs. The predella shows in the centre the Nativity and to the sides the episode from the life of St. Michael, when the bull climbs on Mount Gargan and the martyrdom of St. John. The work reveals the master as an adherent of the artistic tradition of the 14th century, more particularly that of Agnolo Gaddi. This is not surprising because, as I have already said, the development of Bicci's art consists in a gradual transition from the

⁽¹⁾ This painting is rarely mentioned in the list of Bicci's works. It is recorded, however, by *G. Poggi* in *G. Dainelli e G. Poggi, Toscana* (itinerari automobilistici d'Italia), Florence, 1924, p. 219.

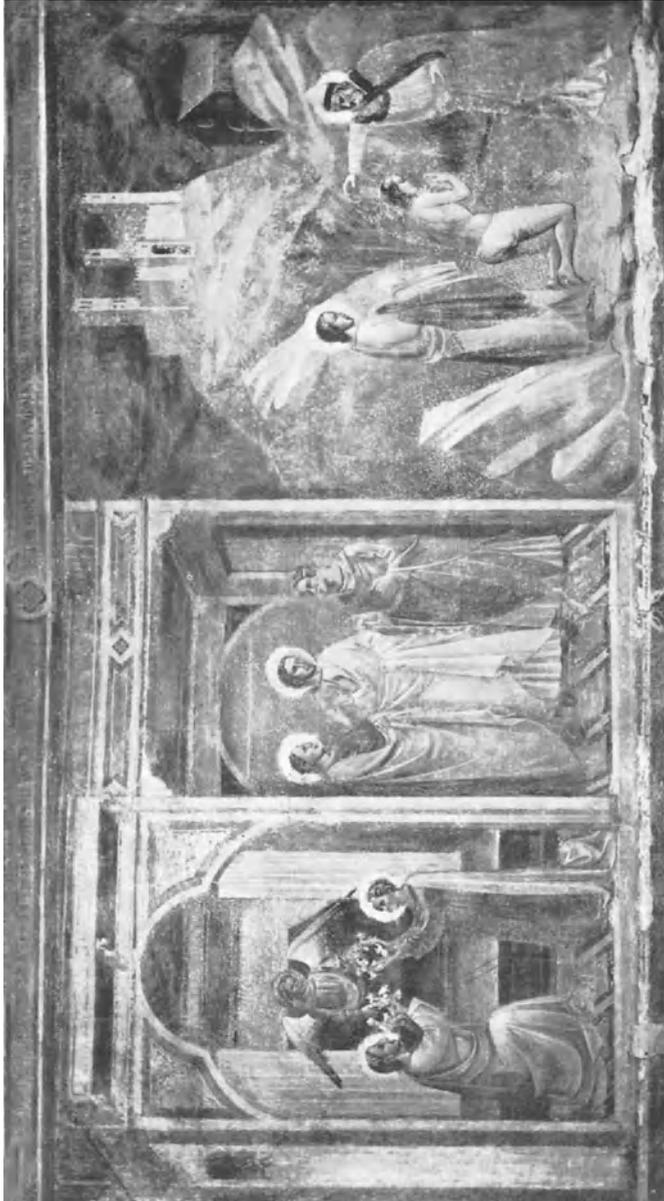


Fig. 2. Bicci di Lorenzo, the story of St. Cecily. Carmine Church, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

14th century manner to more advanced forms, a transition due to the influence of Gentile da Fabriano who figures among the Florentine painters in 1422. For this reason it can be admitted that those works of Bicci in which Gentile's influence is completely absent, date from between 1400 and about 1422.

The principal work that I ascribe to this period in his career is the series of frescoes illustrating the life of St. Cecily, which were discovered in 1858 in the chapel of the sacristy of the Carmine church in Florence. Vasari speaks of two chapels in this church that the painter decorated and also Billi refers to Bicci's activity here. The Trecentesque character of these paintings and the confusion that Vasari made between Bicci di Lorenzo and Lorenzo di Bicci led Cavalcaselle to attribute this mural decoration to the latter of these two artists (¹). The frescoes are considerably repainted but it cannot be said that they have lost all their original style.

The scenes depict the wedding feast of St. Cecily and Valerian: to one side the saint is seen in conversation with her husband whom she converts; then how, as a result of the holy Bishop Urban's prayer, an old man shows a book written in letters of gold, and is baptised Valerian by St. Urban (fig. 2). Below the first fresco is shown St. Cecily and Valerian receiving crowns of roses and in an adjoining room very probably the conversion of Tiburtius, the brother of Valerian, and his baptism. The next scenes illustrate the two brothers performing acts of charity, burying the bodies of those condemned to death and giving to the poor. The artist then shows the brothers questioned by the prefect and on the same row in one fresco, how they are brought to prison by Maximus who is converted and, along with all the other guards, baptised in prison by St. Urban; St. Cecily visiting the two brothers to whom she speaks words of comfort, and lastly their decapitation which took place a short distance from Rome. A painting close by represents several moments from the end of St. Cecily's life: her capture by the prefect's soldiers to whom she delivers a sermon; and their conversion and baptism by St.

(¹) *Vasari-Milanesi*, II, p. 53 and note 1 of Milanesi who quotes *P. Santi Mattei*, *Ragionamento intorno all' antica chiesa del Carmine di Firenze*, Florence, 1869, p. 61.

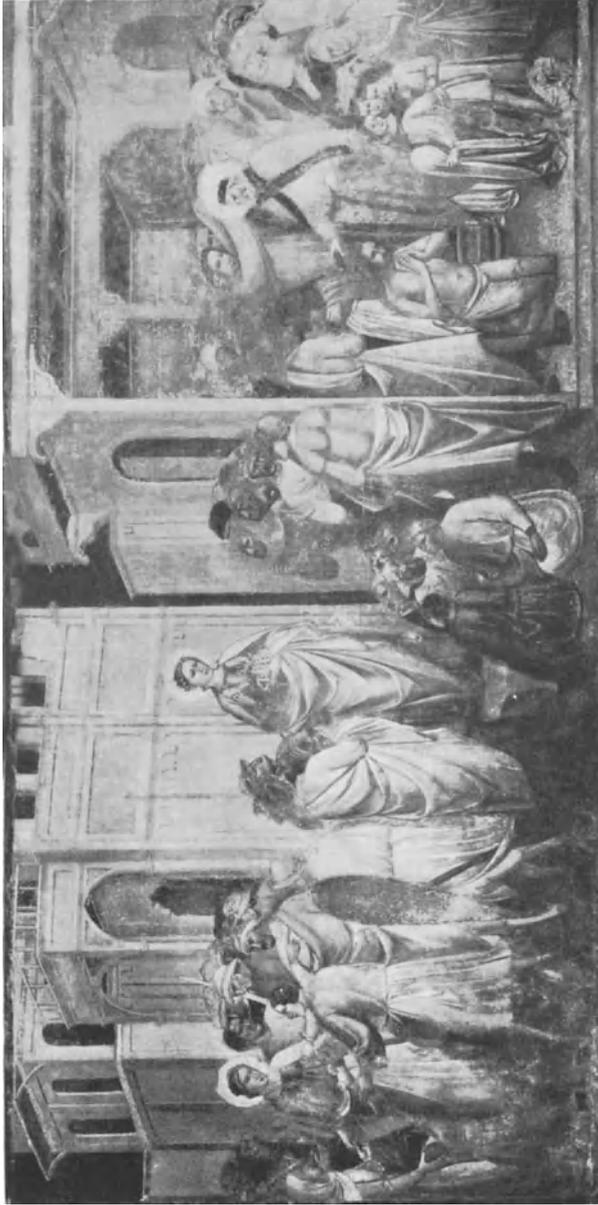


Fig. 3. Bacci di Lorenzo, the story of St. Cecilia. Carmine Church, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

Urban. The painter has added numerous figures of women and children, unmentioned in the text, to the group of converts who are baptised (fig. 3). Lastly we find united in one fresco the last conversation between St. Urban and St. Cecily who, mortally wounded by the executioner who should have beheaded her, has been granted by heaven three more days of life and is seen distributing her goods to the poor, and recommending her converts to St. Urban whom she requests to build a church on the site of the house in which she dies; to one side we see the saint entombed while many ecclesiastical dignitaries recite the funeral service.

The compositions, always in the horizontal sense, as well as the landscapes and architecture, are characteristic of a painter belonging to the Trecentesque tradition. There are a few quite interesting Gothic buildings, but apart from that, every piece of architecture in the frescoes is executed after the Giottesque tradition, that is to say as an accessory to the scene and not existing in itself. The architecture forms but a frame around the action and Bicci's compositions on the whole are in no way less primitive than Agnolo Gaddi's. On the other hand, the figures, although of conventional form, are less rigid; they are more life-like and do not entirely lack the appropriate expression and sentiment.

Of an early stage in the master's activity or at any rate of a period prior to Gentile's influence is a fairly important triptych in S. Ambrogio, Florence. It represents in the centre the Virgin and Child between SS. Cosme and Damian and in the wings a male and female martyr, St. Ambrose and St. Ursula (?) (fig. 4). In the pinnacles we see the half-length figure of the Saviour bestowing a blessing and holding an open book and the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation.

In my own collection there is a picture executed after this manner, depicting the Virgin nursing the Child between SS. John the Baptist and Francis with the two figures of the Annunciation in the spandrels. (fig. 5). About twelve years ago or so, I saw a picture of similar composition in another private collection; the Virgin in this case was escorted by SS. Matthew the Evangelist and Francis ⁽¹⁾. This panel is,

⁽¹⁾ *Logan Berenson, op. cit.*

I think, the most typically Trecentesque of Bicci's works. Nor is there any trace of Gentile's influence in the Coronation of the Virgin with two angelic musicians below which is preserved in the Capitular Library of Pescia. Some other fragments of the same altar-piece, including a scene from the life of St. Mary of Egypt and St. Francis receiving the stigmata are also found here (1).



Fig. 4. Bicci di Lorenzo, triptych, S. Ambrogio, Florence.

Photo Alinari

Gentile's influence had not yet touched Bicci when he executed two panels of saints, now in the Doria Gallery, Rome, representing SS. Christopher, John the Baptist, James and Antony Abbot (2), and the three fragments with half-length figures of angels in the Bandini Museum, Fiesole (Nos. 8, 12, 14.)

Bicci must have come into contact with Gentile da Fabriano very shortly after we find the latter enrolled in the Florentine

(1) *Salmi*, op. cit.

(2) *Logan Berenson*, op. cit.

corporation of painters, because already in the Madonna of 1423 in the gallery of the Collegiate in Empoli (No. 18), the influence of the master of Fabriano is noticeable. The panel shows the Virgin sitting on a high Gothic throne of simple form, the Child Christ on her knee and a little adorer kneeling at her feet. Another panel with the figures of SS. John the Evangelist and Leonard seems to have belonged to this picture but the two saints which must have formed the pendant on another panel have disappeared. The devotee is Simone Guiducci di Spicchio who had the picture executed for his chapel in the Pieve of Empoli from where the work originates. The documents concerning this have been published by Milanesi and Signor O. H. Giglioli (¹). There is quite a noticeable difference between the forms and proportions of Bicci's first manner and those of this painting which more closely approaches the cosmopolitan Gothic style. It is quite possible that apart from Gentile's direct influence, Bicci became acquainted with the art of the Fabrianese master through Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino, a pupil and imitator of Gentile's, with whom we have already dealt and who painted an altar-piece for the chapel of Ilarione de' Bardi in the church of Sta. Lucia, Florence, which chapel Bicci adorned with some frescoes from the life of St. Lawrence in 1423 (²). This certainly suggests a point of contact between Bicci and Arcangelo di Cola, of which, however, we have no further confirmation.

The date 1423 is also inscribed at the foot of a predella in the Museum of Berlin. The predella in question is found below a picture of the middle of the 14th century representing the Virgin between SS. Salvius and Bernard; it has obviously been made to go with this panel because, besides the Nativity with the Message to the Shepherds, we see St. Salvius curing people suffering from plague and St. Bernard delivering a town of its enemies, both scenes showing interesting pieces of architecture.

We find this new manner in a work of the following year,

(¹) *Milanesi* in his edition of *Vasari*, II, p. 66 notes 3 and 4. *O. H. Giglioli*, *Empoli artistica*, Florence, 1906, p. 67.

(²) *Milanesi* in his edition of *Vasari*, II, p. 66.



Fig. 5. Bicci di Lorenzo, Madonna and saints.
Van Marle Collection, Perugia.

Photo Reali.



Fig. 6. Bicci di Lorenzo, the Coronation of the Virgin, relief, 1424.
S. Egidio, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

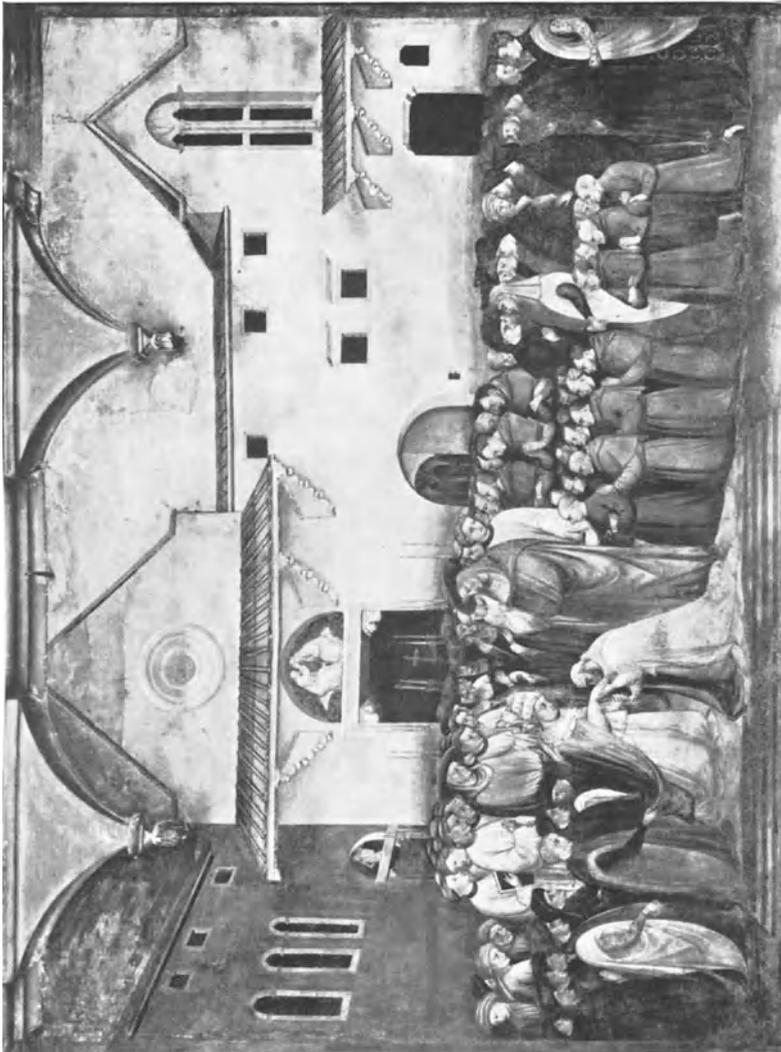


Fig. 7. Bicci di Lorenzo, Pope Martin V consecrating the church and confirming the privileges of the hospital. Ospedale Sta. Maria Nuova, Florence.

Photo Alinari

1424, the terra-cotta relief of the Coronation of the Virgin over the door of the church of S. Egidio or Sta. Maria Nuova of the Hospital (fig. 6). The composition is very simple ; the Virgin

and the Saviour are seated together on a cloud, the latter placing a crown on His Mother's head (1).

Already in 1420 the master had executed a panel for the same church (2) which, as we have seen, had been restored in 1418 and 1419 with the help of Bicci di Lorenzo. The picture, mentioned by Vasari, that Bicci made of the consecration of the church by Pope Martin V, still exists in the hospital (fig. 7). It appears to be considerably repainted and has lost much of its original character, none the less we can discover certain elements due to Gentile's influence which induce us to believe that the work must have been executed some years after the ceremony, probably towards 1423 or 1424; moreover, in the background we see, adorning the façade of the church, the Coronation of the Virgin that Bicci executed in relief in 1424.

On the base of the throne in the altar-piece in the church of S. Niccolo, Florence, there is inscribed a date which seems to me to be 1425. Here the artist has represented the Virgin and Child between two angels and six saints; they are St. Francis, a holy bishop, a young deacon martyr, a female martyr with a receptacle from which issues a tongue of fire, St. Nicholas and St. Bartholomew (fig. 8). This panel too is somewhat repainted.

There are several works dating from the subsequent years, which clearly show the same manner. On the corner of Via Serragli and Via Monaca there is a tabernacle beside which a modern inscription runs: "*M. Lorenzo di Bicci (sic) dipinse 1427*". No doubt this inscription with such precise information is taken from the original (3). The date corresponds perfectly with the style of the work which represents the Madonna enthroned with the Child and below SS. Paul, Jerome and a small kneeling devotee.

Of the year 1429 are the figures of SS. Cosme and Damian, with two scenes from their lives in the predella and the half-length figure of the Saviour bestowing a blessing, above, which picture was executed for Antonio della Casa and was removed

(1) *Vasari* informs us that this relief is by Dello Delli.

(2) *Idem.*

(3) *Arte e Storia*, XXIV, 1905, p. 88.



Fig. 8. Bicci di Lorenzo, Madonna and saints. S. Niccolo, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

from a pillar in the Cathedral to the Uffizi but has since been withdrawn from this collection. The figures of the saints are beautiful and there is a pleasing Gothic movement in the line of the garments; the scenes in the predella are finely executed.

We possess two works dating from 1430. One is the important altar-piece in the parish church of Vertine, Chianti, which figured in the exhibition of Siense art of 1904 (Nos 793, 794, 795) as a production of the Tuscan school but which Mr. Siren

has already classified with Bicci's works. The date is inscribed at the foot of the central panel, which shows the Virgin enthroned with the Child and two angelic musicians at her feet. On the lateral panels are depicted SS. Bartholomew, John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene and Antony Abbot and in the pinnacles the Saviour in benediction and the figures of the Annunciation. On the predella we see the Nativity below the central panel and below each of the lateral saints an episode from his or her life.

The traces of a date which are still visible below the fresco adorning the door of S. Giorgio, Florence, should, in all probability, be deciphered as that of 1430⁽¹⁾. The Virgin on a Gothic throne of a form a little more elaborate than usual, holds the Child on her knee between SS. George and Leonard.

The same type of Child is found in a picture of the Madonna on a throne, more Renaissance than Gothic in form, in the midst of four angels, showing the date 1433 below, which is now preserved in the gallery of Parma (No. 456) (plate I). This panel was acquired in Florence in 1787 and originates from the church of S. Niccolo⁽²⁾. This was the church of S. Niccolo in Via del Cocomero and the picture is described by Richa in his book on the Florentine churches (VII, p. 35); he tells us that the lateral panels, which are now lost, contained the figures of SS. John the Baptist, Matthew, Nicholas and Benedict⁽³⁾.

Comparing the picture of the Madonna with that which once formed the central panel of the Quataresi altar-piece of 1425 by Gentile da Fabriano, lent by H. M. the King of England to the National Gallery, London, it is obvious that Bicci found his inspiration in this painting which was executed eight years before by the master of Fabriano. The composition and attitudes bear a close resemblance. The predella panels of this altar-piece are divided between the Metropolitan Museum,

⁽¹⁾ *Sirén*, op. cit., L'Arte, 1904, p. 347. He remarks that Vitzthum, in his monograph on Daddi to whom Vasari attributes it, affirms that he read on it the date 1330.

⁽²⁾ *C. Ricci*, La R. Galleria di Parma, (1896), p. 344.

⁽³⁾ *G. Poggi*, Gentile da Fabriano e Bicci di Lorenzo, Rivista d'Arte, V, 1907, p. 88.



MADONNA AND ANGELS
By Bicci di Lorenzo, Gallery, Parma.

Photo Minist. Pubbl. Istr.



Fig. 9. Bicci di Lorenzo, a charitable act of St. Nicholas. Metropolitan Museum, New York.

New York, which possesses two (B 47 — 1 and 2) and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

The two pictures in the New York gallery represent St. Nicholas throwing the three golden balls into the room where the three poor girls and their father are preparing to retire to bed (fig. 9), and the holy bishop resuscitating the three boys who had been killed and cut into pieces (fig. 10). The third panel is a little longer and depicts the saint flying through the air to succour ship-wrecked sailors (fig. 11). On account of the difference in size it is possible that this panel does not belong to the same series; yet all the same, I think it more likely that all three pieces formed part of one predella because each is a fairly true copy of the corresponding panel of the predella of the altar-piece that Gentile da Fabriano executed in 1425 for the Quarteresi; we have seen that these predella panels which are preserved in the Vatican Gallery are not by the master himself but from the hand of a helper. Also in this predella the picture of the miraculous rescue of the ship-wrecked sailors is longer than the other panels. The Madonna of 1433 and the predella panels which belong to it are the finest of Bicci di Lorenzo's extant works.

The frescoes adorning the tabernacle of the baptistry of S. Martino at Gangalandi, near Lastra a Signa seem to date from 1433. To one side we see in a landscape St. Martin on horseback, dividing his coat with the beggar; another person carrying a cloak follows him; in the corners below the Annunciation is depicted. The longer side of the tabernacle is adorned with a figure of the Saviour seated in a mandorla with four cherubim and six angelic musicians to either side; lower down traces of three figures of saints are visible. The eight medallions in the vault contain the Fathers of the Church and other saints.

All these frescoes have been freely restored but I do not think they could ever have been included among the artist's finest works.

Richa in his "Chiese fiorentine" (III, pp. 160, 161) informs us that the picture of St. Giovanni Gualberto in the chapel of Neri Compagni in the church of Sta. Trinita was dated 1434. From Vasari we learn that the frescoes in this chapel

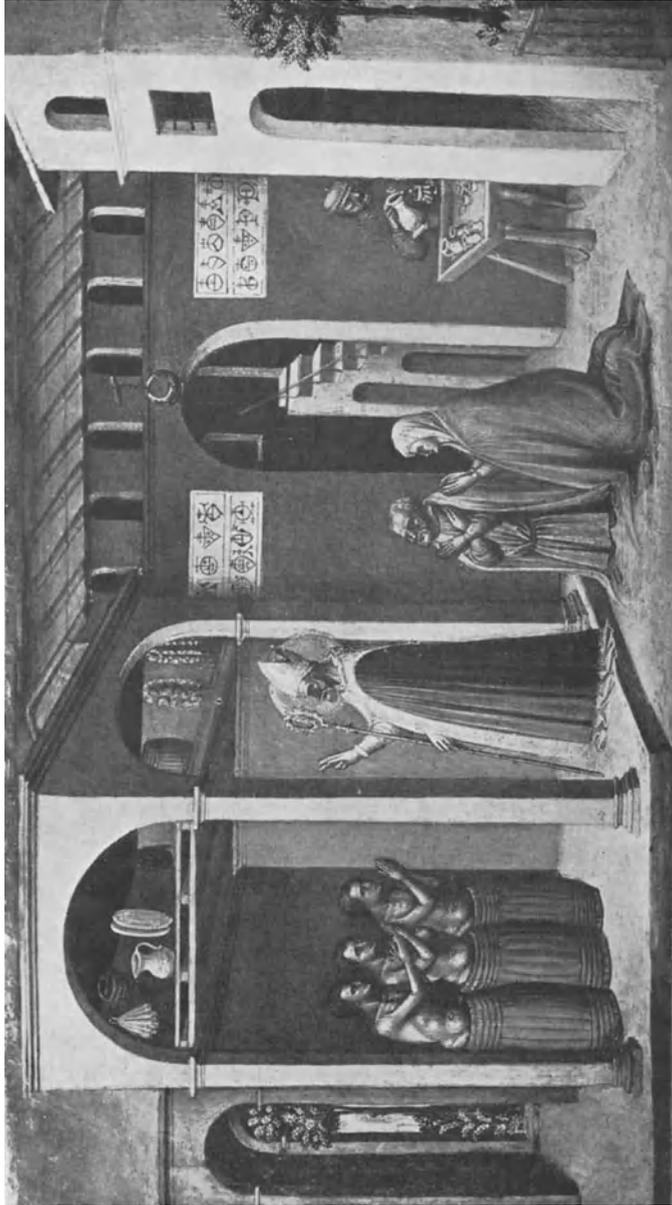


Fig. 10. Bicci di Lorenzo, a miracle of St. Nicholas. Metropolitan Museum, New York.

illustrated the life of the saint but already in Richa's time these had disappeared; only on the arch of the chapel there remains a fresco of Christ in glory in the midst of saints and prophets, which consequently can be dated from this year.

A polyptych showing the date 1435 is found in the Prepositura of S. Ippolito at Bibbiena in the Casentino. The Virgin is depicted between SS. James, Christopher, Hippolytus, and John the Baptist, while the predella is adorned with scenes of the Nativity, the Baptism of Christ and the martyrdom of SS. Hippolytus, James and Sebastian. In the gables we see the Crucifixion, the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and the Resurrection. The influence of Gentile is noticeable here only in the central figure and in the predella; the lateral saints are executed after the earlier manner. Gentile's influence is more evident in a restored fresco of the Madonna and Child and two angels in the church of Sta. Maria del Sasso in the same little town, a Madonna enthroned with two little angels, SS. Peter and Paul in the Franchetti collection, in the Ca d'Oro, Venice, another enthroned Madonna nursing the Child, with two small angels behind the throne and a nun kneeling in adoration, in the Lanckoronski collection, Vienna, and in the Nativity of Christ in the church of S. Giovannino dei Cavalieri in Florence on which the date 1435 was once visible in the upper part of the frame (fig. 12) ⁽¹⁾. In a landscape which clearly reveals a knowledge of those depicted by Gentile we see under a shelter on wooden supports the Virgin adoring the newborn Infant; behind her kneels the donor. St. Joseph sits in meditation; some of the shepherds have just arrived, others are shown in the distance among their flocks; many angels in several groups fly overhead.

The works executed between 1423 and 1435 are proof of the influence that Gentile da Fabriano's art had on Bicci di Lorenzo, an influence which was first felt shortly after Gentile's arrival in Florence and which lasted until eight years after his death.

From this period date a certain number of Bicci's other works. In the church of Sta. Maria a Quarto at Bagni a Ripoli, near Florence, there is a characteristic painting of this stage repres-

⁽¹⁾ *A. Chiappelli* *Pagine d'antica arte fiorentina*, Florence, 1905, p. 93 has not recognised the author of this panel.



Fig. 11. Bicci di Lorenzo, a miracle of St. Nicholas. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

enting the Virgin on a simple Gothic throne nursing the Child Christ while two angels kneel below (1).

Another production of this manner but of better workmanship has been ascribed to Gentile himself (2) but this attribution has already been rightly refuted (3). This picture, which is preserved in the Museum of Fabriano, represents



Fig. 12. Bicci di Lorenzo, the Nativity. S. Giovannino dei Cavalieri, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

the Virgin holding the almost naked Child on her knee in the midst of four cherubim with SS. John the Baptist and

(1) Logan Berenson, op. cit., p. 212. I. Vavassour Elder, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1916, p. 185.

(2) A. Venturi, *L'Arte*, IX, 1906, p. 222.

(3) F. M. Perkins, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1907, p. 91 note. G. Gronau, *Kunstchronik*, 7th June 1907. G. Poggi, *Gentile da Fabriano e B. di L.*; *Rivista d'Arte*, 1907, p. 85. In the catalogue of the exhibition of Umbrian art, 1907, p. 29, a point of interrogation accompanies this attribution. A. Colasanti, *Gentile da Fabriano*, Bergamo, 1909, p. 143, ascribes this picture to the Florentine school of the beginning of the 15th century.



Fig. 13. Bicci di Lorenzo, Madonna and saints. Gallery, Fabriano.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 14. Bicci di Lorenzo, Madonna and saints. Accademia, Florence.

Photo Reali

James kneeling below (fig. 13). It is not one of the master's best works; a replica of it exists in a private collection (1).

A superior work though of close resemblance is the mystic marriage of St. Catherine, with SS. Eustace, John the Baptist and Antony, the Saviour in a medallion above, and the dead Christ and four very small figures of saints below, in the Accademia, Florence (No. 228) (fig. 14 reproduces only the principal panel).

A beautiful work belonging to this manner is preserved in the Crozatier Museum, Le Puy (No. 61). It represents a holy



Fig. 15. Bacci di Lorenzo, two saints.
Museum, Le Puy.

(1) *Logan Berenson*, op. cit., p. 213.



Fig. 16. Bicci di Lorenzo, the Nativity. Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A.

martyr and a saintly bishop with the archangel Gabriel kneeling above (fig. 15). It bears a marked connexion in style with the panel of SS. Cosme and Damian of 1429. Executed after the same manner is a Madonna and Child between SS. Francis and Antony Abbot which I saw for sale in Berlin in the summer of 1925, as well as a predella in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, U. S. A., showing the Nativity, in which we see the Virgin in adoration before the Child, St. Joseph in meditation and the angels announcing the glad tidings to the shepherds,

with architecture and a landscape as background (fig. 16) (1).

¹⁾ Perkins, op. cit., Art in America, 1921, p. 45.



Fig. 17. Biccì di Lorenzo, drawing. Print Room, Berlin.

I think we can ascribe to this period still the left half of a drawing of the Flagellation in the Print Room of Berlin (fig. 17), originating from the von Bechenrath collection ⁽¹⁾, a beautiful figure of St. Christopher in the Acton collection, Florence, and a very fine Madonna and Child enthroned between two angels in the Landau Finaly collection of the same town.

We possess only one dated work of between the years 1435 and 1445 but it suffices to give us a clear idea of the development of Bicci's style during this period. It is true that in 1439 and 1440 he executed some still existing frescoes in the cathedral of Florence.

These are the figures in the chapels below the windows; those that have been preserved represent St. Victor with St. Barnabus, the doubting Thomas, and the Apostles either in couples or isolated, but these frescoes are almost all entirely repainted or so thoroughly restored that it is impossible to form an exact idea of their original appearance ⁽²⁾. We have, however, a work of Bicci's dating from 1440 in the church of S. Michele Arcangelo at Legnaia, near Florence; it depicts the Annunciation which takes place in the Virgin's bedroom; it is a work of considerable importance, in which, however, the influence of Gentile da Fabriano is much less marked.

Little significance has ever been given to the fact that in 1441 Bicci came into contact with Domenico Veneziano when he helped this master to decorate the Cappella Maggiore of the church of S. Egidio. I do not wish to suggest that his association with this painter who, at that moment, was one of the adherents par excellence of the new movement in Florentine art, revolutionized Bicci, always a conservative artist and already advanced in age. All the same I think this connexion with a more modern exponent of his calling left its mark on Bicci's last works, because, although here we have already reached the master's decadence, we notice an increase of plastic effects and of relief which his earlier productions possessed to a much less degree or not at all. It has

⁽¹⁾ *Sirén*, Lorenzo Monaco, p. 176¹.

⁽²⁾ *Poggi*, Il Duomo di Firenze, p. CXV and documents Nos. 1082—84, 1086.

even been suggested that Bicci might have known Piero della Francesca ⁽¹⁾.

Of this last stage in Bicci's career we have some dated works from between 1445 and 1448.

In the first of these years he executed the altar-piece in the chapel of S. Stefano in Empoli, representing the figure of St. Nicholas of Tolentino depicted against the wall of the town;



Fig. 18. Bicci di Lorenzo, polyptych. Bandini Museum, Fiesole.

Photo Alinari

above we see Christ in half-length figure bestowing a blessing ⁽²⁾. That same year, 1445, Bicci seems to have started work in Arezzo where he decorated the vault of the choir of S. Francesco with the four figures of the Evangelists, accompanied by their symbols, writing and listening to the Crucified, the Virgin and the angels who speak to them. On the window arch there is a representation of the Saviour in glory in the midst of saints

⁽¹⁾ *O. H. Gighoh*, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1905, p. 206.

⁽²⁾ *Giglioli*, *Empoli artistica*, p. 134.

while on the inside of the chancel arch are painted two of the four Fathers of the Church, standing in Gothic tabernacles. We know that Piero della Francesca finished the decoration of the choir which had been started by Bicci. Vasari speaks of the paintings in the vault of this church and informs us that they were ordered by Francesco de' Bacci ⁽¹⁾.

In the gallery of Arezzo there are still two panels by Bicci (Nos 25 and 26); they represent, the one, SS. James and Zenobius and the other, SS. John the Baptist and Nicholas and originate from the episcopal villa della Godiola, near Arezzo ⁽²⁾. They are undated but must certainly be productions of this period, not only because they are found in this town but also because their style corresponds perfectly with that of the master's late works.

Vasari records other paintings that Bicci di Lorenzo, whom he calls Lorenzo di Bicci, executed at Arezzo, to which town he was called by the prior of the monastery of S. Bernardo where Carlo Marzupini, secretary of Florence, who died in 1453, commissioned him to decorate the choir of the church with scenes from the life of the titular saint, but the artist fell ill and left his pupil, Marco da Montepulciano, to execute the frescoes illustrating the history of St. Benedict in the cloister of the same monastery. These paintings still exist in a loggia outside the church and are obviously not from the hand of Bicci di Lorenzo.

At Fiesole we find a large altar-piece ordered by Bishop Benozzo Federighi shortly before his death, which took place in 1450; the predella which showed the founder's coat of arms has disappeared ⁽³⁾. The central figure of the altar-piece is that of the Virgin seated on a simple Gothic throne with two angels kneeling before her. To the sides are depicted SS. Alexander bishop and martyr, Peter, Romulus and Donatus while the medallions above are adorned with the figures of the two SS. John and the dove of the Holy Ghost. It is on the whole an

⁽¹⁾ *Vasari*, II, p. 56, commentary by Milanesi, p. 65.

⁽²⁾ *A. Del Vita*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1915, p. 87. *Salmi*, *Catalogo della Pinacoteca di Arezzo*, pp. 25—26.

⁽³⁾ *G. Gr(onaui)*, *op. cit.*, quotes *Bargilli*, *Cattedrale di Fiesole*, Florence, 1883, p. 64. v. Vol. III, p. 647.

imposing work but the figures, especially those to the sides, are a little rigid and lifeless; still the general decorative effect of the picture is quite pleasing.

Of the same period is still another work in Fiesole, the



Fig. 19. Bicci di Lorenzo, the mystic marriage of St. Catherine.
Gallery, Perugia.

Coronation of the Virgin in S. Jacopo Maggiore, and perhaps also the large triptych of the Madonna in the midst of four angels between SS. Louis of Toulouse, Francis, Antony of Padua and Nicholas of Bari in the Bandini Museum, in the same little town (No. 35), formerly in the Uffizi, Florence (No. 1533) (fig. 18).

There is yet another large altar-piece which can be ascribed to this late stage in the master's career. It is an elaborate

polyptych in the gallery of Perugia (fig. 19). In the centre the Virgin and Child among clouds are supported by cherubim and accompanied by two angels; the Infant places the ring on the finger of St. Catherine; St. Agnes stands to the other side and St. Dorothy kneels in the centre. The lateral panels show SS. Antony of Padua, Louis of Toulouse and John the Evangelist to the left, SS. Herculanius, Constantius and Lawrence to the right; the presence of the last three figures proves that the picture was executed for the town of Perugia. To the extreme right and left of the predella we see the *Noli me tangere* and the Baptism of Christ and in the centre the martyrdom of St. Agnes and St. Dorothy succouring the poor. The central pinnacle is adorned with the figures of the Annunciation and those to the sides with St. Francis receiving the stigmata and St. Jerome, St. Onuphrius and another saint praying in a cave. Again this work, in which the colouring is beautiful, is praiseworthy on account of its general decorative effect but the details leave much to be desired.

Of this last period of Bicci's activities we find still a certain number of isolated polyptych panels in different collections. As such might be cited the figures of SS. Nicholas of Bari and Bartholomew in the museum of Brunswick⁽¹⁾; SS. Benedict and Nicholas of Bari in the Abbey of Grottaferrata⁽²⁾; St. Paul and again St. Nicholas of Bari, on this occasion as the protector of a religious donatrix, in the museum of Antwerp and a large panel of the Blessed Gerard in my own collection. In the same style is executed a picture of the Annunciation in the Walters collection, Baltimore, in which the angel kneels outside the Virgin's chamber which is open on all sides. The Nativity of the Virgin, her Presentation in the Temple and her Death are depicted on the predella⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Sirén*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1906, p. 86.

⁽²⁾ Published as a production of the Florentine school of the beginning of the 15th century by *Toesca*, *L'Arte*, 1904, p. 322; recognized as a work of Bicci's by *M. Salmi*, *L'Arte*, 1913, p. 216 note 5.

⁽³⁾ *Logan Berenson*, *op. cit.*, p. 210. Is this not the same as the altarpiece described by Mrs Logan Berenson in this article, p. 214, as the property of Mr Lawrence W. Hodson, Wolverhampton? The description corresponds perfectly.

Although we have had a summary glance at a great many of Bicci's works and Vasari enumerates many more according to him by Lorenzo di Bicci but no doubt by our artist, now lost, there is still quite a considerable number of which I shall give a list in the note⁽¹⁾ as well as many pictures which,

(¹) By Bicci di Lorenzo we find still the following works: **Cetico** (Casentino), Sta. Maria, Madonna between SS. Paul, Peter, John the Evangelist and John the Baptist with the Crucifixion and Annunciation above and the Nativity and scenes from the lives of the saints in the predella; the influence of Gentile is manifest (*Salmi, L'Arte, 1913, p. 218*). **Englewood**, U.S.A., Bachus coll., Madonna. **Fiesole**, Bandini Museum, No. 7, the disputation of St. Catherine; No. 13, a baptism performed by a holy bishop; Cannon coll., Madonna between two saints (*Logan Berenson, op. cit.*). **Florence**, Sta. Maria dei Ricci, sacristy, the martyrdom of St. Margaret from a picture once in the church of Sta. Marguerita *Gr(ona)*, *op. cit., Richa, Chiese fiorentine, II, p. 139*); Sta. Felicita, chapel in the chapter-house, fresco transferred to canvas, Madonna, SS. Catherine and Antony Abbot; fresco in lunette over door (*Sirén, L'Arte, 1904, p. 347*); Educatório di Foligno, in the old cloister, fragment of a Nativity in a landscape background; St. Agatha and six scenes from her history; in other parts of the same building, a Crucifixion, St. Ives, apotheosis of this saint, and a half-length figure of Christ rising from His tomb. All these frescoes are in a bad state of preservation and partly repainted (*Sirén, L'Arte, 1904, p. 347*, attributes them to Bicci and helpers); Accademia, St. Lawrence; S. Marco Museum, (formerly), St. Benedict enthroned and two laterel panels of a polyptych each of two saints (*Salmi, op. cit.*, is of opinion that in style they closely approach the polyptych of 1434 at Bibbiena); tabernacle, via Aretina, Madonna nursing the Child (doubtful); it has been attributed to Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini by *I. Vavassour Elder, Rassegna d'Arte, 1916, p. 186*; Horne Museum, basement, Madonna and six saints; Seminary, repainted Coronation of the Virgin. **S. Gimignano**, Gallery, No. 8, Madonna crowned by four angels. **Hanover**, Provincial Museum, a miracle of St. Francis (*Logan Berenson, op. cit.*). **Lastra a Signa**, Perkins coll., triptych with Madonna in centre. **Montefiortino** (The Marches), Gallery, Madonna (*Logan Berenson, op. cit.*). **New York**, Blumenthal coll., Madonna between SS. John the Evangelist and Francis. **Palermo**, Chiamonte Bordonaro coll., No. 78, Madonna and two small monks; No. 99, Madonna between SS. Peter and Paul and the dead Christ against a landscape background in the predella (*Logan Berenson, op. cit.*). **Paris**, Alphonse Kann coll., two polyptych panels with SS. John the Baptist, Sebastian, Antony and Stephen, from the Bardini coll., Nos 41 and 42 of the catalogue of the Kann sale, New York, January 1927. **Pescia**, S. Francesco, Cardini chapel, repainted fresco of four saints and two adorers of the Cardini family (*Salmi, op. cit.*). **Poppi**, Castle, Madonna, 1441,

although very near to Bicci's manner, I do not think are from his own hand, but are sooner productions of his studio ⁽¹⁾. Paintings which are unmistakably school works are few in number and generally of no great importance. A true follower, who had more individuality than ability, executed an altar-piece in the church of Ristonchi, near Vallombrosa; the enthroned Madonna is represented on the central panel (fig. 20) and three saints on each of the wings, among whom we can recognize SS. Bartholomew, Benedict and Romuald; above are depicted the two half-length figures of the Annunciation ⁽²⁾.

mentioned by *Logan Berenson*, op. cit., but I have never been able to find it. **Scarperia** (Mugello), St. Agata, the mystic marriage of St. Catherine, and St. Mary Magdalene (*Logan Berenson*, op. cit.). **Todi**, Gallery, St. Francis bishop and St. James bishop, each with a devotee and a figure of the Annunciation above (*Logan Berenson*, op. cit.). Wrongly ascribed to Bicci are a SS. Francis and Mary Magdalene in the Lanckoronski coll., Vienna (*Sirén*, L'Arte, VIII, 1905, p. 48), which are by Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, Mrs *Logan Berenson*, op. cit., wrongly ascribes to Bicci a panel of the Visitation at Velletri (Luciano da Velletri, v. Vol. VIII, p. 422), a Madonna with angels kneeling, holding lilies, in the Parry coll., Gloucester (Rossello di Jacopo Franchi) and an altar-piece of the Madonna and saints in the Jarves coll., Newhaven (No. 22), which *Sirén* attributes to Ambrogio Baldese with whom we shall deal later on.

(1) The following are productions of Bicci's workshop: **Arezzo**, hospital, Madonna enthroned and two saints (*Salmi*, L'Arte, 1913, p. 221). **Florence**, Accademia, Madonna, two kneeling saints and two cherubs; triptych with eight scenes from the life of the Virgin (*Salmi*, op. cit.); Acton coll., fragment, saint dressed in red enthroned and parts of two other saints; Landau Finaly coll., Madonna and St. Bartholomew with the Visitation and Nativity in the predella, and the Crucifixion, Madonna, SS. John and Mary Magdalene and six other saints below. **In the environs of Florence**, S. Biagio a Petriolo, frescoes (*Poggi*, Toscana, p. 49); Vecchio di Rimaggio, S. Lorenzo, mystic marriage of St. Catherine in the midst of four saints, with five other saints below (*I. Vavassour Elder*, op. cit.). **Loro Ciuffenna**, Badia di Sopra, Annunciation (*Salmi*, op. cit.). **Paris**, Cluny Museum (1741), Madonna and four saints. **Pescia**, S. Antonio Abate, choir, part of the frescoes illustrating the life of St. Antony, sometimes ascribed to Lorenzo di Bicci (v. Vol. III, p. 577) but in some of which *Salmi*, op. cit., sees the hand of Bicci di Lorenzo; S. Francesco, frescoes, not yet all discovered, in the choir and chapel to the right, representing the Nativity and Death of the Virgin (*Salmi*, op. cit.); Capitulare Library, the Calvary.

(2) *I. Vavassour Elder*, op. cit., p. 264.

At Lastra a Signa, near Florence, where, as we saw, Bicci was active, we find some productions of his school. A fresco over the door of the hospital of S. Antonio represents the Virgin and Child, while near there, at S. Stefano Calcinaia, a fragmentary mural painting shows the Madonna who is being crowned by an angel; beside her stands St. John the Baptist but the figure to the other side has disappeared; three medallions above contain the head of Christ and the Annunciation (1).



Fig. 20. School of Bicci di Lorenzo, Madonna, Parish Church, Ristonchi.

(1) *G. Carocci, Il Valdarno (Italia Artistica), Bergamo, 1906, p. 38.*

In the building of the Accademia di Belle Arti in Florence some remains of a Last Supper, in which eight disciples are quite visible, belonging to the school of Bicci di Lorenzo, have been discovered. As the wall adorned by this fresco originally pertained to the hospital of St. Matthew and as Vasari informs us that Stefano di Antonio Vanni, to whom I have already made reference as a helper of Bicci, collaborated with the latter, and further because we know that in 1468 Stefano painted scenes from the Passion in the hospital, it has been thought, not without a certain motive, that these paintings are from the hand of Stefano, concerning whom we possess a fair number of documents. We learn that he was born in 1407 and that he painted an Assumption on the façade of the convent of Sta. Croce; he is found active in Florence in 1442, 1468, 1470 and 1472 and in Volterra in 1457 and 1458. He died in 1483⁽¹⁾. In the gallery of Pisa there are two panels (Room VI, Nos. 1 and 32) representing St. Francis, a crowned saint, SS. Michael, Antony Abbot, Louis of Toulouse and Lawrence, which are too feeble to be classified with Bicci's works but which are certainly executed in his manner⁽²⁾. Very superior to these are the figures of SS. Antony, John the Baptist, a martyr and Mary Magdalene in the Bandini Museum, Fiesole. A list of the other school works that I know is given below⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Vasari-Milanesi*, II, p. 57 note 1. *D. B. Murrai*, Scoperta di un affresco nel Istituto di Belle Arti di Firenze, Bollet. d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., I. 1907, fasc. 1. *M. Battistini*, Stefano di Antonio di Vanni da Firenze dipinge nella chiesa di S. Michele di Volterra, L'Arte, 1920, p. 24.

⁽²⁾ *Salmi*, op. cit., does not, either, give them to Bicci.

⁽³⁾ **Budapest**, Gallery, Madonna in a mandorla nursing the Child between ten saints. **Dijon**, Museum, Dard coll., Madonna and saints. **Empoli**, Collegiata Gallery, No. 523. four saints. **Esztergom** (Hungary) Episcopal Palace, Gallery, Madonna, Child and four saints. **Florence**, for sale 1923, predella panel with the Nativity, the Message to the Shepherds and a town in the background. **In the environs of Florence**, Terenzano parish church, holy bishop, the Baptist and St. Laurence (*I. Vavassour Elder*, op. cit.). **Frankfort**, Städelische Kunst Institut, Madonna enthroned and two kneeling angels, in which Mr. Berenson discovers the influence of Rossello di Jacopo Franchi and Giovanni dal Ponte (*B. Berenson*, Notes on Tuscan Painters of the Trecento in the

Bicci di Lorenzo consequently was a painter whose own production was enormous but who had but few adherents, although we find a certain number of artists who, to a greater or less degree, felt his influence. Through the influence of Gentile da Fabriano in particular and the cosmopolitan Gothic movement in general, Bicci's art underwent a gradual evolution towards the contemporary tendencies; this change, however, was very superficial because we never find in his paintings those thoroughly Gothic forms or those calligraphic effects of outline which characterize the works of Lorenzo Monaco and his adherents. In his early works it is very clear that Bicci derives from Agnolo Gaddi and even from his late productions, such for example as the altar-piece of Fiesole, we might qualify him as a last off-shoot of the Giottesque tradition as I have already said in Vol. III. Gentile's influence dominated him almost completely at a certain moment; as we saw, in 1433 he copied the altar-piece that Gentile had executed in 1425 for the Quarteresi; but also in his landscape backgrounds, often full of architecture, we find many features taken from Gentile's examples. It may be that the increased plastic values in his latest works are due to his association with Domenico Veneziano in 1441 or perhaps to his knowledge of other examples of the more modern school of contemporary Florentine painting. However, all Bicci's productions possess elements characteristic of the art of the previous century and if at certain moments his forms acquire something of the cosmopolitan Gothic current, in his spirit and conceptions he always remained an artist of, even in his own day, a past age. We must, however, say a word in favour of his technique and ease of execution. Although Vasari's praise with regard to

Städel Institut at Frankfort, Städel Jahrbuch, V, 1926, p. 26. **London**, Chillingworth coll., sold Lucerne Sept. 1922, No. 106, Madonna and Child with two angels above and four saints below. **Montepulciano**, Gallery, No. 21, Madonna in the midst of SS. Francis, John the Baptist, a holy martyr and a holy monk. **Paris**, Louvre, No. 11314, Madonna with the Child standing on her knee between SS. Mary Magdalene, a deacon martyr, Bartholomew, Antony Abbot, Dorothy and a female martyr. **Rome**, for sale 1919, Madonna crowned by two angels in the midst of St. Nicholas of Bari (?), a female saint, a female martyr crowned and St. Antony Abbot.

this is exaggerated, it must be admitted that the almost invariably excellent preservation of his numerous works, frescoes as well as panels, the agreeable colouring and his drawing, a little hard but correct and not without charm, rank Bicci di Lorenzo as a good technician.

As for Bicci di Lorenzo's pupils, we have already met with one, Marco da Montepulciano who executed the frescoes from the life of St. Benedict, near the church of S. Bernardo, Arezzo and who, Vasari informs us, made a portrait of Parri Spinelli.

Another painter who might be called a pupil of Bicci is Paolo di Stefano, called Schiavo, at least if it be correct to attribute to him the large Crucifixion in the Accademia of Florence (No. 10), formerly included by Sirén among the works of Andrea di Giusto⁽¹⁾, but now catalogued as a production by Paolo. Paolo's name seems to figure in the roll of Florentine painters of 1428⁽²⁾. Vasari speaks of him as an imitator of Masolino and names as a work by him a tabernacle of the Madonna "sul Canto de' Gori" in Florence where there is still visible the Virgin between St. John the Baptist and another saint, reading a book. Milanesi adds that Paolo lived for many years in Pisa where he died in 1478, that his real name was Badaloni and that his son Marco also became a painter⁽³⁾.

In the convent of S. Apollonia, Florence, there is a fresco of the Crucified between two angels holding chalices, two groups of nuns and two donors in adoration — to which a group of children has been added at a later date — below which is inscribed the following signature: "*Pagholo di Stefano dipinse questo crocifiso A. D. M. MCCCCXXX*" (fig. 21). Cavalcaselle ascribes to the same artist a fresco of Christ in His tomb between two angels, which adorns a lunette over one of the doors in this convent.

A comparison between the fresco of 1440 and the Crucifixion in the Accademia of Florence justifies the attribution of the latter work to the same master (fig. 22). If this really is the

(1) Sirén, *L'Arte*, 1904, p. 345.

(2) This fact is mentioned on a label below the picture.

(3) Vasari, ed. *Milanesi*, II, p. 266.

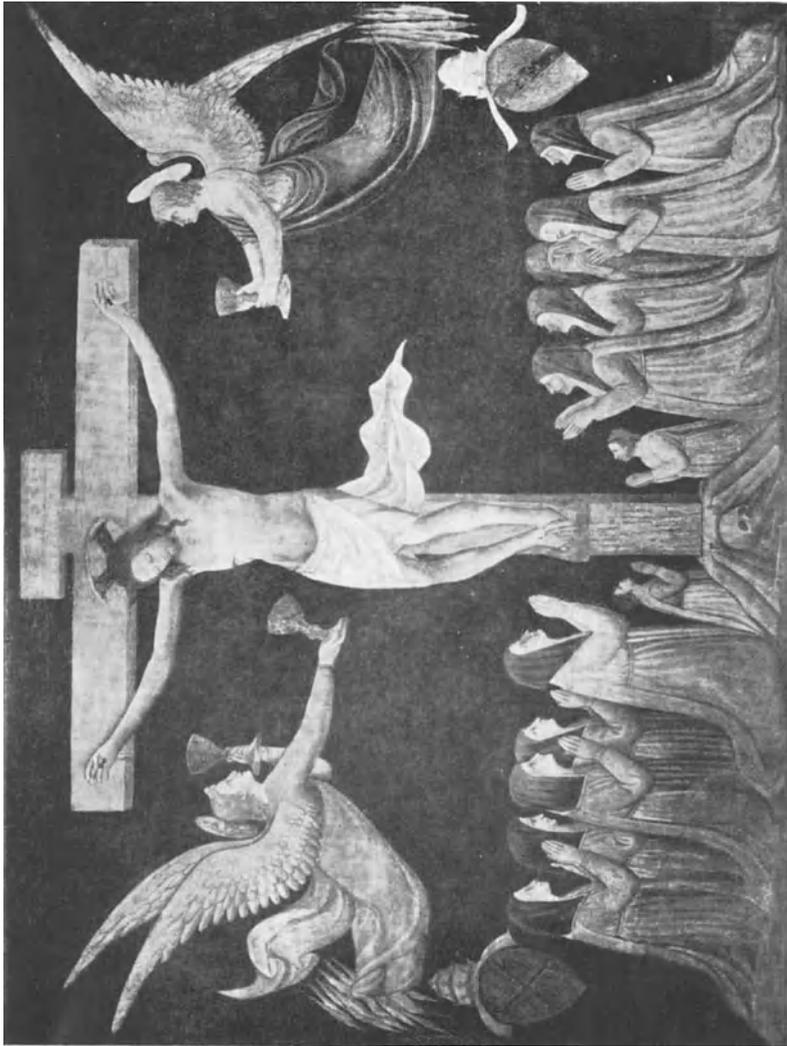


Fig. 21. Paolo di Stefano, the Crucifixion and adorers. St. Apollonia, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

Paolo di Stefano called Schiavo, is another question ; in any case the dates correspond.

The Crucifixion is shown in an elaborate composition with the three crosses ; angels hover round the central figure while below the artist has depicted a group of faithful followers and

soldiers some of whom are mounted. Mr. Sirén, who, as I said, believes this picture to be by Andrea di Giusto, draws our attention to the resemblance which exists between this painting and an Ascension in the same collection (No. 5) (fig. 23). The principal scene represents Christ floating heavenwards while the Virgin and the Apostles watch from below; on the lateral panels we see SS. Lawrence, John the Baptist, Benedict and Mark, and above four angels and the figures of the Annunciation.

I think the attribution to this artist of the figures of St. Jerome, a holy bishop, St. Francis, a saint holding a cross and a crowned female martyr in the same gallery is quite correct.

It has been affirmed that a very repainted fresco of the Virgin between SS. John the Baptist, Mark, Francis, John the Evangelist, James and Antony Abbot, on the left wall of the basilica of S. Miniato, near Florence, was executed by Paolo di Stefano in 1426 ⁽¹⁾.

There are a few other paintings which can be classified with the above group of works. The attribution to Paolo is not always certain because even between the frescoes of S. Apollonia and the panels in the Accademia there is considerable diversity but with little masters, these variations in style are quite usual.

To Paolo di Stefano should I think be attributed still an altarpiece depicting the Annunciation with St. Eustace protecting two children and St. Antony of Padua to the sides, which is found in the church of S. Andrea at Brozzi, near Florence (fig. 24); here I do not exclude a certain influence of Giovanni dal Ponte ⁽²⁾. The same artist can be held responsible for a mystic marriage of St. Catherine with SS. Julian and Antony Abbot which decorates the first altar to the right in the church of S. Francesco at Fiesole, for a Coronation of the Virgin amidst many saints on the fourth altar to the left in the church of the Sma. Trinita in Florence, and for an Ascension with a medallion of Christ, quite a

⁽¹⁾ *D. F. Tarani*, *La Basilica di S. Miniato al Monte*, Florence, 1910, p. 53.

⁽²⁾ *G. Poggi*, *Toscana*, p. 49, gives this picture to Giovanni dal Ponte himself. *C. Gamba*, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1906, p. 167, finds a strong influence of this artist in the work.

typical panel, which for years has been offered for sale in Florence and Rome⁽¹⁾. In the Corsini Gallery, Florence, there are two panels, one showing SS. John the Baptist and Nicholas of Bari, the other SS. Antony Abbot and Julian(?) (fig. 25) in which I think the hand of this painter can be recognized, in which



Fig. 22. Paolo di Stefano, the Crucifixion. Accademia, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

case we can ascribe to him a similar panel, representing again St. Julian(?) and a holy bishop, which belongs to the Volterra Galleries, Florence (fig. 26). Bearing a less close resemblance to this painter's manner is a fresco, illustrating an event from the life of St. Dominic with the Crucifixion and five saints above, which is preserved in the church of S. Niccolo at Bari; I do not know for what reason it is frequently ascribed to Pietro da

⁽¹⁾ This panel, ascribed to Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, figured in the Müller sale (No. 409), which took place in Rome in February 1926.

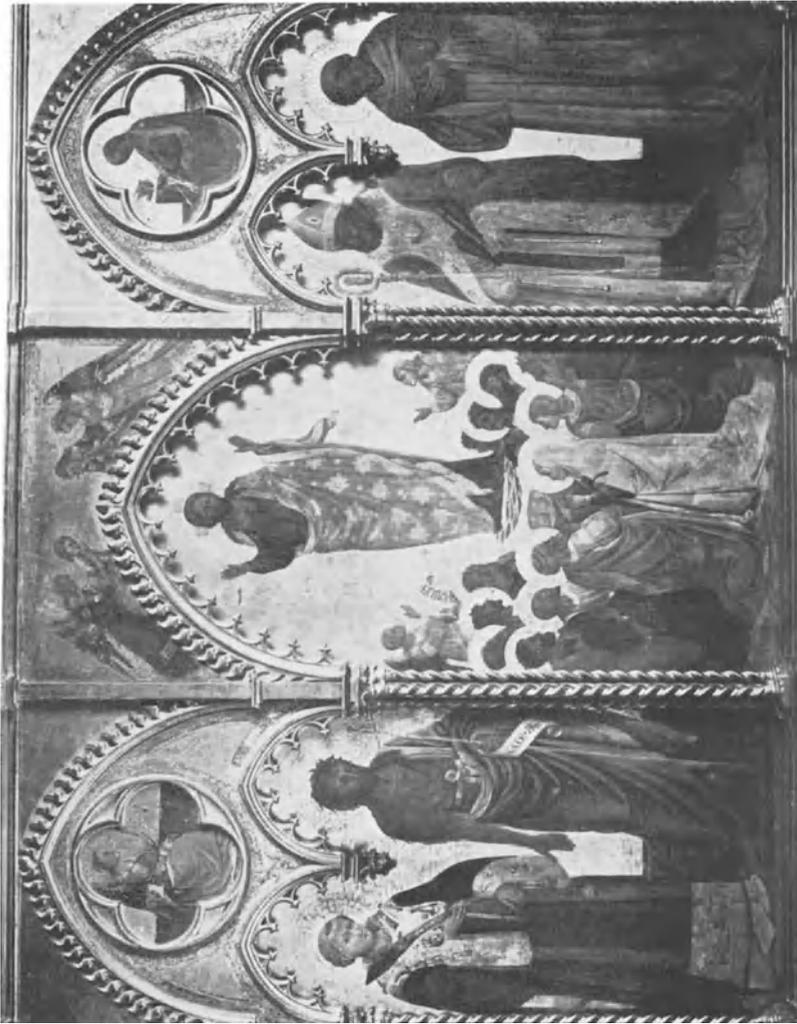


Fig. 23. Paolo di Stefano. Ascension and saints. Accademia, Florence.

Photo Cipriani.

Miniato⁽¹⁾, nor why the date 1423 is given to it; it is certainly no longer visible and I should feel inclined to place it a little later. A picture of the Trinity at the Certosa — God the Father in benediction holding the Cross to which Christ is attached and towards which flies the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove —

⁽¹⁾ For this artist v. Vol. III, p. 559.

might also be from his hand ⁽¹⁾ while an important painting, ascribed to Paolo Schiavo, in the gallery of Pisa, representing the Resurrection of Lazarus with numerous figures in a rocky landscape and a town in the distance might possibly also be



Fig. 24. Paolo di Stefano, the Annunciation and saints. S. Andrea, Brozzi.

Photo Aliuari.

by this painter if it be true that he really lived until 1478, in which case it would be a late work.

Paolo di Stefano is a mediocre but curious figure in the history of painting; his activities, although less full of conviction than Bicci di Lorenzo's, were spread out through an even longer period.

⁽¹⁾ As also a fresco of a young martyr in the church of S. Niccolo, regarding which v. Vol. VIII, p. 488.



Fig. 25. Poalo di Stefano, two saints.
Corsini Gallery, Florence.

Photo Brogi.



Fig 26 Paolo di Stefano, two saints and an adorer.
Volterra Galleries, Florence.

Vasari dedicates an entire chapter of his "Vite" to Dello Delli and Milanese, besides the usual annotations, adds a commentary ⁽¹⁾, nevertheless, although we possess a certain number of dates concerning him, we know but few of his works; these works are found in Spain but cannot be regarded as absolutely authentic.

According to Milanese the name Dello is an abbreviation of Daniello. His father, Nicholas Delli, in his declarations as taxpayer during the years 1427, 1430 and 1433 makes contradictory statements regarding the age of his son, who, we gather, must have been born about 1404. His mother was called Orsa. Nicholas was a tailor and the guardian of the castle of Montecerro and in 1424 when he abandoned the castle to the Duke of Milan, the Florentines, to whom the place belonged, considered him a traitor and he settled in Siena with his sons Dello and Samson.

It is recorded that in 1425 Dello, with two other artists, executed a figure of a man in copper which was destined to strike the hours on the clock of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena ⁽²⁾. In 1427 he went with his father and brother to Venice and in 1433 we find him enrolled in the corporation of painters in Florence. During the same year he leaves for Spain, and we shall see later on that he was active in Salamanca about 1445. His brother must have gone to Spain some years before him, because in 1446 his mother declares that her son Samson had been living in Sevilla for fourteen years. In 1446 our artist returns to Florence and the following year executes some frescoes in the "Chiostrò verde" of Sta. Maria Novella but in 1448 he is back again in Spain. Filarete met him in Spain; he mentions him in his treatise on architecture written between 1464 and 1466, and even proposed him as a suitable person to execute the sculptures for the "Sforziade". Dello died in Valencia in 1471. He lived chiefly in Salamanca but in 1469 had been called to Valencia to decorate the vaults of the cathedral which had been damaged by fire.

⁽¹⁾ *Vasari-Milanese*, II, p. 147. v. *W. W.*, Thieme Becker's Künstler Lexikon, IX, p. 27. *G. Fiocco*, *L'Arte di Andrea Mantegna*, Bologna, 1927, p. 49.

⁽²⁾ *Milanese*, Documenti per la storia dell' arte senese, II, p. 290.



Fig. 27. Dello Delli, the Last Judgment. Cathedral, Salamanca.

Photo Gomez Moreno.

He died, however, before undertaking the commission (1).

The document of 1445 in connexion with the fresco in the apse of the cathedral of Salamanca, mentions the artist's name as Nicola Florentino. This is certainly not Dello Delli's name because it is difficult to imagine that Dello is a diminutive of Nicola; none the less that this document refers to our artist is extremely probable not only on account of the fact that there must have been very few painters of Florentine origin at that time in Spain but also because Nicola Florentino had a brother called Samson so that we must admit that for one reason or another Dello was known in Spain under the name of his father.

As we are informed by a document of 1466 Samson was established in Avila. A painter of the name of Nicholas who, in 1450, was sent to Salamanca to study the Last Judgment there, in order to make a copy of it in the cathedral of León, is naturally another artist; besides, a panel in the cathedral and some paintings in the cloister in León, which, in all probability, can be attributed to this master, are executed in quite another, and much more Spanish manner (2).

Dello's Last Judgment is considerably repainted; the composition shows some fairly modern elements (fig. 27). The Saviour is not seated in majesty but is represented making a gesture and in a position which closely resembles the figure that Michaelangelo has depicted in the Sistine Chapel. He is shown in the midst of angels carrying the instruments of the Passion, the Virgin and St. John the Baptist in adoration and two other angels who, with the sound of their trumpets, awaken the dead. To the right the Blessed, looking adoringly towards Christ, are represented in rows; to the other side the naked figures of the Damned are seen being driven by devils into the open jaws of a monster, the symbolism of Hell.

The enormous altar-piece, which covers the entire apse below the fresco, is composed of a great many panels all richly framed,

(1) *E. Bertaux*, in *Histoire de l'art*, published by A. Michel, IV², Paris, 1911, p. 907. For Dello's activity in Spain v. *E. Bertaux*, the same work, III², Paris, 1908, p. 757. *A. L. Mayer*, *Geschichte der Spanischen Malerei*, I, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 112, 133. *V. von Loga*, *Die Malerei in Spanien vom XIV bis XVIII Jahrh.*, Berlin, 1923, p. 60.

(2) *Bertaux*, op. cit., III, p. 759.

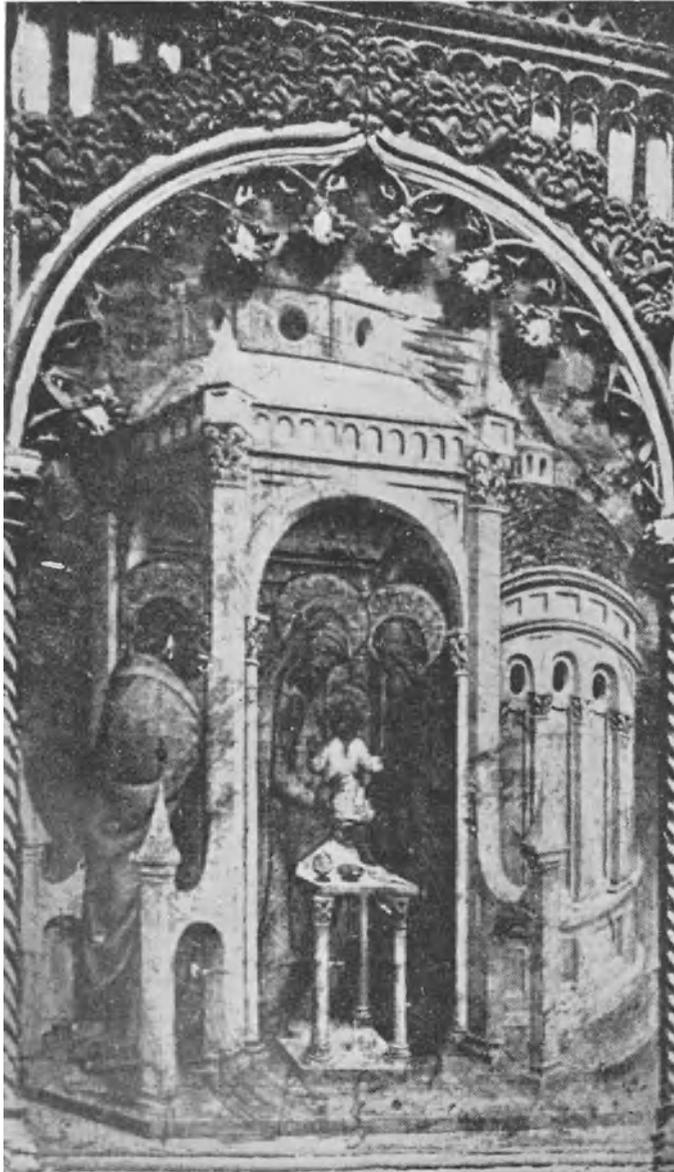


Fig. 28. Dello Delli, the Circumcision. Cathedral, Salamanca.

Photo Gomez Moreno.

producing an effect very characteristic of the Spanish school, had it not been for the style of the painting, which is so obviously Italian (1). In the contract of 1445 regarding the fresco above, the polyptych is mentioned as already existing; the artist's name, however, is not recorded but in spite of the very evident difference in style which has sometimes made me doubt whether the fresco and the panel are really from the same hand, I think in all probability they are the work of one artist (2).

The numerous scenes, fifty-three in all, from the Gospel (fig. 28) shown in the altar-piece are characteristic of Florentine art of the first half of the 15th century, approaching in particular that of Bicci di Lorenzo, only in this case the Gothic element is more pronounced. The costumes and intimate details of genre painting are here more frequent and treated more minutely than in the works of Bicci or his contemporaries in Florence. Signor Fiocco rightly approximates them to Gentile da Fabriano's art.

Moreover Dello reveals a decided taste for architecture, an abundance of which fills up many of the backgrounds of these little pictures; this feature is typical of Sienese art sooner than that of Florence. The anatomical correctness of Christ's body is really remarkable, considering that it was executed by a minor artist of this group; it recalls Vasari's affirmation that although Dello was not a good draughtsman, he was the first to reproduce the human structure with anatomical exactitude.

The fresco and the polyptych in the cathedral of Salamanca are the only quasi-authentic works by Dello Delli.

Perhaps Dello Delli executed a painting representing the victory of John II over the Moors, a battle which took place in 1431; it is the decorative heading of a scroll and might very well have inspired Gian Battista Castello, "il Bergamasco" when he painted the fresco of the same subject in the Escorial (3).

A birth plate with a representation of the Triumph of Love in the Gallery of Turin (107) and a cassone panel in the

(1) *Gomez Moreno*, El retablo de la catedral vieja de Salamanca, Bolet. de la Soc. Castellana de excurs., 1905, p. 131.

(2) v. Vol. VII, p. 52.

(3) *Fiocco*, loc. cit.

National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, but belonging to the Marquis of Lothian, are without reason attributed to Dello.

Prof. Fiocco thinks it possible that Dello might be held responsible for two panels, representing the martyrdom of SS. Lucy and Apollonia, in the gallery of Bergamo, which I have published as works in all probability from the hand of Francesco dei Franceschi ⁽¹⁾, as well as a picture of another martyrdom scene in the Museo Civico of Bassano.

Our respective points of view are not very different since Signor Fiocco admits the existence of a close connexion between Delli and Francesco dei Franceschi. Signor Longhi ascribes these pictures to Antonio Vivarini with which attribution, as well, I do not agree ⁽²⁾.

Vasari adds a long list of paintings by Dello, of which there remains but one fresco, showing Isaac giving his blessing to Esau, in the "Chiostrò verde" of Sta. Maria Novella, Florence, but it is in such a bad state of preservation that we cannot pronounce a judgment. Richa who makes an error with regard to this decoration, ascribes the entire series of frescoes to Paolo Ucello ⁽³⁾. Vasari holds Delli responsible for the relief of the Coronation of the Virgin over the door of Sta. Maria Nuova in Florence, which work I have already mentioned as a production of Bicci di Lorenzo. Naturally it is also false that Dello invented the decoration of cassoni, examples of which existed long before his time. I do not even know one cassone painting that can be attributed to him.

Vasari speaks of many pieces of furniture that Dello adorned with stucco and painted for Giovanni dei Medici. The King of Spain knighted him, according to the same biographer, who even relates an incident which occurred in connexion with this on the artist's return to Florence.

Vasari gives his epitaph and informs us that Ucello represented him in the person of Shem in the fresco of Noah's drunkenness in the "Chiostrò verde" and in his "Vite" he reproduces

⁽¹⁾ v. Vol. VII, p. 390.

⁽²⁾ R. Longhi, *Vita artistica*, I, 1926, p. 130.

⁽³⁾ G. Richa, *Notizie storiche delle chiese fiorentine*, I. Florence, 1755, p. 81.

this figure as the portrait of Dello Delli. Vasari tells us also that besides many paintings through-out the town, Dello represented the Twelve Apostles inside the church of Sta. Maria Nuova; Richa repeats some of Vasari's attributions and mentions still from the hand of Dello a fresco of the martyrdom of St. Agatha in grisaille, in a corridor of the convent dedicated to this saint which he describes as "poor in architecture, in inventions and in attitudes" (1). The word "poor" in connexion with the architecture might perhaps refer to the unpleasing forms of the buildings in which case this particular remark might be an indication that the frescoes were really by Dello.

Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, a painter very superior to Dello Delli and Paolo di Stefano, was obviously also inspired by Bicci di Lorenzo (2).

Rossello was born in all probability about 1376, because on his tombstone in the church of S. Lorenzo, an inscription informs us that he died in 1457 at the age of eighty. His name is recorded in several documents; from them we learn that he was active for the Bigallo in 1426 together with his brother Giunta di Jacopo Franchi (3) who was born in 1479 and who is found enrolled in the corporation of Florentine painters in 1424. Rossello married in 1427 and in 1429 together with Matteo Torelli he executed miniatures for the Bigallo and for the cathedral of Prato; in 1435 he collaborated with Bicci di Lorenzo and Lippo di Corso in the execution of the figures of the Twelve Apostles in the cathedral and in 1445 and 1446 he is again working for the Bigallo, first with his brother Giunta and then with Ventura di Moro; he painted the frescoes from the life of St. Peter the martyr, some of which are still visible (4).

In the time before this artist's name was known, Mr. Sirén had already united together eleven works which he ascribed

(1) *Richa*, op. cit., V, 1757, p. 285.

(2) *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, II, p. 67. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, ed. *L. Douglas*, p. 251. *O. Sirén*, *Compagno di Bicci*, *L'Arte*, VII, 1904, p. 352. *The Same*, *Lorenzo Monaco*, p. 175. *Thieme Becker*, *Künstler Lexikon*, XII, p. 315.

(3) *Poggi*, *Supino e Ricci*, op. cit., p. 55.

(4) *Poggi*, *Supino e Ricci* p. 57.



Fig. 29. Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, the Coronation of the Virgin and saints, 1420. Accademia, Florence.

Photo Brogi.

to an anonymous painter he baptized the "Compagno di Bicci". The identification of this master with Rossello is unquestionable after the discovery of two works signed by this artist; the one is a Coronation of the Virgin dated 1439 which was formerly in the Toscanelli collection, Pisa; it passed into that of Mr.

F. C. Murray, London, but in 1906 was the property of the painter Signor A. Franchi of Siena; its actual fate is unknown to me. It was signed: "*Opus Rosselli Jacopi Franchi ad XXV Guingino MCCCCXXXIX*" (1). The second work is a panel that Mr. Berenson discovered in a tabernacle near the castle of Staggia, it shows the inscription: "*Opus Roselli Franch....*" (2).

The authentic works, although only two in number, and that from the Toscanelli collection unknown to me except from a poor photograph, none the less offer us a fairly clear idea of the artist's evolution, or sooner confirm the supposition that Rossello di Jacopo Franchi started his career as a much more faithful adherent of the Trecentesque tradition than he was at a later stage, when he produced works showing more marked plastic effects and generally rounder forms.

The first picture that can be precisely dated is the large triptych in the Accademia of Florence (No. 142). The central panel shows the Virgin and the Saviour seated on the same throne, the latter placing the crown on His Mother's head; around the throne are grouped two cherubim, two archangels and six angelic musicians (fig. 29). Each of the wings is adorned with twelve figures of saints; five other very small figures are seen in each of the pilasters of the frame; those to the right, however, have disappeared with the exception of that on the base. To the extreme right and left of the predella are found four other saints and in the centre the dead Christ between the Virgin, St. John and two saints. The pinnacles are decorated each with two figures of cherubim, those of the wings show as well two medallions containing a prophet and a figure of the Annunciation while God the Father is depicted on the central gable.

The date January 25th 1420 is read in an inscription between the central panel and the predella. Consequently it is not a youthful work as the artist must have been about forty years of age at the moment of execution. However, there can be no

(1) C. Gamba, Un altro quadro di Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1906, p. 144.

(2) B. Berenson, Due quadri inedite a Staggia, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1905, p. 9; *Rivista d'Arte*, 1905, p. 9.

doubt that he was inspired by the tradition of the 14th century. Most closely resembling this picture in style are the two saints — Nicholas of Bari and Julian — which form the wings of the triptych in the gallery of Pistoia, the central piece of which,



Fig. 30. Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, triptych, Madonna and saints.
Collegiata, Empoli.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

representing the Nativity, is from the hand of Mariotto di Nardo. The latter, as will be seen, was executed very probably towards 1416 and as there can be little doubt that it forms a whole with the two panels of saints it can be taken for granted that they too were painted about this time.

With regard to the other works of this artist only a very summary and somewhat uncertain chronological classification can be made.

In the little gallery of the Collegiate of Empoli there is a triptych (No. 17) that I think can very well be given a place antecedent to the foregoing works. In the centre the Virgin is depicted sitting on a little bench of simple form backgrounded by a richly ornamented curtain supported by two angels; she is escorted by SS. Sebastian, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist and Domitilla; the medallions above contain the half-length figure of the Saviour and the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation (fig. 30).

Near S. Miniato al Tedesco, we find in the church of S. Domenico some frescoes and two altar-pieces executed in the same manner ⁽¹⁾. The former, which are rather damaged, adorn the niches near the entrance. We see the Saviour in a boat stilling the stormy sea in which aquatic monsters swim while to the sides are SS. Peter and Paul; of the second fresco only some groups of angels which might have surrounded a Coronation of the Virgin are now visible; to the sides are depicted SS. John the Baptist, Antony, Mary Magdalene and Dorothy. The two panels are placed in the centre of the first niche; they represent SS. Michael and Catherine with a scene from each of their lives in the little panels of the predella. Lastly Signor Salmi draws our attention to a little Madonna, considerably repainted, in the oratory of the Bicci in Florence, which I think should be ascribed to an early stage in the painter's career ⁽²⁾.

Another group of works shows us the artist under a less archaic aspect; the line is less rigid and the forms, in which the plastic values are more perfectly treated, rounder and more pleasing. As such should be cited the Madonna between two angels, SS. John the Baptist and Antony Abbot in the gallery of Pisa (Room V, No. 38) (fig. 31); the Virgin floating in mid-air in the midst of four cherubim and two angels, the latter offering her vases of flowers and lower down SS. John the Baptist and Peter separated by two vases of flowers, in the Maitland Griggs collection, New York (fig. 32); a panel, cut into an oval, representing the Madonna, which figured at the exhibition of

⁽¹⁾ *Carocci*, Il Valdarno, p. 93. *Berenson*, Bolletino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., 1926, p. 308.

⁽²⁾ *M. Salmi*, op. cit., L'Arte, 1913, p. 222.



Fig. 31. Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, Madonna, saints and angels Gallery, Pisa.

Photo Orsoiini.



Fig. 32. Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, Madonna and four saints.
Maitland Griggs Collection, New York.



Fig. 33. Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, Madonna. Private Collection.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

antiquities held many years ago in the Castel S. Angelo, Rome (fig. 33); a Madonna seated on a cushion on the ground in a private collection (fig. 34); the elaborate triptych, formerly in the Uffizi (No. 48), showing the Virgin enthroned with two



Fig. 34. Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, Madonna. Private Collection.



Fig. 35. Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, triptych, Madonna and four saints. Formerly in the Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

angels, separated by a vase of flowers, in adoration at her feet, SS. John the Baptist, Francis, Mary Magdalene and John the Evangelist (?) in the lateral panels and the Crucifixion, SS. Peter and Paul in the pinnacles (fig. 35) and lastly, the signed Madonna at Staggia that I have already mentioned.

Then we come to his late works in which practically no trace of the influence of the Trecento remains visible. A typical example of this period is the *Coronation of the Virgin* dated



Fig. 36. Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, Madonna.
Parry Collection, Gloucester.

1439, in which apart from the principal scene which is backgrounded by a curtain held by two angels, we see above, the Holy Trinity between two angels. Other works of this late stage are: the Madonna enthroned, holding the Child standing on her knee with two angels carrying vases of lilies kneeling below, in the Parry collection, Highnam Court, near Gloucester (fig. 36)⁽¹⁾; a panel of the Virgin sitting on a cushion on the ground with the Infant standing on her knee, formerly in the Khvoshinsky collection,

⁽¹⁾ *R. Fry*, Burlington Magazine, II, 1903, p. 117. I have already mentioned that Mrs Logan Berenson includes this picture in the list of Bicci di Lorenzo's works.



Fig. 37. Jacopo di Rossello Franchi, Madonna. Private Collection.

Rome (fig. 37), and a Madonna on a panel now of hexagonal form, which was bequeathed with the rest of the Holden collection to the Museum of Cleveland, U. S. A. (fig. 38).

There are still a few other productions by this master ⁽¹⁾ who was a serene painter of little talent but not without charm; he created a morphological type of his own, full of originality and expression but the result is that all his figures resemble one another. Rossello was even less of an innovator than Bicci di Lorenzo. He felt little of the influence of the more modern movement which flourished in Florence, particularly towards the end of his career; nor was he very much dominated by the cosmopolitan Gothic manner, not even by Lorenzo Monaco. His art derives from Agnolo Gaddi and the knowledge of Bicci's painting is clearly manifest in his works. With the exception of the fresco at S. Miniato al Tedesco, Rossello's pictures represent the Madonna and saints in very traditional compositions; his Coronations of the Virgin do not vary from those of the school of Orcagna. Also as colourist the painter possessed nothing modern but something in his tints recalls the work of a miniaturist.

There are several pictures which seem to be directly inspired by the art of Rossello di Jacopo Franchi. One of them might easily be taken for a work from the master's own hand, executed, however, after rather a different manner than the paintings we possess by him; the style of the work excludes the possibility that it might be a youthful production. It is an altar-piece in the gallery of S. Gimignano, representing in the centre St. Julian

⁽¹⁾ **Cambridge**, Fitzwilliam Museum (1129), Madonna and four saints. **Copenhagen**, Krohn coll., SS. George and John the Baptist. **Florence**, Uffizi (store-room), St. Zenobius; formerly in the Uffizi, No. 235, a female saint, angels and donor; S. Miniato al Monte, near the stairs leading to the choir, Apostle and saints; Steinhauslein coll., Madonna nursing the Child between SS. Julian and Ansanus; for sale 1926, Madonna between SS. Julian, the Baptist, Ursula, another saint and an adorer. **Rome**, Righetti coll., Madonna (this picture is unknown to me and it might quite possibly be one mentioned elsewhere). **Stockholm**, Sirén coll., SS. John the Evangelist and Francis. **Val d'Enna**, Certosa, Madonna. **Vienna**, Lanckoronsky coll., Madonna, with two lateral saints by quite a different artist; SS. Francis and Mary Magdalene (*Sirén*, *L'Arte*, VIII, 1905, p. 48 attributes these to Bicci di Lorenzo).



Fig. 38. Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, Madonna. Museum, Cleveland, U.S.A.

seated on a throne behind which two angels support a curtain; the side panels show the figures of SS. Antony Abbot and Martin and the pilasters still four little saints. The Trinity and the Annunciation are depicted in the pinnacles (fig. 39). It is a pleasing picture and in no way inferior to Rossello's own work.

An important polyptych, of somewhat inferior quality to the foregoing altar-piece, however, is preserved in the little church

or ex-chapel of the castle of Borgo alla Collina and has been attributed to the "Maestro del Bambino Vispo" (1) and to the manner of Parri Spinelli (2). In the centre we see the Virgin enthroned with the Child Who places the ring on St. Catherine's finger, and to the sides SS. Francis, Tobias with the Angel, Michael and Louis of Toulouse; three half-length figures of angels adorn the pinnacles. In the inscription which separates the central panel from the predella, the name of the donor, Countess Elizabeth de Battifolle, and the date, 1423, are given.

Mention has already been made of Ventura di Moro who, in 1446, collaborated with Rossello and his brother at some work in the Bigallo. Ventura's name is found inscribed in 1416 in the roll of Florentine painters (3).

It is not very clear to me why Prof. A. Venturi thinks he can ascribe to this painter a panel — certainly belonging to Rossello's school — of the mystic marriage of St. Catherine between SS. Rose, Agnes, Mary Magdalene and Dorothy, which was transferred from the Uffizi to the Accademia, Florence (4). Some other school works are less directly inspired by the master (5).

(1) *Sirén*, Burlington Magazine, XXV, 1914, p. 15.

(2) *C. Beni*, Guida illustrata del Casentino, Florence, 3rd. ed. (no date), p. 256.

(3) *Poggi*, Rivista d'Arte, 1904, p. 241. *Poggi Supino e Ricci*, op. cit., pp. 57, 58.

(4) *A. Venturi*, Storia dell' arte italiana, VII¹, p. 23; he approximates to this picture still the eight scenes from the life of the Virgin in the Accademia, Florence, which I included in the studio works of Bicci di Lorenzo, and the Coronation of the Virgin in the Ospedale degli Innocenti, Florence with which we shall deal later on.

(5) **Berlin**, Kaiser Friedrich Mus., No. 1136, the Annunciation. **Florence**, Accademia, large polyptych, Madonna and Child, four angels, and SS. Catherine, Francis, Zenobius and Mark; upper part of a picture, a small Crucifixion (*Berenson*, Bolletino d'arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., V, 1926, p. 302, attributes it to Rossello's own hand); Madonna with two angels placing a crown on her head, to the sides SS. Antony Abbot, Lawrence, John the Baptist and St. Peter and above the Crucifixion; Uffizi, store-room, Nos. 4698, 4703, SS. John the Baptist and Francis (*Salmi*, L'Arte, 1913, p. 222); for sale in 1925, a pretty half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child, by an artist influenced by Rossello and Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino.



Fig. 39. Manner of Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, St. Julian and saints.
Gallery, San Gimignano.

Photo Alinari.

To Giovanni da S. Stefano a Ponte, Vasari dedicates one of his biographies (¹), but this chapter is very much muddled because the artist is spoken of as active in the middle of the 14th century and as Milanesi points out, is confused with several

(¹) *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, I, p. 630.

other painters. About twenty years ago, some special studies were dedicated to this master ⁽¹⁾.

Already Vasari attributed to his Giovanni dal Ponte some frescoes in the Scali chapel of Sta. Trinita, now it is known that this decoration was executed in 1434 by Giovanni di Marco and his companion Smeraldo di Giovanni ⁽²⁾ and since the frescoes, parts of which are in a good state of preservation, have been discovered in this chapel, the personality of this artist is no longer wrapped in mystery. Vasari calls his painter Giovanni di Stefano a Ponte; his real name was Giovanni di Marso and he had his studio near S. Stefano a Ponte. We possess several documents concerning him, from which we learn that he was born in 1385, that in 1408 he was member of the compagnia di S. Lucca. In 1422 he painted a cassone for Ilarione de' Bardi, that in 1429 and 1430 he worked for the captain of Or San Michele, that in 1433 he executed a cassone for the Biliotti family and, as we have seen, that in 1434 he frescoed a chapel in the church of Sta. Trinita. In 1424 because of his debts Giovanni was sentenced to eight months imprisonment; it appears that his clients, who included in their number the most illustrious Florentine families, such as the Strozzi, the Tornabuoni and the Rucellai, did not pay him. For these noblemen he and his companion painted numerous cassoni, but business was at a low ebb. Between 1427 and 1433 we find him paying taxes and running a studio together with Smeraldo di Giovanni who died in 1444 at the age of seventy-nine. Giovanni di Marco died seven years before his companion who continued to pay taxes until 1442. Giovanni dal Ponte was by far the more important of the two because on their combined work he received 65% and Smeraldo only 35%. Moreover it was Giovanni who paid the rent of the studio.

Del Vita published two documents with regard to payments made in 1399 and 1400 to Giovanni, a painter from Florence,

⁽¹⁾ *P. Toesca*, Umili pittori fiorentini del principio del Quattrocento, *L'Arte*, 1904, p. 49. *H. P. Horne*, Giovanni dal Ponte, *Burlington Magazine*, IX, 1906, p. 332. *The Same*, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1906, p. 169. *C. Gamba*, G. dal P., *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1904, p. 177. *The Same*, Ancora di G. dal P., *Rivista d'Arte*, 1906, p. 163.

⁽²⁾ *Milanesi*, note on *Vasari*.

for some signed frescoes in a chapel in the Pieve of Arezzo, and he wishes to identify this artist with Giovanni di Marco whose hand he discovers also in a fragmentary painting of the Annunciation in the church of S. Francesco of the same town ⁽¹⁾. Even in spite of the fact that Vasari affirms that the artist really did work in Arezzo, the attributions made by Del Vita are not very convincing.

Before the discovery of the artist's name, Professor Toesca had already grouped together several works by this master, among which there was only one dated picture, the triptych of 1435 representing the Annunciation in the Vatican Gallery. Now we know about forty of his works, which show us that he derived from Spinello Aretino and that he gradually felt, like the other artists of his time, the influence of the more modern movement which started in



Fig 40 Giovanni dal Ponte, the Adoration of the Magi. Gallery, Brussels.

⁽¹⁾ A. Del Vita, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1913, p. 186.

Florence; however, like all the other members of this group, Giovanni was a true reactionary, exhibiting in his art but little connexion with the more calligraphic style of Lorenzo Monaco and the other painters belonging to this tradition. This explains why several of his pictures passed for a long time as works of the Giottesque master Jacopo del Casentino.

The work in which it is most clearly evident that the origin of Giovanni dal Ponte's art is due to the influence of Spinello Aretino, is a predella panel in the museum of Brussels (No. 631), depicting in the centre the Adoration of the Magi (fig. 40) and to the sides St. Antony Abbot's miracle of the heap of gold and St. Francis receiving the stigmata. Not only the strange types of the faces, but also the structure of the figures and the curious folds of the draperies, prove to what extent Spinello Aretino dominated our painter at this moment in his career.

Among Giovanni dal Ponte's numerous works, several are executed after this manner. This is obvious in the figures of Dante and Petrarch, acquired some time ago by the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A. (1); the two poets are represented standing in a flowery field, an angel apparently touching the head of Dante.

A little panel of Christ crowned with thorns in the gallery of Strasbourg is executed in the same style (fig. 41) (2).

Belonging to this early phase are also a panel of the Virgin between SS. Bartholomew and Francis which formed part of the Chiesa collection, Milan (3) and probably also a picture of the mystic marriage of St. Catherine in the gallery of Budapest (No. 35); here the Virgin erect in the centre unites the hands of the adult figure of the standing Christ and the saint of Siena; two angels and a donor are depicted to either side; four little saints adorn each of the pilasters while in the predella are scenes from the life of St. Catherine. This picture is of unusual appearance

(1) *F. M. Perkins*, A Florentine double portrait at the Fogg Museum, *Art in America*, IX, 1921, p. 137.

(2) *Sirén*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1906, p. 82, ascribes it to the Sienese school.

(3) No. 9 of the catalogue of the public auction which took place in New York, in April 1926.

