GIOVANNI DI FRANCESCO AND THE MASTER OF PRATOVECCHIO

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Burton B. Fredericksen
The J. Paul Getty Museum

Cover: Detail of St. Michael,
from wing of Getty triptych

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Acknowledgments

The present book has taken some three or more years to produce and the basic results have already been published in abbreviated form in the *Catalogue of Paintings* which appeared in 1972. As with that publication, much of the preliminary editing was done by Mrs. Ann Karlstrom whose valuable assistance was unfortunately lost to us when she left the museum in 1973. In spite of later additions and insertions, the basic form of the finished product owes much to her kind counsel. The final editing and the design of the entire book is due to the patient work of Lilli Cristin whose firm hand has kept both myself and the book from going astray. It is through her efforts that it has not taken still longer to reach published form.

Burton B. Fredericksen
Malibu, September 1974

The Triptych at The J. Paul Getty Museum

Five years ago Mr. Getty purchased for the Getty Museum a large triptych depicting a Madonna and Child in the center, with a saint on either wing (figs. 1, 2, 4, 6).[1] It was sold at Sotheby's in London as the "property of a gentleman" and was referred to as the "Poggibonsi altarpiece." The artist was given as "The Master of Pratovecchio," a name not familiar to the average museum-goer. The sale catalog's notes and bibliography, however, indicated that the work had known better times and achieved somewhat more recognition under the name of Andrea del Castagno, one of the greatest painters of the Florentine Renaissance. The use of the *Notname* was a frank admission that the lot in question was less prestigious than originally suggested, and the final price paid was lower than what would be expected for a Castagno painting. The illustration in the catalog showed a large and impressive work, unusual because it was a complete triptych; but the dealers and active bidders at the sale were familiar with its past and no longer showed the same enthusiasm. In fact, the triptych had been in circulation for so long without fulfilling the expectations of its previous owners that its final purchase for Malibu was a bit anticlimactic.

The details of the painting's past are probably of more importance in understanding its present reputation than is generally the case, because its history is more demeaning than usual and, unfortunately, by now also very obscure. Apparently, the first published reference to it occurs in 1910 in a small catalog published by the dealer Giorgio Sangiorgi in Rome.[2] Later there were statements made that Sangiorgi had acquired the painting from the Florentine collector Galli-Dunn (which may be true), that Galli-Dunn had acquired it from Charles Fairfax Murray (which is less likely), and that Fairfax Murray had bought it from the Perugian dealer Fungini in the 1880s (still less likely).[3] Though none of this can now be disproven, it is known that its eventual owner, Duveen, sought very hard to establish a connection between this triptych and a series of predella panels which were thought to be by Castagno and which had likewise belonged to "Fungini" and Fairfax Murray. This may have provided the impetus for tracing the triptych to the same source. But there seems to be no firm evidence that its location before 1910 was ever known. On the contrary, the Sangiorgi catalog states in a disarmingly simple way that the triptych was "provenant du Château de Badia." This enigmatic phrase later caused a great amount of speculation, most of it demonstrably wrong, but it was the only real clue to the painting's origins. In itself it did not say a great deal because it did not specify which *badia* was meant, nor even in what region. Because the painting was ascribed to Baldovinetti, the *badia* could presumably have been one in or near Florence, but that is of little help. We will return to this detail later.

In 1912 the triptych was still with Sangiorgi and still attributed to Baldovinetti.[4] Then it appeared unexpectedly in Paris, in the Arthur Sambon collection, where it was sold with the rest of Sambon's possessions at the Galerie Georges Petit in 1914. This time the painting was attributed to the "school of Verrocchio."[5] It was acquired by Count René Trotti and then lost sight of again until it appeared for sale in New York in 1920. The central part of the triptych, now called a work of Domenico Veneziano, is seen in advertisements for the Satinover Gallery which were placed in *The Burlington Magazine* during 1920 and 1921.[6] This gallery must have been connected with the dealer Duveen because, in a letter addressed to "Messrs. Duveen" dated April 5, 1917, Bernard Berenson congratulates them on the triptych's acquisition and discusses its author. So Duveen had purchased it at least three years prior to its exhibition at the Satinover Gallery. Berenson's letter (from *I Tatti*) reads as follows:

> Dear Messrs. Duveen:
> I am glad that you have acquired the triptych representing the Madonna with two angels in the centre panel and Michael and Catherine at the sides.
>
> I remember the picture very well and the great pleasure its clear, pure color, its noble architecture, and its interesting types gave me. It is a very original work singularly unconventional, and not a little mysterious. It has too a breadth of spacing and a largeness of design that attract me very much.
>
> You would of course like to know who painted this beautiful work, and I wish I could tell you. But altho the problem has absorbed my attention off and on for years, I have not yet solved it. In an almost inaccessible place in the mountains of the Casentino there seems to be another picture by the same artist.[7] When the war is over I shall try to see it and it may furnish the means for identifying him. For the present I can say no more than that he must have been a follower of Domenico Veneziano.
>
> Truly yours,
> B. Berenson[8]

Later Edward Fowles, who was Duveen's manager, said that Duveen had bought it from R. Langton Douglas in 1920 on the advice of Osvald Sirén and that Berenson had been annoyed because he was not consulted but had eventually consented to state on a photograph that it was "close to Domenico Veneziano."[9] Fowles must have been mistaken about the date, but the opinion given by BB was essentially the same as that expressed in his letter. In 1920, three years later, the painting (or at least a part of it) appeared in the Satinover advertisement as a work by Domenico Veneziano himself.

At this point it is necessary to pause and note a very curious fact about the painting's appearance that will inevitably affect its subsequent history and appreciation. The discerning reader will have noticed that Berenson praises the picture's "noble architecture," whereas the painting in the Getty Museum has no architecture worth mentioning. It is known, however, that when Berenson saw the painting in 1917 it did indeed have a background including extensive architecture. In the Sangiorgi catalog of 1910 and in the Sambon catalog of 1914, the triptych was illustrated in its entirety, and these reproductions show elaborate Renaissance niches in each of the three sections (figs 3, 5, 7). The colors are not discernable, but one can easily imagine the niches painted in pale greens and pinks such as those of the niche behind Domenico Veneziano's Madonna from Santa Lucia de' Magnoli, now in the Uffizi. They are, as Berenson says, quite noble in concept and they are very definitely in the Florentine taste of the mid-fifteenth century.

In 1920 the Satinover advertisement (fig. 11) included an illustration of only the central panel, but from it one can see that at least this part had not changed appreciably since 1914.[10] But when the triptych was reproduced twenty-one years later, in what had become its present state (fig. 1), it had lost every trace of the earlier background. Instead of a painted niche, there was now a flat arch without recession which was closed off by a piece of drapery pinned at three places. All of the architectural elaboration had disappeared, and the square pedestal upon which the Virgin and Child were seated had become a round two-tiered disc of marble rendered rather crudely and, from the standpoint of perspective, somewhat inaccurately. The two wings (figs. 4, 6) had also lost their Renaissance niches and were replaced by a simple cornice below which one sees a flat area of color (in actuality a bright red) possibly meant to simulate drapery. The delicately carved steps were gone and, though Michael had a circle of marble beneath his feet, the female saint on the left had only a simple unadorned floor.

In general, the picture in its present condition is a much simplified and less refined object: a well-developed and superbly delicate piece of architecture had been lost in favor of one that betrays spatial ambiguity and a roughness of execution.

The same is true of the figures on the wings, though to a lesser degree. The bodice of St. Michael, once adorned with minute ornaments, is now simple and plain. His knee guards have lost their decorative faces, and various other details have been altered. Once covered with writing, the scrolls of the female saint on the left are now blank, and the cross on her shoulder is gone.

The only parts of the triptych that seem not to have suffered this alteration are the heads of the Madonna and Child in the center panel, which are almost in their original state. And, as will be seen, they are the best preserved. It is as if they were miraculously spared the ravaging suffered by the rest of the panel around them; for it must be admitted that — as others must have noticed three decades or more ago — the larger part of the triptych is not only different from what it was in 1914, it is also in very poor condition. The backgrounds of all three parts are a mass of small losses, and the surface layers of paint are no longer to be seen. The wing figures, which are relatively well preserved, have nonetheless numerous retouches; and though the pale blue-green remains of the wings of the angel to the right of the Madonna can still be made out against the white drapery, their defacing has been nearly complete.

The reasons for these alterations and damages, if we could determine them, would be of great importance for understanding the triptych, and it is necessary to consider this matter before proceeding on to the later history of the work. Longhi, probably the first (in 1952) to discuss the startling transformations in the painting's appearance, surmised that Duveen's restorers, using x-rays to discover traces of an older composition under the painted surface, had made a severe cleaning that had destroyed the finished layer in order to reveal the one underneath.[11] He felt that the artist had originally painted the panels in about 1455 in the style now visible and that the same artist had modernized them about four or five years later (i.e. ca. 1460). The restorer had obliterated the second and final concept in order to show the first.

Duveen himself explained it differently; he claimed that what had been cleaned off was all

repaint, probably from the early nineteenth century.[12] Though neither he nor anyone writing for him after 1940 mentions the painting's sorry condition, it was evidently felt that this modern paint had to come off no matter what was found underneath.

Contrary to my first impressions, there is nonetheless some reason for believing Duveen's version rather than Longhi's. As it happens, good photographs of the middle and right parts of the triptych showing their condition prior to 1920 have come down to us with the Duveen files (figs. 8-10). And though the photographs are not conclusive, their superior clarity when compared with those of the Sambon catalog reproduction — with which Longhi had to work — reveal what Longhi could not see: that is, the relatively modern character of the paint. This is especially visible in the clothing worn by the Virgin and also in the niche behind her. It is true that the folds of her drapery do not correspond to the folds as seen in the Sambon reproduction; evidently there already had been alterations made between 1914 and the date of these photographs, which probably pre-date the 1920 advertisement. Much of the existing damage looks to be chemical in nature and the result of overcleaning rather than of natural flaking or blistering. While it would not necessarily follow that Duveen's restorer was the one who caused the initial destruction, it is possible that what appears to be repaint in the old Duveen photographs did nonetheless reflect the original composition. In any case, the folds of drapery were clearly not being reworked in order to reveal an earlier composition. Unless the Duveen restorer inadvertently damaged the paintings for some other reason and then had to cover his mistake, it seems probable that these various changes were dictated by the poor condition of the panels in the first place; and indeed there is evidence of extensive flaking. More important, the photograph (fig. 8) of the center panel shows what looks like the right side of the Virgin's circular pedestal peeking through the later layer(s), as if this one area had been partially stripped of overpaint. More of this can be seen on the left, and it does not look like flaking. It is primarily for this reason that I am inclined to believe that Duveen was telling the truth when he claimed the upper surface was modern repaint. As a result, I am led to feel that the architectural backgrounds which Berenson had praised so highly and which in the smaller photographs looked so admirably designed, were in fact not original and that the composition was intended to be as it is now, though of course undamaged. I cannot be certain about this, but it seems unlikely to me that the restorer would have arbitrarily removed details such as the ornaments on the clothing and armor of St. Michael if the x-rays did not reveal anything underneath.[13]

Subsequent to the triptych's rebirth as a freshly cleaned painting, it was also rechristened. We know virtually nothing of its vicissitudes between 1920 and 1941, but during this time it had acquired yet another attribution: Andrea del Castagno, the most impressive name so far. This opened a new and glamorous era for the painting.

In an article on Castagno, G. M. Richter placed the Duveen triptych among the early works of the artist and, comparing it to Venetian paintings instead of Florentine, dated it ca. 1443-44.[14] It is here also for the first time that a connection was made between the triptych and the Badia di San Michele at Poggibonsi. Richter had probably recalled the note given in the Sangiorgi catalog that said the painting had come from the "Château de Badia" and, because the right wing depicted St. Michael, decided that the *badia* must have been the Badia di San Michele. From this point on the triptych became known as the "Poggibonsi Altarpiece" in spite of the meager evidence, and though doubts were raised some ten years later, the name is still occasionally used in reference to it.[15]

Richter's opinion was seconded by expertises written by a series of scholars: Georg Swarzenski, Suida, Langton Douglas and Lionello Venturi.[16] In 1943 Richter published a book on Castagno[17] and repeated most of what he had written two years earlier in his article. Then in 1945 Langton Douglas went a step further and proposed that the "Poggibonsi Altarpiece" had once had a predella consisting of four panels (a fifth was missing) also thought at the time to be by Castagno: A *Crucifixion* in the London National Gallery, a *Resurrection* in the Frick Collection, a *Flagellation* belonging to Berenson, and a *Last Supper* in Edinburgh.[18] These four panels were all supposed to have come from the same "Fungini" in Perugia, and Duveen (by whom Langton Douglas was employed) promptly made extensive use of this reconstruction which employed a photographic montage of the various parts.

In 1950 Maurice Brockwell wrote an extensive "communication" for Duveen which on the whole supported Richter's proposals admirably.[19] He accepted the attribution to Castagno and also the complete reconstruction given by Langton Douglas; but Brockwell had learned that the Badia di San Michele at Poggibonsi had been destroyed in 1270 and the institution finally suppressed in 1299, which

meant that the altarpiece could not have come from there. Given the flimsy evidence upon which the claim had been made, this revelation is not surprising. But it is important because, through an odd twist of luck, Brockwell accidentally came upon a somewhat more probable place of origin. Since the Badia at Poggibonsi had been suppressed, he decided to trace its possessions and found that in 1442 Pope Eugenius IV had given them to the Bridgettine nuns of the Convento del Paradiso (dedicated to Sts. Salvatore and Bridget) near Bagno a Ripoli. By now the female saint on the left wing had been identified as St. Bridget (she had originally been referred to as St. Theresa and then later as St. Catherine of Siena), making her the appropriate saint for the convent. In the process St. Michael might be thought to have lost his relevance, but Brockwell explains that Michael was still important to the institution because the remaining possessions of the badia had been given to them. The scrolls in the hand of St. Bridget were said to represent the "authority of Eugenius IV of June 27, 1442" and the "history of the anciently suppressed Badia of San Michele above Poggibonsi." The substance of this "communication" was soon published as an article by Brockwell in 1951,[20] and subsequently the "Poggibonsi Altarpiece" was referred to as the "so-called Poggibonsi Altarpiece."

One might be forgiven a certain cynicism in respect to the reasoning in Brockwell's article. Poggibonsi had been chosen as the original site because it was a *badia* (as mentioned in the 1910 catalog) and because it was dedicated to St. Michael. The new site was neither, and in effect Brockwell was claiming to have been led to the correct site by one that was admittedly wrong; that is to say, if Richter had not made the initial error, Brockwell would never have traced the altarpiece to Paradiso. Nevertheless, there is good reason to believe Brockwell was right, as I hope to show shortly.

Before doing so, however, we should take time to finish tracing the triptych's "professional career." As we have seen, the painting was still in the possession of Duveen in 1951 and at the height of its fame, though Duveen does not seem to have been able to sell it to anyone. The bubble began to burst just a year later in 1952 when Longhi published his article on the Master of Pratovecchio,[21] an anonymous artist whose name derived from a dismembered altarpiece at Pratovecchio, large parts of which are now in the London National Gallery. Longhi placed together a small group of paintings that he attributed to this follower of Domenico Veneziano and discussed them at length in relation to other Florentine works of the period. Among the works of the Pratovecchio Master was the so-called "Poggibonsi Altarpiece" which Longhi placed in direct proximity to the Pratovecchio altarpiece itself, making it one of the two extant works of importance by this artist. He dated it ca. 1455 and, noting its state when in the Sambon collection, he decided it had been modernized about 1460. It was also the latest work he could find by the artist whose activity, he concluded, must have ranged between 1440 and 1460.

This new opinion, as might be expected, was not accepted by everyone concerned, but it did find some favor. Martin Davies, in his catalog entry dealing with the Pratovecchio pieces, agreed that the same artist had done the Duveen altarpiece.[22] The attribution was also accepted by Salmi,[23] Hartt,[24] and Zeri;[25] and by the time the painting was auctioned in 1967, it carried the name of the Master of Pratovecchio, under which it was exhibited by the Getty Museum.

In the meantime, however, Duveen had sold the painting to Mr. Hugh Satterlee of New York. The date of the sale is not known, nor whether the price paid was that of a Castagno or of a Pratovecchio Master. In any case, when it was included in Berenson's Florentine lists of 1963, its location was given as the Satterlee collection; but, more important, it was entered among the works of Giovanni di Francesco, yet another name in the long string of attributions suggested since 1910.[26]

Berenson was evidently not the first person to suggest the name of Giovanni di Francesco. According to Fowles, Toesca had first proposed the name of the Carrand Master (Giovanni di Francesco) and Berenson had merely followed him.[27] This may be so, but Berenson was not, it seems, completely convinced of the idea since he entered it with a question mark. The same artist had been mentioned earlier in connection with the Pratovecchio altar,[28] and in 1951 Martin Davies had already expressed the opinion that both paintings were by someone at least under the influence of an artist like Giovanni di Francesco.[29] Finally, Waterhouse seems to have agreed with Berenson's identification, though with less reservation.[30]

This was the jumbled and confused state of scholarship dealing with the triptych when it arrived in Malibu in the late 1960s: there was virtually no consensus about its author; its place of origin was only a wild supposition; and its very physical appearance was obscure and uncertain. Just tracing its known background had become a tedious and contradictory chore.

However, a careful and patient study of the circumstances surrounding a work will often yield something of value about it, and such a study was clearly overdue in respect to the so-called "Poggibonsi Altarpiece." But it is usually best to begin by ignoring all that has been said or known about a piece before forming one's own opinion about it, and that is what we will do here.

It is necessary first to take a fresh look at the triptych to determine if it provides any clues to its origins, and it does not take long to see that at least one detail is unusual enough to be taken as a starting point: that is, St. Bridget on the left wing. It will be recalled that at various times she had been referred to as St. Theresa, St. Catherine of Siena, and an anonymous nun. Richter seems to have been the first (in 1941) to have called her St. Bridget, and it might be well to make certain that we are indeed dealing with St. Bridget before building an inquiry using her as the cornerstone.

The saint on the left wing is shown clothed in a black cloak and tunic with a white veil and collar. Although this might seem at first glance to resemble the costume of a Dominican tertiary, such as St. Catherine of Siena, the tunic worn by members of the Dominican order should be white, and Bridgettines are the only nuns who wear a combination of black tunic and cloak with white veil. The only Bridgettine saint commonly represented in art of this period was St. Bridget herself, and if any more proof were necessary, one might add that there is ample precedent for showing St. Bridget — and only St. Bridget — with scrolls in her hands. Such representations are fairly rare in Italian art and I know of only two other paintings of the subject: one by a late fourteenth-century Florentine artist, formerly in a private collection in Milan;[31] and the other by Sogliani, now in the Uffizi.[32] This image of St. Bridget occurs more frequently in manuscripts, usually of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries.[33] The scrolls were meant to represent her rule and/or writings that were passed on to members of her order, and they were an important attribute of the saint in depictions of her life. So there can be little doubt that Bridget is indeed the nun represented on the wing of the Getty triptych.[34]

Given the nature and relative rarity of the subject, one can assume that any painting of St. Bridget holding her teachings must have been produced for an edifice connected with the Bridgettine order. Admittedly we do not know conclusively where any of the three paintings mentioned above were originally placed, but the mere prominence of the saint

in the compositions would mean that the works had been done for members of her order. One need only determine then what Bridgettine buildings existed in the area where the artist was active to learn where the painting might have been. The Pratovecchio Master, or at least the author of the Getty triptych, was obviously schooled in the Florentine tradition. Whether one accepts all of the pictures attributed to him or not — including the Pratovecchio altarpiece itself — there can be no doubt that he was active in Florence or its immediate vicinity; no one has ever attributed the pieces to anyone but Florentine artists. Going one step further, it is not difficult to determine that there were but two Bridgettine buildings in the Florentine area: the Convento del Paradiso near Bagno a Ripoli and the small church of S. Brigida connected with the convent which was near S. Pier Gattolino (adjacent to the present Boboli Gardens). The latter was begun ca. 1435, was still incomplete in 1450, and was destroyed ca. 1734. It could conceivably have been the home of the Getty triptych, and Paatz has also suggested that the painting by Sogliani mentioned above might have come from there.[35] Unfortunately there is no way of knowing what the church contained. But luckily there is still some record of the possessions of the convent at Bagno a Ripoli; and though there are no complete inventories, there are extensive archives which record gifts and expenditures, and among these is mention of what must be the Getty triptych.

In the Archivio di Stato in Florence are preserved 326 volumes of various archives from the Monastero del Paradiso. No one has yet systematically read through this mass of material in an attempt to identify the Getty triptych, but one volume, titled *Memoriale dal 1425 al 1435*, alludes in two places to a triptych with predella that generally fits its description. On the 27th of January 1429 (i.e. 1428 by modern reckoning) an agreement was reached with one Giuliano di Jacopo who was to paint a tabernacle in exchange for a chess set presumably made at the convent.[36] The painting was never delivered by Giuliano, but by November of 1439 the job had been given to Giuliano's nephew, one Giovanni da Rovezzano, to carry out. He was to be paid forty-two florins for the altarpiece and it was described as showing the Madonna with the Child *in collo* in the center panel, with St. Bridget on one side and St. Michael on the other. St. Bridget was to be shown standing upright with two books in her hands which she was giving to kneeling monks and nuns, and above her head were the figures of Christ, Mary, and angels. Michael would be shown weighing souls. In the predella were to be represented Paradise with angels and souls in one half, and Hell with tortured souls in the other. The full text reads as follows:

> Riebilo dal detto Lodovicho e dettilo a Giuliano di Jachopo dipintore nel chorso perchello vendesse.
>
> Adi 27 di gienaio 1429 rimasi dacchordo chol sopradetto Giuliano chessi dovesse chontare el detto schachieri per fiorini tredici denari de quali denari mi debba fare overo chompiere uno tabernachulo di legno chon cibori e chon pie distallo chorniciato el quale o chomperato dallui per quello pregio rimarremo dacchordo sechondo lo veromo fornito o doro o daltri lavorii quando ne faremo pregio porro qui dappie per ordine tutto quello ne faremo.
>
> Dipoi rimasi col deto Giuliano non faciesse detto lavorio e rimanemo dacordo mi dovesse fare detto Giuliano una tavola daltare per le monache nostre per quello pregio rimaremo dachordo secondo chome io la volevo overo voro, fornita doro e di fighure perche ancora non o pensato le figure vi volglio ella spesa posso fare. Ma de rimesse in Giuliano vi pongha el pregio con questo rimanemo che non passi la somma di fiorini trenta conputando la tavola che costo fiorini sei et quando rimaremo dacordo delle figure lo porro qui dapie per ricordo.
>
> Adi primo di novenbre 1439 detto Giuliano dette affare detta tavola a un suo nipote che a nome Giovannj da Rovezzano dipintore la quale detto Giovannj tolse affare et dipingiere. Nel mezzo la nostra donna col bambino in collo, et da vn de latj Sta Brigida ritta con fratj et suore ginocchionj dappie con due librj in mano, che dia loro la regola et cosi e fratj elle suore la pilgliono e da capo di Sta Brigida sia el nostro singnore et nostra donna con a(n) giolj intorno che lle (che li) palino (ballino) et dall altro lato Santo Michelangiolo che pesi l anime et nella predella la . . . et Paradiso con molti angiolj e anime che ballino insieme. E l altra meta lonferno che martorezzino l'anime in diversi modi et debala fare bella e metterla d oro e d ariento (d'argento) dove bisongnasse et di colori finj e azurro holtramarino et d e rimesso el pregio nel sopradetto Giuliano non passando la somma di fiorinj quaranta denari computando la tavola che costo fiorinj sei et detto Giuliano gli promisse tutto quello m avesse a dare per insino a questo di che indi grosso sono circha a fiorinj ventidue o piu. Posto per memoria overo per

ricordo alle ricordanze a fo X 91 . . . a canciello.[37]