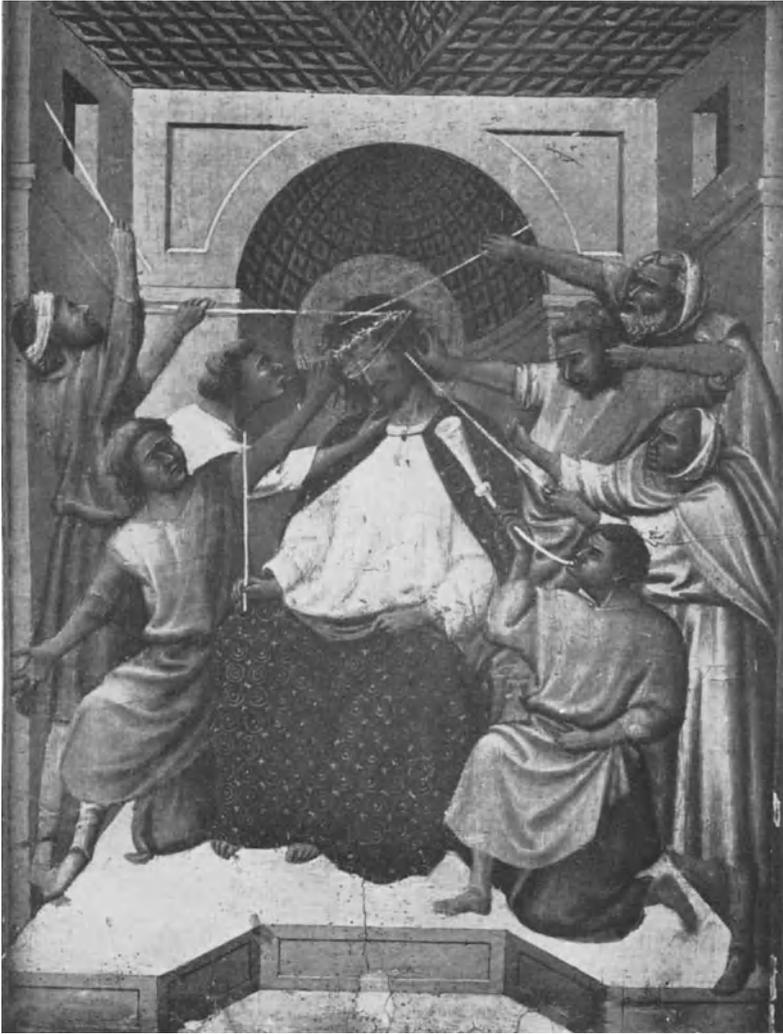


Fig. 41. Giovanni dal Ponte, the Mocking of Christ. Gallery, Strasbourg.

on account of the undue length of the figures, nevertheless I think the attribution to Giovanni dal Ponte is correct. More closely resembling the art of Spinello is the Madonna enthroned in the midst of six angels in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (551)⁽¹⁾; even the composition is similar to that depicted by

(1) *Sirén*, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1905, p. 246.

Spinello in one of the two Madonnas by him in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A (1)

Slightly more Gothic but still certainly youthful works, executed perhaps under the charm of some of Lorenzo Monaco's calligraphic effects, are two little panels, each showing a figure of an Evangelist, in the Lanz collection, Amsterdam (fig. 42), which bear a strong resemblance in style to the two medallions containing the figures of SS. Bartholomew and John the Evangelist which adorn the upper part of the frame of the picture of St. Catherine by Giovanni del Biondo in the Opera del Duomo, Florence (2). The pretty predella panel of St. Zenobius delivering a person possessed in the Venosti Visconti collection, Rome (3), and the decapitation of St Elizabeth, part of the Mond collection, now in the National Gallery, London (4), should be included in this group.

In another group of paintings by this master, we notice that the elements borrowed from Spinello are less evident; they give place to more elongated and more Gothic forms, a change in all probability due to the examples of Lorenzo Monaco. Very characteristic of this stage are four figures, SS. John the Baptist, Peter, Paul and Francis, in the church of S. Ansano, outside Florence; an Annunciation between SS. John the Baptist and Mary Magdalene in the Abbey of Poppiana at Pratovecchio (Casentino) (5) and a Coronation of the Virgin in the Museum of Chantilly, dated 1410 (fig. 43); here the central figures are accompanied by four angelic musicians below; four saints, among them SS. Antony Abbot, John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, adorn each of the lateral panels; three full-length figures and one in half-length are seen in either of the pilasters while above, the medallions show the figure of God the Father and

(1) v. Vol. III. fig. 338.

(2) v. Vol. III. p. 528. I had not noticed that these two medallions were from a different hand from the rest of the picture. *M. Salmi*, *L'Arte*, 1913, p. 221, rightly draws our attention to this fact.

(3) *Gamba*, op. cit., *Rivista d'Arte*, 1906. P.

(4) *Ch. Holmes*, *The Mond pictures in the National Gallery*, *Burlington Magazine*, XLV, 1924. p. 216, publishes it as the beheading of a female saint, Florentine school, early 15th century.

(5) *Vavassour Elder*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1916, p. 258.



Fig. 42. Giovanni dal Ponte, an Evangelist.
Lanz Collection, Amsterdam.

the angel and Madonna of the Annunciation (¹). Some figures of saints executed very much after the same manner are found in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (565); they represent SS. Jerome, Francis, John the Baptist and Antony Abbot



Fig. 43. Giovanni dal Ponte, the Coronation of the Virgin and saints, 1410. Museum. Chantilly.

Photo Giraudon.

(figs. 44, 45). Dating from a slightly more evolved stage in the artist's career are probably the panels of SS. Nicholas of Bari and

(¹) *F. A. Gruyer, La peinture au chateau de Chantilly, Paris, 1896, p. 11. Toesca, op. cit. An inscription informs us that the picture originates from Sta. Maria a Bovina, Val di Sieve, near Florence; formerly it belonged to the Reiset collection, when it was ascribed to Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini.*

Benedict in the Kestner Museum, Hanover (1), and the important Coronation of the Virgin which has been transferred from the Uffizi (No. 31) to the Accademia, Florence (fig. 46); apart from the principal figures with four angelic musicians below, we see here in the lateral panels SS. Francis, John the Baptist, Ives and Benedict, above the Descent into Hell in the centre and a figure of the Annunciation to either side, the Madonna depicted on an architectural throne. In these two works the Gothic line is much less evident; we also find that increased and better rendered plasticity which reveals a certain contact with the contemporary Florentine masters of greater fame. Perhaps also from this period of transition dates the predella, still in the Uffizi, depicting SS. John the Baptist, James, Luke and John



Fig. 44. Giovanni dal Ponte, SS. Jerome and Francis. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Photo Mansell.

(1) *Sirén*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1906, p. 82.



Fig. 45. Giovanni dal Ponte, SS. John the Baptist and Antony of Padua. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Photo Mansell.

the Evangelist on one panel, SS. Andrew, John the Evangelist, Matthew and Philip on another and some scenes from the life of St. Peter who is shown delivered from prison by an angel, crucified (fig. 47) and enthroned in glory (fig. 48) as pope distributing ecclesiastical honours to dignitaries grouped around him⁽²⁾.

For the years 1434 and 1435 we have dated works; during the former he executed together with Smeraldo di Giovanni the frescoes in a chapel of the Sma. Trinita, Florence, while a panel of the Annuciation in the Vatican Gallery bears the date 1435. The frescoes adorn the Scali chapel of the Trinity church; on the arch we see St. Bartholomew enthroned, before whom two

⁽²⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit. *A. Schmarzow*, Festschrift zu Ehren des Kunst-historischen Instituts in Florence, Leipzig, 1897, p. 172, note 2.

angels, one of whom, however, has practically disappeared, play on stringed instruments and two medallions containing half-length figures of Fathers of the Church; in the chapel itself are still visible the martyrdom of St. Bartholomew, whom four



Fig. 46. Giovanni dal Ponte, the Coronation of the Virgin and saints. Accademia, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

executioners skin alive and the beheading of a person (fig. 49) which takes place in the midst of a crowd of spectators. Over the entrance to the Dagomari chapel there are some very damaged frescoes and figures of the Fathers of the Church from the same hand, and on the pilaster which divides this chapel from the next he has also painted the figure of a female saint (¹).

(¹) *Gamba*, op. cit., Rivista d'Arte.

Although the documents found by Milanesi demonstrate that the two artists worked together at this decoration, yet the manner of Giovanni dal Ponte not only dominates but the style of execution seems in no way different from that of his other productions. A reminiscence of Spinello's morphological types



Fig. 47. Giovanni dal Ponte, the Martyrdom of St. Peter. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

is still evident in these frescoes painted twenty-five years after the death of this artist, but the Gothic line has almost entirely disappeared.

The Annunciation of 1435 in the Vatican Gallery (No. 85) shows in the centre the Virgin on an architectural throne, raising her hand at the apparition of the angel who kneels before her offering her a lily; from above God the Father sends forth the Child Jesus carrying the Cross; the figures of SS. Louis of Toulouse and Antony of Padua are depicted on the lateral panels; the dead Christ and the half-length figures



Fig. 48. Giovanni dal Ponte, St. Peter in glory. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

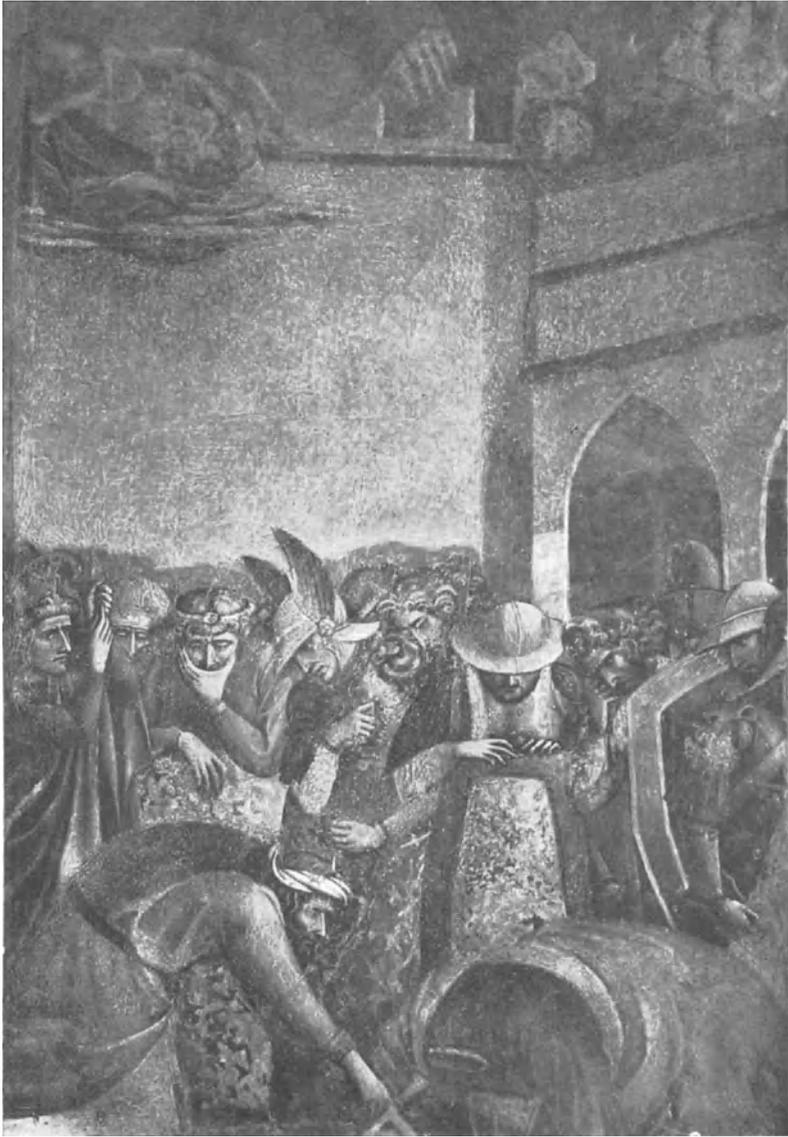


Fig 49. Giovanni dal Ponte, an execution. Sma. Trinita, Florence.

Photo Reale.

of the Virgin and St. John are found on the predella, to the left of which we read the date (fig. 50). It is a work of little charm; the forms are heavy and ungraceful.

I think we should ascribe to this manner an altar-piece of the Annunciation in the church of Rosano near Pont Assieve (fig. 51). The chief difference in the arrangement of the principal figures here lies in the fact that the angel Gabriel flies in mid-air; God the Father in this case adorns the pinnacle. In the lateral



Fig. 50. Giovanni dal Ponte, triptych. Vatican Gallery.

Photo Anderson.

panels we see a young deacon and St. Benedict to one side and SS. John the Baptist and Nicholas to the other; busts of the prophets Isaiah and Daniel floating on clouds are represented in the terminals.

The National Gallery, London, possesses the finest picture of this period in the artist's career (No. 580). It represents the ascension of St. John the Evangelist whom Christ, surrounded by saints, pulls towards heaven; to the left we see SS. Bernard, Scholastica, Benedict and John the Baptist, to the right SS. Jerome, Catherine of Alexandria, Francis and Apollonia and in

the medallions which decorate the pilasters of the frame above the figures of SS. James (?) and Nicholas, SS. Cosmo and Damian and SS. Francis and Apollonia. Over the central panel is shown a fairly important composition of the Descent into



Fig. 51. Giovanni dal Ponte, triptych, the Annunciation and saints. Rosano.
Photo Reali.

Hell and over the wings the half-length figures of SS. Michael and Tobias with the Angel in medallions (fig. 52).

In some of Giovanni dal Ponte's works, I think certain elements can be traced to an influence of Bicci di Lorenzo. Thus we find the traditional composition of this artist in a picture of the Madonna in the midst of SS. Jerome (?), Margaret, Cosmo and Damian in the gallery of Pisa (Room VII, No. 30) ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Salmi*, *L'Arte*, 1913, p. 221.

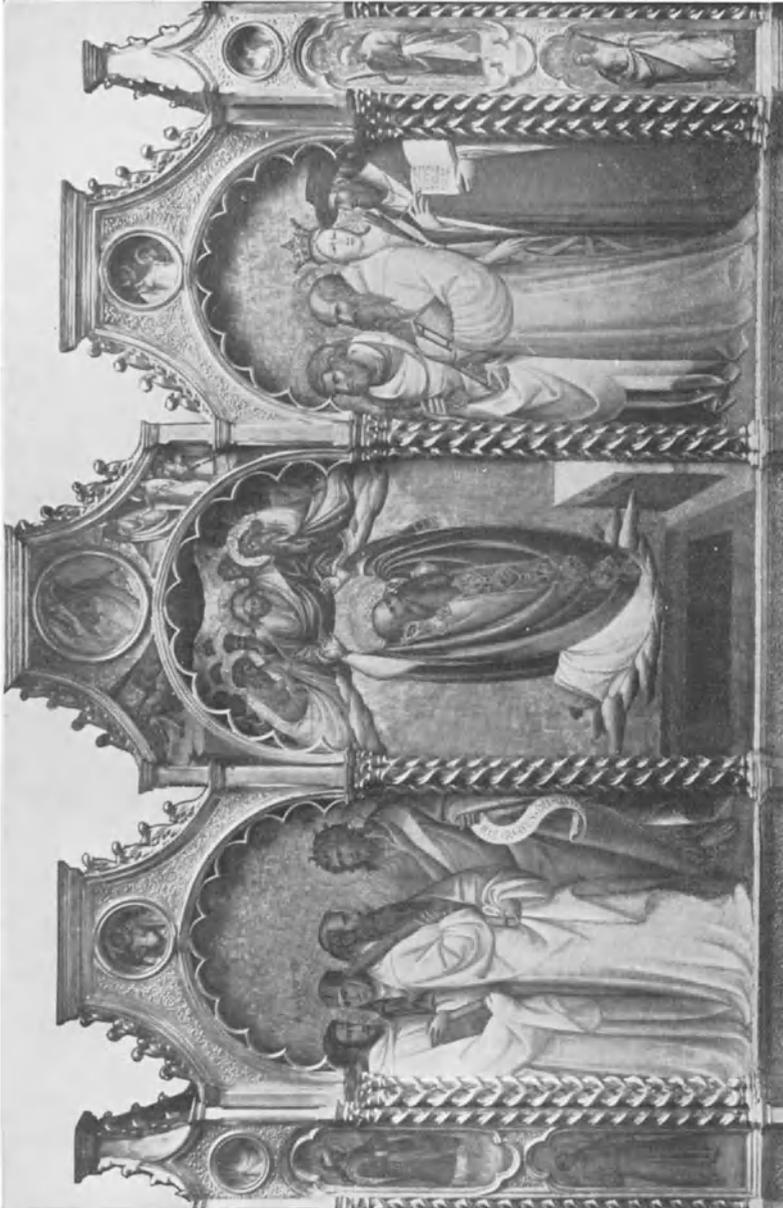


Fig. 52. Giovanni dal Ponte, the Ascension of St. John and saints.
National Gallery, London.

Photo Reali.

Then Bicci's peculiar type of Virgin is seen in an important triptych, formerly and perhaps still in the Fabri collection, Rome (1); other figures, besides that of the Virgin, recall Bicci's art. This picture was shown at the exhibition of antiques held in the Castel S. Angelo, Rome; it represents in the centre the Madonna between SS. Lawrence and Stephen and in the wings St. Michael and St. George slaying the dragon; Christ and the Annunciation are seen in the pinnacles (fig. 53).

In the same manner the master executed the front panel of a cassone now in the Spiridon collection, Paris, but formerly in the Toscanelli collection, Florence (2). It represents the Liberal Arts; Astronomy is seated in the centre and from either side approach three couples, each composed of a personification of a science and its most renowned representative; sitting on the ground at the feet of Astronomy is Ptolemy; putti place crowns of laurel on the heads of all the figures.

Executed after the same manner, but, all the same, less characteristic of the master's style, is a cassone panel showing a similar composition, which once belonged to Bardini, the art dealer (3); still less typical of Giovanni dal Ponte's own painting are two other cassone panels, one showing five amorous couples in the Jacquemart André Museum, Paris (4), the other a fragment with two couples in the Czartoryski Museum, Cracow (5); the two last works are certainly from the same hand.

Executed at a very late stage in the master's career, but without any doubt from his own hand, is a panel in the church of S. Miniato al Monte, near Florence, depicting the Madonna with SS. Michael, Cecily, Domitilla and a bearded saint holding

(1) *Gamba*, op. cit., *Rivista d'Arte*, 1906, p. 65.

(2) *Gamba*, op. cit., *Rivista d'Arte*, 1906. *P. Schubring*, *Cassoni, Truhen und Truhenbilder etc.*, Leipzig, 1915, pp. 97, 226 and plate IV.

(3) *Schubring*, op. cit., p. 226, pl. V.

(4) *E. Bertaux*, *Catalogue du musée Jacquemart André*, Paris (no date), p. 150, attributes this panel to Giovanni himself. *Schubring*, op. cit., p. 226, pl. V, classifies it as executed after Giovanni's manner.

(5) *Schubring*, loc. cit.

a book while St. Nero, St. Achilles and a female adorer kneel below (1).

Giovanni di Marco dal Ponte is again one of those artists who instead of contributing his share to the evolution of painting, demonstrates throughout the whole of his career a



Fig. 53. Giovanni dal Ponte, Madonna and saints. Fabri Collection, Rome.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

(1) Other pictures by or attributed to Giovanni dal Ponte are: **Fiesole**, Bandini Mus., No 31, large standing figures of SS. John the Baptist, Peter, Paul and Francis. **Florence**, Or San Michele, St. Mary Magdalene on one of the pillars (*Horne*, op. cit); Uffizi, a small Annunciation on two panels; Bartolini Salimbem Vivai coll., Annunciation (*Siren*, Lor. Monaco, p. 172). **Near Florence**, S. Salvatore al Monte alle Croci, Madonna and saints; S. Francesco al Monte, cloister, Madonna and saints (*Burckhard Cicerone*, ed. 1910, p. 689). **Modena**, Gall., No. 44, predella, St Catherine kneeling near the broken wheel, the Descent from the Cross, the funeral of St. Zenobius, the martyrdom of St. Andrew and the martyrdom of St. John the Evangelist (*Gamba*, op. cit., *Rivista d Arte*, 1906).

reactionary spirit to any change. He differs from many of the contemporary Florentine painters in the fact that at the beginning of his activities he was not influenced by Agnolo Gaddi and his followers but by Spinello Aretino, the result being that Giovanni's morphological types are almost always rather extraordinary with flat heads and heavily outlined features.

It has often been said that Masaccio's influence is evident in Giovanni's works. I do not quite agree with this. At the beginning of his career the artist was a Trecentist with a faint tendency to Gothicism but not sufficient, however, for us to classify him with the group of cosmopolitan Gothic painters. In certain of his pictures he reveals a knowledge of Bicci di Lorenzo's art and lastly he felt a certain reflex of the new technique which at this time came into vogue in Florence; this, however, is only feebly evident and there is no trace of any direct influence of one of the great masters of the more modern movement.

In Volume III, p. 612, I have already alluded to Mr. Sirén's proposed identification of Ambrogio di Baldese and the author

Newhaven, Jarves coll., No. 30, an event from the life of St. Giovanni Gualberto (*Sirén*, Burlington Magazine, XIV, 1908, p. 320; *the Same*, Descriptive Catalogue etc., p. 77). **New York**, Loan Exhibition, Nov. 1917, SS. John the Baptist and James (*Perkins*, Art in America, 1921, p. 148). **Paris**, Louvre, predella, Eraclius carrying the Cross enters Jerusalem. **Rome**, Paolini coll., Giovanni Boccaccio and Marsilio Ficino, No. 31 of the catalogue of the sale held in New York, Dec. 1924.

Apart from the cassone panels mentioned above, the following works are executed in the manner of Giovanni dal Ponte: **Florence**, Accademia (office), SS. James and Helen and two half-length figures of angels (*Gamba*, op. cit., Rivista d'Arte, 1906); Uffizi, store-room, SS. John the Baptist and James (from a frame, *Gamba*, idem); St. Michael and a female saint on the wings of a tabernacle, the centre of which is by another artist (*Gamba*, idem). **Rome**, Paolini coll., Madonna between SS. John the Baptist and Antony Abbot, No. 120 of catalogue as above; **Val d'Enna**, Certosa, winter choir, ruined Madonna (*Gamba*, idem, probably the same picture that I have attributed to Rossello di Jacopo Franchi). *Toe ca.* op. cit., wrongly ascribes to Giovanni dal Ponte the triptych in the gallery of Perugia which I have included among Bicci di Lorenzo's works. Nor is the Madonna which forms No. 37 of the Kann sale, New York, January 1927, by this artist.

of a certain number of paintings of the second quarter of the 15th century, inspired chiefly by Bicci di Lorenzo, for which reason I think he belonged to the generation following that of Ambrogio who was born in 1352 and died in 1429 and of whose activity we are unable to find any evidence after 1417⁽¹⁾. Consequently he was a contemporary of Spinello Aretino and Niccolo di Pietro Gerini and he collaborated with the latter in the execution of a fresco in the Bigallo, an important fragment of which has come down to us. This work reveals him as a faithful adherent of the 14th century tradition, as indeed the dates of his activity alone would have led us to conclude.

As for the other painter whom Mr. Sirén wished to identify with Ambrogio di Baldese, he is an artistic individuality generally fairly easily recognized. Mr. Sirén emitted his theory in connexion with a large polyptych in the Jarves collection, Yale University, Newhaven⁽²⁾, which shows in the centre the Virgin enthroned with two angelic musicians kneeling below and in the lateral panels SS. Antony of Padua, Peter, John the Baptist and Antony Abbot; in the three medallions above we see God the Father bestowing a blessing and the two figures of the Annunciation. Below, an inscription gives the date 1370 but as Mrs Logan Berenson, who includes this painting in the list of Bicci di Lorenzo's works and Mr. Sirén himself have already remarked, this cannot possibly be the correct date because the picture can hardly be prior to the beginning of the 15th century. The inscription besides, is not original and it was no doubt at the moment when the older one was copied that the date was misread, the name under the first saint, who is certainly St. Antony, was no doubt then changed for that of St. Albert. As Mr. Sirén proposes, it is quite possible that the mistake with regard to the date is of fifty years, and that instead of 1370 it should be 1420.

⁽¹⁾ *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, I, p. 633 note 3, p. 640 note 4; II, p. 8 note 1. *Supino*, in Thieme Becker, *Künstler Lexikon*, I, p. 391. *Poggi*, *Cattedrale di Firenze*, documents, Nos 1012, 1014. *Poggi*, *Supino e Ricci*, *Il Bigallo*, pp. 48, 49, 50.

⁽²⁾ *Sirén*, *Burlington Magazine*, XIV, 1908-9, p. 320. *The Same*, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 58.

Mr. Sirén gives a list of works that he ascribes to the same master but they are not all known to me:

Boston, Fine Arts Museum, store-room, Madonna with SS. Mary Magdalene and John the Baptist, restored.

Fiesole, Bandini Museum, I, No. 29, SS. Antony, John the Baptist, a holy martyr, and Mary Magdalene (this attribution seems to me very doubtful).

Florence, formerly in S. Marco, Ospizio, large altar-piece showing the Madonna, SS. Zenobius, Mary Magdalene, Francis and Catherine (an important and characteristic work), small Madonna seated on a bench; Uffizi, store-room, No. 4608, SS. Michael, Bartholomew with the donor and Julian; Uffizi, Madonna and Child; Corsi coll., Madonna and Child.

Paris, for sale 1914, Coronation of the Virgin.

Philadelphia, McIlhemey coll., Madonna and six saints (Mr. Sirén is somewhat doubtful on account of the restoration; personally I do not know this picture).

To this list the following works might be added:

Budapest, Gallery, No. 45, triptych, Madonna between a bearded saint and a female martyr with SS. James and Antony in the wings and Christ in benediction and the Annunciation above⁽¹⁾.

Florence, for sale 1922, Madonna with SS. Dorothy, Catherine, John the Baptist, Antony Abbot and two angels; for sale 1926, Madonna between SS. John the Baptist and Antony Abbot, with four angels behind the throne (fig. 54); Cinelli coll., Madonna in the midst of saints; it closely resembles the picture in the gallery of Perugia, which I mention lower down.

The Hague, Verburgt coll., half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child Who holds a bird, and in the predella the dead Christ between SS. Catherine and Paul, all in half-length figure; this attribution is doubtful, if it be by this painter, it must be a late work (fig. 55).

London, Kerr Lawson coll., half-length Madonna with the Child

⁽¹⁾ *G. von Téry*, Die Gemälde Galerie des Museums f. Bildende Kunst in Budapest. Berlin, 1916, p. 52, ascribes it to the Sienese school, mentioning Herr Schubring's attribution to Domenico di Bartolo and Mr. L. Douglas's objection to the attribution to the Sienese school.



Fig. 54. Pseudo-Ambrogio di Baldese, Madonna, saints and angels. Private Collection.



Fig. 55. Pseudo-Ambrogio di Paldese?, Madonna. Verburgt Collection, The Hague.



Fig. 56. Pseudo-Ambrogio di Baldese, Madonna. Kerr
Lawson Collection, London.

Who grasps His Mother's fingers and holds a little bird (fig. 56) (1).

New York, private coll., Madonna and Child over whom four angels hold an ornate baldaquin, two angelic musicians kneel below and a group of twelve saints is depicted to either side. This is probably an early work but the attribution is a little doubtful.

Perugia, Gallery, No. 77, small panel of the Madonna between SS. Antony Abbot, James, Mary Magdalene and Helen with two cherubs above.

Rome, for sale many years ago, half-length Madonna carrying the semi-nude Child Who fondles her chin.

Worcester, U.S.A., Art Museum, half-length figure of the Virgin holding the Child Who bestows a blessing (fig. 57) (2).

The artist whom I hold responsible for all these paintings, belongs to this group of reactionaries who at the beginning of the 15th century continued to follow the manner of the previous generation. In this case in particular we find very few elements of the new school of painting. His works, however are quite pleasing; they are generally very ornate and of an excellent decorative effect.

It is necessary here to say a few words regarding painted coffers or cassoni, a large number of which were executed in Florence at the beginning of the 15th century (3). Prior to this period cassoni were not generally ornamented in this manner. We find them with decorations in stucco relief or with very simple painted ornaments dating from the end of the 14th century (4), but the real painted cassoni with more or less numerous scenes, seem to have come into vogue only towards 1400. It is true that when the corporation of painters in Flo-

(1) Attributed to Starnina by *T. Borenius*, *Burlington Magazine*, XL, 1922, p. 233.

(2) Worcester Art Museum, *Catalogue of Paintings and Drawings*, Worcester, (March) 1922, p. 10. *R. Hennicker-Heaton*, An early Florentine Madonna, *Art in America*, XII, 1924, p. 211. *Museum Bulletin*, Jan. 1927.

(3) *A. Schiaparelli*, *La casa fiorentina e i suoi arredi nei secoli XIV e XV*, I, Florence, 1908. *P. Schubring*, *Cassoni*.

(4) *Schubring*, *op. cit.*, pp. 219—222.



Fig. 57. Pseudo-Ambrogio di Baldese, Madonna.
Museum, Worcester, U.S.A.

rence was founded in 1349, "artisti ornamentali" (1) were also included and in 1386, there is mention of a "*Johannes olim Tani pictor cofanorum*". Then during the first quarter of the 15th century, we find in the registers of this corporation record of the following artists as "forzerinaio" or cassone painters: Michele di Giovanni 1404, Tommaso di Matteo 1409, Giovanni di Ghaspari 1417, Andrea di Stagio 1419, Piero d'Antonio Baldi 1421, Andrea di Domenicho 1421 and Bernardo di Dino 1424. At a slightly later date the documents give us the names of Marco del Buono (1402—1489) and Apollonio di Giovanni (1417—1465) who together kept a studio which produced from 170 to 200 painted cassoni between the years 1446 and 1463. Another artist who devoted himself to this branch of decorative painting was Giovanni di Francesco del Arnelliera who, according to Vasari (II, p. 682), was a pupil of Castagno (2).

In dealing with Giovanni dal Ponte, we saw that he also and his companion Smeraldo di Giovanni painted cassoni. Vasari with his usual amount of fantasy informs us that this kind of coffer was invented by Dello Delli.

Painted cassone panels belonging to the group of works with which we are dealing in this volume are comparatively few in number. Doubtless the fact that some of the painters of the new school, such as Uccello and Pesellino, also pursued this form of art, was the reason why the first forms of the Florentine Renaissance spread so quickly to cassone decoration. Of the Florentine cassone panels in which there is as yet no evidence of the new style of painting, we do not possess one to which the artist's name can be attached; consequently a detailed list of these works will suffice.

Two cassone panels of about the year 1400 bear a very close resemblance to one another, not only on account of the subjects represented but also because of the arrangement of the decoration. One, which is found in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (1894, 317), originates from Sta. Maria Nuova, Florence (fig. 58); the other was upon a time in the Vincigliata castle, near Florence (fig. 59). In little meadows are depicted isolated

(1) *Schubring*, op. cit., p. 81.

(2) *Schubring*, op. cit., pp. 87—89.

figures of noble-
men and ladies on
horseback, the
former each with
a falcon perched
on his hand, the
latter carrying
whips; then to
either side of a tree
we see a knight
and a lady, he
again with a fal-
con, she with a
flower. The cas-
sone from the
Vincigliata Castle
which is executed
in a slightly more
evolved style,
bears the Capponi-
Bonciani or La-
rioni coat of
arms (1).

Painted in a
slightly more
Gothic style is the
coffer panel, also
originating from
Sta. Maria Nuova,
in the National Mu-
seum, Florence.
Here in three
medallions framed
in ornaments in
relief, are repre-
sented three
scenes from the story of Saladin and Torello from the Decame-



Fig. 58. Cassone panel, Florentine School, first half of the 15th century. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

(1) *Schubring*, op. cit., Nos. 16 and 17.



Fig. 59. Cassone panel, Florentine School, first half of the 15th century. Formerly in the Vincigliata Castle, near Florence. Photo Brogi.

ron (fig. 60) ⁽¹⁾. Another panel which forms the pendant and on which is depicted the continuation of the tale, belongs to Mr. H. Harris, London ⁽²⁾.

The same three scenes and still three others from the same romance decorate a cassone in the Stibbert Museum, Florence, but according to Herr Schubring this is a spurious piece of work ⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Schubring*, op. cit., No. 18, has interpreted this decoration as being the illustration of the romance of Mattabruna. This misinterpretation has been corrected by Dr. *G. De Nicola*, Notice on the Museo Nazionale of Florence, *Burlington Magazine*, XXXI, 1918, p. 169.

⁽²⁾ *T. Borenius*, The oldest illustration of the Decameron reconstructed, *Burlington Magazine*, XXXV, 1919, p. 12.

⁽³⁾ *Schubring*, op. cit., Nos. 19 and 20.



Fig. 60. Scenes from the Decameron, cassone panel, Florentine School, first half of the 15th century.
National Museum, Florence.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 61. The story of Lucrezia, cassone panel, Florentine School, first half of the 15th century. Formerly in the Vincigliata Castle, near Florence.

Photo Reali.

Closely resembling these in style is a cassone, which was formerly also in the Vincigliata Castle, and was adorned with three scenes from the life of Lucrezia; the paintings seem to be the only original part of this coffer (fig. 61) (1).

Some time ago in Munich two cassoni were on the art market. According to Herr Schubring the paintings were executed in the manner of Spinello Aretino; personally I think they were in the Florentine style of the beginning of the 15th century, fairly close to Giovanni dal Ponte, which, besides, is not very contradictory to Herr Schubring's assertion. On each cassone three scenes from the story of Diana and Actæon were represented (2).

Of poorer quality are three scenes illustrating the story of a knight on another cassone from the Vincigliata Castle (3). Possibly also of Florentine workmanship is the cassone panel in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, showing three scenes of feats of arms,

(1) *Schubring*, op. cit., No. 21.

(2) *Schubring*, op. cit., Nos. 22 and 23.

(3) *Schubring*, op. cit., No 431, ascribes these paintings, which I believe to be Florentine of the beginning of the 15th century, to the manner of Giovanni di Paolo.

perhaps the taking of Salerno by Robert Guiscard⁽¹⁾.

Cassoni, decorated with one oblong representation rather than with several scenes as we have found up to the present, seem to belong to a later stage in the development of this special branch of decorative art. A fairly early example of this sort of cassone is a panel of a battle-scene between mounted orientals in the Lindenu Museum, Altenburg (No. 41) (fig. 62)⁽²⁾; it is executed in a fairly Gothic style, with forms still reminiscent



Fig. 62. Oriental battle-scene, cassone panel, Florentine School, first half of the 15th century. Gallery, Altenburg.

⁽¹⁾ Rankin, *Burlington Magazine*, IX, p. 288. Schubring, *op. cit.*, No 794, thinks they might be of South Italian or Burgundian origin.

⁽²⁾ I wonder why Herr Schubring does not mention this particular piece, especially as he refers to other cassone panels in the same museum.



Fig. 63. The Palio in Florence, cassone panel, Florentine School, first half of the 15th century. Photo Alinari. National Museum, Florence.

of 14th century art, but at the same time makes us think of the possibility of the influence of Lorenzo Monaco.

A cassone panel, also originating from Sta. Maria Nuova, but now in the National Museum, Florence, is decorated with an episode from the feast of the Palio at Florence; the horses which take part in the race and a large assembly on foot proceeds towards the baptistery (fig. 63) (1).

Herr Schubring does not seem to know the pendant to the above-mentioned panel, no doubt by the same artist; it is of exactly the same size and represents the race in the town of Florence.

This piece is now in the museum of Cleveland, U. S. A., having been acquired with the rest of the Holden collection (No. 17) (fig. 64).

Closely resembling

(1) *Schubring*, op. cit., No. 24. *G. De Nicola*, Notice on the Museo Nazionale of Florence, *Burlington Magazine*, XXXI, 1917, p. 169.

in style is a cassone front in the museum of Berlin (No. 1467), which Herr Schubring⁽¹⁾ qualifies as Sienese of about 1450, but which I think is of Florentine workmanship of about this period. It illustrates the diversions of a day in the country; in the centre we see amorous couples; to the left young girls, having taken off their shoes and stockings, paddle in some shallow water, while to the right the company is shown gathered round a table on which a mountebank makes a little dog dance to the sound of a flute and performs other marvels (fig. 65). This scene also adorned one of the two cassone panels which were for sale in Florence some years ago. The Fountain of Youth was represented on the other.

Later on I shall refer to the panel with scenes from the Thebaïd of the school of Lorenzo Monaco in the Uffizi which, according to Herr Schubring, is also the front of a cassone.

There are two other panels illustrating the lives of holy

(1) *Schubring*, op. cit., No. 427.



Fig. 64. A race in the streets of Florence, cassone panel, Florentine School, first half of the 15th century. Museum, Cleveland, U. S. A.



Fig. 65. A country scene, cassone panel, Florentine School. Museum, Berlin.

hermits in the desert; the composition is just as crowded as the afore-named picture in the Uffizi but the style of painting, although more evolved, is less fine. They belong to Lord Crawford, London. Herr Schubring calls them Tuscan of about 1400⁽¹⁾; I think they are more likely Florentine or about a decade later. Of about the same period are two cassone panels illustrating events of chivalry, one in the Czartoryski Museum, Cracow, the other once for sale in Munich⁽²⁾. The latter again shows some elements of the Gothic style.

Slightly later examples of this branch of painting, dating probably from towards 1440 or 1450, but not exhibiting as yet any features of the Renaissance, are the pretty representation of a marriage in the Accademia, Florence (No. 147) (figs. 66 and 67)⁽³⁾ and two illustrations from the *Odyssey* on cassoni in the Lanckoronski collection,

⁽¹⁾ *Schubring*, op. cit., Nos. 36 and 37.

⁽²⁾ *Schubring*, op. cit., Nos. 96 and 97.

⁽³⁾ *Schubring*, op. cit., Nos. 256—260. On account of the fairly Gothic style of the execution it was once thought possible that it represented the marriage of Lisa Ricasoli and Boccaccio Adinari which took place in 1420. *Schiapparelli*, op. cit., p. 271, still ascribes it to this date in spite

Vienna⁽¹⁾. All these decorations do not any longer consist of little scenes separated from one another, but of one oblong picture.

Among the "Deschi da Parto" or birth plates, the ornamentation of which is another section of this branch of decorative art, there are but few which possess the characteristics which enable us to date them prior to the movement of the Renaissance. Besides the one we shall meet with when dealing with the works of Mariotto di Nardo, there is one in the collection of the Historical Society, New York, originating from the ex-Artaud de Montor collection, which bears the date 1428; on one side it depicts the lying-in room, crowded with women who have come to visit their friend after her confinement, while the first bath of the new-born child is taking place near by; on the verso the child is seen in an orange-grove⁽²⁾.

of the fact that *J. Mesnil*, *Revue de l'art flamand et hollandais*, VI, 1906, p. 64, has clearly demonstrated that the painting does not represent this event.

⁽¹⁾ *Schubring*, op. cit., Nos. 245—252: Dido-Meister.

⁽²⁾ *W. Rankin*, *Burlington Magazine*, XI, 1907, p. 131. *Schubring*, op. cit., No. 78.

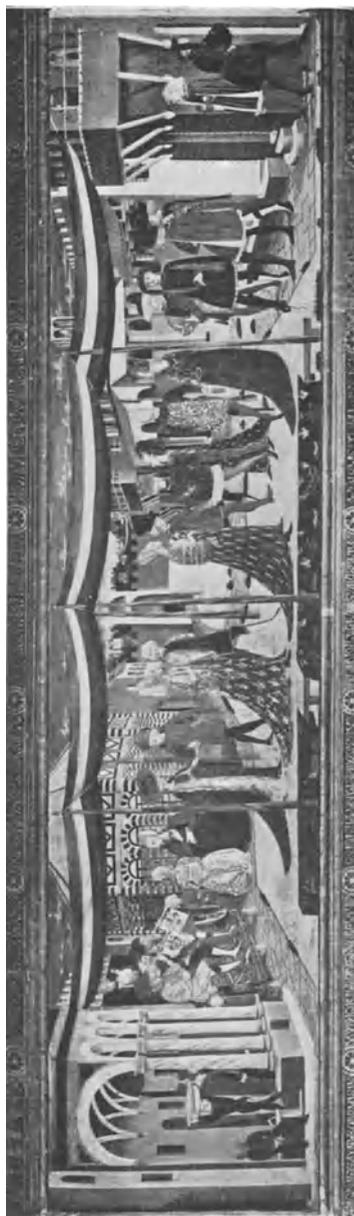


Fig. 66. A wedding procession, cassone panel, Florentine School. Accademia, Florence. Photo Alinari.

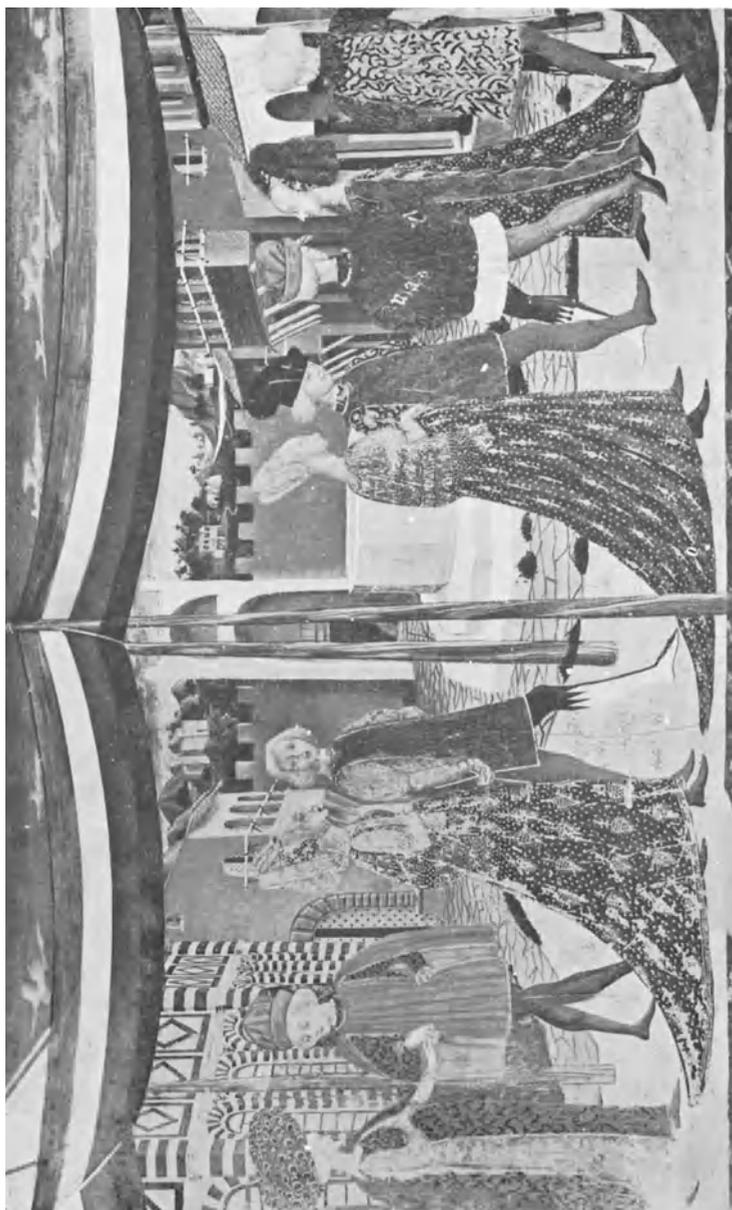


Fig. 67. Detail of fig. 66.

In the Bardini collection there was a plate decorated with a very similar scene, dating from the same period. Closely resembling the example in the Historical Society but perhaps slightly older is a "desco da parto" which has been acquired



Fig. 68. The Fountain of Love, birth plate, Florentine School.
Figdor Collection, Vienna.

— I understand recently — by the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, U. S. A.

Of a slightly later date but still fairly Gothic in style are two other "deschi", one in the collection of Count Serristori, Florence, the other in the Figdor collection, Vienna. The plate in Florence is painted on both sides; on the recto we see the widow whose son has been crushed by the horse of the emperor's son, demanding justice from Trajan and on the back an Amor beating a tambour and playing the flute. The disc

in the Figdor collection shows several amorous couples round a fountain in a flowery field; near by a musician plays the harp (fig. 68).

The ornamentation of cassoni and "deschi" is more or less an applied art and generally speaking the painter-decorators who devoted themselves to this branch of work are not of the same standard as those who practised a purer form of art. This, however, can be said only of this period, because as soon as we reach the true Renaissance, we find that even the most renowned painters did not neglect the decoration of cassoni.

In Florentine painting of the beginning of the 15th century this form of ornamentation is of considerable importance, not only because it is sometimes representative of the cosmopolitan Gothic style but also because it is almost the only manifestation of genre-painting which at this moment was so much in vogue in the north of Italy and as we saw very much favoured by Gentile da Fabriano and other painters, such for example as those of the region round Rome.

Lastly there are some Florentine miniatures of the beginning of the 15th century which, on account of the difference in style, cannot be included in the Camaldolese group with which we shall deal in the next chapter. As such I shall mention in the first place the illustrations in the life of St. Antony Abbot in the Laurenziana, Florence (Laur. med. Pal. 143). This codex was offered by Pope Eugenius IV in all likelihood to the council held in Florence in 1439, and although it may very well be that the text was written in the 14th century by the sacristan of a monastery in Vienne, France, the miniatures, none the less, seem to be Italian, probably Florentine, of the beginning of the 15th century (¹).

Some pleasing decorations of quite a profane character but of a Gothic calligraphic form adorn a collection of "Canzone italiane con musica" in the same library (Cod. med. Palat. 87); without any doubt this is a Florentine production approaching a little in style that of the ornamentation of cassoni (²).

(¹) *G. Biagi*, *Reproduzione di MSS. miniate da codice della R. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, Florence, 1914, p. 11, pls. XX—XXII.

(²) *P. D'Ancona*, *La miniature italienne*, Paris, 1925, p. 75, pl. LXIX.

CHAPTER II.

THE FLORENTINE CAMALDOLESE MINIATURES OF ABOUT THE YEAR 1400 ⁽¹⁾, LORENZO MONACO ⁽²⁾ AND HIS FOLLOWERS

In dealing with Florentine miniatures of the 14th century I have already had occasion to mention the fairly early infiltration of Sieneſe elements and when towards the end of this century the cosmopolitan Gothic ſtyle, which during the firſt half of the next century dominated in every part, found an expreſſion in Florentine art, the Sieneſe influence is ſtill clearly evident in the miniatures produced in the Tuſcan capital.

This is of particular importance becauſe the greateſt painter of the Florentine group working in this manner was alſo a miniaturiſt; this in itſelf is ſufficient to explain not only his calligraphic ſtyle but alſo the Sieneſe characteristics in his works, an explanation of which has been ſought in his Sieneſe origin, as we ſhall ſee ſhortly.

As uſual I ſhall deal with theſe miniatures in a more or leſs ſummary faſhion, only entering into the matter in as far as it throws ſome light on the hiſtory of painting.

In Florentine miniatures of the end of the 14th century and beginning of the 15th we ſee two very diſtinct movements. The firſt, which bears leſs importance to the following remarks, is that which continued the old tradition of Florentine painting which had at this moment representatives ſuch as Lorenzo di Niccolò Gerini. As examples of this ſtyle might be cited ſome miniatures in liturgical books (figs. 69–70)⁽³⁾ and ſome illumi-

⁽¹⁾ *P. D'Ancona*, *La miniatura fiorentina*, 2 vols., Florence, 1914. *The Same*, *La miniature italienne du X au XI ſiècle*, Paris, Brussels, 1925 p. 36.

⁽²⁾ *O. Sirén*, *Don Lorenzo Monaco*, Straſbourg, 1905.

⁽³⁾ *D'Ancona*, *Miniatura fiorentina*, pls. 54–59.



Fig. 69. The Martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul. miniature, Florentine School. Laurenziana Library, Florence.



Fig. 70. St. Benedict, miniature, Florentine School.
Laurenziana Library, Florence.



Fig 71 Illustration of Dante, miniature, Florentine School.
Laurenziana Library, Florence.

nations of the codices containing the works of Dante (fig. 71) (1).

The other group of miniatures comprises those showing

(1) *D'Ancona*, *Miniatura fiorentina*, pls. 51—53. *The Same*, *La minia-
ture italienne*, pl. 34.



Fig. 72. The Baptism of Christ, miniature, Camaldolese School,
Sta. Croce, Florence. Photo Alinari.

Sieneſe elements. They are more Gothic and more calligraphic in appearance and poſſeſs in a much ſtronger degree the illuminative character. It was this ſtyle that Lorenzo Monaco,

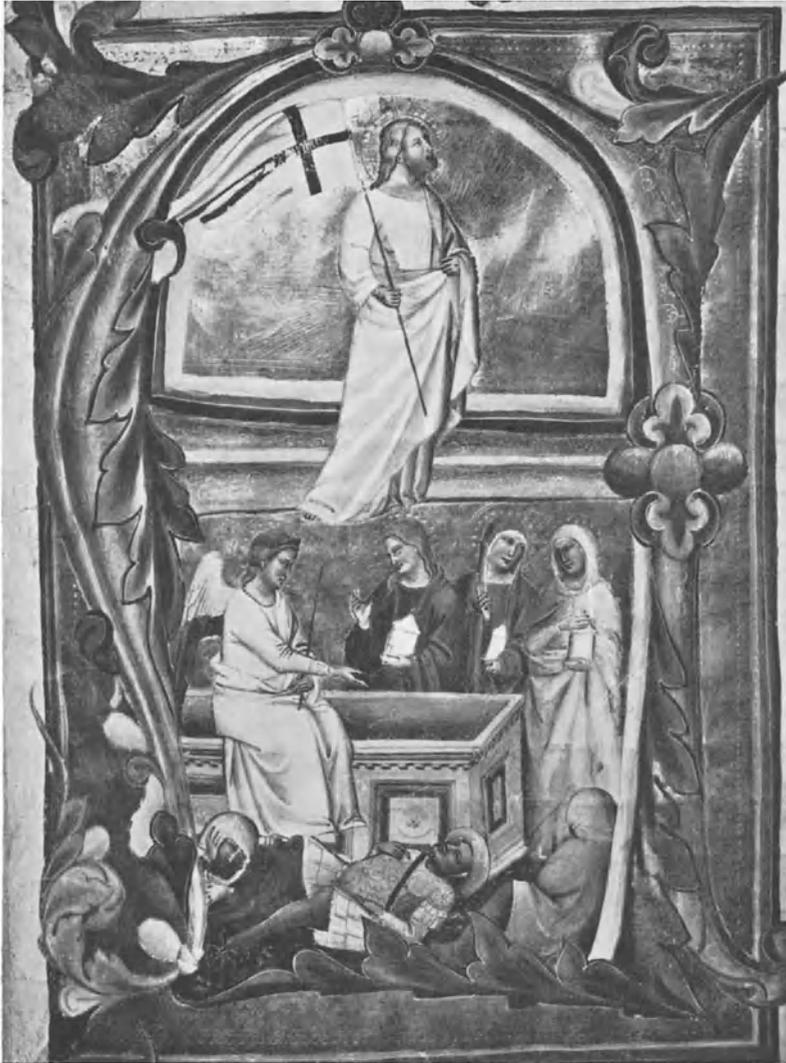


Fig. 73. The Ascension, miniature, Camaldolese School.
Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

who was its chief exponent, followed. Strozzi, Fra Angelico's most faithful pupil, was an adherent of the same manner and we find very definite evidence of this style already in some



Fig. 74. The Descent of the Holy Ghost, miniature.
Camaldolese School. Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

miniatures executed in the monastery of S. Marco between 1370 and 1377⁽¹⁾.

The miniatures and particularly the ornamental initials and borders of this school are very numerous and I shall certainly

⁽¹⁾ *D'Ancona*, *Miniatura fiorentina*, II, p. 21 and pls. 33 and 34; also the miniature reproduced on pl. 39 seems to be from the same hand.

not enumerate all of them, but shall limit myself to those in the library of the monastery of S. Marco, Florence and those in the glass cases in the sacristy of Sta. Croce (figs. 72, 73, 74). Many of those in S. Marco are attributed to Fra Benedetto del Mugello; those in Sta. Croce are signed by a Camaldolese monk called Simone who has sometimes been thought to be Don Simone Stefani but the latter was in all probability only a calligrapher⁽¹⁾ as was also Fra Benedetto del Mugello⁽²⁾.

Vasari mentions as well Don Jacopo Florentino, Don Paolo Orlandini and Don Silvestro, all Camaldolites; he praises the two first sooner as calligraphers and the last as miniaturist. The same writer informs us that the hands of Paolo and Silvestro were preserved as relics, a statement confirmed by Milanesi who records the name of yet another Camaldolese monk in Florence, a certain Don Niccolo Rosselli who worked also in Murano and Siena⁽³⁾.

Besides the miniatures which I have mentioned above we find still some very important examples of this art in the National Museum and Laurenziana Library in Florence⁽⁴⁾ and in the museum of Pisa (fig. 75)⁽⁵⁾. Further I should like to mention two others, not very well known, the one representing the Resurrection, the other, which is unfinished, the Entry into Jerusalem, which formerly belonged to a heteroclite collection in the Rossiana Library, Vienna, but since have been transferred to the Vatican⁽⁶⁾.

It is the study of this abundant and beautiful production of miniatures which originate from the "Convento degli Angeli"

(1) *Milanesi*, note on *Vasari*, II, p. 22, made an attempt to identify this Don Simone with Don Simone Stefani regarding whom he found documentary evidence from 1386 onward and who died in 1437. *D'Ancona*, Don Simone Camaldolese miniatore fiorentino della fine del sec. XIV, *Bibliofilia*, XVI, 1914. *The Same*, op. cit., II, p. 19, refutes this identification.

(2) *Vasari-Milanesi*, II, pp. 506, 528. *Marchese*, *Memorie dei pittori etc. domenicani*, lit. I, cap. 12. *G. Moro*, Fra Benedetto, miniatore, Florence, 1901.

(3) *Vasari-Milanesi*, II, pp. 22, 23.

(4) *D'Ancona*, La miniatura fiorentina, pls. 40—48.

(5) *D'Ancona*, op. cit., pl. 59, does not seem to include it in the same group.

(6) Beschreib. Verzeich. der Illum. Hss. in Osterreich, V. H. *Tietze*, Die Illum. Hss. der Rossiana in Wien-Lainz, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 167, 171.



Fig. 75. The Annunciation, miniature. Camaldolese School.
Museum, Pisa.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

where Lorenzo Monaco himself was active, that gives us a better insight into the art of this monk and painter.

Let us first of all consider the facts concerning his life.

Before he became a monk our painter was called Piero di Giovanni and lived in the parish of S. Michele Bisdomini in Florence. He seems to have been a native of Siena because in a document of 1414 he is referred to as "*Lorenzo dipentore da Siena*". The registers of the degli Angeli monastery record that he became under-deacon in September 1392 and as in

the order of St. Romuald the members had to be at least twenty-one years old before reaching this dignity, he must have been born before 1371. Vasari informs us that he died in 1425 at the age of fifty-five, which statement, if exact, gives us 1370 as the date of his birth. He became deacon only after three years although it was usual to receive this title one year after that of under-deacon.

Mr. Sirén is of opinion that the painter was no longer in his first youth when he left Siena because from his works he deduces that he received his artistic education in this town. I do not quite agree with him. Vasari, on the other hand, tells us that his master was Taddeo Gaddi. Here he has perhaps mistaken only the christian name, for it might very well be that Lorenzo learned his art from Agnolo Gaddi.

Vasari, who, in his biography of Lorenzo Monaco frequently takes, as Mr. Sirén informs us, his information from Billi, offers us certain details which do not always inspire unlimited confidence. Thus for example we are told in the first edition that the painter died at the age of fifty-five from a tumour in his chest which he brought on from continually leaning on that part of his body. He was buried in the Chapter House of the monastery. Vasari gives the epitaph that was inscribed on his tomb and tells us that his head was preserved as a relic.

In his first edition the Aretine biographer speaks also of a missal illuminated by Lorenzo Monaco for Pope Eugenius IV and Milanesi professes that he went to Rome in 1402 to execute some miniatures for Cardinal Angelo Acciajuoli but all trace of these works, as well as the source of information, has been lost, but a historian of the Camaldolese order, Don Gregorio Farulli, also refers to the missal executed for the pope in gratitude for the dispensation given by the pontiff to Lorenzo Monaco which exempted him from fasting on certain days ⁽¹⁾. The artist did not always live in the monastery; Milanesi informs us that already in 1400 he no longer lived in community with the members of his order. We know for certain that in 1406 he lived near the church of S. Bartolo and that

⁽¹⁾ *Sirén*, op. cit., p. 15. Don Gregorio makes an error in the name of Lorenzo whom he calls Lorenzo d'Albizio.

in 1414 he rented for the rest of his days a house opposite the monastery (1).

From Milanesi we learn, although he gives no source for the piece of information, that in 1409 Lorenzo made some rough drafts for the windows of Or San Michele, which were executed at a later date by Niccolo di Piero della Magna. These windows still exist but they bear no resemblance to Lorenzo's art. Documents of 1417 and 1422 refer to the "Frate degli Angeli" in connexion with the valuation of some frescoes by Ambrogio Baldese in the Bigallo (2), and of an important altar-piece for the chapel of St. Lawrence in the cathedral, which had still to be executed in accordance with the will of Cardinal Piero Corsini who died in 1403. Milanesi took the words "Frate degli Angeli" as a reference to Lorenzo Monaco (3) but there is really no reason to accept this interpretation (4). However, that Lorenzo was still alive in 1422 is proved by documentary evidence that between 1420 and 1422 he received various payments for an altar-piece for the church of S. Egidio (5), and in 1421 there is mention of two of his pupils: Giovanni di Bernardo and Giovanni di Francesco. All this goes to refute the statement of another historian of the order — Don Agostino Fortunio — that Lorenzo Monaco died in 1419. The date, 1425, given by Vasari for the death of the painter, is possibly correct.

Besides the dates which have come to us in connexion with his extant works, it is known that between 1398 and 1400 Lorenzo executed an altar-piece at the request of Chiaro Ardinghelli for the church of Sta. Maria del Carmine (6). Cavalcaselle thought that this was the picture in the Uffizi of Christ praying on the Mount of Olives, which is only a production of his studio; if, however, as Mr. Sirén believes, this work represented

(1) *Sirén*, op. cit., p. 15.

(2) *O. Sirén*, Rivista d'Arte, II, 1904, p. 192. *Poggi, Supino, Ricci*, II Bigallo, Florence, 1905, p. 48.

(3) *Milanesi*, note on *Vasari*, II, p. 25², is of this opinion and places the name Lorenzo in parenthesis after the words "Frate degli Angeli".

(4) *Sirén*, L'Arte, VII, 1904, p. 352.

(5) *Sirén*, L. M., p. 14.

(6) *Sirén*, op. cit., p. 19. *Poggi, Supino, Ricci*, op. cit., pp. 15, 53, 54.

the Annunciation, it is possible that it still exists as will be seen later on. In any case it is important to note that the first evidence of Lorenzo's activity bears reference to a painting on panel and not to the execution of miniatures of which there is no record until 1409. This is very significant because it has often been believed that Lorenzo began his career as a miniaturist, but from what follows, it will be seen that this is not the case.

The first dated work that we have by Lorenzo Monaco is a Madonna and Child enthroned between SS. John the Baptist and Nicholas with four angels behind, which shows the date 1400 on the base of the throne (fig. 76). The appearance of the inscription gives rise to some doubt as to its authenticity, but the picture, which is found in the gallery of Berlin (1119) is from this period and if the inscription is not of the same time, it might very well be a copy of the original. This painting, in which there is as yet but very few Gothic elements, confirms Mr. Sirén's opinion that the earliest source of Lorenzo's inspiration is found in Agnolo Gaddi's art. Personally I think he must have known Agnolo's manner through the interpretation of either Starnina or Lorenzo di Bicci as we shall see later on.

Once we have accepted this way of looking at the question, there are still two other works which bear an even closer resemblance to Agnolo Gaddi's art. The older of them is without any doubt the panel in the collection of Professor Lanz in Amsterdam, which shows us the artist as a faithful adherent of the tradition of the Trecento. Here the Virgin is depicted on a throne, faintly Gothic in style, holding on her knee the Child Jesus Who bestows a blessing and grasps a little bird; the back of the throne, as well as the background of the picture, is adorned with an ornamental design (fig. 77). Between this Madonna and that in Berlin should, I think, be placed the little panel in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (No. 555) (fig. 78), in which the Virgin, who sits on a throne holding the Child, shows forms, not yet Gothic, but all the same more flowing and more full of curves than was remarked in the previous picture. Two angels are seen to the sides and two others, very small, are depicted above the throne, which is adorned with some Gothic ornament.



Fig. 76. Lorenzo Monaco, Madonna and saints, 1400.
Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.



Fig. 77. Lorenzo Monaco, Madonna. Lanz Collection, Amsterdam.



Fig. 78. Lorenzo Monaco, Madonna and angels. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Photo Mansell

If we can place Lorenzo Monaco's birth towards 1370 or shortly after and if the date of the Madonna in Berlin be exact, I think that the picture in the Lanz collection was in all probability executed about the year 1395 and that in Cambridge a little later.

The first manner of Lorenzo Monaco is found also in the frescoes which Mr. Sirén, who was the first to publish them, dated in the first instance from shortly after 1395⁽¹⁾. They are the mural paintings which adorn the wall over a door in a corridor which once formed part of the monastery of Sta. Maria degli Angioli, that is to say the "convento degli Angeli", where Lorenzo lived, which was united later to the adjacent building of the Hospital of Sta. Maria Nuova. The decoration represents the Pietà but now only a few fragments remain; we can just distinguish that there were five figures, the Virgin with the Saviour's body in the centre, however, is practically effaced; the three figures grouped around still offer us a fairly good idea of the painter's style, that of an almost unevolved pupil of Agnolo Gaddi.

Two other frescoes executed in this manner are seen in what was probably a chapel of the little disused church in the "degli Oblate" cloister, just opposite Sta. Maria Nuova. The paintings are depicted one above the other and are separated by a floor, which originally did not exist. The fresco above represents the Saviour in the Garden of Olives, first in prayer while the angel offers Him the chalice and then looking at the three disciples who have fallen asleep. Lower down we see the dead Christ half-risen from His tomb between the Virgin, St. John, St. Mary Magdalene and another female saint while in the background are shown numerous heads, hands and instruments connected with the story of the Passion (fig. 79). The latter fresco is fairly well preserved.

At a later date Mr. Sirén discovered still other frescoes in this cloister, in that part which has been transformed into the notarial archives. Here the paintings show the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi. The former is badly damaged but the latter is in a good state of preservation; the imposing figure

(¹) *Sirén*, op. cit., p. 20.



Fig. 79. Lorenzo Monaco, Christ in His tomb and allusions to the Passion. Cloister, Oblate Convent, Florence.

of the Virgin holding the Child on her knee is clearly visible; the first of the kings kneels before her kissing the Infant's foot, the two others stand behind. When Mr. Sirén published these frescoes⁽¹⁾, he retracted his first opinion with regard to the date of the other paintings in this old cloister, and placed them together with the more recently discovered works in the first decade of the 15th century. Personally I think his first opinion was nearer the truth. I do not agree with him that before the year 1400 Lorenzo was still too young to create works of art of such force. In the very last years of the 14th century the artist was getting on for thirty and I find no difficulty in admitting that at this moment he was quite capable of producing similar works. Moreover, this little group that I have just dealt with is so much more archaic in appearance than the subsequent works, that it should certainly be placed before the Madonna of 1400 in Berlin and the paintings of 1404. Although still feebly marked, we notice here and there in the Berlin panel a few Gothic lines of which there is no trace either in the frescoes or in the Madonna in the Lanz collection.

A much poorer production than that of Berlin but executed about the same stage in the artist's career is a Madonna enthroned with the Child between SS. John the Baptist and Peter and the kneeling figures of St. Julian, a young saint, St. Antony Abbot and a crowned female martyr, which Mr. Sirén found in the store-room of the Uffizi⁽²⁾.

If the document, mentioned above, which speaks of an altarpiece executed for the church of Sta. Maria delle Carmine between 1398 and 1400, can be taken as referring to a picture of the Annunciation, then I think it quite possible that we are here dealing with the picture formerly in the Fornari collection, Fabriano, when it was published on two different occasions and now in the Stoclet collection, Brussels (fig. 80). Already Mr. Berenson, who was the first to publish the picture, thought of the possibility of identifying it with the work mentioned in the document⁽³⁾. Mr. Sirén, on the other hand, believes

⁽¹⁾ *O. Sirén*, *Opere sconosciute di Lorenzo Monaco*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1909, p. 33.

⁽²⁾ *O. Sirén*, *Opere sconosciute*.

⁽³⁾ *B. Berenson*, *Un nuovo Lorenzo Monaco*, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1909, p. 1.



Fig. 80. Lorenzo Monaco, the Annunciation. Stoclet Collection, Brussels.

it to be of later date and compares it with the Coronation of the Virgin of 1413 ⁽¹⁾. I agree sooner with Mr. Berenson,

⁽¹⁾ *O. Sirén*, *Opere sconosciute*.

although it must be admitted that the lines in this panel are slightly more Gothic than in the other works with which we have till now dealt. Nevertheless the faces are still reminiscent of those depicted by Agnolo Gaddi and the general appearance of the picture, with its exceedingly simple composition, is still quite Trecentesque. The frame was made in 1398 but it is not likely that the picture was finished before 1400, so that we can place it a little later than the group of works we have just discussed.

Lorenzo more or less repeated the composition of the Pietà in the cloister of the Oblates, in a panel dated 1404 in the Accademia, Florence. The dead Saviour, half out of His tomb, is supported by the Virgin and St. John; the latter, who is kneeling, is about to kiss Christ's arm. The allusions to the Passion which are seen in the background, detract much from the appearance of the picture which, apart from that, possesses little charm.

Another picture dates from the same year, it is the triptych in the gallery of the Collegiate of Empoli (No. 20) in which the Virgin holding the Child is represented sitting on a cushion on the ground; in the wings we see SS. Julian and John the Baptist to one side and SS. Peter and Antony Abbot to the other with a half-length figure of the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation in the medallions above; that over the central panel is missing (fig. 81).

To the same period I attribute the large polyptych, originating from the Abbey of Monte Oliveto, near Secca, now in the gallery of Prato, in which the features of 14th century art are attenuated to the same degree by the presence of Gothic lines in the draperies of the Virgin and the saints. The Madonna sits on a high throne holding the Child, Who bestows a blessing, standing on her knee. Two angels look at them in adoration in the same manner as in the picture in Cambridge. To the sides are depicted SS. Catherine of Alexandria, Benedict, Giovanni Gualberto and Agatha; again medallions containing the half-length figures of the Annunciation are seen above (fig. 82).

A work of 1405, although of only one year later than the fore-going pictures, shows a very perceptible augmentation of the Gothic element which almost entirely separates the master



Fig. 8r. Lorenzo Monaco, Madonna and saints. Collegiata, Empoli.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

from the art of the previous generation. This painting once belonged to the Nosedà collection, Milan, but has been acquired by Mr. Berenson, Settignano. In the general appearance and attitude of the figures, this panel closely resembles the central part of the triptych at Empoli, only here the Virgin with her right hand indicates the Child Whom she carries on

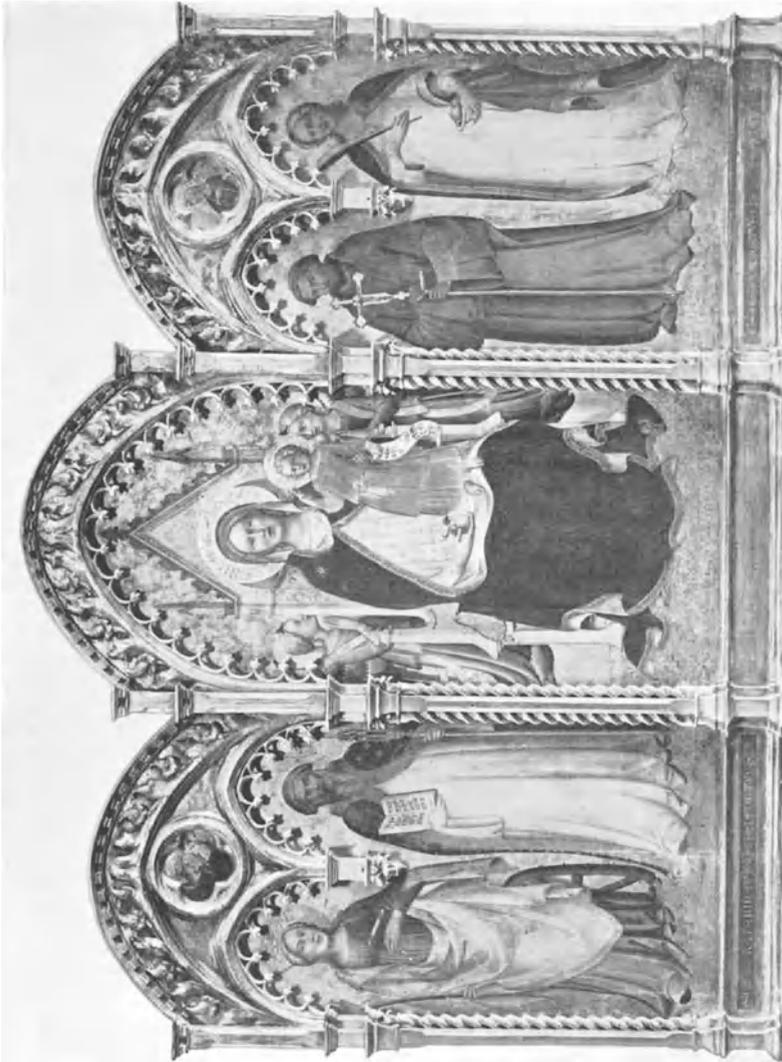


Fig. 82. Lorenzo Monaco, polyptych. Gallery, Prato.

Photo Brogi.

her left arm. The vigorous movement of the draperies which hang in Gothic lines of a very pronounced calligraphic nature, is, however, very different from the more conservative forms of the earlier works.



Fig. 83. Lorenzo Monaco, Madonna. S. Romolo, Settimo.

Photo Pineider.

With this Madonna of 1405 we can associate several other pictures all representing the Virgin sitting on a cushion on the ground, belonging consequently to the iconographical type known as the Madonna of Humility. One of them which is almost unknown ⁽¹⁾ but which is one of the most pleasing of this group is found in the church of S. Romolo at Settimo, Lastra a Signa (fig. 83). Another is preserved in the Thorwaldsen Museum, Copenhagen (fig. 84) ⁽²⁾ while a third, which perhaps dates from a few years later than the others, belongs to the Johnson collection, Philadelphia ⁽³⁾. Bearing a closer resemblance to the Madonna in the Berenson collection is that formerly in the Toscanelli collection ⁽⁴⁾, Pisa, of which the actual fate is unknown to me; it shows two angels supporting a beautiful curtain behind the Madonna who suckles the Child; an equally rich piece of stuff is spread on the ground while in three medallions in the predella we see the dead Christ arising from His tomb and the half-length figures of the Virgin and St. John. Executed after the same manner are a Madonna in the F. L. Babbot collection, New York, another in the Rumiantzeff Museum at Moscow ⁽⁵⁾, a panel in the Lichtenstein collection, Vienna and a Virgin and Child with six kneeling saints — two female martyrs, the two SS. John, SS. Peter and Paul — once in the Crespi collection, Milan ⁽⁶⁾. Mr. Sirén is of opinion that the latter is a school work ⁽⁷⁾. I do not agree with him although I do not think that the panels in the Crespi, and Johnson collections are of the same quality as the other productions of this manner. Another work which should, I think, be included in this group is the charming little triptych in the gallery of Siena (No. 153) in which the Virgin seated lowly on clouds is represented in the centre

⁽¹⁾ I owe the knowledge of this work to Signora Vavala.

⁽²⁾ *Sirén*, Lorenzo Monaco, pl. XXXVII.

⁽³⁾ *B. Berenson*, Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings and some art objects, Italian Paintings, I, Philadelphia, 1913, No. 10.

⁽⁴⁾ Album of the Toscanelli collection, pl. XXV, attributes it to Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio.

⁽⁵⁾ *V. Lazareff*, Una Madonna di L. M. a Mosca, *L'Arte*, 1924, p. 124

⁽⁶⁾ *A. Venturi*, La Galleria Crespi in Milan, Milan, 1900, p. 200, No. 30 of the public sale, Paris, June 1914.

⁽⁷⁾ *Sirén*, L. M., p. 191.



Fig. 84. Lorenzo Monaco, Madonna. Thorwaldsen Museum, Copenhagen.

Photo Bengtsson.

with the Child Jesus Who bestows a blessing and carries a little bird; in the wings we see SS. John the Baptist and Nicholas of Bari and above, the half-length figures of a holy bishop and those of the Annunciation. It is by far the finest production of this manner in the painter's career, in fact it is one of his best works (fig. 85).



Fig. 85. Lorenzo Monaco, Madonna and saints. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

Another picture belonging to this period is an important panel in the gallery of Budapest representing the Thebaïd, the hermits at their different occupations against a rocky landscape in which we see two Gothic buildings (¹). A similar painting in the gallery of the Cardinal Archbishop of Esztergom (Hungary) seems to be an old copy.

(¹) *Suida*, Repert. f. Kunstwiss., I, 1908, p. 60.

With the polyptych that Lorenzo executed between 1406 and 1410 for the Benedictine monastery of Monte Oliveto at Florence and which is now in the Uffizi (fig. 86) ⁽¹⁾, we meet with another type of representation of the Madonna. The forms



Fig. 86. Lorenzo Monaco, polyptych, 1406—10. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

are just as Gothic but more plastic, the relief effects, also in the draperies, are more marked, while the faces and figures are rounder and fuller. The altar-piece in question shows in the centre the Virgin on a high throne behind the back of which are two angels. To the sides we see SS. Bartholomew, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist and Benedict. Above

⁽¹⁾ *Sirén*, L M., p. 45 et seq. The payments for this polyptych begin in 1406 but the date we read in the inscription is that of 1410.

each pair a prophet is depicted; the terminals are adorned with a figure of the Saviour in benediction and the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation.

We find the link between the previous group and this altar-piece in a Madonna formerly in the V. G. Fisher collection, Washington, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York ⁽¹⁾, in which the Virgin is represented sitting on a cushion with a little angel on clouds to either side (fig. 87). After the same manner as the central figure of the polyptych in the Uffizi is executed a Madonna seated on a cushion nursing the Child, with God the Father above, which is preserved in the Louvre (No. 1314) (fig. 88) ⁽²⁾. Two drawings of the Virgin and Child are found in the Uffizi ⁽³⁾. These sketches correspond in particular with a Madonna seated lowly between SS. John the Baptist and Antony Abbot, represented on gilt glass in the Museo Civico of Turin; this work, which without any doubt seems to be from the hand of Lorenzo, is dated 1408 (fig. 89) ⁽⁴⁾. Of the same year is another picture of the Madonna which was formerly in the Toscanelli collection, Pisa ⁽⁵⁾, but which was acquired by the Uffizi (fig. 90). This painting shows the Virgin on a high throne between the Baptist, St. Peter, a martyr and a female saint; it bears the false signature of Cennino Cennini and on the foot of the throne the date 1408. What is of considerable importance is that what we gathered from the altar-piece of 1406—1410 is confirmed in this picture, viz: that at this moment Lorenzo was working still in a Gothic style but producing softer and more regular forms than in his earlier manner. This is all the more curious because simultaneously Lorenzo developed another style, one which I think due chiefly to his practice as a miniature painter. We have no proof that Lorenzo was active as a miniaturist before 1409, although

⁽¹⁾ Museum Bulletin, IV, 1909, No. 8. *Sirén*, L. M., p. 36, places this picture some years earlier.

⁽²⁾ *P. Toesca*, L'Arte, VI, 1903, p. 26. *Sirén*, L. M., p. 168, classifies it as a school work. In the Museum of the Louvre this panel is ascribed to the school of Giotto.

⁽³⁾ *Sirén*, L. M., pl. XIX.

⁽⁴⁾ *P. Toesca*, L'Arte, 1908, p. 252.

⁽⁵⁾ Album of the Toscanelli collection, pl. IXa.



Fig. 87. Lorenzo Monaco, Madonna and angels. Metropolitan Museum, New York.



Fig. 88. Lorenzo Monaco, Madonna. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Braun.

the two panels of 1408 in the Louvre are executed in the same style as the miniatures of the following year.

We do not possess any works which can be dated with certainty after 1413 so that we cannot say exactly how long this manner lasted; it may very well be that it continued to exist along with the more monumental style which makes its appearance in the picture dated 1413. The manner which developed towards 1408 and 1409, just at the period from which his first miniatures date, shows a fantastic Gothicism with angular and pointed forms. Consequently as I have just said, I am inclined to



Fig. 90. Lorenzo Monaco, Madonna and saints. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Brogi.



Fig. 91. Lorenzo Monaco, the Resurrection, miniature.
Laurenziana Library, Florence.

of the “convento degli Angeli”, for already before Lorenzo’s time, the illuminators revealed in their calligraphic fantasies, a considerable inspiration of their colleagues of Central and Northern Europe. Lorenzo’s grotesque forms, however, seem sometimes to be the outcome of calligraphic extravagances.

From 1409 then, dates the “Diurne Dominicale” which Lorenzo Monaco himself illuminated, at least for the greater

part; it belonged to the church of the monastery but is now preserved in Laurenziana Library, Florence (¹). There are two large miniatures, each occupying one full page, and fifteen smaller illustrations, representing chiefly half-length figures of prophets. Among the latter there are some which do not seem to be from Lorenzo's own hand, but the two large miniatures are certainly by him. They depict the Resurrection (fig. 91) on the frontispiece and the Descent of the Holy Ghost on page 80. The decoration of the former is very rich. Not only is the letter R, which contains the representation, framed in a border adorned with six heads but the letter itself is formed by garlands and flowers. In the lower part of the initial we see in a rocky landscape the sepulchre guarded by three soldiers; above, Christ, holding a banner, is shown standing on clouds. The ornamentation of the letter S, in which the other miniature is depicted, is not less elaborate. Here the artist has borrowed certain elements from the grotesque chimaera of Gothic art because in the foliage we see putti struggling with a snail or playing with butterflies and a monk riding on a long-legged bird. Signor D'Ancona attributes to Lorenzo still the miniatures on pages 6, 11, 15, 23, 41 and 57, representing Christ, dressed as a pilgrim, followed by two Apostles, leaving a town; Christ appearing and showing His wounds to a kneeling disciple, while others in the distance look on; a multitude of faithful in ecstasy before a vision of Christ (fig. 92); Christ appearing to the Apostles and showing them His wounds; monks singing in a church; and saints playing on musical instruments and dancing before an altar. This critic holds another artist responsible for the miniature on page 27; it shows two Apostles at the empty sepulchre near which is the Magdalene; while he gives the other illuminations representing saints and prophets (fig. 93) on pages 35, 38, 46, 65, 86, 89, 93 and 96 to a third painter. My impression is that this division is fairly exact, although I am inclined to be more liberal in my attributions to Lorenzo Monaco.

(¹) The date is found near the initial H on page 3. *Vasari-Milanesi*, II, p. 24. *Sirén*, L. M., p. 68. *D'Ancona*, *Miniatur. fior.*, I, p. 21; p. 127. *The Same*, *La miniatura italiana*, p. 37.



Fig. 92. Lorenzo Monaco, a group of the faithful in ecstasy before a vision of Christ, miniature. Laurenziana Library, Florence.

Among the liturgical books originating from the church of the monastery of Sta. Maria Nuova, now in the National Museum, Florence, there is one in particular, a "Diurne Dominicale II" (Cod. H 74) of which all the illuminations seem to

be from the hand of Lorenzo Monaco. Apart from some sibyls and one figure of St. Peter, we find in this codex only representations of prophets and decorative friezes ⁽¹⁾. In another volume of "Diurne Dominicale" (Cod. G 73) in the same museum and originating from the same place, seven miniatures seem to be from the same hand ⁽²⁾; they depict four prophets, St. John the Evangelist, King David and a half-length figure of the Saviour with the Cross (pages 5, 58, 75, 89, 41, 62 and 192). Signor D'Ancona ascribes the other miniatures to two different artists, both rather feeble; among them there are some scenes from the Life of Christ, many figures of saints and several Old Testament personages.

There seems little doubt that the documents of 1412 and 1413, mentioned by Milanesi and cited by Mr. Sirén, recording payments made to Lorenzo Monaco for miniatures which he executed for the church of Sta. Maria Nuova, bear reference to the afore-named miniatures which consequently can be dated from this period.

We have still another work by Lorenzo of the year 1408, which, with the Madonnas of the Uffizi and the museum of Turin, makes three all of the same year; it shows in a very characteristic manner this angular and calligraphic Gothic style and leads us to believe that already at this date Lorenzo was active as a miniaturist. This work, which comprises two wings of a triptych and is preserved in the Louvre (No. 1348a), represents the Saviour praying on the Mount of Olives while the Apostles sleep and the Holy Women at the empty Sepulchre (fig. 94). Not only are the draperies depicted in pronouncedly Gothic lines but also the figure of Christ praying is portrayed in elongated forms with so much fervour that it offers us a perfect expression of mystic Gothicism, far surpassing in depth and temperament any Gothic examples of miniature painting, from which the artist might have drawn his inspiration.

Several other works by Lorenzo can be classified from this standpoint with these two panels of 1408. They are often small pictures, such for instance as those illustrating the legends of

⁽¹⁾ *Vasari-Milanesi*, I, p. 27. *Sirén*, L. M., p. 71. *D'Ancona*, op. cit., I, p. 23; II, p. 138.

⁽²⁾ *Sirén*, loc. cit. *D'Ancona*, loc. cit., II, p. 136.



Fig. 93. Lorenzo Monaco, a prophet, miniature. Laurenziana Library, Florence.



Fig. 94. Lorenzo Monaco, the Prayer on the Mount of Olives and the Holy Women at the Empty Sepulchre, 1408. Louvre, Paris.

SS. Onuphrius and Nicholas, who is seen coming to the rescue of the victims of a shipwreck, and that of the Nativity, in which the Virgin adores the Child while St. Joseph, seated on the ground, gesticulates (fig. 95), all three in the Accademia in Florence. We can include with these also another predella panel representing the same event in the life of St. Nicholas, and Francis receiving the stigmata, both in the store-room of the Uffizi (1).

Gothic forms of the most fantastic nature are found in two drawings on parchment by Lorenzo in the Kupferstich Kabinet, Berlin; they represent the Journey of the Magi and the Visitation (2)

(1) *Sirén*, *Opere sconosciute*, is doubtful about the attribution of this picture to Lorenzo.

(2) *Sirén*, *Lor. Monaco*, pls. XL, XLI. *H. S. Ede*, *Florentine drawings of the Quattrocento*, London, 1926, figs. 3, 4.

(figs. 96, 97). The shape of the rocks, the attitudes, the gestures and the really wild Gothic movement of the draperies are seen in certain German pictures of half-a-century later.

There are four Crucifixions which should be included in this group of works. One of them, formerly in the store-room of the Uffizi, now in the Accademia, shows among jagged rocks the Crucified with the lance and the spear with the sponge planted alongside. Two little angels flying in mid-air catch the blood dripping from the wounds while over head we see the pelican in its nest feeding its young. In the picture in the Loeser collection, Florence, the Virgin and St. John are seated on the ground beside the Cross which is depicted against a similar background of rocks.

But for a few little changes in the attitudes, the presence of God the Father above and two stunted trees growing on the rocks,



Fig. 95. Lorenzo Monaco, the Nativity. Accademia, Florence.

Photo Brogi.



Fig. 96. Lorenzo Monaco, the Journey of the Wise Men, drawing.
Print Room. Berlin.



Fig. 97. Lorenzo Monaco, the Visitation, drawing. Print Room, Berlin.

we might almost say that the Crucifixion in the Jarves collection, Yale University ⁽¹⁾, is a replica of the last picture, in any case the resemblance is very marked.

⁽¹⁾ *O. Sirén*, *A descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures in the Jarves Collection belonging to Yale University*, New York, London, Oxford,



Fig. 98. Lorenzo Monaco, the Madonna under the Cross.
S. Giovannino dei Cavalieri, Florence. Photo Alinari.

The panel in the Altenburg Museum (No. 23) shows St.
1916, No. 24. I agree with Mr. Sirén in placing this picture about 1413
but I find it inadmissible to date the Loeser Crucifixion from not later
than 1405.



Fig. 99. Lorenzo Monaco, St. Jerome. Lanz Collection, Amsterdam.

Francis at the foot of the Cross, two holy monks, bearded and in white habits, seated on the ground, and four very small angels flying around the Crucified. In the church of S. Giovanni dei Cavalieri we find the cut out figures of Christ on the Cross, the Virgin and St. John seated on the ground, executed in an equally vigorous Gothic style (fig. 98). Mr. Sirén identifies

these fragments with a crucifix and a figure of St. John that Vasari mentions in the church of "Romiti di Camaldoli". They are all works characteristic of this manner in the painter's career, as is also a picture of St. Jerome standing in his study, formerly in the von Kaufmann collection, Berlin, now in that of Professor Lanz, Amsterdam (fig. 99), who possesses also a little panel of St. Francis receiving the stigmata, belonging to the same period (fig. 100).

The finest works that Lorenzo executed in this markedly Gothic style are the three triangular panels which form the terminals of Fra Angelico's large polyptych of the Descent from the Cross in the museum of San Marco. They represent in the centre the Resurrection, to the left the *Noli me tangere* and to the right the three Holy Women at the Empty Sepulchre; as has already frequently been remarked, they are certainly from the hand of Lorenzo Monaco.

Among Lorenzo's more important pictures there are only a few which show the same degree of Gothicism. One of them is the Annunciation between SS. Catherine of Alexandria, Antony Abbot, Proclus and Francis with the Saviour and two angels in half-length figure above, originating from the Badia, Florence, now in the Accademia (No. 471) (fig. 101). The central figures, although depicted in somewhat different attitudes recall the Annunciation by Simone Martini. The position of the Virgin is similar in both pictures and the graceful forms and harmonious movement of the Gothic lines are here too of an excellent effect. These qualities are less marked in the lateral figures⁽¹⁾. It is probably the picture which Vasari described as being in the Badia and which he attributed to Giotto!

Recently I saw in a private collection a tabernacle of which the inner surface of the doors was painted by Lorenzo Monaco; to one side the decoration represented the Archangel Michael

(¹) *Sirén*, L. M., p. 56, thinks it possible that the predella of this picture was composed of the Nativity in the Kaufmann collection, the Adoration of the Magi and the Visitation, in the Parry collection and the Flight into Egypt, in the museum of Altenburg. I think that these four panels, which, however, certainly belong to the same series, are executed in quite a different manner from that of the altar-piece.

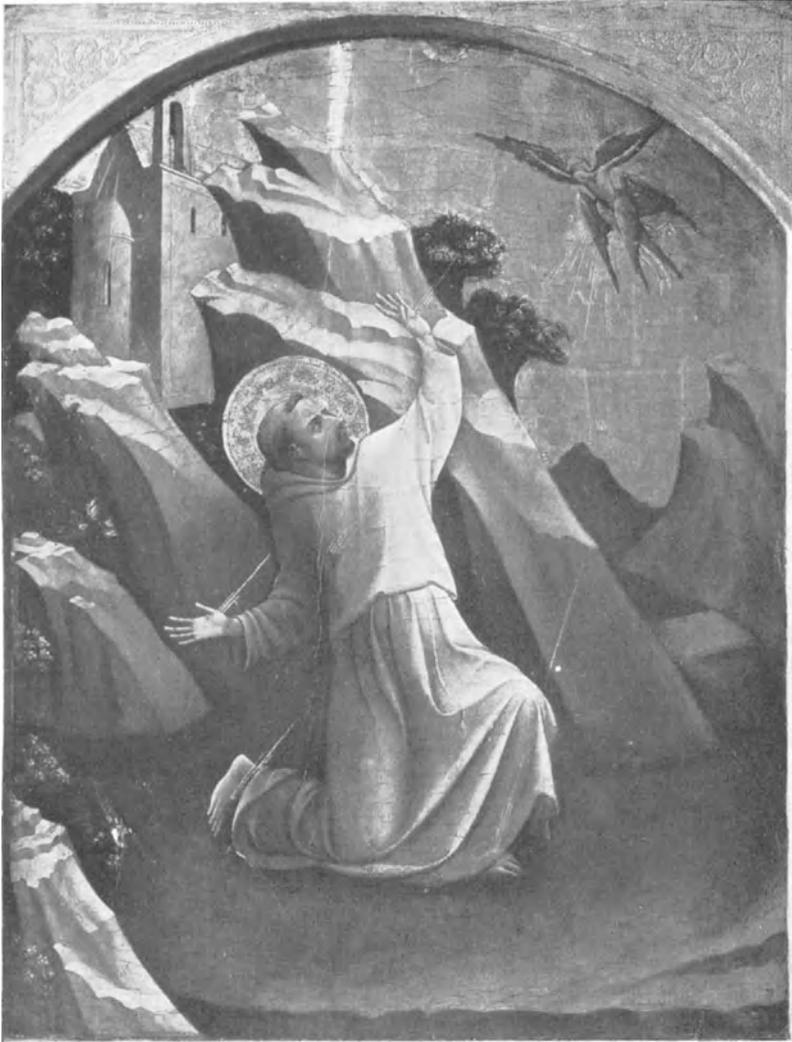


Fig. 100. Lorenzo Monaco, St. Francis receiving the Stigmata.
Lanz Collection, Amsterdam.

and to the other St. Francis, while above were the figures of the Annunciation (fig. 102). A comparison with the lateral saints of the above mentioned altar-piece goes far to confirm this attribution.

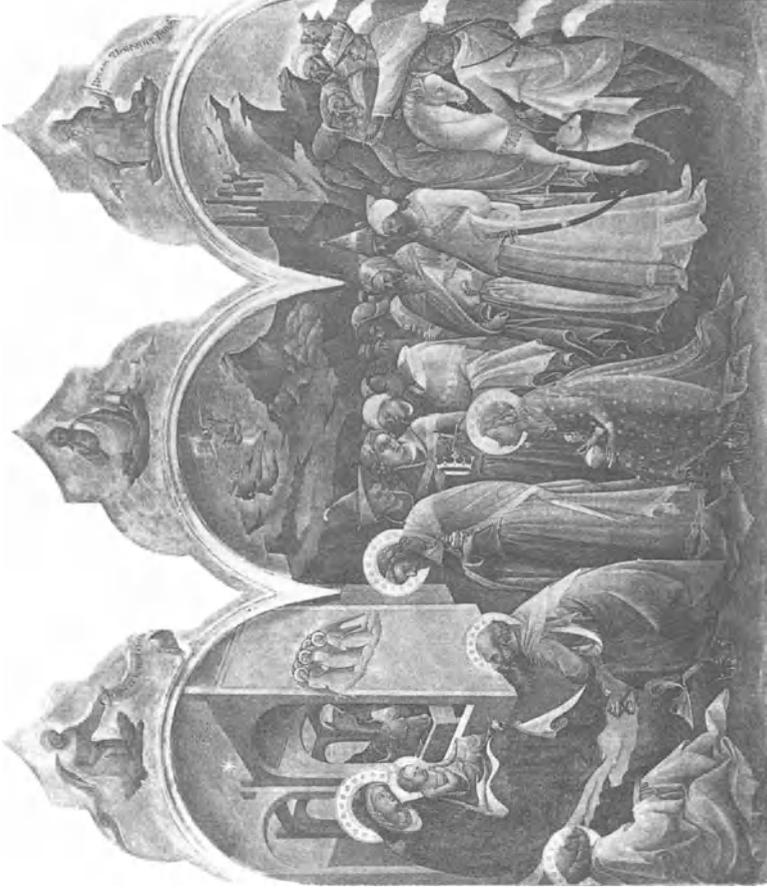
A contemporary, or if anything, slightly later work is,



Fig. 101. Lorenzo Monaco, the Annunciation and saints.
Accademia, Florence.

I think, the large panel of the Adoration of the Magi in the Uffizi (plate II) (No. 466) ⁽¹⁾. To the left, between the walls of a little building of a very remarkable form, the Virgin sits, holding the Child Jesus Who blesses the king kneeling

⁽¹⁾ *Sirén*, op. cit., p. 105, believes that this picture dates from 1420—1422.



ADORATION OF THE MAGI
By Lorenzino Monaco, Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

before Him, the second king is erect but the third is depicted also on his knees; St. Joseph, looking heavenward, is seated near the Virgin. A large assemblage belonging to the suite of the Magi fills up the rest of the picture. In a group of knights to the right we notice some movements just as violent as in the drawings in Berlin. To the extreme right and in the background, where the angels deliver their message to the shepherds, we see some jagged rocks. The terminals are adorned with two prophets and a three-quarter-length figure of the Saviour borne on clouds. The composition is rather weak but among the individual figures there are some of considerable beauty of a fairly conventional Gothic nature. As Mr. Sirén remarks, this picture gives one the impression of a large miniature.

I find quite a striking analogy in style between this last work and a fine panel of the Adoration of the Magi, formerly in the Raczinsky collection in Posen⁽¹⁾. The three kings kneel in adoration, one of them presenting his offering to St. Joseph. Outside we see the suite of the Magi with their camels.

(1) *Sirén*, op. cit., pl. XXXV.



Fig. 102. Lorenzo Monaco, St. Francis and the Madonna of the Annunciation. Private Collection.

Here we must cite another work, the interest of which consists in the fact that it is dated 1412. It is a Madonna of Humility nursing the Child in the midst of six adoring angels, and is found in the church of S. Ermete in Pisa (fig. 103) ⁽¹⁾. The extreme mediocrity of the central figure forces us to think of the possibility that it might be a school work, but the angels, although of poorer quality, bear such a strong resemblance to those in the Coronation of 1413, that I think we must include this panel among the master's own productions. It is not free from restoration and the inscription with the date is not original. The Gothic effect is fairly marked; it is hardly less pronounced than in the Adoration of the Magi but the forms are a little more ample.

The large Coronation of the Virgin, in the Uffizi, which dates from 1413, no longer shows that fantastic and calligraphic Gothic style which characterized the preceding group of works. This fact, however, should not lead us to conclude that Lorenzo worked after that particular manner only until this year; the two panels of 1408 in the Louvre prove that already at that time he followed this very Gothic manner and the Coronation of 1413 dates the appearance of the Gothic monumental style of which we find no evidence in his earlier works. It should be noticed that the little figures also, in the predella, compared with those that Lorenzo produced during the previous phase, are very moderate. Nevertheless, Lorenzo's different manners should in all probability be looked upon, not only as overlapping, but as thoroughly intermingling.

I shall return to this question later on, but it is certain that in 1408 the master was wedded to this special form of calligraphic Gothicism and that already in 1413 the style from which he drew his inspiration was quite different.

Reminiscent of the forms in the Adoration of the Magi in the Uffizi but all the same less calligraphic and for that reason probably executed a few years later, are the frescoes in the Bartolini chapel in the church of the Sma. Trinita. The documents prove only that in 1407 this work was not yet sufficiently advanced for mass to be celebrated in the chapel ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *R. Giolli*, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1912, p. 28. *Sirén*, *Burlington Magazine*, 1914—15, p. 107.

⁽²⁾ *Sirén*, *L. M.*, p. 114, dates these frescoes from 1420—1424.



Fig. 103. Lorenzo Monaco, Madonna and angels, 1412. S. Ermete, Pisa.

Photo Brogi.

In part this fresco decoration is very much damaged. However, in a fairly good state of preservation are the scenes of the Meeting at the Golden Gate (fig. 104), and the Marriage of the Virgin (fig. 105) on the right and left walls of the chapel and on the end wall the Birth of the Virgin and her Presentation in the



Fig. 104. Lorenzo Monaco, the Meeting at the Golden Gate. Sma. Trinita, Florence. Photo Alinari.

Temple. Of the frescoes in the lunettes there is one on the end wall so much effaced that the subject of the painting can no longer be recognized. Mr. Sirén is of opinion that it illustrates an event from the life of St. Fredianus; a holy bishop near a



Fig. 105. Lorenzo Monaco, the Marriage of the Virgin. Sma. Trinita, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

river and a few other figures can just be distinguished against a background of a landscape and a large building. On the left wall we see Joachim driven from the Temple and seated

on a rock, receiving the message from the angel who, however, is no longer visible. A very symmetrical composition of the Death of the Virgin adorns the lunette on the opposite wall; the Madonna is depicted lying on a bed adorned with Gothic ornaments, in the midst of the disciples and four angels while the Saviour holds in His arms the Soul of His Mother in the form of a small child. The vault shows the seated figures of Moses, David, Josiah and another prophet and the entrance arch the two SS. John, SS. Bartholomew and Paul under Gothic baldaquins. The Assumption is represented on the outer surface of the entrance wall.

It is in particular in the scenes of the Marriage of the Virgin and the Meeting at the Golden Gate that we notice figures of an elongated Gothic form resembling those of the previous works, more especially those of the Adoration of the Magi in the Uffizi; nevertheless already we can discern here a tendency to produce more moderate forms of a less extravagant mannerism. At the same time we observe in the Marriage of the Virgin a fairly curious and really unsuccessful attempt at perspective and, as is often the case in Lorenzo Monaco's works, the building in itself remains incomprehensible; here it has sooner the appearance of a court or cloister with open arcades, behind which trees and a piece of mountain are visible; the vaults, arcades and meaningless little stretches of wall placed above are, on account of their angles and perspective, obviously an effort to create an impression of depth, but in this the painter has miserably failed.

Very probably the altar-piece of the Annunciation in the chapel dates from this period and was executed on the same occasion (fig. 106). It differs somewhat in composition from the picture in the Accademia. In the interior of a room, the roof of which is visible but the side walls missing, the Virgin was evidently seated with a book, but she has interrupted her reading to look upwards towards God the Father Who appears in the midst of cherubim and Who sends forth the dove towards her. The angel kneels outside the Virgin's chamber, the interior of which is executed with much care; we see a corridor at the end of which a grille opens into a garden. The two pilasters of the frame are adorned with eight



Fig. 106. Lorenzo Monaco, the Annunciation. Sma. Trinita, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

little figures of saints, four to either side, while above three half-length figures of prophets are depicted in medallions.

The scenes in the predella are shown in their simplest compositions; they represent the Visitation, the Nativity, in which the Virgin adores the Child and in the background the angel delivers his message to the shepherds, the Adoration of the Magi who are without followers but a shepherd is seen arriving before the door, and the Flight into Egypt. The

principal panel is certainly not one of Lorenzo's master-pieces, the small scenes, on the other hand, are finely executed; the forms are very harmonious but already the connexion with the fantastic and calligraphic Gothic style of the previous group is fairly remote.

A much more pleasing picture executed after the same manner is a Madonna of the Annunciation, seated with an open book in her lap, in the Lichtenstein Gallery, Vienna (fig. 107) (1).

The large Coronation of the Virgin in the Uffizi (No. 885) is the most imposing work we possess by Lorenzo Monaco. It originates from the church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli, Florence; from there it was evidently taken to the Abbey of S. Pietro at Cerreto, near Certaldo, where Milanese found it in 1830 (2). It is the only work that Lorenzo really signed; in a long inscription at the foot of the principal panel, which gives the name of the donor, Zenobius Cecchi Frasche, we read: ". . . (La)urentii Johannis et suorum monaci huius ordinis qui eam pinxit anno Domini MCCCCXIII" (figs. 108, 109).

This picture has been too thoroughly cleaned and for that reason strikes us nowadays as being somewhat glaring. The central figures are depicted on a throne, the back of which forms a Gothic tabernacle, hosts of angels are seen behind and to the sides, while of the three who kneel below one has almost entirely been destroyed by a hole, no doubt in which to keep the Eucharist, having been cut in the picture; in each of the side panels there are ten figures of saints, SS. Benedict and Romuald being well to the fore. All these figures with the exception of the three angels in the foreground, are placed on a starry rainbow. The three terminals show the Saviour in benediction between two cherubim and the figures of the Annunciation. The pilasters are each adorned, above and below, with a half-length figure of a prophet and three other Old Testament personages.

(1) Oesterreichische Kunstschatze, I, 8; II, 3. *Suida*, Monatsh. f. Kunstwiss., I, 1908, p. 60.

(2) *Milanese*, note 4 on *Vasari*, II, p. 18. *G. Gaye*, Carteggio inedito di artisti, II, p. 433.



Fig. 107. Lorenzo Monaco, Virgin of the Annunciation.
Lichtenstein Gallery, Vienna.

The predella is composed of six panels; the third represents the Nativity and the fourth the Adoration of the Magi (fig. 110). The former resembles in composition the predella panel of this scene in the altar-piece by Lorenzo in the Sma. Trinita but the latter varies a little from the master's usual presentment of this event; two of the Eastern Kings kneel before the Child Jesus, one of them offering his gift to St. Joseph. Two persons look in through the open door outside which a horse stands waiting. The two scenes from the legend of St. Benedict most to the right show the saint resurrecting one of his monks who was killed by the fall of a partially built wall; then united in one picture we see how St. Benedict is prevented from leaving his sister by a storm which came on through her invocation and the monk Maurus walking on the water to save Brother Placidus from being drowned (fig. 111).

To the left two events are again united on one panel; St. Benedict in his grotto nourished by Brother Romanus and the monk, on account of his lack of perseverance in prayer, led away by a little devil.

This beautiful altar-piece is a precious indication to us of the different manners that Lorenzo followed simultaneously, at least towards the year 1413. The figures of the Annunciation in the two terminals are still markedly Gothic and calligraphic in form; the principal panel, on the other hand, is, before all, monumental in appearance; also the little figures of the pilasters and the scenes in the predella show no trace of that fantastic Gothicism which we found characterized in the predella panels and other works mentioned above.

An interesting little picture of the death of St. Francis in the Pallavicini collection, Rome, is executed in the same manner as the predella scenes of the large polyptych of 1413.

We possess still another work bearing the date 1413. I do not know its actual proprietor but it was formerly in the Masson collection, Amiens⁽¹⁾. It represents the Madonna and corresponds in style with those of the principal panel of the Coronation of the Virgin.

(1) *Sirén*, Opere sconosciute.



Fig. 108. Detail of fig. 109.

Photo Alinari.

Lorenzo Monaco must have executed some other monumental altar-pieces similar to that now in the Uffizi. In the Print Room of the same museum there is a pen and ink sketch on paper, showing to one side a holy monk with a beard, no doubt St. Benedict ⁽¹⁾, sitting on a throne and to the other side,

⁽¹⁾ *Sirén*, L.M., pl. XXIII.

a group of six kneeling saints, in a composition resembling that of the lateral panels of the Coronation of the Virgin of 1413 (fig. 112). This drawing, in all probability, was the rough draft for a similar altar-piece with St. Benedict, however, as central figure. Some curious points of resemblance exist between this drawing and one of the two panels in the National Gallery, London (No. 70); each comprises a group of eight kneeling saints and the picture in question doubtless once formed part of a large altar-piece (fig. 113). In the sketch the figures of the first row and the saint to the extreme left of the second row show striking analogies with the figures occupying the same places in one of the panels in London. It is quite likely that the central part of the picture, to which these two groups of saints must have originally belonged, represented the enthroned figure of St. Benedict.

Cavalcaselle was of opinion that a Coronation of the Virgin, also in the National Gallery, might have been the central panel but Mr. Sirén has rightly protested against this hypothesis. I agree with him that we are dealing here probably with a work which Lorenzo himself did not execute.

Two predella panels illustrating events from the life of St. Benedict, one also in the National Gallery, the other in the Vatican, might perhaps have formed part of this altar-piece. The former which once belonged to the Wagner collection, London, shows the saint attiring a monk, who kneels before him, in the habit of the order, another also kneeling, is seen close by; both wear the nimbus of saints but the numerous members of the order who are present at the event are without this sign of sanctity. The panel in the Vatican represents once more the monk, guided by the little devil, leaving his brothers who are seen in prayer, and the resurrection of the monk who had been buried under the fallen masonry.

I am inclined to attribute these two panels which very likely belonged originally to the same polyptych, to a period considerably later than 1413, at least we discover in them a certain number of the same characteristics, but still more developed (¹).

(¹) I see no connexion of style between these panels and those of 1408 in the Louvre. Mr. Sirén is of opinion that they are contemporaneous.



Fig. 109. Lorenzo Monaco, the Coronation of the Virgin. Uffizi, Florence.
Photo Alinari.

We find this style in a grandiose picture of the Madonna enthroned in the Spiridon collection, Paris, in a panel of King David playing the harp, in the Grand Ducal Gallery of Cassel ⁽¹⁾ and in a painting of the Saviour in benediction in the Städelsche Kunstinstitut of Frankfort a M. (No. 1177) ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Sivén*, L. M., pl. X.

⁽²⁾ *B. Berenson*, Notes on Tuscan Painters of the Trecento in the Städel Institut at Frankfurt, *Städel Jahrbuch*, V, 1926, p. 25.



Fig. 110. Detail of fig. 109.

Photo Reali.

Executed after the same manner as the predellas of the fore-named pictures are four predella panels which seem to have formed part of one series. They are the Nativity, formerly in the

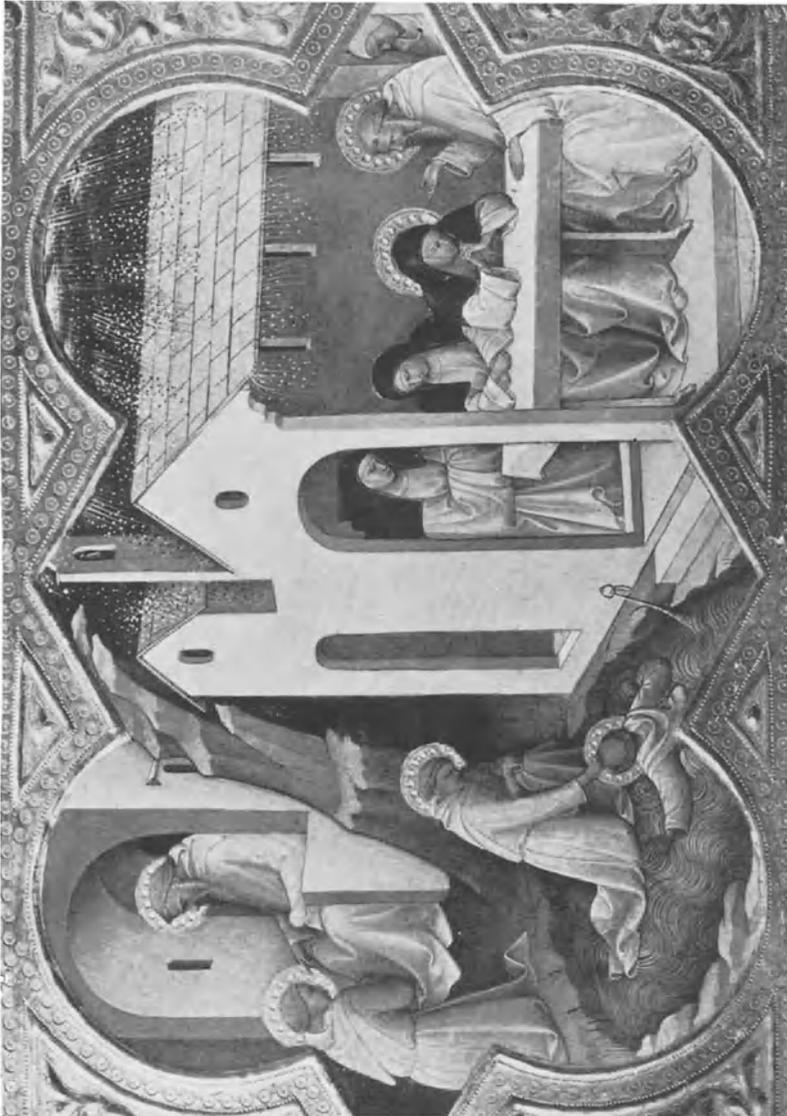


Fig. 111. Detail of fig. 109.

Photo Reali.

von Kaufmann collection, Berlin, the Visitation (fig. 114) and the Adoration of the Magi, in the Parry collection, Gloucester ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ *R. Fry*, Pictures in the Collection of Sir Hubert Parry, Highnam Court, near Gloucester, *Burlington Magazine*, 1903, II, p. 117. Mr. Fry thinks it possible that a pupil might have helped the master in the execution of this little panel.

and the Flight into Egypt in the museum of Altenburg (fig. 115), which, on account of the inferior standard of the painting, can, I think, be considered a work of his old age ⁽¹⁾. Yet another predella panel is executed after this style; it represents the stigmatization of St. Francis and is preserved in the Jarves collection, Yale University ⁽²⁾.

There is still a considerable number of works by Lorenzo Monaco or plausibly attributed to him ⁽³⁾ and if we can believe Vasari's statements yet several others which have disappeared ⁽⁴⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Sirén*, op. cit., thinks it possible that they formed the predella of the Annunciation in the Accademia.

⁽²⁾ *Sirén*, Descriptive Catalogue, No. 25.

⁽³⁾ **Brant Broughton** (England) ex-Sutton coll., miracle of St. Benedict (*Berenson*). **Budapest**, Gallery, No. 21a, a cut out crucifix. **Fiesole**, Bandini Museum, No. 37, Crucifixion with the Virgin, St. John and St. Francis, from the church of S. Ansano (*Sirén*, Burlington Magazine, XXV, 1914, p. 107). **Florence**, S. Giuseppe, crucifix; Oblate cloister, crucifix (*Sirén*, L. M., p. 90); formerly in the Uffizi, crucifix; Accademia, Virgin and St. John seated on the ground, part of a Crucifixion; Horne Museum (No. 97), a cut out crucifix, painted back and front (*Sirén*, Rassegna d'Arte, 1909, p. 35); Gamba coll., crucifix; Ferroni coll., Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John (*Sirén*, Lorenzo Monaco). **Göttingen**, University coll., fragment of a Crucifixion (*Sirén*, Burlington Magazine, XXV, 1914, p. 107). **London**, Wagner coll., St. Giovanni Gualberto instituting the order of Vallombroso and the death of the same saint (*Reinach*, Repertoire de peinture, I, p. 539, Catalogue Exhibition of old Masters, Grafton Galleries, 1911, No. 17, now, I believe, in the National Gallery). **Munich**, ex-Lotzbeck coll., No. 56, St. Peter enthroned (*Berenson*). **Parcieux**, Chalandon coll., three panels, each showing a saint and a prophet (*Berenson*). **Vienna**, Lanckoronski Palace, chapel, angel of the Annunciation; Private coll., Christ on the Cross between the Virgin and St. John seated with St. Mary Magdalene at the foot of the Cross, the terminal of a polyptych.

⁽⁴⁾ Apart from those to which reference has already been made, Vasari mentions still the following paintings now lost: a Coronation of the Virgin brought from the monastery of S. Benedetto to the cloister of Sta. Maria degli Angeli, probably that mentioned by Del Migliori and found by Milanese in the Adelmi Abbey, near Cerreto, *Vasari-Milanese*, II, p. 19; some frescoes and an altar-piece in the Ardenghelli chapel in the church of the Sma. Trinita, with the portraits of Dante and Petrarch but this affirmation is somewhat doubtful (v. *Milanese*, note on *Vasari*, II, p. 20); some frescoes in the Fioravanti chapel in S. Pietro Maggiore. The panel which Vasari saw in S. Piero Scheraggio is perhaps the Madonna and



Fig. 112. Lorenzo Monaco, saints, drawing Uffizi, Florence. Photo Alinari.

Child with saints from the monastery of Monte Oliveto, now in the Uffizi. Vasari vaguely refers to other paintings in the Certosa outside Florence and in S. Michele at Pisa where nothing by the master is to be found although we possess proof of his activity in this town. Vasari greatly praises some figures of theological virtues executed with a chiaroscuro effect by Lorenzo, that he had in his album.

There is, besides, still a large number of works so very near the master that most of them have at one time or another been ascribed to Lorenzo himself. I think they are productions of his workshop. Further, a document of 1421 gives us the names of two of his helpers who collaborated with him; they were Giovanni di Bernardo and Giovanni di Francesco⁽¹⁾. Vasari speaks of a pupil of the name of Francesco Fiorentino who executed a tabernacle which is still found at the corner of via della Scala and Piazza Sta. Maria Novella, but which seems to be of much later date than the activity of Lorenzo and his pupils. Milanesi thinks that this artist might have been the same as Francesco di Michele who, according to a document, was charged to execute an altar-piece for the Hospital of S. Matteo. For no definite reason but all the same apparently correctly, Francesco Fiorentino has been identified with a Francesco di Antonio who signed and dated 1415 an altar-piece in the Marlay collection, Cambridge, in which beside the Virgin and Child we see SS. Lawrence and Giovanni Gualberto and above the half-length figures of the Annunciation and that of a prophet (?). The author of this picture reveals himself as a mediocre follower of Lorenzo Monaco⁽²⁾. Vasari records yet another pupil who was a native of Pisa and who executed in 1415 (Vasari erroneously says 1315) a Madonna and saints in the church of S. Francesco of his native town⁽³⁾.

Between 1420 and 1422 several persons withdrew various payments due to him on the picture for the church of S. Egidio; according to M. Sirén they were in all probability pupils to whom the master had entrusted these commissions⁽⁴⁾.

Lorenzo seems to have exercised a certain influence on Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini, as is evident from this artist's later works, particularly in the altar-piece in the church of Sta. Croce, Florence; his influence was still more strongly felt by Parri Spinelli and the so-called "Maestro del Bambino Vispo" whom, as we shall see later on, some writers have thought

⁽¹⁾ *Sirén*, Lorenzo Monaco, p. 114.

⁽²⁾ *G. Constable*, Burlington Magazine, XLVII. 1925, p. 281.

⁽³⁾ *Vasari-Milanesi*, II, p. 25.

⁽⁴⁾ *Sirén*, Lorenzo Monaco, p. 163.



Fig. 113. Lorenzo Monaco, saints. National Gallery, London.

to be one and the same person. Among the Florentine painters of the beginning of the 15th century these two masters were those who felt the influence of Lorenzo to such a degree that the most suitable place to deal with them is immediately after the master himself; so too Mariotto di Nardo who, however, was an artist of much less importance.

In the case of the other Florentine painters of this time, such as Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, Giovanni dal Ponte and Bicci di Lorenzo, the resemblances to Lorenzo's art are not entirely due to the latter's influence, but seem to result from the fact that his style as well as their's was an outcome of the intermingling of the international Gothic current with the pictorial traditions of the 14th century. I see more evidence of Lorenzo's influence in the early works of Fra Filippo Lippi, as Mr. Sirén has already remarked, and more especially in those of Fra Angelico. That these two masters continued the school of Lorenzo Monaco was not their sole merit, quite the contrary, nevertheless the fact that Lorenzo's art was of considerable importance to these two great masters, more particularly Fra Angelico who, in the first phase of his activity, reveals himself as almost a pupil of the Camaldolese artist, gives the latter a place of great significance in the history of Florentine painting.

Among the paintings which might be classified as workshop productions I should like to mention in the first place the panel of St. James enthroned, holding a book, in the collection of pictures in the refectory of the monastery of Sta. Croce, Florence (No. 6), a work which is generally attributed to Lorenzo himself (Berenson, Sirén). I hold certain doubts with regard to this and prefer to place it among the works of his studio, as also a Madonna in the Cook collection, Richmond, on which the opinion is very divided, but personally, I do not think that it is from the master's own hand (fig. 116). Closely resembling the latter work are a picture of the Virgin, enthroned in the midst of four angels, with the Child standing on her knee in the gallery of Bologna⁽¹⁾ and a Madonna lowly seated with the Child between a holy pope and a young saint with a sword

(1) *Toesca*, Nuove opere di Don Lorenzo Monaco, L'Arte, VII, 1904, p. 171.



Fig. 114. Lorenzo Monaco, the Visitation, Parry Collection, Gloucester.

— SS. Julian and Proclus — with an angel kneeling in adoration in the centre, which I saw some years ago on the art market but am ignorant of its actual destiny.

Nor is the important panel of Christ praying in the Garden of Olives with the three soldiers asleep and an angel holding the chalice for Him (fig. 117) which was transferred from the Uffizi to the Accademia, Florence⁽¹⁾, from the hand of Lorenzo Monaco himself. The two panels of the predella show the Betrayal of Judas and the preparation for the Crucifixion. A small figure of the donor, kneeling in adoration, is depicted on the principal panel.

In the Louvre there is a beautiful triptych (No. 1348) representing St. Lawrence enthroned, his feet on the grill, between SS. Agnes and Margaret; the medallions above contain the half-length figures of the Saviour and the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation (fig. 118). Lorenzo is frequently held responsible for this work but I think the drawing is a little too hard to ascribe it to his own hand.

We find in the Vatican Gallery three predella panels, one representing the martyrdom of St. Lawrence and two that of St. Margaret (Nos. 75—77); they come from the Campana collection and according to the catalogue, originally belonged to the altar-piece in the Louvre; the subjects of these panels confirm this affirmation. Nevertheless they are the work of an artist of less merit and one more distant from Lorenzo than the painter who executed the principal panel.

The very important Coronation of the Virgin in the National Gallery, London (No. 1897), which Cavalcaselle was of opinion formed the centre part of the altar-piece to which the two groups of saints in the same collection also belonged, originates from Certaldo and was bought for the National Gallery in 1902⁽²⁾. This picture has not the quality of a work by Lorenzo himself (fig. 119).

The museum of Brunswick possesses four panels each showing the standing figure of a saint — SS. Stephen, Dominic,

⁽¹⁾ *P. Toesca*, op. cit.

⁽²⁾ *Sirén*, Lorenzo Monaco, p. 66.

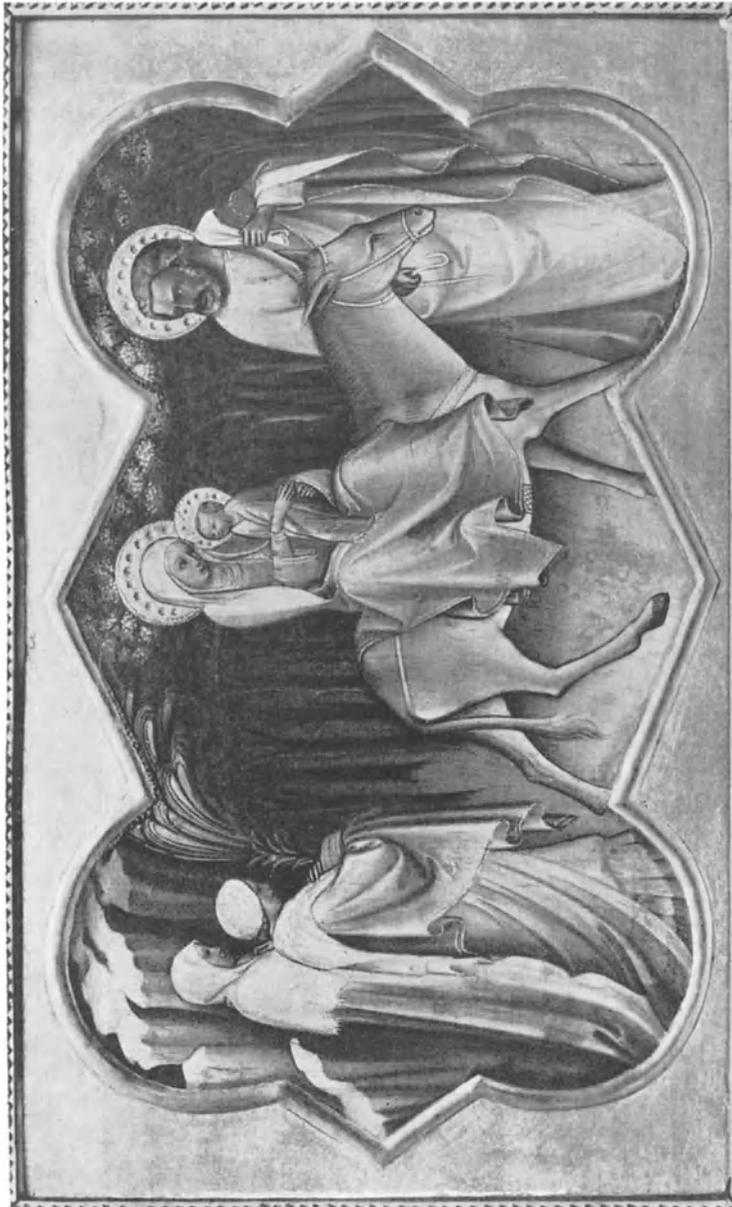


Fig. 115. Lorenzo Monaco, the Flight into Egypt.
Lindenau Museum, Altenburg.

Francis and Lawrence — that both Mr. Berenson and Mr. Sirén⁽¹⁾ gave to Lorenzo himself but again I think we are dealing here with a production of his workshop. As such I should like to mention still a Madonna in the Loeser collection, Florence, four saints on two panels in the Collegiata of Empoli⁽²⁾, a predella panel of the Crucifixion and another of the Nativity in the Vatican Gallery (fig. 120), a figure of the dead Christ half arisen from His tomb in the Carrara Academy, Bergamo, and a Crucifixion in the Accademia di Belle Arti, Ravenna⁽³⁾.

A fine Madonna sitting on a cushion on the ground with the Child standing on her knee and the half-length figures of the dead Christ, the Virgin and St. John in the predella in the museum of Berlin (No. 1123a) (fig. 121) is more distant from the master's manner, as is also the large panel in the Uffizi representing numerous scenes from the life of anchorites in which, however, Lorenzo's inspiration is clearly visible in the figures and in the landscape (fig. 122). We might easily imagine this to be the work of one of the miniaturists among the brothers of the degli Angeli monastery⁽⁴⁾. More distantly connected with Lorenzo's art are six panels with representations of works of mercy in the Vatican Gallery (69—74) (fig. 123).

As for miniatures of the school of Lorenzo Monaco we find those in the codices partly illuminated by the master himself. Others are preserved in a liturgical book in the Laurenziana Library, Florence, which Signor D'Ancona dates from 1396 but which I find already reveal an influence of Lorenzo's art. It contains two beautiful miniatures, one representing St. John the Evangelist writing, the other the Ascension of Christ (fig. 124)⁽⁵⁾. Mr. Sirén mentions a cut miniature, now in the Louvre, showing the three Holy Women at the Empty Sepulchre⁽⁶⁾.

(1) *Sirén*, *Dipinti del Trecento in alcuni musei tedeschi di provincia*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1906, p. 86.

(2) *Reprod. in O. H. Giglioli*, *Empoli artistica*, Florence, 1906, p. 74.

(3) *C. Ricci*, *Raccolte artistiche di Ravenna*, Bergamo, 1905, p. 93, attributes it to Lorenzo Monaco himself.

(4) *Schubring*, *Cassoni*, No. 39, believes it to be the front of a Tuscan cassone of about the year 1400.

(5) *D'Ancona*, *Miniatur. florent.*, I, p. 21; II, p. 125.

(6) *Sirén*, *Lorenzo Monaco*, p. 73.

Of the other works of Lorenzo's school a very summary enumeration will suffice⁽¹⁾.

(¹) **Amsterdam**, Lanz coll., half-length figure of the Virgin of the Annunciation on a round panel. **Berlin**, Museum, No. 1111, the Ascension on two panels. **Bibbiena**, Count Vecchietti, Madonna, seated on the ground with two little angels above (published as a work of Lorenzo Monaco by *P. Tosca*, *L'Arte*, VI, 1903, p. 226, and reprod. as a work of his school by *O. Sirén*, *Lorenzo Monaco*, pl. 50). **Copenhagen**, Gallery, No. 161, Annunciation (*Sirén*, op. cit., p. 191). **Florence**, S. Giovanni della Calza monastery, crucifix (*Sirén*, op. cit., p. 90); S. Giuseppe, crucifix, besides that by Lorenzo himself (*Sirén*, op. cit. p. 89); Accademia, No. 17, Christ on the Cross between two angels, the Virgin, St. John and an adorer and still two other similar crucifixes; Uffizi (previously), crucifix (*Sirén*, op. cit., p. 89); St. Thomas touching the wound and two prophets above. **Oxford**, Ashmolean Museum, Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John sitting on the ground, showing a distant influence of Lorenzo Monaco (*T. Borenius*, *Burlington Magazine*, XL, 1922, p. 134); Christ Church, No. 19, Madonna lowly seated with the Child (*T. Borenius*, *Pictures by the old Masters in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford*, Oxford University Press, 1916, p. 25). **Philadelphia**, Johnson coll., Baptism of Our Lord, and the beheading of St. John, somewhat later, revealing a faint influence of Fra Angelico (*Berenson*, *Catalogue*, No. 11).

Of the works more distant from Lorenzo's manner might be cited: **Empoli**, Gallery of the Collegiata, damaged polyptych representing the half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child between those of St. Antony Abbot, a martyr, St. Benedict(?) and St. John the Baptist; the predella is adorned with the half-length figures of the dead Christ, the Virgin, St. John and several saints (fig. 125). **S. Gimignano**, Gallery, No. 10, Madonna with two angels holding a crown over her head; No. 9, Madonna between four kneeling saints, showing some connexion with Mariotto di Nardo. **Paris**, private coll., Nativity, taking place under a shelter, the Virgin adores the Child, St. Joseph meditates, two shepherd approach while in the background we see the Message to the Shepherds (fig. 126). In a private collection in England there is a picture of the same subject and by the same master.

Of the numerous paintings of this manner that are owned privately I shall mention only a Virgin with the Child sitting on a cushion on the ground and holding a large spray of lilies, which was for sale in Florence in 1918, because the master was obviously inspired by Lorenzo's altarpiece of 1404 at Empoli.

An Annunciation in the gallery of Urbino has been ascribed to Lorenzo's school by *L. Serra*, *Boll. d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Instr.*, 1921, p. 274; I have already mentioned it among the works of the school of The Marches.

In determining the place that Lorenzo Monaco occupies in the history of Italian painting, we must take into consideration the entire Florentine movement before the appearance of such painters as Beato Angelico, because without any doubt Lorenzo was the principal representative and his artistic formula found many adherents, or at least it corresponded fairly closely with that adopted by his contemporaries in Florence.

Comparing Florentine painting, to which might be added that of Siena, of the first quarter of the 15th century, with that which flourished in Northern Italy and which, on account of Gentile da Fabriano's success became fairly wide-spread, we notice, in spite of certain similarities of form, a number of fundamental differences. In Florence, as in the rest of Italy, the Gothic form characteristic of this period had also penetrated. There can be little doubt that the enormous production of paintings in Florence and Siena at the end of the 14th century, established the principles of the art of the Trecento more firmly in these two centres than in the north and that the change of style was of slower growth there than elsewhere. Whereas in the works of the Lombard masters, but also in those of Pisanello in Verona and Gentile in The Marches, we notice the infiltration of profane elements into religious art, even to the extent that the illustrations of sacred subjects are given the appearance of genre paintings and that the compositions consecrated by centuries of use, are entirely altered, we find that in Florence in particular, but also in Siena, the art remained purely religious and mystic, with no evidence of any features borrowed from every day life.

Lorenzo Monaco and Gentile da Fabriano were almost contemporary and yet their works have practically nothing in common. If we compare the large paintings of the Adoration of the Magi — now both in the Uffizi — by these two masters, it is difficult to realize that they were executed within a few years of one another. There is an obvious resemblance of form, it is true, but neither the composition, nor the spirit, nor the colouring is in the least similar. The first quarter of the 15th century was evidently a period of artistic transition, not very different perhaps from that through which we are actually passing. In this movement the painters of Florence



Fig. 116. School of Lorenzo Monaco, Madonna. Cook Collection, Richmond.
Photo Anderson.

and Siena were conservative while those of the North, Pisanello and Gentile represented the modern school.

Lorenzo Monaco, a charming painter, whose profound religious feeling and grace of line, which harmonizes so well with the mystic sentiment of his works, delight the eye, was anything but an innovator. Had it not been for the fact that he accepted

the Gothic forms then in vogue and for his artistic sentiment, all the same, more intimate and more humanly expressed, he would have belonged to the school of the 14th century; he has indeed frequently been classified with the painters of the Trecento.

If we make him descend from Agnolo Gaddi, as Mr. Sirén has rightly done, we are easily led to believe that Lorenzo was more of an innovator than was actually the case. There are two other figures between the one and the other which approximate Lorenzo more closely to his predecessors; they are the artists who are generally identified with Starnina and Lorenzo di Bicci, both rather hypothetical figures because by neither of them do we possess one important authentic work; however, the former is nowadays a well defined artistic personality with whom I have dealt in another volume ⁽¹⁾.

Both were pupils of Agnolo Gaddi and it is in particular he whom we have fallen into the habit of calling Starnina, who forms the link between Agnolo Gaddi and Lorenzo Monaco. This is very evident if we compare Starnina's fairly numerous Madonnas, depicted, sometimes, on a Gothic throne, sometimes seated on the ground, with those of Lorenzo; the type of the Child, that of the angels and several of the saints, characteristic of Lorenzo's art, are found in Starnina's paintings in a more embryonic form but still all the same quite recognizable. Further, I do not find it necessary, as Mr. Sirén does, to search for examples of Lorenzo's Madonnas of Humility among the works of Bartolo di Fredi and other Sienese artists. We find this representation on more than one occasion among Starnina's paintings; besides, since the time of Andrea Orcagna this iconographical type was not rare in Florence.

Glancing for a moment at the iconographical question, we discover, moreover, that Lorenzo did not invent new types ⁽²⁾.

Lorenzo Monaco, in his pictures of the Annunciation, shows us the Virgin interrupted, while reading, by the apparition of the angel, a very traditionalistic conception of the event and one which figures in Florentine art since the time of

⁽¹⁾ v. Vol. III, p. 565 et seq.

⁽²⁾ *Sirén*, Lorenzo Monaco, p. 133, comes to the contrary conclusion.



Fig. 117. School of Lorenzo Monaco, the Prayer on the Mount of Olives. Accademia, Florence.

Photo Anderson

Taddeo Gaddi; it is highly probable that Lorenzo saw Simone Martini's panel of this subject and that it was his knowledge of this work that helped him to compose his delightful picture in the Accademia, although the details do not correspond with those shown by the great Sienese master. Also the Visitation goes back to the type adopted by Taddeo Gaddi who represents St. Elizabeth kneeling before the Virgin in his series of panels from the Life of Christ in the Accademia and in his frescoes in the Baroncelli chapel. The Nativity with the Virgin Mary adoring the Child and Joseph seated in meditation was known in Florence since the middle of the 14th century (1). Of the Message to the Shepherds that we see in the background there is again the example by Taddeo Gaddi in the Baroncelli chapel. The small scenes of neither the Adoration of the Magi nor the Flight into Egypt show anything in their iconography that was unknown to the Florentine painters of the 14th century. The large picture of the Adoration of the Magi, however, although conventional in composition, reveals that Lorenzo all the same felt something of the new current; for was it not just this scene from the Life of the Saviour that the painters of the beginning of the 15th century liked to treat in detail because it offered them an excellent occasion of depicting seigniorial luxury and elements from every day life for which the artists of that time had a special predilection. It is this tendency of which we find an obvious manifestation in the hound held by a servant in the right corner of his picture.

As for the representations of the Passion, it is true that the Florentine painters did not usually portray the Virgin and St. John seated on the ground in scenes of the Crucifixion; this position of these two figures, however, is not unknown in Sienese art (2). The Prayer in the Mount of Olives was not a favourite presentment among the Florentine masters of the 14th century. Of the school of Lorenzo we possess a large picture of this subject of which the predella shows a representation of the Betrayal of Judas which corresponds perfectly with that on the altar-piece by Agnolo Gaddi and probably a helper in San Miniato. On the

(1) v. Vol. III, fig. 221.

(2) v. Vol. II, fig. 180, the school of Lippo Memmi.



Fig. 118. School of Lorenzo Monaco, St. Lawrence between two saints.
Louvre, Paris. Photo Braun.

other hand, of the scene of the preparation for the Crucifixion which we find on the same predella, I do not know any other examples except a few of the 13th century. Of the Pietà, with allusions to different moments of the Passion in the background, there exist some rare examples of the 14th century but none of Florentine origin (1). The Resurrection, the Holy Women at the Empty Sepulchre and the Noli me tangere which are found

(1) The examples are enumerated in Vol. VI, Iconographical Index, p. 46.

united in Lorenzo's work, in the pinnacles over the Descent from the Cross by Fra Angelico are only rarely found in Florentine art of the second half of the 14th century but the examples of the Camaldolese monk do not offer any outstanding features.

The scenes from the life of the Virgin are fairly traditional; only the Meeting at the Golden Gate with its expansive landscape and abundance of architecture seems to offer something original in its composition. In the Coronation of the Virgin, the two central figures and the angels below, which we find almost identical in the school work of the same subject in London, show a marked correspondence with those of Agnolo Gaddi's panel, also in the National Gallery. In the picture in the sacristy of Sta. Croce, which I ascribe to Taddeo Gaddi, numerous saints are placed in groups to the right and the left, very much after the manner followed by Lorenzo Monaco, although his arrangement is somewhat different.

The school production representing the martyrdom of St. Lawrence, in the Vatican, is but an abridged version of Daddi's fresco in Sta. Croce; the scenes of the legend of St. Benedict, when compared with those by Spinello Aretino in the sacristy of S. Miniato, reveal considerable differences; there are, however, a few points of correspondence.

If in his iconography Lorenzo was not an innovator, he was just as little one with regard to the composition of his pictures and the technical problems. The symmetry of his compositions is sometimes almost complete, not only in the representations of the Madonna in the midst of saints or the Crucifixion where the principal figure naturally forms the centre piece but also in the scenes adorning predellas such as the Adoration of the Magi, the Flight into Egypt etc., he balances the two sides of his composition so exactly that sometimes each outstanding feature to one side has its pendant in the other half of the picture.

Lorenzo's paintings are almost completely lacking in depth and perspective. The landscapes ⁽¹⁾ that we see in his works, with those rocky slopes, originating from Giottesque art and found in some of Agnolo Gaddi's paintings, do not convey the

⁽¹⁾ *J. Guthmann*, Die Landschaftsmaterie der Toskanischen und Umbrischen Kunst von Giotto bis Raphael, Leipzig, 1902, p. 122.



Fig. 119. School of Lorenzo Monaco, the Coronation of the Virgin. National Gallery, London.

Photo Mansell

impression of distance any more than a gold background. What are supposed to be the more distant parts are placed only at a higher level than the rest of the picture. When several events are united on one panel, as for instance in the illustration of the life of St. Benedict, the different scenes intermingle to such an extent that it is impossible to make a line of demarcation between the different incidents represented. Lorenzo's compositions are never executed in depth but always in length according to the size of the picture, with numerous groups of figures, similar to those in the frescoes of Agnolo Gaddi and Starnina. The painter on one occasion attempted to obtain the contrary effect. It is in the Marriage of the Virgin in the church of the Sma. Trinita but by forgetting to diminish the size of the more distant figures, the attempt was a failure. Besides, if ever he thought of the necessity of reducing the size of the more distant parts, he never succeeded in obtaining the correct proportions, always making them too large. The buildings are but mere indications necessary for narrative purposes, and never play any real part in the picture. They form a background to the figures but do not surround them; the personages of the scene play their part always in front of the buildings, after the manner shown by the Giottesque painters. Moreover, Lorenzo never succeeded in representing his figures surrounded or even placed in the centre of other elements in his pictures. Everything that does not play an active part, becomes background without depth and on another plane than the actors.

In all this Lorenzo's place is undoubtedly among the masters of the previous century. I would even say that in the 14th century Lorenzetti had already a better grasp of the significance of distance and aerial perspective; in any case Lorenzo decidedly retrogrades on what Agnolo Gaddi and Starnina created a generation before. As for his contemporaries, not only such artists as Gentile da Fabriano, but also minor masters, like the Sanseverinati and the Zavattari, show themselves on all these points much ahead of Lorenzo Monaco. The same can be said for the lack of liberty in attitudes and gestures, for here again Lorenzo is faithful to the examples of the 14th century.

If I have rather insisted on those links which connect Lorenzo Monaco with a past age, the reason is, as I said



Fig. 120. School of Lorenzo Monaco, the Nativity. Vatican Gallery, Rome. Photo Anderson.

before, because it is a characteristic he has in common with almost all the Florentine and Siense painters who represent the cosmopolitan Gothic movement of the beginning of the 15th century.

In spite of all these reminiscences of the art of the previous century, however, we cannot conceive the existence of Lorenzo's manner before the year 1400 because very few other painters have seized and expressed, as Lorenzo does, all the beauty and the charm of line of the late Gothic style, of which he shows us an infinity of varieties sketched by a sure hand and always harmonious and captivating. If on the one hand, we have to make a certain effort to discover his weaknesses as a reactionary artist, on the other hand, the perfection of certain of his forms offers us a marked aesthetic satisfaction. Lorenzo Monaco is a great charmer, not only on account of the beauty of his linear effects but also because of the sweet and profound humanity which emanates from his Madonnas and his saints and which is again another feature characteristic of 15th century art.

Moreover as colourist Lorenzo was not at all reactionary. In his early works, it is true, the colouring varies little from that of the painters of the Trecento but in his more important later productions, such as the Annunciation in the Accademia and the Adoration of the Magi in the Uffizi, he shows a variety, a richness and a depth of tints which obviously announces those of the great masters of the 15th century.

I should like to glance once more at the question of the chronology of Lorenzo's works. Regarding those of the beginning of his career, such as the frescoes in the convent of the Oblati, the Madonna in the Lanz collection and that at Oxford, there is no difficulty, nor is there any for those of the second phase which is slightly more Gothic; but for those works which I have classified in the fantastic Gothic and monumental Gothic categories, there arises a considerable difficulty. Here I again wish to affirm that the two panels of 1408 in the Louvre and the miniatures of 1409 demonstrate that already at this time, Lorenzo worked after the fantastic Gothic manner; further, I quite believe that the development of this style is influenced by the art of miniature painting, because the forms in general, as well as the chimerical elements are borrowed from the illustrations of manuscripts, the ornamental borders of which so frequently include the latter feature.



Fig 121. School of Lorenzo Monaco, Madonna. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

The large Coronation of the Virgin of 1413 shows in the principal figures as well as in the smaller personages of the predella another style, one more calm, more large and more grandiose. However, it seems to me impossible that Lorenzo executed all the works of the fantastic Gothic manner between 1408 and 1413, and I think that in all probability during the last few years of his life he painted sometimes after the one, sometimes after the other, of these two styles. Nevertheless I am of opinion that the fantastic manner started before the other and I do not agree with Mr. Sirén that such pictures as the large Adoration of the Magi are late works.

It seems to me, on the other hand, that the monumental Gothic style finds its origin in another source, which, towards 1413, could have made its influence felt. It is that of some of the great Florentine sculptors, in particular Ghiberti, whose art sometimes reveals a certain connexion with that of Lorenzo Monaco. Already in 1403 Ghiberti was at work on the doors of the Baptistery; it is true however, he did not finish this undertaking until towards 1422 but long before that he had completed many other works and no doubt Lorenzo saw them as he must have seen also the sculptures of Nanni di Banco, Brunelleschi and Donatello. Consequently it appears to me highly probable that Lorenzo's more monumental manner is the outcome of an influence that these sculptures exercised on him. This influence, however, did not go very deep; in fact it is so vague that it can hardly be described with more precision. Still the more ample forms and the more pronounced plastic effects that we notice in one group of Lorenzo Monaco's works could be explained more easily if we admit that the traditionalistic painter, perhaps in spite of himself, was contaminated by the works of this generation of sculptors and unless we admit that this influence was felt at a very early period in the existence of this new art and when the artists were still in their first youth, we must conclude that Lorenzo Monaco could have felt it only in the last decade of his life.

As I have already had occasion to say, the principal painters who continued the art of Lorenzo Monaco were the

“Maestro del Bambino Vispo”, Mariotto di Nardo and Parri Spinelli although each of them had quite a pronounced personality of his own. Of these three painters, it was Parri Spinelli who was dominated most by the Gothic principles of Lorenzo; the art of the two others seems sooner to find its ori-



Fig. 122. School of Lorenzo Monaco, anchoretic life. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

gin in Florentine painting of the end of the 14th century, as did also, so we saw, that of Lorenzo himself; moreover, they were almost his contemporaries. This can be said at least of Mariotto di Nardo but in the case of the “Maestro del Bambino Vispo” it is a mere supposition because naturally we have no documents concerning this anonymous painter whom Mr. Sirén was the first to baptise thus, after a salient

feature of his works⁽¹⁾. Concerning him we have no date either, although it is possible, as Mr. Sirén has pointed out, that a panel in the museum of Bonn, representing SS. Mary Magdalene and Lawrence with an adorer kneeling at his feet, belonged to the altar-piece regarding which a document of 1422 records that it was executed by the "Frate degli Angeli", denomination which Milanese imagined referred to Lorenzo Monaco; I have already had occasion to mention this document as well as that of 1417 according to which the "Frate degli Angeli" had to make an estimation of the frescoes by Ambrogio Baldese in the Bigallo. The above mentioned altar-piece, it will be remembered, was executed for the chapel of St. Lawrence in the cathedral after the ordinance of Cardinal Corsini; consequently, the presence of St. Lawrence and a cardinal adorer renders this hypothesis fairly plausible. In this case the "Maestro del Bambino Vispo" also must have been a Camaldolese monk and judging from his manner of painting this is not impossible because it shows a certain resemblance with the art of the school of the "Convento degli Angeli".

Mr. Berenson thinks that the centre of the triptych or polyptych of which the panel at Bonn formed the left wing, is a Madonna sitting on a high throne holding the Child standing on her knee; the Infant bestows a blessing which, had the picture been complete and always supposing the panel at Bonn belonged to it, would have been received by the kneeling cardinal. This picture was formerly in the collection of Admiral Whiteside Rae, Washington, but later passed into that of Mr. Johnson, Philadelphia⁽²⁾.

It is not the master's most characteristic work; moreover the appearance of the Child Christ in this case would not have

(¹) O. Sirén, Di alcuni pittori fiorentini che subirono l'influenza di Lorenzo Monaco, *L'Arte*, IV, 1907, p. 337 (348). *The Same*, Lorenzo Monaco, p. 171. *The Same*, A late Gothic Poet of line, *Burlington Magazine*, XXIV, 1913—1914, p. 323. *The Same*, Florent. Trecento Zeichnungen, Jahrb. 1. Preus. Kunstsamml., XXVIII, 1906, made an attempt to identify this painter with Piero di Domenico da Montepulciano, but later on seems to have abandoned this idea.

(²) B. Berenson, Un nuovo Lorenzo Monaco, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1909, p. 3. *The Same*, Catalogue etc., No. 12.



Fig. 123. School of Lorenzo Monaco, giving drink to the thirsty.
Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

justified our calling the painter by the name, under which he actually passes, and which means the “Master of the lively Infant”.

A large number of this painter’s works have been notified and the list of them still goes on increasing. Some of them clearly reflect Lorenzo Monaco’s first manner unless we can



Fig. 124. School of Lorenzo Monaco, the Ascension, miniature.
Laurenziana Library, Florence.



Fig. 125. School of Lorenzo Monaco, triptych. Collegiata, Empoli.
Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

admit a direct influence of Agnolo Gaddi — and this time not of Starnina — and this does not seem to me impossible.

Of this group of works I shall cite in the first place the Death and Assumption of the Virgin, which, having been cut in two, is now divided between the Johnson collection, Philadelphia, which has the lower part — the Virgin stretched on her bed in the midst of the Apostles while the Saviour bears away her soul in the form of a miniature figure, in his arms⁽¹⁾— and the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, which possesses the Assumption showing the Virgin in a mandorla borne heavenwards by six angels; she gives her girdle to St. Thomas of whom only the upper part is visible (fig. 127); between the two extant parts there is a piece of the panel missing⁽²⁾.

Another work of the first manner is I think a Madonna nursing the Child between a crowned martyr and another saint with SS. John the Baptist and Peter in the foreground, in the Central Museum of Utrecht (fig. 128)⁽³⁾. One of the most beautiful works that I know by this master is a picture in a private collection in Munich; it represents the Madonna enthroned in the midst of twelve angelic musicians, and again the influence of Agnolo Gaddi is clearly visible.

As for the works in which Lorenzo Monaco's domination is more evident we might cite in the first place the Madonna formerly in the Uffizi (No. 111) now in the Accademia; it shows the Virgin in a mandorla of cherubim; the Child stretches His hand towards some flowers that an angel carries in a vase, as does also a second angel on the other side; two other angelic figures are depicted further away. In the foreground on their knees are SS. John the Baptist and Nicholas (fig. 129).

Also executed under Lorenzo Monaco's influence are two angelic musicians in the Benson collection, London (fig. 130)⁽⁴⁾, a figure of the Madonna nursing the Child formerly, and

(1) *Berenson*, Catalogue, No. 13.

(2) *F. M. Perkins*, Some recent Acquisitions of the Fogg Art Museum, Art in America, 1921, p. 43.

(3) *Raimond van Marle*, Italjaansche Schilderkunst der 13e, 14e en 15e eeuw in het Centraal Museum te Utrecht etc., Oudheidkundig Jaarboek, 1924, p. 22.

(4) *T. Borenius*, Burlington Magazine, XXIV, 1913-14, p. 24.



Fig. 126. School of Lorenzo Monaco, the Nativity.
Private Collection.

perhaps still, in the Perriollat collection, Paris (fig. 131) which does not seem ever to have been attributed to the master ⁽¹⁾ and a predella panel of the Adoration of the Magi in the Langton Douglas collection, London.

If we admit, for the above-mentioned reasons, that the panel at Bonn and the Madonna of Philadelphia date from 1422 or thereabouts, consequently late works, we must place in the advanced stage of the master's activity also a Madonna holding the Child upright on her knee in the gallery of Helsingfors ⁽²⁾, two holy deacons — no doubt SS. Stephen and Lawrence — in the collection of Mr. Maitland Griggs, New York, here ascribed for the first time to this artist, a picture of SS. Vincent and Stephen in the Boston museum (fig. 132), and two panels each representing a seated prophet and two kneeling angels, no doubt pieces of the same picture ⁽³⁾ as the foregoing panel and also in the museum of Boston (fig. 133). These works are probably a little earlier than the others, as is also a charming Madonna sitting on the ground, holding on her knee the Child Who waves both His arms in the air, while two angels support a curtain which forms the background, a work I saw a short time ago in a private collection in London (fig. 134). A very late work is the Madonna reproduced by Mr. Sirén as belonging to the Voss collection, Berlin, in which the Virgin is accompanied by SS. Antony Abbot and Francis, while seated on the ground we see St. Mary Magdalene and another female saint. This picture at a later date formed part of the Chillingworth collection ⁽⁴⁾.

Closely resembling the last mentioned work, but probably of a slightly earlier period is a Madonna, with the Child and two angels overhead holding a crown, in the gallery of Christ Church, Oxford ⁽⁵⁾.

⁽¹⁾ It has, I believe, been attributed to Pietro di Domenico da Montepulciano.

⁽²⁾ *Sirén*, op. cit., Burlington Magazine. *The Same*, Finska Konst för eningem matrikel for 1912.

⁽³⁾ *Perkins*, op. cit.

⁽⁴⁾ *Sirén*, Lorenzo Monaco, pl. 54. Chillingworth sale, Lucerne, Sept. 1922, No. 107.

⁽⁵⁾ *Sirén*, Burlington Magazine, XXV, 1914, p. 24. *T. Borenius*, Pictures by the old masters in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, London—New York etc., 1916, p. 26.

There are still a good many works from the hand of the "Maestro del Bambino Vispo" ⁽¹⁾.



Fig. 127. Maestro del Bambino Vispo, the Assumption.
Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, U. S. A.

(1) Some of these pictures are known to me only from reference made to them by other writers; no doubt a few of them have since changed hands. **Englewood** (U.S.A.), Platt coll., Madonna. **Figline**. Misericordia, the Crucified with two angels and six saints between the Annunciation and the Coronation of the Virgin. **Florence**, Certosa, Madonna and Child with angels (repainted); Accademia (formerly in the Uffizi, No. 51), Madonna and SS. Lawrence, Antony Abbot, Peter and John the Baptist and above the Saviour, St. Cosmo, and St. Damian; idem (formerly No. 16 in the Uffizi), Madonna with SS. Francis and Antony Abbot; Bartolini Salimbeni Vivai coll., Madonna sitting lowly on a cushion, three angels flying overhead; ex-Pedullu coll., Madonna seated lowly with the Child between SS. Antony Abbot and James. **Göttingen**, University Museum, Annunciation. **Impruneta**, Pieve, Madonna and Child with two angels behind supporting

The "Maestro del Bambino Vispo" apparently formed a little school, at least several works that generally speaking might be included in the school production of Lorenzo Monaco, seem more especially to approach this master's style.

Closely resembling his manner and more than once attributed to his own hand, is the altar-piece in the Doria collection, Rome, showing in the centre the Virgin and Child in the midst of angels and to the sides SS. Antony Abbot, Peter, John the Baptist and Matthew, while the medallions above are adorned with the half-length figures of the Annunciation (fig. 135). Nor do I think that the polyptych in the Pieve of Borgo alla Collina in the Casentino is by this master; I have already discussed this painting when treating Rossello di Jacopo Franchi. Very near the master himself is a Madonna and Child between SS. John the Baptist and Antony Abbot with two angels supporting the curtain in the background, that I saw not long ago in a private collection, and there are still many other pictures, perhaps a little less directly connected, however, with the master himself (1).

The "Maestro del Bambino Vispo" as an artistic personality is not difficult to realize. He was a painter who, at the beginning of his career was inspired by Florentine art of the 14th century, in particular by the manner of Agnolo Gaddi, but who at a later stage came under the influence of Lorenzo

a curtain and two others below making music (considerably repainted). **London**, Langton Douglas coll., Madonna seated lowly with the Child; Mond coll., the beheading of St. Catherine, attributed to Giovanni dal Ponte (v. *Berenson*, No. 13); Richett coll., Madonna; for sale, July 1926, Madonna seated lowly in an aureole of light, the Child, grasping her breast. looks round (doubtful). **Paris**, Dolfus coll., Death of the Virgin (No. 51 of the sale catalogue). **Poggibonsi**, ex-Galli Dunn coll., Madonna sitting lowly with the Child (Exhibition of Sieneese Art, 1904, No. 3). **Stia**, Pieve, Assumption and St. Thomas receiving the holy girdle.

(1) **Berlin**, for sale 1925, half-length figure of the Madonna and Child. **Paris**, Musée de Cluny, No. 1666, two oval panels, each showing a figure of the Annunciation. **Pescia**, Gallery, No. 4, Madonna seated lowly with the Child between St. Stephen and a crowned saint, each holding a banner, below two angelic musicians are depicted (*C. Stiavelli*, *L'Arte in Val di Nievole*, Florence, 1905, p. 59 and *reprod.*). **Rome**, for sale a few years ago, Madonna sitting lowly with the Child, Who grasps a little bird, standing on her knee; two angels hold a crown over her head (fig. 136).

Monaco whose contemporary he must have been for a considerable number of years, but in all probability the "Maestro del Bambino Vispo" lived longer than Lorenzo; in any case



Fig. 128. Maestro del Bambino Vispo, Madonna and saints.
Central Museum, Utrecht.

certain elements in some of his pictures lead us to place them in the second quarter of the 15th century sooner than in the first.

However I see no reason to admit an actual influence of Masolino and still less that of Bartolo di Fredi; moreover, Mr. Perkins has already protested against these affirmations ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Perkins*, op. cit., p. 43 note 1.



Fig. 129. Maestro del Bambino Vispo, Madonna and saints.
Accademia, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

Personally I am of opinion that this master's manner is devoid of any features typical of Sienese art.

That the identification of this painter with Parri Spinelli, formerly proposed by Mr. Sirén ⁽¹⁾, was erroneous, is a fact of which this writer himself is now convinced ⁽²⁾.

While Parri Spinelli exaggerated to an extreme degree the calligraphic element of Lorenzo's art, the "Maestro del Bambino



Fig. 130. Maestro del Bambino Vispo, angelic musicians.
Benson Collection, London.

Vispo", on the other hand, adopted more plastic forms and larger proportions, thus differing from Lorenzo. Consequently, I think, we should consider an influence of the sculptors, such as Ghiberti, and even perhaps of Donatello, more likely in this case than in that of Lorenzo Monaco.

With regard to Mariotto di Nardo we possess a large number of documents ⁽³⁾. He was the son of a stone-cutter called Nardo,

⁽¹⁾ *Sirén*, op. cit., Burlington Magazine.

⁽²⁾ *Sirén*, Pictures by Parri Spinelli, Burlington Magazine. XLIX, 1926, p. 117.

⁽³⁾ The documents are in part given by *Milanesi* in his notes on *Vasari*. I, pp. 610—11; others are found in *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, ed. *L. Douglas*, II, p. 232.



Fig. 131. Maestro del Bambino Vispo, Madonna. Perriolat Collection, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.



Fig. 132. Maestro del Bambino Vispo, two saints. Museum, Boston.

who worked in Siena in 1380 and in Volterra in 1381, and in all likelihood had nothing to do with the di Cione family, although for very long it was thought that he was the son of Nardo di Cione. Vasari informs us that he was the grand-son of Andrea Orcagna (1). The earliest records of his activities are in documents of 1394 and 1395 when he executed the extant altar-piece for the church of S. Donnino in Villamagna (2). In 1394 and 1398 he made altar-pieces for the cathedral of Florence (3); in 1402 he designed a window for the same church and in 1404 and 1405 worked for the new chapel in the cathedral (4), of which work there still exist in all probability, as we shall see later on, some evidence. We find that during this year, 1404, he signed one of the figures of the stained-glass window in S. Domenico, Perugia, as follows: "*hoc opus Mariotus Nardi de Florentia pinsit MCCCCIV. . . etc. etc.*" (5). This signature is inscribed on the hem of the robe of St. Catherine but in all probability he designed a large part of the window; however, the signature of Fra Bartolommeo di Pietro, accompanied by the date 1411, which fills up the lower part of the window, is much more important. It would be useless to attempt to make any hypotheses on the question of this collaboration, because the entire window is so much restored that we can learn nothing from it regarding the art of these two masters.

In 1408 Mariotto's name figures in the list of members of the corporation of painters in Florence (6) where in 1412 he was charged, together with Francesco di Jacopo Arrighetti,

(1) *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, I, p. 610.

(2) *O. H. Giglioli*, *Mariotto di Nardo e la sua tavola d'altare per la Pieve di Villamagna*, Osservatore Fiorentino, 1906, p. 67.

(3) *G. Poggi*, *Il Duomo di Firenze*; *Ital. Forsch.*, II, Berlin, 1909, documents Nos. 994, 996, 1007, 1008, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1016, 1019, 1020, 1021.

(4) *G. Poggi*, *op. cit.*, documents Nos. 1019—1023.

(5) *Guardabassi*, *Indice guida dei monumenti etc. etc. dell' Umbria*, Perugia, 1872, p. 173. *L. Manzoni*, *Repertorium f. Kunstwiss.*, 1903, p. 120. *W. Bombe*, *Geschichte der Peruginer Malerei bis zu Perugino u. Pinturichio*, Berlin, 1912, p. 66. *M. Salmi*, *L'Arte*, 1921, p. 164. *U. Gnoli*, *Pittori e miniatori nell' Umbria*, Spoleto, 1926, p. 53, with bibliography.

(6) (*Gualandi*), *Memorie originali risguardanti le Belle Arti*, VI, Bologna, 1845, p. 188.

to paint for the confraternity of Sta. Maria in Or San Michele a picture for the Tolomei chapel in the church of S. Stefano a Ponte. In 1413 he was commissioned to fresco a figure of the Madonna with saints over the door of Sta. Maria Primerana in Fiesole and an image of St. Matthew and a representation of the Madonna in the hospital dedicated to this holy Evangelist; in 1415 the authorities of this hospital requested him to make another picture of St. Matthew which some writers have wished to identify with that by the Orcagna brothers⁽¹⁾. The



Fig. 133. Maestro del Bambino Vispo, the Prophet Isaiah and two angels. Museum, Boston.

year before this the "Arte della Lana" charged him to execute an altar-piece for the chapel of St. Jerome in the church

⁽¹⁾ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, op. cit., II, p. 212 note.



Fig 134. Maestro del Bambino Vispo, Madonna.
Private Collection.

of S. Lorenzo. In 1416 the confraternity of Sta. Maria del Bigallo orders from him an altar-piece which is described in detail in the document (1) and which, as we shall see, still exists. The following year he makes together with the "Frate degli Angeli" an estimation of the frescoes by Ambrogio del Baldese in



Fig. 135. School of the Maestro del Bambino Vispo, polyptych.

Doria Gallery, Rome. Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

the oratory where his own picture was placed (2). In 1424, the master being seriously ill, makes his will, after which there is no further documentary evidence concerning him.

The extant works of Mariotto di Nardo are fairly numerous but few of them are of any great importance (3). His art does not offer any problems.

(1) *Milanesi-Vasari*, I, p. 610 note 3. *O. Sirén*, *Rivista d'Arte*, II, 1904, p. 192.

(2) *Sirén*, *op. cit.*, 232.

(3) For Mariotto di Nardo's works v. *O. Sirén*, *Gli affreschi nel Paradiso degli Alberti*, Lorenzo di Niccolò e Mariotto di Nardo, *L'Arte*, VII, 1904, p. 179. *M. Salmi*, *Spigolature d'arte toscana*, *L'Arte*, 1913, p. 214. *B. Khovshinsky e M. Salmi*, *I pittori toscani dal XIII al XVI secolo*, II, Rome, 1914, p. 60.



Fig. 136. Manner of the Maestro del Bambino Vispo, Madonna and saints. Private Collection.



Fig. 137. Mariotto di Nardo, Madonna. Museum, Detroit.

Like Lorenzo Monaco, whose contemporary he was, he began as an adherent of the 14th century manner, then he was caught in the current of the cosmopolitan Gothic movement, when he was influenced chiefly by Lorenzo Monaco, and ended his career as a unskilful follower of the latter.

Mariotto's art, however, differs from that of Lorenzo Monaco and the "Maestro del Bambino Vispo" by the fact that it does not derive from Agnolo Gaddi or Starnina but from a little group of painters who signalized more obviously the decadence of Florentine art of the 14th century, viz: that of the Gerini. Mariotto must have begun his career as a pupil of Lorenzo di Niccolo. This supposition is confirmed by the appearance of his earliest extant dated work, the triptych of 1394, which he executed for S. Donnino at Villamagna near Florence. It is on the identification of this picture with that mentioned in the document of 1394, and the panel in the Bigallo with a work recorded in 1416 that the artistic figure of Mariotto di Nardo has been built up, because we have no signed paintings from his hand.

The triptych at Villamagna shows in the centre the Virgin enthroned with the Child between two angels, SS. Peter and John the Baptist, and in each of the lateral panels five saints; half-length figures of the dead Christ, the Virgin, St. John and four saints adorn the predella while on the terminals of the wings we see the two figures of the Annunciation. It is a work which has all the characteristics of a feeble production of the work-shop of Lorenzo di Niccolo; the same can be said of the panel of the Assumption in the oratory of Fontelucente, also in the environs of Florence; the Virgin is seen dropping her girdle to St. Thomas while above Christ in the midst of angels holds the crown ready for His Mother; SS. Jerome and John the Evangelist are depicted on the lateral panels. This picture dates from 1398.

Of the works which Mariotto executed between 1394 and 1405 for the cathedral of Florence, we possess in all probability two; they are a series of four panels which must have formed the terminals of the polyptych of 1404 and represent the Saviour crowned and holding the globe, St. John the Evangelist and two holy Fathers of the Church; they are found in the canon's



Fig. 138. Mariotto di Nardo, the Holy Trinity with the Virgin and St. Mary Magdalene. Pieve, S. Giovanni Val d'Arno.

Photo Alinari.

sacristy of the cathedral (1). We imagine the other panel must have originally been made for the cathedral because St. Reparata, to whom the church was still dedicated at that time, is shown opposite St. Stephen by the Madonna's side. This picture, which was formerly in the museum of S. Marco (No. 45), has been transferred to the Accademia.

After the same manner are executed also a triptych showing the Madonna and SS. Bartholomew, Michael, Lawrence and Nicholas in the church of S. Angelo at Legnaia, near Florence, a Madonna between SS. James, Sebastian, Lawrence and John the Evangelist, formerly in the Accademia (No. 7), a picture which came from the convent of S. Gaggiano, near Florence, and to which also belong the predella panels representing St. Joachim in the desert, the Nativity of the Virgin, her Presentation in the Temple, her Marriage and her Death, formerly also in the same museum (Nos. 14 etc.), and two Madonnas, recently for sale, one in London, now in the museum of Detroit (fig. 137), (2) the other in the neighbourhood of Perugia; both these pictures show the Virgin sitting humbly on a cushion, in the former she is seen playing with the Child and in the latter, which is a very ugly painting, she suckles the little Jesus.

To the same period in the artist's career also belongs the triptych, the panels now separate, in the tribune of the organ in the Pieve of San Giovanni in Valdarno. On the central panel we see the Holy Trinity between the kneeling figures of the Virgin and St. Mary Magdalene (fig. 138) and in the wings SS. John the Evangelist and Antony Abbot on the one and SS. John the Baptist and James on the other with SS. Zachariah and Joseph above.

Along with this group of works which clearly reveals the influence of Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini and consequently can be classified in the first stage of the artist's career, there is another group in which the domination of Lorenzo Monaco on Mariotto is very evident. Just when this influence started is uncertain because we have no dated works between 1398

(1) *Poggi*, Il Duomo di Firenze, figs. 75 - 78. *Riccha*, Chiese fiorentine, VII, p. 115.

(2) Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts, Nov. 1925, p. 19.

and 1416 and the transition from one style to the other no doubt took place sometime during this period.

A work dated 1416 is found on the altar of the church of the Sma. Trinita in Florence; it represents the Holy Trinity be-



Fig. 139. Mariotto di Nardo, birth-plate. Lichtenstein Gallery, Vienna.

tween SS. Francis, Julian, Michael and Antony Abbot. The forms are those that we might imagine a conservative and provincial follower of Lorenzo Monaco would adopt.

From the same year dates the altar-piece originating from the oratory of the Bigallo. In the centre the Virgin is depicted on a bench playing with the Child Jesus whose vivacity recalls in particular the works of the "Maestro del Bambino

Vispo". To the sides we see SS. Peter the Martyr and John the Baptist with the half-length figures of the Virgin and angel of the Annunciation above; in the terminal of the central panel the Saviour is shown bestowing a blessing and holding a book. This last detail differs from the conditions agreed upon when the picture was ordered because it was stipulated that a figure of Christ on the Cross should adorn the upper part of the central panel. The predella, which is mentioned in the same document, had to be decorated with the dead Christ between the Virgin and St. John and a scene from the legend of each of the saints. This picture, in which the forms are very regular, is greatly superior to the previous works.

A painted tray used for offering gifts at child-birth in the Lichtenstein Gallery, Vienna, is executed in the same manner. Although the most pleasing of Mariotto's works, it is perhaps the least known. In a flowering field in which a hare and a deer run wild, we see three young girls sitting on the ground and a fourth gathering flowers; two men peer through the barred windows of a house to the left while in the background a mounted noble, a falcon on his hand, approaches two warriors in combat (fig. 139).

Of about this period, if not a little earlier, dates I think the Virgin and Child in the midst of angels with two saints and an Evangelist in each of the two pilasters of the frame and the Saviour in benediction in a medallion borne by two angels above, which is preserved in the gallery of Pistoia (No. 19) (fig. 140) where we find from his hand also an Annunciation (No. 26) in which the angel and a little adorer kneel before the Virgin who is seated on a construction of a complicated form. The figures of SS. Nicholas and Julian on the lateral panels are, as I have said elsewhere, by Rossello di Jacopo Franchi.

One of the master's most important works is a polyptych executed in this manner, in the collection of Prince Fabrizio Massimo, Rome. In the centre we see the Virgin sitting on a bench with the Child, Who bestows a blessing and holds a rose, between two adoring angels; the lateral panels show SS. Romuald(?), John the Baptist, James and Antony Abbot. The Saviour in benediction and the figures of the Annunciation adorn



Fig. 140. Mariotto di Nardo, Madonna. Gallery, Pistoia.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

the terminals while on a panel which forms the background to this part of the picture, six angels are represented (fig. 141).

Of better quality than the Annunciation at Pistoia but executed after the same style is a picture of the same subject recently transferred from the Uffizi (No. 316) to the Accademia (fig. 142); the Virgin is depicted sitting on a low throne reading, the angel kneels before her while above appears God the Father in the midst of angels. A work dated 1418, the Madonna between SS. John the Baptist and Philip, which Mr. Sirén saw in the store-room of the Uffizi (No. 46) but which is now in the Accademia, is also painted in this style but it is a picture of poor quality (fig. 143).

A predella with scenes from the legend of SS. Cosmo and Damian in the Jarves collection, Yale University, Newhaven, is a rather pleasing example of Mariotto's art when under the domination of Lorenzo Monaco (¹).

A painting of the Virgin and Child in the Acton collection, Florence, dates from 1422, while probably the year of his death the master executed the polyptych dated 1424 in the collection of Count Serrestori in Florence, showing in the centre the Virgin enthroned in the midst of angels and to the sides SS. James, John the Baptist, Andrew and Bernard; scenes from the history of St. James and the Adoration of the Magi adorn the predella and the Annunciation and the figure of Christ the terminals. It is obviously a production of his old age, yet the elements of the 14th century are in no way dominated by those due to Lorenzo Monaco's influence.

For the numerous other works which can be attributed to Mariotto di Nardo a brief enumeration will suffice. Mr. Sirén and Dr. Salmi have already mentioned the majority of them but to their lists I am able to make some new additions (²).

(¹) *O. Sirén*, Burlington Magazine, XIV, 1908—9, p. 320. *The Same*, Descriptive Catalogue etc., No. 29.

(²) **Berlin**, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, store-room, No. 1382, Madonna and Child Who passes the ring on to the finger of St. Catherine, and three other saints (damaged). **Budapest**, Gal., No. 57, a fine Madonna sitting lowly with four angels above, attributed to the school of Orcagna (v. *Terrey*, Die Gemälde Gallerie des Museums f. Bildende Kunst in Budapest, Berlin, 1910, p. 16). **Florence**, Certosa, church, Coronation of the Virgin and angels below (doubtful); Uffizi, formerly there, Crucifixion and four scenes from the life of St. Nicholas of Bari, predella for many

As I said before, Mariotto's art finds its origin in the manner of Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini, with whom, besides, some critics believe he collaborated in the execution of the frescoes in the

years placed under the altar-piece of St. Matthew by Andrea Orcagna and his brother Jacopo; Acton coll., two Madonnas, a Coronation of the Virgin and a Madonna and Child on a semi-circular panel, regarding the attribution of the last-mentioned picture I am not very certain; Bartolini-Salimbeni Vivai coll., Madonna; Corsini Gal., No. 328, small Annunciation; Serrestori coll., Crucifixion with the Virgin, St. John and angels (doubtful); for sale, 1925, Madonna sitting low, four saints and some angels. **Frankfort a.M.**, Städelsch Kunstinstitut, No. 1167, large Madonna and two kneeling angels **Göttingen**, University Museum, Nativity and Circumcision (*O. Sirén*, Burlington Magazine, XXVIII, 1914—15, p. 107). **Graz**, Museum, small seated Madonna. **Perugia**, Gal., small picture of the Madonna seated (*Salmi*, L'Arte, 1921, p. 164). **Pisa**, Gal., Room VII No. 2, Madonna sitting on a cloud, a lily in her hand, holding the Child; ex-Toscanelli coll., Madonna and Child, six angels and two cherubs with the Saviour above (album Toscanelli coll., pl. VI). **Tosina**, parish church, polyptych, Virgin in the midst of four angels, to the sides St. Antony Abbot, a holy bishop, a young deacon and St. Francis (*I. Vavassour Elder*, Rassegna d'Arte, 1916, p. 264).

Some works mentioned by Vasari have disappeared, they are: a fresco of Paradise in the church of S. Michele Bisdomini in the via de' Servi. Florence, the Annunciation on the altar and another panel with many figures in the same church.

I do not think that the following works are from the hand of Mariotto; a Madonna, six saints and two angels in Christ Church, Oxford, No. 18 (*Sirén*, Burlington Magazine, XXVI, p. 108); the frescoes in the pharmacy of Sta. Maria Novella, Florence, of scenes from the Life of Christ, attributed to Mariotto by Mr. Sirén and Dr. Salmi but which I have classified in Vol. III, p. 608, as works of the school of Spinello Aretino; the Madonna in the museum of Lille, ascribed to Mariotto by the same critics but which I have included among the school works of Niccolo di Pietro Gerini (v. Vol. III, p. 627). I think Lorenzo di Niccolo should be held responsible for a predella panel, representing St. Nicholas preventing the execution of three innocent people, in the Vatican Gallery (No. 103) and a picture of Pilate washing his hands, in the museum of Brunswick v. Vol. III, p. 638. The former is given to Mariotto by *Sirén*, L'Arte, 1921, p. 102 and the latter by *Khvoskinsky and Salmi*, loc. cit.

The following is a list of works of his school: **Dijon**, Gal., No. 81, large altar-piece of the Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John seated, St. Mary Magdalene at the foot of the Cross, SS. Peter, John the Baptist, Jerome and James in the lateral panels and six half-length figures of saints in the predella. **Florence**, Accademia, polyptych, Madonna seated with the Child in the midst of eight flying angels, on the side panels

convent of S. Brigitta at Bandino, near Florence (1). In the first group of Mariotto's works this influence is clearly visible; we find in his manner, more particularly in his morphological types, some elements which recall Spinello Aretino's painting and in certain of his more reactionary forms, features which are reminiscent even of Andrea Orcagna's art. Nevertheless, Lorenzo di Niccolo was no doubt his master, because in Lorenzo's Madonna of 1402 at Terenzano (2) there is an obvious foreshadowing of the images of the Virgin that Mariotto depicted at the beginning of his career. Later on both these artists came under the influence of Lorenzo Monaco but Mariotto who possessed a weaker artistic individuality, was much more dominated by this master than Lorenzo di Niccolo.

Parri Spinelli (3), the son of Spinello Aretino, does not belong by birth to the group of Florentine painters and as far as we

we see SS. Peter, John the Baptist, Michael and Gabriel, SS. Antony Abbot, Paul, Nicholas of Bari and Francis and small figures above; Madonna and Child and four angels; Stibbert Museum, Madonna and Child in a mandorla and lower down two female saints standing, SS. Francis, John the Baptist, Peter, Antony Abbot and two angelic musicians; the dead Christ, the Virgin and St. John in the predella; Uffizi, store-room, Nos. 4712—4715, small panels showing the figures of SS. Dominic, Francis, Lawrence and John the Baptist, very near Mariotto; Panciatichi coll., altar-piece, Madonna enthroned and four kneeling angels with St. James, a holy bishop, SS. Julian and Antony Abbot in the lateral panels, the Saviour bestowing a blessing and the Annunciation above and the Christ half-risen from His tomb, the Virgin, St. John and four half-length figures of saints in the predella. **London**, for sale, 1924, Madonna between SS. Mary Magdalene and Dorothy and the kneeling figures of SS. James and Antony Abbot. **Pisa**, Gal., triptych, Madonna and two angels with SS. Michael and Francis to the sides and the Flagellation and six half-length figures of saints in the predella.

(1) v. Vol. III, p. 641.

(2) v. Vol. III, p. 635.

(3) *Vasari-Milanesi*, II, p. 275. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, ed. *L. Douglas*, II, p. 271. *Sirén*, Lorenzo Monaco, p. 173. *M. Salmi*, Vita (dal Vasari) di Parri Spinelli, Florence etc. (1914). *O. Sirén*, A late Gothic Poet of line. *The Same*, Pictures by Parri Spinelli (both already quoted). *U. Pasqui*, Pittori aretini vissuti dalla meta del sec. XII al 1527, *Rivista d'Arte*, X, 1917, p. 76. *A. Aretini*, Note psichiatriche su Parri Spinelli (announced but not yet out).

know he lived and worked, at least after his youth, solely in Arezzo. His place, however, is obviously among the pupils of Lorenzo Monaco and consequently he must be dealt with here ; I should even say that Parri was more faithful to the lessons



Fig. 141. Mariotto di Nardo, Madonna and saints. Massimo Collection, Rome.

of Lorenzo Monaco than any other painter of the first half of the 15th century. His isolation in a small centre such as Arezzo must have been, was no doubt the reason why Parri succeeded in perpetuating the already antiquated forms of Lorenzo Monaco until the middle of the 15th century, in spite of all the innovations in Florentine art, at that time already several decades old.

Parri, whose real name was Gasparri, was born in 1387; this we know from a cadastral document of 1427 and from a record of his age at death and the year he died.

In 1407, consequently at a very early stage in his career, he collaborated with his father when the latter undertook the decoration of the Sala di Balìa in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena; these frescoes still exist⁽¹⁾ and although we can discern the hands of pupils, it is impossible to assign any part of it to Parri.

Vasari writes at considerable length about Parri no doubt in honour of a co-citizen and colleague whose qualities he praises highly. However, his statements are not less erroneous than is usually the case when he deals with his more distant predecessors. That Ghiberti accepted him as a pupil seems just as unlikely as his friendship with Masolino who admired his manner of drawing so much that he imitated it; Parri however followed the manner of Lorenzo Monaco. Vasari tells us that Parri and Masolino met in Ghiberti's studio. The Aretine biographer speaks of Forzore the goldsmith brother of Parri, but he was really his cousin, being the son of Niccolò, the brother of Spinello, also a goldsmith. His brother's name was Baldassare. Vasari mentions also a sister, a very skilful needlewoman but there is no documentary evidence concerning her. He speaks as well of family contention and of how some of his relatives attacked Parri while at work in the church of S. Domenico. He refers, too, to the veneration the painter had for St. Bernardine of Siena who actually visited Arezzo in 1428 and for whom Parri made a model of the church of Sargiano as well as a Madonna della Misericordia for a chapel called Sta. Maria delle Grazie that St. Bernardine had built near Arezzo.

According to Vasari, Parri was of a melancholy, lonesome nature, too much engrossed in his art and his work; the same authority informs us that Mario da Montepulciano, Bicci di Lorenzo's assistant, painted Parri's portrait. He is far from right when he tells us that the painter died at the age of fifty-six and was buried in the church of S. Agostino, in his father's tomb, because we have documents which prove that he died on the 9th June 1453 and was buried in the church of Murello ⁽²⁾. Milanese affirms that Parri suffered

⁽¹⁾ v. Vol. III, p. 580.

⁽²⁾ *Pasqui*, op. cit., p. 67.

from a nervous disease but he does not give us the source of this information. In his first edition Vasari gives the epitaph that was inscribed on the artist's tomb. From the do-



Fig. 142. Mariotto di Nardo, the Annunciation. Accademia, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

cuments we learn that he had a son who died at a tender age and three daughters ⁽²⁾.

Further it is recorded that in 1427 Parri and his brother made a declaration regarding their property which seems to have been fairly considerable ⁽³⁾.

⁽²⁾ *Pasqui*, op. cit., p. 76. *Del Vita*, L'Arte, X, 1913, p. 232.

⁽³⁾ *M. Salmi*, Document on Parri Spinelli, L'Arte, XVI, 1913, p. 61. *The Same*, ed. of the "Vite" of Vasari, p. 43.

In 1434 the "Confraternita dei Laici" ordered for their church a painting for the sum of 40 lire in which the saints Lorentinus and Pergentinus figured.

After several months he was requested to make haste with the execution of this painting otherwise another artist would be charged with the work ⁽¹⁾. Between 1435 and 1437 we find that he received from the same society various payments for the panel of the Madonna della Misericordia, now in the gallery of Arezzo, which in August of the latter year he had not yet finished ⁽²⁾. He must have been poor at this moment because the confraternity accords him payment for the picture "et etiandio per limosina". But already in 1433 his name appears no longer in the list of the well-to-do inhabitants of Arezzo ⁽³⁾. In 1448 he receives a small sum in payment for work he executed for the "Confraternita dei Laici" ⁽⁴⁾.

Of the documented works several have come down to us and we discover from them that the Gothic calligraphic effects increased as the painter advanced in age. If we admit that the fresco of the Madonna della Misericordia in the church of Sta. Maria delle Grazie was executed shortly after 1428 we find fewer Gothic features than in that even of 1435-1437. The representations too are considerably different one from the other. In the first the Virgin is shown without the Child and holds with her own hands her mantle over the faithful kneeling at her feet (fig. 144). On the panel, now in the gallery of Arezzo ⁽⁵⁾ we see the Virgin standing among flowers, holding the Child in her arms; two angels, lilies in their hands, stretch out the Virgin's cloak over the figures kneeling below; two others swing censers. SS. Lorentinus and Pergentinus kneel to either side while their martyrdom is illustrated in the four

⁽¹⁾ *G. F. Camurrini*, I pittori aretini dell' anno 1150 al 1527, *Rivista d'Arte*, X, 1917, p. 96.

⁽²⁾ *M. Salmi*, Documenti. *A. del Vita*, Documenti indici pittori di Parri di Spinello, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1913, p. 84.

⁽³⁾ *Del Vita*, op. cit.

⁽⁴⁾ *Pasqui*, op. cit.

⁽⁵⁾ *M. Salmi*, Catalogo della Pinacoteca Comunale d'Arezzo, Citta di Castello, 1921, p. 22.



Fig. 143. Mariotto di Nardo, Madonna and saints. Accademia, Florence.
Photo Alinari.

panels of the predella (fig. 145). It is not only in the more curved forms here, but also in the curious drawing of the faces that the Gothic element is more accentuated.

From the year 1444 dates a Crucifixion in the old oratory of S. Cristoforo, now the chapel of the convent of Sta. Caterina. The date is found in a long inscription at the foot of the painting.

Apart from the Crucified, we see the Virgin swooning in the arms of her companions, St. Mary Magdalene at the foot of the Cross and SS. James and Christopher to the sides. A frieze below is adorned with medallions containing the half-length figures of the Virgin with the Child, two male and two female saints.

Lastly, of the year 1448 is in all probability the Madonna della Misericordia in the palace of the "Confraternita dei Laici"; at least we know that during this year he was paid for having executed a picture. The fresco which simulates a triptych represents the Virgin holding her cloak over two groups of adorers; two angels fly overhead. The figures of SS. Gregory and Donatus adorn the lateral panels while medallions containing busts are seen in the upper part of the frame.

It is only natural that Parri who received his early artistic education from his father, started his career as a very traditionalistic painter; nevertheless, it would have been surprising if as late as 1428 Lorenzo Monaco's influence had not yet penetrated into his art. This, however, is not the case, for already the Madonna of Sta. Maria delle Grazie, were it but for its length alone, possesses certain Gothic elements which increased in intensity only to a very slight degree in the more advanced stages of the artist's career.

The little Madonna depicted sitting lowly, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, formerly in the Toscanelli collection, Pisa, is without any doubt a youthful production⁽¹⁾. The Virgin is shown offering a fruit to her Son; the members of a confraternity are represented in the predella and the frame is adorned with four saints and four angelic musicians. Although the Madonna and Child are of quite normal proportions, the small figures are unusually long.

Similar lengthy forms are noticeable in two panels formerly in the Uffizi (Nos. 49 and 50) representing SS. Catherine of Alexandria and Francis but otherwise the Gothic line is not yet very evident (figs. 146—147). Markedly Gothic on the other hand are two other pictures of the Crucifixion, the one on the entrance wall of the church of S. Domenico, Arezzo, the other executed in monochrome in the court-yard of the Pa-

(1) Attributed to Parri by *Sirén*, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1905, p. 245. Album of the Toscanelli collection, pl. XXXIII.



Fig. 144. Parri Spinelli, *Madonna della Misericordia*. Sta. Maria delle Grazie, Arezzo.

Photo Alinari.

lazzo Comunale. The former (fig. 148) shows the Cross embedded in a rock; to the sides are a holy bishop, the Virgin expressing her grief, St. John making a gesture towards the Crucified and St. Antony of Padua. Above we see St. Nicholas



Fig 145. Parry Spinelli, Madonna della Misericordia. Gallery, Arezzo.

Photo Alinari.

giving a dot to the three young girls and arresting the hand of the executioner about to kill some innocent persons; below three medallions contain the half-length figures of a holy bishop and two holy monks. It is a pleasing work, particularly on account of the beauty of the Gothic line. In the same church we find still a rather damaged figure of St. Catherine and some fragments of a Madonna between two saints, all executed in a pronounced Gothic style.

Of an important fresco that Vasari describes as adorning

a tabernacle near the old cathedral, some pieces, which have been transported to the gallery, still exist (Nos. 16—20). They represent the figure of Christ in the midst of seraphim placing the ring on St. Catherine's finger; the same saint as an angel, St. Michael, St. Bernard and two groups, each of two angelic musicians (¹).

It is not necessary to give a detailed description of Parri's other works (²).

(¹) *Del Vita*, La Pinacoteca di Arezzo, Rassegna d'Arte, 1915, p. 85. *Salmi*, Catalogo, p. 20.