Unfortunately, the volume of *Ricordanze* to which this refers cannot be located. On a later page essentially the same information is repeated, though less completely:

Memoria come io frate Zanobi detti a Giuliano di Jacopo dipintore uno schachieri dosso con fighure molto bello el quale si conto fiorini tredici denari de quali mi debba schontare in una tavola d altare la quale mi debba fare per le monache nostre Giovanni da Rovezano suo nipote per pregio di fiorini quaranta denari cosi gli alogho Giuliano dacordo per detto pregio et promissegli di dargli e contentarlo di tutti e dari che mi debba dare di piu cose avuto da me e farla bella adornata doro e colori perche mi doveva prima fare uno tabernachulo di lengname con cibori e poi rimanemo dacordo della detta tavola come apare in questo per memoria a 17.[38]

It is immediately apparent that the descriptions do not match exactly: first of all the Child is not shown *in collo* and, more important, all of the figures supposed to have been shown with Bridget are absent in the Getty triptych. For this reason there is room for doubting that they are indeed identical. But it must be remembered that the document in question records a contract and that the painting evidently had not yet been carried out in November 1439. Some details could well have been altered before execution, and the fact that the description otherwise tallies in all major aspects would tend to support this. The predella is missing and still unidentified so it cannot help in making the identification, but the coincidence of a triptych done at approximately the right time with precisely the Madonna flanked by Sts. Bridget and Michael would be something of a challenge to credibility, although not outside the realm of possibility. The slight chance that there were two triptychs of similar composition is rendered less plausible by the fact that the artist was Giovanni da Rovezzano.

Giovanni da Rovezzano is not a familiar name to most scholars, and as far as I know it occurs in this form in only one other place in early sources: Vasari says he was a student of Castagno.[39] Various writers, however, beginning with Milanesi,[40] have identified Giovanni da Rovezzano with Giovanni di Francesco Cervelliera; and they are almost certainly the same person. This has been doubted at times;[41] but it has been recently shown that Giovanni di Francesco did in fact live in Rovezzano, and from his style it has long been accepted that he must have been a student of Castagno. As a result we find that the documents from the Convento del Paradiso name, as author of their triptych, the same artist that Toesca, Berenson, and Waterhouse claim as author of the Getty triptych: Giovanni di Francesco. Taken together, these facts allow us to assume with reasonable confidence that the Getty triptych was indeed done for the Convento at Bagno a Ripoli (which is very near Rovezzano), just as Brockwell had suggested, and that its author was none other than Giovanni di Francesco.

Nothing can be said at this point about the later history of the polyptych; we do not know when the painting was finally completed and delivered, nor has it yet been found in later inventories. The contents of the convent are supposed to have gone to the Spedale di Bonifazio in Florence in 1734, but the Getty triptych does not appear in old inventories of that institution.[42] But it is possible that archival research will eventually tell us more about the peregrinations of this triptych.

Until 1917 the name of Giovanni di Francesco was virtually unknown in art historical literature. Some of his works had been discussed (notably an important altarpiece supposedly painted for S. Niccolò sopr'Arno and now in the Bargello) and attributed to an anonymous "Master of the Carrand Triptych."[43] In 1917 Toesca located documents identifying Giovanni di Francesco as the author of one of the Carrand Master's paintings — a rather poorly preserved fresco lunette over the entrance to the Ospedale degli Innocenti — and these documents prove that he received payments for the lunette beginning in December of 1458 and continuing into 1459.[44] Since Toesca's article, there have been various studies of Giovanni di Francesco's activity, usually concerned with adding or subtracting this or that painting to his *oeuvre* and discussing his relation with other artists active in Florence at the time.[45] This has been done entirely on the basis of stylistic comparison, and though a number of new documents has since been brought together, no one has reconsidered his *oeuvre* in its entirety.[46] Now that we have seen that he is probably to be identified with the Pratovecchio Master, this reevaluation becomes still more urgent.

From the date given in the Paradiso contract, it follows that the paintings of the Pratovecchio Master would take their place as the early work of Giovanni di Francesco, done well in advance of the Innocenti fresco which should be among his last

works, if not *the* last. Milanesi had long ago recorded the fact that Giovanni di Francesco del Cervelliera da Rovezzano had been associated with Fra Filippo Lippi and that they had had a legal battle between 1450 and 1455 over a debt.[47] In fact it is now known that they were associated as early as 1442.[48] This association with Filippo Lippi has been largely ignored until now because the works identified as those of Giovanni di Francesco are more obviously related to Castagno and show little of the style of Lippi. The works that *do* show Lippi's influence — though less so than that of Domenico Veneziano — are those by the Pratovecchio Master.

Having found documentary proof of Berenson's, Toesca's, and Waterhouse's claims for the authorship of the Getty and Pratovecchio altarpieces, however, I cannot finally convince myself that they are certainly the work of Giovanni di Francesco. The reasons are stylistic; the mentality that I see in one seems alien to the other, and I feel compelled to leave the question open in spite of the proof given above which would seem to settle the matter. In the course of looking at Giovanni's entire *oeuvre* I will try to explain why.

But before proceeding further into this, we should first put together all that is known about the life of Giovanni di Francesco Cervelliera, also known as Giovanni da Rovezzano, in the hope that we might gain at least some understanding of his movements and activities. Unfortunately the documents are contradictory.

The first certain date that we can connect with Giovanni di Francesco, excepting the date of 1439 found in the archives of Paradiso, is 1442, the year in which he joined the Florentine guild. This is recorded in the *Libro vero delle Matricole* of the *Arte Medici e Speziali*.[49] His name was given as Giovanni di Francesco di Giovanni del Cervelliera and he was said to be living near S. Ambrogio. So one might assume that he was at least twenty years old at this time. This also means that he probably painted the triptych at Paradiso before becoming a guild member.[50]

In this same year, 1442, we know Giovanni was working for Filippo Lippi.[51] He is supposed to have restored a painting by Giotto for Lippi, and this eventually led to the litigation between them. Beyond this one item, no other documents record any substantial collaboration between the two artists, and it is not impossible that it was unique. But the evidence of Lippi's influence in the paintings of Giovanni is so clear that I believe the latter must have been some kind of an assistant. Lippi would have been approximately thirty-six years old in 1442, at least fifteen years Giovanni's senior.

In 1445 "Giovanni di Franciescho da Verazzano (sic) dipintore... chiamato il Ciervelliera" is recorded as owing to the church of S. Maria degli Angeli a debt which stemmed from his father, Francesco. Again in 1449 another — or possibly the same debt — is recorded to that church. In 1451 Fra. Mariano dei Servi of the church was to pay the artist a debt, probably for work done there, but the kind of work is not specified. Other related debts and payments are recorded in the same year.[52]

At this point, the existing documents become contradictory and difficult to interpret. "Giovanni di Francesco di Giovanni" is recorded in 1451 as living near S. Ambrogio in the Via Pietrapiana with his mother. He was evidently unmarried, and he had been living there for more than ten years.[53] Other documents, giving his name as Giovanni di Francesco di Giovanni del Cierveliera, say much the same thing and add the fact that his father had just died. They also show that he had moved to S. Ambrogio from S. Agnolo a Rovezzano near Bagno a Ripoli at least sixteen or more years earlier, and his age is given as twenty-three.[54] If this were so, he would have been born in 1428; but this must be incorrect. It would mean that he had been contracted to work for the Convento del Paradiso at the age of eleven, and that he joined the guild at the age of fourteen! Another set of documents recording these same facts, but supposedly from the year 1435, has been quoted by M. Levi d'Ancona to show that Giovanni di Francesco was born in 1412.[55] Unfortunately, these same documents record that Giovanni sold two-thirds of a house at Rovezzano to a certain Michele di Niccolò in the year 1449! Evidently these are copies of the 1451 papers and are somehow included among others of sixteen years prior, the year when the artist supposedly moved to Florence.[56]

I do not pretend to understand how these documents should be interpreted. It seems likely that Giovanni must have been over thirty years old by this time and not twenty-three as the documents say. Possibly he was actually born in 1412 and the inclusion of the date 1449 is merely a copyist's mistake. For the moment, the question remains unanswered.

In 1450, Filippo Lippi allegedly forged Giovanni's signature to a receipt of payment for the work done eight years earlier, and this initiated the legal troubles between the two.[57] It must have been a difficult period for both, and it supposedly included prison

and torture until Lippi finally confessed in 1455 to having falsified the signature.

In 1457 Giovanni was still living near S. Ambrogio,[58] and in 1458 and 1459 he is known to have been working on the fresco at the Innocenti.[59] He died in 1459, as Vasari claimed, and he was buried in S. Ambrogio on September 29.[60] If we assume he was born in 1412, he would have been forty-seven years old at the time; he must have been at least thirty-one.

In spite of the considerable increase in our knowledge of the artist's life, our total view remains rather inconclusive; more disappointingly, it still permits us to date only one of his individual works — the fresco of 1458/59 — bringing us no further in this respect than Toesca had already come in 1917. But we can roughly date the Getty triptych at the other end of his career, nearly twenty years earlier, and the remainder of his *oeuvre* should for the most part fit somewhere in between. What follows is a list of these works in approximate chronological order.

Paintings in Other Collections

The Pratovecchio/London Altarpiece
figs. 12-18

The large polyptych once in the Camaldolese nunnery of S. Giovanni Evangelista at Pratovecchio and now divided between that town and the London National Gallery is without much doubt the painting that is closest in style to the Getty triptych. Its connection with the Getty triptych, as mentioned earlier, was first noticed by Longhi in 1940 and is now generally accepted.[61] It was the only other important work attributed to the Pratovecchio Master and was also the one that was responsible for his name.

The central portion of the polyptych representing the *Assumption of the Virgin* is still in Pratovecchio (fig. 12).[62] It has been cut at the bottom but is otherwise in good condition. The Virgin is seen in a mandorla seated on clouds and surrounded by six cherubim. The top has the form of a pointed arch; the wings in the London National Gallery have the same form (figs. 13-18).[63] They depict on the left Sts. Michael and John the Baptist; and on the right an anonymous bishop saint and a female martyr. Above the wings are two pinnacles which contain the mourning Virgin and John the Evangelist. To the sides of the wings are pilasters, each of which have three compartments to the front and three to the side. The twelve compartments contain the following saints: (left, front, top to bottom) Benedict, an anonymous pope, and a Benedictine monk; (left, side) Ansansus (?), another bishop, and Peter; (right, front) Romuald (?), Catherine, and Sebastian; (right, side) Jerome, Paul, and Mary Magdalen. In two medallions above the pilasters are the angel and Virgin annunciate.

This is the total of what is preserved, but it is clear that there was originally a pinnacle over the central panel which most probably depicted Christ on the cross (or perhaps just the dead Christ without a cross). Also there may have been a predella. Longhi has identified a panel showing the death of the Virgin, in the Gardner Museum in Boston, as the predella (fig. 19).[64] There are reasons for both accepting and rejecting this claim. The subject is appropriate for a triptych of which the main section shows the assumption of the Virgin; it is also approximately the right size. But, as Davies has already pointed out, the nun on the left of the predella is not clothed in a Camaldolese habit, and since the altar itself was certainly Camaldolese, she would not be an appropriate donor.[65] This alone would seem to exclude its connection with the altarpiece and is the most compelling reason to do so.

In addition, there is some question about whether the artist (or artists) of the predella also painted the main panels. This question is a complex one. At Boston, the Gardner predella was originally attributed by Berenson to the Umbrian Bartolomeo Caporali, an attribution that was followed by Hendy in the 1931 Gardner catalog.[66] After Longhi connected it with the Pratovecchio Master, Berenson changed his attribution to Giovanni di Francesco.[67] Otherwise there has been very little critical comment about its author. Without much doubt, however, the name of Caporali can be discarded. In spite of a strong element of influence by Florentine artists — especially Benozzo — on Caporali's work, none of his paintings is as obviously Florentine in character as this one. There is no trace of Umbrian style in the Gardner predella, and it is difficult now to understand how it could ever have been called anything but Florentine. However, a superficial look reveals that, for the most part, it does not compare well with either the Pratovecchio or Getty polyptychs. The figures of Christ and the apostles gathered around the dead Virgin are unequivocally by someone in the circle of Filippo Lippi and must be by an artist active in his studio. There are parallels to the so-called Pseudo Pier Francesco Fiorentino, but the modeling is much superior to the works attributed to that artist. The name of Fra Diamante comes to mind, but given the uncertainty connected with his *oeuvre*, it can be used only with great reserve. Moreover, his activity in Lippi's studio only begins in the 1450s.[68] Nonetheless there are many direct comparisons to be made with the frescoes at Spoleto begun by Lippi and known to have had the assistance of Diamante between 1467 and 1469. These include a *Death of the Virgin* which has a number of similar heads and differs principally only in scale. The Gardner figures also remind one of the series of saints in niches, from the studio of Lippi and often given to Diamante, now in Worcester, the Kress, and other collections.[69] By all of this I am not saying Diamante is their author but only that, at first glance, it might seem that an artist, or artists, working in Lippi's studio in the 1450s or 1460s must have been responsible.

This does not, of course, obviate the name of Giovanni di Francesco who, as we have already seen, is known to have been connected with Lippi in the 1450s. But there is as yet no reason for believing that he ever imitated Lippi's style so closely. Even if

he had, presumably at a time when he was in Lippi's employ, one would not expect it to appear in a predella to his own altarpiece. That is to say, the style of the Pratovecchio/London polyptych is not matched by that of the predella, and this is another reason to suspect that the Gardner predella was never a part of the polyptych.

In spite of all this, however, I have come to agree that Giovanni di Francesco was involved in the production of the Gardner predella and that it may well belong to the Pratovecchio altar. I have deliberately ignored until now any stylistic discussion of the nun in the inappropriate habit on the left who corresponds rather well to figures in a painting not yet discussed: the Madonna formerly belonging to C. Marshall Spink (fig. 20) which is certainly by the Pratovecchio Master. Moreover, the strong resemblance between the second angel on the left in the predella (fig. 19) and the corresponding angel in the Getty altarpiece (fig. 2) overshadows all of the discrepancies. Although it is conceivable that the predella is a collaborative effort and that the apostles were done by another member of Lippi's shop, it is more likely that it was all done by one artist.

Having decided that the artist of the Gardner predella is the Pratovecchio Master (and therefore Giovanni di Francesco), the predella can no longer be dated in the 1450s or 1460s. A dated work by Giovanni from 1453 (fig. 29) is already stylistically much more advanced. I think the predella must therefore date from before 1450 and probably from the mid-1440s; that is to say, close in time to the Getty altarpiece which most probably was painted within a few years of its 1439 contract. This must also be true of the Pratovecchio altarpiece itself — quite apart from whether the predella belongs to it or not — and therefore we have arrived at a date only a few years earlier than that decided upon by Longhi and Davies, who dated it ca. 1450.[70]

In the process of discussing the predella, we have neglected the larger and principal portions of the altar, and they warrant a close comparison with the Getty altar. The similarities are many: the drapery is folded and modeled the same way; the hands are invariably short and bony with pointed fingers; the eyes and their lids are always carefully drawn, as is the hair which looks sculpted; the artist likes to show the feet, usually bare, with one shown straight-on and the other thrust out to the side; he also tends to emphasize the *contrapposto;* and the floor line usually falls just above the ankles. The differences are few: the faces in the Pratovecchio altar are a bit more gaunt and modeled in greater detail with slightly more feel for structure, though some of this may be due to the altar's better condition; St. Michael (who appears on the wings of both works) is shown less idealized in the Pratovecchio polyptych and he fixes his glance on the viewer; all of the figures of this altar are more expressive (excepting the Virgin Mary on the main panel who is more in the mold of the Getty figures), more individualized, and seemingly more mature stylistically. For these reasons I think the London altar dates after the Getty altar, but certainly not by much. Taken altogether, the London altar has, I feel, more of Lippi in it; but the dominant influence in both is still Domenico Veneziano.

Madonna and Child with Four Saints

fig. 20

This small panel[71] was unknown to Longhi when he wrote his fundamental article on the Pratovecchio Master; it appeared in 1959 on the London art market in the possession of C. Marshall Spink and was already correctly attributed when first published.[72] Three years later it was put up for sale by the same owner[73] at which time it was sold to the dealer Julius Weitzner and went eventually to the dealer Salocchi in Florence.[74] I am not aware of its present location.

The Madonna is shown holding in her arms the Child who is wrapped in swaddling. Two small angels lay a crown on her head. On the left is a young saint with a crutch and a book, possibly meant to represent St. Romuald. He is not ordinarily shown so youthful or without a beard; but he appears the same way on the right pilaster of the Pratovecchio altarpiece — which was certainly done for a Camaldolese institution — so it is probably safe to assume it is St. Romuald in this composition also. Next to Romuald is St. Jerome. On the right is the head of a bearded Benedictine, probably Benedict himself (who is also seen in a pilaster of the Pratovecchio altar), and finally St. Verdiana holding a basket and with a snake at her side. These saints signify that the Spink painting was also done for the Camaldolese and, as has already been suggested, possibly for the same nunnery at Pratovecchio.[75]

The small scale of the Spink panel prevents an accurate comparison with the two larger works

already discussed, but I believe it is probably closer in date to the Getty triptych than the other. The Madonna is rather similar to ours, and so is her throne. The saints are static and less energetic than the saints in the London pilasters. On the other hand, the face of St. Romuald matches precisely the face of the nun in the Gardner predella; and his immobility may be necessitated by the restricted space. It is perhaps unimportant whether the Spink panel predates either or both of the larger works, but there can be little doubt that it is to be placed in the same general phase of his work, which I take to be the early to mid-1440s.

Madonna and Child

fig. 21

Close to the preceding work in both scale and type is a small Madonna first published by Longhi in 1952 as being in a Florentine private collection and presently in the possession of the dealer Vittorio Frascione.[76] It is fairly well preserved and is easily identifiable as a work of the Pratovecchio Master. As before, it is not really possible to date it in relation to the paintings already observed, but I am inclined to put it a bit later than the others, though still within the same general span of the artist's activity. Longhi dated it 1440-1445, and I would concur but would place it at the end of that half decade rather than at the beginning.

Madonna and Child

fig. 22

The four works which we have looked at so far fall into an easily defined group, and most probably all were done within a few years of each other. They show a consistency and unity of style that readily mark them as the products of a single artist working in his own idiom. The next work, a panel published by Zeri in 1961,[77] does not fit this pattern so closely and either predates or antedates the group, but I cannot be sure which.

The painting, known only from a photograph made in Germany in 1890, may no longer exist; and not even its location at that time is certain, though it seems probable that it was somewhere in Germany. We also are uncertain of its size, though it would appear to be fairly large, perhaps about three feet in height.

As Zeri has already pointed out, this painting owes much to the Madonna by Domenico Veneziano formerly in the collection of the king of Rumania and now in the museum in Bucarest. The poses are not really similar, but the placement of the figures before a hedge of roses seems to have been taken directly from the better-known painting. (The same motive occurs also in Domenico's *Madonna* in Washington, but somewhat changed in that the sky is not visible.) This use of a rose hedge occurs somewhat later in the dozens of Madonnas produced by the workshop of the so-called Pseudo Pier Francesco Fiorentino, usually taken to be an imitator (or imitators) of Lippi and Pesellino. The Bucarest *Madonna* by Domenico and the present composition by Giovanni di Francesco (who can be counted among the closest followers of Domenico) show that this motive may have originated with Domenico rather than with Lippi or Pesellino. Both paintings are likely to predate any of those by the "Pseudo Pier Francesco." But there is obviously already some kind of relationship between Giovanni di Francesco and the Lippi workshop, because we have witnessed another occasion where their styles converged: in the Gardner predella where the apostles so much resemble his style. I believe it is safe to assume that Giovanni moved his allegiance from Domenico to Lippi sometime during the 1440s, and he may have been the vehicle for such motives as the rose hedge.[78]

But the style of Giovanni's *Madonna* is not yet Lippesque; and, excepting the roses, there is virtually no trace of Lippi's influence. For this reason, one is tempted to conclude that it predates the Pratovecchio altarpiece and, therefore, probably the other three works we have already examined, including the Getty altar. The face of the Virgin in it strongly resembles that of the Virgin in the central panel of the Getty altar, and it might therefore be considered his earliest painting, done shortly before. (Domenico's Bucarest *Madonna* is also generally thought to date from this period of the early 1440s.) But there is a certain angularity to the Christ Child that hints at Giovanni's later works and which

causes me to hesitate; in addition, the long fingers of the Virgin are more in keeping with his later pictures rather than with anything we have discussed thus far. As a result I am inclined to put it at mid-decade.

The Mature Works

There follows now the body of work generally attributed to Giovanni di Francesco in his more familiar style and which consists of a series of pieces easily recognizable as the product of one person. There is a cleft between these paintings and those seen already; that is, the change in manner between the "Pratovecchio Master" and Giovanni di Francesco. Perhaps the change (which is not, by the way, marked by any obviously transitional works) is due to the artist's having come under the influence of Castagno, who came to Florence in 1444; perhaps it is connected with his leaving Lippi's shop, which we know must have occurred before the litigation of 1450; perhaps it was merely a result of his finding his mature style; or possibly it is due to a combination of these factors. But one cannot deny a kind of metamorphosis — something more than the usual evolution.

How abrupt this change was is difficult to say. It is hard to know which of the following works are earlier and which later (excepting, of course, the lunette of 1459 and an altar frontal dated 1453, which we shall discuss); as a result, we cannot know how much time has elapsed since the completion of the paintings already described. If I am correct that the earlier works carry us to about 1446, the present group probably begins around the end of the decade. The earliest date is 1453 and it is conceivable, though unlikely, that all of these paintings date between that time and his death six years later. But for very superficial reasons, a few seem to precede the fresco of 1453, and I will attempt to explain why:

The Carrand Triptych

fig. 23

It is curious that the key monument in the *oeuvre* of Giovanni di Francesco — the altarpiece that lent him his temporary name until Toesca found the real one, and the best preserved work we have from his hand — should remain so little studied and documented. It has often been assumed that we know both where it comes from and what its complete appearance was. In fact, we know neither of these things and, except for the identification of its author as Giovanni di Francesco (which is most probably correct), nothing noteworthy has yet been said about the painting that one cannot guess *prima facie* from a photograph. As best I can tell, not even the detailed dimensions of the piece have ever been published.