(²) Messrs. Sirén and Salmi mention still several works by this master. The former, however, once identified the "Maestro del Bambino Vispo" with Parri so that his attributions are not always very clear. **Arezzo**, S. Francesco, damaged frescoes of Christ at the table of the Pharisee, St. Francis receiving the stigmata and other scenes from his life, St. Michael and St. Clare (these attributions are *Sirén's* but I do not think they are exact); idem, Madonna and four saints (*Salmi*); Compagnia dei Puraccioli, now S. Agostino, fragmentary fresco of St. Catherine (*Salmi*). **Florence**, Accademia, No. 478, Madonna, four saints and the Crucifixion; Bigallo, Madonna (*Sirén*); ex-museum of S. Marco, Ospizio, No. 17, Crucifixion between the Virgin and St. Francis (*Salmi*), doubtful. **Göttingen**, University Gallery, Annunciation (*Sirén*, Burlington Magazine, XXVIII, 1914—15, p. 107). **Lancaster**, A.G.B. Russell coll., drawing, St. Peter (Connoisseur, May 1923). **Philadelphia**, Pennsylvania Museum, Madonna between four saints and two angels

The following works are wrongly attributed to Parri Spinelli: Annunciation in the church of S. Domenico and a figure of St. Michael in the gallery of **Arezzo** (*Salmi* ed. of *Vasari*, La Vita, p. 6). Formerly (1914) Mr Sirén ascribed to Parri remains of a fresco in the Misericordia church at **Figline** and a Madonna and Child in a private collection in **Munich**; now (1926) he thinks that these works are by a different painter whom he calls the Figline master. Besides the already mentioned works, Vasari ascribes to Parri still some lost paintings, all in **Arezzo**: the old cathedral, three frescoes of the Madonna and others illustrating the life of the Blessed Tommasuolo; S. Cristoforo, besides the extant Crucifixion, frescoes of SS. Catherine and Nicholas, the Annunciation, Christ attached to the column and the Pietà with the Virgin and St. John; S. Bernardino, Trinity with angels, the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi; S. Agostino, figures of saints; S. Giustino, St. Martin on horseback; Bishop's Palace, Annunciation; Pieve, on a pillar, St. Vincent; S. Francesco, saints around a Madonna in relief, the Descent of the Holy Ghost, saints, Christ carrying the Cross in the midst of angels; S. Domenico, besides the Madonna and saints, of which some fragments are still visible, also a Madonna between SS. Antony and Nicholas; tabernacle in the Borgo, an Annunciation.



Fig. 146. Parri Spinelli, St. Catherine.
Formerly in the Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Brogi.

Of great interest, on the contrary, are some pages of pen and ink drawings, doubtless from the sketch-book of the master, which are preserved in the Print Room of the Uffizi (figs. 149—155). Among them, there are examples of the artist's different manners. In his least Gothic style, consequently not very characteristic of Parri's art, is executed a baptism scene (8) in which two young men are baptized by a saint on the outskirts of a town; the background is formed by a landscape and by the town, from the gate of which, many people emerge to witness the event⁽¹⁾. On the verso of the same page are depicted two figures of saints, one seated, the other standing, each holding a book; they are sketched more after the Gothic manner of the artist, although this is not yet very evident in the proportions. Very similar is a drawing of a group of men (23), apparently a study, although not in its

⁽¹⁾ This drawing is not always included in the list of works attributed to Parri.

actual form, for a scene of the Crucifixion in which the figures would have to be arranged differently. On the verso we see the Virgin's farewell to the Apostles. Another page (24) shows a sketch of a saint which seems sooner a study of drapery; close by, there is another female figure erect with a child near her and still the head of a woman. A fragment (31) depicts the drapery of a figure, the hands, a book and part of the head. On another page (35) we find on one side a personification of Fortitude: a woman seated holding a sword and a shield and on the verso the Madonna standing with the Child; this last figure describes a pronounced curve; in the corner we see part of a rough sketch of the same subject.

A similar figure, again accompanied by a hasty sketch is depicted on another page (38) on the back of which we see the Madonna seated and a rough draft of the same figure.

Two other pages



Fig. 147. Pari Spinelli, St. Francis.
Formerly in the Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Brogi.

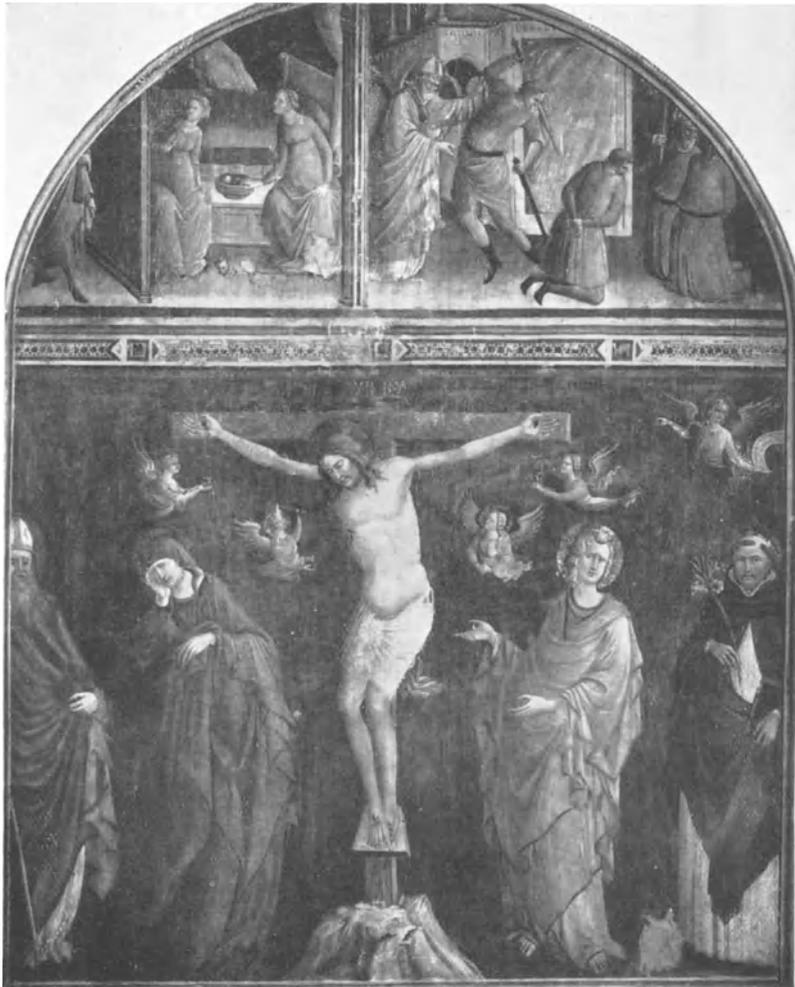


Fig. 148. Parri Spinelli, the Crucifixion. S. Domenico, Arezzo.

Photo Alinari.

(36 and 37) are each adorned with a figure of a saint, the face unfinished, holding a book. Near one of them we read the name "*Matteus*". Both are of unusual length. On the verso of one is depicted a holy monk and on the other a study of rocks. We see, besides, drawings of a holy monk reading and on the verso of this leaf a figure erect and a pedestal for a holy water basin (26); a monk kneeling and on the verso

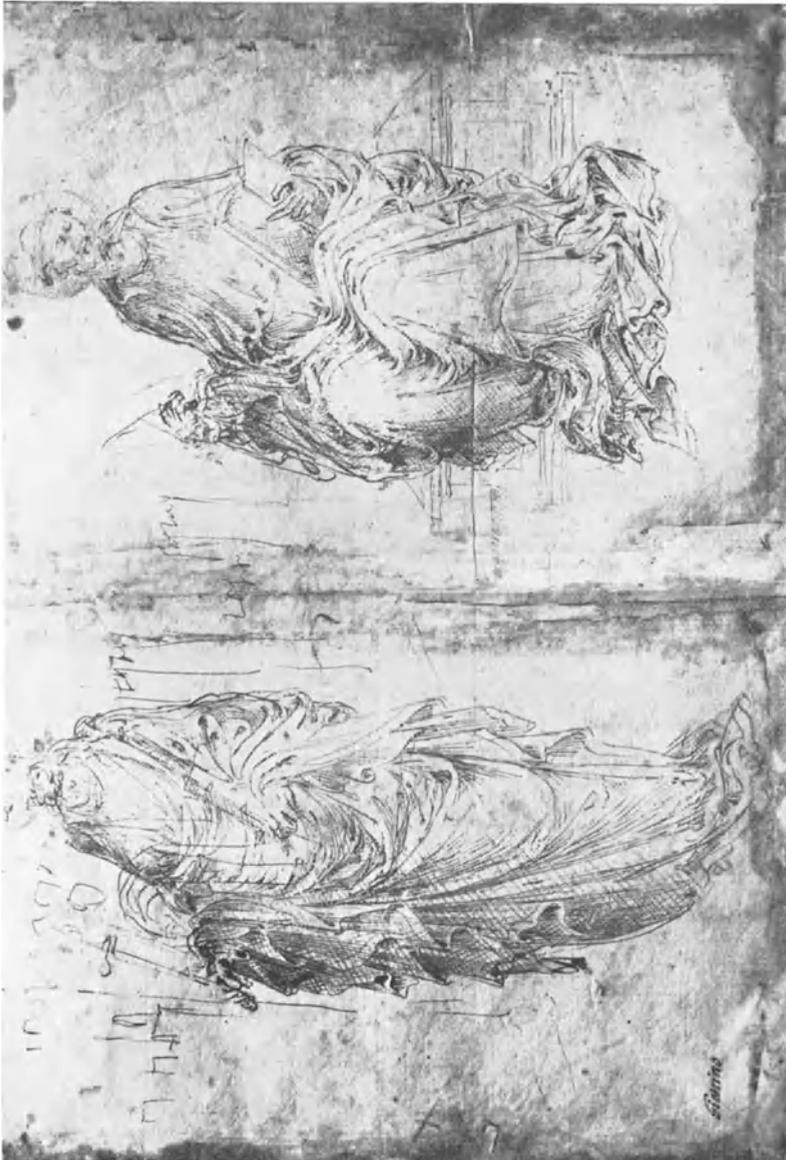


Fig. 149. Parri Spinelli, drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

the sketch of the gate of a town (25)⁽¹⁾; a figure seated, be-

⁽¹⁾ It has sometimes been thought that the two monks, the one reading, the other kneeling, might have formed part of a composition of St. Francis receiving the stigmata; this is not impossible.



Fig. 150. Parri Spinelli, drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Cipriani.

stowing a blessing, perhaps the Saviour (34); the seated Virgin with sketches of hands and draperies around and on the verso a saint carrying a sword (33). A fragment of a drawing showing a group of knights on horseback (22) does not seem to be from Parri's own hand (1). It is worthy of remark that already Vasari speaks of the numerous pen drawings by Parri that he knew; he himself possessed a few and he mentions twenty or so scenes from the legend of St. Donato, sketched by Parri to be embroidered by his sister as ornamentation of the high altar of the "archbishop's palace".

Dr. Salmi has very rightly drawn our attention to two little works in gold in the museum of Arezzo in which Parri's manner is very evident (2). I mean the half-length figures of the Virgin and St. John, probably from a crucifix, which have been mounted on a pedestal adorned with putti of a much later period, and

(1) *Sirén*, op. cit., ascribes to him still leaf 60 showing studies of saints and on the verso St. John the Evangelist.

(2) *M. Salmi*, *L'oreficeria medio-vale nell' Aretino*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1916, p. 242.



Fig. 151. Parri Spinelli, drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Cipriani.

the slightly more than half-length figures of the Madonna and angel of the Annunciation adorning the two halves of the lid of one of those little receptacles for incense, known as "Navi-cella". It is not necessary to conclude that Parri himself was active as a goldsmith, but there can be little doubt that it was he who made the sketches for these objects and it may very well be that the actual work was executed by his cousin Forzore.

In the gallery of Castiglione Fiorentino there are two works of Parri's school, the one a triptych showing three saints, the other a miniature of the Crucifixion.

According to Vasari, Parri undertook architectural work and made plans for the church of Sarziano for St. Bernardine.

The appreciation of Parri's merit as an artist varies considerably. While Vasari holds him in great respect, almost verging on veneration, and in his first edition begins the life of Parri in expressions of rhetorical praise, some modern critics, such as Cavalcaselle and more recently Dr. Salmi, qualify him as a reactionary artist of no importance. On the other hand, Mr. Sirén in his article in which he identifies the "Maestro del Bambino Vispo" with Parri Spinelli calls him "a late Gothic poet of line". As I have already pointed out, and Mr. Perkins before me, the identification of these two figures seems to me incorrect; the art of the "Maestro del Bambino Vispo" with its well-built and fairly plastic forms has little to do with that of Parri whose mediocrity is mitigated by the graceful line of his frail figures and elaborate draperies but who, compared with the other master, is but a mere manneristic calligrapher, possessing, however, a certain amount of charm. The denomination given by Mr. Sirén suits Parri admirably; it is just the poetry of line which remains fascinating in spite of the lack of proportion and plasticity, and in spite of the crude and sometimes dashing colours which we find in many of his works and which provides us with an important point of difference between him and the "Maestro del Bambino Vispo". His colouring is on the whole vulgar and hardly merits Vasari's praise concerning it to which he adds the recognized procedure for fresco painting.

The disproportionate length and the unvaried Gothic curve



Fig 152. Parri Spinelli, drawing, Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Cipriani.

did not escape Vasari's eye but again the "campanalismo" of the Aretine biographer extols these features as qualities, which is much more extraordinary for a critic of that time, also a friend of Michael Angelo, than it is for us, in whom an appreciation of Gothic mannerisms has been reborn.

The elegance of some of Parri's best figures is really quite charming but it must be admitted that there is little excuse for the reactionary style of this artist, who was a contemporary of Donatello, Uccello and Fra Angelico and who was still active a quarter of a century after the death of Masaccio. We are forced to imagine that Parri either lived such a retired provincial life that he did not become acquainted with the new artistic movements, or that he was reactionary and faithful to other principles and out of conviction evaded the influence of the modern tendency.

Parri's art is but a continuation of the style of Lorenzo Monaco of which he exaggerates certain features, in particular the calligraphic effects, to such a degree that they are transformed into rather clumsy mannerisms. Personally, I see no reason to admit a Siense influence⁽¹⁾; the resemblance between Siense art and that of Parri seems to me purely fortuitous and in all probability can be accounted for by the fact that in the Siense school, at least from the time of Simone Martini until this period, the Gothic line played a rôle of great importance.

Andrea di Giusto Manzini⁽²⁾ was an eclectic artist who began his career as a follower of Lorenzo Monaco. He is recorded for the first time in 1424 when he collaborated with Bicci di Lorenzo and again in 1426 working with Masaccio at Pisa⁽³⁾. Between 1427 and 1447 his name appears regularly in the roll of taxes and in 1436 he is mentioned as a member of the "Arte di Cali-

⁽¹⁾ The resemblance to Siense painting appears to some critics so marked that Mr. *Berenson*, *Central Italian Painters*, 2nd ed., New York—London, (1909), p. 139, mentions Parri's Madonna on the altar of Sta. Maria delle Grazie among the works of Bartolo di Fredi.

⁽²⁾ *Vasari-Milanesi*, III, p. 54. *O. Sirén*, *Andrea di Giusto*, *L'Arte*, 1904, p. 342. *The Same*, Lorenzo Monaco, p. 172. *I. B. Supino*, in *Thieme Becker*, *Künstlerlexikon*, I, p. 453.

⁽³⁾ These documents have been published several times v. *E. Somarè*, *Masaccio*, Milan, 1924, pp. 162, 163. Masaccio owed him money still in 1427.



Fig. 153. Parri Spinelli, drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Cipriani.

mala". The same year he makes a contract to execute an altar-piece for the church of Sta. Maria dei Magnoli, Florence (1); we possess works dating from 1426, 1435 and 1437; the artist died in 1455.

In the earliest dated work we have by Andrea he was still working in collaboration with Masaccio. The picture in question is the predella panel, showing St. Julian killing his parents and St. Nicholas performing an act of charity, which formed part of the altar-piece executed by Masaccio in 1426 for the Carmine church, Pisa, now in the gallery of Berlin (2). In a work of nine years later the influence of Lorenzo Monaco is so marked that it verges on imitation. The picture in question is the large polyptych dating from 1435 in the gallery of Prato. In the centre the Virgin and Child are depicted between two angels; the lateral panels show SS. Bartholomew, John the Baptist, Benedict and Catherine. Above, the three-quarter-length figures of the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation are represented in medallions to the sides and that of the Saviour over the central panel. In the centre of the predella we see the Nativity with the small figures of SS. Maurus and Placidius, and more to the sides four scenes from the martyrdom of the saints who are represented above (fig. 156). The Madonna and the three male saints are copied from the altar-piece that Lorenzo Monaco executed between 1406 and 1410 for Monte Oliveto; this picture is now in the Uffizi (No. 468), but instead of St. John the Evangelist, Andrea has portrayed St. Catherine while St. Benedict is shown in a different place. The appearance of the Saviour and of the two figures of the Annunciation, as well as the frame which surrounds them, is different. The Nativity in the predella, however, is also copied from Lorenzo Monaco but the martyrdom scenes do not so forcibly recall the manner of this master; in their conception, more than in their execution and their style, they reveal a knowledge of the art of Fra Angelico.

As we know that at the time he executed this picture, Andrea had been active already for eleven years, we must consider what works he might have executed during this period.

(1) *Gaye*, op. cit., I, p. 211

(2) *D. von Hadeln*, Andrea di Giusto und das dritte Predellenstück vom Pisaner Altarwerk von Masaccio, *Monatsh. f. Kunstwiss.*, I, 1908. p. 785.



Fig. 154. Parri Spinelli, drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Cipriani.

Possibly from the hand of Andrea di Giusto, and if so, dating from the moment he collaborated with Bicci di Lorenzo, is a small panel of minor importance which was shown at the

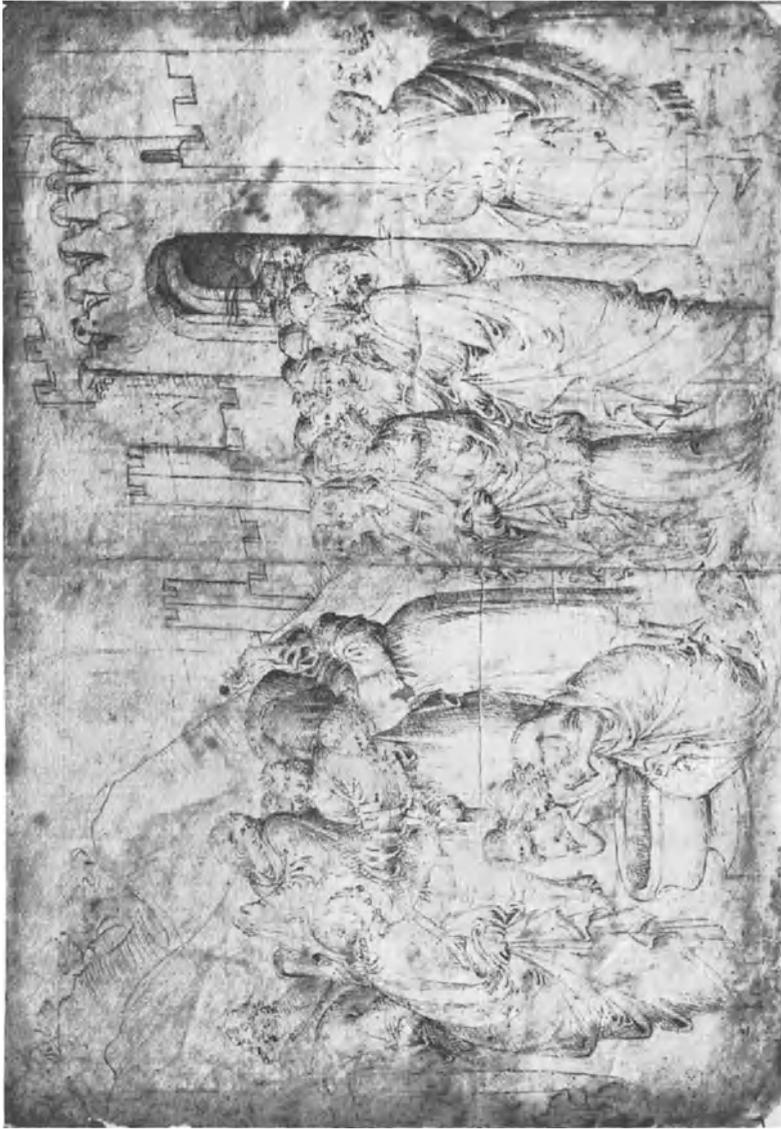


Fig. 155. Parri Spinelli, drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Cipriani.

exhibition of old art held in the Castel S. Angelo in Rome; it represents the Virgin and Child wafted on clouds over two hills between SS. Jerome, Francis and two cherubs. Here the influence of Lorenzo Monaco is so far not very evident. It is

more obvious, and as yet not accompanied by any elements of Fra Angelico's art, in a Crucifixion in the Bandini Museum, Fiesole (No. 37); to the sides we see the Virgin and St. John while St. Francis clasps the foot of the Cross.

Lorenzo Monaco's domination is very noticeable also in a



Fig. 156. Andrea di Giusto, polyptych. Gallery, Prato.

Photo Brogi.

picture of the Madonna seated lowly, the Child on her knee, between two angels (fig. 157) with the dead Saviour half-risen from His tomb above, in the Accademia, Florence and again in a Madonna and Child enthroned between SS. Catherine, Mary Magdalene, Francis and Bernard and the figures of the Annunciation in the medallions of the pinnacles which a few years ago was for sale in London (1).

(1) Advertisement, Burlington Magazine, June 1924.

Of a slightly later phase is I think a panel which I saw in a private collection in Rome a good many years ago, representing the Virgin and Child on a Gothic throne placed at a much higher level than the four saints, John the Baptist, Dominic, Peter and Paul, who are depicted against a gold background, adorned with conventional flowers, after the manner of the Orcagna (fig. 158).

In this picture the influence of Fra Angelico is again manifest in the morphological types and in the facial details. This is even more obvious in the picture of 1437. It is probably this painting that Cavalcaselle saw in a chapel of the church of Sta. Margherita, Cortona ⁽¹⁾; it is now in the Accademia in Florence but for a long time was kept in the storeroom of the Uffizi. Centrally it shows the Assumption of the Virgin whom we see in the midst of angels and cherubim while St. Thomas kneels below. To the sides are SS. Catherine of Alexandria and Francis. Each of the pilasters is decorated with three full-length figures of saints and one in half-length figure; two prophets and the Annunciation are depicted above while on the predella are the scenes of the Death of the Virgin, the martyrdom of St. Catherine and St. Francis receiving the stigmata and two nuns in adoration to the extreme right and left. The inscription reads: "*Andreas De Florentia 1437*" (fig. 159).

A panel representing SS. Zenobius, Francis and Antony of Padua in the Jarves collection, Yale University, Newhaven, (31) reveals to a still greater degree the influence of Fra Angelico, whose types and even whose sentiment to a certain extent Andrea imitates in this picture ⁽²⁾.

It is generally admitted and quite rightly too that Andrea's share of the frescoes in the Bocchineri or dell' Assunta chapel in the cathedral of Prato, dates from the end of his career.

Cavalcaselle in his day ascribed this decoration to Starnina and Antonio Vite; Schmarzow on the other hand believed it to have been executed by a late Giottesque artist and restored in part by Domenico Veneziano ⁽³⁾. Mr. Sirén has already con-

⁽¹⁾ *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, ed. Langton Douglas, II, p. 303.

⁽²⁾ *Sirén*, Burlington Magazine, XIV, 1908, p. 320. *The Same*, Descriptive Catalogue etc., p. 79.

⁽³⁾ *A. Schmarzow*, Repertorium f. Kunstw., XVI, 1893, p. 159.



Fig. 157. Andrea di Giusto, Madonna. Accademia, Florence.

Photo Brogi.



Fig. 158. Andrea di Giusto, Madonna and saints. Private Collection.

futed the latter theory. It is true, however, that in this work we can discern two hands, one very superior to the other (figs. 160–164).

To the poorer of the two masters we owe the Nativity of



Fig. 159. Andrea di Giusto, the Assumption and saints, 1437.
Accademia, Florence.

Photo Brogi.

the Virgin and her Marriage and on the wall opposite the stoning of St. Stephen and his funeral. The better artist executed the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, in which, however, he was helped by the other painter, the dispute of St. Stephen, the half-length figures of four of the Cardinal Virtues in the vault and the four saints — SS. Francis, Paul, Jerome and Antony of Padua — on the entrance arch. Further we can hold him responsible for the figures on all the surrounding borders, with the exception of one or two below in the series



Fig. 160. Andrea di Giusto, fresco the disputation of St. Stephen.
Cathedral, Prato.

Photo Alinari.

of the story of St. Stephen. Andrea must also have painted the isolated figure of Jacopone da Todi found in another part of the cathedral (fig. 165) ⁽¹⁾. Contrary to the opinion held by Mr. Sirén, I think that the better of the two painters who

⁽¹⁾ *Corradini*, Prato (Italia Artistica), Bergamo, p. 26.



Fig. 161. Assistant of Andrea di Giusto, fresco, Nativity of the Virgin.
Cathedral, Prato. Photo Brogi.

executed this series of frescoes, must have been Andrea di Giusto whom we find here at an advanced stage in his evolution under the influence of Fra Angelico and at the same time grappling with problems, then modern; thus demonstrating

a knowledge of the first efforts of the great Renaissance, efforts which were accomplished by Domenico Veneziano and which explain the attribution of Professor Schmarzow.

The new solutions of the problems of perspective, depth and space, united to the plastic effects, give these frescoes an unex-

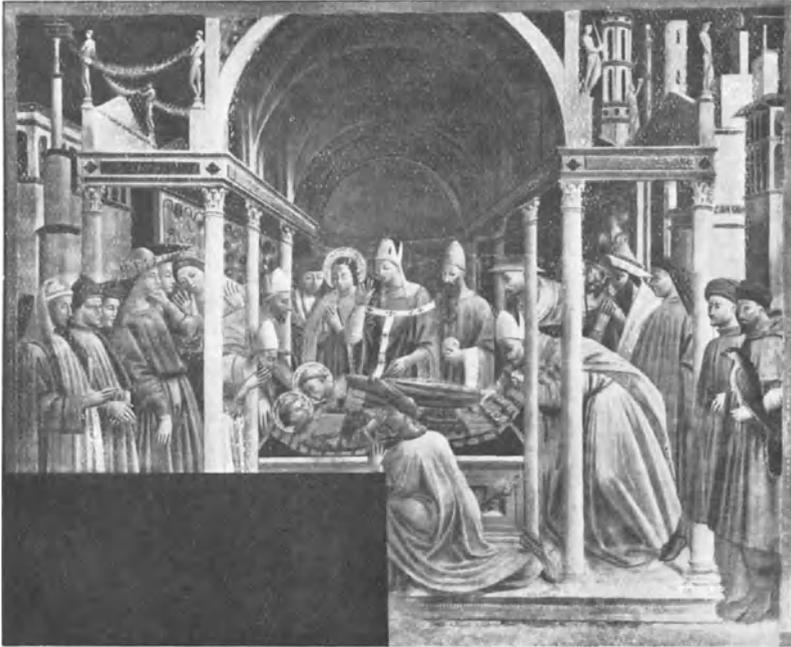


Fig. 162. Assistant of Andrea di Giusto, fresco, Funeral of St. Stephen. Cathedral, Prato. Photo Alinari.

pected appearance. It is obvious that Andrea's effort here is but a poor attempt compared with the achievements of the great artistic pioneers of this period whose example he followed without introducing anything new.

In the frescoes which I ascribe to the more feeble artist, this effort has been carried out in a very maladroit manner. Here the figures are ugly and rigid and I see no reason to believe that Andrea, by whom we have some charming pictures, ever reached such a state of decadence. The fresco of the Birth of the Virgin is again different from all the others and in my opinion might have been executed by a third artist.

Andrea's helper, who executed the greater number of the

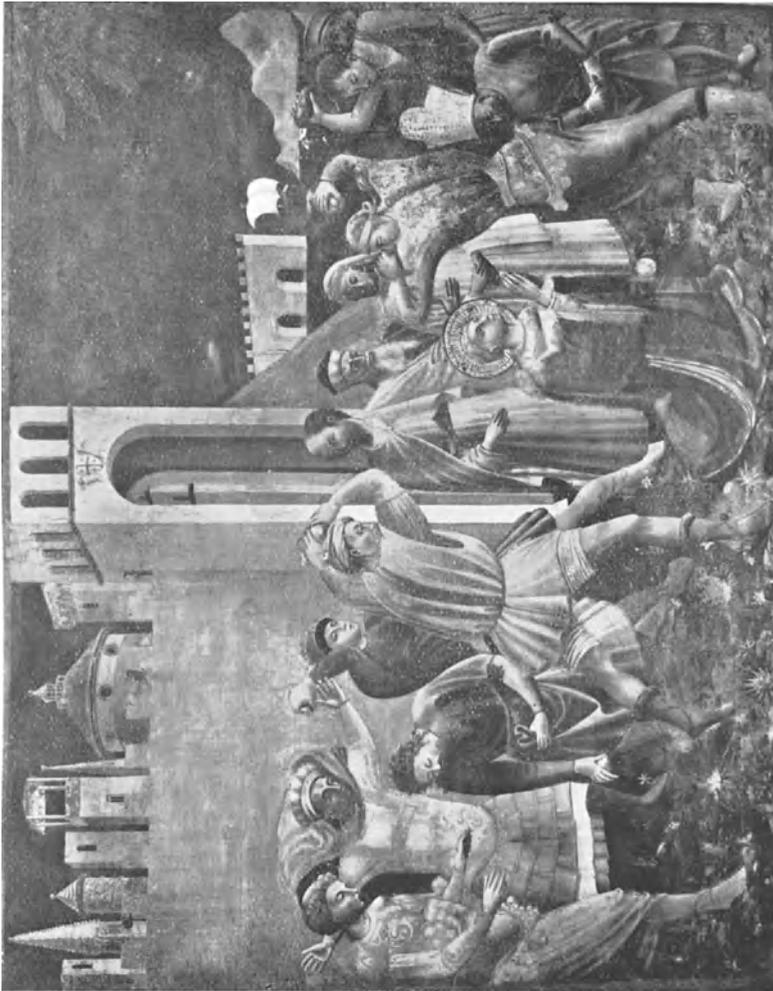


Fig 163. Assistant of Andrea di Giusto, fresco, Stoning of St. Stephen.
Cathedral, Prato. Photo Alinari.

frescoes at Prato, can be held responsible for a predella panel in the museum of Berlin, representing St. Julian killing his parents and St. Nicholas throwing the three golden balls into the room of the destitute young girls⁽¹⁾ while Andrea himself, working under the combined influences of Fra Angelico and Piero della Francesca, painted a little panel of the Madonna,

(¹) *E. Diaz*, *Rassegna d Arte*, IX, 1909, p. 200.

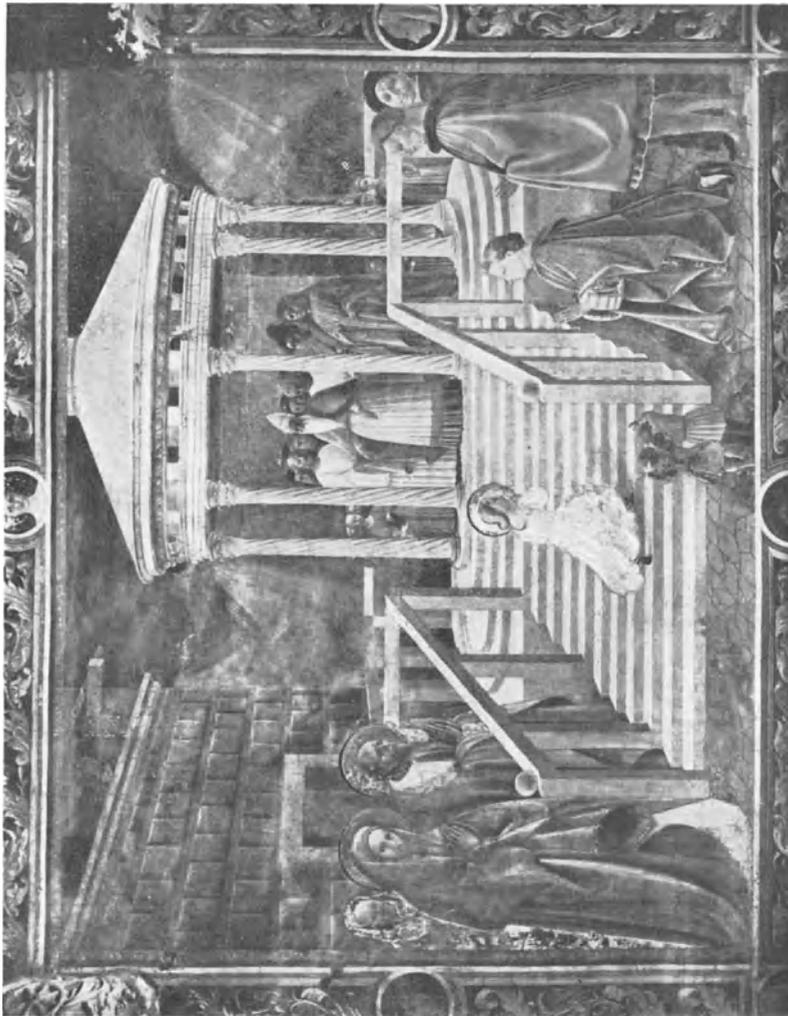


Fig. 164. Andrea di Giusto, fresco, the Virgin mounting the steps to the Temple. Cathedral, Prato. Photo Alinari.

seated lowly against a background of a flowered material in the manner of the Orcagna, holding the almost naked Child with one hand and raising the other, which formed part of the Paolini collection, Rome (1).

As Andrea di Giusto was an eclectic painter who worked after

(1) This painting was catalogued as No. 48 at the sale of this collection which took place in New York in December 1924.

several very different manners there is a certain number of paintings which can be ascribed to him, without, however, any certainty. Thus in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia, there is a little panel which Mr. Berenson, in the catalogue of this collection, hesitatingly attributes to Andrea (1). It is a work executed surely in the immediate surroundings of the master and if not from his own hand, certainly from that of a direct pupil who was influenced sooner by Andrea's first manner. The picture represents in a hall a young woman richly attired adoring an idol; another woman with two children is shown in the same room while outside the building a third woman and a young man are depicted.

Two very beautiful cassone panels, one representing the "Triumph of Love and of Chastity", the other the "Triumph of Fame, of Time and of Eternity" in the Walter Burns collection, North Mimms Park, Herts, have also been hesitatingly ascribed to Andrea di Giusto (2). If this attribution be correct, these two panels are the painter's master-pieces;



Fig. 165 Andrea di Giusto, the Blessed Jacopone da Todi. Cathedral, Prato.
Photo Alinari.

(1) *B. Berenson*, Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings, No. 20.

(2) *T. Borenius*, Burlington Magazine, XLI, 1922, p. 104

they once more show him working under the united influences of Fra Angelico and Piero della Francesca; the triumphal chariots are reminiscent of those that Piero depicts on the verso of the portraits of Federigo of Urbino and his wife, while in the Triumph of Eternity there is a composition of the Saviour in the midst of angels quite after the manner of Fra Angelico from whom the painter has borrowed, besides, a number of his human types and many features in the landscapes and verdure.

Dr. De Nicola has doubtfully attributed to this painter a picture of the Madonna and Child in the gallery of Volterra⁽¹⁾. It is a work which I find bears least resemblance to Andrea's other productions. Nor do I feel very sure about the attribution to Giusto of a Madonna enthroned and four saints in the collection of the Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, U.S.A.

As for school works, apart from those to which I have already referred, I should like to mention still a Madonna seated on a Gothic throne ornamented with statuettes in the midst of ten angels in the Schnütgen Museum, Cologne.

From the same hand is no doubt a Madonna and Child on a throne of more simple form between SS. James and Antony Abbot which formerly belonged to a collector in Rome.

In the Jarves collection, Yale University, Newhaven, U. S. A., a little panel representing the Prayer in the Garden of Olives (No. 32)⁽²⁾ is classified as belonging to the "manner of Andrea di Giusto" but it is an unimportant picture without character⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *De Nicola*, Rassegna d'Arte, XVIII, 1918, p. 70.

⁽²⁾ *Sirén*, Descriptive Catalogue, p. 81.

⁽³⁾ *O. Sirén*, op. cit. (L'Arte), ascribes to Andrea di Giusto still a Madonna and Child in the Museum of Fine Arts in Copenhagen (No. 160a) and a Madonna in the R. Fry collection, London. Sirén was mistaken in holding him responsible for the Crucifixion and Ascension in the Accademia, Florence, which, as we saw, are from the hand of Paolo Schiavo; Prof. A. Venturi has already protested against this attribution; on the other hand he ascribes to Andrea (Storia dell' arte italiana, VII¹, p. 28 note 5) still five figures of saints formerly in the museum of S. Marco. Cavalcaselle saw in the house of a family of the name of Ramelli in Fabriano a picture signed: "*Hoc opus fecit Andreus De Florentia*", representing the conversion of Constantine who was shown at the feet of St. Sylvester depicted between SS. Peter, Paul and two angels. An Assumption in the Maitland collection, London, which Crowe and Cavalcaselle attributed to Andrea di Giusto is by Domenico di Michelino and will be dealt with later on. In the Accademia of Florence, No. 6004, a Madonna of Humility in the midst of angels with the Saviour above is wrongly attributed to Andrea.

Nearer to Andrea are two small panels each representing two figures of saints in the storeroom of the Vatican Gallery (160, 162) and those of St. Nicholas of Bari, Francis, the Baptist and a holy bishop in the Estensische Sammlung, Vienna.

I do not think we should include any of the other Florentine painters in this group which represents the cosmopolitan Gothic style along the banks of the Arno (¹).

(¹) Florentine paintings of the beginning of the 15th century prior to the real Renaissance are fairly numerous. In many public and private collections and also in various churches are found pictures of the Madonna in the midst of saints in a composition similar to that adopted by Bicci di Lorenzo. I do not attempt to give a complete list and shall cite only the more important: **Altenburg**, Lindenau Gal., No. 26, the Madonna seated, sewing in presence of the Child holding a small bird and fruit, two angels fly above; a Gothic throne and lectern are seen behind; No. 27, Madonna seated with the Child on her knee, SS. Peter and John the Baptist kneeling to the sides, two angels placing a crown on the Virgin's head, revealing an influence of Bicci di Lorenzo; No. 22, St. Jerome and three nuns in adoration; No. 39, fragment of a figure of a man dressed in red. **Borselli** (near Vallombrosa), Sta. Margherita a Tosina, polyptych. **Budapest**, Gal., altar-piece dated 1426, Madonna between four angelic musicians and saints. **Citta di Castello**, Gal., No. 28, triptych, Madonna and Child between SS. Amasius and Eleoridus with the Crucifixion, SS. Peter and Paul and the Annunciation in the wings, a very poor work signed "*Piero Donini*". **Fiesole**, Seminary, Coronation of the Virgin, angels and saints, if old entirely repainted. **Florence**, Sta. Croce, Refectory Museum, detached fresco, Madonna seated lowly with the Child; Accademia, important polyptych, Madonna, Child and four angels between SS. Catherine, Francis, Zenobius and Mary Magdalene and two prophets above; Madonna and Child with Christ on the Cross between the seated figures of the Virgin and St. John above; Arte della Lana Palazzo, profane scenes; Uffizi, drawings, No. 22, Adoration of the Magi, part of a Crucifixion, the Message to the Shepherds and on the verso dogs fighting, falcons and the head of a griffon. **Near Florence**, Lastra a Signa, Sta. Maria, Madonna. **San Gimignano**, Gal., No. 16, Christ on the Cross, cut out. **S. Giovanni Val d'Arno**. S. Lorenzo, fresco fragments on different walls; Sta. Maria delle Grazie, panel of the Madonna. **London**, British Museum, drawing, study of six female figures, Vasari Society, III, 1. **Oxford**, Christ Church, No. 18, Madonna and Child in the midst of cherubs, six saints and two angels, attributed to Mariotto di Nardo (*Sirén*, Burlington Magazine, XXVI, p. 108). **Philadelphia**, Johnson coll., No. 9, St. Sylvester overpowering the dragon (*Berenson*, Catalogue, p. 7); Nos. 124—127, the Visitation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Flight into Egypt, slight influence of Lorenzo Monaco (*Berenson*, Catalogue, p. 72, Umbro-Florentine towards 1425). **Rome**, Vatican Gal., No. 6, large polyptych, Crucifixion and Last Supper in the centre, eight scenes

Besides it was not on this particular ground that the international artistic movement found a very suitable soil and the true adherents of this tendency are rare. It is true that Gentile da Fabriano and his close follower, Cola di Arcangelo da Camerino, introduced into Florence those late Gothic forms of which we find evidence in several Florentine productions. But even if Gentile had never migrated to Florence, it is highly likely that the cosmopolitan current would have penetrated there all the same.

Nevertheless, a fairly large group of Florentine painters of the beginning of the 15th century, that with which we dealt in the previous chapter, was still too faithful to the artistic principles of the Trecento to be carried away by Gothicism, while on the other hand Donatello Masaccio, Domenico Veneziano and Uccello had already early in the 15th century caused quite a revolution in Florentine art so that the Gothic cosmopolitan style was wedged between two powerful local tendencies, which followed one on the other, and it had no opportunity of finding a firm foothold.

from the story of the Passion and after, and the half-length figures of the Lord, prophets and saints to the sides; No. 62, triptych showing similar subjects; Nevin coll., sold April 1907, No. 238 of sale catalogue, important polyptych, Madonna and Child between SS. Jerome, Peter, Paul and Francis, above the Holy Ghost and the Annunciation and in the predella the Adoration of the Magi and scenes from the lives of the saints depicted above; it shows a faint influence of Lorenzo Monaco; Nos. 32, 151 and 310 were other works of the Florentine school of the early 15th century.

CHAPTER III

MASOLINO DA PANICALE ⁽¹⁾

Masolino's real name was Tommaso and he was the son of Cristofano di Fino a whitewasher ⁽²⁾. According to a declaration made in 1427 by his father who lived at that moment in the quarter of Sta. Croce, our artist was born in 1383. In 1423 he is enrolled in the corporation of "Medici e Speciali" of Florence; from the same year dates the Madonna, now in Bremen. In 1424 we find him at work for the Confraternity of Sta. Croce in Empoli ⁽³⁾.

In all probability it was the following year that he executed the frescoes in the Collegiata of Castiglione d'Olonna but during this year he receives a payment in Florence. Two years later we learn from a statement made by his father, that he is in Hungary working for Pippo Spanno, the condottiere of Emperor Sigismondo, who had a considerable number of chapels built there. In 1432 he painted the extant fresco in Todi ⁽⁴⁾ while the mural decoration of the baptistery of Castiglione d'Olonna bears the date 1435 but apparently the inscription is not original. The painter died probably in 1447 ⁽⁵⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Vasari-Milanesi*, II, p. 263. *A. Schmarzow*, Masaccio-Studiën, I, Kassel, passim. *B. Berenson*, Quelques peintures méconnues de Masolino, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1902, p. 89; the same article translated into English in *B. Berenson*, The Study and Criticism of Italian Art, II, London, 1914, p. 77: I have consulted the latter and any reference I make is to this edition. *P. Toesca*, Masolino da Panicale, Bergamo, 1908. *J. Cartwright*, The Painters of Florence, London, 1910, p. 73. *K. Escher*, Malereider Renaissance in Italien, I (Handb. d. Kunstwiss.), Berlin, 1922, pp. 35, 51.

⁽²⁾ For the greater part, the documents are published in *Milanesi's* edition of *Vasari*.

⁽³⁾ *G. Poggi*, Masolino e la Compagnia della Croce in Empoli, *Rivista d'Arte*, III, 1905, p. 46.

⁽⁴⁾ *U. Gnoli*, L'affresco di Masolino a Todi, *Bolletino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.*, VIII, 1914, p. 175.

⁽⁵⁾ *Schmarzow*, op. cit., p. 24.

Vasari's facts concerning Masolino are once more somewhat confused. Not only does he mix up the works of Masolino and of Masaccio, attributing to the former all the frescoes in the Brancacci chapel, in the Carmine church, Florence, but he identifies him probably with Tommaso di Cristofano, the helper of Ghiberti with whom, he affirms, our painter began his career; further the same critic informs us that he was a pupil of Starnina. Again he confounds the names when he tells us that Masolino executed the frescoes in the Orsini Palace, Monte Giordano, Rome, which he ascribes also to Tommaso-Giottino. In the chapel of the Crucifix of the Carmine church, Florence, which chapel was destroyed in 1675, we are informed that Masolino painted a figure of St. Peter still visible in Vasari's day, but as others, who also saw a figure of St. Peter there, hold Masaccio responsible for it, we can have but little confidence in Vasari's affirmation.

We have no works which date from an early stage in the master's career. The oldest dated picture is the Madonna of 1423 in the Kunsthalle of Bremen, which consequently was executed when Masolino was forty years old.

Mr. Berenson has already remarked that a Madonna in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (Plate III), which he was the first to recognize as a work by Masolino, should date from a period prior to 1423; he places it towards 1420 but on account of the considerable difference of style which exists between this panel and that at Bremen I am inclined to ascribe it to a still earlier period. However, these two pictures are undoubtedly from the same hand.

From the appearance of this picture we can deduce another fact, namely that the master of Masolino was certainly Lorenzo Monaco⁽¹⁾ who, particularly in the first stage of his career, shows us Madonnas seated on a cushion on the ground like that of Masolino, and the Infant Christ very lively as Masolino depicts Him here. Also in one of Lorenzo's pictures of the Virgin, that in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, there are two little angels in adoration to the sides; Masolino has in-

⁽¹⁾ *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 18 et seq., does not agree with the hypothesis that Lorenzo Monaco was Masolino's master because of the Trecentesque elements that are found in the works of the monk.



MADONNA

By Masolino, Ältere Pinakothek, Munich.

Photo Hanfsaengl.



Fig. 166. Masolino, Madonna. Gallery, Bremen.

creased their number to four and has added as well, a figure of God the Father in the midst of cherubim above. However, in spite of certain points of resemblance, it can be seen at a glance that Masolino's panel at Munich belongs to a more evolved stage of Italian painting than Lorenzo Monaco's art. Gothicism is still quite noticeable in this picture but in a very late and greatly improved form, particularly evident in the shadows and plastic effects. Of those elements of 14th century art still conserved by Lorenzo Monaco, nothing remains here and for this reason Herr Schmarzow attributes the panel of Munich to Masaccio⁽¹⁾.

The Madonna of 1423 at Bremen (fig. 166), another of Mr. Berenson's discoveries and also ascribed to Masaccio by Herr Schmarzow⁽²⁾, manifests a still more advanced stage of that development which differentiates Masolino's art from that of Lorenzo Monaco. Again we see much the same iconographical type. The Child Who is erect, embraces His Mother passionately and with greater impetuosity than is shown by that pupil of Lorenzo Monaco, who, none the less, owes his name, "il Maestro del Bambino Vispo" to the vivacity of his representations of the Infant Jesus. Above in the frame we see the head of the Saviour while below is found the inscription with the date 1423.

In the panel of Bremen, still more than in that of Munich are evident that gentle charm and superb colouring which are so attractive in the art of Masolino, who is one of the most pleasing painters of this period in the whole of Italy and more particularly in Tuscany. It is true that the liberty of attitude has almost put an end to the restrictions prescribed by the Gothic principles to which the other Florentine painters were much more faithful.

In the church of S. Stefano at Empoli, from which town Panicale is not far distant, Mr. Berenson has again recognized the hand of Masolino in a painted lunette which was removed from above one of the doors and placed on an altar (fig. 167). This attribution has since been confirmed by the discovery of an inventory of 1469 in which it is recorded that according to

(¹) *Schmarzow*, op. cit., I, p. 65.

(²) *Schmarzow*, loc. cit.



Fig 167. Masolino, Madonna. S. Stefano, Empoli.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

an old register the Confraternity of the Cross paid in November 1424 seventy-four gold florins to "Maso di Cristoforo depintore da Firenze" for the fresco decoration in the chapel of the church

of this confraternity⁽¹⁾. The fresco represents the half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child Jesus standing on her knee bestowing a blessing; to either side an angel with folded arms is visible to the knee. These figures cannot be classified among the best that we have from the hand of Masolino, but the colouring is very beautiful.

In 1425 Cardinal Branda, a native of Castiglione d'Olona, consecrated the new Collegiata of this little town; in 1421 the pope had granted him the permission to reconstruct this church which was falling into ruin⁽²⁾. An inscription on the architrave of the main entrance informs us that the building was completed only in 1428⁽³⁾, but this seems rather a late date in the career of Masolino for the frescoes here and I think it quite likely that the walls were decorated before the consecration of 1425 and even perhaps some time before that, probably during the construction whenever the conditions of the interior allowed the painter to start his work, so that it is my opinion that the frescoes in the Collegiata of Castiglione d'Olona date from between 1421 and 1425.

The frescoes in the vault of the choir were discovered under the white wash in 1843 and the attribution to Masolino is guaranteed by the master's signature which reads: "*Masolinus de Florentia pinsit*". Several of the scenes are very damaged, such for instance as the Coronation of the Virgin; the Madonna is depicted in profile seated opposite her Son; they are escorted by many angels some of whom are only partly visible through the fret-work of the back of the throne (fig. 168).

The Marriage of the Virgin is in a better state of preservation; it takes place in a building which, although deformed by the limited triangular space at the artist's disposal, all the same shows principles of the art of the Renaissance and no longer those of the Gothic movement (fig. 169).

Among the persons who assist at the ceremony and particularly among the rejected suitors, we discover several

(1) *Poggi*, op. cit.

(2) *Schmarzow*, op. cit., I, p. 3.

(3) *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, IV, ed. *Langton Douglas and De Nicola*, London, 1911, p. 18.



Fig. 168. Masolino, the Coronation of the Virgin. Collegiata,
Castiglione d'Olona.

Photo Anderson.

features, such as the proportions and manner of draping the figures, which adumbrate Masaccio. This is very evident in the figure of the bearded old man who is seen in the first row to the right. These elements were not very noticeable in the Coronation of the Virgin and are even less marked in the Annunciation, in which the two figures kneeling in

the interior, summarily indicated, of a house, are of elongated, Gothic proportions, especially that of the Virgin. Perhaps the tall and narrow piece of wall which the artist had to decorate with these figures accounts to a certain extent for the increased peculiarity of the forms which are more Gothic than the Madonnas of Bremen and Munich.

The Nativity is shown in a rather curious and somewhat clumsy composition. Before a little building with a portico, under which are housed the ox and the ass, we see the Virgin, much larger in proportion than the other figures, kneeling in adoration before the new-born Child, Who lies on the ground.

To this side two women and to the other side St. Joseph all kneeling fill up the angles while in the distance is depicted the angelic Message to the Shepherds.

The fresco of the Adoration of the Magi is rather damaged. Here we have a reversed view of the same house. One of the Eastern kings bows in homage before the Infant, the others, carrying their gifts, stand behind; their suite and their mounts are seen in the same courtyard while St. Joseph is represented in the opposite corner. The background is formed by a mountainous landscape in which we can distinguish the shepherds and their flocks. A number of features in this fresco recalls Gentile da Fabriano's panel of the same subject in the Uffizi, which dates from May 1425.

The scenes of the martyrdom of SS. Stephen and Lawrence, which adorn the walls below the vault, are not from the hand of Masolino. They have been attributed to Uccello and although it is generally agreed that they are not by this painter, they are nevertheless by a Florentine master of this generation and we shall deal with them elsewhere. Nor is the panel of the Annunciation in the sacristy by Masolino, it is the work of a pupil who closely followed his master's style.

I think it was during the same sojourn in Castiglione d'Olona that Masolino executed some paintings which are found in the tower of a building near the Collegiata — perhaps the old dwelling of the canons of the church — and those in the palace which Cardinal Branda had built. Both works are described by Prof. Toesca.

Of the former decoration there remains a half-length figure



Fig. 169. Masolino, the Marriage of the Virgin, Collegiata, Castiglione d'Olona.
Photo Alinari.

of St. John the Baptist executed in terra verde in a lunette over a door as well as an Annunciation closely resembling that adorning the vault of the Collegiata; the event seems to take place in an open loggia. These frescoes are in a very poor state of preservation, still I think they show a sufficient connexion in style with the frescoes in the Collegiata to allow us consider them as an almost contemporary production.

Of the room which Masolino frescoed in the Branda or Castiglione Palace (¹) only one of the walls has conserved some of its decoration; it shows a frieze with Gothic ornaments and putti supporting the cardinal's coat of arms. In a frame we see the half-length figure of a young girl; that of her companion is almost entirely effaced. Lower down is depicted a beautiful hilly landscape dotted with castles and other buildings. This is but a fragment of the original decoration which Signor Toesca imagines included some genre pictures, perhaps even illustrating some incidents from the cardinal's own life.

The same critic comes to the conclusion that, on account of the correspondences in style with the decoration of the Collegiata and because of a slight inferiority in the execution of the landscape compared with that in the frescoes of the Baptistery which date in all probability from 1435, the mural paintings in the Branda Palace must have been executed about the same time as the ornamentation of the Collegiata. In a room adjacent, called the "Sala del Cardinale" we find a decoration of trees and putti tilling the soil which, however, is the work of a Lombard artist.

Later on I shall refer briefly to the problem regarding the frescoes in the Brancacci chapel and although I ascribe these paintings, which have given rise to so much discussion, to Masaccio and not to Masolino, yet I do not deny that Masaccio, though the pupil of Masolino, had at a certain moment an influence on his master. Indeed it would have been rather surprising if a painter of Masolino's indisputable talent could have assisted at the creation of the marvels of Masaccio without being roused to admiration and prompted to imitate such an example. Nevertheless this influence was of short duration and did not penetrate very deeply.

We find Masolino at Todi in 1432 and back once more in Castiglione d'Olona probably in 1435 without being able to discover in the works he executed on these occasions any trace of a knowledge of Masaccio's art.

(¹) *G. Cagnola*, Un affresco inedito di Masolino da Panicale, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1904, p. 75.

The productions which reveal most clearly that Masolino came into close contact with Masaccio are a fresco in the Baptistery of Empoli and two panels in the Vatican Gallery. I think they should be placed shortly after his earlier activity — that of about 1425 — at Castiglione d'Olena. The fresco represents the Saviour, half arisen from His tomb, supported by the Virgin and St. John who kisses His Master's hand; in the background we see the empty Cross. Above, a decorative border is adorned with medallions containing the figures of prophets and the image of the Saviour on St. Veronica's handkerchief (figs. 170—172).

In this instance, as in many of the other debatable points of the Masolino-Masaccio



Fig. 170. Masolino, Pietà. Collegiata, Empoli.
Photo Alinari.

problem, it is chiefly the German crit-

ics ⁽¹⁾ who support the attribution to Masaccio, while Mr. Berenson at first hesitatingly and then more precisely assigns this work to Masolino and Prof. Toesca and Venturi are of

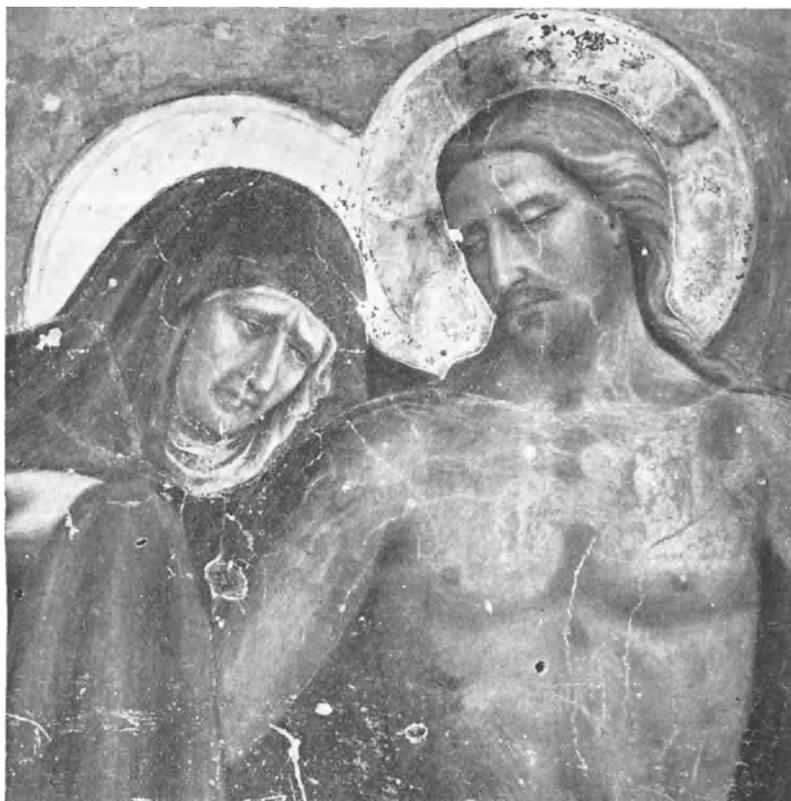


Fig. 171. Detail of fig. 170.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. str.

the same opinion. It is true, however, that here we are treading on rather thin ice, because once we admit that this painting is by Masolino, we get very near to attributing to him also the much disputed frescoes of the Brancacci chapel. But the difference is that while the latter works show us Masaccio at the beginning of his career, dominated by Masolino, we have

⁽¹⁾ *W. von Bode*, in the last edition of "Cicerone" classifies it as a work of the manner of Masaccio. *Escher*, op. cit., p. 45, ascribes it to this artist.



Fig. 172. Detail of fig. 170.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

in the painting at Empoli an example of the contrary, that is to say, Masolino influenced by his pupil. For just as Masaccio, born with a true understanding of the spirit of the Renaissance could never have created really Gothic paintings, so too Masolino, a child of his epoch, could never have executed a picture which was not fundamentally a manifestation of the

Gothic style. Thus the fresco at Empoli, in its form, in its unbalanced composition, in its treatment of the nude, in the principal lines of its figures and their attitudes, is a Gothic production, in which the plastic effects and some of the more forcible contours, borrowed from Masaccio, have been applied only in a rather superficial manner.

The same can be said for the two panels in the Vatican Gallery, the Death of the Virgin (no. 139) (fig. 173), and the Crucifixion (no. 138) (fig. 174). Prof. Schmarzow who still attributes them to Masaccio, pretends that they belonged in all probability to an altar-piece which already Vasari ascribed to Masaccio and which was found in Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome; other fragments of this picture are supposed to be the miracle of the snow and the Assumption by Masolino in Naples⁽¹⁾. Although, personally, I think these works are by the same artist, I am not of opinion that they were all executed at the same period; the two panels in Naples, I should say, date from a slightly later stage in the painter's career. Mr. Sirén has already attributed them to Masolino⁽²⁾; Mr. Berenson does the same but in rather a hesitating manner⁽³⁾, while Signor Toesca finds that they are executed in the manner of Masolino.

The little panel of the Death of the Virgin has been retouched, especially in the centre. In a rocky landscape we see the Twelve Apostles gathered round the tomb into which two of them lower the body of the Virgin. In the centre, Christ, carrying an olive branch, bears away the soul of His Mother, symbolized by the figure of a little child. Two angels holding candles are depicted to either side. In executing the central figures, the new conceptions of constructing the human form that he has borrowed from Masaccio, do not mask the Gothic principles; the angels are very characteristic of Masolino's art

Among the works of Fra Angelico there are several represent-

(1) *Schmarzow*, op. cit., p. 85.

(2) *O. Sirén*, Notizie critiche sui quadri sconosciuti nel Museo Cristiano Vaticano, *L'Arte*, 1906, pp. 332, 334.

(3) After having ascribed the Crucifixion to Lorenzo Monaco v. *O. Sirén*, op. cit.

ations of the Death of the Virgin which more or less correspond with Masolino's composition but it would be difficult to say which of them has precedence (¹).

In the panel of the Crucifixion, in which only the Virgin and St John, resting his head in his hand, are depicted to the sides of the Cross which is placed on a small mound, while above is shown the pelican feeding its young, we again notice the Gothic forms intermingling with those traits which the painter owes to a knowledge of Masaccio's art. None the less, the anatomical drawing of Christ's body and the draperies, particularly that of St. John, closely correspond with Masolino's artistic conceptions. However, I am a little doubtful regarding the attribution of

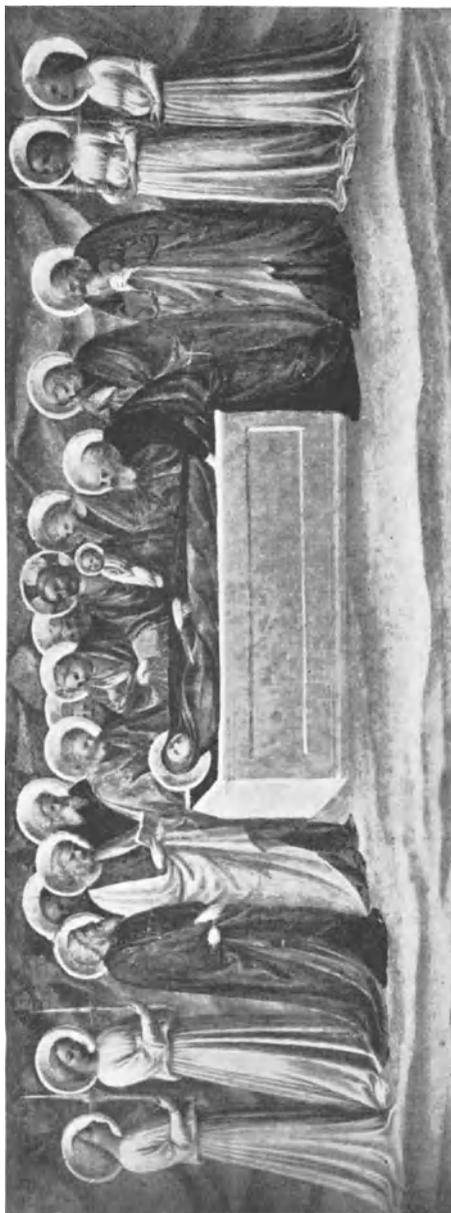


Fig. 173. Masolino, the Death of the Virgin. Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

(¹) According to the catalogue of the Vatican Gallery (1914) Mr. Perkins ascribed this panel to the school of Fra Angelico.

this panel to Masolino although I feel practically certain that it was he who executed the Death of the Virgin.

In 1432 Masolino painted the fresco of the Madonna and two angels which formerly adorned the wall to the right of the entrance of S. Fortunato, Todi (Umbria), but was later transported to the fourth chapel to the right (fig. 175) ⁽¹⁾. A record of the payment which was made in 1432 guarantees the authenticity of this work ⁽²⁾. In the lunette to the left side of the façade there are some traces of a Madonna and of the head of an angel which seem also from the hand of Masolino and were no doubt executed on the same occasion.

The fresco inside the church shows the Madonna in three-quarter figure, a glaring halo of modern gold behind her head; the position of the Child, naked on her knee, is that generally seen in representations of the Adoration of the Magi. Of the two angels, one makes the gesture of adoration, the other is shown with folded arms.

Count Georg Vitzthum very rightly expresses his surprise that this authentic and dated work, known now for about twenty years, has been taken into so little consideration in the more recent studies in connexion with Masolino.

It is certainly of great interest to determine that between this work and those of ten years or so earlier the difference is not sufficiently important to allow us to imagine that between the Madonna of 1423 at Bremen and that of 1432 at Todi a great evolution took place in the master's manner; yet I think that the sensitive artistic temperament that Masolino really possessed was slightly affected by the art of Gentile da Fabriano, several of whose works he saw in all likelihood in Florence but of whose style he gained a greater knowledge during his sojourn in Central Italy.

I agree with Prof Vitzthum that the works which resemble most closely the fresco of Todi, are the two panels in the museum of Naples. They represent the miracle of how a fall of snow

⁽¹⁾ *U Gnoli*, op. cit. *F. M. Perkins*, Un dipinto sconosciuto di Masolino da Panicale, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1907, p. 184.

⁽²⁾ *G. Vitzthum*, Ein Stadtbild im Baptisterium von Castiglione d'Olena, *Testschrift zum Sechzigsten Geburtstag von Paul Clemen*, Bonn, 1926, p. 409.

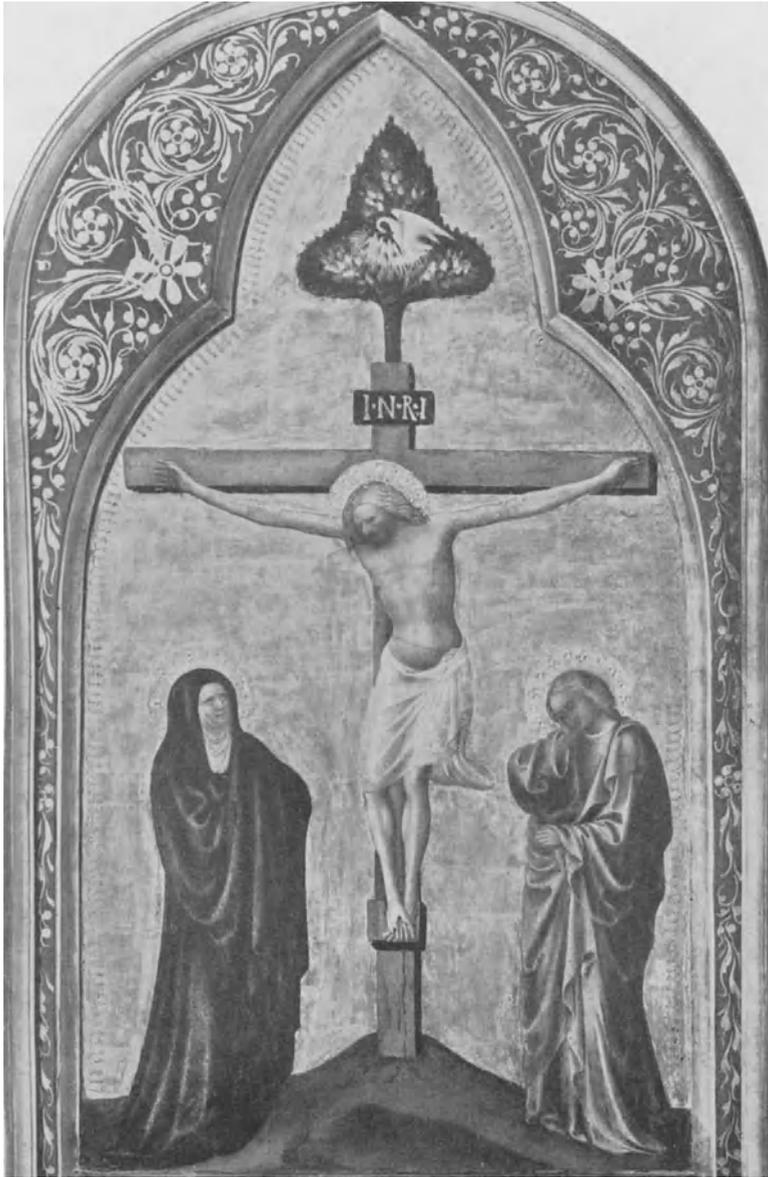


Fig. 174. Masolino, the Crucifixion. Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

indicates the site of Sta. Maria Maggiore and the Assumption (¹). I have already referred to Prof. Schmarzow's theory according to which these panels belonged to the altar-piece of Sta. Maria Maggiore which Vasari, who saw it there, attributes to Masaccio. I see no difficulty in accepting Prof. Schmarzow's hypothesis; Vasari, however, has made a mistake regarding the master (²).

In the representation of the miracle of the snow (fig. 176), we see an image of the Virgin very similar to that at Todi, here she is depicted together with the Saviour in an aureole borne on a cloud above a group of persons who look at the pope — according to Vasari the portrait of Pope Martin V — marking with a hoe the plan of the church in the snow. Some pieces of architecture, mountains and little clouds form the background to this event.

Also the Madonna of the Assumption is of the same type as that at Todi. She is shown seated, her hands folded in prayer, in the midst of many cherubim and a host of angels, holding emblems of the different hierarchies or playing on musical instruments. Above is depicted a half-length figure of Christ with arms outstretched to receive the Virgin (fig. 177).

With the following group of works we enter a new phase in the art of Masolino during which he was influenced by Fra Angelico; although at the beginning of the holy monk's career it was he who revealed a knowledge of late Gothic art, at this period he was an artist of much greater renown than Masolino who borrowed from him chiefly the morphological types and to a certain extent tried to imitate the charm and sweetness.

The first effects of this influence of Angelico's advanced manner on Masolino are, I think, noticeable in the pretty figure of the Madonna with the Child, formerly in the Davis collection, Newport (³), now, I believe, bequeathed to the Metropolitan Mu-

(¹) *V. Leonardi*, *La tavola della Madonna della Neve nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, Siena, 1905. *A. Venturi*, *op. cit.*, also considers these panels to be early works.

(²) *Escher*, *op. cit.*, p. 36, even now persists in ascribing these panels to Masaccio.

(³) *J. Breck*, *Dipinti italiani nella raccolta del Signor Teodoro Davis*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1911, p. III.

seum, New York (fig. 178). It would be difficult to understand this picture unless we admit that it is a work inspired by one of Angelico's Madonnas, such as that of Linaiuoli of 1433 or that, also enthroned in the midst of six saints, formerly in the Accademia, Florence (No. 227), now in the museum of S. Marco,



Fig. 175. Masolino, Madonna and angels. S. Fortunato, Todi.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

but executed not by a follower but on the contrary by a painter working in an older manner and still faithful to the Gothic principles, already abandoned by Fra Angelico.

These are the reasons for which I am inclined to accept, although with a certain hesitation, the attribution of this picture to Masolino, which I know has not the approval of some of the best connoisseurs of Italian painting.

Another panel in which the elements borrowed from Fra Angelico are very visible, belongs to Mr. Mather of Princeton.

It shows St. Jerome against a background of rocks which resemble in form those depicted by Lorenzo Monaco. The look and the expression of his face as he gazes heavenward seem to be inspired by the works of the holy painter of Fiesole.

On account of the presence of the coats of arms of the Ridolfi and the Gaddi, Mr. Offner is of opinion that this painting might have been executed on the occasion of a marriage between the two families which occurred in 1424, or perhaps to celebrate the birth of an heir⁽¹⁾. I am more inclined to ascribe this picture to a slightly later date because of the evident influence of Fra Angelico, although it is quite probable that it was for the Ridolfi-Gaddi family that it was made; yet St. Jerome, the patron saint of the clergy, seems hardly indicated as the subject of a marriage picture, unless of course the bridegroom was called Jerome.

Although the inscription which provides us with the date of 1435 for the frescoes in the baptistery of Castiglione d'Olona is not original, it seems highly likely that it is a true copy; moreover, this is just the period that is most suitable for this cycle of frescoes in the chronology of Masolino's productions.

On entering the baptistery we see to the right and to the left of the door, frescoes illustrating the youth of St. John the Baptist but these paintings have suffered so much from the damp that only a few débris remain visible. One scene in which we can recognize two groups of men, one opposite the other, inside a building (fig. 179), represents the announcement of the angel to Zachariah which occurred in the temple at the moment Zachariah was about to place the incense on the altar. Above the altar we see a little angel flying towards the old man whose head is encircled by a nimbus. Of Zachariah struck dumb, inscribing the name of his son, there remains visible only the half-length figure of the patriarch, writing in a large Gothic hand of an extremely interesting perspective. Of St. John preaching to the crowd we can distinguish clearly only a group of figures in profile, elegantly attired in different colours and with extraordinary head-dresses which were at that time very fashionable in Italy.

⁽¹⁾ *R. Offner, A Saint Jerome by Masolino, Art in America, 1920, p. 168.*



Fig 176. Masolino, the miracle of Sta. Maria Maggiore. Museum, Naples.

Photo Brogi.

Above a door on the same wall there is a fragment of a painting in which a group of buildings of very small scale can with difficulty be discerned; Count Vitzthum⁽¹⁾ recognizes this as a plan of Rome and consequently a document of great importance considering the rarity of the plans of Rome of the beginning of the 15th century.

The frescoes on the end wall of the baptistery are happily much better preserved. The principal wall of the choir is adorned with a representation of the Baptism; in the River Jordan which runs between rocky banks in a hilly landscape the Saviour receives the Baptism from St. John who kneels on the bank (fig. 180). Behind him four men undress in order to enter the river; opposite, three angels hold the Saviour's clothes. Lower down to the sides of the window we see another sermon of St. John before an audience, composed in part of Christ and His disciples and in part of elegant persons in contemporary costumes, some of whom are depicted on the embrasure of the window (fig. 181), and the Baptist reproaching Herod with his marriage with his brother's wife but already a soldier lays hands on the holy preacher to take him to prison, apparently on the order of Herod who, with a serene gesture, seems to indicate his desire while his wife, quite unruffled, repudiates the saint's accusations (fig. 182). On the right wall is shown the same soldier in the act of closing the prison door, higher up is represented the upper part of the façade of this building in late Gothic style while the Baptist himself is depicted to the side before a barred opening on the wall which leads towards the window. The execution of the saint decorates the wall to one side of the choir. The Baptist is represented lying in the doorway of his prison while a soldier manipulates an enormous sword ready to execute St. John. Here the artist has had sufficient space to give more importance to the architectural surroundings; he has changed entirely the appearance of the prison which he shows here with towers and a crenellated wall.

On the lateral wall of the baptistery we find the most beautiful fresco of the cycle; in it Herod's banquet and the

(1) *Vitzthum*, op. cit.



Fig. 177. Masolino, the Assumption. Gallery, Naples.

Photo Anderson.

Baptist's head offered to Herodias are combined in one painting; they are represented occurring in two buildings, one opposite the other, against a hilly landscape; in the distance we can distinguish the faithful burying the body of the saint.

Herod is depicted at table with three other persons; four courtiers who have remained outside look at Salome who approaches the prince to ask him for the head of the Precursor (fig. 183). The building has an upper storey separated from that below by a frieze of putti connected by garlands; the perspective is good and well-thought out but the building opposite, that we see prolonged for a considerable distance, gives us the impression still more of a study of perspective (¹). Here too the house has an upper part. Below, Salome is depicted kneeling before her cold-blooded mother to whom she presents the head of St. John; two little persons in her train make gestures of alarm (fig. 184).

The vault of the baptistery is decorated with the four figures of the Evangelists, each with his respective symbol seated on clouds and resting his feet on others (fig. 185). Over the chancel arch we see two angels flying in mid-air holding a long streamer with an inscription regarding the Baptist; of the six seated figures painted on the intrados, three — St. John as an old man, St. Ambrose and St. Jerome — are in a good state of preservation, St. Augustine remains only partly visible while the two others are almost entirely effaced. In the vault of the choir we see in a star-studded sky a half-length figure of God the Father in a circular frame encircled by nine angels (fig. 186).

The date 1435 is found on the arch and although the inscription has been re-written recently it is probably a faithful copy probably even a tracing of the original of which the form of the letters is reproduced. Moreover it should not be forgotten that Cardinal Branda was resident in Castiglione d'Olona in 1435.

Comparing the frescoes of the baptistery with the earlier

(¹) *M. Reymond*, *L'architecture des peintres aux premières années de la Renaissance*, *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, 1905, p. 42. *P. Zucher*, *Raum darstellung und Bildarchitekturen im Florentiner Quattrocento*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 23.



SALOME AND COURTIERS

By Masolino, Baptistery, Castiglione d'Olena.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 178. Masolino, Madonna. Davis Collection, Newport, U. S. A.

works of Masolino we cannot but observe the considerable change which has taken place in the master's style of painting and which is due to a more direct influence of Fra Angelico whose art from this moment onward played a very important part in the evolution of Masolino's manner.

In order to establish precisely what features Masolino could



Fig. 179 Masolino, two heads. Baptistery, Castiglione d'Olona.

Photo Alinari.

have borrowed from the holy monk of Fiesole in 1435, it is essential to determine in the first place exactly which works Fra Angelico had finished at this moment. Unfortunately, however, only one painting with a perfectly certain date can be cited; it is the triptych of the Linaiuoli which was executed in 1433. Nevertheless this one picture suffices to demonstrate that Masolino had indeed seen, known and studied Angelico's



Fig. 180. Masolino, the Baptism. Baptistery, Castiglione d'Olona.

Photo Alinari.

art and if it be true as Mr Langton Douglas believes, that the Annunciation of Cortona dates from 1424, Giovanni da Fiesole — Masolino's senior only by four years, that is to say his contemporary — would indeed have been very much ahead of his fellow artist.

The colouring, bright and clear and much more mellow than that of the Trecento painters, in which the frescoes of the baptistery of Castiglione d'Olona are executed, is different from that of Masolino's previous works, bearing more resemblance to Fra Angelico's tints. The same influence accounts for the difference that we notice between the Gothic nude of the dead Saviour at Empoli and the softness of the anatomical forms of Christ in the



Fig. 181. Masolino, the sermon of St. John. Baptistery, Castiglione d'Olona.

Photo Alinari.

fresco of the Baptism at Castiglione d'Olona. The very fair young man among the courtiers who are present at Herod's banquet must certainly have been inspired by the angels of the painter of Fiesole, as well as that propensity for depicting profiles full of expression, which peculiarity we find more particularly in Fra Angelico's later works but which, all the same, is present already in the predella panel of his triptych of 1433.

Further, in certain of the frescoes in the baptistery, more espec-



Fig. 182. Masolino, St. John before Herod, Baptistery, Castiglione d'Olena.
Photo Alinari.

ially in the scene of the Baptism, there is a mystic and spiritual serenity which is not evident, at least to the same degree, in Masolino's earlier works.

The luminous landscapes that form the background to some of the paintings at Castiglione d'Olena do not, I think, find their origin in the same source. Their presence can hardly surprise us as a novelty because Gentile da Fabriano, in his Adoration

of the Magi and in the small panels of the predella, shows us similar effects, still more beautiful, more poetical and less conventional than those of Masolino ⁽¹⁾.

As for the extraordinary architectural perspective manifest in the frescoes representing Zachariah writing the name of his son, and Herod's banquet with the presentation of St. John's head to Herodias, we find a foreshadowing of it in Masaccio's art in the birthplate in the museum of Berlin and to a certain extent in the Trinity in Sta. Maria Novella. Besides, it is quite logical that in similar examples of improvement Masaccio was the master of Masolino who, although he profitted from the lessons of the new era which had just set in, was not a nature to be carried away by new technical experiments. Yet we must admit that in his comprehension of the beauty of landscapes Masolino was not ahead of Fra Angelico, who gave much more importance to this feature, while as for the effects of perspective we find them excellently portrayed by the latter, applied as well to the architecture, and treated in a more spontaneous and less studied manner than Masolino shows us in his works ⁽²⁾.

Very characteristic of Fra Angelico's influence on Masolino is also the Annunciation which, even when it belonged to the Earl of Wemyss, was already claimed by Mr. Berenson as a work by Masolino ⁽³⁾. It now belongs to Mr. Henry Goldman, New York, and Mr. Valentiner in the catalogue of this collection places it in an early stage of Masolino's career, towards 1420 ⁽⁴⁾; but I think it more likely that it is of a slightly later date (fig. 187). It is true that certain features, such as the decoration

⁽¹⁾ *J. Guthmann*, op. cit., pp. 130, 161.

⁽²⁾ I can hardly say that I discover in the frescoes of the baptistery those important northern elements which Signor Cagnola explains by Masolino's sojourn in Hungary while Count Vitzthum imagines that the painter must have spent a considerable time in the north of Italy prior to executing these paintings.

⁽³⁾ *B. Berenson*, op. cit. *The Same*, Art in America, 1916, p. 305. *E. Hutton*, in his edition of *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, II, 1909, p. 232. *T. Borenius*, Burlington Magazine, I, 1916, p. 45. I imagine that Signor Toesca does not agree with this attribution, because even although he cites Mr. Berenson's article several times he makes no mention of this picture.

⁽⁴⁾ *W. R. Valentiner*, Mr. Henry Goldman Collection (privately printed), New York, 1922.



Fig. 183. Masolino, Herod's banquet. Baptistry, Castiglione d'Olona.

Photo Alinari.

of in-laid wood and even the position of the Virgin's hands, are reminiscent of Lorenzo Monaco's Annunciation in the church of the Sma. Trinita in Florence ⁽¹⁾. Yet not only do the types of the

⁽¹⁾ We find the same attitude in an Annunciation vaguely belonging to Angelico's school, in the church of S. Martino a Mensola, near Florence.

figures betray a knowledge of Angelico's art but iconographically the whole picture belongs to a later date than the compositions of Lorenzo Monaco and even those of the earlier productions of Masolino himself, such as the Annunciation in the vault of the choir of the Collegiata of Empoli. In the older representations of this event, the architecture is not absent, but the Annunciation, as an in-door scene, in which the Virgin is seated on her chair and the angelic messenger is depicted inside the room, is an iconographical type which in its evolution can be traced in the art of Giovanni da Fiesole. In his Annunciations of Cortona, Montecarlo in Tuscany, and that in the San Marco Museum, Florence, the angel has penetrated in to an open loggia but in the panel in the Goldman collection, New York, Masolino represents the event occurring in the Virgin's room. In this painting the angel is portrayed with one knee on the ground and here again is a point in common with Lorenzo Monaco's panel; Angelico depicts the celestial messenger inclining before the Virgin but with the exception of the Annunciation at Cortona, he has his arms folded over his breast, a detail we find in the works of Masolino who borrows from Angelico also the idea of the star-studded vault.

In the Certosa, near Florence, there are two panels each representing two saints, in which the influence of Fra Angelico is so marked that I hardly dare ascribe them to Masolino, although there are certain reasons which lead us to approximate them to this master (figs. 188—189).

With the frescoes in the chapel to the right of the entrance in S. Clemente, Rome, we are once more confronted with the Masolino-Masaccio problem. As for the decoration of the Brancacci chapel, here too, the field is divided into two camps, one, in favour of the attribution to the latter, comprising Vasari, Cavalcaselle, who thinks it a youthful work of Masaccio, Bode (Cicerone), Schmarzow, Escher and now also A. Venturi, although in his "Storia dell' arte italiana" he too attributed these frescoes to Masolino; the other, supporting the Masolino theory, includes Wickhoff (¹), Berenson, E. Hutton, Toesca

(¹) *F. Wickhoff*, Die Fresken in der Kapelle der Heilige Katharina in S. Clemente zu Rom, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XXIV, 1889, p. 308.



Fig. 184. Masolino, Herodias receives the Baptist's head. Baptistry, Castiglione d'Olena.

Photo Alinari.

and myself, while Count Vitzthum also inclines towards this hypothesis. I agree more particularly with Herr Wickhoff's opinion that it is a production of Masolino's old age. On account of the presence of the scenes from the life of St. Ambrosius, he finds there exists a connexion with Milan and as between 1446 and 1450 a bishop of this town held the



Fig. 185. Masolino, the four Evangelists. Baptistry, Castiglione d'Olona.
Photo Alinari.

title of S. Clemente, he thinks the decoration must have been executed some time during this period.

If Masolino died in 1447 it is difficult to believe that he frescoed this chapel for the bishop who was nominated to the title of S. Clemente only in 1446, still it is not entirely impossible. Herr Wickhoff's argument carries considerable weight; it can even be supposed that Masolino died before



Fig. 186. Masolino, God the Father and angels Baptistry,
Castiglione d'Olena.

Photo Alinari.

completing the entire decoration and that certain parts of it, which seem to belong to a more evolved style, are from the hand of another artist who undertook to finish this mural ornamentation on the older master's death. It is also possible that Masolino, when he executed these frescoes, which



Fig. 187. Masolino, the Annunciation. Goldman Collection, New York.

personally I think must have been after 1440, had already begun to feel the influence of the more modern tendency in art, which at this stage was not any longer a mere souvenir of Masaccio nor solely represented by Fra Angelico, but had found other exponents such as Uccello, Filippo Lippi, Domenico Veneziano and even Piero della Francesca. We are limited

to mere hypotheses because the actual state of the frescoes is such that it would be dangerous to attempt to gather any information from them; what one detail seems to affirm, another contradicts and the paintings are either so dilapidated or so repainted that we obtain a more exact idea if we confine ourselves to more general impressions.

On the outside of the arch we see the two figures of the Annunciation, both kneeling, the Virgin before her lectern in a room supported on pillars. The size and shape of the wall to be adorned evidently induced the artist to depict the two figures in this position. On a pilaster to the left is represented St. Christopher leaning on his stick, his head turned towards the Infant Christ on his shoulder. On the walls to the right and left we find scenes from the lives of SS. Catherine and Ambrosius. The illustrations of the history of the former saint begin in the lunette above, where we see the Emperor Maxime in the midst of his courtiers and to the sound of trumpets approaching to adore a heathen idol placed on a tall pedestal on an altar; he is intercepted by St. Catherine who, having saluted him, begins a discussion on the cult of the pagan gods (fig. 190). This event takes place in a round temple, quite antique in appearance, as is also the statuette on the altar.

The *mise-en-scène* of the adjacent picture is much more trivial. The window of the saint's prison is depicted at the corner of a street which Masolino represents with a great display of perspective. The window is not barred and St. Catherine bends over the sill explaining the Christian doctrine to the wife of Maxime who sits listening on a little bench. The beheading of the empress takes place in the other corner of the street: the severed head and the body both lie on the ground; the executioner replaces his sword in its scabbard, while an angel carries away the soul of the martyr.

The following scene illustrates the saint's disputation with the pagan philosophers who, eight in number, are seated along the walls of a room, decorated in a stiff and hideous manner. The emperor on a raised platform at the end of the room seems to express his pride in this gathering; in the centre St. Catherine, counting her arguments on her fingers (fig. 191),



Fig. 188. Masolino?, two saints. Certosa, Florence.



Fig. 189. Masolino?, two saints. Certosa, Florence.

convinces the philosophers. Through a large window in the right wall of the same room we see them, still listening to the saint's teaching, condemned to death by the merciless emperor.

Then is depicted the miracle of the wheel on which the saint had to suffer her martyrdom but which, instead, destroyed by the sword of an angel, wounds the executioners. A curious and rigid colonnade forms the background of this scene, at which the emperor looks on from above. Lastly is shown the death of the saint with a landscape of hills in the distance. In the presence of a group of soldiers who stand behind their shields, the executioner cuts off the head of the saint who kneels in prayer before him. An angel is seen bearing away her soul and two others placing her body in a coffin on Mount Sinai, a mountain represented to the right in the fresco (fig. 192).

On the wall opposite we find the paintings which Herr Wickhoff has recognized as illustrations of the legend of St. Ambrosius; they are even more repainted than those from the history of St. Catherine. In the lunette we see the saint as a child in his cradle fed by the honey that the bees bring him. The scene is shown occurring in a room supported by a pillar; the mother kneeling beside her child, seems to chase away the bees; two men and two women look at the central group. The next scene illustrates very precisely a passage from the Golden Legend; the text relates how St. Ambrosius attempts to appease the strife between the Arians and the catholics concerning the election of a bishop in Milan and when a child cries out that they ought to elect St. Ambrosius himself, the people consent. We see here a view of a street with the saint in the midst of many people and some soldiers, while a small boy points with his finger towards him. Then is shown how the house of a rich man, too confident in his fortune, who has given hospitality to St. Ambrosius, is destroyed by water, as soon as the saint leaves. The last scene which shows St. Ambrosius in bed with an attendant sitting close by, no doubt represents the moment when the dying saint heard the four deacons discussing the question of the succession, although they were in a room some distance from



Fig. 190. Masolino, St. Catherine preaching to the pagans.
S. Clemente, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

his own. It is true that here we see the deacons at the foot of his bed but it would hardly have been possible to follow the text more faithfully.

The most important painting is the scene of the Crucifixion in which the three crosses, all very high, are depicted against an extensive landscape. The people who have gathered around are not in great number, but we see the group of faithful with the Virgin in a swoon in their midst, St. Mary Magdalene at



Fig. 191. Masolino, detail of the disputation of St. Catherine.
S. Clemente, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

the foot of the Cross, the Jewish priests in conversation, several soldiers on horseback, among them the converted centurion, and some others collecting the clothes of Christ (fig. 193). It will be remarked that some of the soldiers wear head-dresses very similar to those we have already noticed in the frescoes of the baptistery of Castiglione d'Olona. This fresco, too,



Fig. 192. Masolino, the Martyrdom of St. Catherine. S. Clemente, Rome.
Photo Anderson.

is entirely disfigured by restoration and I am very doubtful if the interesting effects of plasticity and chiaroscuro that we observe in the figure of the soldier to the left, who is seen from behind, be original, that is to say from the hand of Maso-

lino. Several of the horses have now an appearance which recall the battle-scenes of the time of Louis XIV; the holy women and the fainting Virgin might have been executed by Le Sueur. Only the group of Jewish priests has conserved something of its primitive appearance, and here and there one or two of the heads seem to have been spared by the restorer.

The composition of the Crucifixion, however, is of some interest. Once more Masolino's taste for simple *mises-en-scène* is evident, because generally the painters, even those of the 14th century, who have represented this subject with all the elements that Masolino has included, have not been able to avoid over-crowded compositions. The four Evangelists, each accompanied by his respective symbol, and a Father of the Church seated on clouds adorn the four triangles of the vault which is studded with stars. These figures, also, have lost their original appearance but their presence here is one more feature, combined with so many others, which offers a correspondence between the arrangement of the decoration of this chapel and that of the choir of the baptistry in Castiglione d'Olona.

Nevertheless, through the restoration we can discern that a certain change has taken place in Masolino's art since the execution of the frescoes of 1435. There is more force in the contours as well as in the plastic effects of the forms, more concentration and less lyricism in the narration, more soberness and perhaps even a certain sense of drama, at least if we can judge correctly through the repaint which sometimes masks and sometimes disfigures the work of our painter.

Further, it is evident that the type of female figure — that of St. Catherine in particular -- is different from that in the frescoes at Castiglione d'Olona but on the other hand corresponds perfectly with that of the Madonna of the Annunciation in the Goldman collection; the heads are of a rounder shape and those conventional elongated forms, due to the Gothic influence, have disappeared.

From about this period I should say dates the very beautiful panel of St. Julian which was discovered not long ago in the

Badia church of Settimo, quite near Florence (fig. 194) ⁽¹⁾. The figure of the saint is slightly more Gothic in line than those in the frescoes in Rome, which might justify our placing it a few years earlier in the master's career; the face in type resembles that of Maxime in the first fresco of the story of St. Catherine. This panel formed part a polyptych, the predella

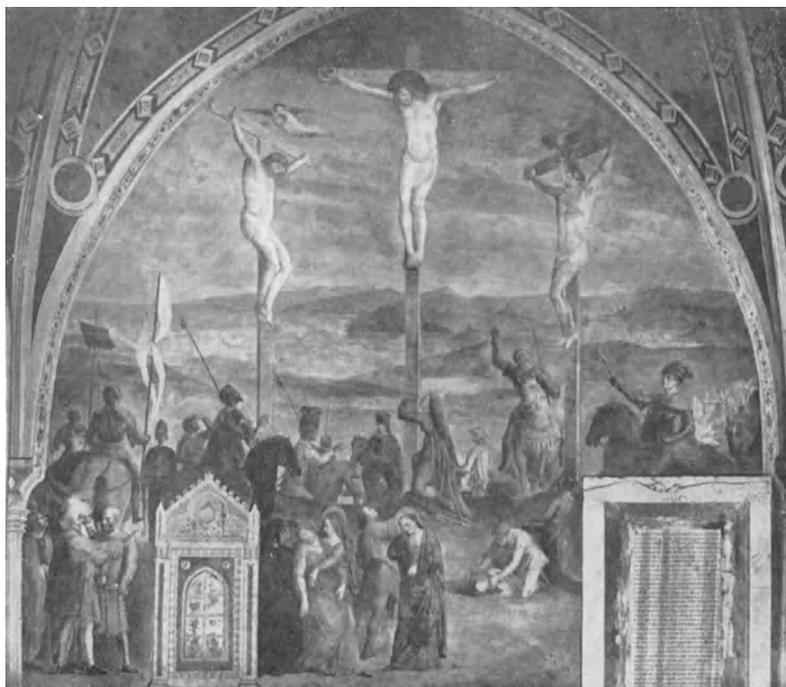


Fig. 193. Masolino, the Crucifixion. S. Clemente, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

of which, as Mr. Berenson has pointed out, is preserved in the Ingres Museum at Montauban ⁽²⁾ and which Schmarzow previously attributed to Masaccio. It shows St. Julian conversing with the devil in human guise, who accuses his wife of infidelity; then the holy knight entering his room and killing

⁽¹⁾ *R. Offner*, Un pannello di Masolino a San Giuliano a Settimo, Dedalo, III, 1923, p. 636.