Unfortunately, I have hardly come any further on these points than my predecessors; the complete entry will have to be written by someone who has had the opportunity to explore the relevant archives. As a result, the following can only be an indication of the study still needed.

The appearance of the Carrand triptych is easily enough described. In the center panel the Madonna and Child sit before an elaborate niche formed of four fluted pillars and a coffered vault. This is flanked by two square pilasters. She is seated on a cushion and drapes of rich damask are on either side. On the left wing are Sts. Francis and John the Baptist, and on the right wing are a bishop saint and St. Peter. All of them are standing before a low balustrade, the top of which appears to be tiled like the floor upon which they stand. The fluting of this balustrade can also be seen on either side of the Virgin's legs. The background on the wings is simply gold with, again, the indication of a fabric pattern but this time without color. In the lunette above the central panel is the *Coronation of the Virgin* depicted on clouds against a gold background. Above the left wing is the *Annunciation* with an extensive landscape seen through a door; above the right is the *Assumption of the Virgin* showing St. Thomas receiving Her girdle.

It has often been stated that this triptych comes from the church of S. Niccolò sopr'Arno, an assumption apparently first mentioned by Schmarsow in 1900.[80] This detail has become so firmly rooted in the literature that no one has bothered to discover its basis. Neither Schmarsow nor Weisbach give it, nor does any early source describe such a picture in that church. The Bargello file simply records that the polyptych came from there without giving any supporting proof.[81] Paatz repeats this information but is unable to say where in the church the painting might have stood.[82] It is therefore possible that the

provenance was merely a tradition or someone's guess which Schmarsow repeated. On the other hand, the tradition might be a correct one; there is no strong reason to discard it. So until new information is found, it must be left open.

Until the late-nineteenth century, the Carrand triptych carried an attribution to the Sienese school (which somewhat contradicts the provenance since very few Sienese pictures were placed in Florentine churches at that time). Mackowsky grouped other paintings around it and Weisbach then expanded the list, attributing everything to Giuliano d'Arrighi, called Pesello.[83] This suggestion has justifiably been refuted by most writers and until 1917 the artist was simply referred to as the Master of the Carrand Triptych.[84] In that year Toesca found the name in the archives and virtually no work of substance has been done on it since.

The date of the Carrand triptych can still be discussed on no firmer grounds than style. Schmarsow and Berenson put it after 1460,[85] Weisbach in the early 1440s, if not earlier.[86] Toesca did not attempt to date any of Giovanni's works (except the Innocenti fresco) and merely placed them all between 1446 and 1459.[87] Longhi narrowed it down to 1455-1459.[88] Giovanozzi put it close to 1453 or shortly after.[89] So opinion has gradually reduced it to the 1450s, although there is little agreement about where in the decade one should place it. In my opinion it is probably one of the artist's first mature works and was executed perhaps as early as 1450.

It is not difficult to see the change in style that has occurred. The influence of Domenico Veneziano is still very strong, but the overriding characteristics of an artist under the sway of Castagno are unavoidable. (There is also a resemblance to the work of Baldovinetti, who was working in Castagno's circle in the 1450s, but the Carrand triptych probably predates any of his work in this style.) There are some details in common with the earlier paintings: there is still a penchant for carefully sculpted hair with tight and sharply defined curls; the basic composition of the central panel is not much different from that of the Getty triptych's central panel; and the folds of drapery throughout seem to hang in a similar manner. But otherwise the details have evolved remarkably; the faces have become more "realistic" — with wrinkles, an understructure of bones, and even some expression. The eyes, however, have acquired a glassy stare and the mouths are artificial and tight-lipped. This is all very different from the full-cheeked and somewhat summary faces of the Pratovecchio Master. Taken altogether, things have stiffened up. The bodies no longer appear to sway with an obvious delight in their own ability to move but rather stand with a monotonous rigidity. There is no exaggerated *contrapposto*. The hands are no longer the small, grabby, but functional ones we saw in the Pratovecchio and Getty altarpieces. They are now rather lumpy with long round fingers, one or more of which are sometimes extended. The hand is often held against the chest.

Perhaps these are the changes of an artist striving to achieve the ideals — one might call them the "realistic" ideals — of a new school of thought, one led by Castagno; and this striving has pulled the artist noticeably away from his more classicizing beginnings. It seems to me, however, that some things have been lost, perhaps abandoned, and foremost of these is energy. Gone also are a rhythm, a suppleness, and an awareness of form that the mature Giovanni di Francesco does not display and never will. One must ask whether the master we have seen at work at Pratovecchio would now pose very head at three-quarter view, as Giovanni does in the Carrand triptych and will do repeatedly hereafter. Would he relearn the technique of painting hands and eyes so completely that scarcely any sign of his earlier style can be found? If so, we are verging on the admission that he was hardly more than a shop assistant who was forced to change his allegiance.

The St. Nicholas Predella

fig. 24

The predella[90] depicting three scenes from the life of St. Nicholas now in the Casa Buonarroti in Florence is so close to the preceding altarpiece in character and style that Berenson suggested it might originally have belonged to it.[91] The subject makes it a particularly good candidate, and one might be tempted to connect the two even in the face of contradicting details. Unfortunately, it is still not possible, partly because of the predella's provenance (which is much older than that of the triptych), to prove or disprove this. The dimensions do not preclude their connection. The predella is 158 cm. long, whereas the three parts of the altarpiece total approximately 196 cm. without the frame.[92] None of them therefore cor-

responds to the parts of the predella below, and since the latter is a continuous strip with no break or space between the three scenes, it mirrors in no way the divisions above. This may make the association improbable, but examples of such arrangements do exist in Florentine art.[93] The divisions of the two parts usually correspond, but one does find instances where they do not. It follows, of course, that two sections of the predella — one at each end — must be lacking. These sections need not have been more scenes from St. Nicholas' life but could have contained merely ornaments or coats-of-arms. It is unlikely that just the end scenes from a predella would be lost, and in any case they must have been framed separately, so it seems probable that they were something other than narrative scenes, if they did in fact exist.

There is one other strong reason, however, to, doubt that the Casa Buonarroti predella belonged to the Carrand triptych, and that is their disparate provenances. Whereas the Carrand triptych cannot be traced back to before the late-nineteenth century with any certainty, the Buonarroti predella has a long and unusual history. It is first recorded by Antonio Billi sometime before 1530 as being in the chapel of the Cavalcanti in S. Croce beneath the *Annunciation* of Donatello, and its author was given as Fra Filippo Lippi.[94] In the Codex Magliabecchiano of ca. 1537/42 it is again mentioned as a work of Lippi, and the author stated that it was requested of Lippi by Donatello.[95] Vasari, in his edition of 1550, said it was done by Pesello.[96] At some later date it seems to have been separated from Donatello's tabernacle, and Baldinucci records that a sacristan of the church, having had a new predella made, gave the old one to Michelangelo Buonarroti the younger who in turn gave it to the gallery he established in the Casa Buonarroti.[97] The date of this gift is supposed to have been 1620,[98] and although it would not be difficult to pick holes in this odd story, its character would seem to speak for its authenticity.

It is perhaps significant that the sixteenth-century writers who discuss the predella considered it to have been painted by Lippi, since we know Giovanni di Francesco was associated with him. However, it probably only reflects an erroneous tradition. Vasari's attribution to Pesello (Giuliano d'Arrighi, 1367-1446) is more interesting and provided the basis of Weisbach's attempt in 1901 to identify the Carrand master as Pesello.[99] This has been refuted by virtually every recent writer on the subject, and it is patently impossible considering Pesello's dates. His style is otherwise unknown since nothing can be attributed to him, but because he was associated with Giovanni Toscani (the Master of the Griggs Crucifixion) in his last years, it can be assumed that he was working in a similar vein. Perhaps Vasari meant Pesellino, his grandson, rather than Pesello himself; Pesellino's work is, of course, very close to that of Filippo Lippi. In any case, Vasari's attribution, as well as those of the other early sources, is not correct.

Even more curious is the assertion that the predella was meant to be associated with Donatello's tabernacle. The latter is usually dated in the mid-1430s or perhaps as early as 1428;[100] and the predella can be dated stylistically, whether one accepts the attribution to Giovanni or not, to a period of roughly 1445 to 1465. Most writers agree now that it must be from about 1450 to perhaps 1455; that is to say, it cannot have been done within ten years of Donatello's tabernacle, and most likely it is closer to twenty years after. So they cannot have been commissioned together.

More to the point, it is illogical to expect that such a predella was ever meant to be attached to the tabernacle.[101] They do not fit together structurally in any traditional manner. The subjects of the predella have no relation to that of the *Annunciation*, though such a combination may not be without precedent;[102] and as a result one can only conclude that the predella had, by the sixteenth century, somehow got into the Cavalcante Chapel and had come to be placed beneath Donatello's relief. Perhaps it belonged originally to an altarpiece which had stood in the chapel — or elsewhere in the church — and which had in the meantime disappeared. Perhaps the Carrand triptych itself was originally in Santa Croce. There is no way of knowing which of these is most likely, but the important point is that the provenance of the predella from Santa Croce does not preclude its having belonged to the Carrand triptych.

After having come this far so laboriously, we have unfortunately accomplished precious little of a concrete nature. I think the predella may well have belonged to the Carrand triptych — its subject corresponds to the saint in the place of honor to the right of the Virgin in the altarpiece, St. Nicholas — and they are so similar in character that I am inclined to overlook the problems. Perhaps the archives will one day yield the answer.

Before leaving the predella, we might at least take a look at it. In the first section is St. Nicholas, who is seen throwing the three bags of gold through a

round window into the bedroom of the daughters of Panthera. The front wall of the room has been left open and we see the three daughters in various stages of despondency: two are sitting dejectedly next to their bed, and the third is appealing to their father. The room is rendered with a classical precision: it is box-like with fluted pilasters at the corners, and the floor is tiled in brick red squares. Outside, in the background to the left, is seen a typical Tuscan landscape with hills, towered buildings, and roads. The use of perspective and the command of space is consummate throughout. There are genre details in the form of small stools and slippers lying about the bedroom floor.

In the second section, Nicholas is shown as a bishop at the head of a small entourage consisting of five other figures. He is giving the sign of the cross while one of three nude youths kneels before him. On the right are the two others, one of whom is stepping out of a salt barrel into which their bodies had been put after they were killed by an evil innkeeper. Next to his inn, under a sign with a crescent, the innkeeper stands looking somewhat displeased. This all takes place in the courtyard outside the inn. The pavement is again tiled and in the background are some tables with pitchers.

The third and last scene shows Nicholas, again as a bishop, flying in from the right side to stay the sword of the executioner who is about to decapitate two innocent men kneeling before the sentencing consul. A third victim stands just behind them, and a large group of sixteen men, including soldiers, stand in various poses on either side. The costumes are rich and exceedingly unusual. There is no architecture and therefore no perspective, but the surface of the ground is broken up into rills and this gives the effect of receding into space.

It is easy to conclude that this predella is by the same man who painted the Carrand triptych and the other works generally given to Giovanni di Francesco. The style matches perfectly, and in many ways the Buonarroti predella could be called his masterpiece. It might also be taken as proof that our artist was at his best while working on a smaller scale.

The Montpellier Predella

fig. 25

On the left is the *Nativity;* to the right, separated by a neatly constructed but broken wall, is the *Adoration of the Kings* with their retinue stretched out behind them to the far end of the panel.[103] The types are precisely those of the pinnacles of the Carrand triptych, and the halos are identical. The seated figure of the Virgin in the center of the predella is nearly the mirror image of the Virgin of the *Annunciation* in the left pinnacle of the altarpiece. Were it not for its length (117 cm.), the panel might easily have been construed to belong to the triptych, so well do they fit stylistically; but it is too long to have been placed beneath any of the three sections, so it must have been painted for some other commission of about the same time, perhaps even a bit earlier. Its composition implies that there were other parts to the predella, but if so — and assuming there should probably have been three — it would have been an exceptionally large altarpiece. Nothing by Giovanni's hand is known to exist to which it could have belonged.

This panel was first grouped with the Carrand triptych about 1899 by a number of different authors.[104] With few exceptions, it has been generally accepted as being by Giovanni di Francesco since Toesca identified the Carrand Master in 1917. Similarly, everyone has recognized some stylistic connection with Baldovinetti. Longhi[105] dated it after 1455 and Giovannozzi[106] about 1453. I am inclined to think it was still one or two years earlier than that.

St. Anthony of Padua at Berlin

fig. 26

Mackowsky was the first person to demonstrate that this painting[107] was the work of the Carrand Master.[108] Since that time this attribution has been accepted by all writers on the subject, although very few have actually discussed its date or placement among the other mature paintings beyond grouping it with them. The painting shows St. Anthony, holding a lily and a book, standing on a marbled floor before a low parapet. On the top, at either side of his head, are the Virgin Mary and Christ seated on clouds. The panel cannot definitely be associated with any other piece by the artist, and it may always

have been a single painting with no other pieces attached. If there were other parts, this would have been the central panel; but more probably it was painted for a church or edifice dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua and was meant to be seen alone.

It seems to me that the Berlin panel stands closest to the Montpellier predella, though I do not see how they could ever have been parts of the same complex. The halos are the same thin circle, and the Madonna at the top again closely resembles the figure in the predella, though on a larger scale. The types are very much like those of Baldovinetti. Anthony's hands have the same positions and in style are closest to those of the Brozzi crucifix (fig. 27) and the Petriolo altar frontal of 1453 (fig. 29). They are not as bulbous as the hands in the Contini triptych (figs. 30, 31), although this bulbousness can also be seen in the Carrand triptych. Taken altogether, I think the work could perhaps be placed between 1451 and 1454.

The Brozzi Crucifix

fig. 27

Christ is seen on the cross, contained completely within a cross-form, flanked by Mary and John and with the Eritrean sibyl at the bottom before a bit of rocky landscape. At the top is God the Father on a field of graduated circles. His stance and many of the details resemble those of the figure in the Innocenti fresco of 1458/59 (fig. 36). It is generally assumed, however, that it predates the Innocenti fresco by a few years.

The crucifix,[109] for many years exhibited in the Seminario Maggiore in Florence, was originally in the Church of S. Andrea at Brozzi. As before, Mackowsky connected it stylistically with the Carrand triptych in 1899,[110] and since Toesca's attribution in 1917 it has been accepted as being by Giovanni di Francesco. Both Longhi[111] and Giovannozzi[112] put it after 1455. Both concur that it follows the Carrand triptych itself, as well as the altar frontal at Petriolo of 1453 (fig. 29). I agree with the former but not necessarily the latter, and I believe it could still be within the first two or three years of the decade.

The Crucifixion in Sta. Maria Maggiore

fig. 28

Berenson in his lists of 1932 seems to have been the first person to connect this fresco[113] with Giovanni di Francesco (the Carrand Master).[114] It is mentioned again by Giovannozzi in 1934 in connection with the Brozzi crucifix, many parts of which it resembles.[115] It was published with its sinopia in 1960.[116] Unfortunately its condition is rather poor and it is difficult to say if it is typical of the artist. But the pose and anatomy are very similar to those in the crucifix and the rocks are so nearly identical that one is justified in making the connection. A certain caution is necessary, however.

The St. Blaise Altar Frontal of 1453

fig. 29

This painting[117] from the Church of S. Biagio at Petriolo was first published as a work of Giovanni di Francesco in 1933 by Offner who also gave a brief commentary on the piece, relating it to the artist's other works.[118] The painting shows St. Blaise seated before a large piece of painted imitation damask. At the top is a painted frieze of palms. At each side is a circle with an inscription, the first of which reads: ATTEMPO DANTONIO DICRISTOFANO TEDALDI EMAFFIO DIGIOVANNI; the second: EDIGIOVANNI DIBARTOLO FINITO ADDI VENTINOVE DEGENNAIO 1453. Nothing is known about the names mentioned in the inscription, but they may have been donors. In the figure the hand of Giovanni di Francesco is easily identifiable and one is justified in treating it as a key work because of its date. Longhi and Giovannozzi both considered it the earliest of the artist's known works — with the exception of the works by Uccello that Longhi at one time attributed to the young Giovanni di Francesco[119] — but I am inclined to put it after the works already discussed. It seems stylistically to be very little removed from the Innocenti lunette of 1458/59; less so than the Carrand triptych, for instance.

The only fact that I can add to the matter is that Giovanni di Francesco owned property near S. Biagio at Petriolo, and though the date is in doubt, it was probably 1451.[120] He was not actually living at Petriolo because we know his home was in Florence near S. Ambrogio. But in some manner he seems to have acquired land in Petriolo, and he must have had general contacts with the church before painting their altar frontal.

The Contini-Brizio-Lyon Triptych

figs. 30, 31

This triptych was assembled from parts in four different museums by Longhi in 1928.[121] The central section depicting the *Madonna and Child* is in the Contini collection in Florence,[122] the left wing depicting St. Anthony Abbot is in the Brizio collection in Milan,[123] and the right wing with St. James is in the museum at Lyon.[124] Longhi has also connected with these a small panel in Dijon, depicting the same two saints as pilgrims with a donor,[125] which probably was part of the predella (fig. 32). The resulting complex has invariably been recognized as a product of Giovanni di Francesco's last period and in a way best typifies the end of his career, since the Innocenti fresco is so poorly preserved. There is a stylization seen here that has reached an extreme and which can be seen nowhere else so fully developed.

It remains to be pointed out that there is a discrepancy in style between the main panels and the predella. It is difficult to question their connection since Sts. James and Anthony, as Longhi has already pointed out, are not ordinarily seen together. Thus their presence in the wings is enough to virtually assure that the predella belongs. However, the difference in scale, as is often true, has caused a difference in technique. There are many details of the figures in the predella fragment that are not stylized in the manner we have come to expect from his other (larger) works: the hair is less defined, the folds of the drapery are less monotonous and repetitive, and the hands have more structure, not having the tubular fingers of the Contini Madonna. Furthermore, in contrast to the larger figures all of the heads are in profile, although this is something he regularly does in all the paintings of smaller scale, such as the Montpellier and Buonarroti predellas and the pinnacles on the Carrand triptych. The larger figures are always seen in three-quarter.

The style of this predella, it seems to me, harks back more than any other of Giovanni's mature works to those previously ascribed to the Pratovecchio Master. I have not seen the Dijon fragment, which is supposedly heavily restored. As a result, I would not draw any extended conclusions from it. But were it not related to the Contini, Brizio, and Lyon triptych, it might have been seen as a transitional piece between the styles of the Pratovecchio Master and Giovanni di Francesco himself.

The Weisbach and Johnson Madonnas

figs. 33, 34

These two small panels stand somewhat apart from the other works of Giovanni di Francesco, and it is difficult to know where to place them. Antal[126] and Giovannozzi[127] considered them early works; Berenson[128] called them the last. There is some justification for this disagreement, but it seems to me fairly certain that both panels must be late.

The Madonna and Child with Two Saints formerly in the Weisbach collection in Berlin was originally published by Weisbach himself in 1901,[129] and its connection with the artist's other works has never been seriously questioned. It shows the Virgin seated on a cushion, which by now has become a familiar motive. Behind her are two monks in white habits; Berenson identifies them as Sts. Benedict and Romuald, which may be correct but which also presents problems.[130] The bearded monk on the left with a crutch looks like St. Benedict, but the crutch is an attribute of Romuald and does not belong to Benedict. He fits, in fact, the general appearance of Romuald; unfortunately we have already seen Romuald once or twice before in works by the Pratovecchio Master (on the London pilasters and in the small Madonna, formerly Spink) where he was shown with a crutch but no beard. Perhaps the artist has in the meantime been shown the correct manner in which to depict Romuald. If so, then the second saint on the Weisbach panel remains unidentified. He is young and unbearded, but has

no attribute except a book; he cannot be Benedict. In any case, it appears once again as if the donors had been Camaldolese.

The Johnson Madonna was published by Berenson in 1913 as a work of the Carrand Master,[131] and it has been included in the *oeuvre* of Giovanni di Francesco after he was identified by Toesca. Like the Weisbach Madonna, the identification of the saints accompanying the Virgin is somewhat confusing; in this case they are St. Anthony Abbot on the left, followed to the right by a young saint with a sword (Paul?), another with a vessel (?) (St. Cosmas or Damian?), and St. Lawrence. The latter appears to have a stone on his forehead, making him St. Stephen, but Lawrence's grill is floating in the clouds below.

These figures are surrounded by clouds and seraphim. The latter are seen also in the Contini Madonna and the Innocenti fresco, but otherwise there is little to connect it with either painting. Some details, such as the hands and hair, resemble the Dijon predella. The small scale might again account for the change in style, but for me the general feebleness of execution, the dry, stiff, and generally bland appearance of this panel are the things that mark it as a late work. The same is true of the Weisbach piece. It is difficult to imagine the painter of the Buonarroti predella — without mentioning the pilasters from the Pratovecchio polyptych — as the author of the Johnson and Weisbach pictures, although superficially they are obviously the work of the same man.

The Berlin frame

fig. 35A

Among the paintings mentioned by Mackowsky in 1899 was a frame[132] in the Berlin museum which surrounded a tondo in relief attributed to Michelozzo Michelozzi.[133] In the spandrels were Ezechiel, Isaiah, Zachariah, and the Eritrean sibyl. This frame was destroyed during the Second World War, but from photographs one can see it was quite typical of the work of Giovanni di Francesco. The heads are very cursory and uninspired; but they correspond perfectly to what we have seen above, and they must be among his last works.

The Kress Nativity

fig. 35B

This small panel[134] was first published in 1961[135] as having been painted by Giovanni di Francesco on the basis of expertises by Longhi, Berenson, and others. It was acquired by the Kress Foundation in 1937 and given to Berea College in Kentucky where it is now exhibited. It is a very feeble work, probably the poorest we have by his hand, and the artist's feeling for form seems to have dissipated completely. It is likely to be one of his last paintings; the head of Joseph is very much in the spirit of the four heads from the frame in Berlin.

The Innocenti Lunette

figs. 36-37

This badly damaged fresco has been, and still is, the principal basis for all attributions to Giovanni di Francesco since Toesca first located documents recording payments for it to him in 1458 and 1459.[136] Since Giovanni died in 1459, it has always been assumed to be his last, though the frescoes at Morrocco — if they are indeed his — might be later (see following section). The Innocenti fresco shows God the Father, posed much like the figure on the top of the Brozzi crucifix but with his head at three-quarters rather than straight-on. On either side is a praying angel with numerous putti and cherubs scattered over the arch above him. The style of this work can still be easily recognized in spite of the severe restorations and deteriorations it has suffered, and it is remarkably similar to the altar frontal of 1453 at Petriolo. Were it not for the payments, one might have put it very close to that date; in fact, they are only five or six years apart, and one should probably not expect them to differ much.