⁽²⁾ *B. Berenson*, Una predella di Masolino nel Museo Ingres a Montauban, idem, p. 632.

his parents whom he takes for his wife and her lover. Mr. Benson is of opinion that this panel dates from somewhere between 1425 and 1430, that is to say from a period which is much earlier than that to which I personally think it belongs.

Lastly, Professor Toesca discovered the Madonna which formed the centre piece of the same polyptych, in the church of Sta. Maria at Novoli, near Florence, but unfortunately shortly after his discovery this panel was stolen.

I do not agree with the attribution to Masolino of an important picture of the Trinity which is found now in the museum of Detroit (1); it represents God the Father seated on clouds bestowing a blessing with one hand and placing His other hand on His crucified Son Who is depicted before Him; the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove flies from the one to the other. The resemblance to Masolino's art is very marked but the elements borrowed from Masaccio are almost too important to permit our attributing it to Masolino (2).

Now that we have come to the end of the works which I think can reasonably be claimed as Masolino's, the moment has arrived for us to enter briefly into the question of the Masolino-Masaccio problem with regard to the frescoes in the Brancacci chapel, briefly, because considering that I hold Masaccio responsible for this decoration in its entirety, I shall go into it more deeply in the following volume. We are informed that

(1) Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts, Nov. 1925, p. 19.

(2) Of the works incorrectly ascribed to Masolino, apart from those given to Masaccio, I shall cite: the Adoration of the Magi in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (*Schmarzow*, Masaccio Studien, III, p. 76), which Signor *Toesca*, op. cit., p. 68, attributes to Masolino. A half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child in the museum of Worcester has been considered a work by Masolino but it is obviously a production from the hand of Antonio Vivarini v. Worcester Art Museum, Catalogue of Paintings and Drawings, Worcester, Mas., 1922, p. 17, in which doubts are expressed whether Masolino or Antonio Vivarini be the master of this picture. *R. Tatlock*, Burlington Magazine, XL, 1922, p. 139, ascribes this panel to Masolino. A little panel of the Birth of the Virgin in the collection of Viscount Lee of Fareham, London, is assigned to Masolino, v. *T. Borenius*, A Catalogue of the Pictures collected by Viscount and Viscountess Lee of Fareham, privately printed, II, 1926, No. 74. *R. Longhi*, Vita artistica, Nov. 1926, attributes this painting also to Antonio Vivarini.



Fig. 194. Masolino, St. Julian. Badia, Settimo.

Photo Brogi.

the frescoes in this chapel are not all from the same hand already by Manetti (1423–1497) who speaks of three different artists; the same is recorded in the Magliabechiano and Stroziano codices while Francesco Albertini (1510) mentions for the first time the name of Masolino in connexion with part of this decoration. This opinion, adopted by Vasari, was published by him in his more modern writings; it was taken up by Layard⁽¹⁾ and there are still some of the well-known critics of the present day in favour of this hypothesis but the German historians of art almost unanimously ascribe the entire decoration to Masaccio. Quite recently Count Vitzthum remarked in connexion with the Madonna of Todi, that the discovery of this painting excludes, in a most obvious manner, the frescoes in the Brancacci chapel from the works of Masolino. I quite agree with him but I shall formulate my opinion in other words: the pictures of 1423 at Bremen, of 1424 at Empoli, of about 1425 at Castiglione d'Olona, of 1432 at Todi, and of 1435 again at Castiglione d'Olona reveal to us a perfectly homogenous artistic figure who was influenced, it is true, by other painters, without, however, causing any essential change to his style of painting, which was based before all on the principles which dominated the great cosmopolitan Gothic movement. But none of the frescoes in the Brancacci chapel can be included in this category and if we stretch a point and admit that some of these paintings are by Masolino, in my opinion we have to make such an effort that the artistic figure of Masolino is rendered incomprehensible and illogical. Do not let us forget, as Count Vitzthum remarks, that the decoration of this chapel should certainly date from before 1427, the year of Masaccio's death. Can we then imagine that between the paintings in the Collegiata of Castiglione d'Olona and the Madonna of Todi, both works of still a fairly purely Gothic sentiment, Masolino would have executed the frescoes in the Brancacci chapel which are attributed to him and which in expression as well as in technique, are imbued with the spirit of the early Renaissance?

In the frescoes of the Brancacci chapel the manner in which the figures are built, their plasticity, the types, the profound

⁽¹⁾ *H. Layard*, *The Brancacci Chapel and Masolino*, Masaccio and Filippo Lippi, London, 1868, p. 14.

and dramatic sentiment, the dignity of the gestures and the breadth of form seem to me fundamentally different from, even foreign to, Gothic narrative art, which after all Masolino's manner really belongs.

It cannot be denied that the scenes attributed by some writers to Masolino, such as the sermon of St. Peter, the resurrection of Tabitha, the healing of the cripple and the fall of Adam and Eve, are dissimilar to the other paintings in the chapel, which everyone unanimously agrees are from the hand of Masaccio. Herr Schmarzow has already remarked this difference and if we hold Masaccio responsible for the entire decoration we must admit that he worked here on two different occasions and that on the first occasion he was considerably influenced by Masolino. The figures that most closely resemble Masolino's art are those of Adam and Eve in the representation of Original Sin, yet this resemblance is fairly superficial; the portrayal of the nude is not at all like that shown by Masolino; in the scene of St. Peter baptizing, one of Masaccio's frescoes in this chapel, we find that the drawing of the anatomy is very similar, at least it can be said to form a link between that of the figures in the baptism scene and those of the fall of Adam and Eve and of the famous picture of their being chased from Paradise.

In the fresco of the resurrection of Tabitha there are portraits of two young nobles which can be compared with similar figures in Masolino's frescoes and I even admit the existence of a superficial resemblance; nevertheless, if we consider the construction and the expression, it would be difficult to find heads showing so much dissimilarity, and those in the Brancacci chapel seem to me to be undoubtedly by the artist who executed the profiles in the Adoration of the Magi in Berlin and that of a young man in the collection of the late Mrs. Gardner, Boston, both recognized works of Masaccio; those in the fresco in Florence might be a few years earlier in date.

A comparison between the works of the two masters consequently has led me to believe that it is to Masaccio we owe the frescoes in the Brancacci chapel and it cannot be said that the documents are of a nature to throw any doubt on this conclusion.

Although Manetti speaks of three different hands, I think he does so purely as a connoisseur, especially as he makes no mention of the names of Masaccio's collaborators here. This biographer of famous Florentines born after the year 1400, was eighteen years old when Masolino died; he must have known the artist at least by name and naturally would have recorded it in connexion with this decoration. If he did not do so the fact is very likely that he never heard of Masolino's name associated with the work carried out in this chapel. It must be admitted, however, that Manetti mentions only eight painters, among whom Masolino is not included.

The Magliabechiano and Stroziano codices vaguely repeat Manetti's statements and when at last Francesco Albertini in 1510 speaks of Masolino having collaborated in the mural decoration of the Brancacci chapel, the frescoes are already eighty years old and consequently the affirmation cannot be considered of great importance.

The first series of frescoes by Masaccio in this chapel reveals the artist as a pupil of Masolino, a pupil already evolved but nevertheless still showing some dependence on his master. Perhaps also Fra Angelico at the very outset of his career was slightly influenced by Masolino.

Masolino did not create a large school and the works which can be considered as belonging to it are few in number.

A fairly important example, however, is an Adoration of the Magi in the collection of Baron Lazzaroni, Paris; the scene is portrayed in a crowded composition with much vegetation and in the background we can see the three Wise Men adoring the Star of the East. It is a production that might date from the middle of the 15th century ⁽¹⁾. Prof. A. Venturi attributes this panel to the artist who executed an Annunciation in the sacristy of the Collegiata of Castiglione d'Olona, sometimes assigned to Masolino's own hand, in which the Virgin is depicted sitting in an open loggia, the angel standing outside against a landscape background, while above we see God the Father. This affirmation seems quite justifiable but I do not agree with Prof. Venturi when he ascribes to the same painter the scenes

⁽¹⁾ *Lafenestre*, Revue de l'art ancien et moderne, 1909, attributes it to Stefano da Verona.

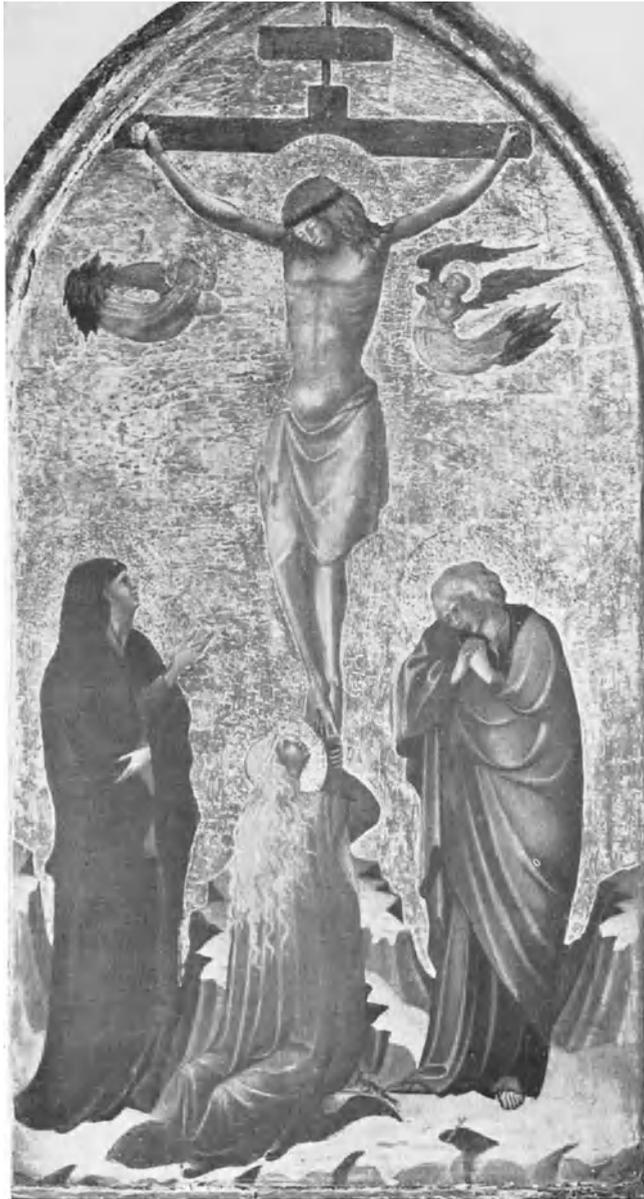


Fig. 195. School of Masolino, the Crucifixion. Volterra Galleries, Florence.

from the history of SS. Stephen and Lawrence in the Collegiata (1). The master of the panels in Paris and at Castiglione d'Olena was not one of Masolino's close followers.

At S. Miniato al Tedesco we find in the church of S. Domenico a fresco fragment representing a holy deacon of a tender age, probably St. Lawrence, and in the church of S. Domenico a figure of St. Christopher, both works bearing a close connexion with Masolino's art; they have even been given to the master himself but I think they are sooner excellent productions of his school (2).

Very approximate to Masolino's own manner is a Crucifixion in the Volterra Galleries, Florence, in which against a gold background Christ on the Cross is represented between the Virgin and St. John. The beautiful Gothic forms of the figures manifest an influence of the master's earliest manner (fig. 195). A little panel of Christ, holding a spray of a palm and bestowing a blessing, in an aureole of light, in the gallery of Strasbourg shows, on the other hand, a strong influence of a more evolved stage in Masolino's career, when an infiltration of Fra Angelico's art had already brought about a change in his style of painting (fig. 196) (3).

An Annunciation in the church of Sta. Maria at Quinto, near Florence, might also be cited as a work of Masolino's school. The event takes place in the interior of a room. The artist, still quite dominated by the manner of Agnolo Gaddi, however, shows types which seem borrowed from Masolino.

In the catalogue of the sale of the Nevin collection, held in Rome in April 1907, Mr. Perkins attributes to this school a painting of Christ in His tomb, accompanied by the Virgin and the symbols of the Passion (No. 411).

In the Altenburg gallery (No. 84) there is a beautiful half-length figure of a bishop holding a cross and a book which, in spite of the attribution to the manner of Matteo di Giovanni, seems to me rather to approach Masolino's style.

A panel of the Madonna seated on a throne adorned with two cherubs and backgrounded by a curtain supported by two

(1) *A. Venturi*, Storia dell' arte italiana, VII¹, p. 95.

(2) *B. Berenson*, Study and Criticism, II, p. 88. *I. Vavassour Elder*, Spigo-lature di Val d' Elsa, Rassegna d'Arte, 1909, p. 163.

(3) *Mr. Berenson* thinks it possibly a youthful work of Masaccio.



Fig. 196. School of Masolino, Christ resurrected. Gallery, Strasbourg.

angels in the Réattu Museum of Arles (No. 154) might be classified as a feeble work of Masolino's school.

A reactionary artist of little merit who was subjected to Masolino's influence, although he was more closely connected with Lorenzo Monaco's art, was he who executed the Coron-

ation of the Virgin in the gallery of the Innocenti Hospital in Florence (fig. 197) and a small panel in the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge (U. S. A.)⁽¹⁾, which shows in the centre the Virgin on a Gothic throne between SS. Peter the Martyr and Francis; above we see the Annunciation, and below the Nativity and the Visitation (fig. 198). Mr. Sirén who has dedicated a short study to this little painter, calls him the Master of the Innocenti Coronation; he attributes to him still a picture in the Parry collection, Gloucester. Apart from the influences already mentioned, he discovers in this artist's works those of Masaccio and Fra Filippo Lippi, which I am unable to discern. In the faces and colouring we find an obvious manifestation of Masolino's influence, while the Gothicism of the forms recalls the master's manner when he was still dominated by Lorenzo Monaco.

If we do not include the decoration of the Brancacci chapel among the works of Masolino, this artist's place in the development of Italian painting is very clear. He was an adherent, and one of the most charming that Florence produced, of the late Gothic cosmopolitan style; I even think that the traditionalistic masters, such as Lorenzo Monaco and his followers, Bicci di Lorenzo, and Giovanni dal Ponte, did not pave the way for the advent of such a talent as Masolino's, so poetical, so sweet and at the same time so intensely graphic. Masolino finds a more suitable place outside Florence, along with Sassetta; his temperament more closely resembles that of the Sienese master and he was in no way inferior to him as a technician.

Masolino certainly profited from the study of the art of Gentile da Fabriano and probably as well of that of other contemporary artists in different parts of Italy but he also benefited from the artistic experience of what really can be looked upon as the subsequent generation, more particularly of Masaccio and Fra Angelico.

(1) *O. Sirén*, An early Italian Painter in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Art in America, 1914, p. 36. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Collection of Mediaeval and Renaissance Paintings, Cambridge (U.S.A.), 1919, p. 55.



Fig. 197. Master of the Innocenti Coronation, the Coronation of the Virgin. Innocenti Hospital, Florence.

Photo Brogi.

It is true that if we take into account the actual years of their activity, Fra Angelico was Masolino's contemporary, but whereas the holy monk was very soon dominated by the new movement in art, chiefly through the influence of Masaccio, Masolino remained, until the end of his days, a true exponent of the Gothic tendency; even when he painted the frescoes in the chapel of S. Clemente, we notice that the basis of his art was unchanged and still always, faithful to the cosmopolitan style. If at times he let himself be captivated by the new movement which was growing around him, he could never be called one of its innovators. He was gifted with neither the solemnity, the depth nor the tragic sense which characterizes in particular Masaccio, but also the other great masters who at that moment initiated the Renaissance.

With regard to the representation of genre paintings, his Florentine surroundings perhaps limited him more than was usually the case in pictures of the cosmopolitan Gothic style; none the less, the detailed manner in which he treats landscapes, architecture, buildings and contemporary costumes is a feature which approximates his works to this form of art, while the numerous faces, simulating ever so slightly caricature, find their origin in the satirical figures that Gothic art produced at the height of its development.

As in almost all the works of the late Gothic masters, here again we notice that Masolino's narrative power lacks depth of feeling. He is a Florentine story-teller, a pictorial novelist who has been forced to relate the tragic histories of St. John the Baptist and St. Catherine. Let us lay aside the cycle illustrating the life of the latter, in which we can no longer recognize the true from the false; in looking at the series of paintings narrating the story of the Baptist, we find that no expression of feeling that the artist has put in his works is capable of arousing our emotion. All the persons depicted seem gay and happy with the exception of St. John the Baptist who opens his eyes very wide as if making an attempt to frighten children.

The two young girls near the elegant Herodias, who receives the severed head, make pretty gestures of fear without, however, turning away their eyes from the horrible sight. All

this leads us to believe that towards 1435 Masolino would have illustrated a tale from Boccaccio preferably to a narrative from sacred history, more especially if it was of a tragic nature. This cannot be said for the first series of frescoes at Castiglione d'Olona in which a fairly profound religious feeling is manifest, neither for the Madonna of 1423 nor the dead Christ at Empoli. Perhaps some profane decoration, to which he might have lent his collaboration during his sojourn in Hungary, changed him in this respect. Besides, it is more especially in the baptistery of Castiglione d'Olona that we find that enchantment of colour and richness of tints which also are more suited



Fig. 198. Master of the Innocenti Coronation, the Annunciation and Visitation. Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A.

to a profane decoration than to a cycle of paintings illustrating sacred history. The colouring, too, might be qualified as Gothic and is very appropriate to the design of this style to which Masolino always remained faithful. The beauty of his colours is no doubt an outcome of the very careful manner in which he worked. His fresco technique was already commended by Vasari but it can never be sufficiently praised.

That in Masolino's art there are many elements which his immediate predecessors and contemporaries in Florence do not show, can be seen at a glance, but the explanation is very simple; the difference is solely and uniquely due to the reactionary manner in which the latter artists worked and not to any innovation on the part of Masolino, because the sum total of the artistic experiences that the different parts of Italy had, at that time, to offer an itinerant and very gifted artist, as he really was, suffices, without any need of calling him an innovator, to explain the achievements of this master.

CHAPTER IV

SASSETTA.

The place that the Sienese school occupies in the cosmopolitan Gothic movement is somewhat different from that of Florence; the Sienese artists played a more direct part in the development of late Gothic painting. Besides, already at the end of the Trecento, Sienese art was more Gothic than Florentine. Paolo di Giovanni Fei, at the end of the 14th century, was before all an adherent of the Gothic manner and it is from him that the first masters, who, in Siena, were representative of this style, so wide-spread throughout Europe at the beginning of the 15th century, derive. Moreover, Siena, much more than Florence, was in constant touch with other regions of Central Italy, such as Umbria and The Marches, where the Gothic style had found so many adherents and renowned interpreters.

Stefano di Giovanni, better known as Sassetta ⁽¹⁾, was the first member and the most charming of the Sienese group of Gothic painters of the beginning of the 15th century. A considerable number of documents allow us to follow his activity from his birth in 1392 until his death which must have occurred just before 1451 ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Langton Douglas*, A forgotten Painter, Burlington Magazine, I, 1900, p. 306. *The Same*, A Note on recent Criticism of the Art of Sassetta, idem, IV, 1903, p. 265. *The Same*, Histoire de Sienne (translated from English), II, Paris, 1914, p. 355. *E. Jacobsen*, Das Quattrocento in Siena, Strasbourg, 1908, p. 19. *B. Berenson*, A Sienese Painter of the Franciscan Legend, Burlington Magazine, III-IV, 1903, pp. 31 and 171; in book form, London, 1910. *G. De Nicola*, Sassetta between 1423 and 1433, Burlington Magazine, XXIII, 1913, pp. 207, 276, 332. *The Same*, idem, XXIV, 1913, p. 232.

⁽²⁾ These documents are published in *G. Milanesi*, Documenti per la storia dell' arte senese, I, Siena, 1854, p. 48; II, idem, pp. 198, 242, 243, 244, 245, 274, 276. *S. Borghesi e L. Banchi*, Nuovi documenti per la storia dell' arte senese, Siena, 1898, pp. 119, 142, 145, 166.

Stefano di Giovanni's name figures in 1428 in the list of members of the corporation of painters in Siena, but we find that already the previous year he received 44 lire for a sketch of the baptismal font for the church of S. Giovanni in Siena and, as we shall see later on, it was in 1423 and 1426 that he executed the altar-piece for the "Arte della Lana" in Siena. In 1430 he is charged by Lodovica, the wife of Messer Torino, to execute a panel for a chapel in the cathedral; in 1432 an estimation of this work is made by Martino di Bartolommeo, Sano di Pietro and Jachomo di Meio di Namu and the following year Sassetta receives 180 florins or 738 lire in payment of the picture.

The altar-piece which is preserved at Chiusdino was painted by Sassetta about the same time, that is to say between 1430 and 1433 ⁽¹⁾ and in 1433 he executed a crucifix for the church of S. Martino. In 1820 this painting was cut into pieces, and some of the fragments are preserved in the Chigi Saracini collection, Siena ⁽²⁾. The date 1436 is inscribed on an important triptych in the Osservanza church, outside Siena. In 1437 he was commissioned to paint the altar-piece for S. Francesco in Borgo San Sepolcro for which he was remunerated in 1440. During this year the authorities of the cathedral of Siena pay him 4 lire for a drawing of the Annunciation and Coronation of the Virgin, suitable as the decoration of a rose-window, which work, however, was never undertaken. In 1442 Sassetta, together with Vico di Lucca, executes banners for the cathedral and in 1445 he makes sketches of liturgical vestments for the same church; the sum of 56 lire, which he is paid for this work, leads us to believe that it was an undertaking of some importance. The year before, the hospital of Sta. Maria della Scala pays him 64 lire for a picture of St. Bernardine for their church and in 1446 the consistory gives him an order for a

⁽¹⁾ *De Nicola*, op. cit. (1907). *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, ed. *L. Douglas*, V, p. 169 note.

⁽²⁾ Old historians of art like *Della Valle*, *Lettere Senese* and *S. Tizio*, *Storie di Siena*, speak of this crucifix and the date which was inscribed on it, v. *L. Douglas*, in *Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, V, London, 1905, p. 120. *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1907, p. 46. *De Nicola*, op. cit. (1913), p. 232.

picture concerning which we have no further information. Lastly in 1447 he is charged with the execution of the fresco on the Porta Nuova or Porta Romana but he dies before finishing this task and in 1451 his widow requests that an estimation be made of her husband's work, which is done in 1452. Sano



Fig. 199. Sassetta, St. Thomas Aquinas before the Cross.
Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

di Pietro is commissioned to finish the fresco but there are deliberations with regard to this until 1459.

The earliest dated work by Sassetta that we possess, consists in a series of small panels from the altar-piece that the master executed between 1423 and 1426 for the chapel of the "Arte della Lana" of Siena; the history of this institution has been made known to us by the studies of Dr. De Nicola who informs us as well that between the years 1423 and 1426 a special tax was levied on wool in order to raise the sum

required for the payment of the picture (1). A document of 1431 makes reference to this panel.

Authors of olden times, such as Bosio and Mancini, describe the picture and we gather from their statements that besides the various pieces preserved in different collections, there were representations of the adoration of the Holy Sacrament, of



Fig. 200. Sassetta, three Fathers of the Church and St. Louis. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

SS. Antony and Thomas Aquinas, and of the Ascension and the Coronation of the Virgin. On the other hand we possess the panels showing St. Thomas in prayer before the Virgin, now in the gallery of Budapest (No. 25), St. Thomas on his knees reading before the Cross, in the Vatican Gallery (No. 176) (fig. 199), the miracle of the Holy Sacrament in a Carmelite church, in the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle (2), the Last Supper (No. 167) and the temptation of St. Antony (No. 166) both in the gallery of Siena, the four patron saints of Siena, SS. An-

(1) *De Nicola*, op. cit. (1913).

(2) (*L. Douglas*), Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Pictures of the School of Siena etc., London, 1904, No. 25.



Fig. 201. Sassetta, the temptation of St. Antony. Yale University, Newhaven, U.S.A.

sanus, Victor, Savinus and Crescentius and the Fathers of the Church, SS. Jerome, Gregory, and Augustine with St. Louis of Toulouse also in the gallery of Siena (Nos. 168 and 169) (fig. 200), two scenes from the temptation of St. Antony in

the Jarves collection, Yale University, Newhaven (Nos. 48 and 49) (fig. 201) and a third scene of the same subject formerly in the collection of Princess Ourousoff in Vienna, now in that of Mr. Lehman, New York (1).

These charming little panels are executed with a refinement of form and a perfection of technique which can only be explained by earlier Sienese works, not those of the previous generation but those of the best period, I mean in particular the productions of the direct pupils of Simone Martini. The spiritual and mystic passion which emanates from several of these pictures, especially from those representing St. Thomas, possesses that depth of feeling, disclosed to us in graceful Gothic forms, that we admire so much in Simone's art. Here they have undergone only a slight transformation which gives them a more modern appearance. The very simple portrayal of the Last Supper, the extreme sobriety of the composition, the types, the expressions and the attitudes still slightly archaic, all bring us back, as well, towards the art of Simone Martini. However, in the perspective of the architectural buildings we notice some new features obviously due to the more modern artistic tendency, but in the little panel in the Vatican Gallery, the manner in which the architecture and its perspective are depicted, is very similar to that followed by Simone and his immediate pupils.

The four scenes of the temptations of St. Antony reveal rather different tendencies; the morphological types and the landscapes with their effects of distance soberly and even naively displayed, but quite expressive, call to mind an influence of the Lorenzetti; so too the violence of the action, the gestures and the expressions. On the other hand the panels in the Bowes Museum are reminiscent, by their facial types and

(1) Concerning the different scenes of the temptation of St. Antony v. B. Berenson, Burlington Magazine, Nov. 1903. F. M. Perkins, Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1905. *The Same*, Rassegna d'Arte, 1907, p. 45. W. Suida, Oesterreichische Kunstschaetze, I, pl. LVIII. M. Logan Berenson, Il Sassetta e la leggenda di S. Antonio Abate, Rassegna d'Arte, 1911, p. 202. *Sirén*, Descriptive Catalogue of the Jarves Collection, p. 151. *Dami*, Dedalo, IV², p. 269 et seq. W. Valentiner Catalogue of early Italian Paintings exhibited in the Duveen Galleries, New York, April-May 1924, New York, 1926 No. 29.

sentiment, once more of the school of Simone and Lippo Memmi.

If Sassetta was considerably influenced by the suave beauty of those masters, then almost three-quarters of a century dead, it is because in all probability his master was Paolo di Giovanni Fei, one of the last representatives of the spiritual Gothic tendency which appeared in Siena in the first half of the 14th century. But Sassetta was not alone in this, because all the Siense artists of the beginning of the 15th century felt this influence.

There is certainly no documentary evidence which proves that Sassetta started his career under the direction of Fei, but a comparison of styles leaves us in little doubt regarding this question. While painters, for example like Martino di Bartolommeo and Andrea di Bartolo, represented the decadence of the illustrious traditions of the Siense school, Fei, who, no more than the others, can be ranked as one of the great masters, continued and in certain measure renewed the Gothic principles, to which Simone Martini had given a particularly graceful, though somewhat calligraphic form, which was of the utmost importance in the formation of the cosmopolitan style of the beginning of the 15th century.

For that reason Fei is a very significant figure in the history of Siense painting of this period, because it was he who handed down certain forms of Gothic art to the following generation; as for Sassetta, I am inclined to admit that by means of his master's art he learned to know and appreciate the works of the great Siense geniuses of another age, in particular those of Simone Martini, whose influence I find almost more evident than that of the fascinating but mediocre Paolo di Giovanni Fei, at least in the extant pieces of the polyptych he executed for the "Arte della Lana" in Siena.

On the contrary there are other works by Sassetta in which the influence of Fei himself is more noticeable and it is quite possible that some of these productions were executed prior to the foregoing altar-piece, which he undertook as we saw, probably in 1423, that is to say when he was thirty-one years of age, and which he finished three years later.

The paintings I mean are chiefly several small triptychs which I think should be placed in an early stage of Sassetta's



Fig. 202. Sassetta, triptych, Gallery, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

career; moreover we have already seen that Fei made a speciality of similar little pictures suitable for private devotion. Such a one, very much after Fei's manner is the triptych in the gallery of Siena (No. 177) (fig. 202). In the centre the Virgin is represented sitting on the ground, holding the naked Child upright on her knee; four angels support a curtain behind her, while above we see the half-length figure of God the Father.



Fig. 203. Sassetta, triptych. Gallery, Pienza.

Photo Alinari.

The side panels show SS. Catherine of Alexandria and John the Baptist, above whom are depicted the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation. The robes of all the figures hang in pretty Gothic folds.

The same figures are portrayed in a similar triptych in the gallery of Pienza (fig. 203), only the Madonna is turned to the other side and the saints have changed places. Instead of the angels holding a curtain behind the Madonna they are

represented surrounding the half-length figure of Christ above, where two prophets as well are seen. In this picture we notice that the contours are more sharply outlined and the Gothic effects less marked. This may be accounted for by a certain length of time having elapsed between the execution of the one and the other in which case the triptych of Siena is the earlier work.

In this first phase of the artist's, which I think should be placed between about 1410 and 1420, is executed still a little Madonna in the church "del Castello" at Basciano, near Siena ⁽¹⁾ as well as a fragment of a triptych showing only the Virgin of the Annunciation sitting on the ground and the dove flying towards her, an extremely refined piece of work executed in a markedly Gothic style, which was once in the Dragonetti collection, Aquila, but was acquired by Mr. Lehman, New York (fig. 204). I know still two other fragments of a triptych depicting the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation in a private collection in Germany. These little panels are miniature-like in their technique and almost as Gothic in appearance as the Lehman Madonna.

In the panels of the altar-piece of 1423—1426, the forms are more ample and the Gothic effects less pronounced in the drapery as well as in the attitudes of the figures. These characteristics which differentiate this work from the productions of Sassetta's first manner, are found in a considerable number of the master's paintings which, together with the altar-piece of the "Arte della Lana", I classify in one group. Without being able to fix precisely the date of this stage in Sassetta's career, I should all the same easily imagine it to have been between about 1420 and 1430, because we discover that towards 1430—33 his manner changed once more.

Of this period then, which can be placed between 1420 and 1430, date also two triptychs, one in the collection of Count Chigi Saracini, Siena ⁽²⁾, the other, which is very little known, in the Meerman van Westreenen Museum, The Hague ⁽³⁾. The

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1904, p. 156. *De Nicola*, op. cit. (1913), p. 332.

⁽²⁾ Reprod. by *Jacobsen*, op. cit., pl. VII.

⁽³⁾ *Raimond van Marle*, op. cit., *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek*, 1924, p. 33.



Fig. 204. Sassetta, the Madonna of the Annunciation.
Lehman Collection, New York.

former closely resembles in composition the triptychs of the earlier phase. Here four angels are grouped around the Virgin on whose knee the Infant Christ sits; again a half-length figure of the Saviour appears above, and here too the Annunciation adorns the upper part of the wings; below are the Baptist and a very much repainted female figure, now representing St. Clare with a spray of lilies. The picture in The Hague varies in that the Virgin is escorted by two saints, one of whom is crowned, and two angels; the side panels show the figures of St. Lawrence and a young martyr holding a banner, while the decoration of the pinnacles is the same.

One of Sassetta's most important pictures is executed after this manner; it is the Nativity of the Virgin in the Collegiata of Asciano (plate V) ⁽¹⁾. The composition, divided into three parts with the first bath of the new-born child in the centre and a small boy announcing the glad tidings to Joachim, who is seated with a companion, to the left, dates back to the panel which Pietro Lorenzetti made of this subject in 1342 and which is preserved in the gallery of Siena ⁽²⁾. Paolo di Giovanni Fei repeated this composition in his altar-piece now in the same gallery ⁽³⁾ but he was more faithful to Lorenzetti's example than Sassetta, because although he had to a certain extent to reduce the scenes in order to make room for the saints he depicted to either side, he changed nothing in the actual composition with the exception of the place of the lateral scenes, the arrival of neighbours being depicted to the left and the message to Joachim to the right. Sassetta, on the other hand, shows St. Anna in bed to the right while we see her friends arriving by a door, situated in the background of the central part. The composition is more pleasing because the obvious effect of space behind the child having her first bath makes of this picture the principal event. A very important detail is the presence of the woman seated on the cassone before St. Anna's bed because she takes no part in what is going on around her and is evidently there merely as a visitor.

⁽¹⁾ *W. Rothés*, Die Blütezeit der Sienesische Malerei, Strasbourg, 1904, p. 51.

⁽²⁾ v. Vol. II, fig. 243.

⁽³⁾ v. Vol. II, fig. 337.



THE NATIVITY OF THE VIRGIN
By Sassetta, Collegiata, Asciano.

Photo Alinari.

Pietro Lorenzetti shows us a similar figure, but Fei has combined this personage with her who attends St. Anna washing her hands. This is of considerable interest since it provides us with evidence that Sassetta sometimes studied the pictures of the great masters of the first half of the 14th century more closely than those of Fei. In the upper part of the picture we see still the Death of the Virgin, her funeral, and in the centre, the Madonna nursing the Child in the midst of four angels.

In the whole of this picture we observe that the Gothic element is weaker, but this is less marked in the small scenes above than in the larger figures of the principal representation. The painter has made an interesting attempt at perspective in his portrayal of an interior, while approximating this work to genre painting are the little details of every day life, a feature which, as we saw, is very usual in the pictorial productions of Northern Italy, in the school of The Marches and in those depending on it, but fairly rare in Tuscany; however, even in the middle of the 14th century, representations of births are given an appearance of greater intimacy than paintings of other subjects.

This remark applies also to scenes of the Adoration of the Magi which so often include elements of the chase; thus in the little panel of this subject by Sassetta, now in the Chigi Saracini collection, Siena, there are several details of this kind (plate VI).

To the left a groom is busy with the horses and camels; in the foreground we see two little dogs while five tiny pages, holding their master's swords, are gathered together in conversation; the latter, five in number, are shown before the Virgin and Child; they are attired in fashionable garments of the day and with the exception of the king kneeling before the Child Whose foot he kisses, they are all young; the presence of the haloes alone allows us to distinguish the three Wise Men from the two other personages who, with many gestures, talk together, one with his hand on the other's shoulder. Close to the Madonna, the head of St. Joseph is visible while behind her stand two young women.

On account of the details of contemporary costumes, the elements of daily life, the attitudes and the gestures, the artist

has completely changed the purely devotional conception of this religious representation into what might be described as a genre painting of considerable elegance; as for the ox and ass which, in the text of the Gospel, play a considerable rôle, the painter did not seem to find them very necessary for his composition, because they are more easily divined than seen, hidden behind the figures in a corner of the picture. In this little panel, which is one of Sassetta's master-pieces, the architectural element is practically non-existent.

Another little picture executed in this manner is preserved in the Bachofen-Burckhard Foundation, Basel; it may be of a slightly later period but I should like to discuss it here since the artist has again transformed the scene into a genre picture. It illustrates the miracle which occurred at the birth of St. Nicholas of Myra; the Golden Legend narrates that when the child was being bathed on the day of his birth, he stood upright in his bath (fig. 205). To this the artist has added a little detail, because not only do we see the child erect in the basin, but his hands are devoutly clasped in prayer. As in the picture of the Nativity of the Virgin at Asciano, the mother is depicted in bed to the right of the scene with some visitors approaching her; the miracle itself with the two women who bathe the child is placed in the left half of the panel while between the one and the other the artist has depicted a corridor leading directly backwards into a courtyard with a fountain. The architecture and the perspective are fairly complicated, but compared with the Nativity at Asciano, the composition does not seem quite so successful; it is dominated by a rigid symmetry united to a lack of life.

The spirit of genre painting is found again in two little panels in the Platt collection, Englewood (1). One of them represents a young saint giving alms to a little boy who is one of a group of poor people approaching the generous giver; an old blind man led by a dog has evidently received his share because we see him departing in the opposite direction; a man seen only in part draws near from the other side. The background is composed of a Gothic house through the open door of which we can

(1) *F. M. Perkins*, op. cit., *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1907, p. 45.



ADORATION OF THE MAGI
By Sassetta, Chigi Saracini Collection, Siena.

Photo Brogi.

distinguish in a corner another saint. The details of the architecture, as well as the realism of the appearance, the attitudes and the expressions of the persons portrayed in this picture demonstrate the artist's extraordinary sense of observation. On the other hand, I have remarked elsewhere that among the



Fig. 205. Sassetta, the Nativity of St. Nicholas. Bachofen Museum, Basel.

Photo Höflinger.

Sieneese artists of the first half of the 14th century, Simone Martini in particular, this perception of detail was very highly developed.

The other picture represents a charitable young man who dons the habit and receives the blessing of an aged prior who is followed by a monk, on the threshold of a church, adjoining which we see another large building. It is evidently a monastery of which the courtyard and some high trees within the enclosure are visible. It is an interesting study of a very sober piece of architecture and perspective.

Several other works by the master should be included in this category. Among them is a very beautiful little panel in

the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A., formerly in the collection of the Earl of Northesk, representing the Descent into Hell (fig. 206) (1), which in style closely resembles the panels illustrating the story of St. Antony from the altar-piece of 1423—1426. Through a large opening we see the interior of a



Fig. 206. Sassetta, the Descent into Hell. Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A.

cavern in which Christ advances towards two bearded old men, one of whom He grasps by the arm; behind there is a large assembly of people. On entering Hell the Saviour has knocked down the door which, fallen on Satan, crushes him under its

(1) Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Collection of Mediaeval and Renaissance Paintings, Cambridge (U.S.A.), 1919, p. 118. *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1918, p. 113, calls this panel and the following picture productions of Sassetta's work-shop, thus changing his first opinion v. *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1906, p. 31, where he ascribed them to the master's own hand. A picture of Christ carrying the Cross in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia is attributed by him to the same artist. This is no doubt the picture which Mr. *Berenson*, *Catalogue etc.*, No. 105, rightly assigns to Giovanni di Paolo.

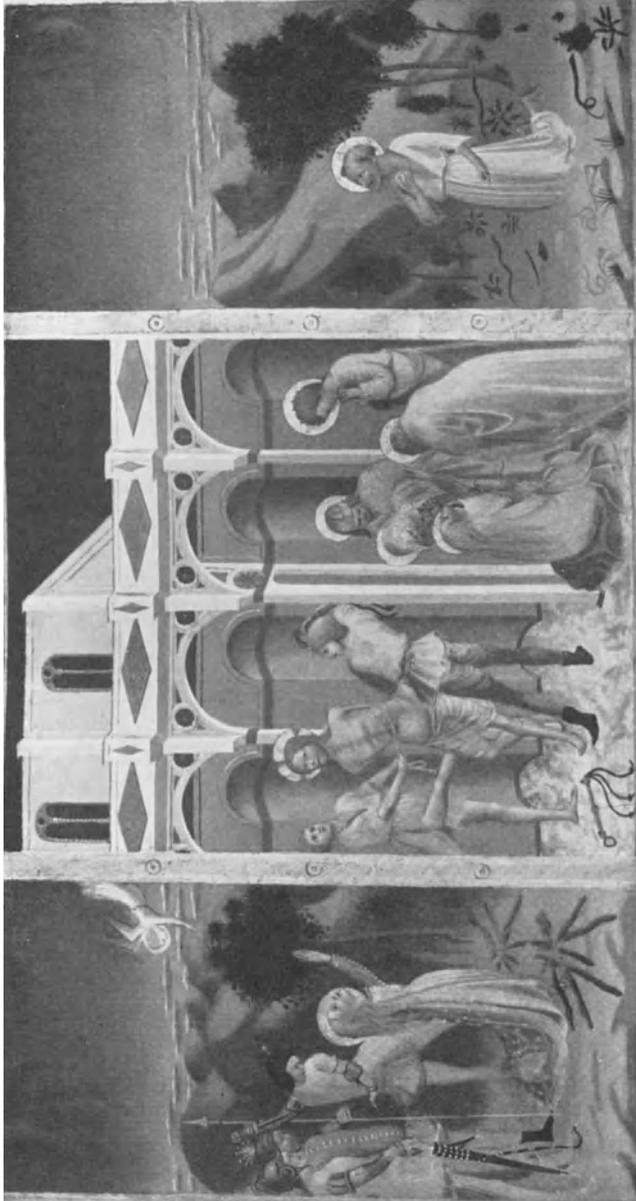


Fig. 207. Sassetta, scenes from the Life of Christ and saints. Museum, Boston.

weight. The place is surrounded by bare rocky mountains which convey an impression of great isolation. In style and spirit the picture is fairly Gothic.

In the Vatican Gallery there is a picture of the Flagellation of Christ (No. 177) which we see taking place in a vaulted room before Pilate, while a crowd of spectators thronging the courtyard, look on at the event through an intentional breach in one of the walls. This painting bears such a marked resemblance in style to the Descent into Hell in the Fogg Art Museum, that not only have I mentioned them together, but I think it quite possible that they belong to the same series, which the dimensions of the panels, as well, seem to confirm ⁽¹⁾.

Another of Sassetta's very pleasing works is an oblong panel which was presented a few years ago to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston ⁽²⁾. The composition is rather curious because the artist has combined four events, bearing no connexion one to the other, in a single representation (fig. 207).

In the centre is depicted a building against a landscape which extends beyond it to either side; in one part of it, which is sooner of Renaissance architecture but has Gothic windows above, we see the Flagellation; in the adjoining room a female saint expires, surrounded by three of her companions and a young man, all wearing haloes. In the landscape to the right which is alive with serpents and scorpions is shown St. Jerome kneeling, beating his chest with a stone; to the other side an executioner, accompanied by two soldiers, is shown thrusting a dagger in the back of a young female martyr who kneels before a stake, which apparently had refused to burn, from which we can surmise that it represents the martyrdom of either St. Lucy or St. Agnes; above, an angel appears to the saint. The technique of this panel is extremely fine and the forms are very harmonious and only slightly Gothic, thus resembling those of the Nativity at Asciano.

Lastly, I think that a picture which I ascribed to Andrea di Bartolo in a previous volume ⁽³⁾ is a production of this particular manner in Sassetta's career. Mr. Perkins before me also ascribed

⁽¹⁾ In the Catalogue of the Vatican Gallery, Signor P. D'Achiardi attributes it to Pellegrino di Mariano; for the opinion of Mr. Perkins v. previous note.

⁽²⁾ Gift of Mrs. H. H. Sherman v. Museum Bulletin, Oct. 1922 and *B. Berenson*, Bolletino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., 1926, p. 369.

⁽³⁾ v. Vol. II, p. 574.

it to Andrea di Bartolo but with a certain hesitation⁽¹⁾ for which at that time I could see no reason. Since, however, I have had an opportunity of studying the picture more closely and I am convinced it is a work of Sassetta, by whom, moreover, the proprietor, Mr. Stoclet of Brussels, believed it to be. It represents the Archangel Michael, in a coat of mail, a sword in one hand and a spear in the other, standing on the dragon (fig. 208). It is a picture of a wonderful decorative effect and extraordinary rich in ornamental details.

If it is true that Giovanni di Paolo was Sassetta's pupil, we find here an example — and not the only one of its kind — of a master coming under the influence of his disciple. While from his early works, we find that Giovanni di Paolo adopted more



Fig. 208. Sassetta, the Archangel Michael.
Stoclet Collection, Brussels.

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1914, p. 100.

or less the morphological types of Sassetta, it seems highly likely that at a later stage those fantastic forms and proportions of the human figure developed in the first instance in the art of Giovanni di Paolo and were communicated afterwards to that of Sassetta, because already in the panel dating from 1427, the earliest production that we possess by Giovanni di Paolo, the master shows us, in particular in the face of the Infant Christ, those characteristics which in the course of time became more accentuated. In Sassetta's case, on the other hand, these peculiarities are visible for the first time in the datable work at Chiusdino which was executed between 1430 and 1433; further, we notice that these extraordinary features never attain the same degree of intensity as in Giovanni di Paolo's art.

The altar-piece, now in the town hall of Chiusdino (figs. 209 and 210) ⁽¹⁾, but formerly in the church of S. Martino of this little town and originating from the cathedral of Siena, was known as the "Madonna della Neve" on account of the illustration in the predella of the miraculous way in which the plan of Sta Maria Maggiore of Rome was indicated in the snow; the tradition that this picture comes from the abbey of S. Galgano is consequently false. In the centre we see the Virgin, the naked Child on her knee, sitting on a throne, the back of which is covered with an ornate piece of material; she is escorted by two saints while two angels support a crown over her head; at a little distance from this central group are SS. Peter, John the Baptist, Paul and Francis, two standing and two kneeling. The spandrels are adorned with six half-length figures of saints and prophets. There remains but little of the predella; several of the pieces are missing while the rest is so badly damaged that with the exception of the miracle of the snow, the subjects cannot be recognized. Of the pinnacles which no longer occupy their original place, two have been found again: the angel and the Madonna of the Annunciation, the former — also in a ruinous state — in the museum of Massa Maritima,

⁽¹⁾ *De Nicola*, Arte inedita in Siena e nel suo antico territorio, Vita d'Arte, July 1912. *The Same*, op. cit., 1913, p. 276. *F. M. Perkins*, Rassegna d'Arte, 1911, p. 5. *The Same*, La pala d'altare del Sassetta a Chiusdino, Rassegna d'Arte, 1912, p. 196.

the latter in the Platt collection, Englewood (fig. 211) ⁽¹⁾. The celestial messenger, his arms folded, is depicted kneeling, the Virgin, seated on a little bench, interrupts her reading and draws her mantle more closely around her in a movement almost of defence, reminiscent of the renowned example of Simone Martini.



Fig. 209. Sassetta, Madonna and saints. Town Hall, Chiusdino.

Photo Anderson.

The influence of Giovanni di Paolo is manifest in the faces and the curious forms of the Virgin, with her unusually long neck, those of the Child and of St. John the Baptist, and although quite obvious, we are here but at the outset of this influence which, in other works, is revealed still more clearly.

As we have already seen, it was in 1433, consequently almost contemporaneously with the altar-piece of Chiusdino, that Sas-

⁽¹⁾ *De Nicola*, op. cit., 1913. *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1911, p. 5.



Fig. 210. Detail of fig. 209.

Photo Anderson.

setta executed the crucifix, originating from the church of S. Martino, of which three fragments are preserved in the Chigi Saracini collection in Siena. The pieces, no doubt, formed three of the extremities of the cross. One of them shows St. Martin on horseback dividing his coat with the beggar; this panel in all likelihood was the lower terminal of the crucifix and in the subject of the painting we have sufficient indication that



Fig. 211. Sassetta, the Madonna of the Annunciation.
Platt Collection, Englewood.

the work was executed for the church dedicated to this saint. The two other fragments were doubtless the lateral terminals; they represent the half-length figures of the Virgin and St. John, their expressions and gestures suggestive of great sorrow (fig. 212).

The first of these panels is really too damaged to allow us

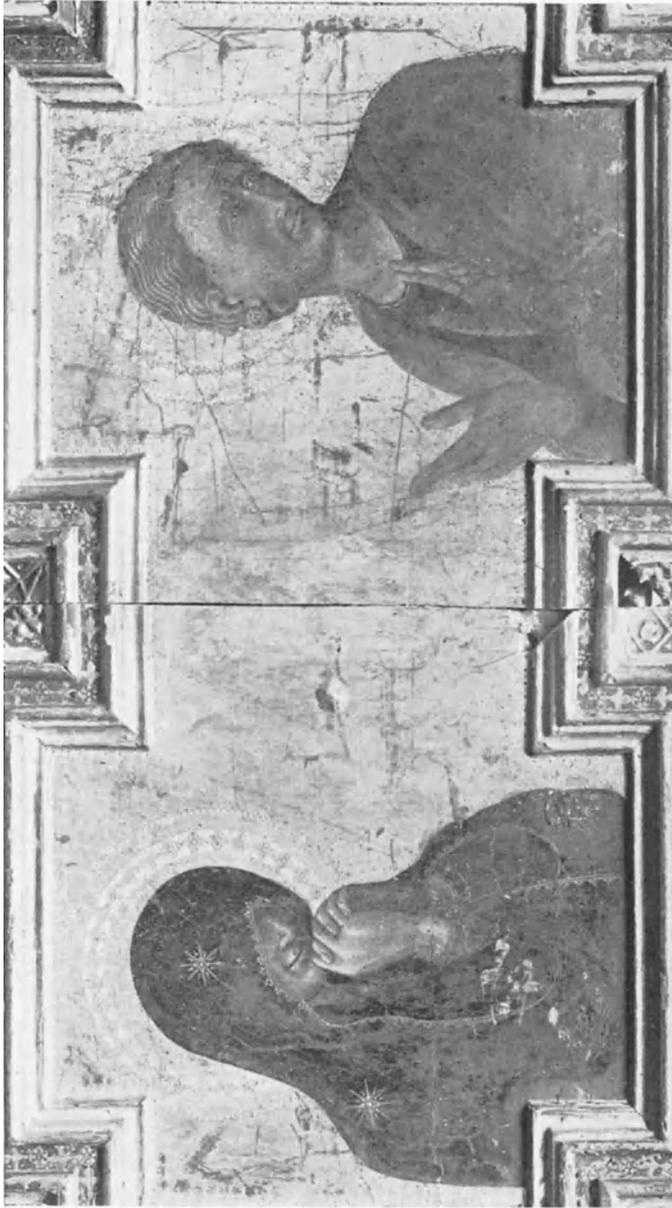


Fig. 212. Sassetta, the Madonna and St. John from a crucifix, Chigi Saracini Collection, Siena.
Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

form a very exact idea of the style of painting, but the two other fragments reveal the influence of Giovanni di Paolo almost in the same degree as the picture at Chiusdino.

An important work executed in this manner is the polyptych in the chapel to the left of the high altar in the church of S. Domenico at Cortona (fig. 213). In the centre the Virgin, sitting on the ground, holds, with much display of affection, the Child Jesus Who turns towards the spectator; two little angels are seated beside her. The four saints to the sides are St. Nicholas,



Fig. 213. Sassetta, polyptych. S. Domenico, Cortona.

Photo Alinari.

who is clean-shaven but can be recognized by the three golden balls he carries; he is attired in a gorgeous episcopal robe, St. Michael dressed as a warrior, weighing the souls, St. John the Baptist looking at the central group and St. Margaret holding a sword with a dragon at her feet. The medallions above are adorned with the Easter Lamb and the figures of the Annunciation, both kneeling. It is more especially in the figures of the archangel and St. Margaret that we find evidence of the rather injurious influence that Giovanni di Paolo exercised at this moment on Sassetta. The forms are strange and the proportions abnormal as can be seen, at a glance, in the unusual length of St. Margaret's neck.

A Madonna and Child in the midst of angels, which belongs to Mr. Berenson, Settignano, resembles in style the polyptych of Cortona, as do also a fragment of a Madonna in the gallery of the Cardinal Archbishop of Esztergom (Hungary), the figures of SS. Apollonia and Margaret in the Platt collection, Englewood⁽¹⁾ and the charming little predella panel representing the journey of the Magi, now in the collection of Mr. F. Maitland Griggs, New York (fig. 214)⁽²⁾. Of the last picture the master has made a perfect genre scene of knights travelling during winter. Sassetta has not forgotten that the Christmas feast occurs at the end of December, and although the environs of Siena, even at this moment of the year, offer but rarely a winter landscape, the painter bore well in mind the season of the year and shows us the hills covered with snow. The idea that in Palestine all this snow was less likely did not enter his mind, nor did he take time to reflect that at the beginning of the Christian era the inhabitants of that country dressed in a different fashion from the Tuscans of about the year 1430. Features of the chase are found in the presence of some dogs and the falcon that one of the knights carries on his hand.

A little monkey sitting on the back of one of the horses is the only oriental element in the composition. A flight of duck passes against the sky in the centre; two herons(?) are seen on a hill to the left while two smaller birds to the right seem to be scraping for food.

The sad landscape with a town in the distance shows only a few trees mostly bare; those which are green are probably olive trees. The eastern star which guides the travellers is depicted almost on the earth at a few yards distance from the cortège, which, apart from the small nimbi of the Magi, has really nothing of a sacred nature, but offers us a charming little scène de genre of private life of the beginning of the 15th century.

One of Sassetta's beautiful productions of this period is an Assumption of the Virgin in the gallery of the Cardinal Archbishop of Esztergom, in which above, against a gold background,

(1) *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1913, p. 196.

(2) This panel belonged successively to Mr. Bromley Davenport, Lord Houghton, the Marchioness of Crewe and Mr. Langton Douglas v. *R. Fry*, *Burlington Magazine*, Dec. 1912.

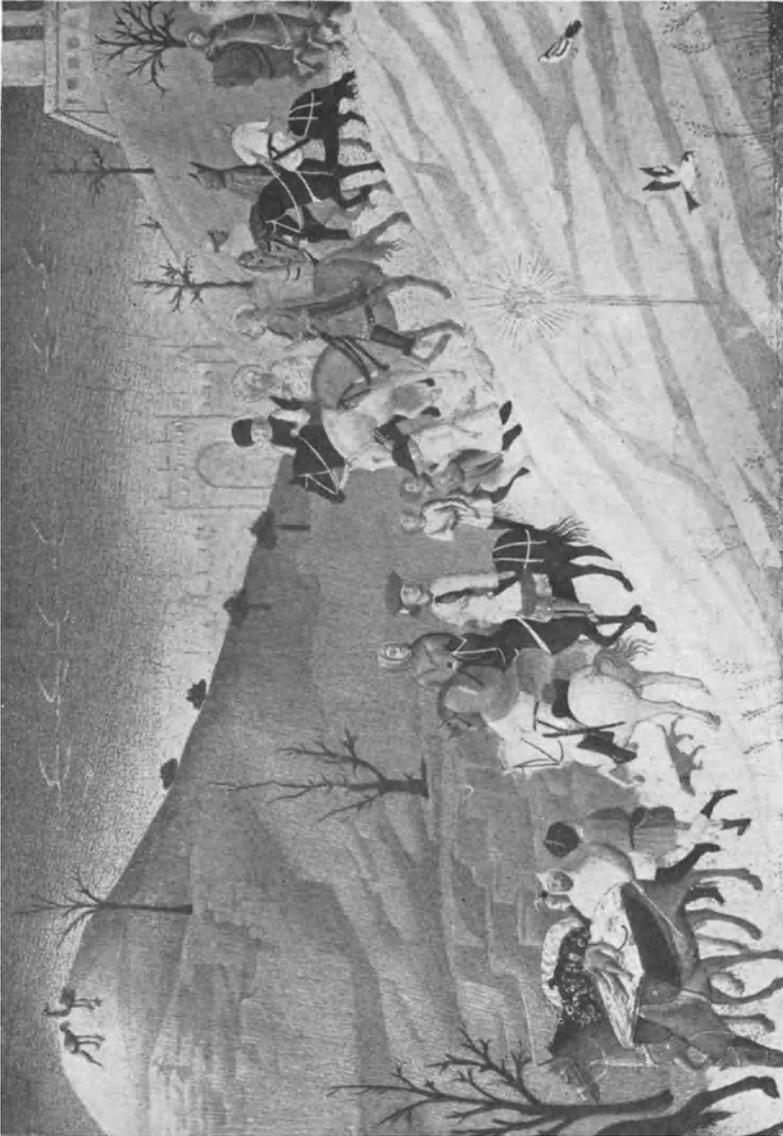


Fig. 214. Sassetta, the Journey of the Magi. Maitland F. Griggs Collection, New York.

the Madonna is depicted carried by a group of angels towards God the Father; in a landscape below we see St. Thomas near the empty tomb in which flowers grow. It is one of the finest as

well as one of the least known of Sassetta's paintings. A certain influence of Giovanni di Paolo is noticeable as in the other works of this period.

In the collection of Senator Count Serristori of Florence, there is a picture of the Pietà which, I think, should be ascribed to Sassetta and to about this stage of his career. Against a gold background the Madonna is represented holding the dead Saviour on her knee; two pilgrims kneel in adoration behind while in the background some of the instruments of the Passion are shown. It is an exceeding beautiful picture, and one possessing a particular charm; the influence of Paolo di Giovanni is slightly more pronounced.

The works of Sassetta in which this influence is more marked are for the greater part seated Madonnas. A panel which must have been executed during the transition between the one stage and the other, shows a three-quarter-length figure of the Virgin enthroned holding the naked Child on her knee. It is preserved in the cathedral of Grosseto where it was discovered in the sacristy by Mr. Perkins ⁽¹⁾ and the type of the Virgin which still bears a certain resemblance to that of the polyptych in Cortona, can be explained only by a knowledge of Giovanni di Paolo's art (fig. 215).

The domination of this master is still more evident in a picture of the Madonna seated on a cushion on a flagstone tiled floor, holding the Child, Who thrusts His hand in at the neck of His Mother's dress, erect on her knee. This panel was shown at the exhibition of Sienese art, when it belonged to Count Castelli Mignanelli of Rome, but its actual fate is unknown to me (fig. 216) ⁽²⁾.

Three Madonnas, which comprise one little group, are preserved, one in the gallery of Siena (No. 325) (fig. 217), another in that of Berlin (No. 63 b) (fig. 218), while the third belonged in 1918 to Monsieur d'Hendecourt, Paris ⁽³⁾. The panel in Siena is considerably damaged. In all three pictures the Virgin is represented in three-quarter profile sitting on a cushion or

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, Burlington Magazine, V, 1904, p. 581. *The Same*, Un quadro sconosciuto del Sassetta, Rassegna d'Arte, 1907, p. 76.

⁽²⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, Rassegna d'Arte, XIII, 1913, p. 121.

⁽³⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, Rassegna d'Arte, XVIII, 1918, p. 112.



Fig. 215. Sassetta, Madonna. Cathedral, Grosseto.

Photo Alinari.

directly on a tiled floor, supporting the naked Child Who is almost upright on her knee, two angels hold a crown over the Madonna's head while above we see a half-length figure of Christ in the midst of cherubim. This last detail is missing in the



Fig. 216. Sassetta, Madonna. Castelli Mignanelli Collection, Rome.

Photo Lombardi.



Fig. 217. Sassetta, Madonna. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

picture in Siena which, however, does not possess the terminal where this figure is depicted in the two other examples. The Madonna of the d'Hendecourt collection differs from the others in that she is shown turned towards the right.

This type of the Madonna was well known to Giovanni di Paolo who has left us several examples of an almost identical composition; as such might be cited those in the gallery of Siena and the Stoclet collection, Brussels, but Giovanni di Paolo places his figures in a landscape; further he depicts neither the angels nor the Redeemer above. Another point of contact, however, is found in the head-dress of the Virgin, slightly larger in Giovanni di Paolo's panels but none the less very similar.

That a decided connexion exists between these Madonnas of the two Siennese masters seems to me beyond doubt and although we can hardly affirm with certainty that the works of Giovanni di Paolo have chronological precedence of those of Sassetta, still the curious and characteristic human forms demonstrate that Sassetta's paintings were executed under a very strong influence of Giovanni di Paolo who, consequently, must have created this type of representation.

In the Sterbini collection, Rome, there existed a ruined fragment of the Virgin holding the Child, Who grasped a little bird, erect on her knee; only the half-length figures remained and they were very damaged⁽¹⁾.

I think that in all probability we should ascribe to Sassetta and to this stage in his career, when he was subjected to the influence of Giovanni di Paolo, two figures of saints — SS. Francis and Galganus — of no great importance, in the Central Museum, Utrecht⁽²⁾.

Shortly after this, the influence that Giovanni di Paolo exercised on Sassetta diminished and from this last manner of the master we have two dated works, the triptych of 1436 in the church of the Osservanza, near Siena and the large polyptych from Borgo San Sepolcro.

The triptych in the Osservanza (fig. 219) shows in the centre the Virgin enthroned with the naked Child standing on her knee; in the wings we see the holy bishop Ambrose and

⁽¹⁾ *A. Venturi*, La Galleria Sterbini in Roma, Rome, 1906, No. 17.

⁽²⁾ *van Marle*, op. cit., Oudheidkundig Jaarboek.



Fig. 218. Sassetta, Madonna. Gallery, Berlin.

Photo Hanfstaengel.

St. Jerome and in the pinnacles the Saviour, St. Peter and St. Paul, all in half-figure. In the medallions which are placed against a decorative background between the pinnacles, are depicted the Madonna of the Annunciation seated on a little bench and the kneeling figure of the celestial messenger. There is a graceful Gothic movement in the robe of the central figure and the curtain which drapes the back of the throne; it is, besides, just in the figures of the Virgin and the Child that Sassetta has remained most faithful to Giovanni di Paolo's types. The little figures above, on the contrary, are reminiscent, as much in type as in sentiment, of the great masters of the first half of the 14th century. The Annunciation calls to mind especially the example of Simone Martini; even the attitude of the Virgin on her little bench seems to be directly inspired by this beautiful painting. Apart from that, we notice here that Sassetta does not follow the principles to which he has been faithful until now; the lateral figures in particular show little that is characteristic of the Gothic style and very few features of Giovanni di Paolo's influence. Sassetta's career like that of every one of his contemporaries in Florence ended by an infiltration of the new principles of the Renaissance which transformed and gradually replaced the traditional calligraphic forms. The date 1436 is inscribed at the foot of the central panel to the right.

The tendency towards the new style of painting is more evident in the large polyptych from Borgo San Sepolcro which as we saw was ordered in 1437 and finished in 1444; the different panels of this altar-piece are now divided among several private collections⁽¹⁾. The principal panel belongs to Mr. B. Berenson, Settignano and shows St. Francis in glory between the Blessed Raineri Rasini in the habit of a Franciscan monk and St. John the Baptist (fig. 220). The central figure is depicted in ecstasy, his eyes turned heavenwards, his arms out-stretched and a radiant halo encircling his head⁽²⁾.

(1) Mr. *Berenson*, in "Sienese Painter of the Franciscan Legend" deals chiefly with this altar-piece v. *La Diana. Rassegna d'Arte e Vita Senese*, I, 1925, No. 4, *passim*.

(2) Light radiating from an aureole is an ornament characteristic of the blessed and not of saints.



Fig. 219. Sassetta, Madonna and two saints. Osservanza Church, Siena.
Photo Anderson.

Behind him cherubim form a mandorla, the centre of which is brilliantly illuminated. Chastity, Poverty and Obedience in the form of angels are represented above, their respective symbols being a lily, a patched dress and a yoke. St. Francis tramples under foot a mailed warrior, sword in hand, reclining on a lion, the personification of Violence, while to the sides we see a young woman sitting leaning against a black pig

and looking into a mirror, Luxury, and a nun, a watch dog close by, fastening by means of a press the opening of a money bag, no doubt a personification of Avarice. These vices are naturally shown as opposed to the virtues we see above. All this apparition seems to float on a sea beyond which a moun-



Fig. 220. Sassetta, St. Francis in ecstasy and two saints. Berenson Collection, Settignano.

tainous landscape appears; this detail gives the entire representation an almost cosmic character.

Many features of this composition seem to be borrowed from the image of St. Francis which forms the centre-piece of Taddeo di Bartolo's polyptych of 1403 in the gallery of Perugia; the older master shows us the saint in more or less the same attitude, the mandorla of cherubim and the personifications of Vices crushed under foot. The symbols of the Virtues such as the yoke of Obedience and the tattered dress of Poverty are found in the allegories that a Giottesque painter has left us in Assisi. Nevertheless, the differences between the representation of Sas-

setta and those of this Giottesque artist or of Taddeo di Bartolo are very great. While Taddeo apparently wishes to portray the seraphic saint showing his stigmata and the Master of the Vele the glory of St. Francis celebrated in heaven when he reaches the apotheosis of his sanctity, Sassetta depicts him in a state of religious ecstasy and it is on this account that the spirit of his work belongs essentially to that of the Renaissance. It is the human and individual side of the saint that Sassetta wishes to present and not a subject of adoration for the faithful which was the aim of the above-mentioned Florentine and Sienese artists of the 14th century. It is this dissimilarity of conception which differentiates the entire series of scenes from the life of St. Francis from that of Giotto. It is not that one has understood him better than the other; it is only the outcome of the difference which existed in the mentalities of the two periods. However, Giotto, as we can see in all his works, was a keen observer of human psychology; although less attentive to the mystical nature of the events he illustrated, all the same he conceived every sacred subject at least in an austere manner, while for an immediate precursor of the advanced Renaissance, such as Sassetta, it was the human experience that was of prime importance.

Nine panels, three of which were found on the front of the altar-piece and six on the back, narrate the story of the saint of Assisi; except for the one in the Museum of Chantilly, they are all now the property of Sir Joseph Duveen, New York. In order to follow the events in chronological order we must look first at the panel showing St. Francis giving away his cloak to the poor nobleman and his dream of how he is recompensed for this act. This picture formed part of the Chalandon collection, Paris. Sassetta has had to unite in one scene two different events, which Giotto shows us on separate frescoes, and this gives to the panel a rather cramped effect which, personally, I do not find very pleasing. To one side we see the saint, dismounted from his horse, in the act of taking off his coat to give to the poor man, this takes place in a charming landscape with a beautiful castle in the distance. Along side this is depicted the interior of a small dwelling in which the saint, asleep, has a vision of an angel who points towards a

building, adorned with flags, of which St. Francis, at that moment still concerned with his material well-being, thinks when the voice tells him of a reward he is to receive for his charitable act.

From the same collection comes the panel depicting the break between St. Francis and his father (fig. 221). The latter, obviously furious, stands, with the garments his son has given back at his feet, in the midst of three men one of whom lays a restraining hand on the angry father to prevent him doing violence against his son who takes refuge near the bishop who is seated in a door-way with two other persons near by. Inside the building, which is of considerable size, we can distinguish a cleric reading his prayer-book while walking.

Count de Martel de Beaumont possessed the picture representing how St. Francis appeased the wolf of Gubbio. Just outside the gate of the town, St. Francis, followed by a crowd of people attired in costumes of the period, is seen grasping the paw which the wolf holds out to him. The saint turns towards the notary who, seated, writes down the conditions of the treaty that the wolf is prepared to respect.

The fire test which is to decide whether the saint of Assisi or the heathen priests of the sultan, whom St. Francis has gone to convert, possess the true doctrine, shows us the event taking place in a vaulted room supported on pillars, through the open door of which a beautiful mountainous landscape is visible (fig. 222). The sultan, his courtiers, a companion of St. Francis and the Magi are divided into two equal groups while in the centre burns the fire into which the saint casts himself. This picture belonged to M. Chalandon as also that of St. Francis and his first brothers kneeling before the pope. The scene occurs in a hall, the outer walls of which are seen above; the pope escorted by two cardinals is seated at the end of the room; a passage, in which the Franciscan monks are depicted, is formed by two benches, occupied by many cardinals and a person wearing a crown; behind, other people are represented. As Mr. Berenson has already remarked, it is obvious that the painter has not followed Giotto's models of this scene in Florence and Assisi but has found his inspiration in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco of Pope Boniface VIII receiving St. Louis



Fig. 221. Sassetta, St. Francis' break with his father.
Duveen Collection, New York.

Photo Brogi.

as novice, which adorns the church of S. Francesco, Siena ⁽¹⁾. I would even say that Sassetta has taken the idea of representing

⁽¹⁾ v. Vol. II, fig. 256.



Fig. 222. Sassetta, the fire test. Duveen Collection, New York.

Photo Brogi.

a crowned figure among the cardinals from Ambrogio Lorenzetti's work in which it naturally portrays King Robert of Anjou but the presence of a similar figure in a picture of the confirmation of the order of St. Francis is not easy to explain.

On the other hand in the scene of St. Francis receiving the stigmata from the seraph, the monk reading in the corner and the chapel in a rocky landscape, Sassetta seems to have been inspired by Giotto's example, in fact the differences in the compositions are very slight. This panel, too, belonged to M. Chalandon, as well as that of the funeral mass of the saint



Fig. 223. Sassetta, St. Francis' marriage with Poverty. Gallery, Chantilly.

Photo Giraudon.

which occurs in a vaulted chapel with a retable of the Madonna between SS. Peter and Paul with God the Father and the Annunciation, decorating the altar. Numerous monks surround the bier, a bishop approaches from the right while a weeping

monk on his knees and a layman standing close by bend forward to convince themselves of the presence of the stigmata.

Lastly the marriage of St. Francis with Dame Poverty, which is found in the Condée Museum, Chantilly (¹), is shown according to the text of St. Bonaventura who relates how the Poverello and his physician, while travelling on foot, have a vision of three young girls who, having pronounced the words "Welcome Dame Poverty", disappear (figs. 223 and 224). St. Bonaventura informs us that the Franciscan brothers took this to be an apparition of the saint's three preferred virtues, namely Chastity, Obedience and Poverty but of them all he liked best Poverty. Although from the greeting of the three young girls it can hardly be imagined that Poverty is one of the trio, Sassetta too must have understood it in this way because he shows St. Francis passing the ring on to the finger of the young girl in the centre who has naked feet. As we have seen the Umbrian painter, Ottaviano Nelli has represented the same subject which is rather rare in Franciscan iconography. The disappearance of the young girls is represented simultaneously; we see them in mid-air wafted heavenward, Dame Poverty turning round and looking at her mystic bridegroom. Here we notice that one of them wears the symbolic yoke of Obedience; the white robe of the other serves as emblem of Chastity. The scene is placed in a pleasant hilly landscape; Sassetta has substituted the physician who accompanied St. Francis for a monk.

Like all of Sassetta's works, these panels are charming little pictures but I do not at all agree with Mr. Berenson that this artist has expressed the Franciscan spirit more aptly than Giotto. Giotto was not a mystic painter and consequently neither was he the best gifted to illustrate the history of the seraphic saint; nevertheless he did it with such dignity, such a perfect spiritual serenity and such impressive holiness that he created at least profoundly religious pictures, although perhaps they were not excessively imbued with the Franciscan spirit which demands more mysticism and more tenderness.

Sassetta, too, even more than Giotto, lacked this spirit of

(¹) *D. Dami*, *Dedalo*, IV², p. 269 et seq.



Fig. 224. Detail of fig. 223.

Photo Girandon.

mysticism but whereas the older master succeeded in creating a religious atmosphere in his representations, Sassetta failed. It is on account of this that the cycle of scenes from the life of St. Francis which Giotto painted will always strike us as a grandiose and spiritual work, compared with which the tendency towards intimate scenes and genre pictures affected by Sassetta, give his productions a much more profane appearance

and an impression of superficiality. If we think of the dignity with which St. Francis performs his first charitable act and the humble and touching gratitude with which the indigent gentleman accepts the offered gift in Giotto's fresco, we realize that the manner in which Sassetta shows us the same event in no way touches Giotto's representation in grandeur and depth of feeling. The scene of the break with the father in the case of Sassetta, with its limited groups, the angry father and slender figure of the son hardly satisfies us when we compare it with Giotto's serene conception of this event as portrayed in the Upper Church at Assisi. A similar comparison between Giotto's two frescoes of the test by fire and the panel of this subject by Sassetta shows the latter artist to still greater disadvantage, making his scene appear in our eyes almost petty.

I shall not continue this comparison point by point, but I am of opinion that this confrontation reveals to us that alongside Giotto's master-pieces the fascinating and really very handsome paintings of Sassetta all the same appear to lack that majestic beauty and deep spiritual significance that representations of achievements of such mystical importance demanded. His pictures are never really vulgar, just perhaps a little bourgeois, with the exception of St. Francis in ecstasy which is a painting of a very high spiritual standard.

It is very evident that Sassetta knew the Franciscan cycle of the great Florentine master; the scene of the saint with the poor gentleman, in which appears a palace hung with flags similar to that shown by Giotto, and the picture of St. Francis receiving the stigmata leave us in little doubt with regard to this. On the other hand, he does not seem to have been very much inspired by the Giottesque cycle because even the subjects are not always the same and certain of the corresponding scenes show entirely different compositions.

I would have abstained from this comparison between the Franciscan cycles of Giotto and Sassetta, had it not already been made in a very interesting manner by Mr. Berenson, who, however, arrived at a conclusion entirely at variance with mine.

As for the elements borrowed from Giovanni di Paolo, they are only faintly manifest in this series of panels. In the scenes



Fig. 225. Sassetta, scenes from the life of a female saint. Gallery, Berlin.

of the rupture with the father, the pact with the Wolf of Gubbio and St. Francis and his brothers before the pope, some of the faces call to mind the types of Giovanni, as does also the figure of St. John the Baptist in the principal panel but there are also a great many which are very different.

The Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, acquired not long ago a little predella panel by Sassetta, which I think we can place in this stage of the artist's career when the influence of Giovanni di Paolo was on the decline (fig. 225). It shows the interior and exterior of a Gothic house; outside we see two noblemen followed by squires bearing their swords; they are soberly dressed and have just dismounted from their horses which a servant holds to one side. A monk receives them at the door. Inside the building a female saint is depicted asleep on her bed, a holy monk shown in half-figure floating on a cloud, appears to her. I cannot see what hagiographic subject this composition represents.

In a private collection, I know a very important painting of the Annunciation, the angelic messenger inclined before the standing Virgin, which reveals the same characteristics of style.

Lastly an Assumption in the gallery of Berlin (No. 1122) seems to be in part from the hand of Sassetta. The catalogue of the gallery propounds this hypothesis, adding that the picture was finished by another artist at a later date. Mr. Berenson is of opinion that this is one of Sassetta's last works and that the painter died before it was finished⁽¹⁾.

The composition is crowded and very elaborate. In the centre the Virgin with folded hands is seated in a mandorla of cherubs; eighteen angelic musicians are grouped in four rows to either side; above, God the Father, emerging from an aureole of cherubs and escorted by many saints, appears while below in an extensive landscape we see the tiny figures of the Apostles around the empty tomb; among them we can distinguish St. Thomas, the holy girdle in his hand. Mr. Berenson thinks that the figures above, for the greater part are by Sassetta and the rest, with the exception of the landscape, executed after a drawing by the master. I am of very much the same opinion, only I think the group above, the Madonna and Apostles round her sepulchre are from the hand of Sassetta; the rest of the picture seems to belong to a much later style of painting.

The Coronation of the Virgin which decorates the Porta

⁽¹⁾ *B. Berenson*, *The Central Italian Painters*, 2nd ed., New York, London (1909), p. 245. *The Same*, *A Sieneſe Painter*, p. 66 note 1.

Romana, Siena, can be qualified as a work by Sano di Pietro who undertook to finish it after Sassetta had commenced it (¹).

Sassetta's school was not very large or wide-spread, still a certain number of works which cannot be ascribed to the master himself was executed in his immediate vicinity; some of them so closely resemble in style Sassetta's own productions that they have been mistaken for such.

Thus I do not think that the little Crucifixion in the museum of Montpellier, which Mr. Berenson in his "Central Italian Painters" attributes to Sassetta, is from the master's own hand. The same critic holds Sassetta responsible also for a picture of the Madonna's farewell to the Apostles, formerly found in the Crespi collection, Milan (fig. 226). Here we see three Apostles borne through the air to the dwelling of the Virgin, three of the others have already arrived and one of them kneels before

(¹) Some other works by Sassetta are: **Bordeaux**, Museum, No. 53, St. Francis. **Dijon**, Picture Gallery, the Saviour half arisen from His tomb between the seated figures of the Virgin and St. John, an early and fairly Gothic work. **Frome** (Somerset), belonging to Lady Horner, SS. Dorothy, Catherine and James, SS. Chistopher, Paul and Antony (*Berenson*, op. cit. unknown to me). **Lastra a Signa**, Perkins coll., predella panel, the Betrayal of Judas; St. John (?). **Locko Park** (near Derby) belonging to Mr. Drury Lowe, Madonna (*idem*). **London**, National Gallery, No. 1842, fresco fragment, three angels' heads, an early work. **Milan**, Prince Trivulzio's collection, a small triptych, the Nativity of the Virgin. **New York**, Harold I. Pratt collection, triptych (attributed to Sassetta in the catalogue of the Fogg Art Museum, p. 118; it is unknown to me). **Parma**, S. Filippo Nero Congreg., the Entry into Jerusalem; I owe my knowledge of this picture to Mr. Berenson; the attribution is his. **Pausula**, S. Francesco, St. Francis. **Siena**, State Archives, book cover for a "Libro dei Usufrutti (1413—1602), pink house in a wood (*Berenson*).

Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. *L. Douglas*, V, p. 168, mention still a Madonna and Child between six angels and two saints, once in the Lombardi collection, Siena, but now lost. Formerly the Annunciation in the church of S. Pietro a Oville, Siena, was also attributed to Sassetta but it is certainly not from his hand, *L. Douglas*, Burlington Magazine, IV, 1903, p. 265. In the catalogue of the Fogg Art Museum, p. 118, mention is made of Sassetta's scenes from the life of St. Francis in the museum of Berlin but I do not know to which pictures this note can refer. Mr. Berenson holds Sassetta responsible for a Madonna and angels in the gallery of **Sanseverino**; this attribution is contested by Mr. Perkins who, I think, is right in classifying this painting as an early work of Sano di Pietro (*Rassegna d'arte senese*, XVIII, 1926, p. 71.)

the Madonna who is seated on a simple little bench in her tile-paved room, a bed is depicted in an alcove while through a second door we get a glimpse of a corner of the garden.

Perhaps from the same hand although of slightly inferior technique are two little panels — the Marriage of the Virgin and the Visitation — in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia (¹). All these works possess characteristics sooner typical of Sassetta's early manner of painting.

In the Vatican Gallery there are three other pictures which Mr. Berenson gives to Sassetta but which I do not think are from his hand. One of them, representing the Flagellation (No. 99) seems to me to be more distant from the master. As for the other two (Nos. 174 and 175), the artist followed Sassetta's style evidently at a moment when he was already subjected to Giovanni di Paolo's influence. They are predella panels and represent in all probability St. Vittorino condemned by the emperor (fig. 227) and the martyrdom of the saint who is attached to a table and beaten to death (²).

In the Vatican Gallery there are several other little panels by painters who, although less closely connected with Sassetta, all the same strongly felt his influence. As such might be cited Nos. 133 and 134, depicting the Prayer in the Garden of Olives with the Saviour looking at the three disciples who have fallen asleep and the others standing close by (fig. 228) and, as pendant, the Betrayal of Judas shown in a crowded and fairly elaborate composition (fig. 229). The technique of these paintings is not very refined. Still more mediocre and of slightly later date is another predella panel representing the Adoration of the Magi in the same gallery (No. 173); the scene is composed of many figures, elegantly attired after the fashion of the time while the background is formed by an interesting rocky landscape.

A more feeble influence of Sassetta's art is manifest in two

(¹) Attributed to Vecchietta by Mr. Berenson in his catalogue of the Johnson collection. *Schubring*, Cassoni, pl. CII, reproduces them as works of Sassetta.

(²) These pictures have been ascribed to Sassetta also by Mr. *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1906, p. 31, but at a later date he retracts this attribution and classifies the paintings as the productions of a follower of Sassetta.

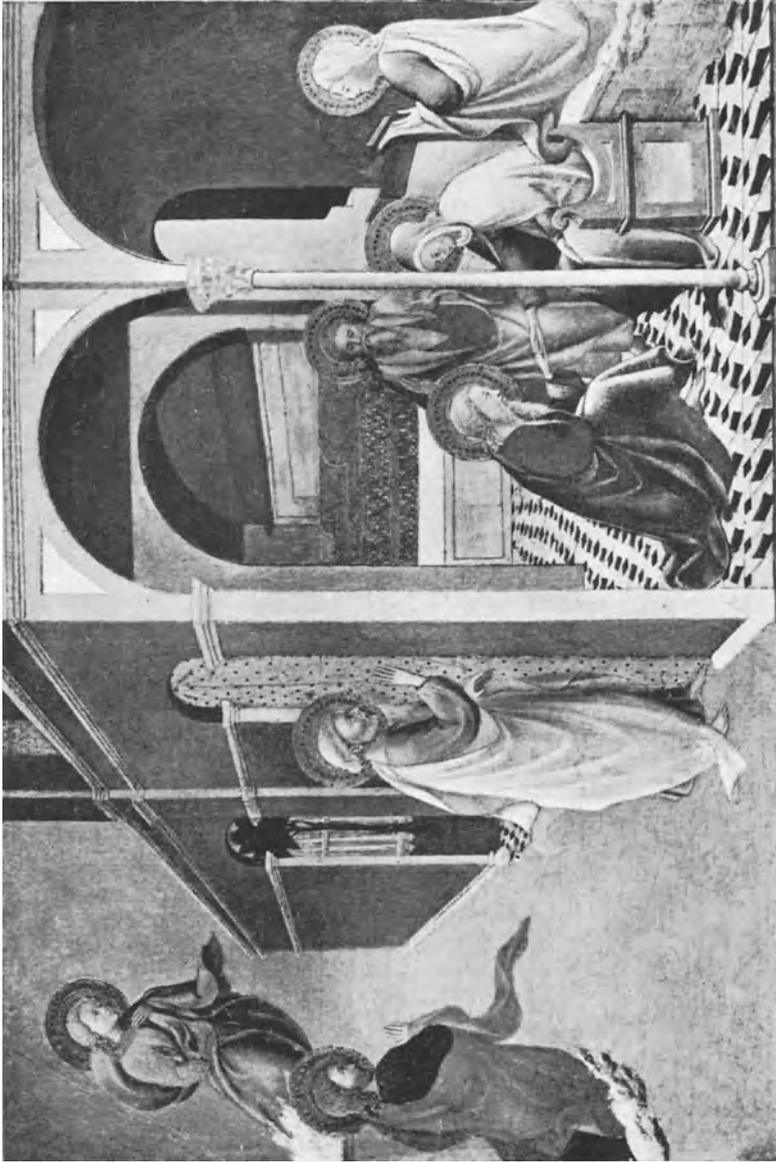


Fig. 226. School of Sassetta, the Virgin's farewell. Crespi Collection, Milan.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 227. School of Sassetta, the story of St. Victor. Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

other predella panels in the Vatican Gallery (Nos. 14 and 15), representing St. Antony assailed by devils, the meeting of St. Antony and St. Paul, the first hermit, and other scenes among which we see St. Antony burying St. Paul in a grave, made by lions. They are again paintings of rather indifferent quality. Somewhat better is a panel of the Adoration of the Magi (fig. 230).

In the gallery of Siena there is a little picture (No. 185) of the Madonna with two angels holding a crown over her head and God the Father above, evidently the centre of a triptych, which is

executed very much after Sassetta's manner, as also another panel of the same subject in this gallery (No. 158) but here the figure of the Saviour is absent while the Virgin is escorted



Fig. 228. School of Sassetta, the Prayer on the Mount of Olives. Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 229. School of Sassetta, the Betrayal of Judas. Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

by SS. Catherine and John the Baptist.

In the Compagnia di Sta. Croce of Asciano a painting of St. Sebastian reveals the same influence ⁽¹⁾

Among the works of Sassetta's school in public and private collections outside Italy, should be mentioned in the first place the charming little panel in the National Gallery, London (No. 1456), representing the crowned Virgin standing with the Child in her arms in the midst of six angels, dressed tastefully after the fashion of the day, and the half-length figures of the Saviour, the Virgin and St.

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 58. *B. Berenson*, *A Sienese Painter*, p. 66. *F. M. Perkins*, *op. cit.*, p. 56, attributes No. 158 to Pellegrino di Mariano.

John in medallions in the predella (fig. 231)⁽¹⁾. Another work of this category is the triptych in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (fig. 232) of which the wings show the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, the Flight into Egypt, Christ at the age of twelve teaching in the Temple, the Last Supper and the Prayer in the Garden of Olives. In the central panel we see the Flagellation, Christ alone carrying the Cross, the Crucifixion in a simple composition with only three figures around the Crucified, the Pietà and the dead Saviour half arisen from His tomb.



Fig. 230. School of Sassetta, the Adoration of the Magi. Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

⁽¹⁾ Attributed to Priamo della Quercia by *B. Berenson*, *Burlington Magazine*, VIII, 1903, p. 184. This is accepted by *G. De Nicola*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, XVIII, 1918, p. 74, and more or less by *E. Hutton*, *The Sienese School in the National Gallery, London*, 1925, p. 56.



Fig. 231. School of Sassetta, Madonna standing and six angelic knights. National Gallery, London.

Above, between the figures of St. John the Baptist and St. Michael overcoming the devil who seems to implore mercy, there is a very curious representation of the Holy Trinity: three old men bestowing a benediction behind a table on which three chalices are placed. It is a very pleasing picture and many of the forms are fairly Gothic in appearance; the painter must not have been in very close relationship with Sassetta who,

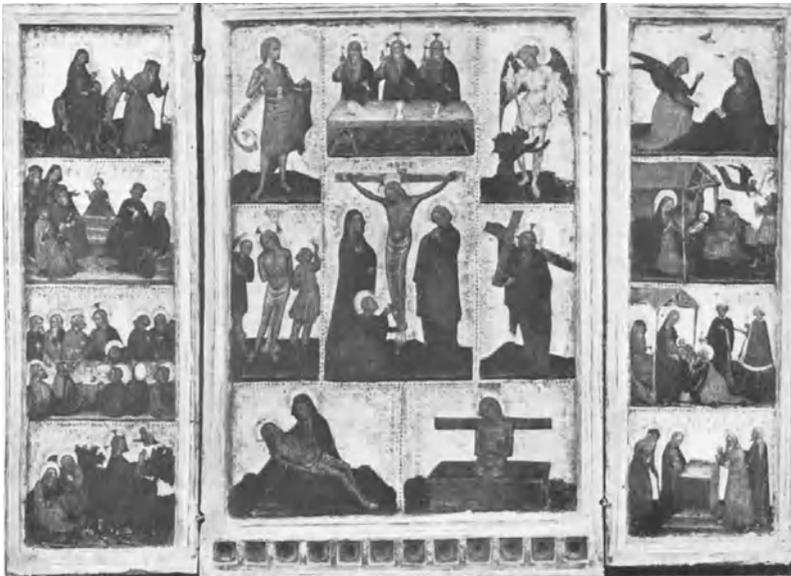


Fig. 232. School of Sassetta, triptych. Metropolitan Museum, New York.

however, considerably influenced this master. A more direct pupil of Sassetta executed the Carrying of the Cross, once in the Hamilton collection, New York, and now in the Detroit Institute of Arts⁽¹⁾.

In the Victoria and Albert Museum there is a slightly damaged painting of St. Stephen (71, 1876) which is there hesitatingly attributed to Fra Angelico, but which I think it is better to include in this school, to which also belongs a half-length figure of the Madonna and Child, once in the Alphonse Kann collection, Paris⁽²⁾, a triptych, formerly in the Paolini collection,

⁽¹⁾ v. Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of arts, January, 1925.

⁽²⁾ This picture was No. 44 of the Catalogue of the sale of this collection which took place in New York, January 1927.

Rome⁽¹⁾, which sooner reflects an influence of Sassetta's early manner. It represents the Madonna and Child in the midst of six angels with St. Michael, sword and scales in hand, treading on the dragon, St. Nicholas and the two figures of the Annunciation in the lateral panels.



Fig. 233. School of Sassetta, the Annunciation, S. Pietro Ovale, Siena.
Photo Anderson.

I think we should also include among Sassetta's school works the charming Annunciation in the church of S. Pietro a Ovale, Siena (fig. 233). In the composition the artist has obviously been inspired by the famous picture of 1333 of this subject by Simone Martini. It might almost be called a free copy of this renowned retable. The angel whose wings stream behind him kneels with a branch in his hand before the Virgin who is seated on a throne, inlaid in wood; having interrupted her reading she

(1) No. 40 of the Catalogue of the sale of this collection which took place in New York, December 1924.

raises one hand to her breast in a gesture of protection as she turns slightly away. A vase of lilies separates the two figures. All these details are copied from Simone's superb panel, of which also the expression and Gothic lines have in a certain measure been imitated. I shall return to the question of the habit that the Sienese painters of the first half of the 15th century had of imitating master-pieces, then a hundred years old, which in this particular case has led some critics to believe the picture to be a production of the 14th century. It has been ascribed to Andrea Vanni, then it was claimed as a work by Sassetta and now Mr. Perkins is, I believe, under the impression that it might be a youthful production of Matteo di Giovanni which indeed, is not impossible, but I think the surer manner is to classify it as a work of the school of Sassetta.

There is a little group of works which I ascribe to one artist who must have been the most important follower of Sassetta; he imitated the master's manner before the change due to the influence of Giovanni di Paolo set in. In Siena the only work that I know by this artist is the panel of St. Christopher crossing the stream with the Child Christ on his shoulder, in the church of S. Cristoforo (fig. 234). Mr. Perkins attributes



Fig. 234. School of Sassetta, St. Christopher. S. Cristoforo, Siena.
Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

this pleasing painting to Pellegrino di Mariano ⁽¹⁾, which, if we compare it with the mediocre pictures signed by Pellegrino does not seem to me correct. The same artist can be held responsible for several panels in the Vatican Gallery. They are first of all those representing Salome dancing before Herod and Salome receiving the head of St. John the Baptist (Nos. 127 and 128) (fig. 235). Both events are depicted in the same room which is vaulted; in the former Herod, with two women and one old man, is seated at table, attended by two servants, magnificently attired. The composition is but little changed in the second scene; Salome has interrupted her dance and receives the salver with the Baptist's head from one of the footmen. These pictures are generally assigned to the Florentine school, but I think there can be little doubt that they are works of Sienese origin, executed under Sassetta's immediate influence and not later than 1450.

Probably by the same painter but of an earlier stage in his career, when he was more directly inspired by Sassetta, are four predella panels (Nos. 168, 169, 170 and 171) representing, the Nativity of the Virgin (fig. 236), her Presentation in the Temple, her Marriage (fig. 237) and the Visitation ⁽²⁾. In the same gallery there is still another little picture of the Visitation, which, although it has been retouched and is of simpler composition, can also be ascribed to this artist. All these events take place in architectural surroundings of the simplest form and only faintly indicated. In composition the scenes are of an archaic soberness and all the figures are shown in profile; the pictures reveal a general lack of skill on the part of the artist. For this reason I imagine they could be youthful productions of the artist who executed the St. Christopher at Siena and the other panels in the Vatican Gallery.