The Morrocco Frescoes

fig. 38

In the church of S. Maria in Morrocco (to the southwest of Florence near Tavarnelle) there are the damaged remains of frescoes which Berenson has attributed to Giovanni di Francesco.[137] Depicted are the twelve apostles (of which only two are still recognizable), the *Annunciation*, and the *Nativity* (now largely destroyed). Most writers since Berenson have not included these frescoes among the artist's *oeuvre;* Giovannozzi is, so far as I know, the only person to discuss them and he considers them the work of an anonymous follower of Castagno.[138] He also points out that the church of S. Maria was founded in 1459, the same year as the artist's death, and that one could not expect the building's construction and decoration to have taken place within one year (actually it would have to have been eight months, as we now know). Perhaps Giovannozzi is correct in this, and in many ways the frescoes do not look like his work. But the apostle (the young unbearded one) is very close to Giovanni in character, and it is very tempting to see a connection. Perhaps he was only partially involved in the decoration along with other followers of Castagno. Not having seen the frescoes themselves, I must be cautious on this point; but I do not want to rule out the possibility that some of the work is his.

Conclusion

As virtually every writer on Giovanni di Francesco has noted, his mature works show the strong and unmistakable influence of Andrea del Castagno. Since Vasari calls him Andrea's follower *(discepolo)*, this accords with the one mention of Giovanni in the early literature. At the same time it cannot be denied that there is a strong resemblance to the works of Baldovinetti, who seems to have had a parallel development. We know that Baldovinetti was contracted to paint a lunette at the Innocenti in 1459, the same year Giovanni did his;[139] and they were apparently both active in Castagno's circle during the late 1450s. Besides these two demonstrable as well as documented elements in his stylistic development, the influence of Domenico Veneziano is also evident though prominent only in the Carrand triptych. It is this one factor that Giovanni di Francesco has in common with the Pratovecchio Master; otherwise if one accepts the identification of Giovanni di Francesco as the Pratovecchio Master, one must accept a change of style of considerable proportion. We know the young Giovanni di Francesco worked with Lippi, and we can deduce the influence of Domenico Veneziano; these are also the elements one finds in the work of the Pratovecchio Master. Because the Paradiso document names Giovanni da Rovezzano (alias Giovanni di Francesco) as the painter of a triptych likely to be identified with one of the two by the Pratovecchio Master (the Getty altarpiece), it would appear to fit together very nicely. Unfortunately, the rigid, stylized, and utterly dry manner of his late works is so at odds with the lively and relatively individual style of the Pratovecchio altar that one is loathe to admit that an artist could decline so far. It is more than a decline; it is an abandonment of sensibility. Perhaps our artist had cause to pursue his sterile imitations of Castagno to the degree that the best lessons of his youth, taught him by Domenico, have been utterly forgotten or abandoned. Perhaps his imprisonment resulting from the litigation with Lippi could be the cause. It is very difficult for me to imagine — for others apparently less so. I prefer to consider this solution as a strong circumstantial probability about which, however, my instincts as a connoisseur cause me to have serious reservations.

Appendix

Attributions to the Pratovecchio Master

There are a few paintings which have been attributed to the Pratovecchio Master in the past which I do not believe are by his hand. Most of them can easily be dismissed as being the work of other artists, but the first two are more problematical and have some serious claim to being his:

1 *Madonna and Child*, New York Pierpont Morgan Library (fig. 39). Attribution by Longhi, followed by Zeri.[140] Some details of this small picture are closely related to the Getty triptych by the Pratovecchio Master, and I have been very tempted to consider it his work. Most obvious are the poses of the angels on either side of the Madonna who alternately cross their arms and clasp their hands together as do the two angels in the larger triptych. Although the wings of the angels in the Getty panel are now virtually destroyed, enough can be discerned of those on the right angel to see that they had a very similar character. Also their drapery is exceptionally close in style, and the faces in the Morgan painting resemble Giovanni's types, especially those of the Getty triptych and of the small *Madonna with Four Saints* formerly with Spink (fig. 20). All of this might ordinarily be sufficient grounds to attribute the picture to him if it were not for other details which I find too hard to reconcile with his work. The odd hair on the figures is particularly incongruous: it has the character of worms and is found nowhere else in the Pratovecchio Master's small pictures (although it could be considered comparable to the curly hair on a different scale in the Getty triptych). Also, the hands do not have the distinctive structure that they do in his other paintings; the Christ Child and some of the figures (above all, those of God and the two angels) are extremely difficult to reconcile with the Pratovecchio Master's work which was presumably done at the same time. If one compares the Child in the Pierpont Morgan composition to that in the Spink picture (fig. 20), they are very different in character, though the panels are comparable in size; and the odd hair is completely lacking in the Spink example. There is no doubt that whoever did the Morgan picture stands very close to the Pratovecchio Master and, if he is another artist, they must somehow have been associated. But the only other place where such hair appears is in the following picture, which I believe to be by the same hand, and which is even more difficult to accept as the work of the Pratovecchio Master.

2 *Madonna and Child*, Cambridge, Fogg Museum no. 1927.66 (fig. 40). This odd picture, depicting Mary and the Christ Child in a window with an elaborate Renaissance casing, was traditionally considered to be by Boccati, to whom it was also attributed by Berenson.[141] It passed through the Schwarz collection in Vienna (from which it was sold at auction in Berlin in 1910) to the Arthur Lehman collection and was given by Mr. and Mrs. Lehman to the Fogg Museum in 1927. Richter in 1940 included it with the works of the Barberini Master (whom he identified as Fra Carnevale),[142] but the name of Boccati remained in use until Longhi attributed it to the Pratovecchio Master in 1952, an opinion later supported by Zeri.[143] The basis for the attribution of this picture to the Pratovecchio Master rests mostly, I feel, on the unusually curly hair of the Christ Child, almost exactly as it was shown in the Pierpont Morgan painting. Nothing else, however, has for me the slightest correlation with the Getty or Pratovecchio altarpieces, and one senses a much more pedantic and decorative artist at work. Although one can point to very few specific parallels, the spirit of this artist resembles that of the painter of the Barberini panels (probably Giovanni Angelo di Antonio) and I now believe it to be by him.[144] The architectural ornament is entirely in his manner, and the Ionic capitals are found very prominently in the Barberini panels themselves, albeit much more structurally rendered. The background to the Madonna, in the form of a niche, consists of the illusionistic mottling — intended to look like marble — that was so popular with Lippi, even more so with Pesellino, and which one finds in the floors of the *Presentation* by the Barberini Master in Boston and in his *Annunciation* in Washington. Also, the hands are exactly the sort found in the Barberini panels (although they are ultimately all derived from Lippi), and it is clear that the artist was somehow associated with Lippi, if only indirectly. In any case, I can find no place for this picture in the *oeuvre* of the Pratovecchio Master. If it is by the Barberini Master, it presents a problem of dating since Giovanni Angelo di Antonio, the supposed Barberini painter, is not thought to have gone to Florence before ca. 1447; but perhaps this date is not so unreasonable. Perhaps there is some other explanation. But it seems probable to me that during the 1440s the Pratovecchio Master (Giovanni di Francesco) and the Barberini Master (Giovanni Angelo di Antonio) were both active in the entourage of Filippo Lippi and drew close for a while, possibly even influencing one another. Whatever the explanation, these two pic-

tures — the Schwarz and Morgan Madonnas — represent the only point where any confusion between their work could still exist.[145]

3 *Three Archangels*, Berlin Museum, no. 1616 (fig. 41).[146] For a long time given to Boccati until attributed to the Pratovecchio Master by Longhi. This small picture, probably a fragment, was once the basis for Longhi's attributions to the Pratovecchio Master, and for a while he referred to the Pratovecchio Master as the *Maestro degli Arcangeli*.[147] The relationship of this piece to the other works linked by Longhi to the Pratovecchio Master is, I think in this case, very superficial, resting completely, it appears, on the similar way of painting hair. There is a certain resemblance in the drapery, but the hands and faces are quite different and, to my mind, very Marchigian — much closer to Boccati than the Pratovecchio Master could ever have come, being as he was a Florentine. Indeed, if one feels strongly that the hair of the Berlin painter is the same as the hair found in the Morgan and Fogg pictures, then this should be proof that the artist could not have been the Pratovecchio Master, because he must have been Marchigian. I am not personally convinced that all three are by the same artist, in spite of the hair; but I believe there is some chance that the Berlin picture is also by the Barberini Master. It is, by the way, generally overlooked that the Berlin picture is inscribed at the bottom. Only the first word is legible and it reads: ANGELVS. One is tempted to find here the name of Giovanni Angelo, but it probably refers to the subject of the picture rather than to its painter. The inscription was originally almost as long as the width of the panel. Also, the scroll held by the angel on the right (Gabriel) seems to include part of the word "Angelus," but this time there is no point in trying to read more into it.

4 *Madonna and Child*, Milan, Bagatti-Valsecchi collection. Attribution by Salmi.[148] By Apollonio di Giovanni.

5 *Madonna and Child*, Paris, Dreyfuss collection. Attribution by Salmi.[149] By Apollonio di Giovanni.

Attributions to Giovanni di Francesco

1 *Profile Portrait of a Woman*, New York, Metropolitan 32.100.98. Attribution by Longhi, Zeri, and others.[150] The painting is obviously from the following of Lippi and, if it is by Giovanni di Francesco, would be a key work from the late 1440s. However, I do not see his hand in it.

2 *Madonna and Child*, Metropolitan 41.100.6. Attribution by Ragghianti and Pittaluga.[151] Probably by the Master of San Miniato, as it is now cataloged at the museum.

3 *Frame with the Trinity*, various scenes and saints, formerly Berlin, Bachstitz.[152] By a minor Florentine artist unrelated to Giovanni di Francesco.

4 *Anonymous Saint*, Florence, S. Trinità. Attribution by Wulff,[153] followed by Berenson.[154] By an anonymous Florentine artist, mid-fifteenth century, close to Giovanni di Francesco. I have not studied the original but some details — such as the hands — strongly resemble our artist.

5 *Martyrdom of a Saint*, Florence, S. Croce. I do not know who first attributed this fresco to Giovanni di Francesco; the attribution is already mentioned by Paatz in 1940.[155] It is by an anonymous artist, mid-fifteenth century, close to Giovanni di Francesco.

6 *Madonna and Child*, Fucecchio, Museum. Attribution by Salmi.[156] By Zanobi Machiavelli.

7 *SS. Cosmas and Damian*, Berlin, Museum 1141C and D. The origin of this attribution is not known to me, but both panels are by an anonymous artist.[157]

8 *Fragment with monastic scene*, New Haven, Yale University 1877.37. Attribution by Sirén.[158] By an anonymous artist.

9 *St. John Baptist*, Chantilly, Musée Condé no. 7. Attribution by Berenson.[159] By a follower of Filippo Lippi.

10 *St. John Evangelist*, Detroit, Institute of Arts 37.37. Attribution by Berenson.[160] By Andrea da Murano, as proven by Zeri.[161]

11 *Madonna and Child*, Dublin, Shine collection, now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, no. 70.PA.44. Attribution by Berenson.[162] By Paolo Uccello.

12 *Last Supper*, Edinburgh, National Gallery no. 1210. Attribution by Berenson.[163] By Lorenzo di Credi (?).

13 *Predella*, Florence, Seminario Maggiore (from S. Bartolomeo a Quarata). Attribution by Berenson.[164] By Paolo Uccello.

14 *A Nun Saint with Two Children*, Florence, Contini collection. Attribution by Longhi and Berenson.[165] By Paolo Uccello.

15 *Nativity*, Karlsruhe, Museum no. 404. Attribu-

tion by Schmarsow, Longhi, and Berenson.[166] By Paolo Uccello.

16 *Frescoes*, Lucca, S. Francesco. Attribution by Berenson.[167] I have not seen them, but from poor reproductions they do not appear to be related to Giovanni. Giovannozzi says they are not Florentine.[168]

17 *Crucifixion*, Lugano, Thyssen collection. Attribution by Berenson.[169] By Paolo Uccello.