It might very well be this master who painted the three pictures in the gallery of Siena that Mr. Berenson attributes

⁽¹⁾ *L. Olcott*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1904, p. 141. *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1914, p. 165. *A. Colasanti*, *Gentile da Fabriano*, p. 90, cites this picture as an example of Gentile's influence in Siena.

⁽²⁾ In the catalogue of the Vatican Gallery, these pictures are attributed to Pellegrino.

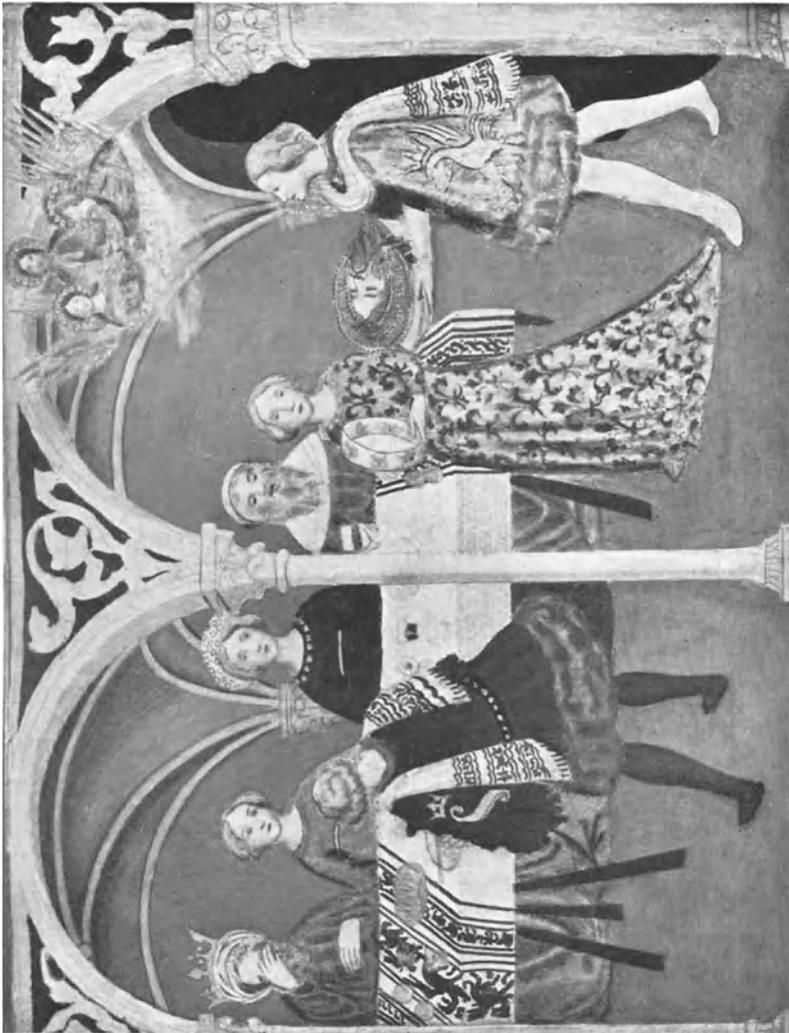


Fig. 235. School of Sassetta, Salome with the head of the Baptist.
Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

to Pellegrino ⁽¹⁾. They show St. Francis receiving the stigmata (No. 202), the Pietà and two scenes from the life of St. Bartholomew (No. 218) and the Crucifixion between St. Ambrose expelling the Arians and St. Jerome in the desert. As Mr.

⁽¹⁾ *B. Berenson, A Sienese Painter*, p. 66.



Fig. 236. School of Sassetta, the Nativity of the Virgin. Vatican Gallery, Rome. Photo Anderson.

Berenson remarks, the subjects of the last panel render it highly probable that this predella belonged to Sassetta's altar-piece in the Osservanza church. Besides the influence of Sassetta, we notice in these little panels in the gallery of Siena, a fairly profound knowledge of Sano di Pietro's art. To the same artist can in all probability be ascribed a miniature representing a priest saying mass and a choir of monks in the Holford collection, London (fig. 238).

With regard to Pellegrino di Mariano, we possess documentary evidence of his activity from 1449 till 1492, the year of his death (¹).

His real name was Pellegrino di

(¹) *Milanesi*, Documenti per la storia dell' arte senese, II, pp. 379—382, 385, 386.

Mariano Rossini. Apart from pictures, he executed also processional banners and more especially miniatures, some of which, as I have already said, still exist. Apparently two pictures signed by this painter have come down to us. One of them, a little triptych, was found in 1914 in the Villa Belcaro, near Siena, the property of Signor Camaioni ⁽¹⁾. The other, a Madonna and Child enthroned between SS. John the Baptist and Bernardine of Siena with the Crucified and the seated figures of the Virgin and St. John in the upper part, belonged once upon a time to the Toscanelli collection, Pisa, but later was acquired by



Fig. 237. School of Sassetta, the Marriage of the Virgin. Vatican Gallery, Rome. Photo Anderson.

⁽¹⁾ Perkins, op. cit.

Mr. Fairfax Murray, London. The signature reads "*Opus Pellegrinus Mariani de Senis MCCCCXXXXX*" (1).

As I have already had occasion to remark, I see no reason why the painter of this triptych, who was obviously a master of little merit of the second half of the 15th century, and just as much dominated by Giovanni di Paolo as by Sassetta, should be confounded with the artist, whose productions have been discussed above, an artist who was influenced exclusively by Sassetta, who belonged to the previous generation and whose works are very superior in quality. Moreover among the miniatures of the liturgical books in Pienza, which were bought by Pius II and illuminated by order of this pope, the decoration being paid to Sano di Pietro and Pellegrino di Mariano, we can recognize several different hands besides that of Sano di Pietro, so that very little regarding Pellegrino's art can be gathered from these miniatures (figs. 239—241) (2).

Among the painted bindings of the official registers of the administration of Siena, preserved in the Archives of the town, there is one by Sassetta himself and several which can be classified as the works of his school. Reminiscences of 14th century art combined with an influence of Sassetta characterize two of these book-covers dating from 1421 and 1423 respectively, the one representing a noble lady of great elegance, the other the Assumption (3). An influence of Sassetta's more mature manner is evident in the little pictures of 1429, two knights of 1430, a town official delivering payments, and of 1450, the Virgin over the town of Siena and an official washing his hands (4).

Giovanni di Paolo and Sano di Pietro, who certainly belong to the same movement, are sufficiently independent and indivi-

(1) And not 1490 as Cavalcaselle, who saw it in the Toscanelli collection, affirms.

(2) Mr. Perkins attributes to Pellegrino still a painting of St. John the Baptist in the Corsi collection, Florence and a diptych representing the Virgin and Child and St. Jerome in his study in the Simonetti galleries, Rome, v. *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'arte senese*, 1908, p. 5.

(3) *A. Lisini*, *La tavolette dipinte di Biccherna e di Gabella del R. Archivio di Stato di Siena*, Florence, 1904, appendix I and II.

(4) *A. Lisini*, *op. cit.*, appendix, III, IV and XXXIV.



Fig. 238. School of Sassetta, a monk saying mass, miniature.
Holford Collection, London.

dual to be treated apart. Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio, however, in spite of certain fairly obvious differences in style, should be included in this group of painters

Concerning Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio ⁽¹⁾ we have only two documents, one of 1428 when his name appears in the list

⁽¹⁾ *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, ed. *T. Borenius*, V, London, 1914, p. 170 note. *E. Jacobsen*, *Das Quattrocento in Siena*, p. 39. *L. Venturi*, *Una risorta casa del Rinascimento italiano, il museo Jacquemart André à Parigi*, *L'Arte*, XVII, 1914, p. 64.



Fig. 239. School of Sassetta, the Nativity, miniature. Museum, Pienza.
Photo Lombardi.

of painters of Siena, the other of 1438 when he is nominated castellan of the "Cassero di Massa" ⁽¹⁾. The affirmation that he

⁽¹⁾ *Milanesi*, Documenti per la storia dell' arte senese, I, p. 48.



Fig. 240. School of Sassetta, St. John the Evangelist, miniature.

Museum, Pienza.

Photo Lombardi.

was born in 1416 is rendered impossible by the former of these documents. I do not know from which source it has been discovered that the painter's family name was Pucci. Besides the above records, we have signed works dating from 1439, 1444



Fig. 241. School of Sassetta, St. Paul preaching, miniature. Museum, Pienza.

Photo Lombardi.

and 1447. Yet I doubt very much if the date on the first of these paintings is original. It is found at the foot of a panel representing St. Bernardine in the Osservanza church, Siena, on which the inscription reads: "*Opus Petri Johane Senis MCCCCXXXVIII*" (fig. 242). The saint is shown advanced

in years, holding his emblem and an open book. The inscription is quite recent and although it is generally admitted that inscriptions which have been renewed are copied from the original, more especially when the name of the artist, as in this case, is so little known, the date, 1439, is difficult to accept for a similar portrait of St. Bernardine, who died in 1448 and was canonized in 1450, and is here represented as an old man and already nimbused (!).

The picture is pleasing, the forms are simple but the face and hands are finely executed; the marked individuality of the features lead us to believe that this portrait of the saint was made, if not during his life time, then very shortly after his death.

(!) The picture of St. Elizabeth which, in the Osservanza church, forms the pendant to this panel is by a different artist.



Fig. 242. Giovanni di Pietro Ambrogio, St. Bernardine, 1439. Osservanza church, Siena.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 243. Giovanni di Pietro Ambrogio, St. Bernardine. Museum, Lucignano. collection of Senator Count Serristori, Florence, as well as the

It might very well be that a mistake of ten years was made in copying the date, in which case the picture would have been executed in 1449, that is to say between his death and canonization. We have, however, another portrait of the holy orator of Siena which the same artist executed about this period because it bears the date 1448, and must have been painted just before or immediately after his death and certainly prior to his canonization.

It originates from the church of S. Francesco and is now preserved in the little gallery of Lucignano (Val di Chiana) (fig. 243). The saint, with the halo of the blessed, is shown standing on three mitres; there is an obvious resemblance between the two portraits.

Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio executed still other pictures of St. Bernardine. I shall mention in the first place that in the gallery of Siena (No. 203) which bears the signature: "*Petrus Johannis pinxit*"; from the same hand is, I think, the very beautiful figure of the saint in the

painting of less good quality, formerly in the Vincigliata Castle, near Florence, in which the saint, holding his emblem and an open book, is depicted against a landscape in which a few scattered buildings are visible (fig. 244).

The most important work by Pietro di Giovanni that has come down to us is a processional banner painted on both sides, in the Jacquemart André Museum, Paris (No. 908). On one side is represented the Saviour on the Cross between the Virgin and St. John with two angels above, all making gestures of despair, and six members of a religious confraternity kneeling in adoration below (fig. 245). On the verso we see St. Catherine in glory borne heavenward by six angels; two others place a crown on her head, while below, the kneeling members of a confraternity hold an inscription (fig. 246). At the foot of the picture the artist's signature runs: "*Petrus Johannis*



Fig. 244. Giovanni di Pietro Ambrogio, St. Bernardine. Vincigliata Castle, near Florence.

Photo Reali.

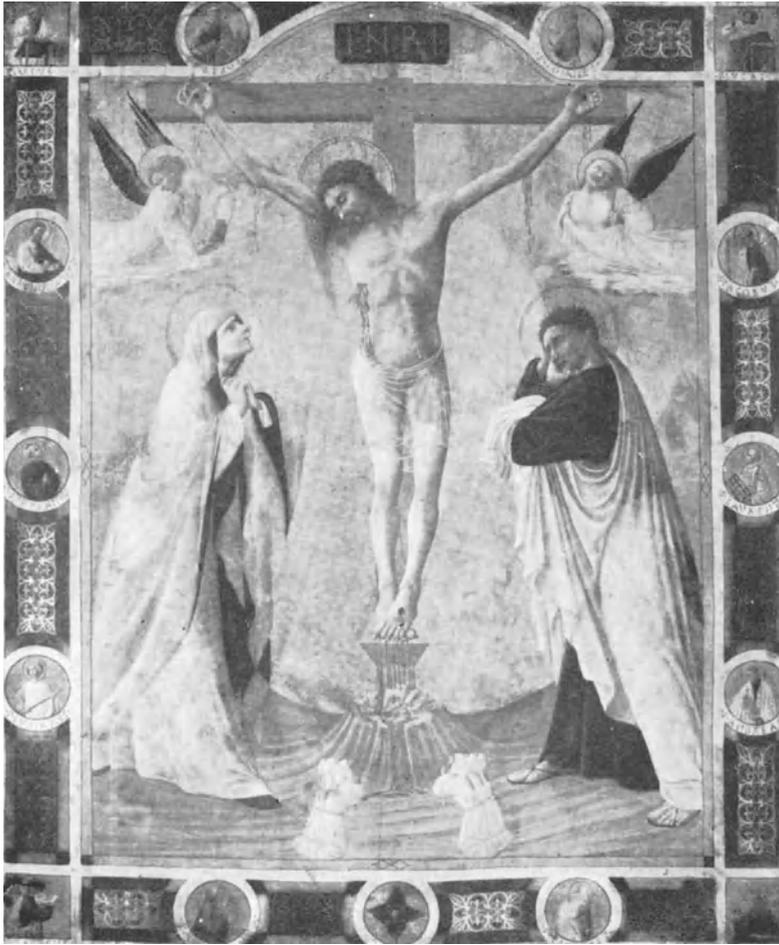


Fig 245. Giovanni di Pietro Ambrogio, the Crucifixion. Jacquemart André Museum, Paris.

Photo Bulloz.

Ambrosii de Senis pinxit MCCCCXXXVIII". A beautiful border to either side is adorned with fourteen medallions containing half-length figures of saints⁽¹⁾.

I attribute to Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio still two Madonnas which bear a close resemblance to one another; both have been claimed more than once as works of Sassetta. One of them

(1) *Bertaux*, *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XXXIV, Dec. 1910.



Fig. 246. Giovanni di Pietro Ambrogio, the glory of St. Catherine.
 Jacquemart André Museum, Paris. Photo Bulloz.

in which the Madonna is shown in half-figure belongs to Mr. A. Acton, Florence; the other, a three-quarter figure, but it has perhaps been cut, is found in the F. L. Babbot collection, New York (fig. 247).

It is doubtful whether or not a Coronation of the Virgin between St. Francis and St. Bernardine (?) with five angels above, in the Franchetti collection, Ca d'Oro, Venice, should be ascribed to this artist; the influence of Sano di Pietro is very evident (fig. 248).

Cavalcaselle assigns to Pietro di Giovanni still a triptych on the second altar to the left in the church of S. Agostino at Asciano. This picture, which has since been hesitatingly attributed to Giovanni d'Asciano ⁽¹⁾, bears a marked resemblance in style to the art of Pietro di Giovanni, in particular the central part where we see the Adoration of the Shepherds; they kneel before a grotto which has more the appearance of an arch, an owl is perched above and angels fly overhead while within are depicted the Virgin, St. Joseph and the Infant Jesus in the manger. The lateral panels are adorned with the figures of SS. Augustine and Galganus, executed in a somewhat more evolved manner. I think that Cavalcaselle's attribution of this picture to Pietro di Giovanni might be correct ⁽²⁾.

Cavalcaselle was of opinion that also the repainted figure of the Emperor Barbarossa in Spinello Aretino's fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, is from the hand of Pietro di Giovanni but for this I see no reason. Della Valle in his *Lettere Senese* speaks of two paintings by Pietro in the Pellegrinaio of the Ospedale della Scala in Siena but they have disappeared.

The few works that we have by Pietro allow us to classify him before all as a follower of Sassetta, but he had a more violent and more tragic temperament than his master; the Crucifixion for instance is portrayed in quite a dramatic manner. Further, in his very expressive and sometimes even grimacing faces, I think we can detect the direct influence of Giovanni di Paolo. Although a painter of minor importance, Pietro had, all the same, some good qualities, his rather elongated forms are not without a certain charm and his glory of St. Catherine is a highly decorative painting.

In studying the works of Sassetta and his followers we realize at a glance the different tendencies of the Florentine and Sienese painters of the beginning of the 15th century, in spite of the existence of many points of contact.

Sassetta was neither very Gothic in his style nor calli-

⁽¹⁾ *G. F. Hartlaub*, Matteo da Siena u. seine Zeit, Strasbourg, 1910. pl. XV.

⁽²⁾ This attribution has been accepted also by G. Poggi: *G. Dainelli e G. Poggi*, Toscana, Itinerario automobilistico, Florence, 1924, p. 299.



Fig. 247. Giovanni di Pietro Ambrogio, Madonna. Babbott Collection, New York.

Photo. Frick Art Reference Library.



Fig. 248. Giovanni di Pietro Ambrogio?, the Coronation of the Virgin and saints. Ca d'Oro, Venice.

Photo Florentine.

graphic in his forms, yet he possessed a sufficiency of these features for us to include him in the cosmopolitan Gothic movement of the beginning of the 15th century. Moreover, it is chiefly to this movement that he owes his taste for genre

painting, intimate interior scenes and the beautiful costumes in the fashion of his time.

In style and sentiment Sassetta's early works can be traced back to the great painters of the 14th century, more particularly to Simone Martini, and in all probability his master was Paolo di Giovanni Fei, who was the last of the 14th century painters to follow this illustrious tradition. The Gothicism of Sassetta's art is often that of the first half of the 14th century rather than the calligraphic Gothicism of Lorenzo Monaco or again that of Gentile da Fabriano.

After having been subjected to the influence of his pupil, Giovanni di Paolo, an influence which was fairly superficial and manifest chiefly in the singularity of the physiognomies, we see from his later works that Sassetta felt the influence of the great Renaissance from which Gothic forms were banished. In this we find him under the same circumstances as Masolino in Florence; moreover, as I remarked when dealing with the latter, in temperament as well as outward manifestation of their art, these two painters have much in common.

The art of Sassetta, and that of his Florentine contemporary derive respectively in part from the illustrious schools which flourished in Siena and in Florence half-a-century before. To a certain degree this separates Florence and Siena from the great international movement of the beginning of the 15th century. Further, Florence produced still a very religious form of art, another point of difference which was less marked in Siena, especially in the painting of Sassetta who was a charming artist but devoid of any great religious or mystic sentiment.

CHAPTER V

GIOVANNI DI PAOLO ⁽¹⁾

Whether we should identify the painter, Giovanni di Paolo, with a new-born child whose baptism is recorded in the register of 1402 in Siena, is not certain. The first mention, of which we can be sure, concerning Giovanni di Paolo di Poggio, the painter, dates from 1423; then we find the date 1426 on a panel from his hand in the Prepositura of Castelnuovo while the following year he signed the Madonna from the Chigi Saracini collection. In 1428 his name appears in the list of members of the corporation of painters of Siena ⁽²⁾; we possess works dating from 1436, 1440 and 1445 while in 1441 his name is once more recorded in an act as that of the rector of the painters' corporation ⁽³⁾. In 1446 he, together with Fruosino di Nofrio, receives payment for the paintings executed at the main entrance of the cathedral and for the gilding of a Madonna ⁽⁴⁾ while the following year he and Sano di Pietro are paid what is still due to them for an altar-piece for the confraternity of S. Bernardino. The same year the "Universita e arte di Pizzicaiuoli" (small dealers) order from him the Presentation in the Temple, now preserved in the gallery of Siena, for their church in the Ospedale della Scala, a work which had to be finished before 1449 ⁽⁵⁾. In 1450 he is remunerated for two books he illuminated for the Ospedale della Scala. We gather from a declaration of his property, made

⁽¹⁾ *E. Jacobsen*, *Der Quattrocento in Siena*, p. 41. *O. Sirén*, in *Thieme Becker's Künstler's Lexikon*, XIV, 1921, p. 137.

⁽²⁾ *Milanesi*, *Documenti per la storia dell' arte senese*, I, p. 48.

⁽³⁾ *S. Borghesi e L. Banchi*, *Nuovi documenti per la storia dell' arte senese*, Siena, 1898, p. 135.

⁽⁴⁾ *Idem*, p. 233 note.

⁽⁵⁾ *Milanesi*, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 241, 389.

in 1453, that he possesses two houses in the Terza Chamolia, contrada del poggio Malavolti, in the parish of S. Gilio, one of which he inhabits and in which he has his work-shop as

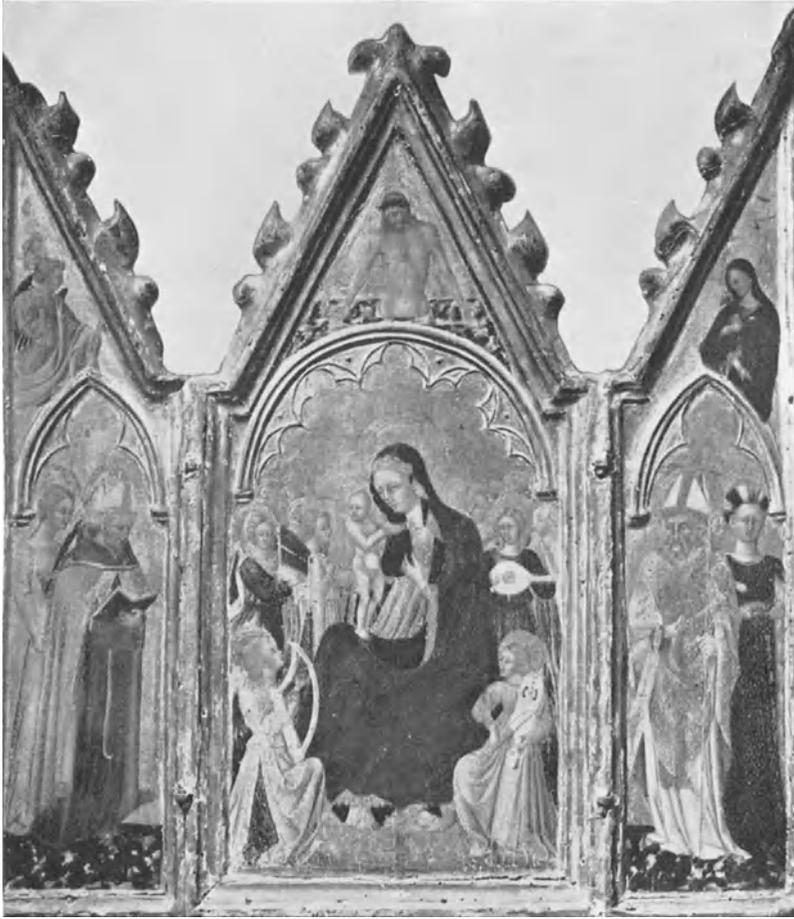


Fig. 249. Giovanni di Paolo, triptych. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

well, while the other, we are told, is in a very bad state of preservation and it would cost as much as it is worth to restore it. We have paintings dating from 1457; between 1465 and 1475 various payments are made to him for works he carried out in the church of Sta. Caterina at Fontebranda ⁽¹⁾. In 1480

⁽¹⁾ *Idem*, II, p, 241.

he marries a certain Domenica whose widowhood lasted a long time; he must have been seventy-eight years old on the day of his wedding. Two years later he makes his will leaving his wife as sole inheritor since he had no children, although, in accordance with Baldinucci, many have thought that the Sienese painter, Matteo di Giovanni, was his son.

As we have seen in another volume, Gentile was active in Siena in 1424 and 1425, that is to say just at the beginning of Giovanni di Paolo's career, and I think it is just the features resulting from this master's influence, together with elements borrowed from Sassetta and reminiscences of Fei's style, that determines the first manner of our artist.

In the Opera del Duomo there is a panel of the Crucifixion showing the three crosses and a large assembly of people, some on horseback, gathered below ⁽¹⁾, which seems to me the creation of a pupil of Fei's, working more or less in Giovanni di Paolo's manner. It is certainly not a very characteristic painting of this master; still, as it is too early to ascribe it to a pupil, I think that it is not improbable that it is a production of Giovanni's first activities when he was still strongly influenced by Fei.

Like Sassetta, who, besides, was his senior only by about ten years, Giovanni di Paolo must have begun his career with the execution of little triptychs after the manner of Fei. From his hand we find two pleasing examples of this form of picture in the gallery of Siena (Nos. 178 and 179). One of them, that representing the Madonna and Child between two angels in the centre and SS. Catherine of Alexandria and Ansano to the sides, might indeed be one of his youthful works (fig. 249); as for the other, I should say that it belongs to an intermediate stage, dating almost certainly from after 1436.

From the year after Gentile's sojourn in Siena is the earliest dated work we possess by Giovanni di Paolo: the Madonna in the Prepositura of Castelnuovo (fig. 250). The Virgin and Child are depicted in the midst of eight angels, chanting or playing on musical instruments, while two little angels hold

⁽¹⁾ *V. Roma*, Nuove opere di Giovanni di Paolo, Rassegna d'Arte senese, XVIII, 1926, p. 72.



Fig. 250. Giovanni di Paolo, Madonna and angels, 1426.
Castelnuovo.

Photo Alinari.

a crown over Our Lady's head. In this work it will be remarked that the composition and the forms are due to the influence of Gentile and the morphological types and expression to that of Sassetta. This Madonna for instance bears a fairly close resemblance to those that Sassetta shows in the triptychs which he executed probably between 1420 and about 1430.

The small panel of the Madonna sitting on the ground, fondling the Child, in an aureole of cherubs and God the Father in a similar halo above, which passed from the Chigi Saracini collection into that of Herr Hirsch at Frankfort a. M. (fig. 251) ⁽¹⁾, is even more resembling in composition to certain of Gentile's Madonnas. Here the influence of Sassetta is less evident, but something in the face of the Madonna is reminiscent of the Virgins of the great masters of the first half of the 14th century; on the contrary the face of the Child possesses already those curious features so characteristic of Giovanni di Paolo, which, at a later date, developed into grimaces and which Sassetta seems to a certain extent to have imitated. The panel shows the date and the artist's signature: "*Johannes Senensis Pauli Filius pinxit MCCCCXXVII*".

There are two works dating probably from 1436; one of them comprises three predella panels and is preserved in the gallery of Siena (Nos. 174, 175, 176); Dr. De Nicola has pointed out that these pieces in all likelihood formed part of an altar-piece executed in 1436 for the Fondi family ⁽²⁾ but they passed from the Ciaccheri collection into the town gallery. The other is the Madonna della Misericordia in the Servi church.

The predella panels, which are separated from one another by ornamental borders decorated with flowers, represent the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, the Crucifixion and the Flight into Egypt.

The first of these events (fig. 252) takes place in a little octagonal building, surrounded by a sort of colonnade very similar to that sometimes shown by Lorenzetti and his followers. Statuettes of angels holding garlands are seen on the roof;

⁽¹⁾ Dedalo, Aug. 1925, p. 201.

⁽²⁾ *De Nicola*, Burlington Magazine, XXIII, 1918, p. 46.



Fig. 251. Giovanni di Paolo, Madonna, 1427. Hirsch Collection, Frankfort.

two beggars seated one to either side play an important part in the little group of figures below; the attention the artist has given to the details of their appearance is a characteristic of genre painting.

The Crucifixion (fig. 253) is depicted against an undecorated



Fig. 252. Giovanni di Paolo, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

gold background; six angels hover round the Crucified; below to the left are seven women, among them the Virgin in a swoon, while St. John at the foot of the Cross makes a gesture of despair. To the other side we see a group of Jewish priests in argument.

The Flight into Egypt (fig. 254) is a charming little picture and shows many of the landscape features that we find in the backgrounds in the panels of the seated Madonnas in

the gallery of Siena, the Figdor and the Stoclet collections but in this case the principal figures, followed by two women, in the foreground are almost lost in the wide expanse of country which is portrayed with a great display of details, so that the picture has more or less the appearance of a landscape painting (1). In the midst of the little hills, the river, the castles

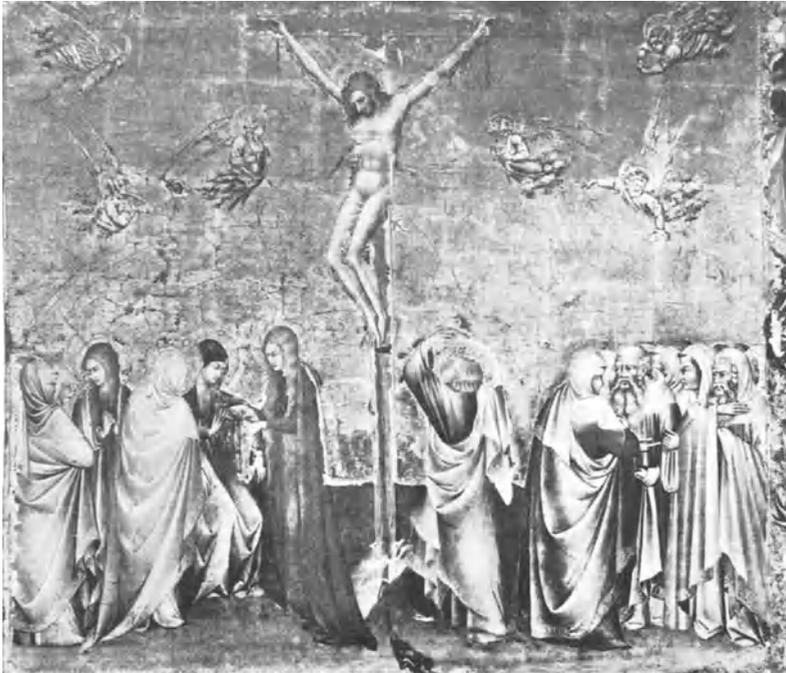


Fig. 253. Giovanni di Paolo, the Crucifixion. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

and other buildings, we see the peasants tilling the soil. It is evidently a summer day because the trees cast very dark shadows on the ground.

Birds are represented flying in the air and the star of the east twinkles in the sky. The artist has not neglected perspective; the effect of distance is very successful and the picture in its general appearance recalls the representation of a country scene

(1) *Dami*, op. cit., Dedalo.

that Ambrogio Lorenzetti added to his fresco of "Good Government" in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena.

As for the date 1436 that we find on the picture of the Madonna della Misericordia (fig. 255), it is evident that the



Fig. 254. Giovanni di Paolo, the Flight into Egypt. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

inscription, the characters of which are not even of the period, has been changed, but it may be that no alteration was made in copying the date. The panel adorns the altar in the left transept of Sta. Maria dei Servi.

The Virgin, on whose cloak the head of Christ and half-and whole-length figures of prophets are embroidered, opens her mantle over a group of christians kneeling at her feet; four angels escort the Madonna. The inscription below runs:



Fig. 255. Giovanni di Paolo, *Madonna della Misericordia*, 1436.
Sta. Maria dei Servi, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

"*Opus Johannis D. Petri (sic) Sio HCCCCXXXVI*". The features of the adorers show only a faint increase of that distortion of the countenances which at a later stage haunts the master's works. It is much less marked in the faces of the Madonna and the angels.

The date of 1436 for the execution of this picture is in my opinion quite acceptable, because three book bindings in the archives of Siena, one of 1432, another of 1433 and the third on a register which continues until the end of 1436, are adorned very much after the same style. This is particularly true for the first and second examples, one of which represents Good Government and the other — that of 1433 — Pope Eugenius IV crowning the Emperor Sigismund. The third, which was executed three years later, brings us nearer the artist's subsequent manner⁽¹⁾. Here St. Jerome, accompanied by two monks, is depicted sitting outside his house, picking the thorn from the lion's paw; an unpretentious landscape is depicted in the background to the left (fig. 256). The decoration of this binding belongs already to the transitional period between Giovanni di Paolo's first and second manners.

I should like to mention still a few other works that we can classify more frankly in the first category.

They are in the first place several Madonnas, such for instance as that which forms the central panel of a triptych, very little known, in the parish church of Baschi (province of Orvieto) (fig. 257).

The Virgin, over whose head two angels support a crown, is depicted sitting on a throne, holding on her knee the Child Who plays with His toes. In the lateral panels are the figures of SS. James and Nicholas of Bari while the pinnacles are adorned with the Saviour and the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation, all in half-figure.

Closely resembling this picture is the half-length-figure of the Madonna, holding the Child, Who leans forward turning away from His Mother, that adorns a tabernacle in via delle Terme, Siena⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Lisini*, op. cit., XXVII, XXVIII.

⁽²⁾ *Jacobsen*, op. cit., pl. XVIII.

We see here, at an early stage of development, a certain type of Madonna which we find in several paintings of this period.

The difference from Giovanni's earlier model is marked by an increase in the Gothic and calligraphic elements of the forms and the features, as well as of the drapery.

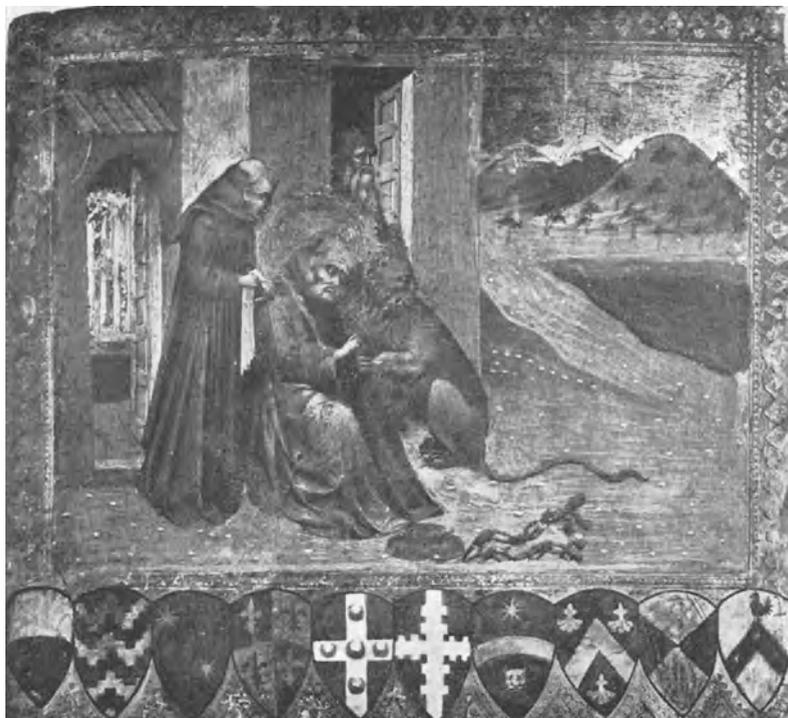


Fig. 256. Giovanni di Paolo, St. Jerome, book-binding, 1436. Archives, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

The same features characterize a Madonna of Humility in the church of S. Simeone at Rocca d'Orcia in the province of Siena. Here the Virgin is depicted sitting lowly nursing her Child between two cherubs; below we see the figures of the Annunciation and above in the terminal the Crucifixion between the Virgin and St. John.

In the church of S. Salvatore at Istia d'Ombone in the region of Grosseto there is a picture of the Madonna holding the Child Who bestows a blessing, which is an unrefined production of



Fig. 257. Giovanni di Paolo, triptych. Parish Church, Baschi.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

this manner (¹). Much more pleasing is a little half-length figure of the Virgin carrying the naked Child Who touches her ear, in the gallery of Altenburg (No. 76) (fig. 258).

All these panels lead us up to one of Giovanni di Paolo's great works, the polyptych in the Uffizi (No. 3255) (fig. 259). Here the Virgin is represented offering a rose to the Child Jesus

(¹) Reprod. in *C. A. Nicolosi, Il litorale maremmano (Italia artistica)*, Bergamo, 1910, p. 48.



Fig. 258. Giovanni di Paolo, Madonna. Gallery, Altenburg.

Who, seated on her knee, grasps a little bird, two cherubim are seen to either side of the throne. The lateral panels are adorned with the figures of SS. Dominic, Peter, Paul and

Thomas Aquinas. It is a beautiful picture executed in a very pronounced Gothic style; this is evident in the draperies, particularly in the folds of the Virgin's dress but the entire work is imbued with a strong spirit of the more conventional cosmopolitan Gothicism. In the Metropolitan Museum, New York (G 434-1) there are two standing figures of saints — SS.



Fig. 259. Giovanni di Paolo, polyptych. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Brogi.

Matthew and Francis — which, no doubt, originate from a similar polyptych (fig. 260) ⁽¹⁾. In these beautiful figures, which once belonged to the D'Oliviera collection in Florence, the mannerisms of the Gothic style are still more pronounced. The same characteristic is evident in the superb little panel of St. Jerome in the gallery of Siena (No. 180) in which the saint is depicted writing before an inlaid lectern, the lion at his feet and the cardinal's hat hanging on a peg over his head (fig. 261).

⁽¹⁾ *J. Breck, Some Paintings by G d. P., Art in America, 1914, p. 177.*



Fig. 260. Giovanni di Paolo, SS. Matthew and Francis. Metropolitan Museum, New York.



Fig. 261. Giovanni di Paolo, St. Jerome. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 262. Giovanni di Paolo, *Madonna of Humility*. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

The effect of the Gothic lines is shown with great skill and perfect taste.

Among the works executed after this style there are three Madonnas seated in a landscape, one in the gallery of Siena (No. 208) (fig. 262), one in the Figdor collection, Vienna (plate

VII), formerly in that of Herr von Miller Aicholz in the same city, and the third in the Stoclet collection, Brussels; the last mentioned is cut at the level of the knees and is probably only a fragment. All three works are very similar, the Virgin in each case wears a curious turban-like head-dress, and is seated lowly on a cushion, holding with both her hands the little naked Jesus. Near the central figures there are flowers and fruit-trees while in the landscape background we see among the barren hillocks, so typical of the country around Siena, cultivated fields, architectural buildings and a lake. In the picture belonging to the Belgian collector, the Virgin is placed higher up; she, as well as the Child, Who holds a pomegranate, looks towards the spectator; in the panel in Siena the Infant stretches out His arms towards His mother. Both the subject and the conception of these pictures point towards a connexion between the art of Giovanni di Paolo and that of Tyrol and Verona because there is certainly some resemblance between this type of representation of the Madonna and that shown by Stefano da Verona.

A few other works by Giovanni di Paolo should be included in this group. Two pictures in the store-room of the Vatican Gallery (Nos. 201 and 203) are, I think, productions of the early years of the master's activity; one represents a holy knight and a martyr, the other SS. Antony and John the Baptist. These beautiful figures are shown against a blue background adorned with arabesques in gold. Another picture, executed after this style is the pleasing Nativity in the Vatican Gallery (No. 180), in which, in a landscape illuminated by the radiant halo of the angel who announces the glad tidings to the shepherds, we see many trees, some bearing fruit and some in their winter garb (fig. 263). Outside a grotto the Virgin kneels in adoration before her newborn Son, Who lies on the ground, two women are seen near a small building while St. Joseph, on the other side, has fallen asleep.

Of a slightly later date appear to be two charming predella panels representing the Nativity of the Virgin (fig. 264) and her marriage, in the Doria Gallery, Rome, which Signor Toesca was the first to assign to their rightful master⁽¹⁾. They are

(1) *P. Toesca*, *L'Arte*, 1904, p. 303. *K. Escher*, *Malerei der Renaissance in Italien*, I, Berlin, 1922, p. 64 (Handbuch der Kunstwissensch.) ascribes them erroneously to Sassetta.



MADONNA

By Giovanni di Paolo, Figdor Collection, Vienna.

executed in a fairly Gothic style but the distortion of the facial traits is already quite pronounced so that I imagine we should place them towards the end of this period.

A fine little panel in the Condé Museum, Chantilly, shows five angels dancing; three of them hold hands, while of the



Fig. 263. Giovanni di Paolo, the Nativity. Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

two others one plays a little trumpet and the other, his back towards the spectator, apparently a mandoline (fig. 265).

Above them is seen a star, perhaps the star of the east, in which case this panel is doubtless a fragment of a Nativity.

Another little panel of this rather Gothic technique is a piece of a *Noli me tangere* in the Lindenau Museum of Altenburg (No. 79); it is a fragment of a binding of one of the Biccherna registers, on which originally the date was visible but it has disappeared; indeed the whole picture has been

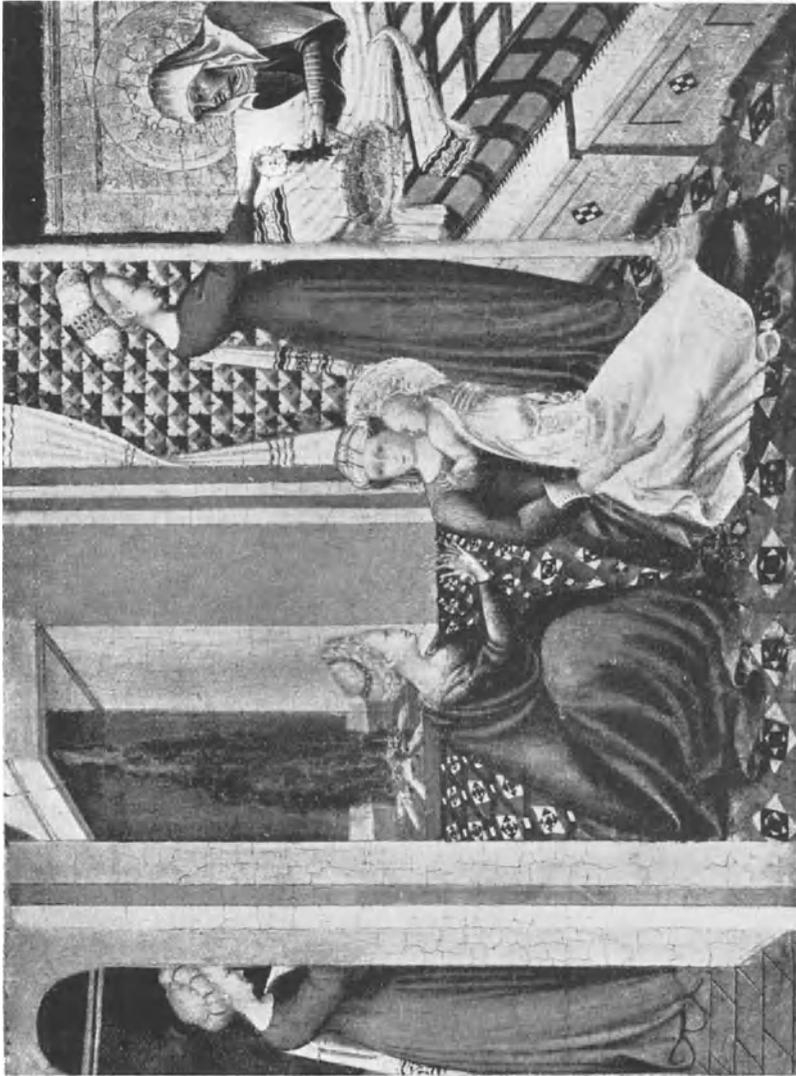


Fig. 264. Giovanni di Paolo, the Nativity of the Virgin. Doria Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

so much restored that it is difficult to say with certainty to what stage it really belongs.

The second manner in Giovanni di Paolo's career can be differentiated from the first not only by a marked augmen-

tation of the facial distortion and the grotesqueness of the human form, but also by a much greater technical precision. This quality, which is perhaps the outcome of his work as a miniaturist, at which we find him active in 1440, gives to the pictures of his second manner a very great charm, in spite of the fact that the productions of this period invariably



Fig. 265 Giovanni di Paolo, dancing angels. Gallery, Chantilly.

Photo Giraudon.

show physiognomies, not only extremely ugly but sometimes also so extraordinary that they have more the appearance of a terrifying vision; so that the most characteristic works of this stage are in no way realistic but on the other hand offer us an excellent manifestation of the mystical temperament of the artist who was much more open to the fantastic than to the real aspect of things. It is not improbable that a growing optical aberration — an actual disease of his eyes — contributed to the singular appearance that he gave to his subjects from this moment onward. Lastly, the co-operation with Giacomo

del Pisano, which we shall discuss later on, explains to us the intermingling of the refined graceful forms and the clumsy unskilful figures that we owe to the brush of this poor imitator.

I think we can place at the beginning of Giovanni's second manner four panels, formerly in the Chigi Saracini collection,



Fig. 266. Giovanni di Paolo, the Resurrection of Lazarus. Formerly in the Chigi Saracini Collection, Siena.

Photo Reali.

Siena, representing the Resurrection of Lazarus (fig. 266), the Calvary (fig. 267), the Descent from the Cross (fig. 268) and the Entombment. These panels, the composition of which, particularly that of the former two, is much more crowded than is generally the case for this master's works, still show, although to a much less degree, Gothic lines of considerable beauty while the faces have as yet little trace of abnormality. There is, however, a passionately tragic spirit in the different

representations as well as a depth of expression which is manifest here for the first time. The appearance of the emaciated and pitiable body of the Saviour in the scene of the Descent from the Cross is very impressive.

Of about the same period is a little picture of St. Francis'



Fig. 267. Giovanni di Paolo the Calvary. Formerly in the Chigi Saracini Collection, Siena.

Photo Reali.

apparition at the Franciscan congress at Arles which is preserved in the Opera del Duomo of Siena; the painter was apparently inspired by Giotto's fresco of this subject in the Upper Church of Assisi, but the composition is rigid and the little panel of no great interest⁽¹⁾.

Of this second phase in the painter's career, we have

⁽¹⁾ *De Nicola, Vita d'Arte*, X, 1912, p. 43.

several dated productions which demonstrate that Giovanni di Paolo worked after this manner from about 1440 until at least 1453, although the painting which dates from this year, already presages his decadence or last manner, which he



Fig. 268. Giovanni di Paolo, the Descent from the Cross.
Formerly in the Chigi Saracini Collection, Siena.

Photo Reali.

must have followed during almost thirty years unless — and it is quite possible, even probable — he discontinued his activities as a painter long before his death.

Two works, very different in form, date from the year 1440. One is the decoration of the binding of the book of accounts of Siena, from the 1st January 1439 until June 1440, which is kept in the town archives; besides various coats of arms, we see a holy bishop enthroned and two angels bowing

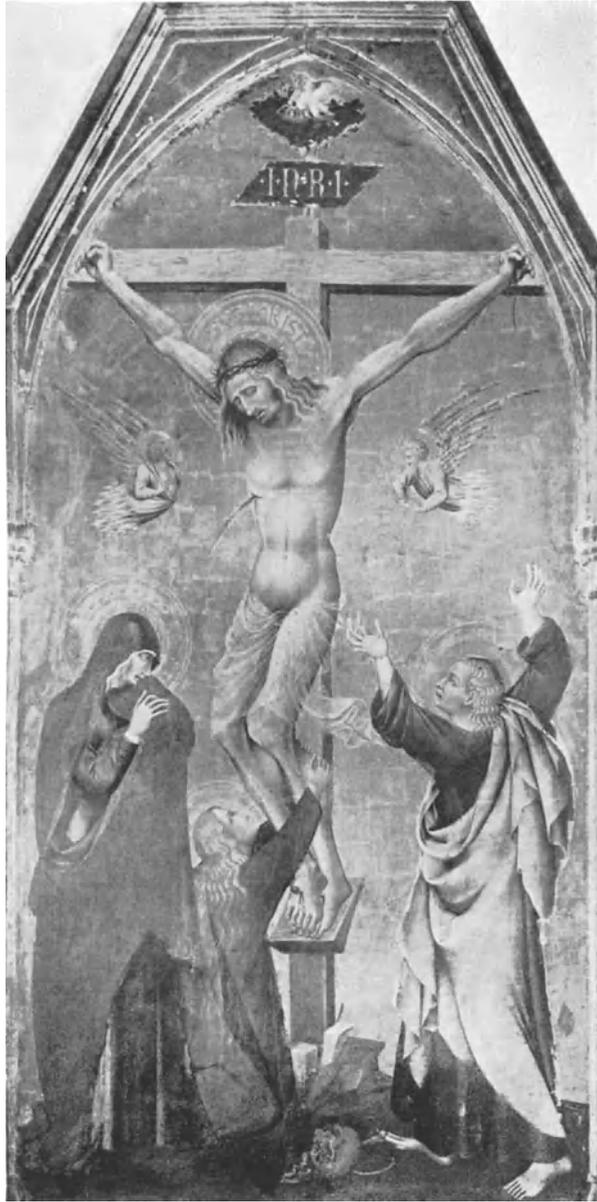


Fig. 269. Giovanni di Paolo, the Crucifixion.
Gallery, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

before him ⁽¹⁾. The other is a Crucifixion in the gallery of Siena (No. 200) (fig. 269); the Crucified is depicted between two angels; below we see the Virgin and St. John and St. Mary Magdalene kneeling at the foot of the Cross above which is shown the pelican ⁽²⁾. The picture is signed: "*Hoc opus Johannis Pauli de Senis pinxit MCCCCXXX*". In this painting the facial distortion is more pronounced than in any of his productions, until we come to those of his old age. The central figure and the two angels to the sides are of a very refined technique but the figures below the Cross are clumsy and unskillfully drawn and I can very well imagine that they are from the hand of Giacomo del Pisano, the helper and alter ego of Giovanni di Paolo, whose collaboration with the master will be discussed presently.

Another work executed in this manner but to all appearances entirely by Giovanni di Paolo himself, is a large painting of Christ on the Cross, with the Virgin and St. John sitting on the ground, against a gold background, in the Lanckoronski collection, Vienna.

These two productions of the same year reveal to us the versatility of Giovanni's art because they show the master under two very different aspects.

A very damaged decoration of a binding, in the archives of Siena, showing St. Michael slaying the dragon, dates from 1444 ⁽³⁾, while of the following year we possess two dated panels which determine that it was about this year that the fantastic elegance of the painter reached its culmination, consequently it must have been at this period that he executed his best works. The Presentation in the Temple of 1447—1449, although also very beautiful, shows that already a certain alteration has taken place in Giovanni's style, so that we can infer that the group of most pleasing works was executed in the years immediately

⁽¹⁾ *Lisini*, op. cit., XXX.

⁽²⁾ In the gallery of Siena this picture is placed between two other panels, each showing two figures of saints — which I believe to be by Giacomo del Pisano — in a manner which would lead one to suppose that these panels are the different pieces of one altar-piece.

⁽³⁾ *Lisini*, op. cit., XXXI.



Fig. 270. Giovanni di Paolo, the Annunciation, book-binding, 1445.
Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

preceding this date and in all probability the year 1445 marks the middle of this phase.

A third painting of 1445 proves that the transformation from the refined calligraphic forms to those of a more monumental

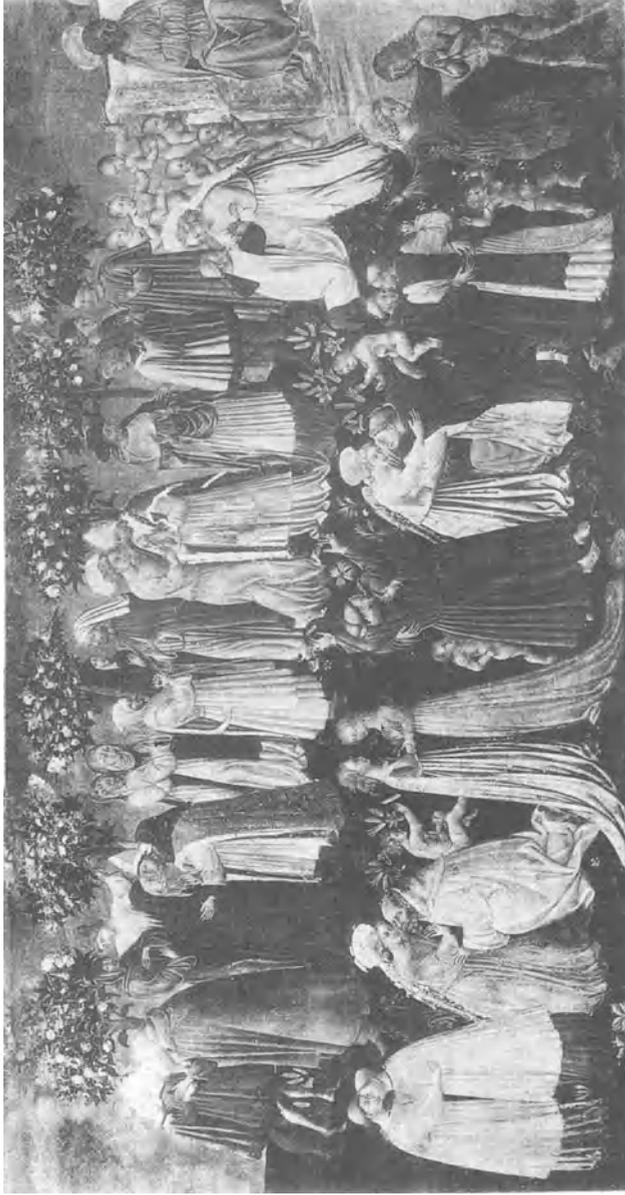
character was not spontaneous, at least the Coronation of the Virgin, depicted on three panels, in the church of S. Andrea, Siena, is an unattractive painting, in spite of undeniable qualities, such as the Gothic line of the folds, the colouring and the general decorative effect. The principal figures are shown in the midst of thirteen angels, some of whom are hardly visible, SS. Andrew and Peter.

Of the two little paintings of 1445 one is again a binding of a book of accounts of the town until June 1445, while the other is the important predella of the Last Judgment, Paradise and Hell in the gallery of Siena. The binding which is preserved in the Vatican Gallery (No. 179) represents over the usual row of coats of arms, the two figures of the Annunciation (fig. 270). The Virgin, attired in a robe with a long Gothic train, is seated on a cassone; a vase of lilies separates her from the angel who, erect with folded arms, holds an olive branch in his hand. Above appears the hand of God, loosing the dove towards the Virgin. It is a beautiful little picture and very typical of this stage, especially the elongated figure and the curious face, with an unusually high forehead, of the angel (¹).

The predella in the gallery of Siena (No. 172) originates from the church of S. Domenico and forms part of a picture which was executed by Giovanni di Paolo in 1445 for the altar of the Guelfi family; it comprised as well representations of the Creation and the Flood but these pieces are now lost.

In a series of circles formed by cherubim and angels blowing blasts on trumpets, we see in the centre of the panel Christ covered only with a loin-cloth making the gesture of rejection and reception in a manner which artists until the time of Michel Angelo have followed. Above, alongside the Saviour, the Twelve Apostles are depicted on two benches and the Virgin and St. John the Baptist kneeling in prayer. Lower down are shown again the Virgin and two prophets. The open tombs give forth their dead who are led to hell by devils; there they are portrayed in caves, tortured by Satan and his assistants (fig. 271) while the saved are conducted by angels to a beautiful garden full of flowers and fruit trees. With the exception of the little nude

(¹) *Lisini*, op. cit., XXXII.



PARADISE

From Giovanni di Paolo's Last Judgment, Accademia, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

figures of the Innocents, a group of whom we find behind the Apostles' bench, they are all elegantly attired and represented embracing one another with joy (plate VIII).

The artist's conception, although for the greater part in accordance with the traditional and established principles, is fairly mystic and in any case imbued with a strong religious feeling. The subject of sin and its consequences is one that he treated frequently and in different manners. He must have executed another picture similar to this predella, at least there is a panel of Paradise slightly different in form and composition but bearing a close resemblance in the general effect. It was shown at the exhibition of Sienese art when it still belonged to the Palmieri Nuti family ⁽¹⁾, but since, it has passed into the Metropolitan Museum, New York (9434-2) (fig. 272). In this picture the vegetation is more elaborate and little rabbits are seen running wild in the grass.



Fig. 271. Giovanni di Paolo, Hell. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

⁽¹⁾ C. Ricci, *Il Palazzo Pubblico di Siena e la mostra d'Antica Arte Senese*, Bergamo, 1904, p. 105.

Original Sin is the subject of still two other beautiful productions of this period. Both are representations of quite a mystic nature. One of them, formerly in the collection of M. Benoit, Paris (1), now in that of Mr. Ph. Lehman, New York (2), depicts Adam and Eve driven from the Garden of Eden by an angel just as devoid of clothes as the first man and woman. They look back towards God the Father, Who, in the midst of cherubim, descends from heaven and indicates the Universe which is represented by a series of circles, one within the other. It is a work of great refinement of form and technique.

The other picture belongs to the Benson collection, London (9); it was shown at the exhibition of Sienese art held in the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1905 (3). Here the angel is more covered than Adam and Eve who are driven away from the gate of heaven; a rich verdure with rabbits running wild backgrounds the picture. God the Father appears above in a halo of light surrounded by cherubim. This is not the whole picture: the first sin is the reason of the Birth of Christ and that is why this subject is depicted alongside, together with the Annunciation which fills up the rest of the panel. The composition of the latter closely resembles that on the binding of 1425; here, however, the vase of lilies has disappeared and the angel does not hold an olive branch; besides, the event is shown occurring inside a house, the exterior and interior of which are seen simultaneously. In a small room adjacent St. Joseph is seated warming his hands before a fire. This is a feature quite typical of genre painting, as is also the detailed manner in which the artist has treated the interior of the house.

At the same exhibition in London (4) there was still another picture, executed after this style, which belonged to Mr. Charles Butler; it represents, against a very rocky landscape with

(1) *E. Jacobsen*, op. cit., pl., XVI.

(2) *F. M. Perkins*, *Art in America*, 1921, p. 45.

(3) (*L. Douglas*), *Illustrated Catalogue*, pl. XXV.

(4) v. the Catalogue of this exhibition compiled by Mr. Langton Douglas, pl. XXII; it has been associated with two other pictures in the same collections which were also shown at the exhibition but they are works of a much later period and we shall return to them later on.

straight and angular roads in the foreground, the youthful figure of St. John the Baptist emerging from the gate of a town and walking among the rocks. It is a predella panel with flowers



Fig. 272. Giovanni di Paolo, Paradise. Metropolitan Museum, New York.

in the ornamental borders to either side, similar to those we found in another of Giovanni di Paolo's pictures (1).

A triptych in the gallery of Siena (No. 178) is executed after the same style as the two little panels of 1445. Centrally the Virgin and Child are portrayed in the midst of angelic musi-

(1) *F. M. Perkins*, *Art in America*, 1921, p. 45.

cians; the lateral panels are adorned with the figures of St. Augustine, a holy martyr, St. Nicholas and another saint and the pinnacles with the half-length figure of the dead Saviour and those of the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation. A piece of a predella showing the execution of a holy martyr, which entered the National Museum, Florence, with the Carrand collection, belongs to the same manner.

A beautiful picture of the Presentation in the Temple in the Blumenthal collection, New York ⁽¹⁾ is one of the best works of this group. The artist has left away the walls of the apse thus allowing us to obtain a view of the interior; the people outside the building, two ladies to the left and two beggars to the right, also take advantage of this. The elegant manner in which the ladies are attired according to the fashion of the time and the realistic appearance of the beggars, as well as the architectural details, are once more typical of genre painting, of which this little picture has quite the aspect.

A panel of the Adoration and Journey of the Magi in the Kröller collection, The Hague, is another charming production of this stage of the artist's activities, a stage which as we go on, proves to have been the happiest in Giovanni di Paolo's long career. In the barren hills, among which a town is depicted, we see a cavalcade of camels and horses, accompanied by dogs, advancing. The horsemen clad in gorgeous raiment of the time — one of them is having his spur unfastened by a page — have dismounted before the Virgin and Child seated under a humble shelter, near which stand St. Joseph and two women.

Charming also is a panel showing the Virgin adoring the Child before a grotto, in the interior of which we see the ox and the ass while above is a group of angels. This picture forms the central part of a triptych in the museum of Cherbourg; the two saints on the wings are from the hand of Giacomo del Pisano; God the Father and the two figures of the Annunciation adorning the pinnacles seem to be by Giovanni di Paolo ⁽¹⁾.

The large triptych in the Prepositura of Trequanda ⁽²⁾ has

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1913. p. 196.

⁽²⁾ *F. Bargagli Petrucci*, *Pienza, Montalcino e la Val d'Orcia (Italia artistica)*, Bergamo, 1911, p. 27.



Fig. 273. Giovanni di Paolo, the Presentation in the Temple.
Gallery, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

also been made in collaboration with Giacomo del Pisano. In this picture we owe to Giovanni's brush the central panel representing the Virgin and Child between four angels with St.

Bernardine kneeling below, and the Saviour and cherubs in the pinnacles. I think it must have been about this period that Giovanni di Paolo executed the angelic musicians of the Assumption in the Collegiata of Asciano, the central figure of which is, in my opinion, the work of Giacomo del Pisano.

The manner that Giovanni di Paolo adopted in the years following this period is made known to us by two dated works, one, the Presentation in the Temple of 1447—1449, the other the polyptych dated 1453, both in the gallery of Siena. We see here those ascetic forms, inspired by the mystic and fantastic temperament of the painter, at the height of their development, but before the decadence of old age transformed this aspect of his art into a ridiculous and unpleasant manner. At the stage we have now reached in the master's career, the elongated and graceful forms and the faces with curious features but quite in harmony with the proportions of the body dominate any tendency on the part of the artist towards a realistic conception of the human frame.

The Presentation in the Temple, which was ordered in 1447 and finished just before 1448, and is now in the gallery of Siena (No. 211), is an excellent manifestation of this new inclination in the master's manner (fig. 273). In a Gothic church, adorned with an infinity of statuettes and other sculptures, the interior of which is revealed to us by the suppression of the entrance wall, we see a group of people, including the Virgin, St. Joseph and two women to the left hand side, around the altar, from which a little flame issues; of the four old men, probably all priests, one, no doubt Simeon, wears a halo and carries the Child Christ Who turns towards the spectator. The figure of the Prophetess Anna to the right forms the pendant to St. Joseph. This beautiful panel is unfortunately considerably damaged.

These new features characteristic of a more advanced stage of Giovanni's art, which, as I said before, are very evident in the Presentation in the Temple, are less marked in other pictures which on this account, however, I find no necessity of ascribing to an earlier date. Two of these works, both fragments of a predella, are preserved in the Vatican Gallery (Nos. 181, 182). One of them represents the Prayer in the Garden

of Olives (fig. 274), in which against a pretty landscape with fruit trees the Apostles are depicted, in two groups, asleep, together with the soldiers led by Judas, leaving the town to go in search of Christ, Who is shown in prayer with an



Fig. 274. Giovanni di Paolo, the Prayer in the Garden of Olives.
Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

angel bearing a chalice appearing to Him. The other depicts the faithful under the Cross, grieving over the body of the Saviour; they are eleven in number and most of them touch the holy body; the faces are distorted but do not express a very great depth of feeling (fig. 275). Among the hills in the background we see a town towards which leads a road lined on either side by rigid little trees.

Perhaps still a third scene from the history of the Passion

belongs to the same series, moreover, the measurements too very nearly correspond. It is a Calvary in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia (¹). The sad cortège, emerging from the gate of a town, is backgrounded by a curious construction adorned with a row of statuettes of angels that seem alive. Soldiers head the procession, one of them ill-treats Christ from Whom Simon takes the Cross, while another roughly keeps back the faithful who throng through the gate-way in the wake of Christ.

In the museum of Münster in Germany there are two panels in which the forms are more elongated and the technique finer, approaching that of miniature painting. These two pictures represent the Birth of St. John the Baptist and the saint before Herod (²). In both we see simultaneously the inside and outside of the buildings which are very high in proportion to the size of the panels. In the former St. Elizabeth is depicted in bed, a women in attendance close by; two others are busy with the little St. John who has just been bathed, before the fire, near which Zachariah is shown writing down the name of his son while a young man watches him doing so. Towards the back of the house are seen two other persons, one of whom climbs a stair; through an open door we can perceive a corner of a landscape. This little picture, consequently, abounds in intimate details which are lacking in the other panel where, indeed, the subject is hardly propitious to their presence. Here in a building, which has all the appearance of a large Gothic cathedral, St. John the Baptist, surrounded by soldiers, speaks to Herod and his wife seated on a little estrade; several other figures are represented between the pillars of the room.

A panel, now in the Lehman collection, New York (³) previously in that of Prince San Angelo, Naples, in which apparently the angel announces to Zachariah the birth of a son, belongs also to the same series. The event takes place at the

(¹) *B. Berenson*, Catalogue etc., No. 105.

(²) *P. Schubring*, *Opere sconosciute di Giovanni di Paolo e del Vecchietta*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1912, p. 162.

(³) *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1914, p. 165. *Breck*, op. cit.

moment when the old man performs certain rites at the altar in the interior of a Gothic building of which we see as well the outside of the cupolas. Several persons who have attended the ceremony are depicted to either side of the aged priest who,



Fig. 275. Giovanni di Paolo, the Deposition. Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

listening to the angelic message, makes a gesture very similar to that of the Virgin in representations of the Annunciation.

The best productions of this period form a very homogeneous group, the finest examples of which are comprised in another series of scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist, formerly in the Aynard collection, Lyons, now in that of Mr. Reyerson,

Chicago (1). I agree with Dr. De Nicola that these panels did not decorate a cassone, as Herr Schubring imagines, but belonged to an altar-piece, of which at least two pieces are missing. The six pictures show (1) St. John leaving his house and going into the desert (fig. 276), (2) the saint in the desert pointing out the Saviour to the crowd, (3) the Baptist in prison speaking at the window with two Christians sent by Christ, (4) Salome kneeling before Herod who is seated at a banquet, and asking for the head of St. John, (5) the beheading of St. John and (6) Salome offering the head of the Baptist to Herod who is shown still seated at the same place.

They are very strange pictures. The rocky landscape of the first and second scenes is intersected by a zig-zag road of mathematical precision. The figures too are so extraordinary in appearance that it is certainly not to them we need look for any proof of the artist's absolute normality. The architectural surroundings of the third and fifth scenes, as well as those of the fourth and sixth are identical; besides, in either of the cases the site of the event is the same. The prison of St. John is a Gothic building, seen from the outside, perfectly designed and very minutely executed; a few of the lower bars of the window have been removed in order to allow the head to fall through on to the street while the body remains hanging on the sill. In the first of these scenes a chained panther seems to guard the prisoner; in the other the executioner is seen in the act of replacing his sword in its scabbard while another soldier picks up the head. The two scenes of Herod's banquet are shown in a building which is open on all sides allowing space for the servants to circulate freely round the table.

In order to appreciate these paintings we must look upon Giovanni di Paolo at that moment as a confirmed mannerist, and it is open to opinion, whether or not, his conventionality should be accepted.

Personally I find that the productions of this rather late stage in the master's career, which have been subjected to so

(1) *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d' arte senese*, 1907, p. 82. *Schubring*, *Cassoni*, Nos. 445—450, pls. 104—106. *G. De Nicola*, *The Master-piece of Giovanni di Paolo*, *Burlington Magazine*, XXXIII, 1918, p. 45.



Fig. 276. Giovanni di Paolo, St. John going into the desert.
Reyerson Collection, Chicago.

Photo Bemm.

much criticism and severe judgments, possess highly aesthetic qualities and a charm which, although perhaps a little morbid, is none the less very great. Leaving aside the grimaces at times hideous that Giovanni di Paolo shows in some of these paintings, we cannot but admire the refinement of his draughtsmanship — even in the most distorted of his faces — the elegance of form and the precise treatment of detail. During this phase the painter no longer makes any effort to remain within the limits of reality or even of reason; he breaks away from the recognized traditions with the same sincerity as certain of the ultra-modern artists; moreover, a road represented by geometrical lines forming acute angles, as in the two first scenes of this series, would astonish us less in the work of a post-impressionist than in that of a Sienese master of the first half of the 15th century.

There is still another panel illustrating an incident from the life of St. John the Baptist in which we see a similar road in the background and I would not be surprised if this picture also belonged to the same cycle, in which case a piece must have been cut from the top of the panel. It forms part of the Carvallo collection, Paris (1) and depicts St. John preaching in the desert; the saint followed by his lamb turns round to speak to the crowd headed by two old men, one of whom makes the traditional gesture of dispute which looks rather as if he were counting on his fingers. The figure of the Baptist, particularly the head, has been slightly retouched.

At this period of his career Giovanni di Paolo must have been occupied in a very special manner with the illustration of the legend of his patron saint, St. John the Baptist, because there is still another charming little picture in the gallery of the Cardinal Archbishop of Esztergom (Hungary) which depicts the Precursor outside a town baptizing several people some of whom undress preparatory to the ceremony.

Typical of this manner is also a Madonna between SS. Bartholomew and Jerome in the Maitland. F. Griggs collection, New York (fig. 277), and a little panel in the Academy

(1) *L. Amandry*, The Collection of Dr. Carvallo of Paris, III, Burlington Magazine, VI, 1904—5, p. 305. *R. Fry*, idem, p. 312.



Fig. 277. Giovanni di Paolo, Madonna and saints. Maitland Griggs Collection, New York.

of Fine Arts in Vienna, showing an apparition of St. Dominic over a town, within the walls of which preparation is being made for a funeral (fig. 278). This picture is almost unknown, as are also three small panels executed after this style, illustrating three events from the life of St. Catherine of Siena, in the Stoclet collection, Brussels (¹). One of them represents one

(¹) *A. Venturi, L'Arte, 1922, p. 166.*

of the numerous visions that the saint had of Jesus Christ; she is depicted kneeling in a little room, ornamented after the Gothic style while above appears the half-length figure of the Saviour in the midst of cherubim. A monk is seated opposite the saint; he looks towards her as he writes on sheets of paper spread out before him on a pretty little Gothic table. Perhaps he is one of the saint's biographers in which case it might be the Dominican, Raymond of Capua. The mystic marriage (fig. 279) is shown in a rather unusual composition. The Saviour, accompanied by His Mother, and a host of saints and angels, all depicted in half-figure, and carried by cherubim, fill up the upper part of a room in which we see the saint on her knees stretching out her hand towards Christ, Who places the ring on her finger.

The third panel represents the saint and a companion kneeling before the pope who, enthroned and wearing his tiara, bestows a blessing on them; three cardinals and two clerks writing, are grouped around him; this scene naturally illustrates St. Catherine's visit to the pontiff at Avignon, the chief aim of which was to solicit his return to Rome.

These three panels, which also must have belonged to a predella, do not possess the refinement of the other pictures that we have just discussed; the *mise-en-scène* in this instance is very much less interesting.

In the Episcopal Gallery of Esztergom there is still another work by Giovanni di Paolo, which, on account of the presence of the figure of St. Bernardine, cannot date from before the middle of the 15th century. In the central of the three panels which comprise this picture we see the half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child and in the wings SS. Antony Abbot and Francis; the pinnacles are adorned with the figures of St. Ansanus and the holy preacher of Siena. Reminiscences of Sassetta are more marked in this charming picture than is generally the case in productions of this stage of Giovanni di Paolo's activities.

The work, which most closely resembles the pictures illustrating the story of St. John the Baptist, is a series of miniatures adorning an antiphonary which originates from the monastery of Lecceto, near Siena, but is now preserved in the Civic

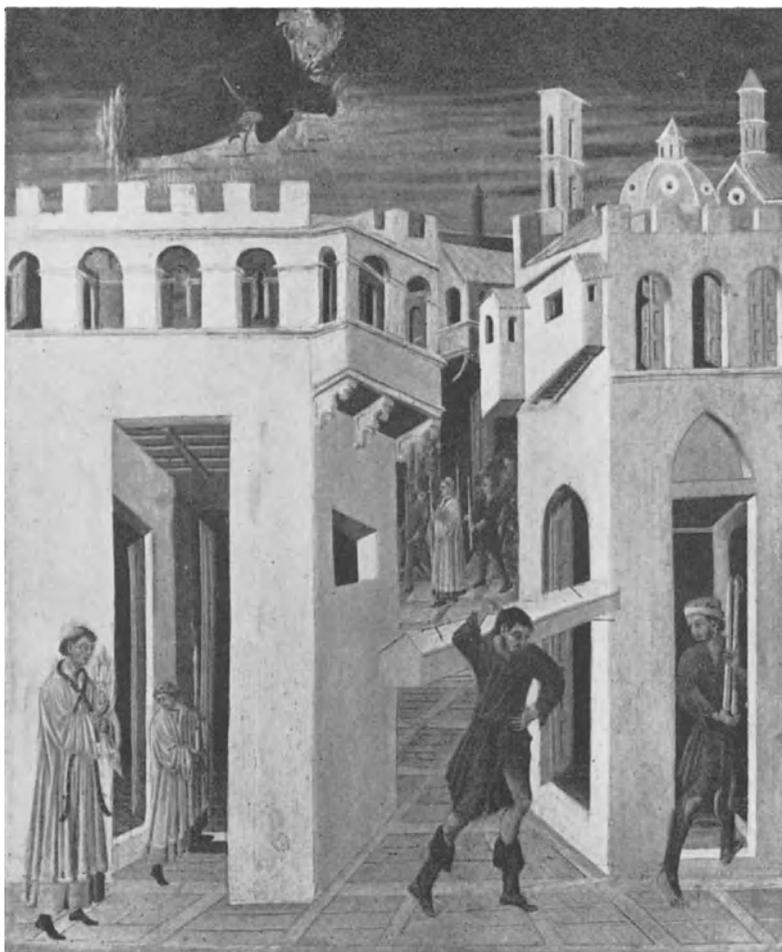


Fig. 278. Giovanni di Paolo, scene from the life of St. Dominic.
Art Academy, Vienna.

Library of that town ⁽¹⁾. Apart from thirty-three letters adorned only with decorative designs, there are about twenty others

⁽¹⁾ *Rosini*, Storia della pittura italiana, III¹, p. 22. *D'Ancona*, L'Arte, 1904, p. 384. *A. Venturi*, Antifonario miniato di Giovanni di Paolo, L'Arte, 1923, p. 192. *L. Dami*, Giovanni di Paolo, miniatori e i paesisti senesi, Dedalo, IV, 1923–24, p. 269 (he publishes it as an almost unknown work without any reference to the literature already existing concerning this codex). *D'Ancona*, La miniature italienne, p. 85, fig. 106.

showing figures of saints, of Jesus, of the Virgin and of Death (fig. 280) ⁽¹⁾. The last mentioned is a very curious representation of the personification of Death who is depicted in the form of a winged demon, a sickle hanging from his girdle, mounted



Fig. 279. Giovanni di Paolo, a vision of St Catherine of Siena. Stoclet Collection, Brussels.

on a horse without either saddle or bridle and loosing an arrow at a young man who has already been pierced by one in the neck. The background of this scene is composed of a forest with mountains in the distance. Many of the miniatures in which Christ figures show various of his apparitions either to the Apostles or to saints (figs. 281 and 282); in one instance

⁽¹⁾ The list is given by *A. Venturi*, op. cit.

he is represented drying the tears of the disciples. They are superb miniatures, I should even say they are among the finest that Italy has produced in the 15th century. The calligraphic mannerisms of the master are not shocking in this manifestation of art which, besides, helps us to a better understanding of



Fig. 280. Giovanni di Paolo, the Triumph of Death, miniature.
Civic Library, Siena.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

the productions of this advanced period of his career. It will be remembered that a document of 1450 informs us that at this moment Giovanni di Paolo was working at miniatures.

Some other miniatures which I think were executed at a still more advanced stage, will be discussed later on.

A pleasing example of this manner is the Nativity of Christ in the Winthrop collection, New York (¹), in which the Virgin

(¹) *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1914, p. 166.



Fig. 28r. Giovanni di Paolo, Christ calling the Apostles, miniature.
Civic Library, Siena.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

is shown kneeling in adoration before the new-born Child Who lies on the ground under an open shelter outside the stable; St. Joseph is seated in meditation with his back turned towards the central group; in the landscape to the right we see the angelic Message to the Shepherds.

I find that a panel representing the Crucifixion in the Central



Fig. 282. Detail of fig. 281.

Museum, Utrecht ⁽¹⁾, is executed after the same style (fig. 283). To either side of the Cross are depicted groups of the faithful among whom we see the Virgin in a swoon and the Jewish priests gesticulating; a nimbused warrior on horseback heads

⁽¹⁾ *W. Bode*, *Jahrb. Preus. Kunstsamml.*, VIII, 1887, p. 132. *Raimond van Marle*, *Bolletino d'arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.*, 1923, p. 568. *The Same*, *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek*, XIV, 1924, p. 27. *A. Mc.Comb*, *Rassegna d'arte senese*, 1923, p. 45.

each of the groups. The background is composed of a hilly landscape in which we see castles and white angular stretches of road.

A little panel in the Louvre (No. 1659a) depicting St. Gregory entering the Castel S. Angelo, bears a marked resemblance in style to the last-mentioned picture. Again we find important architectural buildings, some mountains in the distance and a winding path.

A larger picture of this period is the Coronation of the Virgin in the Lehman collection, New York (¹); the Virgin and Saviour are seated on the same throne which is draped with a beautiful piece of material with a pattern of flowers; Christ stretches out His arm to place the crown on the head of the Madonna who holds her arms folded on her breast; numerous angels are grouped behind the throne while two others sitting in the foreground play the harp.

A certain number of paintings can be classified together in one group which, I think, can be looked upon as the first manifestation of the master's decadence but still quite supportable as long as no objection is made to the rather exaggerated mannerisms.

Two of these works are dated; they are of the years 1453 and 1457. From the former of these years we have the polyptych in the gallery of Siena (No. 173) which shows the signature: "*Opus Johannis Pauli de Senis MCCCCLIII die III Decembre*"; the seated figure of St. Nicholas of Bari in his episcopal vestments with a superb mantle embroidered with flowers and images of saints, is depicted in the centre, bestowing a blessing; in the lateral panels we see SS. Bernardine of Siena, Francis, Mary Magdalene and Louis of Toulouse; the medallions above show the figures of SS. Paul and Jerome (fig. 284). In comparison with the works of the previous group, the faces here, those of the two holy monks in particular, which are decidedly ugly, lack refinement, while the hands and figures,

(¹) *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1914, p. 164. It is doubtless the same picture which belonged formerly to the art-dealer Bardini in Florence, v. *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'arte senese*, 1907, p. 82, and to the Alphonse Kahn collection, v. *Breck*, *op. cit.*



Fig. 283. Giovanni di Paolo, the Crucifixion. Central Museum, Utrecht.

Photo Blitz.

sometimes of an abnormal length, tend in certain cases towards the ridiculous.

Yet also in this picture there are some charming features such for instance as the grace, studied and artificial but none the less captivating, of the figure of the female saint.

A very similar image is the half-length figure of St. Clare, holding a spray of lilies with two angels' heads below, in



Fig. 284. Giovanni di Paolo, polyptych, St. Nicholas and four saints, 1453. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, U. S. A. (fig. 285), in which, however, the hands are of a very normal shape, even lacking a little in refinement. A second figure, probably of the Magdalene (1), of very much the same appearance is found in another polyptych in the gallery of Siena (No. 191) (fig. 286); this figure, together with that adjacent of St. Ursula, I believe

(1) This figure is generally supposed to represent St. Clare but I should say that the receptacle she holds in her hand is sooner the emblem of St. Mary Magdalene.



Fig. 285. Giovanni di Paolo, St. Clare. Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A.



Fig. 286. Giovanni di Paolo and Giacomo del Pisano, Madonna and saints.
Gallery, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

to be from the hand of Giovanni di Paolo, but with the exception of the representations above of St. Mary Magdalene praying in a grotto and St. Francis receiving the stigmata, I ascribe the rest of the polyptych to Giacomo del Pisano.

No doubt there are many who will not appreciate the rather exaggerated mannerisms manifest in these two figures of saints; on the whole I think they are rather beautiful although the draughtsmanship is markedly conventional.

It has often been imagined that this is the principal part of the altar-piece of 1445 that the Guelfi family ordered for the church of S. Domenico and from which the panel of the Last Judgment, Paradise and Hell in the gallery of Siena (No. 172) originates, but apart from the fact that the measures do not correspond⁽¹⁾, it seems to me obvious that the style in which these figures of saints are executed is that of a more mature stage.

A fairly marked resemblance in manner is evident between the last mentioned works and a large picture of little charm in the gallery of Siena (No. 212), which shows Christ erect carrying the Cross and the Saviour borne by cherubim; below we see the archangel Michael receiving the Good and Satan thrusting the wicked into Hell; the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove is depicted in a medaillon above.

In 1457 Giovanni di Paolo still worked in the same conventional manner, producing Gothic figures of unusual length. In the municipal gallery of Castiglione Fiorentino there are two panels of a triptych showing the Virgin and Child and St. Catherine who stretches out her hand to receive the ring. The work is signed: "*Opus Johannis de Senis anno domini MCCCC LVII*"⁽²⁾. The painting originates from the Collegiata of this town.

How long Giovanni di Paolo, who lived until 1482, continued to work during the last twenty-five years of his life is difficult to say. Considering that he re-married in 1480, that is to say at the age of seventy-eight, we can very well imagine that he was capable of painting until a ripe old age.

For this last period which is obviously that of his decadence we have one dated work, the picture of 1463 in the gallery of Pienza which in my opinion is for the greater part due to the hand of Giacomo del Pisano. By Giovanni di Paolo himself are the central figures of the Virgin adoring the Child lying on her knee, the escorting group of angels, the female martyr to the

⁽¹⁾ No. 172 is 2 meters 56 cms. long and No. 191 only 1 meter 84 cms.

⁽²⁾ *G. Mancini*, Cortona (Italia artistica), Bergamo, attributes it to Cecco di Giovanni. This erroneous attribution is corrected by *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'arte senese*, 1909, p. 49. *A. del Vita*, Castiglione Fiorentino, Rome—Milan, no date, p. 54, pl. XIII.

extreme right and the very impressive Pietà which adorns the lunette above; here we see the Madonna and four angels supporting the Saviour's body which is stretched on the ground. This last group in particular, but also the angels accompanying the Virgin, all small figures, have as yet nothing repulsive in them, in spite of the ugliness of the faces, but the exaggerated mannerisms have acquired a disagreeable form in the larger figures of the Virgin and the female martyr of the principal panel.

Among the painted bindings of the registers of accounts, preserved in the Archives of Siena, there is one representing the coronation of Pope Pius II; the pontiff is shown seated with six cardinals while two others place the tiara on his head; the Virgin appears behind them while below we see the town of Siena, guarded by two lions, and the usual row of coats of arms. At the end of the inscription we find the date 1460⁽¹⁾. This little painting is decidedly ugly and I doubt if we can really assign it to Giovanni di Paolo, because, in spite of certain features characteristic of his work, the decadence of the master's art manifested itself in a different manner.

The productions of the decadence can be divided into two groups, one in which all trace of the more pleasing manner of his earlier years is not entirely lost, and the other in which the hideousness of the faces reveals an utter indifference on the part of the artist to the aesthetic value of his work, which in all probability is a senile defect and the works in which we find this peculiarity date no doubt from the very last years of the painter's activity.

Among the works characteristic of the less advanced stage of his decadence we can include two Crucifixions in the Lindenau Museum, Altenburg, one of which (No. 77) is shown in an elaborate and crowded composition with St. Mary Magdalene at the foot of the Cross and a group of faithful companions around the fainting Virgin. To the other side we see St. John displaying his grief and at some distance a group of Jewish priests.

Several persons on horseback, among them a lady elegantly

(1) *Lisini*, op. cit., XXXVII.

dressed and the converted Centurion, are depicted in the background. This picture which abounds in detail is, as far as the colouring is concerned, one of the master's fine productions, but much of the charm is destroyed by the distorted features and spasmodic movements of the figures.



Fig. 287. Giovanni di Paolo, investiture of a monk. Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

The same subject is much more simply illustrated on the second panel (No. 78); here the mounted figures are absent and the groups to either side are less numerous, less care has been paid to the technique and the individuality of the artist is not so marked.

A Crucifixion bearing a fairly close resemblance to the former of the two panels in Altenburg is found in the library of Christ Church, Oxford (¹). Alongside the Saviour are represented two

(¹) *T. Borenius*, Pictures by the old Masters in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, London-New York etc., 1916, p. 40.

nimbused horsemen, as well as the little gatherings of the faithful and of the Jewish priests. The background is formed by a rather colourless landscape in which we see a zig-zagging road.

Not of very great importance either is a little predella panel in the Vatican Gallery (No. 178) which represents a monk donning the habit of the Franciscan order (fig. 287); the event occurs just outside the church of the monastery, two Franciscans, one of whom holds the habit, and four Dominicans assist at the ceremony.

In the gallery of Pesaro there are two small panels executed in this manner, illustrating the story of a holy Franciscan monk. In one of the pictures he is depicted kneeling before the crucifix in a church while the other brothers are seen arriving from the monastery; in the other, Christ Himself is shown leading four beggars to the door of the monastery where they are received by the same holy friar.

A Baptism of the Saviour with many figures and God the Father appearing above in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, is a production of the same style, as is also a painting of St. Augustine, formerly in the Campana collection, now in the museum of Besançon (No. 203). The saint is seated on a beautiful throne ornamented with statuettes; he is in episcopal attire and of the two books he has in his hands, he holds one before several monks, who, with other persons, are seen kneeling at his feet; below in the centre crouches the figure of Avergères, a personification of the pagan doctrine⁽¹⁾. One would say that restoration has somewhat changed the appearance of this picture which seems to have lost much of its original character.

Quite recently, a predella panel, which for some time has been for sale in Munich, was published⁽²⁾; it shows in the centre against a landscape background, the Assumption of the Virgin who, in the midst of cherubim, emerges from her tomb, two half-length figures of saints, one of whom holds a banner, are depicted to the sides. It is a very typical production of this stage in the master's career.

⁽¹⁾ *P. Perdrizet et R. Jean*, La galerie Campana et les musées français, Bordeaux, 1907, p. 58.

⁽²⁾ *Romea*, op. cit.

There are still some pictures which I think should be ascribed to this manner. Among them are an important polyptych showing the half-length figure of the Saviour and the four Evangelists, formerly in the Toscanelli collection, Pisa (1), now in that of Baron Chiaramonte Bordonaro, Palermo, and two curious little panels in all probability ex-votos in recognition of a rescue from shipwreck. One of them, which passed from the von Kaufmann collection, Berlin, into the Field collection, Frankfort (2), shows a saint — St. Nicholas — descending from heaven towards a ship in distress, from which the sailors have thrown themselves and are seen with little more than their heads visible in the water; the saint succeeds in setting the ship aright in the waves which Giovanni di Paolo, perhaps not very familiar with the sea, has depicted like hairy hillocks. The other panel which was sold from the Palmieri Nuti collection, Siena and acquired by the late Mr. Johnson of Philadelphia (3), depicts an equally rough sea in which a siren is represented swimming as in the panels of the school of Gentile da Fabriano in the Vatican Gallery and of Bicci di Lorenzo at Oxford, both of which illustrate the miracle of how St. Nicholas delivered ship-wrecked sailors. Giovanni di Paolo shows in this instance the masts of the ship both gone and the débris carried by the gale in all directions; in the black and threatening sky appears the figure of the saint whose aid the unfortunate people on the wreck invoke; some of them are elegantly attired but all the faces disfigured by grimaces.

This last feature which is so marked might almost justify our including this work in the following group. Similar monstrous images of the human being are found in other works which, however, are of quite a fine technique, such for example as that of Lucrezia stabbing herself at the moment Collatinus and other persons enter her room; this picture belongs to Herr von Nemes of Munich (4). The little figures which are

(1) Pl. XXVIII of the album of the Toscanelli collection.

(2) *M. H. Bernath*, Burlington Magazine, XLVII, 1925, p. 216.

(3) *Breck*, op. cit. *Ricci*, op. cit., p. 75. *Dami*, op. cit., p. 291.

(4) *l. Sirén*, Burlington Magazine, XLVI, 1925, p. 281.

revealed to us by the suppression of one of the walls, are very wooden and the faces of a hideousness almost beyond belief. None the less, the interior of the room and the architectural details of the castle are executed with a marked display of refinement although with an absolute lack of any sense of realism.

Larger figures, and for that reason lacking the charm due to the minute technique of the other pictures, are found in two scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist — the Baptism of Christ and the saint's head offered to Herod while banqueting — which were once the property of Mr. Charles Butler and were shown at the exhibition of Sienese art held at the Burlington Club in 1907 ⁽¹⁾.

An important production of this period is a large panel in the Episcopal Gallery of Esztergom (Hungary), representing, against a landscape background, the Virgin and St. Joseph adorning the Infant Jesus in the manger.

We should include in this group still a Crucifixion in the museum of Berlin (No. 1112b) (fig. 288) in which, besides the Crucified, we see the Virgin and St. John, disfigured with grief, one uglier than the other; the coat of arms of the Piccolomini adorns a corner of the picture; also a panel of Christ at the age of twelve teaching in the Temple in the Gardner collection, Boston, a half-length figure of the Baptist first in the P. J. Sachs collection, New York ⁽²⁾, now in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, a half-length figure of a holy bishop in the Ickelheymer collection, New York ⁽³⁾, a picture of St. Catherine imploring the pope to return from Avignon to Rome in the Jarves collection, Yale University, Newhaven ⁽⁴⁾ and the predella which is found under the polyptych by Andrea Vanni in the church of S. Stefano alla Lizza, Siena, and which shows Christ on the Cross between the Virgin and St. John, St. Jerome and St. Bernardine and six scenes illustrating the life of the latter, which would prove, had

⁽¹⁾ v. the Catalogue of the exhibition by Mr. *Langton Douglas*, pls. XXIII and XXIV. I imagine they are the pictures which Mr. Berenson determines as "predella" in the Pierpont Morgan collection.

⁽²⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1914, p. 166.

⁽³⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Art in America*, 1921, p. 45.

⁽⁴⁾ *Breck*, *op. cit.* *O. Sirén*, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 155.

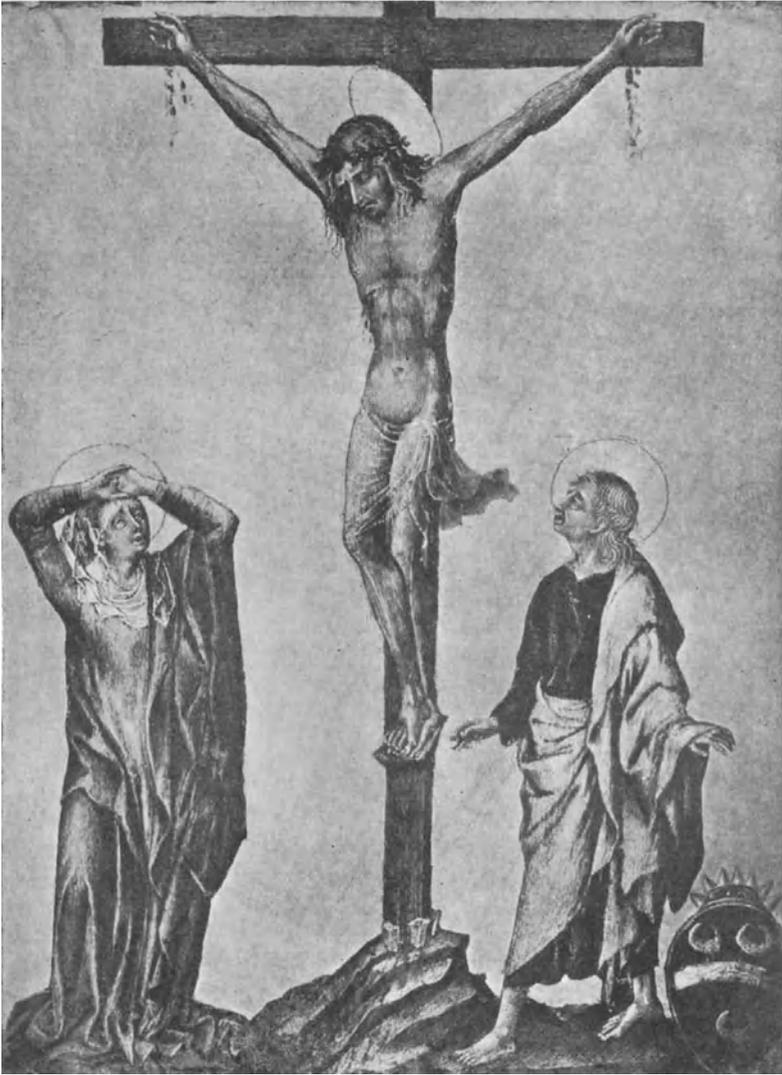


Fig. 288. Giovanni di Paolo, the Crucifixion. Gallery, Berlin.

Photo Hanfstaengel.

it been necessary, that the work was executed after 1450, the date of St. Bernardine's canonization. Again the views of interiors are praiseworthy and depicted with a marked care of detail.



Fig. 289. Giovanni di Paolo, the Faithful around the Cross, miniature.
Holford Collection, London.

Also during this last stage of his activities, Giovanni di Paolo, executed miniatures.

I think it was about this time that the master illuminated a codex containing the works of Dante which is in the Yates

Thompson collection, London. Mr. Fry remarks that there is a representation of the cathedral of Florence with the cupola but without the lantern above and as this lantern was started in 1445, he infers that the miniatures should date from before this year but I do not find the argument very convincing. I hardly think that the Sienese painter would have gone to Florence for the express reason of sketching the cathedral for one of his miniatures; he might very well have copied it from an older drawing. The appearance of these illuminations leads me to ascribe them to a much later date.

Some other miniatures executed after the same manner now belong to the Holford collection, London, and represent the faithful below the empty Cross on which the crown of thorns is hung (fig. 289), a half-length figure of a female saint and a holy monk, old and bearded. This last figure is not very typical of Giovanni di Paolo's manner but it seems to originate from the same manuscript. The three miniatures are framed together.

We are far from having exhausted the works of Giovanni di Paolo who during the long years of his activity produced an incredibly large number of works (2).

(1) *R. Fry*, A Note on Giovanni di Paolo, *Burlington Magazine*, VI, 1904-5, p. 312.

(2) Among the following works there are a few which I do not know; some have been taken from Mr. Berenson's list of this painter's productions: **Arezzo**, Tommasi Alleoti collection, Madonna v. **New York**, Kleinberger coll. **Berlin**, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, No. 1097, St. Nicholas asking ships to bring grain, similar in composition to Ambrogio Lorenzetti's picture in the Uffizi; Simon coll.. Adoration of the Magi (*W. von Bode*, *Die Kunst der Frührenaissance in Italien*, Berlin, 1923, p. 177). **Chiusuri**, (near Monte Olivieto Maggiore), S. Michele, SS. Michael and Bernardine. **Colle di Val d'Elsa**, Conservatorio di S. Pietro, Circumcision. **Cologne**, Schnütgen Museum, M 67, predella, Entombment, St. Bartholomew and two female saints. **Compiègne**, Musée Vivienel, No. 3660, a bishop crowned by a pope. **Englewood**, U.S.A., Platt coll., Madonna and Child between SS. Margaret and Catherine of Alexandria, fine strongly Gothic painting (*Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1914, p. 165. *Breck*, op. cit.). **Florence**, Bargagli coll., small triptych (*De Nicola*, op. cit.). **Frankfort a. M.**, Fuld coll., investiture of a monk from the von Kaufmann coll., **Berlin**. **Frome** (Somerset), Lady Horner's coll., St. Ambrosius and a bishop. **Hanover**, Kestner Museum, II, 86, diptych, Madonna, SS. John the Baptist and Bernardine. **Lastra a Signa**, Perkins coll.,

On several different occasions I have mentioned the name of

St. James Major; St. Bernardine between two angels. **London**, Mond coll., two Madonnas and saints. **Modena**, Gallery, (18), The Virgin, St. Joseph and two angels adoring the Child. **Milan**, Chiesa coll., Madonna and angels (*De Nicola*, op. cit.). **Naples**, Gallery, Noli me tangere. **Newhaven**, U.S.A., Jarves coll., No. 52, martyrdom of a holy bishop (*Breck*, op. cit.). **New York**, Kleinberger coll., Madonna, Child and saints from the Tommasi Alleoti coll., **Arezzo** (*Perkins*, *Rassegna d' arte senese*, 1907, p. 82. *F. B. P.*, idem, 1920, p. 138). **Paris**, Heugel coll., reliquary; A. Kahn coll., SS. Catherine, Barbara, Agatha and another saint; Martin le Roy coll., martyrdom of a saint, doubtfully attributed to G. di P. by Mr. Berenson; for sale, 1921, two saints from a polyptych, cut off at the knees. **Parma**, Gallery, No. 423, Christ with the Cross, the Virgin and many saints, all carrying crosses, approaching from either side. **Perugia**, ex-Domini Ferretti coll., Madonna and Child (*Perkins*, *Rass. d' arte senese*, 1907, p. 83). **Radi** (near Siena), Villa Forteguerra. Madonna (*De Nicola*, op. cit.). **Rome**, Vatican Gallery, store-room, No. 1967, three little Madonnas; Chigi coll., two predella panels, illustrating the legend of a saint; private coll., St. Catherine of Alexandria and a bishop. St. Catherine of Siena and two nuns (*Perkins*, *Rass. d' arte senese*, 1907, p. 83). **Sanseverino**, Servanzi coll., Assumption. **Settignano**, Berenson coll., Madonna. **Siena**, S. Bartolommeo, Madonna; S. Domenico, right wall, St. Catherine; S. Pietro Ovale, crucifix; S. Pietro alla Scala, Christ bestowing a blessing; Gallery, No. 208, terminal of a panel, the Saviour; Nos. 213 and 215, SS. James and Andrew; No. 214, a holy bishop; No. 324, important polyptych, Assumption in the centre, four saints to the sides and a predella; Opera del Duomo, No. 18, large figure of St. Jerome; Palazzo Pubblico, room on ground floor, the emblem of Siena, a wolf, against a background of verdure; sacristy of the chapel in the hospital, monochrome on a pillar, St. John the Baptist. **Stockholm**, Tomm coll., half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child (*Sirén*, op. cit.). **Vienna**, Figdor coll., St. Jerome appearing to St. Augustine, a decadent late work; Lederer coll., head of an angel.

The following works are, I think, wrongly ascribed to Giovanni di Paolo: **Dresden**, Gallery, No. 31, dead Christ (*Berenson*, with a point of interrogation), it is a picture belonging to the tradition of Simone Martini v. Vol. II. p. 248¹. **Fabriano**, Fornari coll., St. Francis receiving the stigmata (*Colasanti*, Gentile da Fabriano, p. 91 and *Boll. d' arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.*, I, 1907. p. 21; a production of The Marches). **Fermo**, church of S. Arcangelo Custode, crucifix (*L. Venturi*, *L' Arte*, XVIII, 1915, p. 199; *Rassegna Marchigiana*, III, 1925, p. 436) a Marchigian painting perhaps from the hand of Pietro da Montepulciano. **Florence**, National Museum, Carraud coll., birth plate, Judgement of Paris, a Florentine painting showing an influence of Fra Angelico. **Paris**, Louvre, No 1665, Crucifixion (*Berenson*, op. cit., with a point of interrogation). Arconati

Giacomo del Pisano (1), the pupil, helper and collaborator of Giovanni di Paolo, whose existence is made known to us by one signed picture, a large triptych, in the van Stolk Museum, Haarlem (fig. 290). It shows the Virgin enthroned between two angels on the central panel and to the sides SS. Mary Magdalene and Peter. The signature "*Jacomo del Pisano*" is clearly inscribed at the foot of the principal panel. That here we are dealing with the signature of the painter and not with the name of the donor is very evident, not only on account of the nature of the name, but also because of the site of the inscription, the donor's name being written generally in a little border below and invariably followed by an explanatory passage, at least the traditional "*fecit fieri*" if not a more detailed account. Nor is it admissible that the name was added at a later date, because not only has it all the appearance of a genuine inscription, but also, if a false signature had to be added to the picture, surely the name of a better-known painter, such for instance as Giovanni di Paolo himself, would have been chosen.

Lastly, the fact that Giovanni di Paolo had this helper allows us to form a more homogeneous and more comprehensible idea of the master's artistic personality, because if we can ascribe the triptych of Haarlem and the other works which resemble it to an assistant, it can be concluded that in spite of the hideous facial traits and the other shortcomings that characterize the productions of the last manner of Giovanni di Paolo, he never created those coarse and heavy forms which constitute the main feature of differentiation between the works of Giacomo del Pisano and those of his master.

Visconti coll., now in the Louvre, birth plate, the triumph of Venus (*L. Douglas*, *Sienna*, II, p. 363, Veronese school, first half of the 15th century); ex-Benoit coll., St. Antony (*Perkins*, *Rassegna d' arte*, 1914, p. 165; I agree rather with Mr. Berenson's attribution to Neroccio Landi). **Rome**, ex-Sterbini coll., Crucifixion (*A. Venturi*, *La Galleria Sterbini*, No. 21). **Siena**, coll. in the Seminary, cassone panel showing the stories of Judith and Holofernes, Samson and Delilah and Solomon worshipping heathen idols (*Berenson*, *op. cit.* and *Schubring*, *Cassoni*, pl. CI).

(1) *Raimond van Marle*, Giacomo del Pisano aiuto di Giovanni di Paolo, *Rassegna d' arte senese*, 1919, p. 19. *The Same*, Il problema riguardante Giovanni di Paolo e Giacomo del Pisano, *Bolletino d' arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.*, 1925, p. 529.

When Giacomo started to collaborate with Giovanni di Paolo cannot be ascertained precisely but it must have been at a fairly advanced stage in the senior artist's career; at least the paintings in which I think the two different hands can be recognized are, apart from the panel of 1463 in the gallery of Pienza, still a polyptych in the gallery of Siena (No. 191), the Assumption of Asciano, and the altar-pieces of Trequanda and Cherbourg, none of which works in my opinion dates from before 1445.

We have consequently very few points of reference which might help us to draw up a chronological classification of Giacomo del Pisano's productions; nevertheless the gradual augmentation in the peculiarities of Giovanni di Paolo's art is reflected in that of his collaborator, so that we can form an approximative idea of the order in which we should classify his paintings, the number of which come to my knowledge has somewhat increased since I dealt with this painter in the *Bolletino d'Arte* a few years ago.

As I had occasion to say at that time, I think that we must admit a very close collaboration between the two artists, for not only did they execute the different pieces of the same polyptych but in several instances even the different figures of one panel. Giovanni di Paolo seems to have had a particular liking for painting small figures.

In all likelihood the earliest manifestation of Giacomo del Pisano's artistic activity is his collaboration in those pictures of Giovanni di Paolo which I have included in the group of works dating from about the year 1445.

In the Assumption of Asciano (fig. 291) I ascribe to him the central figure and probably the saints and prophets in the upper part of the same panel; in the polyptych in the Prepositura of Trequanda I discover his hand in the figures of St. Sebastian and the pope — St. Gregory — which adorn the lateral panels, as well as in the four little figures of saints in the pilasters of the frame while in the altar-piece in the museum of Cherbourg I hold him responsible again for the lateral figures — perhaps SS. Galganus and Ansanus. I know of no picture of this period which is executed entirely by Giacomo del Pisano himself.

In the works of Giovanni di Paolo's following manner, that is to say those prior to 1457, we find evidence of Giacomo's collaboration in the large polyptych in the gallery of Siena



Fig. 290 Giacomo del Pisano, triptych. Van Stolk Museum, Haarlem.

(No. 191). Beside the two very fine female saints by Giovanni di Paolo, the incongruity, especially of the very ugly central figures of the Madonna and Child, cannot escape our notice, but I think that also the two saints to the left with their enormous heads and the half-length figure of the Saviour above are from the hand of Giacomo.



Fig. 29r. Giovanni di Paolo and Giacomo del Pisano, the Assumption. Collegiata, Asciano.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 292. Giacomo del Pisano, St. Mark. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

In the gallery of Siena this manner of the pupil can, I am of opinion, be recognized in the half-length figures of SS. John the Baptist and Dominic (Nos. 193 and 197) and that of St. Mark the Evangelist (No. 195) (fig. 292), one of a series of four panels of which the St. John is preserved in the Schnütgen Museum, Cologne ⁽¹⁾ and the St. Matthew in the gallery of Budapest, while quite recently I discovered the St. Luke in a private collection.

This manner of Giacomo del Pisano is represented still by the figures of SS. Fabian and Sebastian from the Ross collection, London, now in the National Gallery (No. 3402) ⁽²⁾ and lastly by four panels showing SS. Mary Magdalene, Galganus, Bernard and Romuald in the gallery of Siena (Nos. 199—201). The predella, no doubt of the same polyptych, is also preserved in this gallery (No. 198), because among the six scenes depicted there are several illustrating the history of St. Galganus; moreover, the panel originates from the monastery dedicated to this saint. As the other representations bear reference to the life of the Virgin, it can be inferred that the central panel, now lost, showed a figure of the Madonna.

In the picture of 1463 at Pienza the part that was left to Giacomo del Pisano is limited to the three male saints — SS. Bernardine of Siena, Antony Abbot and Francis — and on account of rather a striking resemblance to the last figure, I think we can hold the same artist responsible for a picture of St. Bernardine, holding a book and a spray of lilies, in an aureole of cherub-heads in the church of S. Agostino at Montepulciano, and also for a Madonna, the nude Child standing on her knee, enthroned in the midst of four angels, two behind the back of the throne and two accompanying them with music in the foreground, in the parish church of Poggioferro in the province of Siena ⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Schubring*, Rassegna d'Arte, 1912, p. 163; Zeitschr. f. Bilden. Kunst, 1912, p. 162.

⁽²⁾ *T. Borenius*, Burlington Magazine, XXVIII, 1915—16, p. 73. *E. Hut- ton*, The Sienese School in the National Gallery, London, 1925, p. 58.

⁽³⁾ *P. Bacci*, Una Madonna con Figlio di Giovanni di Paolo, Rivista d'Arte, 1909, p. 39. *G. A. Nicolosi*, La montagna maremmana (Italia artistica), Bergamo, 1911, p. 68.



Fig. 293. Giacomo del Pisano, Madonna and saints. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

The signed triptych in the van Stolk Museum, Haarlem, manifests the influence already of Giovanni di Paolo's decadence, while even a worse example of this is another triptych, until a short time ago in an English collection, showing in the centre the Virgin with the naked Child standing on her knee in the midst of three angels, chimerical in type, and to the sides the figures of SS. Agnes, Peter, Paul and Nicholas while little cherubs adorn the medallions above. Equally ugly faces are

found in the large panel of the Madonna seated on a Gothic throne, ornamented with statuettes, and escorted by numerous angels and saints, which is preserved in the gallery of Siena (No. 575) (fig. 293). Five little figures of saints decorate each of the pilasters of the frame while in the spandrels we see the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation, which subject is repeated in the lunette of the picture. The smaller figures, such as the statuettes on the throne, the Annunciation in the spandrels and some of the saints on the pilasters, are of such a refined technique that I even think it possible that they might be from the hand of Giovanni di Paolo. Similar to the types in this last painting are those of a half-length figure of the Madonna and Child between two angels which I saw lately on the antique market. Prof. Edgell has discovered the most dreadful example of Giacomo's works in the cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York (¹); further more it is in a very bad state of preservation.

Nothing is known regarding the origin of this painting which belonged formerly to the Nevin collection in Rome. It is composed of half-length figures; in the centre that of the Virgin with the naked Child and to the sides those of SS. John the Baptist, Peter, Paul and Andrew. In the pinnacles are depicted SS. Catherine of Siena, Agatha, the Saviour, SS. Francis and Bernardine also in half-figure. The presence of the last mentioned saint renders the date prior to 1440, proposed by Mr. Edgell, hardly admissible.

In the Jarves collection, Yale University, Newhaven, there is a predella panel, narrating the history of a holy hermit, which in appearance is just as repulsive as the picture in New York. The forms and the faces are hideous to the point of becoming burlesque, without, however, the least trace of that fantasy, a little extravagant but almost always charming, which characterizes even the later works of Giovanni di Paolo.

In the gallery of Siena there are still some other paintings, all decidedly ugly, by Giacomo del Pisano. In all probability

(¹) Nevertheless attributed to Giovanni di Paolo v. *G. H. Edgell, An unpublished Painting in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York, Art Studies, III, Cambridge, U.S.A., 1925, p. 35.*

they date from this rather advanced stage and it is even possible that they were executed after the death of Giovanni di Paolo. They comprise four little panels representing SS. Gregory the Great, Sebastian, Paul and Francis (Nos. 186—189), and two pilasters of frames, each adorned with four figures of saints (Nos. 190, 192).

In all these works Giacomo del Pisano reveals himself as an unskilful and rather coarse artist, quite incapable of rendering even one of the many refinements of form of Giovanni di Paolo's art; the artist is invariably betrayed by the monstrous hands he gives to his figures.

The constant and close collaboration of Giacomo del Pisano with his master is probably the cause of the scarcity of works of the school of Giovanni di Paolo, other than those by this faithful follower (1).

Giovanni di Paolo was an artist who on the one hand was decidedly conventional and on the other hand full of imagination. His fantasy is diffused with a very strong mystic feeling and I should not be surprised if the extraordinary human types he shows so often, were an outcome of his ascetic tendencies.

The severe, and in my opinion, unjust judgment of Cavalcaselle hardly surprises us in a critic who admired before all the art of the Renaissance. The Renaissance, however, owes nothing to Giovanni di Paolo, whose manner always remained faithful to the conventional Gothic style, expressed in forms more suitable to miniature painting. Cavalcaselle thought that Giovanni was the pupil of Taddeo di Bartolo or of Gregorio

(1) As such might be cited: **Berlin**, Museum, Biccherna book-binding of 1437 with a representation of Death (*Dami*, *Dedalo*, IV, 1923-24, p. 303). **Florence**, private coll., half-length figure of the Madonna and Child between two angels, with a large flower in the upper part of the background; Loeser coll., Crucifixion and mourning over Christ's body in the predella (*v. Roma*, *Rassegna d' arte senese*, XVIII, 1926, p. 73). **Rome**, private coll., mourning over the Lord's body; Simonetti coll., cassone panel illustrating the story of Hippo (*Perkins*, *Rassegna d' arte senese*, 1907, p. 83. *The Same*, *Rassegna d' arte*, 1913, p. 123). **Siena**, Archives, binding of 1448 showing the coronation of Pope Nicholas V (*Lisini*, *op. cit.*, XXXIII).

di Lucca, the adopted son of this master. He might have formed this idea on account of the presence of the cherubim around the thrones of the Madonnas, which feature Giovanni indeed might have borrowed from Taddeo. However, a detail such as this does not suffice to prove the existence of the relationship of master and pupil and as we have already seen, Giovanni, like Sassetta, is more obviously dependent on Fei, the last representative in Siena of the great pictorial tradition of the first half of the 14th century, and on Gentile da Fabriano. There are too many elements which seem to reveal a connexion with the famous master of The Marches, whose influence was disseminated in the greater part of Italy and who was active in Siena at the moment this artist's career began, for us to doubt the existence of a direct influence of Gentile's art on Giovanni di Paolo. Further, if I remember rightly, a good many years ago I saw in Rome a large picture of the Adoration of the Magi, copied by the hand of Giovanni di Paolo from Gentile's renowned panel of this subject in the Uffizi; at least such was my impression at the time, although I must admit that I was not very sure of my own attribution and since then I have never again come across the picture. It is not the painting of this subject in the Kröller collection, in The Hague, but here too, even although the composition is reduced to its simplest form, we find several features taken from Gentile's Adoration, such as the arrangement of the principal figures, the page unfastening his master's spurs, the dog lying on the same spot and the monkey on the camel's back.

It was not, however, to Gentile da Fabriano's art that Giovanni di Paolo looked for his iconographic models, but to that of the great old masters of Siena, then almost a century dead. The Presentation in the Temple in the gallery of Siena is but a free interpretation of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's picture of 1342, now in the Uffizi; the panel of Jesus teaching in the Temple in the Gardner collection, Boston, repeats Duccio's model, as does also the Prayer in the Garden of Olives in the Vatican. The Resurrection of Lazarus from the Chigi collection bears a close connexion with the Ducciesque composition; the Calvary and the Descent from the Cross of the same series, on the other hand, are more reminiscent of Simone Martini's representations

of these subjects. The apparition of St. Francis at the congress of Arles in the Opera del Duomo, Siena, is copied from Giotto's fresco at Assisi.

If in his iconography Giovanni di Paolo was true to tradition, he was almost equally so in his compositions and his *mises-en-scène*. Often his pictures contain more figures than a first glance might lead us to believe; on closer inspection we find some almost hidden, only part of the body or the head betraying their presence, very much after the manner followed by the painters of the first half of the 14th century.

The architectural buildings, for which Giovanni had obviously a great liking, are often depicted in a very archaic way, the artist showing simultaneously the interior and the exterior of the edifice. Often the building consists of a small angular construction, open on all sides, similar to those frequently depicted by Pietro Lorenzetti. However, although in his earlier Madonnas we discover certain features which recall the works of Lippo Memmi, there can be little doubt that the Lorenzetti brothers were the artists by whom Giovanni di Paolo was chiefly inspired. Lanzi thought, for example, that the panel of the Last Judgement, Paradise and Hell, now in the gallery of Siena, was from the hand of Ambrogio Lorenzetti. I even think it possible that Giovanni's inclination to depict grimacing faces arose from his study of Pietro Lorenzetti's art and a desire to imitate this master's manner. Besides the architectural surroundings, we find in the background of Giovanni's pictures another element which calls to mind the works of the two Lorenzetti, it is the view he gives us of extensive panoramic landscapes, which, in spite of shortcomings in the perspective, convey an excellent impression of distance. A comparison between the landscape in the "Good Government" fresco by Ambrogio Lorenzetti and that shown by Giovanni in the Flight into Egypt in the gallery of Siena helps to confirm the truth of this statement in a very convincing manner.

Giovanni di Paolo, even less than Sassetta, felt the necessity of reforming and renewing the pictorial tradition of his native town. He often executed pictures of a symmetrical composition on gold backgrounds and had it not been for the Gothic forms which characterize the art of the beginning of the 15th century,

we might easily have mistaken certain of his pictures for productions of the previous century.

Giovanni di Paolo was a faithful adherent of the Gothic tradition and this becomes very evident if we compare his architectural buildings, for which as I said before, he evinces a very particular interest, with those that we find in Domenico di Bartolo's frescoes of 1440—1444 in the hospital of Siena. As we shall see later on, these frescoes classify Domenico, at this period of his career, as an artist of the Renaissance, but it may very well be that those grandiose studies of architecture had the effect of momentarily interrupting Giovanni's taste for elaborate architectural backgrounds, more especially as they begin to appear in his works a few years later. But Giovanni's buildings remain purely Gothic and serve as *mises-en-scène* in a very mediaeval fashion, without surrounding the actors and becoming a unit in the picture, so that together they form only one subject, which was an achievement of the Renaissance that Domenico di Bartolo had already realized.

Before leaving Giovanni di Paolo I should like to raise the question whether the painter really had a normal conception of his surroundings or whether the fantastic side of his figures is due to a defect in his eye-sight. I am well aware that it is not very attractive to give similar pathological explanations to even a part of a painter's characteristics; it has been done, however, for El Greco and although few connoisseurs of Spanish painting support this theory, I think, none the less, it is very clearly demonstrated.

In the case of Giovanni di Paolo it is more difficult to prove, yet there is a certain amount of evidence which might lead us to accept this hypothesis; it is not only the increasing strangeness of the faces, in which the different features become disproportionate and lose their correlation, which seems to be the result of an abnormal vision, but still more the curious representations of the tiled floors. Let us look for example at the pavement of the room in which the Birth of the Virgin takes place in the picture in the Doria Gallery or again in that of the panel of 1463 in Pienza. In both cases the floor is very uneven, raised here and there and curved in all direct-

ions. These two works represent an early and a mature stage in the master's career, so that we find in them no proof of any progress in this direction.

There are besides pictures in which the pavements are almost normal, but there are again others, such for instance as the Presentation in the Temple of 1447-1449, which although in a somewhat different manner, are such obvious manifestations of a peculiarity of vision that I find it difficult to admit that an artist with a perfectly normal eyesight could ever have painted in this manner.

CHAPTER VI

SANO DI PIETRO (1)

Sano di Pietro, whose real name was Ansono di Pietro di Mencio, is a Siennese painter whose activity covers the same period as that of Giovanni di Paolo. Both of them, born in the early years of the 15th century, were still exercising their calling when more than three-quarters of the century had passed. As we shall see from what follows, Sano, even more than Giovanni di Paolo, remained faithful until the very end of his career to the art of by-gone generations but he reproduces only one aspect of this art in a manner which to me seems studied and artificial and which I cannot let pass without a few words of criticism but this will be more opportune towards the end of the chapter.

Documentary evidence also concerning Sano di Pietro is very abundant (2) but I shall mention only the facts which are of interest to us.

He was born in 1406 and in 1428 we find his name inscribed in the roll of painters; the same year he is remunerated for a painted model of a baptismal font for the baptistery.

In 1432 he marries Donna Antonia and is called upon to judge a picture by Sassetta in the cathedral. In 1439 he is mentioned in an act and it was during this year that he collaborated with Vecchietta in the execution of an Annunciation for the cathedral.

(1) *E. Jacobsen*, *Das Quattrocento in Siena*, p. 29. *E. Gaillard*, *Sano di Pietro*, Chambéry, 1923. *J. Trübner*, *Die Stilistische Entwicklung der Tafelbilder des Sano di Pietro*, Strasbourg, 1925.

(2) *Milanesi*, *Documenti per la storia dell'arte senese*, I, p. 48; II pp. 243, 256, 276, 278, 279, 301, 308, 327, 329, 355, 356, 380, 382, 385, 388, 389, 390, 465. *Borghese e Banchi*, *op. cit.*, pp. 159 note, 162, 163 note, 310 note, 226, 229, 252, 253. A résumé of the documents is given by *Gaillard*, *op. cit.*, p. 187 et seq.



Fig. 294. Sano di Pietro, Madonna. S. Pietro, Montalcino.

Photo Lombardi.

In 1439 he is elected captain of the Contrada di S. Donato; mention is made of various payments for different works he carried out in Siena in 1440, 1443 and 1446, as well as of orders he received for important decorations he had to execute in the Duomo and Palazzo Pubblico in 1448 and 1450.

In 1445, the year after the death of St. Bernardine, he was charged to make a portrait of the holy preacher for the confraternity of Sta. Maria degli Angeli; in 1448 the confraternity of the Madonna sotto l'Ospedale also orders a portrait of the saint, which was to be offered to Giovanni da Capistrano and in 1450 the Biccherna requests him to make a similar picture for the Palazzo Pubblico, no doubt the extant fresco there, dating from this year. During the next few years, he receives various sums of money in payment of works he had begun at an earlier date; he is often employed in the Palazzo Pubblico.

In 1453 he makes a declaration of his property in view of paying taxes, while the year before, he, together with Vecchietta, are appointed to estimate the fresco on the Porta Romana that Sassetta had left unfinished; moreover in 1460 Sano himself is commissioned to complete this decoration.

We find him active as a miniaturist for the first time in 1459, when he illuminated a psalter for the convent of Monte Oliveto; in 1464 and 1465 he acts as judge and arbiter in the settlement of a dispute between the painter Antonio di Maestro Simone and a person who ordered a picture from him and in the latter of these years he makes another declaration for the payment of taxes. The same year he is remunerated for a picture for the confraternity of St. Jerome. The following year the artist's father dies.

In 1466 and 1467 we find him making valuations and acting as arbiter and during the same years he is paid for a gonfalon and a club he made for the confraternity of S. Bernardino — from which society he receives money for another work in 1469 — and for an altar-piece for S. Domenico for which a further settlement is made in 1475.

In 1471 his second wife has to make a declaration of his silk garments on which he has to be taxed and the same year he receives payment for having illuminated an antiphonary still existing in the Duomo. The Ospedale della Scala pays him

various sums during 1473. In 1475 and 1476 he acts as judge and arbiter in some differences in which Francesco di Giorgio and Neroccio Landi are concerned. Other declarations for taxes are made in 1478 and 1481. In 1479 he still exercised his calling, as we shall see from a dated picture, and perhaps even still in 1481, the year of his death.

The earliest dated work by Sano is the decoration of the binding of a book which contained the reports of the ambassadors of Siena from 1429 till 1439. M. Gaillard has



Fig. 295. Sano di Pietro, Madonna and saints. Museum, Cleveland.

assigned this painting very definitely to the first of these years



Fig. 296. Sano di Pietro,
St. Clare?. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

and apparently it was customary to have these beautiful bindings painted before the register came into use.

Unfortunately the decoration in question tells us little regarding Sano's art, firstly because it is a work of minor importance and secondly because it is in a very ruinous condition. Nevertheless we can discern that the subject of the painting comprises two men on horseback, doubtless ambassadors, and further some of the features lead us to believe that at this moment Sano was influenced by Giovanni di Paolo.

Besides, there are several other paintings from which we can infer that Sano was inspired in the first instance by Giovanni di Paolo, and that the influence of Sassetta reached him at a subsequent stage. Thus, a Madonna seated in a flowery field, with four little angels to either side, in the church of S. Pietro at Montalcino, bears a closer resemblance to the art of Giovanni di Paolo than to that of Sassetta (fig. 294).

The same tendency is evident in a Madonna seated between a holy bishop and St. Mary Magdalene, both kneeling, with the Crucifixion above in the museum of Cleveland, U. S. A., (fig. 295), in a little tondo, showing St. Catherine of Siena in the Lanz

collection, Amsterdam ⁽¹⁾, in panels of two holy nuns — no doubt fragments of a frame because traces of other figures are seen below — in the gallery of Siena (figs. 296 and 297), perhaps also in an Assumption of the Virgin in the same gallery (No. 227), in a little tondo of the Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John sitting on the ground, which was on the antique market a good many years ago, in a Madonna and Child with six saints, all in half-figure, in the Christ Church collection, Oxford (No. 71) and lastly in a panel with the figures of SS. Jerome and John the Baptist in the church of SS. Marcellino, Pietro ed Erasme at Uopini, near Monteriggioni, in the province of Siena ⁽²⁾. In all these works we find in a certain measure those curious morphological types of Giovanni di Paolo — who was Sano's senior by four years — which, at the moment that Sano in all probability executed these works, were not as yet evident in Sassetta's art. As I have already said, this must have been at the very beginning of his career and of this we have



Fig. 297. Sano di Pietro, a holy nun. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

⁽¹⁾ Reprod. in *Gaillard*, op. cit., pl. 33.

⁽²⁾ *F. B. P.*, *Rassegna d' arte senese*, 1906, p. 93. Reprod. in *Jacobsen*, op. cit., pl. XI.

further confirmation in the few features which the painting of 1429 has to offer.

There can be no doubt, however, that the next dated work after the binding of 1429 — a polyptych of 1444 in the gallery of Siena (No. 246) — reveals that between the fifteen years that elapsed between the execution of the one and the other, Giovanni di Paolo's influence was replaced by that of Sassetta.

It is again in the morphological types that this new artistic direction is most clearly manifest. This important painting shows in the centre the Virgin and Child, in the midst of four angels, with the blessed Giovanni Colombini kneeling in adoration; the lateral panels are adorned with the figures of SS. Dominic, Jerome, Augustine and Francis and the terminals with the Saviour bestowing a blessing, the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation, and SS. Cosmo and Damian, all in half-figure. Three little saints are seen in the pilasters to either side and on the border of the frame is inscribed the signature: "*Opus Sani Petro de Senis MCCCCXLIIII*".

The appearance of all these figures is so very different from that which we found in what I believe to be his earliest productions and so much more pleasing and more full of inspiration than the typical works of his last manner that M. Gaillard is of opinion that, in spite of the signature, this picture is not by Sano himself but by a pupil who surpassed his master. In accordance with Herr Trübner I do not think that this is the case, but rather am inclined to imagine that of all the works we possess by Sano this is by far the finest example, one in which Sassetta's influence is certainly very marked and which must have been executed before the onset of that appallingly monotonous mannerism which Sano displays at a subsequent stage. Here, on the contrary, we find that bland and sweet vivacity which charmed us in all of Sassetta's paintings.

There are a few other works in which these qualities are also present, such for instance as the Madonna enthroned in the midst of four angels in the gallery of Sanseverino in The Marches (No. 15) ⁽¹⁾, the two panels, illustrating the famous

⁽¹⁾ Mr. Berenson attributed this picture to Sassetta but this was rectified by *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'arte senese*, 1926, p. 70.



Fig. 298. Sano di Pietro, Sermon of St. Bernardino. Chapter-room, Cathedral, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

sermons preached by St. Bernardine — one in 1427 in the public place before the Palazzo Pubblico (fig. 298), the other in 1431 before S. Francesco — in the sacristy of the cathedral of Siena, but as Herr Trübner remarks, the two panels, one of which is the pendant to the other, must have been executed at the same time, which naturally could not have been before 1431 and which, on account of the style, he judges rightly to be nearer 1444, that is to say approaching the dated polyptych.

In the large assemblies of people the artist has depicted kneeling in these two panels, we discover many faces reminiscent of Sassetta's art, as is also the care with which the architectural and other details are executed; look for example at the decorative altar behind the saint's pulpit in the first of these two pictures in which St. Bernardine holds his famous monogram in a radiant halo; in the other panel the artist has depicted the saint with a crucifix in his hand. It is worthy of notice that in both works the head of the holy orator is encircled not by the nimbus of the saint but by the radiating halo of the blessed from which it might be inferred that St. Bernardine was still alive when Sano executed this portrait in which case he was more circumspect than Pietro di Giovanni who, already in 1439, consequently during the lifetime of the preacher, shows him with the halo of a saint, that is if the picture in question is really of this date.

Several other dated works follow with but a short interval the polyptych of 1444. They are the Coronation of the Virgin of 1445, frescoed in the hall of the Biccherna on the ground-floor of the Palazzo Pubblico, a fresco of St. Peter as pope, seated between two other saints just outside the same room, a triptych of 1447 and a polyptych of 1449, both in the gallery of Siena.

With the portraits of St. Bernardine which Sano, with no fear of monotony, produced with great regularity from 1450 onward, we enter upon a slightly different phase.

To return to the earlier group of works, the first of them, the Coronation of the Virgin (fig. 299)⁽¹⁾, is depicted in a

(1) *A. Viligiardi*, *L'Incoronazione della Vergine nel Palazzo della Signoria*, *Rassegna d'arte senese*, 1919, p. 21.



Fig. 299. Sano di Pietro and Domenico di Bartolo, the Coronation of the Virgin, 1445.
Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

fairly grandiose composition but he might have owed this composition to Lippo Vanni, whose signature, followed by the date 1352, is still legible on the wall below the fresco of a hundred years later. The fresco of the older master represented also the Coronation of the Virgin and occupied the same site and the same space on the wall and it is more than probable that Sano followed, at least the principal lines of Lippo's painting⁽¹⁾.

It is the earliest example of this subject that we have from the hand of Sano, who, in later years, treated it repeatedly, but it is also the most elaborate painting by this master that exists. In the centre the Virgin and the Saviour are seated on the same throne, the latter placing the crown on the inclined head of His Mother; numerous saints are depicted in rows to either side; a pretty ornamental border is adorned with coats of arms and the heads of saints. Groups of angels fill up the upper corners while below, two others, of which only the busts are visible, hold a long inscription under which we read: "*Opus Sani Petri De Senis MCCCCXLV*".

Messrs Berenson and Perkins⁽²⁾ are of opinion that some of the figures in this picture are from the hand of Domenico di Bartolo; as such they cite the group of eight saints to the left of the throne, a saint whose head and hands are seen in profile to the right and the half-length figures of the Saviour and the four angels nearest Him in the medallions adorning the arcade; to those Mr. Perkins adds still the groups of angels in the spandrels above. With exception of the last mentioned figures, I quite agree with this attribution to Domenico di Bartolo who, according to Mr. Berenson commenced this fresco which was finished by Sano.

Several of the faces, particularly those of some of the female saints to the right hand side of the fresco are very typical of the influence that Sassetta at this moment exercised on Sano; on the other hand certain heads, especially the Redeemer's, more closely approach Giovanni di Paolo's art. In 1697 this fresco was touched up by Ventura Salimbeni but

⁽¹⁾ v. Vol. II, p. 452.

⁽²⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'arte senese*, 1907, p. 78.

as Herr Trübner remarks this restoration was apparently limited to the figure of St. Catherine which adorns the wall adjacent to the Coronation of the Virgin in which no important restoration has been carried out.

The fresco of 1446 outside the same hall shows St. Peter wearing the papal tiara, seated, holding the town of Siena



Fig. 300. Sano di Pietro, St. Peter between two saints, 1446.
Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

on his knees between two figures, in all probability St. Thomas Aquinas and the Blessed Andrea Gallerani (fig. 300). The rather sharp features which characterize some of Sassetta's works, such for instance as the altar-piece of Chiusdino, are found in this fresco which offers us an excellent example of Sassetta's influence on this artist.

The same tendency, although to a less degree, is evident in the triptych of 1447 in the gallery of Siena (No. 232), which is signed: "*Sanus Petri pinxit MCCCCXLVII*". In the centre the Virgin is depicted sitting on a throne supported by two

cherubim, one of whom is only partly visible; the Child Christ on her knee grasps a pomegranate.

To the sides we see SS. Bartholomew and Lucy and in the pilasters of the frame the little figures of SS. John the



Fig. 301. Sano di Pietro, Madonna and saints, 1447. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

Baptist, George, Antony Abbot and Catherine of Alexandria (fig. 301). In this case it is the face of the Virgin in particular that recalls Sassetta's paintings; the draperies, although a little clumsy, have a decided Gothic movement.

To the same manner belongs the altar-piece of 1449 which originates from the church of S. Biagio at Scrofano but is now also in the gallery of Siena (No. 255). The signature reads: "*Opus Sanis De Senis MCCCCXLVIII*" (fig. 302). The central panel shows again the Virgin and Child and some cherubim grouped as in the foregoing picture.

The lateral figures here are SS. Blaise, John the Baptist, Lawrence and Martha above whom are depicted St. Jerome and a holy bishop. The terminals are adorned with the half-



Fig. 302. Sano di Pietro, polyptych. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

length figures of the Saviour and the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation and the pilasters with SS. Peter, Paul, Sebastian, Bartholomew, Dionisius and Cyprian, while in the predella we see the dead Saviour half arisen from His tomb between the Virgin and St. John, four scenes from the life of St. Blaise and the figures of SS. Francis and Bernardine.

I agree with Herr Trübner (¹) that two predella panels in the museum of Altenburg (Nos. 70 and 71) might have belonged to the polyptych which was ordered in 1449 for the chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico, for which the last settlement was made in 1451 and of which the predella was composed of five scenes from the life of the Virgin, at least they are little pictures which resemble in style those of the altar-piece of 1449. The first of the representations has been called the Visitation but I doubt very much if this is really the subject. The Virgin, followed by a cortège of young girls, is received with outstretched hands by an old man who is accompanied by a holy woman, while behind we see some young women coming out of the house (fig. 303). These elements are, in my opinion, more suited to a picture of the Virgin's nuptial procession and St. Joseph receiving her at his house. The architectural details in the background are fairly elaborate; a peacock is shown on the roof of one of the buildings.

The second panel depicts the Assumption; the Virgin, in an aureole of cherubim, escorted by eighteen angels, is borne heavenward while below we see the tiny figure of St. Thomas kneeling at the empty sepulchre, the holy girdle descending towards him.

There are several undated works which Sano must have executed at this period when Sassetta's domination was at its height. I shall mention a few of them. Most closely approaching the fresco of 1445 is a half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child, in the midst of saints and angels, with seven saints and the dead Saviour in the predella, in the gallery of Siena (No. 261). Also belonging to this category is another half-length figure of the Madonna with two angel heads in the upper corners which, when it was shown at the exhibition of Siennese art, belonged to Signor Cinughi; I do not think that the decoration of the lunette — Christ half arisen from His Tomb — is from the hand of Sano.

Executed in this manner are still a small half-length figure of the Madonna in a private collection (fig. 304), a larger picture of the Virgin, also in half-figure, with two angels above be-

(¹) *Trübner*, op. cit., p. 85.

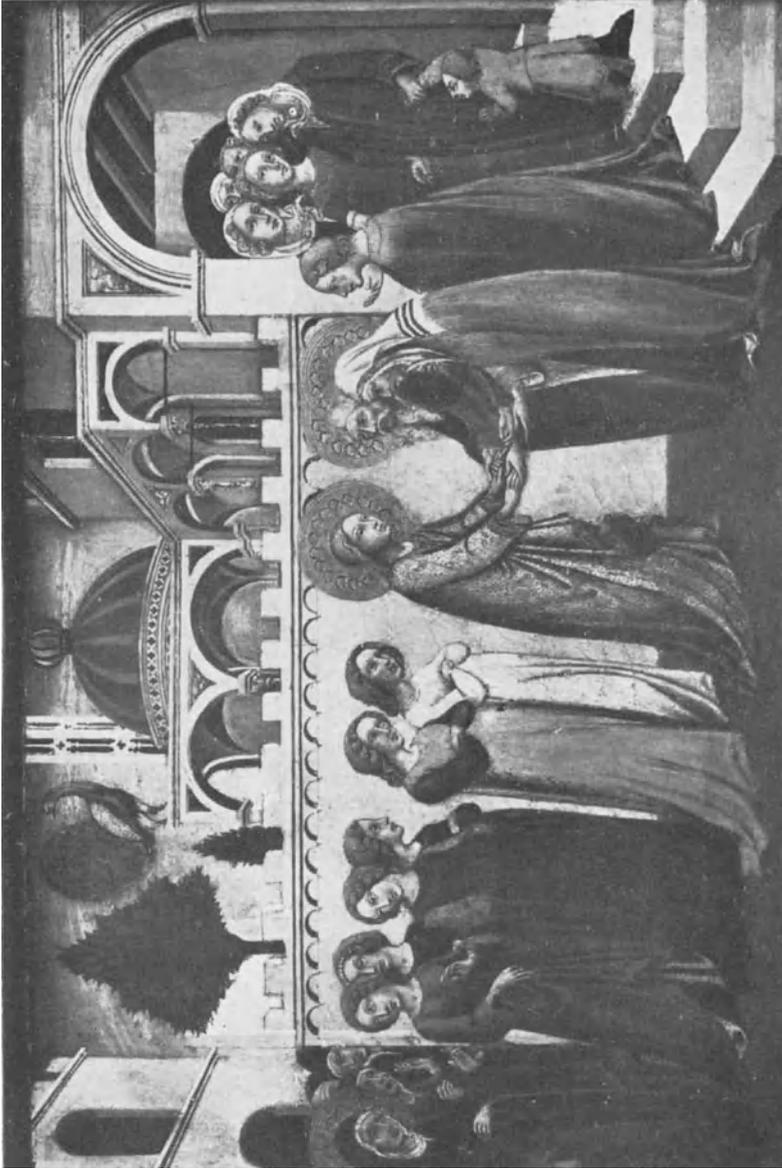


Fig. 303 Sano di Pietro, the Virgin escorted to the house of Joseph (?).
Lindenau Museum, Altenburg.



Fig. 304. Sano di Pietro, Madonna. Private Collection.

longing to Signor Baroni of Montepescali⁽¹⁾, a very similar painting in which the Child grasps a little bird, in the van Gelder collection, Brussels, and a half-length figure of the Virgin of the Annunciation with clasped hands, no doubt a fragment of a larger panel, also in a private collection (fig. 305).

As Mr. Perkins has already observed, Sassetta's model

⁽¹⁾ *G. A. Nicolosi, Il Litorale maremmano (Italia Artistica), Bergamo, 1910, p. 79.*

especially that of the Madonna of the triptych in the Osservanza church has been followed by Sano when he executed an enthroned Madonna with two cherub heads to the sides (fig.



Fig. 305. Sano di Pietro, Madonna of the Annunciation, Private Collection.

306) in the collection of Mr. M. H. Meinhard, New York⁽¹⁾. Further Sassetta's influence is obvious in five predella panels in the Louvre (Nos. 1128—1132), illustrating incidents from the life of St. Jerome.

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1913, p. 123. *The Same*, *Rassegna d'arte senese*, 1926, p. 70.

Bearing more resemblance to the altar-piece of 1449 than to the fresco of 1445 are, I think, a triptych in the Platt collection, Englewood, in which the central panel is adorned with a half-length figure of the Madonna between two angel heads, with Christ on the Cross above and the wings with the figures of SS. John the Baptist and Peter; a similar representation of the Virgin and Child between SS. John the Baptist, Antony Abbot and four angel heads in the Kröller collection, The Hague; and lastly, an important polyptych in the gallery of Siena (No. 231) in which, besides the Virgin and Child enthroned in the midst of six angels in the centre, we see on the lateral panels the two SS. John, SS. Gregory and Augustine, on the pilasters SS. Michael, Agnes, Antony Abbot and Ansanus and in the terminals the Saviour, the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation and SS. Dominic and Francis. An inscription below records the name of the donor (figs. 307 and 308) ⁽¹⁾.

It was particularly during the years that followed the death of St. Bernardine, perhaps the most popular preacher that has ever existed and one who had certainly a very strong hold on the mentality of the population of Siena, that so many portraits of this great saint were ordered from Sano di Pietro. St. Bernardine died in 1444 and already in 1445 the confraternity of Sta. Maria degli Angeli commissioned him to execute a picture of St. Bernardine; he is given the order for another in 1448 and a third in 1450, the year of the saint's canonization; we have two examples, dating from this year, from the hand of Sano but after this we find no further mention of similar works.

The most impressive portrait of St. Bernardine that I know by Sano is the painting showing only the head which was acquired by Marquis P. Misciatelli from the Palmieri Nuti collection, Siena (fig. 309) ⁽²⁾. Here we have an effigy of the

⁽¹⁾ A few other works which, I am of opinion, were executed before 1450 are: **London**, Lord Ashburnham's coll., the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (*Gaillard*, pl. 35). **Milan**, Chiesa coll., a Madonna between a bearded saint and St. Catherine of Alexandria (No. 50 of the catalogue of the sale, held in New York in November 1925). **Siena**, Gallery, No. 265, St. Jerome in the desert praying before the crucifix. **Vienna**, Lanckoronski coll., the head of Christ.

⁽²⁾ *P. Misciatelli*, *Rassegna d'arte senese*, 1909, p. 95.



Fig. 306. Sano di Pietro, Madonna. Meinhard Collection, New York.

Photo Frick Reference Library.

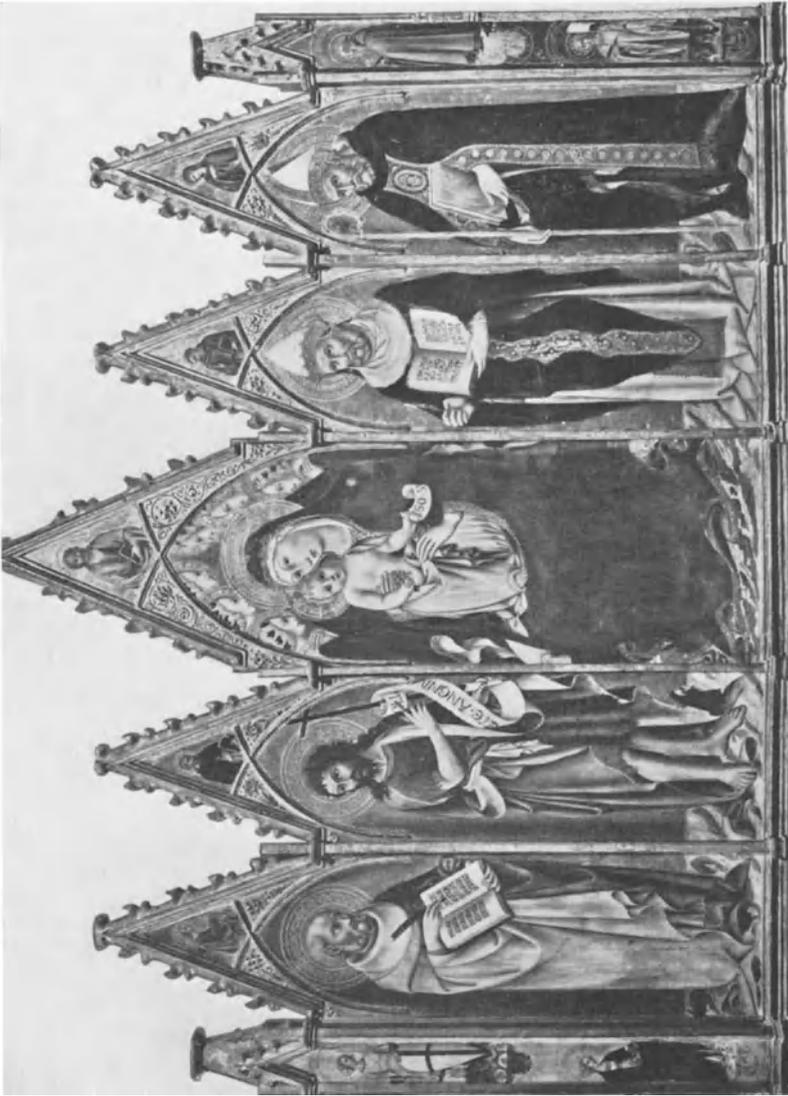


Fig. 307. Sano di Pietro, polyptych. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

holy orator which, more than any other work, seems to have been portrayed after the living model and moreover by a painter who must have had a great sympathy for and a profound understanding of his subject, because, if we compare this portrait



Fig. 308. Detail of fig. 307.

Photo Alinari.

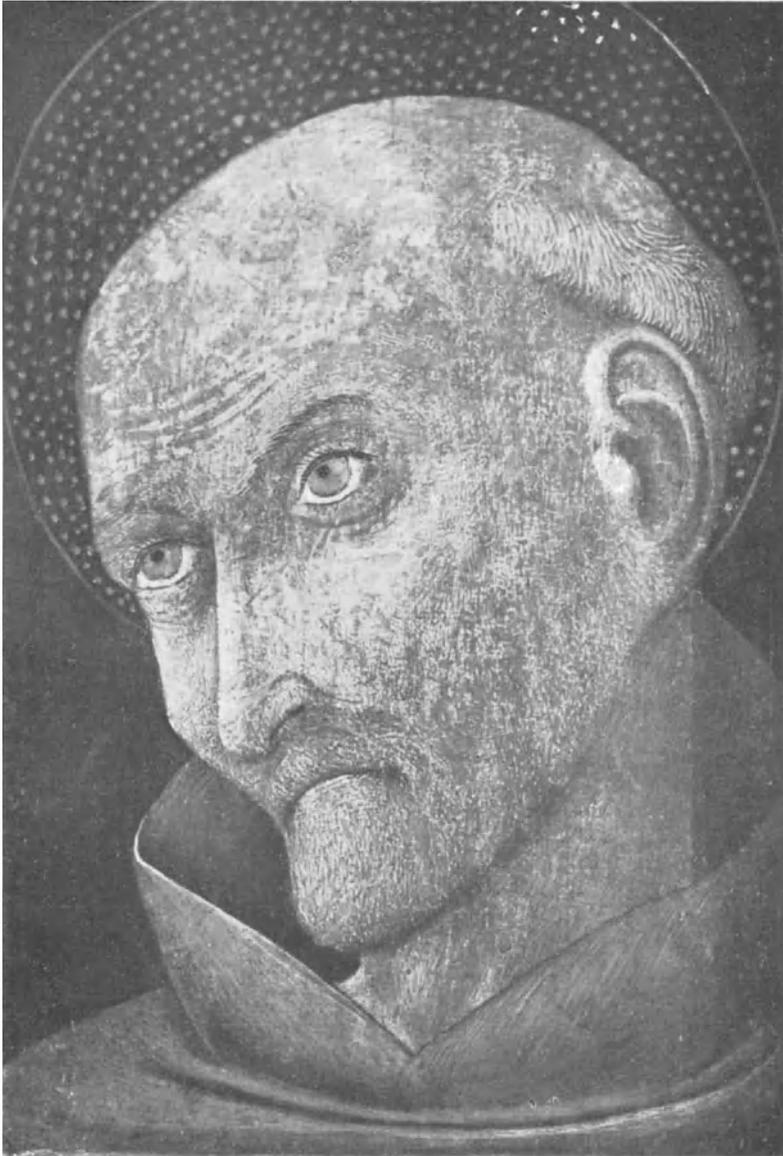


Fig. 309. Sano di Pietro, St. Bernardine. Misciatelli Collection, Rome.

Photo Lombardi.

with the wax mask, taken of the saint's head at the moment of his death, the likeness is undeniable (¹). The painting in the Misciatelli collection is one which does not as yet belong to the series of portraits of the saint which form a veritable iconographical type in which already the picture of 1439 by Pietro di Giovanni, in the Osservanza church, should be included.

The fresco of St. Bernardine in the hall of the Biccherna in the Palazzo Pubblico, to which a document of 1450 refers, still exists; the inscription below the figure speaks of the saint's canonization and gives the date 1450 (fig. 310). The saint is shown holding with both hands a panel on which his device is imprinted; it comprises his well-known monogram



Fig. 310. Sano di Pietro, St. Bernardine of Siena, 1450. Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

(¹) The cast is preserved in the museum of Aquila v. P. Misciatelli, *Rassegna d'arte senese*, 1925, p. 40.



Fig. 311. Sano di Pietro. St. Bernardino, 1450.
Gallery, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

YHS, the first stroke of the *H* transformed into a cross and the whole encircled in a halo of flames. He is depicted standing on the terrestrial globe.

The other representation of the saint that Sano made this year, is preserved in the gallery of Siena (No. 253) (fig. 311); below, an inscription with the date informs us that the portrait was ordered by a certain Brother Leonard. Here too the holy preacher stands on the globe but below two angels kneeling at his feet, hold the hem of his robe; he balances his monogram on the thumb of one hand while in the other hand he holds an open book. This picture originates from Montalcino.

The picture most closely resembling the portrait in the Misciatelli collect-

ion, is that in the Osservanza church of Montalcino, which, with the exception of the position of the hands which, as in the fresco of 1450 bear the tablet with the holy monogram, corresponds with the previous picture. The open book and the monogram over the right hand, however, are found in a panel in the Chapter Room of the cathedral of Siena (fig. 312); here the saint stands on a piece of material which is borne by two angels.

The picture of St. Bernardine in the museum of Viterbo is cut through at the level of the knees (fig. 313); again he is depicted with an open book and his monogram towards which the index finger of his right hand seems to point; below we see two half-length figures of angels and the upper part of the nimbi of two other figures which have disappeared.

Yet another portrait of the saint by Sano, one not very widely known, is preserved in the church of S. Francesco at Civita Castellana. It corres-



Fig. 312. Sano die Pietro, St. Bernardine. Chapter-room, Cathedral, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

ponds in every detail with the effigy of 1450 in the gallery of Siena but dates, I should say, from a slightly later period, as does also the panel in the museum of Tivoli (1), in which, however, there is a certain alteration in the face of the saint and the monogram is no longer surrounded by flames. It is no doubt a much later work than the other examples of this group, it certainly bears a closer resemblance to the portrait of the saint executed in 1460 in the Hall of the Mappemonde of the Palazzo Pubblico and to a half-length figure of the saint holding the tablet with the seal which adorns a fragmentary oval panel in the collection of Mr. Perkins (2). In this collection there is still another picture of the same subject in which the holy preacher is supported by two angels.

According to Romagnoli, a portrait of the saint, originating from the Osservanza church and now in the gallery of Siena (No. 238), was executed in 1463; I think this is quite possible because the figure, holding as usual the monogram, has lost much of the charm and individuality of the earlier works.

Apart from these portraits of the saint alone or occasionally accompanied by two angels, Sano has left us still a large number of representations of St. Bernardine of Siena as one of the two saints escorting the Virgin in half-figure in the numerous panels he executed of this subject. If we can admit that the nimbus was given to the famous preacher in the effigies made of him before his canonization which occurred in 1450, then I can very well believe that some of these pictures were executed before this date.

I think it was probably at once after the saint's death that the great demand for pictures of this type — the half-length figure of the Virgin between St. Bernardine and another saint and sometimes two angel's heads above — started; this composition has been repeated by all the Sienese painters of the 15th century, Neroccio Landi and Matteo di Giovanni in particular, with a regularity which demonstrates an utter lack of imagination.

The picture after this model by Sano in which Sassetta's influence is most marked, is, I think, that in the museum of

(1) *A. Rossi, L'Arte*, 1904, p. 22. *Sapori, Rassegna d'Arte*, 1916, p. 100.

(2) *Reprod. Gaillard, op. cit.*, pl. 2.



Fig. 313. Sano di Pietro, St. Bernardine. Museum, Viterbo.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

Budapest (No. 24) ⁽¹⁾ in which the face of the Virgin is very typical of this domination; as pendant to St. Bernardine is depicted a bearded figure without a halo, perhaps because there is no available space for this accessory, while two adoring angels, their heads wreathed in garlands of flowers, are seen above. Another work in which the same influence is manifest and for that reason one of the earlier examples of this group, is a tabernacle showing the Madonna between SS. Bernardine and Jerome ⁽²⁾ and four angels, a half-length figure of the Saviour above and the Crucifixion below in the Biringucci Foundation in Siena ⁽³⁾. Closely resembling this work is another tabernacle in the gallery of Siena (No. 228) in which the group on the central panel is identical; here, however, there is no predella and the lunette is adorned with a figure of the dead Christ half arisen from His tomb against a landscape background. The central figures are repeated again in a picture in the Misciatelli collection, Rome ⁽³⁾.

The most beautiful picture of this group is certainly the panel in the gallery of Brussels in which the angels' heads are not wreathed with flowers but are adorned with some leaves (fig. 314). Almost equally fine are the Madonna formerly in the collection of the late Count Stroganoff, Rome ⁽⁴⁾ and that in the Kingsley Porter collection, Cambridge, U. S. A. ⁽⁵⁾, in which there are six angels' heads decorated in the same manner as in the panel of Brussels.

A similar picture of pleasing appearance in which again SS. Bernardine and Jerome escort the Virgin and the four angels with leaves in their hair appear above, was offered for sale in New York not long ago ⁽⁶⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *G. von Terrey*, Die Gemälde Galerie des Museums für Bildende Kunst in Budapest, Berlin, 1910, p. 54.

⁽²⁾ *P. Rossi*, Rassegna d'arte senese, 1915, p. 52. The representation of the Crucifixion is very different; the two thieves are no longer attached to the crosses but lie stretched on the ground underneath.

⁽³⁾ *P. Misciatelli*, Una tavola sconosciuta di Sano di Pietro, Rassegna d'arte senese, 1907, p. 35.

⁽⁴⁾ *A. Muñoz*, Pièces de choix de la collection du comte Grégoire Stroganoff, II, Rome, 1911, pl. XII.

⁽⁵⁾ *Gaillard*, op. cit., pl. 38.

⁽⁶⁾ *Gaillard* op. cit., frontispiece v. "L' Antiquario", June 1913, p. 80.



Fig. 314. Sano di Pietro, Madonna, saints and angels. Museum, Brussels.

At the exhibition of Sienese art there was a panel in which a female saint — probably St. Apollonia — formed a pendant to St. Bernardine and in which the features of the Virgin still called to mind Sassetta's art; again four angels were depicted above ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ I am ignorant the name of the proprietor of this picture which has been photographed by Brogi (No. 14916).

SS. Bernardine and Jerome together with SS. Francis and Augustine are found adorning the lateral panels of a Coronation of the Virgin in the gallery of Siena (No. 269) (fig. 315); the two Fathers of the Church, each holding a book, are depicted kneeling and the holy monks upright. The arrangement of the principal figures is identical to that of the fresco of 1445 but the types are much less reminiscent of Sassetta's art; this is very evident if we compare the eight angels behind the throne and the two kneeling musicians in the foreground with those in the mural decoration and doubtless this work was executed a few years later. Small figures of two prophets and of the Virgin and angel of the Annunciation are shown above.

Another group of half-length figures of the Madonna accompanied by St. Bernardine manifests a waning of Sassetta's influence together with a broadening of the forms and a diminution in the individuality of the features of the holy preacher whose appearance gradually acquires a more conventional character.

In this category of works which, I think, should be ascribed to a period subsequent to 1450, must be included a panel in the Lanz collection, Amsterdam, in which St. Francis forms the pendant to St. Bernardine ⁽¹⁾. In a picture in the museum of Detroit it is again St. Jerome, but rather altered in appearance, whom we find opposite the orator of Siena ⁽²⁾.

A similar picture in the Conservatorio Femminile in Siena shows, besides SS. Bernardine and Jerome and the usual pair of angels, the figures of SS. Peter the Martyr and Francis (fig. 316); the presence of the other saints tends to lessen the importance of St. Bernardine, for which reason I imagine that some time has elapsed since his death and his canonization, when the fervour for the holy preacher was at its height.

Again four saints and two angels are found alongside the half-length figure of the Madonna in the Sergardi Beringucci collection, Siena, in which apart from St. Bernardine we see

⁽¹⁾ *Gaillard*, op. cit., pl. 40.

⁽²⁾ Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts, January 1925.



Fig. 315. Sano di Pietro, the Coronation of the Virgin, detail of a triptych, Gallery, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

St. John the Baptist, a holy bishop and St. Dominic. Another new feature in this work is the appearance of Christ in the upper part of the panel. The predella, on which the dead Christ and other figures are represented, as well as the Crucifixion against a landscape background above, is from the hand of Neroccio Landi.

There are, besides, Madonnas of this type and executed after the same style, in which St. Bernardine is not included among the accompanying saints. As such might be cited a panel from the Sterbini collection, Rome, now in the Blumenthal collection, New York ⁽¹⁾, in which two female saints, one crowned and the other holding a spray of flowers — St. Dorothy(?) — are depicted to either side of the Virgin who is escorted by four angels, and a Madonna between SS. Apollonia(?), Peter the Martyr, John the Baptist, Antony of Padua(?), Francis and Jerome in the Toscanelli collection, Pisa ⁽²⁾.

At this period Sano executed also small panels of the Madonna alone, such for instance as the panel in the oratory of S. Bernardino in Siena (fig. 317) and that in the Lanckoronski collection, Vienna; some years ago I saw a charming example of this type in a Roman collection, in which little more than the heads of the Virgin and Child were visible. There is a fine picture in the gallery of Siena (No. 224) in which the Virgin is depicted enthroned clasping the Child to her breast; six angels look over the back of the throne while two others in the foreground play on musical instruments, one the violin, the other the tambour. This panel, which originates from the church of S. Francesco at Colle di Val d'Elsa, shows a pleasing Gothic line.

St. Bernardine is given a place of minor importance in two pictures in the gallery of Siena in which the enthroned Virgin is represented in the midst of saints. In the first of these paintings (No. 271) (fig. 318) the number of the saints is limited to nine, SS. Jerome, John the Baptist and Bernardine kneeling; and standing behind them SS. Peter, Andrew and Agnes to

⁽¹⁾ *A. Venturi*, *La Galleria Sterbini in Roma*, Rome, 1906, p. 72.

⁽²⁾ *Album of the Toscanelli collection*, pl. XXIX.



Fig. 316. Sano di Pietro, Madonna. Conservatorio Femminile, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

the left and SS. Catherine of Alexandria, Lawrence and a holy bishop to the right. Above we see an imposing representation of the Crucifixion with the fainting Virgin among her



Fig. 317. Sano di Pietro, Madonna. Oratory of S. Bernardino, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

faithful companions and St. Francis kneeling in adoration at the foot of the Cross and to the sides the figures of the Annunciation.

A still more elaborate composition of the Crucifixion, again with St. Francis kneeling below, decorates the upper part of the other panel (273) (fig. 319); it is separated from the lateral



Fig. 318. Sano di Pietro, Madonna and saints. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

scenes of Christ praying on the Mount of Olives and the *Noli me tangere*, by borders of plants. Twenty-four saints surround the Virgin who is seated on a Gothic throne of simple form, placed on a floor tiled in marble. I shall not enumerate the different saints; St. Bernardine is given a place of little importance in the third row to the right where it is not easy at first to recognize him. The more modern appearance of the predella may be due to restoration.

Della Valle in his "Lettere Senese" (II, p. 230) informs us that the painting, portraying the vision of Calixtus III, formerly in the Palazzo Pubblico, now in the gallery of Siena (No. 241) showed the date 1456⁽¹⁾, a date which has since been effaced. Calixtus was pope from 1455 until 1458 and in the manuscript of Romagnoli's biography of Sienese artists which is preserved in the library of Siena, there is mention of a famine which occurred in 1455 and which the pontiff helped to overcome⁽²⁾.

Calixtus III is depicted seated on a throne which curiously is placed at an angle to the rest of the scene. The figure of the pope is enormous compared with the town of Siena of which we see the towers and the fortifications. Some donkeys carrying sacks of corn are led towards the gate of the city, through which one of them is seen disappearing; this scene naturally bears reference to the beneficial acts of the pontiff during the distress of 1455. The Virgin appears above; she is not quite so large as the pope and in type recalls the Madonnas of Domenico di Bartolo. One would say that the features of Calixtus III are very lifelike but the portrait is that of a man of no refinement. Below we read: "*Calistus III Sanus Petri de Senis pinxit*".

A binding of a register of the town accounts beginning in January 1456 is no doubt from the hand of Sano. It is a work without either importance or character. It represents two standing figures of saints separated by a dove (?) in a circular garland; an open register and an inkstand with a pen are depicted below⁽³⁾.

(¹) *Trübner*, op. cit., p. 52.

(²) *Gaillard*, op. cit., pp. 63 and 64

(³) *Lisini*, op. cit., pl. XXXVI.



Fig. 319. Sano di Pietro, Madonna and saints. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

With the altar-piece of 1458 sets in the second manner of Sano di Pietro. This polyptych is preserved in the church of S. Giorgio at Montemerano (fig. 320) ⁽¹⁾. In the centre we see the Virgin sitting on a throne, the back of which is draped with a decorative curtain, and to the sides SS. Peter, George,

⁽¹⁾ C. A. Nicolosi, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1907, p. 59. *The Same*, *La montagna maremmana*, p. 32. F. B. P., *Rassegna d'arte senese*, 1907, p. 21.

Lawrence and Antony of Padua. The upper part of the picture is adorned with small half-length figures of St. Francis, his hands outstretched to receive the stigmata, the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation, SS. Antony of Padua and Bernardine of Siena who, here, only eight years after his canonization, is given a place of little importance. The pinnacles show the half-length figures of SS. Blaise, Michael, Gregory the Great (?) and Paul while the nine medallions of the predella contain the busts of the dead Saviour, the Virgin, St. John and six other saints. The signature at the foot of the panel runs: "*Sanus Petri sen MCCCCLVIII*".

It is at this stage that we find Sano di Pietro working in his most characteristic manner; the typical features of this period are the large round heads, the somewhat heavy forms, the enormous eyes without much expression, the sharp features rather hard of outline producing somewhat lifeless faces from which emanates a sentimentality in rather poor imitation of the gentle and spiritual melancholy of the great Sieneese masters of the first half of the 15th century.

There are two works in which these features are as yet so faintly marked, that I imagine they must have been executed several years prior to 1458. One of them is the important altarpiece, originating in all likelihood from the Osservanza church. at least the pinnacles were found there at one time, but now in the gallery of Siena (No. 226). The Virgin seated on a throne of simple form is depicted in the midst of six angels; two bearded members of a confraternity kneel at her feet. Two miniature figures of nuns are represented in adoration on the panels to the immediate right and left of the Madonna which show SS. Benedict and John the Baptist; on the other lateral panels we see two young deacons, no doubt SS. Lawrence and Stephen, but their emblems are missing. The gables are adorned with the Saviour in the midst of cherubim, the Annunciation, SS. Peter and Paul all in half-figure while in the predella are some very repainted scenes from the Passion, including the Last Supper, the Betrayal, Christ before Pilate, the Flagellation and the Calvary; in the centre, just over the little recess in which the Holy Sacrament is kept, the dead Saviour, half arisen from His tomb, is adored by angels. Seven small figures of saints

decorate each of the pilasters on one of which we see SS. Jerome and Bernardine who, in this picture, occupies a very modest place.

The other painting which I should say dates also from some time before 1458 is the rather retouched work in the church of the Osservanza. If the previous panel really originates from this church, there is every reason to believe that one was executed immediately after the other. Here again we see the Virgin on a throne, the back of which is decorated with an ornate piece of material, in the midst of four angels. On the



Fig. 320. Sano di Pietro, part of a polyptych, 1458.
S. Giorgio, Montemerano.

Photo Lombardi.

original panel little more than the heads of the angels was visible but the picture was enlarged and the bodies and wings, as well as the two angels flying above, were added. On the same occasion pieces were added to the Virgin's robe which, besides, is entirely repainted. We owe this outrageous alteration to the special veneration in which this picture, which is called the "Madonna delle Grazie", has always been held⁽¹⁾.

Apparently executed in the same manner as the polyptych of 1458 and showing very similar morphological types is another panel in the Osservanza church, near Siena, showing in the centre the Virgin on a throne, the back of which is covered with a piece of ornamental material, and on the lateral panels St. Jerome and St. Bernardine carrying with both hands the tablet with his monogram; the Annunciation is represented in two medallions above. Closely approaching this work is an altar-piece in the church of Sta. Cristina at Bolsena⁽²⁾. To the enthroned Madonna on the central panel a figure of St. Dominic in adoration has been added in the 17th century; to the sides we see SS. George, Peter, Paul and Christine and above the Annunciation and a bust of the Saviour. The half-length figures of the dead Christ, the Virgin and St. John adorn the centre of the predella while the lateral panels illustrate four events from the life of St. George, but as has already been observed the decoration of the predella does not seem to be from the hand of Sano himself⁽³⁾.

(1) *Trübner*, op. cit., p. 64. is of opinion that this picture is but a free copy by the master of the Madonna and Child on the central panel or the altar-piece in the cathedral of Pienza which he believes to have been executed towards 1463, so that he places the Madonna in the Osservanza church somewhere about 1465. I do not at all agree with this assertion. If on account of the similarity of attitude we are forced to admit that one of these works has served as model to the other, it seems to me practically certain that the "Madonna delle Grazie" is the earlier production; moreover there is a considerable difference in manner between the two paintings.

(2) *J. Hermanin*, Un trittico di Sano di Pietro a Bolsena, *Rassegna d'arte senese*, 1906, p. 47. Reprod. *Jacobsen*, op. cit., pls. XI and XII.

(3) *Hermanin*, loc. cit., associates this work with Neroccio Landi who, born in 1450. could never have helped in the execution of this picture which dates from about 1458.

Very typical of this manner is a Madonna between SS. James and a young saint holding a book, which, when still the property of Signor Santini, was shown at the exhibition of Siense



Fig. 321. Sano di Pietro, Madonna and saints. Museum, Brooklyn, U.S.A.

Photo Brogi.

art; it has since passed into the collection of pictures in the museum of Brooklyn, U. S. A. (fig. 321).

A detail, characteristic of this group of works, is the shape of the back of the throne which curves downward from either side towards the centre and is covered with a piece of ornamented material; an attempt at this form of back is visible

already in the large polyptych in the gallery of Siena (No. 231), which, however, I have ascribed to an earlier date.

If the miniatures in the antiphonaries from the Duomo of Pienza, now in the museum, were executed as soon as Pope Pius II ordered them, they, too, must date from about 1460, although, had it not been for this documentary evidence, I think I would have ascribed them to a slightly later period (fig. 322). However, the miniatures by Sano himself are very few in number in these liturgical books; the great majority are by fairly mediocre artists, among whom should be included Pellegrino di Mariano.

The miniatures in the antiphonaries U. and V. of the collection in the cathedral of Chiusi, which originates from the monastery of Montoliveto, are without any doubt from the hand of Sano di Pietro. I do not know for what reason they have been dated from 1459—1463. They are more numerous and of a better quality than those in Pienza. Besides those representing saints and the different occupations of monks, the most remarkable are those depicting the Baptism, a half-length figure of the Virgin, the Prayer on the Mount of Olives, King David etc.

The works that Sano executed after 1460 are but an obvious affirmation of his previous manner, the characteristics of which appear from now onward with a disconcerting regularity and gradually increasing emphasis.

Herr Trübner points out with reason that the altar-piece Sano executed for the monastery of S. Gerolamo, now in the gallery of Siena (No. 233), must be the picture which, according to the documents, was ordered in 1457 and was not fully paid until ten years later (¹). A host of angels is depicted behind the Madonna at whose feet kneel SS. Jerome and Francis. On the lateral panels we find SS. Cosmo and Damian and in the pinnacles the half-length figures of the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation. Six little saints adorn the pilasters while the story of SS. Cosmo and Damian is illustrated in eight scenes in the predella which shows as well the half-length figures of SS. Catherine of Siena and Bernardine. It

(¹) *Trübner*, op. cit., p. 65.



Fig. 322. Sano di Pietro, the Baptism of Our Lord, miniature.
Museum, Pienza.

Photo Lombardi.

is quite a pleasing work in which the figures are more animated than usual; the Infant Christ in particular is full of life.

Dating from 1462 we have two miniatures in a gradual in the cathedral of Siena which tell us very little regarding

the evolution of Sano's art. Then, as Herr Trübner remarks, it was very probably towards 1463 that the Madonna and saints in the cathedral of Pienza was executed, because it was about this year that the other painters were working at their altar-pieces which the pope had charged them to paint for the cathedral. Payments for the work were made first in 1462⁽¹⁾.

In the centre we see the Virgin and Child on a throne over the back of which is hung an ornamented curtain; two angels standing behind, together with the two SS. James, St. Mary Magdalene and St. Anna (?) who are depicted to the sides, escort the central figures; above is shown Christ half arisen from His tomb between two adoring angels. Herr Trübner has already protested against M. Gaillard's affirmation that the face of the Virgin is from the hand of a helper. However, I agree with M. Gaillard that there is something unusual in the Virgin's face but this is due to restoration. The picture is signed: "*Sanus Petri Sen*".

After this manner and closely resembling the polyptych in the gallery of Siena (No. 233) is another altar-piece in the same gallery, which has been broken up (Nos. 323 and 251). The central panel which is very much damaged shows the Virgin and Child and four angels; the figures on the lateral panels are SS. Clare, Bartholomew, Nicholas and Francis and those above the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation.

A Coronation of the Virgin in the church of S. Gerolamo, Siena, in which cherubim and angels are visible behind the throne of the two principal figures at whose feet kneel St. Jerome and the donor — a monk — has been identified rightly by Herr Trübner as the little picture which Sano executed for this church and for which he received payment between 1465 and 1467⁽²⁾.

Executed after the same manner but less pleasing in appearance is the Madonna seated on a cushion on the ground

⁽¹⁾ *Trübner*, op. cit., p. 61. It has already been observed, that there is no reason to admit, as M. Gaillard does, that Sano's panel at Pienza dates from 1461.

⁽²⁾ *Trübner*, op. cit., p. 69.



Fig. 323. Sano di Pietro, Madonna and saints. Bichi Ruspoli Collection, Siena.

Photo Brogi.

with two angels supporting a curtain which forms the background in the Chiamonte Bordonaro collection, Palermo. In this category should be included several pictures of the Virgin escorted by saints and angels in a composition similar

to that already found in previous examples. The finest painting of this group is the panel belonging to the Bichi Ruspoli collection, Siena, in which the Virgin is accompanied by six saints in half-figure, among them St. Bernardine, and two angels above (fig. 323). Others are those in the Berenson collection, Settignano⁽¹⁾ and the Langton Douglas collection, London⁽²⁾, the former showing SS. Jerome and Bernardine and two angels, the latter four saints, including the holy preacher of Siena, and two angels; this is again one of the good examples of Sano's art, as are also the half-length figure of the Madonna between SS. John the Baptist, Jerome, Catherine of Alexandria and Helen from the collection of the Duke of Anhalt, now in the Bachstitz Gallery, The Hague⁽³⁾, and that belonging to H. M. the King of England, in which St. Jerome, St. Bernardine and six angels accompany the Virgin⁽⁴⁾.

With these Madonnas we might classify the panel in the church of SS. Michele e Cerbone at Montorsaiò representing only the bust of the Virgin and the half-length figure of the Child⁽⁵⁾.

From 1470, 1471, 1472, 1473 and 1474 we have dated works by Sano which demonstrate the crystallization of those formulae which already are only too familiar to us.

Eighteen miniatures in an antiphonary in the cathedral of Siena date from 1470⁽⁶⁾. As usual most of them depict figures of saints but we find here as well scenes from the Life of Christ (fig. 324) and from that of different saints including several illustrations from the history of St. John the Baptist (fig. 325). A rather curious representation is found at the foot of page 5, which is also adorned with a miniature of the Presentation in the Temple; it shows the distribution of candles for a procession.

(1) *Gaillard*, op. cit., pl. 32.

(2) *Gaillard*, op. cit., pl. 30.

(3) *Tancred Borenius*, A Madonna by Sano di Pietro, *Apollo*, V, 1927, p. 172.

(4) *L. Cust*, Notes on Pictures in the Royal Collections, London, 1911, p. 8.

(5) *Nicolosi*, Il Litorale maremmano, p. 53.

(6) *F. Saponi*, Appunti intorno a Sano di Pietro, *Rassegna d'arte*, 1915, p. 218. *D'Ancona*, La miniature italienne, p. 84, pl. 81.



Fig. 324. Sano di Pietro, the Presentation in the Temple, miniature, 1470.
Cathedral, Siena. Photo Anderson.

In the church of the “Abbadia a Isola”, near Monteriggioni, there is an important altar-piece with a long inscription, giving the name of the donors and the date 1471, at the foot of the central panel (fig. 326). The donors, two Augustine monks, kneel at the feet of the Madonna who is seated on a throne with the usual curved back.



Fig. 325. Sano di Pietro, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. miniature, 1470. Cathedral, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

In the lateral panels are depicted SS. Benedict, Cirinis, Donatus and Justina; six small figures of saints adorn the pilasters, the Annunciation and Christ in half-figure are seen above while the predella shows the half-length figure of the dead Saviour between those of the Virgin and St. John and



Fig. 326. Sano di Pietro, polyptych, 1471. Badia a Isola, near Siena.

Photo Lombardi.

four little scenes, each illustrating an incident from the legend of the saint above; the upper parts of the lateral panels are decorated with figures of cherubim.

Cherubs are found also in the pinnacles of an altar-piece in the gallery of Siena (No. 237) in which the Virgin is depicted on a throne of similar form; of the six escorting angels two hold a crown over the Madonna's head.

On the lateral panels we see SS. Francis and Bernardine

and in the medallions above the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation (fig. 327 and plate IX).

The other productions dating from 1470, 1472, 1473 and 1474 are not of much importance.



Fig. 327. Sano di Pietro, Madonna and saints. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

A decorated binding of the year 1470 shows Wisdom emanating from God⁽¹⁾. A similar work of 1472 represents the marriage of Count San Severino with Lucrezia Malavolti on whose finger he places the ring; the event takes place in the midst of a fairly large assembly in a room on the ground floor of a building

⁽¹⁾ *Lisini*, op. cit., pl. XLI.



MADONNA AND CHILD

From an altar-piece by Sano di Pietro, Gallery, Siena.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 328. Sano di Pietro, a marriage scene, book-binding, 1473.
Archives, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

surrounded by a fortified wall (fig. 328) ⁽¹⁾. The faces, although executed with little care of detail, correspond with those of the contemporary works of a larger size. From the same year dates a miniature in the "Statuto del Magistrato dello Mercanzia" ⁽²⁾ which represents a meeting of the members of this institution and below a personification of Justice, the entire painting framed in a rather heavy border. Again the technique is not very refined.

From 1473 dates the book-binding in the archives of Siena showing a personification of Good Government and two officials (fig. 329) ⁽³⁾, as well as a Coronation of the Virgin in the little gallery of Gualdo Tadino, in the province of Perugia ⁽⁴⁾, which recalls that in the gallery of Siena, only here the forms are very heavy and the heads and features enormous (fig. 330).

Lastly from the year 1474 dates another binding representing an allegory of Good Government much in the same manner as Lorenzetti depicted it a century before.

That the painter's manner changed little during the last period of his activity is proved by a polyptych of 1479, originating from the church of S. Petronilla, now in the gallery of Siena (Nos. 259 and 260) (fig. 331), the inscription on which gives the signature of the artist, the name of the nun who ordered the work and the date of execution. The donatrix is depicted kneeling in a flowery field between the two SS. John and looking towards the Virgin who in the midst of fourteen angels is wafted heavenward. The lateral panels show the figures of SS. Catherine of Alexandria, Michael, Jerome and Lucy; cherubs and a dove are seen above while in the predella are represented the Adoration of the Magi, the miracle of St. Michael on Mount Gargano, Christ and the Samaritan woman at the well, the Crucifixion and scenes from the legends of SS. Eustace, Lucy and Peter, the father of St. Petronilla, which explains the presence in this picture of scenes from the life of St. Peter, but why the legends of SS. Eustace and Lucy are illustrated here is difficult to explain. The type of the Assumption has obviously

⁽¹⁾ *Lisini*, op. cit., XLII.

⁽²⁾ *D'Ancona*, *L'Arte*, 1904, p. 385.

⁽³⁾ *Lisini*, op. cit., XLIII.

⁽⁴⁾ *A. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, 1908, p. 192.



Fig. 329. Sano die Pietro, Good Government, book-binding, 1473.
Archives, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

been borrowed from Pietro Lorenzetti's painting of this subject in the gallery of Siena.

M. Gaillard mentions still a Pietà of 1481, formerly in the collection of Count Pietro Piccolomini, Siena, which is unknown to me. If the date be correct, it proves to us that Sano worked



Fig. 330. Sano di Pietro, the Coronation of the Virgin, 1473. Gallery.
Gualdo Tadino. Photo Alinari.

right up until the year of his death. The Assumption of 1479 is sufficient evidence that still at that time Sano was in full possession of all his faculties. As usual the picture lacks inspiration but there is no trace of decadence either in the technique or the execution.

There are several paintings which, I think, Sano must have executed after the year 1470. The most important is an altarpiece in the Collegiata of S. Quirico d'Orcia; the Madonna bears a close resemblance to that of 1471 in the Badia a Isola but is

in this instance accompanied by four angels while the figures on the lateral panels are SS. John the Baptist, Quiricus, Fortunatus and John the Evangelist. Above, an important lunette, similar to that in the picture of 1471, is adorned with representations of the Ascension and the Descent into Hell; the illustrations from the life of the Virgin on the predella include her Birth, her



Fig. 331. Sano di Pietro, polyptych, 1479. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

Presentation in the Temple, her Marriage, her Assumption and her Coronation.

The Madonna is not without a certain charm but the lateral figures are clumsy and those in the predella are of rather coarse technique, as indeed are all the small pictures and miniatures of 1472, 1473 and 1474.

A Coronation of the Virgin, surrounded by eighteen saints, among them St. Bernardine, and fourteen angels, in the Jarves collection, Yale University, Newhaven, U. S. A., ⁽¹⁾ should be classified among the very late works by this master (fig. 332).

⁽¹⁾ *Sirén*, Descriptive Catalogue, No. 60.

A Presentation in the Temple, formerly in the cathedral of Massa Maritima, corresponds in almost every detail with the miniature of the same subject that Sano executed in 1470.

Besides, both repeat the old composition of the Lorenzetti, known to us by Ambrogio's picture of 1342 in the Uffizi. In the interior of a Gothic church, depicted with an elaborate display of details, the high priest is seen behind the altar; from either side approaches a group of four people, arranged with almost perfect symmetry (fig. 333). A few years ago this picture was stolen from the cathedral; it was cut into small pieces which were offered separately for sale.

In the "Rifugio", a charitable institute in Siena, we find in the refectory a painting of the Crucifixion with the Virgin, St. John and St. Mary Magdalene kneeling at the foot of the Cross, below which also a holy bishop and a saintly nun kneel in adoration; this picture has been restored by an artist who worked under the influence of Piero della Francesca.

A predella, also in the Jarves collection, Newhaven, seems to be rather a pleasing production of Sano's last manner⁽¹⁾; in the centre we see the Adoration of the Magi taking place before a grotto in a hill-side; this forms one picture with the Journey of the Wise Men towards Bethlehem, which is depicted to one side and their return which we find to the other side. To the extreme right and left of this panel three members of a religious confraternity kneel in adoration.

Some insignificant works of this last stage are a panel of the Message to the Shepherds in the gallery of Siena (No. 262) in which only the landscape, and that is partially restored, is of any importance⁽²⁾; the angel, an olive branch in his hand, descends towards the shepherds who are seated near an enclosure in which their flocks are herded; a predella showing the half-length figures of the dead Christ, the Virgin and St. John in medallions in the von Tucher collection, Vienna⁽³⁾; another

(1) *Sirén*, op. cit., No. 61.

(2) *Dami*, *Dedalo*, IV, 2, 1923-1924, p. 287.

(3) No. 59 of the von Tucher sale which took place in Berlin in December 1925; it was formerly in the Nevin collection, Rome, and was No. 137 of the catalogue of this collection which was sold in Rome in April 1907. It is reproduced in the catalogue.



Fig. 332. Sano di Pietro, the Coronation of the Virgin. Yale University, Newhaven, U.S.A.

Photo Juley.

predella panel of the entombment of St. Martha in the Arthur Lehman collection, New York ⁽¹⁾ and a rather pleasing As-

⁽¹⁾ *E. Gaillard*, *The Burial of St. Martha by Sano di Pietro*, Burlington Magazine, XL, 1922, p. 237.

sumption of the Virgin in the Loeser collection, Florence ⁽¹⁾ which in part recalls the central panel of the altar-piece of 1479, but here only the half-length figure of St. Thomas receiving the holy girdle is depicted in the landscape below.

As for the miniatures executed during this last period of Sano's activity, those illustrating a calendar of a Franciscan breviary in the Town Library of Siena ⁽²⁾ correspond in style with those of 1473 in the "Statuto della Mercanzia"; the paintings in question, however, are much less fine and are such very mediocre examples of miniature art that I am tempted to ask if they are not perhaps productions of Sano's work-shop.

We have treated only a small part of Sano di Pietro's works. I know of about two hundred and seventy to two hundred and eighty pictures from his own hand without counting the productions of his workshop or those by pupils and I am certain there are still others which as yet have not come to my knowledge. Sano's career was long and very fruitful; notwithstanding the considerable number of large pictures he made, he must have worked all the same very rapidly but no doubt left much of the purely mechanical part of the painting to his assistants. I imagine that in many cases he himself executed only the faces and traced or sketched the outlines of the rest of the picture which was filled in by his helpers. Sano used excellent material for which reason the majority of his pictures are in a perfect state of preservation; the richness and depth of his shades are for the greater part also due to the quality of the ingredients. These are the attributes which give to Sano's works the pleasing decorative effects and the fascination of productions of the Trecento.

The few paintings that have remained at their original place in the churches do not allow us to describe Sano as a religious and mystic artist, which he certainly was not, but classify him sooner as a decorator because the decorative effect of one of his altar-pieces in a beautiful contemporary church cannot be denied.

⁽¹⁾ *Gaillard*, Sano di Pietro, pl. 21.

⁽²⁾ *Gaillard*, *op. cit.*, pls. 16, 17, 18 and 19.

Unfortunately an ill turn was done to Sano when fifty-two of his works, and some of them enormous altar-pieces, were united in the gallery of Siena, for it is on looking at this



Fig. 333. Sano di Pietro, the Presentation in the Temple. Formerly in the Cathedral, Massa Maritima. Photo Brogi.

super-abundance of his pictures that we realize to its full the monotony and the lack of inspiration and depth of feeling, and are overcome by an insuperable ennui before we have examined one half of them. Further, if we think that there are few galleries and private collections of Italian art in which Sano is not represented and that in each case there is a perfect

unanimity of style, then instead of proclaiming him with Milanese the "Angelico of Siena", we are forced to recognize the utter boredom of his art.

That Sano di Pietro was surnamed "the Angelico of Siena" is one of the greatest injustices that could have been done to the Blessed Giovanni da Fiesole and besides is proof that in the appreciation of artistic objects Milanese, as still also so many critics of the present day, was hindered, by the sentimentality of the works, from recognizing the true merits of the great Florentine master as a technical innovator, as well as his quality as a mystic painter. The fictitious "Angelico" possessed neither of these accomplishments.

Sano was an artist who sought his inspiration in the past glory of the Sienese school. It cannot be denied that all the Sienese painters of the beginning of the 15th century did the same, at least we find in their art certain features, chiefly iconographical, which they borrowed from the examples then a hundred years old. Besides in Florence, we discover very much the same thing.

But painters like Giovanni di Paolo and Sassetta were not bound to the artistic limits of a by-gone generation; they added many important features of their own individuality and made considerable technical progress.

Sano did not get so far. He modelled his art on that of Simone Martini and the Lorenzetti brothers without attempting the slightest change. The success which he enjoyed is proof enough that even in the second half of the 15th century the Sienese still venerated the art of the great masters long since dead. Sano imitated the primitive appearance of their works, the types of their Madonnas and saints, their iconography, their composition, their forms and their colours. He even attempted to reproduce a similar expression of feeling. In some instances his attempts succeeded but in many they failed. Beside those rare stylists of line and sentiment that Simone Martini and the Lorenzetti undoubtedly were, and beside their profoundly religious and mystic paintings, Sano becomes very common-place and his forms seem heavy and ungraceful and his enormous eyes very expressionless.

It is in comparing his productions with the illustrious exam-

ples he tried to follow that his absolute lack of inspiration and spiritual feeling becomes evident. He obviously produced work after work without interest and without effort, always following the old models, which resulted in the appalling monotony and absence of evolution in his art; yet in spite of the fact that Herr Trübner, in his excellent book, demonstrates that a few changes actually did take place during the master's long career ⁽¹⁾, Sano remains the artist who, once his style was established, changed least his manner of painting.

The amateurs and admirers of Sano's art cannot explain away the unpardonable traditionalism of the artist; the fact that it can be classified as early Sienese painting and that it vaguely resembles the best productions of the Sienese school seems sufficient to arouse an enthusiasm beyond criticism. Yet these quasi-imitations of works of the first half of the 14th century, at about a hundred and fifty years later, have as much real merit as a present day mediocre repetition of a Gainsborough or a Fragonard.

I have never been able to understand the zealous appreciation of this imitative art with its overwhelming monotony in which the figures repeated time and again seem no longer copied, but printed, from one another

To Sano we owe one innovation which had a considerable success in Siena; it is the type of picture showing the half-length figure of the Madonna accompanied by rather large half-figures of saints and angels for whom there is really not sufficient place on the panel, with the result that the composition is overcharged, unharmonious and unbalanced, in other words the least charming type of Madonna that an artist ever invented ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ I do not always agree, however, with his chronological classification of Sano's works.

⁽²⁾ I herewith give the list of Sano's works that up to the present have come to my knowledge. A good many of them have already been enumerated by M. Gaillard. As several of the works cited by him are unknown to me, it is just possible that I mention them twice, once according to M. Gaillard's list and once as forming part of other collections where I saw them and to which they formerly belonged. **Altenburg**, Lindenau Mus., No. 73, Madonna, SS. Jerome, Bernardine and four angels; No. 75 Madonna and Child. **Acquapendente**, S. Francesco, sacristy, St. Bernardine. **Assisi**, Sta. Maria degli Angeli, Museum, small half-length figure

of the Madonna. **Barcelona**, Cathedral, half-length figure of the Virgin between two saints — one of them St. Bernardine — and six angels, attributed to the Catalan school and according to an old tradition presented to the cathedral in 1402 by King Martin (*S. Sanpere y Miguel*, Los Cuatrocentistas catalanes, I, Barcelona, 1906, p. 39). **Bologna**, SS. Vitale e Agricola, chapel to the left, triptych, Madonna with addition by Francia (*Rassegna d'Arte*, 1907, p. 87); Museo Civico, antiphony with three miniatures. **Bordeaux**, Museum, No. 76, Archangel Gabriel. **Boston**, Fine Arts Museum, No. 07315, triptych, Madonna, with SS. Catherine and Jerome (*Museum Bulletin*, 1908, VI, from the Nevin coll., Rome, No. 39 of catalogue); No. 97224, Madonna and two angels; No. 0778, Madonna and Child. **Brussels**, van Gelder coll., small Madonna besides the picture described in the text. **Budapest**, Gallery, No. 23, Salome. **Buonconvento**, SS. Pietro e Paolo, sacristy, triptych, Madonna with SS. Catherine and Bernardine; a Coronation of the Virgin(?), so entirely repainted that one cannot be certain of the attribution; Resta, small Madonna with a bearded saint and two angels. **Cambridge**, Fitzwilliam Museum, two miniatures, the Saviour seated in Judgment and God the Father enthroned His feet on a warrior, personifying Hate. **Capestrano**, S. Francesco, St. Bernardine. **Cologne**, Schnützen Museum, the Resurrection (*Schubring*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1912, p. 106, ascribes it to Vecchietta). **Detroit**, Museum, Coronation of the Virgin with saints; Madonna between SS. Jerome and Bernardine with two angels above, a fine example of Sano's rather late manner. **Dresden**, Gallery, No. 24, Assumption, saints and angels adorning a reliquary; No. 25, crucifix; No. 26, idem. **Edinburgh**, National Gallery of Scotland, Coronation of the Virgin, a cherub's head above the throne. **Englewood**, Platt coll., Madonna and two angels. **Esztergom**, Episcopal Gallery, half-length figure of the Virgin between SS. Jerome and Bernardine, circa 1458. **Florence**, Acton coll., Madonna, SS. Peter, Paul and four angels; Madonna and four angels; Madonna and two angels; Madonna; Bardini coll., Madonna and angels (*Perkins*, *Rassegna d'arte senese*, 1908, p. 6); Cannon coll., small Madonna; Harvey coll., Madonna, SS. Jerome, Bernardine, angels and saints; Loeser coll., miniature, pasted on to a small ivory box; for sale, 1925, triptych, the head of the Madonna in the centre and SS. Jerome and John the Baptist against a landscape background in the wings; small half-length figure of the Madonna; for sale, 1926, half-length figure of the Madonna between SS. Francis, Bernardine and two female saints. **Frontignano**, house of priest at Bagnaia, Madonna, SS. Apollonia, Bernardine and angels. **Göttingen**, University Museum, No. 202, small Madonna; No. 203, two wings of a triptych, showing the two SS. John, St. Peter, St. Paul and the Annunciation. **Grosseto**, cathedral, SS. Jerome and Antony Abbot. **Isola Maggiore** (Lake Trasimeno, Umbria), Madonna and angels. **London**, Lady Burn Jones coll., Crucifixion; ex-Charles Butler coll., Marriage of the Virgin; Charles L. Eastlake coll., Madonna with SS. John the Baptist, Peter, Jerome, Francis and Antony of Padua; Langton Douglas coll., St. Bernardine; Madonna seated adoring the Child in the midst of angels; Madonna

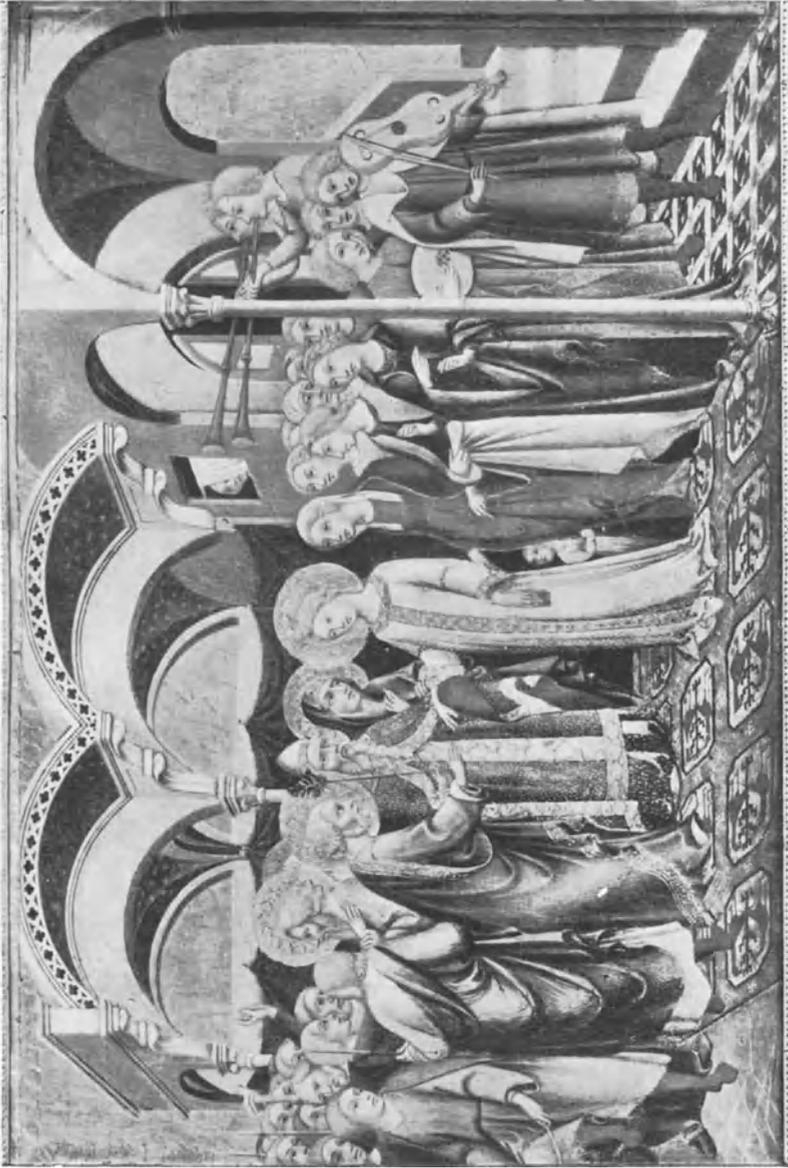


Fig. 334. Sano di Pietro, the Marriage of the Virgin, Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

with St. John the Baptist, a female saint and two angels; ex-Pierpont Morgan coll., drawing of a female saint (doubtful), from the Fairfax Murray coll. (v. Selection from the Collection of Drawings by the old Masters, formed by C. Fairfax Murray, London, 1905). **Lucignano**, formerly belonging to the Riccomanucci family, St. Bernardine. **Milan**, Cagnola coll., Madonna; Trivulzio coll., Nativity of the Virgin. **Montalcino**, the property of Signor Giovanni Cresti, Madonna, SS. John and Bernardine; mention of a miniature in S. Agostino, which I have not been able to find. **Montefollonico**, Le Regge, Madonna and saints. **Munich**, von Nemes coll., miniature, the martyrdom of St. Agatha; for sale, 1924, cassone panel showing an allegorical scene; for sale, 1925, Madonna and two angels. **Nantes**, Museum, No. 407, St. Francis receiving the stigmata. **New York**, Metropolitan Museum (No. 51-1) Madonna; drawing of a female saint (doubtful; Museum Bulletin, VIII. I, January 1913); Ellis coll., Pietà; Ph. Lehman coll., Madonna; Madonna with SS. Jerome and Francis; miniature of the Adoration of the Magi; M. W. Newton coll., Madonna and saints; F. C. Smith Jun. coll., Nativity of St. John the Baptist. **Oxford**, Ashmolean Museum, No. 76, Madonna, SS. Catherine, Dominic and two angels; Christ Church, No. 72, Madonna with SS. Jerome, Bernardine and two angels. **Palermo**, Museum, Madonna. **Paris**, P. Bourget coll., Madonna; G. Chalandon coll., Madonna and saints; d'Hendecourt coll., Madonna with SS. Jerome, Bernardine and two angels; Coronation of the Virgin. **Philadelphia**, Johnson coll., No. 106, Madonna and Child. **Rome**, Vatican Gallery, No. 160, Madonna appearing to St. Dominic; Nos. 161, 162, 163, miracles of St. Peter the Martyr; Nos. 164 and 165, two scenes from the life of St. George, all these are predella panels executed in a late manner and of no great importance; No. 166, Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple; No. 167, the Marriage of the Virgin (fig. 334); No. 172, the Nativity; No. 184, the Flight into Egypt, all rather fine predella panels but late examples of Sano's art; no number, St. Benedict; Vatican Library, Lat. 1742, miniature showing a person reading; Galleria Nazionale, No. 11473, Crucifixion; ex-Bondi coll., Madonna and Child, little more than a head; ex-Ferroni coll., Madonna between two angels and the donatrix, with God the Father above and SS. Catherine of Siena and Jerome to the sides (*Perkins*, *Rassegna d'arte senese*, 1908, p. 7); ex-Nevin coll., Crucifixion, No. 413 of sale catalogue; Spiridon coll., small Madonna; predella panel representing the miracle of a saint(?); for sale 1925, Madonna, SS. Jerome and Bernardine; for sale 1926, centre of a triptych, Madonna and six saints. **San Francisco**, R. Loeser coll., St. Catherine. **Siena**, S. Domenico, crucifix; Osservanza, Pietà and saints, predella of a polyptych by Taddeo di Bartolo; S. Pietro alle Scale, Madonna; in sacristy, SS. Gabriel and Lucy; S. Spirito, crucifix; Confraternita di Sta. Trinita, Madonna, saints and angels; Ospedale della Scala, sacristy of the Disciplinati chapel, lunette, Pietà against a landscape background; Sala degli Esecutori di Pie Disposizione, No. 20, Madonna; no number, Madonna, four saints and angels; Asilo della Madonna di Campansi, restored fresco of the Annunciation; Porta Ovale, Madonna between

SS. Bernardine and Ansanus, fresco begun by Taddeo di Bartolo; Porta Romana, Coronation of the Virgin begun by Sassetta; Gallery, No. 225, SS. Monica and John the Baptist; No. 229, SS. Peter and John the Evangelist; No. 230, predella, Christ, the Virgin and five saints; No. 234, St. Lawrence; No. 235, St. Ansanus; No. 236, Madonna; No. 239, SS. Jerome, Francis and Louis (a late work); No. 240, SS. Francis and Bartholomew; No. 242, SS. Jerome and Ansanus; No. 243, St. Catherine of Alexandria; No. 244, St. Lawrence; No. 245, St. Bartholomew; No. 247, SS. Julian and Agatha; No. 248, St. Augustine; No. 249, St. Peter; No. 250, St. Paul; No. 252, Madonna; No. 254, Madonna; No. 256, St. Louis; No. 257, St. Francis; No. 258, SS. John the Baptist and Lawrence; No. 263, Madonna; No. 264, St. Catherine of Siena; No. 266, SS. Francis and Louis of Toulouse; No. 267, SS. Luke, Michael, Jerome and Antony Abbot; No. 268, a holy martyr, SS. Louis of Toulouse, Lucy, Clare, Francis and Bernardine; No. 270, SS. Augustine, Benedict, Bernardine and Louis of Toulouse; No. 272, SS. Nicholas, Jerome, Michael and Francis, the Annunciation and small figures on the pilasters; Library Gradual I, eight miniatures; Gradual T, three miniatures; chorale, four miniatures; antiphony, six miniatures; Barsini coll., Madonna; Cinggioli coll., beheading of St. John; Grisaldi de Taja coll., Madonna, St. Francis receiving the stigmata; Palmieri Nuti coll. (Villa at Sovicile), Madonna between SS. John the Baptist, Bernardine and two female saints; Count Placidi's coll., St. Catherine of Siena; Madonna between SS. Peter and John the Baptist; Chigi Saracini coll., fragments of figures of saints (1237, 1238, 1277, 1278); *Ecce homo* (1265); Count Saracini's coll., Madonna, two saints and angels. **Sinalunga**, S. Bernardino, the Saviour; convent, triptych, Madonna with SS. Francis and Bonaventura. **Utrecht**, Central Museum, SS. John the Baptist and Ansanus (*Raimond van Marle*, op. cit., Oudheidkundig Jaarboek). **Varallo**, Gallery, Annunciation. **Vienna**, Faniteum, Madonna; Lanckoronski coll., Madonna in half-figure with two saints and two angels; the Saviour and four saints in medallions in the predella; St. Francis; two miracles of St. Bernardine, a late work of good quality; K. Wittgenstein coll., Madonna between SS. Bernardine and Jerome.

School works. Herr Trübner in his book, to which I have made frequent reference, seems to imagine that the majority of the paintings generally ascribed to Sano, are not from the master's own hand. I do not at all agree with him but nevertheless recognize a certain number as the productions of his pupils. M. Gaillard classifies together a few works which he believes to be by one artist but in my opinion this group is executed after a particular manner of the master. **Altenburg**, Lindenau Museum, Madonna and angels. **Berlin**, for sale, 1926, half-length figure of the Virgin and Child (Burlington Magazine, Jany. 1926 advertisement). **Englewood**, Platt coll., Madonna, saints and angels. **Esztergom**, Episcopal Gallery, half-length figure of the Virgin between SS. John the Baptist and Antony Abbot. **London**, Langton Douglas coll., Adoration of Jesus. **Massa Maritima**, Gallery, half-length figure of the Madonna in a landscape. **Milan**,

Bagatti Valsecchi coll., bust of the Madonna. **Montalcino**, private coll., bust of Madonna and Child (shown at the exhibition of Montalcino, 1925—1926). **Montemerano**, S. Giorgio, Assumption (*Nicolosi*, Montagna Maremma, p. 31). **New York**, Metropolitan Museum, cassone panel, history of the Queen of Sheba (Museum Bulletin, May 1924, p. 128. *Gaillard*, op. cit., pl. 37); Ph. Lehman coll., Madonna (*Gaillard*, op. cit., pl. 36); Maitland Griggs coll., half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child, Who holds a little bird, between SS. Jerome, Bernardine, Clare, Antony Abbot and four angels. **Newhaven**, Yale University, Jarves coll., martyrdom of a holy bishop (*Siren*, Descriptive Catalogue, No. 62, attributes it to Sano). **Pienza**, Museum, small panels showing St. Andrew and Pius I. **Pisa**, Schiff coll., bust of the Madonna, SS. Bernardine and Clare. **Rome**, Vatican Gallery, No. 183, the Nativity; store-room, No. 82, the Visitation, the Nativity and naming of St. John, St. John in the desert; Palazzo Doria, triptych, Christ between SS. John the Baptist and Bernardine; for sale, about 1912, bust of the Madonna between SS. Bernardine Jerome and two angels. **Siena**, S. Domenico, half-length figure of the Madonna and Child in swaddling clothes; S. Martino, Madonna between two angels; Opera del Duomo, lunette with Coronation of the Virgin and angels; ex-Palmieri Nuti coll., two scenes from the history of the Queen of Sheba, from a cassone (*Schubring*, Cassoni, Nos. 425 and 426, ascribes them to Sano). **Vienna**, Lanckoronski coll., a small half-length figure of St. Bernardine and a holy nun, medallion from a predella.

CHAPTER VII

DOMENICO DI BARTOLO ⁽¹⁾ AND PRIAMO DELLA QUERCIA

With Domenico di Bartolo we reach in the history of Sienese painting the transition between the Gothic style and that of the Renaissance and, as will be seen in the following pages, Domenico as an artist of the Renaissance is a figure of considerable interest.

In confirmation of the hypothesis that Domenico was born towards 1400 there is really no plausible argument. He originated from Asciano as we are informed in several documents.

The first certain date that we have concerning him is 1428, the year he is enrolled in the corporation of painters of Siena as "*Domenico di Bartolo d'Asciano*" ⁽²⁾. In 1434 the direction of works of the cathedral decides to pay sixteen lire for a statue or a sketch of the Emperor Sigismund, owned by Domenico di Bartolo ⁽³⁾. It has always been believed that this drawing served for the representation of the emperor in the midst of his ministers which adorns the pavement near the altar of the Holy Sacrament in the cathedral but we have no proof of this. A second declaration of the same authorities makes it evident that Domenico was not only the proprietor but also the author of this drawing.

Between 1435 and 1439 Domenico executed frescoes illustrating the lives of SS. Ansanus, Victor, Sabinus and Crescentius in the sacristy of the cathedral and in 1437 he painted

⁽¹⁾ *Vasari-Milanesi*. II, p. 40. *H. J. Wagner*, Domenico di Bartolo Ghezzi, 5^o Theil von: Das Dompaviment v. Siena u. seine Meister, Dissertation, Göttingen, 1897—8. *W. Bombe*, Repert. f. Kunstw., XXXII, 1911, p. 568. *B. C. K.*, in Thieme Becker, Künstler Lexikon. XIII, p. 535.

⁽²⁾ *Milanesi*, Documenti per la storia dell'arte senese, I, p. 49.

⁽³⁾ *Milanesi*, op. cit., II, p. 161.

an altar-piece for the church of S. Agostino at Asciano but this work has been lost and should not be identified with that one, of which fragments showing saints are preserved in this church, which is from the hand of Matteo di Giovanni ⁽¹⁾. In 1440 Domenico married Antonia di Viva di Pace Pannelini ⁽²⁾.

In 1441 he, assisted by Luciano da Velletri, adorned the hospital of Siena with scenes from the story of Tobias but nothing of this decoration remains ⁽³⁾.

In 1443, however, he executed the extant frescoes in the Ospedale della Scala, in which decoration he was helped by Priamo della Quercia. During the same year he was working at a panel of the Coronation of the Virgin for the same hospital. He died before February 1447 ⁽⁴⁾.

Vasari pretends that Domenico di Bartolo was the nephew and pupil of Taddeo di Bartolo. It has, however, been proved that he was certainly not Taddeo's nephew and there is no reason to believe that he was apprenticed to this master. Further, Vasari tells us that he was modest, gentle, particularly aimable and very courteous.

The first dated work that we have by Domenico is of the year 1433; it is a Madonna in the gallery of Siena. But we can assign some of his other productions to a slightly earlier period, because already this picture shows us Domenico's art at a fairly evolved stage in which elements of the Renaissance have penetrated.

Probably the earliest painting that we know by this master is a Madonna in the Platt collection, U.S.A. ⁽⁵⁾. It is only a fragment showing the Virgin enthroned, holding the naked Child Who nestles close to His Mother. It has the appearance of a very fine picture and is full of technical qualities which are particularly evident in the plastic effects. In spite of very important differences, this picture leads us to believe that Sassetta was Domenico di Bartolo's first master. In any case

⁽¹⁾ *H. J. Wagner*, op. cit. *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1908, p. 199.

⁽²⁾ *Vasari-Milanesi*, II, p. 40 note.

⁽³⁾ v. Vol. VIII, p. 422.

⁽⁴⁾ For the documents v. *Milanesi*, *Documenti per la storia dell' arte senese*, II, pp. 161—162 and 173. *Wagner*, op. cit.

⁽⁵⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d' arte senese*, 1907, p. 78.



Fig. 335. Domenico di Bartolo, Madonna. S. Raimondo, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

it is the work which is most reminiscent of 14th century painting, for which reason I can very well imagine that it is one of Domenico's earliest productions.

Domenico di Bartolo was more obviously under Sassetta's domination when he executed the marvellous bust of the Virgin which adorns an altar to the right in the church of S. Raimondo or "del Rifugio" in Siena (fig. 335) (1). The Madonna, her hands clasped in prayer, is depicted facing the spectator. Her figure is modelled beautifully and forms an exquisite picture from which emanates a spirituality rivalling that of the productions of the great masters of the previous century. The technique is that of a first rate artist; the nuances of the relief in the face are treated with a subtlety and dexterity which rank this little panel as a masterpiece.

Very fine too, but all the same of less good quality is a picture in the gallery of Siena (No. 207) representing the Virgin sitting on the ground holding upright the Child Jesus, Who unrolls a scroll, on which is inscribed: "*Ego sum via veritas e vita*" (fig. 336). Some angels, of whom only four are clearly visible, are grouped behind the principal figures. The Madonna's face resembles in type that of the previous painting but the technique in this case is not so perfect and the figure less inspired.

While still working under the influence of Sassetta and before the dated picture of 1433, Domenico executed a Madonna della Misericordia. This fresco, which is now very damaged, is found in the "Infermeria di S. Pietro" in the Ospedale della Scala. The Virgin is shown seated with the Child on her knee; two angels open her mantle over two bishops kneeling below, one of whom presents the model of a church. About the same time he must have made the monochrome painting of the prayer of the Blessed Sorori in the "Infermeria di S. Pio" of the same hospital.

A somewhat more evolved style is manifest in a Madonna sitting on the ground holding the naked Child on her knee;

(1) After having been ascribed to Vecchietta, Benvenuto di Giovanni and Matteo di Giovanni, Mr. Perkins has rightly proclaimed it to be from the hand of Domenico di Bartolo v. *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'arte senese*, 1907, p. 22.



Fig. 336. Domenico di Bartolo, Madonna and angels. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 337. Domenico di Bartolo, Madonna. Private Collection.



Fig. 338. Domenico di Bartolo, Madonna and angels, 1433.
Gallery, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

a decorative curtain is held behind them by two angels whose heads alone appear above the upper border. This picture belongs to a private collection (fig. 337).

The panel of 1433 which is preserved in the gallery of Siena (No. 207) (fig. 338), confirms the fact that at least at this date Domenico had entered into his second manner; the forms are more robust, the contours less calligraphic and the proportions and plastic effects more closely approach those of the Renaissance while the whole work is rendered in a more forceful and more trenchant manner, although the drawing is still a little hard.

The Virgin is represented crowned with bare feet sitting on two cushions in a flowery field; the naked Child lies in her lap sucking His fingers; the Virgin gazes down on Him with a serious and understanding look on her face. Of the five angels standing behind, two play on musical instruments, two others make gestures of adoration while the fifth makes a horrible grimace. A star and a mystic inscription appear above; another inscription of considerable length is found at the foot of the panel and finishes with the signature: "*Dominicus Domini Matrem te pinxit et orat MCCCCXXXIII*". It is a well composed picture full, of a mystic sentiment of which the inscriptions in themselves bear testimony.

Very close to this work of 1433 should, I think, be placed a panel formerly belonging to the Toscanelli collection, Pisa, in which the Virgin, the naked Child on her knee, is seen against an arcade with four angelic musicians around. I know this painting, which seems to be considerably restored, only from a very poor reproduction ⁽¹⁾ so that I cannot affirm anything with certainty but it appears to bear a fairly obvious resemblance to the foregoing picture.

From the following year dates the representation of the Emperor Sigismond among his ministers on the pavement of the cathedral (fig. 339) but it is not a very characteristic work of Domenico di Bartolo whose share in it was no doubt limited only to the sketch.

⁽¹⁾ Reprod. in the album of the Toscanelli collection, pl. XXVII.



Fig. 339. Domenico di Bartolo, pavement. Cathedral, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

A half-length figure of the Virgin and Child in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia, dates from 1437 ⁽¹⁾.

The Child Who wears some amulets hung on a chain round His neck, blesses with one hand and holds a scroll in the

⁽¹⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'arte senese*, 1910, p. 72. *B. Berenson*, *Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings etc.*, No. 102.

other; part of the background is covered with roses and a lily. On the lower border of the frame an inscription with the name of the artist and the date reads: "*Domenicus de Senis me pinxit Anno Domini MCCCCXXXVII*". It is a work which, although certainly not lacking either charm or sentiment, falls very short of the Madonna in S. Raimondo, Siena, and if compared with this painting appears rather common-place, the forms especially being very clumsy and the execution hard.

The polyptych in the gallery of Perugia which is of the following year shows the same characteristics (fig. 340 and frontispiece) (1). This altar-piece which was formerly in the church of Sta. Giuliana, shows in the centre the Virgin and Child adored by a nun and in the lateral panels SS. Benedict, John the Baptist, Juliana and Bernard. In the gables we see the figure of Christ centrally, SS. Peter and Paul to the extreme right and left and the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation in the others. The story of St. John the Baptist is illustrated in the predella; the scenes depicted are: his departure for the desert, his sermon, Salome dancing before Herod to whom the head of St. John is offered, his decapitation, St. John before Herod and the Baptism of Christ. At the foot of the central panel we see the signature: "*Dominicus Bartoli de Senis me pinxit*" below which are inscribed the name of the donatrix, Abbess "*Antonia filia Francisci do Domõ Bucholis*", and the date 1438.

This picture shows great technical care and is of a very pleasing decorative effect. The entire painting seems to be executed on a coating of gold which gives a yellowish reflex to all the colours. The frame, which has in part been covered with a layer of yellow paint must originally have been very beautiful, imitating mosaic work in gold and colours. In the predella, too, there are some charming little scenes very minutely executed but as in all the productions of the painter's second manner the larger figures are not very graceful, the heads and hands too big, the draperies clumsy and the faces rather unpleasant.

(1) *I. Vavassour Elder*, Rassegna d'arte senese, 1909, p. 75. *F. M. Perkins*, idem, 1908, p. 202.

Fairly closely resembling the panel of 1437, perhaps of a slightly earlier date, is a Madonna seated lowly holding the Child in her lap, which belonged to the Paolini collection, Rome (1), while the work most reminiscent of the polyptych of 1438 is the decoration of a round box, formerly in the Spitzer collection, Paris, now in that of the late Herr Figdor, Vienna



Fig. 340. Domenico di Bartolo, polyptych. Gallery, Perugia.

Photo Alinari.

(fig. 341). This superb object of art has been known for a considerable number of years (2) but only quite recently it has

(1) No. 96 of the catalogue of the Paolini sale which was held in New York in December 1924.

(2) *E. Molinier*, *La collection Spitzer; Les Coffrets*, Paris, 1895, p. 243, ascribes it to Pisanello. *Frimmel*, *Kleine Galleriestudien*, Neue Folge, IV, Leipzig, 1896, p. 5. *Weisbach*, *Francesco Pesellino*, Berlin, 1901, p. 21, believe it to be a work of Pesellino's school. *P. Kristeller*, *Florentinische Zierstücke in Kupferstich*, Berlin, 1909, p. 4, assigns it to the Florentine school. *Schubring*, *Cassoni*, No. 454, classifies it as belonging to the manner of Giovanni di Paolo.

been recognized by Professor Toesca as a work by Domenico di Bartolo (¹). We gather from the inscription which runs round the rim of the box that it was a gift from a lover to his lady; moreover, he himself is represented on the lid offering his heart to the object of his choice. The upper part of the box is adorned with a raised design in gold and four medallions in which a coat of arms and some animals are depicted. The effect of the gold and the colours of this decoration are of a wonderful brilliance.

To the same manner I attribute two other works, the one, a charming little picture of the Virgin between SS. Peter and Paul that I saw for sale in Paris in July 1925, the other, also not a very large panel, a representation of St. George slaying the dragon, loaned by the Earl of Southesk to the National Gallery of Edinburgh (fig. 342), once ascribed to Orcagna.

The painting shows the saint, dismounted, attacking a large black dragon; to the other side we see the princess kneeling in prayer and behind her the white horse of St. George. The town of Silene is portrayed in the background while above appears God the Father wearing the papal tiara. This little picture which seems to be entirely unknown, is one of Domenico di Bartolo's better productions, the drawing is good and the colours, in which a pretty shade of blue prevails, very harmonious.

Mr. Berenson mentions as a probable work of Domenico, a Madonna in the midst of cherubim in the collection of Sir Kenneth Muir Mackenzie, London, which I do not know.

I think, however, we can hold this artist responsible for a Madonna seated lowly with the Child sucking His finger, held in on a white napkin her arms; to either side of the throne is represented a cherub with outspread wings, after the manner sometimes followed by Taddeo di Bartolo (fig. 343). The style of execution dates this painting, which belongs to Mr. F. L. Babbot, New York, from a period prior to that of the Madonna of 1433 and had it not been for the very obvious connexion with the art of Sano di Pietro, to whom, moreover,

(¹) *P. Toesca*, Una scatola dipinta da Domenico di Bartolo, *Rassegna d'arte senese*, 1920, p. 107.



Fig. 341. Domenico di Bartolo. painted box. Figdor Collection. Vienna.

I believe the picture has been ascribed, we should certainly have assigned this work to a youthful stage in Domenico's career. But as we saw when dealing with Sano di Pietro, Domenico came into contact with this artist only towards the end of his life, because we discovered his hand in several of the figures in the fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin in the hall of the Biccherna in the Palazzo Pubblico that Sano signed in 1445. His share in this work was limited to the group of



Fig. 342. Domenico di Bartolo, St. George slaying the dragon. Gallery, Edinburgh.



Fig. 343. Domenico di Bartolo, *Madonna and Child*. Babbot Collection, New York.

Photo Frick Art Reference Library, New York.

eight saints to the left of the throne, the figure in profile to the right and the half-length figures of the Saviour and four angels in the five central medallions which adorn the border

surrounding the principal representation. The effects of plasticity and the vigorous manner in which these figures are depicted considerably surpass those elements of the Renaissance that we found in Domenico's earlier works.

Compared with Sano's productions, these heads seem very modern and as we shall see directly this is due to an influence of the new style of painting then in vogue in Florence. I think it quite likely that Sano and Domenico collaborated in the execution of this fresco and agree with Mr. Berenson that in all probability Domenico started this decoration and that Sano finished it. No doubt from the same period is the figure of St. Catherine of Siena which is found to the left of the Coronation and which Mr. Berenson correctly ascribes to Domenico.

The frescoes executed by Domenico between 1440 and 1444 in the Ospedale della Scala can be classified as productions of the Renaissance, for they show only a few characteristics here and there which connect them with the Gothic movement of the beginning of the 15th century.

These mural paintings adorn the hall known as the "Pellegrinaio" (¹). Over the door there is a fresco which is often forgotten in descriptions of this decoration. It ornaments a lunette which has been very much damaged by a breach made in the wall, and represents a banquet to the poor (fig. 344) whom we see eating and drinking at a refectory table, served by young men, elegantly attired; yet he who approaches from the kitchen with a dish of bird and some plates and receives orders from a man of a certain age seems to wear the livery of a private servant. In the foreground to the right one of the officials graciously receives the demand of a poor man; two smart young men look on at this scene.

The new and significant feature of this painting is the importance and elaborateness of the architecture. The arrangement of the supporting pillars and the coving of the roof give to the hall in which the scene is depicted effects of depth and perspective, as yet unknown at least in Siena. This is not all, because at the end of the hall we see a low enclosure

(¹) *Wagner*, op. cit. *L. Gielly*, *L'art et les artistes*, X, 1910, p. 51. *F. Bargagli Petrucci*, *Il Pellegrinaio*, *Rassegna d'arte senese*, XIV, 1921, p. 21.

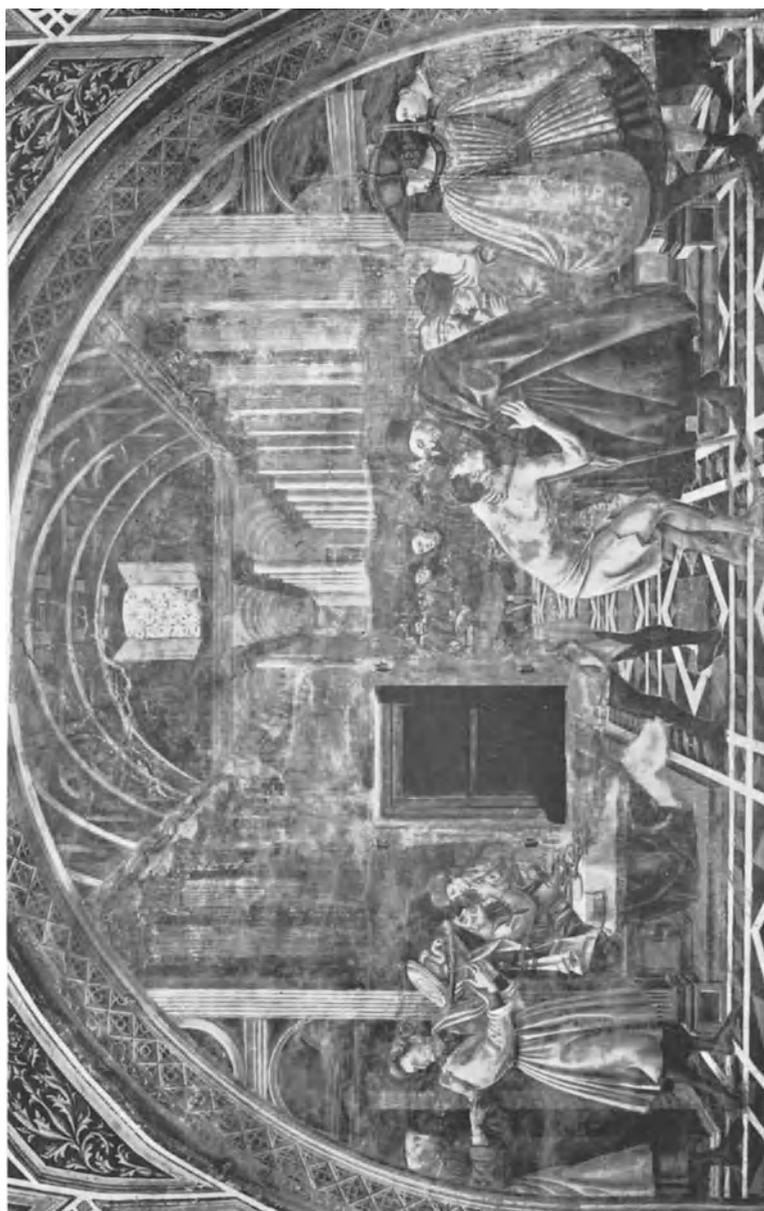


Fig. 344. Domenico di Bartolo, feeding the poor. Hospital, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

above which the artist has depicted different series of columns forming three corridors, a veritable study of perspective, in which the expression of distance recalls the works of Piero della Francesca.



Fig. 345. Domenico di Bartolo, the marriage of the foundlings and care of the small children. Hospital, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

On the right wall Domenico has frescoed three scenes, the first of which is generally called the “Marriage of the Foundlings”, a title which, however, applies only to a small part of this painting which really represents the care given by the hospital to the foundlings from a very tender age until their marriage (figs. 345 and 346). To the left we see the very young infants tended and fed and adjacent the older children receiving instruction from a school-master. More to the right, towards the wedding scene, an old governor is represented



Fig. 346. Detail of fig. 345.

Photo Anderson.

bringing a tiny babe in swaddling clothes to one of the women charged with its care. In the chapel in which the marriage takes place a large assembly of people is depicted. In the foreground two ladies in elegant attire lend their help at the moment the bridegroom passes the ring on the finger of the young girl. An old man, no doubt one of the governors of the hospital,

holds her by the hand and carries a little purse, in all likelihood the dowry given by the hospital. In the crowd we can distinguish two men, each with an uplifted closed fist, while a third man attempts to unite their two hands, a gesture which still nowadays is frequently seen in the market places of Italy when an intermediary tries to close a bargain between two contracting parties, who have to shake hands at the moment the affair is concluded. On a balcony at the back of the chapel are some young girls whom a man in the audience regards with insistence. The architecture is not less elaborate than the group of figures. In this picture the first signs of the Renaissance freely intermingle with the vanishing features of Gothic art. There is even a row of classical heads which have all the appearance of living persons. High up we see a servant bending to pick grapes from a vine which seems to climb on the roof.

The distribution of alms to the poor takes place in the vestibule of the hospital which is decorated with frescoes (fig. 347). An open door allows us a glimpse of one of the portals of the cathedral opposite. A number of poor people throng the entrance; an old man at the door gives them bread; in the centre one almost naked receives clothes while the sick seem to wait their turn. Some noblemen richly dressed seem to inspect in what manner the directors of the hospital distribute their munificence.

The next scene which is usually taken to represent the care of the sick, seems rather to depict the room in which the patients are received before a bed in the ward, which we see at the back of the scene, is allotted to them (fig. 348). A group of men apparently well-to-do stand in the centre and look at one of their number washing the feet of a young man seated on a chair who has a horrible sore on his thigh; another covers his shoulders. To the left a sick man is being helped from his stretcher; to the right a fat monk tends another while two men bearing one end of a stretcher are seen on the threshold of the door. A dog and cat quarrel on the floor.

On the left wall Domenico has represented how Pope Calixtus III took the direction of the hospital from the clergy and assigned it to laymen (fig. 349). The scene is shown in an unusual abundance of architecture of the Renaissance without

any trace of Gothic elements. The hall is magnificently paved and surrounded by a two storeyed portico apparently open, because between the pillars we see the walls of other houses. Through



Fig. 347. Domenico di Bartolo, giving alms. Hospital, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

a door in the end wall an octagonal building supported on columns is visible, beyond it we can distinguish the colonnade of the cathedral with its decoration of black and white horizontal bars, while in the distance we see above a dome and below some Gothic windows.

The pope is seated on a very high throne placed in the portico of the large hall; seated in two rows to either side are the

religious and civic dignitaries of the town, one of them who wears a pointed hat is oriental in appearance. The pontiff delivers the act of the change of direction to an old man who kneels before him.



Fig. 348. Domenico di Bartolo, the reception of the sick, Hospital, Siena.
Photo Anderson.

A group of people in civil clothes looks on and bows evidently in acceptance. The central figure of the scene is that of young man of extreme elegance, behind whom is depicted a young woman wearing a crown, attired and shod in oriental fashion. All around there is an agitated gesticulating crowd; it fills up the upper storey of the hall, the balconies to the sides and the space between the pillars at either end. A peacock is perched on the roof of a little building we see beyond the

site of the event and a young deer lies at the feet of the pontiff.

Besides a fresco, generally attributed to Priamo della Quercia, we find here by Domenico still a painting representing the additions made to the hospital, consequent on the donations



Fig 349. Domenico di Bartolo, Calixtus III giving over the hospital to laymen. Hospital, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

of the bishop (fig. 350). The fresco shows an open space limited on one side by a small building, no doubt part of the hospital, borne on a colonnade while opposite we see the workmen beginning the construction of a similar edifice. The workers greet a large group of noblemen, who, mounted on horses and mules, have come to inspect the operations; one of the masons seems to be afraid of a horse rearing behind him. In the background to the left some noble ladies are depicted. The end of the

square is formed by a Gothic building of several storeys, of an absurd tower-like effect, placed on a Renaissance base. This construction is again crowded with people, some of whom the painter once more shows below in the mullioned pilaster which supports the arcade surrounding the fresco.

It has been said before that these frescoes which Domenico di Bartolo executed between 1440 and 1444 provide us with the first evidence of the appearance of the Renaissance in the Sienese school but, as I shall demonstrate later on, the chief interest of these paintings is of a much more general character.

Of the international movement very little remains visible in this work; there is only a vague reminiscence of the Gothic forms but the evident interest in the daily occupations and in the intimate details of the existence of persons of different social scale is a survival of cosmopolitan Gothic art. It is true that the object of the frescoes in the Pellegrinaio was to demonstrate the bounty of the upper classes towards the poor, but apart from that there is no glorification of charity and beneficence and we have in this decoration a truly graphic description of hospital life in the 15th century; the scenes are obviously taken from nature and show minute studies, especially of costumes and of the different types of beggars, but also of furniture, such as the beds and the wash-basins, of the decoration of the walls, the ceilings and the floors, of some amusing details such the dispute between the dog and the cat and the presence of the peacock and the young deer and lastly of the individuality of the figures. It is true that this style of painting had been created in Florence some time, not long, however, before it appeared in Siena; as example I shall cite only the frescoes by Masaccio in the Carmine church. That Domenico knew those Florentine specimens of this style seems to me quite probable because, although some of the faces are treated in a simple and traditional manner in which the outlines and the drawing are markedly linear, there are, on the contrary, others in which the Sienese painter portrays plastic effects in the same spirit as Masaccio, but in a less skilful manner, producing heads in the greatest variety of attitudes and obtaining really interesting impressions of relief by the opposition of light and shade. Also in the diversity of type

and expression, these figures which, for the greater part, must be portraits, are treated in a manner very different from that of international Gothic art of the beginning of the 15th century.

Lastly, the architectural buildings in the frescoes of the Pelle-



Fig. 350. Domenico di Bartolo and Priamo della Quercia, enlarging the hospital. Hospital, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

grinaio give this decoration quite an exceptional place in the evolution of Italian painting in general, because, as far as I know, there is no work of an earlier date in which the architectural surroundings, treated in such a modern spirit, have reached this stage of importance and high development. True, certain painters of the 14th century, especially those active in the north east of Italy, such for example as Avanzo, Altichiero and Semitecolo, whose works are found in Padua, show in their

paintings architectural buildings hardly less imposing than those of Domenico; still these artists naturally did not as yet achieve that perfect harmony of persons and surroundings which was an accomplishment of the Renaissance, all the creations of which give the impression of entire unity, and not that of an agglomeration of elements which might exist quite independently of one another, which is so characteristic of mediaeval paintings.

But Domenico di Bartolo, in spite of the short-comings due to the fact that he was not really a great master, can to a certain extent be looked upon as an harbinger, because his frescoes of 1440—1444 are the first pictorial creations in which this union of important architecture with the rest of the picture has been attempted. In the works of the first artists of the Renaissance in Florence, such as Masaccio, Fra Angelico and Domenico Veneziano there is already some evidence of this factor but in their works they do not represent constructions of such importance.

Shortly after 1440, however, we find a series of productions in which very imposing architectural surroundings constitute one of the principal features of the composition. They include the drawings of Jacopo Bellini and the bronze reliefs by Donatello in Padua illustrating the miracles of the saint but the latter date from towards 1448 or 1450 and the former are probably from about the same period, in any case from after 1441.

A similar profusion of architecture in decorations of interiors was never very much in vogue in 15th century painting, yet we find in the works of Piero della Francesca studies in perspective of architecture, especially of colonnades, for which his source of inspiration might quite likely have been Domenico di Bartolo's frescoes. The architecture in the frescoes by Benedetto Bonfigli in the apartment of the priors, now the second room of the picture gallery, in the Palazzo Pubblico, Perugia, seems also to be inspired by Domenico's examples. This decoration was not begun until 1454. Umbrian painting in particular was subjected to this influence, beginning with the productions of Bonfigli; it is evident, however, also in the art of the Boccati and Pintoricchio, as Herr Wagner rightly observes, as well as in that of the Florentine master, Benozzo Gozzoli, who was no doubt instrumental in importing this style into Umbria.

Contrary to what we generally find among the Sienese artists, the works of Domenico di Bartolo are of a very limited number. Vasari speaks of still other paintings by this master in the churches of the Sma. Trinita and del Carmine and Cavalcaselle gives a list of several pictures that he ascribes to him but the former have disappeared and the latter have since all been assigned to their rightful masters (1).

Quite in his manner, but not by him seems to me a half-length figure of the Madonna and standing Child, which is attributed to him in the gallery of Bergamo (317).

Mr. Perkins holds him responsible for a triptych showing St. Antony Abbot in the centre, in the oratory of this saint at Volterra (2); I shall return to this picture when dealing with Priamo della Quercia.

One of Domenico's direct pupils and collaborators was Priamo della Quercia (3), the brother of the great sculptor Jacopo or Giacomo, concerning whom we have a considerable number of documents in connexion with the Vari monument and the doors of the church of S. Petronio, Bologna, which Jacopo left unfinished at his death. The authorities of Bologna request Priamo, or else Cino di Bartolo, Jacopo's pupil to finish the task; Priamo declares that he is too occupied, so Cino takes possession of his master's property against which Priamo protests, demanding at the same time payment due to his brother; simultaneously the authorities of Siena apparently obliged him to pay certain fines his brother owed them regarding which he presents a petition for a revision of judgment. Concerning all this question there is a large correspondence dating from 1438 and 1439 (4). From 1440 till 1453 Priamo seems to have resided chiefly in Volterra. In 1442 he receives an order for a picture for the church of S. Michele of this town, but the same year he is paid two hundred lire for the

(1) *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, ed. *T. Borenius*, V, p. 145 note 1.

(2) *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1907, p. 79.

(3) *G. De Nicola*, *Priamo della Quercia*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, XVIII, 1918, p. 69; appendix, *idem*, p. 153.

(4) *Milanesi*, *Documenti etc.*, II, pp. 183-191, 205.

fresco representing the Blessed Agostino Novello, performing the ceremony of investiture of the rector of the hospital, a painting which still exists in the Pellegrinaio of the Ospedale della Scala, Siena ⁽¹⁾. In 1445 he is back once more in Volterra because we find him being remunerated for the panel of St. Antony. In 1453 he is resident in Siena and makes a declaration of his property for taxation and although, considering the object of this declaration, we must admit that every one underrates the value of their possessions, still we gather from Priamo's statement in which he calls himself "dipettore povaro e mendico e senza nissuno vivente bene, debito assai con piu persone" ⁽²⁾ that he must indeed have been very poor.

He was apparently still alive in 1467 when we find him once more in Volterra, at least he is mentioned among the foreign debtors of this town ⁽³⁾.

The documents in connexion with the fresco in the hospital leave no doubt regarding the subject of the painting which has been interpreted in a variety of manners. The Blessed Agostino Novello, followed by a group of priests, while one chorister holds the book of the service open on his head, and another swings a censer, envelops the shoulders of the rector of the hospital kneeling before him, in a mantle. The officials, some noblemen and an Oriental look on at the event while many other people are scattered throughout the building in which we see also statues of the Virgin and two angelic musicians (fig. 351). The church is purely Renaissance in style. The upper part of the ciborium under which the scene takes place, seems already outside the building so that it is difficult to understand what connexion the construction which we see in the background bears to this edifice. The fresco is framed in a rich border adorned with putti and medallions while below the figures of Adam and Eve are depicted to the sides.

I feel inclined to agree with Mr. Perkins that Priamo executed

⁽¹⁾ *Milanesi*, op. cit., p. 283.

⁽²⁾ *Milanesi*, loc. cit.

⁽³⁾ For the documents bearing reference to his activities in Volterra v. *M. Battistini*, *Maestro Priamo della Quercia e il quadro di S. Antonio di Volterra*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, XIX, 1919, p. 233.

this fresco after a sketch by Domenico di Bartolo. The composition, the importance given to the architecture, which, however, is somewhat perplexing, the type of the figures and the entire



Fig. 351. Priamo della Quercia, the Blessed Augustine Novello investing the director. Hospital, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

spirit of the work are all practically the same as those we found in Domenico's own paintings.

Here Priamo was not only a helper but an imitator as well. Moreover, this fresco really belongs to the series that Domenico di Bartolo was charged to execute.

For a very long time the picture ordered from Priamo in

1442 for the church of S. Michele in Volterra was identified with a panel of the Madonna enthroned in the midst of six angels which is preserved in the gallery of this town (No. 22). Signor De Nicola ⁽¹⁾ has demonstrated, however, that we have no justifiable reason for attributing to Priamo this picture which, besides, is of Florentine origin and according to him, probably from the hand of Andrea di Giusto. After a confrontation with Priamo's authentic works, however, he ascribes to this master the triptych of St. Antony enthroned, in the oratory dedicated to this saint in Volterra. Above the central representation we see the half-length figures of SS. Cosmo and Damian while to one side SS. Bartholomew and Benedict are depicted one above the other and to the other side the Volto Santo of Lucca — Christ crowned and clothed on the Cross — and St. Lawrence. A little scene at St. Antony's feet shows some men loading asses with sacks of grain.

De Nicola very correctly ascribes to Priamo a half-length figure of the Virgin between SS. Ansanus and Octavius in the gallery of Volterra (No. 16). In this picture, more than in any other, the artist reveals his dependence on the masters of the end of the 14th century and more especially on Taddeo di Bartolo ⁽²⁾. The same authority attributes to Priamo still a Madonna and Child between SS. James and Victor with three angels above; at the foot of this panel, which originates from the hospital but is now in the gallery of Volterra (No. 23), an inscription gives us the date 1450, as well as a picture of St. Bernardine who, holding a tablet with his monogram and standing on a piece of material, is borne heavenward by two angels; two little figures of saints are depicted below where some remains of the signature are still visible: ". . . u (s). *De Senis pinsit 1450*"; this painting was formerly in the cathedral but it has been brought to the gallery (No. 25) where it is ascribed to Giusto di Jacopo, an absolutely unknown painter.

To Priamo is also very justly assigned a half-length figure

⁽¹⁾ *De Nicola*, op. cit.

⁽²⁾ In Vol. II, p. 569 note 1, I mention this picture among the productions of the school of Taddeo di Bartolo.

of St. Sebastian in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia, which bears a particular resemblance to the figure of St. Ansanus in the panel at Volterra (No. 16) ⁽¹⁾. By some critics he is supposed to have executed the Madonna and angels in the church of Istrice at Siena ⁽²⁾ and the crowned Virgin standing between six angels, elegantly attired, in the National Gallery, London (No. 1456), which I have included among the works of the school of Sassetta.

Priamo was a very second-rate artist and as changeable as a chameleon for he seems to have been able to adapt himself to a variety of circumstances and different artistic surroundings. While collaborating in Siena with Domenico di Bartolo he produced quite a praiseworthy picture, but left to his own devices and isolated in a small town like Volterra, he degenerated into a provincial, reactionary and very mediocre little painter ⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *B. Berenson*, Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings etc., No. 103, ascribes this picture to Priamo with a point of interrogation.

⁽²⁾ *F. M. Perkins*, Rassegna d'arte, 1904, p. 150.

⁽³⁾ *De Angelis*, Ragguaglio del Nuovo Istituto delle Belle Arti in Siena, Siena, 1816, p. 28, attributed to Priamo a picture of the Madonna between SS. John and James in the gallery of Siena where it no longer exists v. *De Nicola*, op. cit., p. 74 note 6.

CHAPTER VIII

TUSCAN PAINTINGS OF MINOR IMPORTANCE OF THE 15TH CENTURY

Apart from the works of those painters of Florence and Siena with whom we have dealt, and the creations of their direct followers, Tuscany provides us with but few productions belonging to or approaching the international Gothic style.

I have already had occasion to cite a few of the anonymous works of this movement, executed in Florence. In Siena there are practically no other paintings but those belonging to the groups headed by Sassetta, Sano, Giovanni di Paolo and Domenico di Bartolo, but it must be admitted that the output of these masters and their pupils was very abundant.

As for works independent of these masters, I can cite only one in the town of Siena, a fresco in a room on the first floor of the Palazzo Pubblico in which the Madonna is depicted between a very fragmentary figure of an old saint, St. Mary Magdalene and St. Michael carrying the inscription “. *Civitas Sena MCCCCXXVIII, MCCCCXXX*”.

Herr Schubring ascribes to the Sienese school of the first half of the 15th century some cassone panels which, with the exception of a few rare examples, I have included among the works of the Florentine school.

There are, however, some Sienese miniatures which do not resemble either those of Sassetta, Sano or Giovanni di Paolo but are none the less productions of the same school and the same period. As such might be mentioned the illuminations of a certain Valerius Maximus in the Benedictine abbey of St. Paul in Lavanttal, which seem to have been executed in San Gimignano (¹). An isolated miniature from the Rossiana Library which

(¹) *R. Eisler*, Die illuminierten H.S.S. in Kärnten: Beschreib. Verzeich. der Illum. H.S.S. in Österreich, III, Leipzig, 1907, p. 174.

is now incorporated in that of the Vatican, representing the Assumption is without doubt a Sienese work and even vaguely recalls the art of Sassetta ⁽¹⁾. Some beautiful miniatures and decorative illuminations dating from 1415, are found in a hymnary of the Augustine hermits of San Salvatore di Silva Locus (Siena) ⁽²⁾.



Fig. 352. Bartolommeo da Miragna, Madonna and saints. Pieve, Trequanda.
Photo Arte Grafiche.

Also in the province of Siena there are very few paintings belonging to an artistic movement other than that represented by the four principal Sienese masters. At Grosseto, however, there are some frescoes in the church of S. Cristoforo which

⁽¹⁾ *H. Tietze*, Die illuminierten H.S.S. der Rossiana in Wien-Laing. The miniatures illustrating a codex of the "Liber de conflictu vitiorum et virtutum" de St. Augustine in the same library — idem p. 97 — do not appear to belong to the Sienese school.

⁽²⁾ British Museum, Reproductions from illuminated manuscripts, 2nd ed., I, London, 1910, pl. 46.

are better classified as a late derivation of 14th century art. They represent the titular saint and St. Antony Abbot and are coarse rustic works of no artistic value. By another and even poorer painter are some frescoes, one of which shows the Virgin, nursing the Child, and St. James, in the church of S. Francesco of the same town. This more than mediocre decoration seems to cover earlier and much more beautiful paintings⁽¹⁾.

In a niche in the Pieve of Trequanda we find a fresco representing the Virgin, nursing the Child, enthroned between SS. Catherine and John the Baptist and more to the sides St. Mary Magdalene and a small figure of St. Bernardine of Siena holding his flaming emblem against his chest; his head is encircled by the radiant halo of the blessed which might signify that the work was executed between his death in 1448 and his canonization in 1450. A peculiar interest of this painting is the signature of the artist who is otherwise entirely unknown: "*Bartolomeus de Miran(d)ja pinsit*" (fig. 352). This work rather resembles in style the group of productions we found in Viterbo and in the immediate neighbourhood of this town⁽²⁾.

A considerable number of frescoes of the beginning of the 15th century, are found in the little church of Sta. Maria di Belverde, near Cettona, in the province of Siena⁽³⁾. The series of scenes from the Life of Christ which adorn the left transept of this curious building, is very extensive. We see the Annunciation the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, the Saviour at the age of twelve teaching in the Temple, the Baptism, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Prayer on the Mount of Olives, the Betrayal of Judas and the Descent into Hell. Of the last-mentioned fresco only a few fragments remain visible, while some other scenes have completely disappeared. In the nave of the church the legend of St. Mary Magdalene is illustrated; we can still recognize the miracle of the woman of Marseilles and the saint anointing the feet of

(1) C. A. Nicolosi, *Il Litorale Maremmano* (Italia Artistica), Bergamo, 1910, pp. 111 and 112.

(2) F. Bargagli Petrucci, *Pienza, Montalcino e la Val d'Orcia* (Italia Artistica), Bergamo, 1911, p. 29.

(3) P. Misciatelli, *Sta. Maria di Belvedere, Illustrazione Toscana* February, 1927, and in *San Francesco e Siena, Siena, 1927*, p. 65.

Christ; of two other scenes, one of which appears to depict a birth, only some traces are left. All these paintings seem to be by the same artist; his compositions and drawings are very traditional and his style still that of the 14th century, revealing a knowledge of the art of the Lorenzetti brothers and Bartolo di Fredi, but nevertheless this master belonged no doubt to the 15th century and was in all probability a contemporary of Sassetta's. In a cavernous chapel under the church, we find a certain number of paintings from different hands; they include several Madonnas, one depicted between SS. John the Baptist and Bartholomew, Christ enthroned, two Crucifixions, St. Francis receiving the stigmata, SS. John the Baptist, Francis, Michael, the Virgin and the Evangelists in medallions. Some of these paintings reveal an inspiration of the tradition of Simone Martini or rather of Paolo di Giovanni Fei, the last representative of this artistic current. All these frescoes are rustic works of no great significance.

Arezzo produced some fairly important painters belonging to this movement. In the first place should be cited Parri Spinelli who, however, I have classified among the pupils of Lorenzo Monaco and consequently have treated him in a previous chapter. The names of other painters of this period are known to us by the documents (¹).

(¹) Besides Jacopo Landini, who for very long was identified with Jacopo del Casentino and who was active in the second half of the 14th century, we find: Angnio di Giovanni who died in 1406 but it is not certain if he was really a painter, Johannes Angeli mentioned in 1418, 1429, 1431, 1434, 1453 and 1457 perhaps the same as Giovanni d'Agniolo di Balduccio (1442), Niccolo di Giovanni who died in 1463, a "Jacoba Guasparris pictoris" who died in 1457, Lorentino di Andrea (1399), Niccolo di Lorentino di Andrea who died in 1457, Lorentino di Giovanni who died in 1424, his brother Cristoforo di Giovanni, mentioned in 1398 and deceased before 1436, Simone di Domenico, 1431, active in Citta di Castello, Mariotto di Cristofano (1413), Lodomero (1434), Nanni di Minuccio 1386—1416, Francesco di Lorentino who died in 1431, Lazzaro Taldi or Vasari 1396—1468. *A. del Vita*, Notizie e documenti su antichi artisti aretini, L'Arte, XVI, 1913, p. 231. *The Same*, Contributi per la storia dell'arte aretina, Rassegna d'arte, XIII, 1913, p. 186. *U. Pasqui*, Pittori aretini vissuti dalla meta del sec. XII al 1527, Rivista d'arte, X, 1917, p. 67. *G. F. Gamurrini*, Aggiunta all' articolo di U. Pasqui, idem, p. 94.

The only work of any importance from the hand of a painter of this town, other than Parri Spinelli, is a very extensive series of frescoes that Francesco d'Arezzo with the help of his assistants, executed in the church of Sta. Caterina at Galatina, consequently in the very south of Italy. The building of this church was ordered by Raimondello Orsini, Count of Soletto, in order to make opposition to the propaganda organized by the orthodox church, and the construction was carried out between 1384 and 1391. I do not agree with Prof. A. Venturi and the others who have followed his opinion that these paintings derive from the Neapolitan school, but I consider them rather to be provincial productions of Tuscan art of a reactionary form, showing a fairly pronounced connexion with the style of the 14th century. Moreover, if certain resemblances to the Neapolitan school do exist, it is because it, too, derives from Tuscan painting, but whereas in Naples it was chiefly the Sienese style that dominated, we find in the decoration at Galatina more pronounced reminiscences of Florentine art ⁽¹⁾.

That Francesco d'Arezzo was the principal artist employed on this decoration is highly likely because his is the only name that appears in the signature: "*Franciscus de Arezio fecit A.D. MCCCCXXXV*". This signature is inscribed, it is true, below a fresco of relatively little importance, showing St. Antony Abbot, but a comparison with the rest of the mural decoration of this church allows us to ascribe to the same hand a very large number of the paintings; in this enterprise, however, Francesco had several collaborators.

An 18th century historian ⁽²⁾ informs us that in 1415 Marie d'Enguien, the widow of Raimondello Orsini, had charged a painter of Naples ⁽³⁾ with the decoration of this church, but in

⁽¹⁾ *H. W. Schulz*, *Denkmaeler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unter Italien*, I, Dresden, 1860, p. 281. *Schubring*, *Rassegna Pugliese*, XVIII, 1901, p. 170. *De Giorgi*, *La chiesa di S. Caterina in Galatina e la torre quadrata di Soletto*, *Rivista stor. Solentina*, 1903, p. 286. *G. Gigli*, *Il Palone d'Italia (Italia Artistica)*, Bergamo, 1911, p. 100. *M Salmi*, *Appunti per la storia della pittura in Puglia*, *L'Arte*, 1919, p. 149.

⁽²⁾ *B. Papadia Japigia*, *Memorie storiche della città di Galatina*, Naples, 1792, p. 34. (*Schulz*, *op. cit.*, p. 281).

⁽³⁾ According to *Salmi*, *op. cit.*, p. 155, an old tradition gives the name of the Venetian painter, Caterino, as that of the first decorator of this church.



Fig. 353. Francesco d'Arezzo, scenes from the Apocalypse.
Sta. Caterina, Galatina.

Photo Moscioni.

her opinion his work was very unrefined so she arranged for the painter Francesco to come from Arezzo and he re-decorated the entire building in 1435, the date we find accompanying his signature.

On the entrance wall we find some scenes from the Apoca-

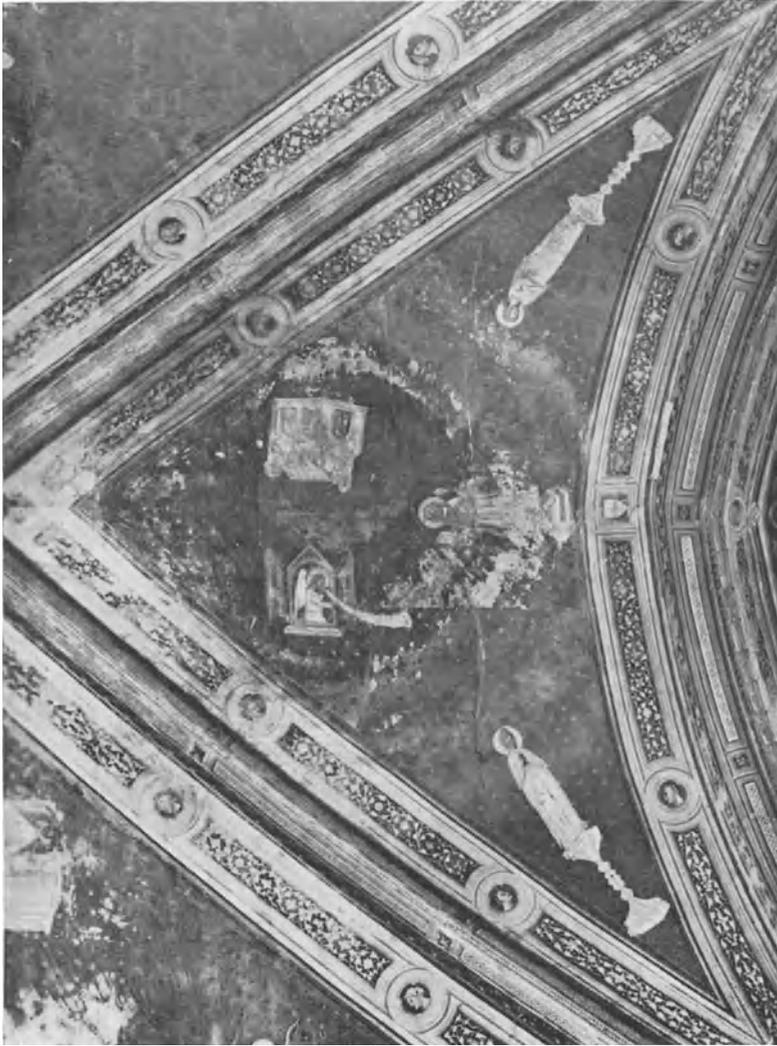


Fig. 354. Francesco d'Arezzo, scene from the Apocalypse.
Sta. Caterina, Galatina,

Photo Mascioni.

lypse with parts of a Last Judgment, as well as a Coronation of the Virgin and some figures of saints. The first division of the left wall is decorated with a representation of the Triumph of Death and other scenes from the Apocalypse above (figs. 353—355) and some figures of saints below; a similar

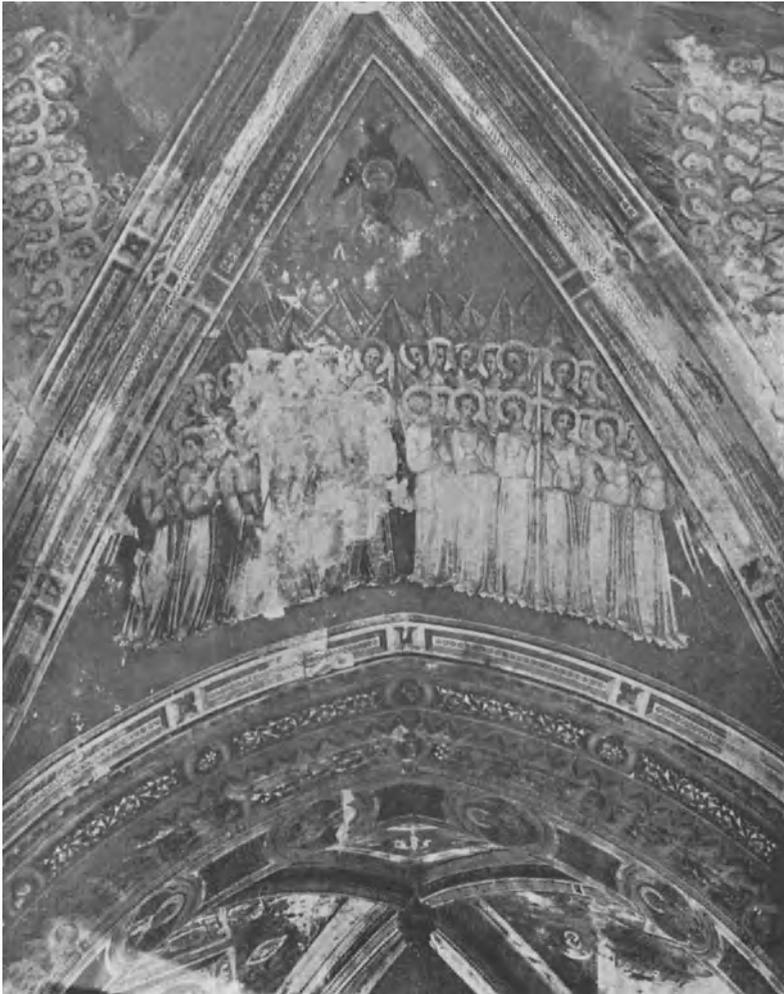


Fig. 355. Francesco d'Arezzo, scene from the Apocalypse.
Sta. Caterina, Galatina.

Photo Moscioni.

arrangement is found on the wall opposite. The vault in this part shows some allegorical and Apocalyptic figures, those in the angles simulating statues on pedestals.

The paintings of the second division of the central nave illustrate the history of the Old Testament, beginning with the story of Adam and Eve and continuing with those of Noah



Fig. 356. Francesco d'Arezzo, the Adoration of the Magi.
Sta. Caterina, Galatina.

Photo Moscioni.

and the Tower of Babel. The Seven Sacraments are depicted in the vault.

The decoration of the third compartment narrates the Life



Fig. 357. Francesco d'Arezzo, the death of St. Catherine.
Sta. Caterina, Galatina. Photo Moscioni.

of Christ from the Annunciation till the Crucifixion (fig. 356). Large group of angels fill up the three triangles of the vault.

In the choir we find scenes from the legend of St. Catherine of Alexandria (fig. 357) with a representation of the saint enthroned but of the latter only a fragment remains. The vault is decorated with figures of the Evangelists and Fathers of the Church seated at their desks.

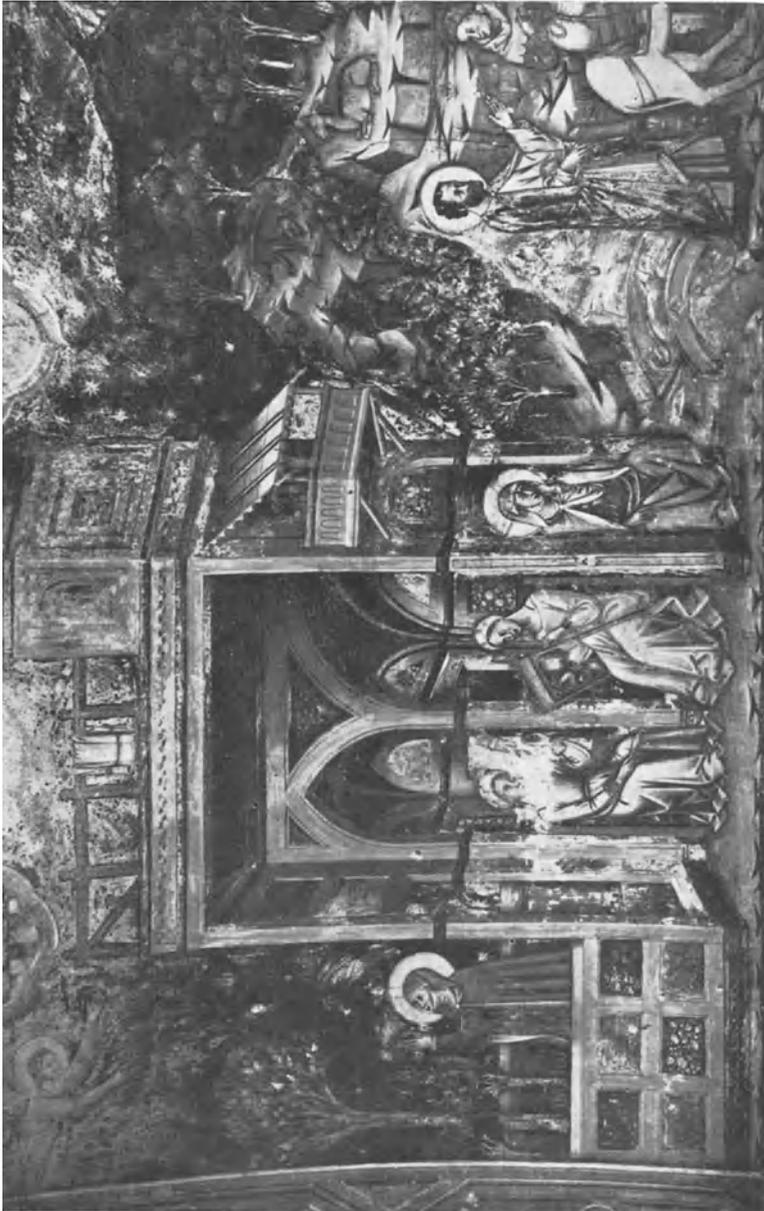


Fig. 358. Francesco d'Arezzo, the Annunciation to Anna.
Sta. Caterina, Galatina.

Photo Moscioni.



Fig. 359. Francesco d'Arezzo, the history of Joachim and Anna,
Sta. Caterina, Galatina. Photo Moscioni.

In the nave to the extreme right — because this church is built with five naves — a long series of frescoes relates the lives of Joachim, St. Anna and the Virgin (figs. 358—361)



Fig. 360. Francesco d'Arezzo, the Nativity of the Virgin and the Presentation in the Temple. Sta. Caterina, Galatina.

Photo Moscioni.



Fig. 361. Francesco d'Arezzo, the Death of the Virgin. Sta. Caterina, Galatina.
Photo Moscioni.

and the youth of Christ (fig. 362); near here we find also a representation of St. Clare with six scenes from her legend.

The number of frescoes in this church is very great because I have not even mentioned the multitudinous figures of saints, among whom we see St. Francis and members of his order, the representations of the Madonna and other paintings, including a Pietà, which are scattered throughout the five divisions of this church; in the central nave there are as many as five rows of scenes, one above the other.

I think we can recognize the style of Francesco d'Arezzo and his helpers in the scenes from the life of the Virgin and the childhood of Christ in the aisle to the extreme right, in a great number of the figures of saints and in some of the scenes from the legend of St. Catherine, such for instance as that of the angels bearing away her body, because all these works are executed after the same manner as the decoration of the lateral walls of the first and second division of the central nave. Another painter, less dominated by Francesco, can be held responsible for the scenes from the Life of Christ in the third division of this nave while still another artist not in any way directly connected with Francesco executed the frescoes in the vault and the majority of the scenes from the story of St. Catherine of Alexandria. This last master was in my opinion also of Tuscan origin, but he was slightly more influenced by the Sienese school.

The colours are warm and bright but not glaring. No doubt the hot dry climate of Apulia has been a great factor in preserving these frescoes in all their original freshness.

Some of the paintings have blue backgrounds, others are black, especially in the scenes of the Apocalypse, in which the colours are often of rather a pale shade; this opposition produces a very curious effect.

In form and outline the style of these paintings is not markedly Gothic but from the international movement derives the liking for intimate details of every day life which are evident in the scenes from the childhood of Christ in particular. Even in the illustrations from the Apocalypse many of the noblemen are elegantly attired after the fashion of the 15th century and there is an abundance of individual and very expressive, sometimes even ugly, faces.

It cannot be denied that the subjects chosen for this decoration are more commonly found in paintings of Southern Italy, more especially in Naples. The Apocalypse was illustrated, so we are told by a tradition in which, however, it seems we can have but little confidence, not only by Giotto in the church of Sta. Chiara in Naples (¹) but also in some

(¹) *Schulz*, op. cit., p. 281, insists on the coincidence.

14th century paintings of the Neapolitan school in the Ehrbach von Fürstenau collection and in the miniatures of the Hamilton Bible which have been discussed in another volume, and

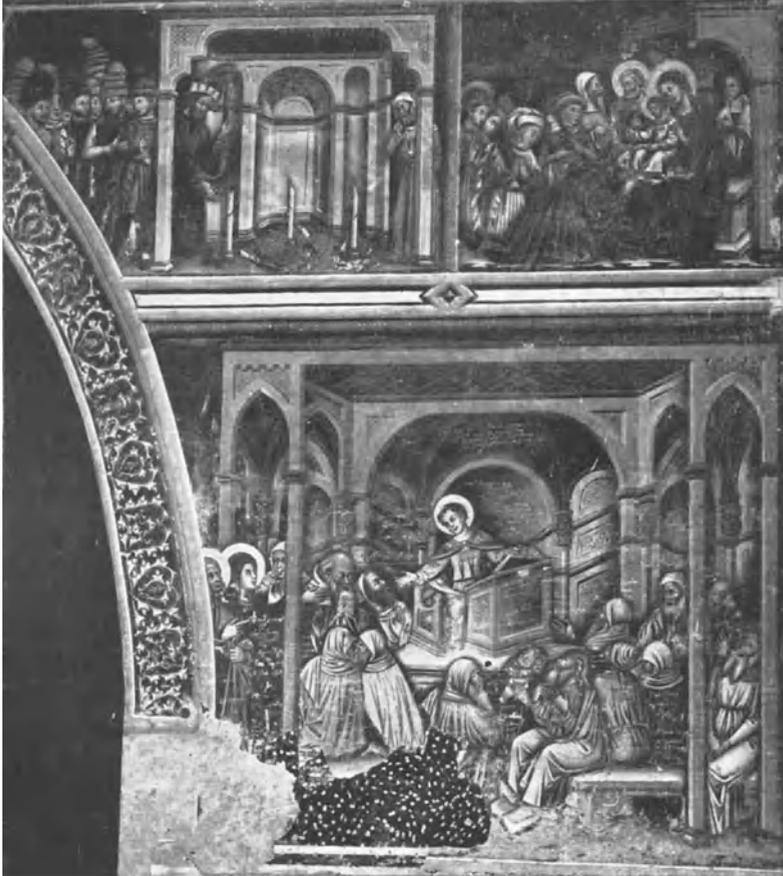


Fig. 362. Francesco d'Arezzo, miracle of the broken idols and the Lord at the age of twelve teaching in the Temple. Sta. Caterina, Galatina.

Photo Moscioni.

other similar illuminations ⁽¹⁾. Further Oderisi had already depicted the Sacraments in the vault of the Incoronata church in Naples. But in my opinion this in no way precludes the fact that these paintings are executed in the style of the

⁽¹⁾ v. Vol. V. p. 324.

mediocre productions of the provincial Tuscan centres⁽¹⁾. If the subjects treated were popular in this part of Italy then no doubt the painter was requested to illustrate them.

In the town of Arezzo we find a few works of the beginning of the 15th century, such for example as the Annunciation in the chapel to the right of the tribune in the church of S. Domenico, a pleasing picture from which much sentiment emanates, and a fresco of the meal at Emmaus on the entrance wall of S. Francesco. Both these works have been wrongly ascribed to Parri Spinelli⁽²⁾.

At Castiglione Fiorentino, not far from Arezzo, the right wall of the church of S. Francesco is adorned with a picture of the Madonna rather rustic in appearance but of a quaint charm, belonging to this artistic tendency.

Also in other parts of Tuscany works of the first half of the 15th century are preserved.

Some frescoes of minor importance adorn the pillars near the choir in the cathedral of Pisa; they represent the Crucified between the Virgin and St. John with St. Mary Magdalene at the foot of the Cross and the pelican and angels above (fig. 363), the figures of SS. John the Baptist, Cosmo and Damian on the same pillar and a seated figure of St. Jerome, of a much finer technique than the other paintings, on the corresponding pillar on the other side of the nave. Da Morona believed the Crucifixion to be a work of the 14th century but Signor Papini has correctly assigned it to the beginning of the 15th century⁽³⁾.

The Pisan painter Battista di Maestro Gerio, the son of the sculptor Gerio di Giovanni, is known to us only by one work,

(¹) *Salmi*, op. cit., is inclined to admit that Giovanni di Pietro da Napoli participated in the execution of this decoration but the work of this master, who collaborated with the Sienese painter, Martino di Bartolommeo shows nothing which reveals his Neapolitan origin, for his style became that of a very mediocre Tuscan artist.

(²) *Salmi*, ed. of *Vasari's Vita di Parri Spinelli*, pp. 6 and 7. *The Same*, Catalogue of the Gallery of Arezzo.

(³) *R. Papini*, Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di antichità d'Italia: Pisa, Rome, 1912, pp. 104 and 112. Signor Papini is of opinion that the last mentioned figure belongs to the Florentine school.

the Madonna and four saints in the Pieve of S. Giovanni Battista at Camaiore, near Viareggio, which is signed: "*BaptistadePisis pinxit*" and dated 1418. It is the work of an indifferent artist who actually still belongs to the 14th century. A document of the same year records payment that he received for some work he carried out in the Campo Santo of Pisa (1).

Vasari speaks of a certain Alvaro di Piero di Evora da Portogallo (2) as if he were a contemporary of Taddeo di Bartolo. According to the documents cited by Guasti (3) this artist worked in 1411, together with Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, in the Palazzo del

(1) *Tanfani Centofanti*, Notizie di artisti pisani, Pisa, 1893, pp. 70 and 214.

(2) *Reynaldo Dos Santos*, Alvaro Pirez d'Evora pintor quattrocentista en Italia, Lisbon, 1922 (*L'Arte*, 1925, p. 79). *Vasari-Milanesi*, II, p. 223.

(3) *G. Guasti*, Memorie di Maria del Soccorso, 1871, p. 45 (*Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, II, p. 292).



Fig. 363. The Crucifixion. Tuscan School. Cathedral, Pisa.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

Ceppo at Prato⁽¹⁾ and in 1423, in carrying out the disposition made in the will of a certain Filippino dei Nobili di Querceto that an altar-piece should be placed in the church of S. Agostino in Volterra, the executor charged Alvaro with the work⁽²⁾.

Some years ago a large Madonna showing the signature "*Alvaro Pirez Devora Pintor*" (sic) was brought from the church of Sta. Croce at Fossabanda to the gallery of Pisa (fig. 364). The Virgin holds the Child standing on her knee; of the eight angels grouped around the throne two play on musical instruments, two adore, of the third pair one offers a flower, the other a little bird while the fourth pair look over the back of the throne.

A more important work by the same master is a polyptych which was brought from the church of S. Lorenzo a Strada to the chapel of S. Carlo in the cathedral of Volterra but has since been transferred to the town gallery (fig. 365)⁽³⁾. The Virgin adorns the central panel, to either side of which we see SS. Nicholas, John the Baptist, Christopher and Michael; the heads of SS. Cosmo and Domian appear in the lateral pinnacles and the base is decorated with figures in relief of the dead Saviour and six saints.

In the gallery of Brunswick there exists a picture by the same master, showing a fragment of the signature and the date 1434 (fig. 366). It is a triptych representing the Virgin and Child escorted by two saints and to the sides the Resurrection and the Crucifixion, each with a figure of the Annunciation above.

I do not know the work by Alvaro at Nicosia, near Calci, mentioned by Prof. A. Venturi⁽⁴⁾.

The works that Alvaro and Niccolo di Pietro Gerini together executed in the Palazzo del Ceppo at Prato have been identified with the fragments of frescoes, chiefly their preparatory

(1) And not in that of Pistoia as Schubring says in his notes on Vasari in the German edition published under the direction of Gottschewski and Gronau, I^o, Strasbourg, 1916, p. 200.

(2) *M. Battistini*, Un documento volterrano intorno al pittore Alvaro di Portogallo, *L'Arte*, XXIV, 1921, p. 124.

(3) *C. Ricci*, Volterra (Italia Artistica). Bergamo, 1914, p. 89.

(4) *A. Venturi*, Storia dell'arte italiana, VII¹, p. 31.



Fig. 364. Alvaro da Portogallo, Madonna. Gallery, Pisa.

Photo Arte Grafiche.

sketches, which we find at the present day on the façade of the palace ⁽¹⁾, and which represent to all appearances the reception given to those who sought access (fig. 367). They are, in fact, drawings of the first years of the 15th century and are executed with a certain display of spirit and technical



Fig. 365. Alvaro da Portogallo, polyptych. Pinacoteca, Volterra.

Photo Arte Grafiche.

skill; it is not impossible that they are from the hand of Alvaro but they have nothing in common with the manner of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Schubring*, op. cit.

⁽²⁾ A polyptych representing the Virgin in the midst of angels and four saints dating from 1408, originating from the church of S. Agostino, now in the gallery of Volterra, has often been attributed to Alvaro. C. Ricci, Volterra, p. 86, ascribes it to the school of Taddeo di Bartolo

Artistically speaking I do not think that Alvaro owes anything to Taddeo di Bartolo, although Vasari affirms that he was his contemporary and worked in the same manner, admitting, however, that he was a fairly mediocre artist. This indeed



Fig. 366. Alvaro da Portogallo, triptych, 1434. Gallery, Brunswick.

Photo Bruckmann.

he was, but Vasari was mistaken in considering him Taddeo di Bartolo's contemporary or in any way connected with his

as I, too, have done v. Vol. II, p. 569 note. Cavalcaselle judged it to be executed in the manner of Cennino di Francesco di Ser Cenni and Dr. De Nicola is of the same opinion v. *Rassegna d'arte*, XVIII, 1918, p. 69 note 7. *Langton Douglas* note on *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, II, p. 158, describes it as a production of the Florentine school, influenced by Bartolo di Fredi. Cavalcaselle seems to assign to Alvaro still a Madonna and saints in the little church of Sta. Maria, outside the Porta Fiorentina, Volterra.



Fig. 367. Alvaro da Portogallo?, the reception of the sick. Palazzo del Ceppo, Prato.
Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

style of painting. Nor do I agree with Señor Dos Santos that there is any trace of the national Portuguese manner in Alvaro's work, which sooner classifies him in that group of Tuscan painters whose productions are reminiscent of the creations of the great Florentine masters of the 14th century. Personally I think he must have been familiar with the works of Bicci di Lorenzo but he was a poorer painter than this master, although his productions, the picture in Pisa in particular, reveal that he belonged to a more advanced stage of evolution, yet judging from the polyptych of Volterra and the panel in Brunswick his style of painting was much more Gothic than Bicci's. His activity seems to have been divided between Volterra and Pisa as moreover we are informed by Vasari who mentions still a picture by him in the church of S. Antonio in the latter town and

who informs us that he also worked elsewhere.

I do not know any other Pisan works belonging to this

movement; besides the local characteristics are not sufficiently marked to allow us make any attributions. However, a pleasing, though badly restored panel in the gallery of Altenburg (No. 26), showing the Virgin sitting sewing a little garment while the Child, a bird and some fruit in His hand, is seated alongside and two angels hover above, is ascribed, I know not for what reason, to the Pisan school of about 1400. The painting is executed in a fairly Gothic style.

In Lucca the works of this manner are neither more frequent nor more important. In the gallery we find an altar-piece (No. 49) originating from the church of S. Quirico di Guamo in which the Virgin is depicted between SS. Mary Magdalene and Quiricus. The figure of Christ bestowing a blessing above seems to be from a different hand. The work is a poor production of the Gothic current of the beginning of the 15th century.

Two other panels in the same gallery (Nos. 53 and 54) representing, the one, SS. Michael, John the Baptist and James, the other, SS. Peter, Paul and John the Evangelist, are of finer quality. They have been attributed to Francesco Anguilla, a painter of Lucca, by whom there exists a polyptych in the Abbey of Camaiore, near Viareggio, showing the Virgin between SS. Peter, John the Evangelist, John the Baptist and Bartholomew and the Pietà with the Twelve Apostles in the predella, which is signed: "*Francescho d' Andrea Anguilla di Lucha dipinse*".

This artist is mentioned in Lucca for the first time in 1412; he made his will in 1440⁽¹⁾. It has been supposed that he is the Francesco di Andrea Lola who was active in 1410 and 1419 in Bologna⁽²⁾ but I find no sufficient reason for this identification; one would certainly say that their works are from different hands.

Of artists originating from Pistoia, we know of one, Bartolommeo di Andrea da Pistoia who, in 1430, signed the Madonna between SS. James, Hypolitus, Michael and a holy priest which adorns the first altar to the right in the church of Serravalle, between Pistoia and Lucca⁽³⁾.

(1) *P. Campetti*, Catalogo della Pinacoteca Comunale di Lucca, Lucca, 1909, p. 35.

(2) *Thieme Becker*, Künstler Lexikon, I, p. 523.

(3) *G. Poggi* in *Danielli e Poggi*, op. cit., p. 65.

In Liguria paintings of the beginning of the 15th century are rare. In the Palazzo Bianco in Genoa we find a large crucifix, the actual decoration of which seems to date from the first half of the 15th century but this perhaps covers painting of an earlier period. In the same gallery there are some fragments of a very beautiful fresco of the Crucifixion, several saints and figures in profile, all by the same artist, who interpreted in a most agreeable manner the Gothic art of the beginning of the 15th century.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO VOLUME IX

p. 33 note 1. To the list of Bicci di Lorenzo's works should be added a Madonna between SS. John the Baptist and Antony Abbot in the gallery of Udine.

p. 38. Paolo di Stefano is mentioned still in a document of 1436 concerning the windows in the cupola of the cathedral of Florence v. *Poggi*, *Il Duomo di Firenze*, p. 140, No. 734.

p. 102. A certain resemblance in style exists between the cassone panel in the museum of Berlin, which I reproduce as fig. 65, and a similar panel showing "the Vision of Love" which belongs to Messrs. Durlacher, London; it is attributed to the Sienese school of about 1450 by Herr *Paul Schubring*, *Apollo*, V, 1927, p. 154, but I think it is of Florentine origin and of a slightly earlier date. He reproduces also a "Triumph of Fame" belonging to Herr L. Böhler, Munich, which he rightly classifies as a Florentine production of about 1430; many horses are represented in the rather crowded composition; it is more Gothic in appearance than the foregoing work.

Also of Florentine workmanship and of about the same period is a very damaged cassone panel showing the "Garden of Love", at the present moment for sale in Florence.

p. 168 note 3. The Crucifixion in the Bandini Museum, Fiesole (37) which on p. 243 is attributed to Andrea di Giusto is the same as that which on p. 168 note 3 is ascribed to Lorenzo Monaco; the latter attribution is Mr. Sirén's, I agree sooner with the former.

p. 172. The Madonna and angels in the gallery of Bologna, which I include among Lorenzo Monaco's school works, seems to me on further inspection from the master's own hand. It is a production of an early stage in the artist's career.

p. 176. *P. Toesca*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1917, p. 126, illustrates a miniature of the Crucifixion in a missal in the library of Prince Corsini, Florence, written for the greater part in 1418.

p. 188, 13th line from below. "Oxford" should read "Cambridge".

p. 218. The two saints accompanying the Madonna — reproduced as fig. 143 — in the Accademia of Florence are not SS. Philip and John the Baptist but St. Stephen and a crowned female martyr, probably St. Catherine.

p. 244 note 3. Also in *L'Arte*, XV, 1912, p. 81, *Schmarzow*, exposes his attribution to Domenico Veneziano of the frescoes in the Assunta chapel of the cathedral of Prato.

p. 251. The two predella panels of St. Julian killing his parents and St. Nicholas performing an act of charity in the museum of Berlin should not be included among the school works of Andrea di Giusto; they are the same as those mentioned on p. 240 and have been identified by Baron von Hadeln as part of the altar-piece that Masaccio and Andrea executed for the Carmine church, Pisa, *J. Mesnil*, *Masaccio*, The Hague, 1927, describes them as productions of Masaccio's workshop, perhaps by Andrea di Giusto.

p. 334. The altar-piece by Sassetta once in S. Martino, Chiusdino, then in the town hall, has been brought back again to S. Martino.

p. 361 note 1. I doubt very much the attribution to Sassetta of a panel with the three-quarter-length figures of SS. Catherine and John the Baptist in the Czartoryski Museum, Cracow, which seems to be nearer to the school of Lorenzo Monaco. They are attributed to Sassetta by *T. Gerevitch*, *A Krakoi Czartorysci-Képtár*, Budapest, 1918, p. 24.

Sassetta's Entry into Jerusalem in the Congregazione di S. Filippo Neri, Parma, has been published by *M. Salmi*, *La Diana*, 1927, p. 53.

p. 420, 11th line from below. The date 1425 should read 1445.

p. 451 note 2. A Crucifixion in the Czartoryski Museum, Cracow, is wrongly ascribed to Giovanni di Paolo: *T. Gerevitch*, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

p. 516, 4th line from below. The date 1472 should read 1473.

p. 527 note 2 (p. 531). Sinalunga, the triptych mentioned as being in the convent is now in the church of S. Bernardino. It has been cut at the sides because besides the two saints mentioned, there remain fragments of other two. A Madonna on the altar, seldom visible, is also ascribed to Sano di Pietro.

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INDICES TO VOLUME IX

Compound names divided by di, de, del, etc., will be found under the letter of the first name, all the others under that of the second.

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