18 *David Reproved by Nathan*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum no. 268. Attribution by Berenson.[170] By Paolo Schiavo.

19 *Christ Carrying the Cross*, Parma, Pinacoteca Stuard. Attribution by Berenson.[171] By Paolo Uccello.

20 *Frescoes*, Prato, Duomo. Attribution by Longhi and Berenson.[172] By Paolo Uccello.

21 *Madonna and Child*, Bergamo, Accademia Carrara no. 317. Attribution by Berenson.[173] By a follower of Filippo Lippi.

22 *Scenes of Monastic Life*, Florence, Uffizi no. 5381. Attribution by Longhi and Berenson.[174] By Paolo Uccello.

23 *Predella*, Florence, S. Lorenzo. Attribution by Pudelko and Pittaluga.[175] By Filippo Lippi.

24 *Crucifixion*, Budapest, Museum, no. 1094. Attribution by Toesca.[176] By an anonymous artist close to Baldovinetti. The same artist is sometimes said to have done the *Triptych with SS. Raphael, Catherine of Siena, and Vincent Ferrer* in S. Maria Novella, Florence.[177]

Not Seen

1 In 1910 Liphart mentioned a *Madonna and Child* in the Koutousow collection in Russia which he thought was by the Carrand Master.[178] Pudelko later repeated the attribution.[179] So far as I know, the picture has never been reproduced, and I cannot judge the correctness of the identification.

2 *Cassone*, Dublin, Murnaghan Collection. Attribution by Berenson.[180] Giovanni does not seem to have been a cassone painter and the attribution sounds unlikely. Giovannozzi has refuted it.[181]

Notes

1
No.67.PA.1, tempera on panel. Center panel: 141 x 72 cm. (55½ x 28⅜ inches); side panels: 131 x 54 cm. (51½ x 21¼ inches). A summary of the information contained in this publication has already been published in the *Catalogue of the Paintings in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, 1972, no.14, pp.11-13.

2
Catalogue des Objets d'Art Ancien pour l'année 1910, Galerie Sangiorgi, Palais Borghese, Rome, p.4.

3
These statements were made for the first time, I believe, by M. Brockwell, "The Brigittine Altarpiece by Andrea del Castagno," *The Connoisseur*, Aug. 1951, pp.8-9. The literature circulated by Duveen also made use of them. For comments, see M. Davies, *The Earlier Italian Schools* (National Gallery Catalogues), 2nd ed., 1961, p.139, note 8.

4
Catalogue des Objets d'Art Ancien pour l'année 1912, no.1. It can also be seen on the back wall in the "Salle des Faiences" in the 1913 catalog, but is not included in the catalog proper.

5
Sold Galerie Georges Petit, May 26, 1914, no.221.

6
The advertisements appeared in *The Burlington Magazine* for August 1920, February 1921, and August 1921. The Satinover Gallery, from what I can learn, existed in New York between 1916 and 1921.

7
This is very possibly an allusion to the Pratovecchio altarpiece which Longhi finally published in connection with the Getty triptych 35 years later.

8
Xerox copies of Berenson's letter, dated April 5, 1917, are in the museum files.

9
A copy of this letter, dated February 14, 1966 and addressed to E. K. Waterhouse, is in the museum files.

10
Davies (*Earlier Italian Schools*, p.524, note 8) seems to imply the advertisement shows it in a very different state from the illustration in the Sambon sale catalog. I think the differences are due largely to poor photography or printing, and though the Satinover advertisement probably reveals some additional retouching, the changes are not really major.

11
R. Longhi, "Il Maestro di Pratovecchio," *Paragone-Arte*, 35, Nov. 1952, pp.28-29 and 37, note 21.

12
A note to this effect appears in the Duveen brochure on the painting. Also in the letter to E. K. Waterhouse of February 14, 1966, Edward Fowles stated that, "The altarpiece was at that time (1920) very much overpainted, especially in the background, to which a highly ornamental colonnade had been added. Corkscrew ringlets adorned the Virgin's head, quite in the taste of the nineteenth century. It was cleaned here under my supervision. Only the background had suffered, the figures are in good condition." It should be noted that old photographs never showed any corkscrew ringlets on the Virgin, and the figures are not in very good condition.

13
Some evidence to the contrary might be afforded by the removal of the emblematic cross on the shoulder of the female saint on the left wing. This cross could have referred to St. Bridget, who, as will be seen later, is the intended saint. (See also note 34.) Her identification, however, was not made until many years later. It is possible, but unlikely, that an earlier restorer would have arbitrarily put this cross on her shoulder, and he would have done so only if he had reason to think it was St. Bridget. In other words, it appears as if the cross was original and that it has been removed by Duveen's restorer.

14
G. M. Richter, "The Beginnings of Andrea del Castagno," *Art in America*, 29, Oct. 1941, pp.187-192.

15
It is perhaps noteworthy that Poggibonsi was also the home of the collector Galli-Dunn from whom the painting supposedly had come.

16
Copies of these expertises are in the museum files. Swarzenski's is dated October 20, 1941; Suida's October 25, 1941; Langton Douglas' January 20, 1942; Venturi's July 23, 1942.

17
G. M. Richter, *Andrea del Castagno*, 1943, pp.11-12.

18
R. Langton Douglas in *Art Quarterly*, 1945, pp.287-288.

19
A xerox copy is in the museum files. It is very similar to the article he later published in *The Connoisseur*.

20
M. Brockwell, "The Brigittine Altarpiece . . .," pp.8-9.

21
Longhi, "Il Maestro . . .," pp.28-29. Longhi had, however, already mentioned in 1940 his belief that the Duveen painting was by another artist; one he referred to as the *Maestro degli arcangeli*. See Longhi, "Genio degli Anonomi," *Critica d'Arte*, XXIII, pt.2, 1940, p. 100. It should also be noted that Offner in an opinion dated 1926 and recorded on a photograph in the Frick Library files says he attributes the triptych to an anonymous follower of Lippi influenced by Domenico Veneziano and Baldovinetti.

22
Davies, *Earlier Italian Schools*, pp. 523-24.

23
M. Salmi in *Commentari*, July-Dec. 1951, p.195; and again Jan.-March 1954, p.72.

24
F. Hartt, "The Earliest Works of Andrea del Castagno: Part Two," *Art Bulletin*, XLI, Sept. 1959, p.234, note 67.

25
F. Zeri, *Due dipinti, la filologia e un nome*, 1961, p.45.

26
B. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance, Florentine School*, 1963, I, p.88.

27
Letter to E. K. Waterhouse, Feb. 24, 1966.

28
See Longhi, "Il Maestro . . .," p.36, note 36. An old photograph in the Duveen files, probably from the 1920s, has the name of the Carrand Master on the reverse, but I do not know who wrote it there.

29
Davies, *Earlier Italian Schools*, 1st ed., 1951, pp.405-406. Repeated in 2nd ed., 1961, p.523.

30
In a letter to Fowles of February 10, 1966 (now in the museum files), Waterhouse stated, ". . . there seem to be at least three hands mixed up in BB's Carrand Master — one very feeble, one who painted the Prato-

vecchio pictures. From the photographs of the battered documented frescoes on the Innocenti Hospital which are by Giovanni di Francesco, it seems quite likely he and the Pratovecchio Master are the same."

31
Collection Bassi, formerly Cenolini sale, 1898. Reproduced in G. Kaftal, *The Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting*, 1952, p.222, fig.239.

32
No.3202, dated 1522. Reproduced by C. Nordenfalk in *De Artibus Opuscula XL, Essays in honor of Erwin Panofsky*, 1961, II, pl.126. According to Nordenfalk (p.383, note 43), Luisa Becherucci has stated that the Sogliani painting comes from the Monastero del Paradiso near Florence. This has been suggested before by W. Paatz (*Die Kirchen von Florenz*, 1940, I, p.407) but I am not aware of any proof. However, Repetti (in *Notizie e guida di Firenze*, 1841, p.405) lists a painting in the Spedale di Bonifazio by Fra Bartolomeo which depicted St. Bridget giving orders to her followers. This is probably the Sogliani painting, and we know that the contents of Paradiso went to S. Bonifazio. (See G. Carocci, *I Dintorni di Firenze*, 1907, II, p.115.)

33
For a thorough summary of this subject, see Nordenfalk, "Saint Bridget of Sweden as represented in Illuminated Manuscripts," *De Artibus Opuscula*, pp.371-393.

34
Some additional proof might be lent by the presence of the stylized cross that was on the saint's shoulder before its removal during the restoration of the early 1920s. One can no longer know if it was original, but such a cross does sometimes appear in connection with Bridget, usually on her veil. St. Catherine had no such cross that I know of. See Kaftal, *Iconography*, p.218.

35
See Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, pp.406-407.

36
I can find nothing about Giuliano di Jacopo, nor am I able to identify him with any other known artist.

37
Vol. 235, c. 17r.

38
Vol. 235, c. 24r.

39
Vite, ed. Milanesi, 1906, II, p.682.

40
Idem.

41
See P. Toesca in *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1917, p. 3, note 2; V. Giovannozzi, "Note su Giovanni di Francesco," *Rivista d'Arte*, 1934, p. 338, note 4.

42
See Paatz, *Die Kirchen*, pp.407-408, notes 10-11; and also G. Carocci, *I Dintorni di Firenze*, 1907, II, p.115.

43
See especially H. Mackowsky in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, X, Jan. 1899, p.83; A. Schmarsow in *Kunsthistorische Gesellschaft für photographische Publikationen*, Leipzig, 6, 1900, pp.6-7; W. Weisbach in *Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1901, pp.35ff.; O. Wulff in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1907, pp.99ff.; and B. Berenson, *Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings* (Johnson Collection), I, 1913, p.34.

44
P. Toesca, "Il pittore del trittico Carrand," *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1917, pp.1-4. Toesca was not the first to identify the author of the fresco. H. Horne, in *The Burlington Magazine*, VIII, Dec. 1905, p.189, mentions that Poggi had already made this discovery, but he evidently never published his find and Toesca was the first to connect the fresco with the Carrand triptych.

45
Especially R. Longhi, "Ricerche su Giovanni di Francesco," *Pinacotheca*, 1928, pp.34ff.; reprinted in *"Me Pinxit" e Quesiti Caravaggeschi, 1928-1934* (complete works, IV), 1968, pp.21-36; and Giovannozzi, "Note . . .," pp.337-365.

46
Various unpublished documents appeared in M. Levi d'Ancona's *Miniatura e miniatori a Firenze dal XIV al XVI secolo*, 1962, pp.144-147. However, one of these, the notice of the death in 1458, refers to another artist named Giovanni, and she has overlooked the payments for work at the Innocenti published by Toesca, as well as the documents published by R. Kennedy, *Alesso Baldovinetti*, 1938, pp.215-216, notes 205-206, some of which contradict her own conclusions. Miss Levi d'Ancona's efforts were primarily directed toward proving that our artist was not the same as the miniaturist of the same name.

47
Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 1906, III, p.490. He did not reveal his source, and it was not located until found and described in some more detail by Kennedy in *Alesso Baldovinetti*, p.215, note 206. Unfortunately my own attempts to find this document in the Florentine archives, in spite of Mrs. Kennedy's reference, have proved fruitless, and I am unable to give the text.

48
This additional detail, which was not mentioned by Milanesi, was brought out by Kennedy, *idem.*

49
The date has always been incorrectly given as 1446 in virtually all articles on Giovanni di Francesco. The correct date was pointed out by M. Levi d'Ancona (*Miniatura e miniatori*, p.146). The text from the *Libro nero delle Matricole anno 1408-1444* (*Arte Medici e Speziali*, 21), c.342, reads as follows:

Die xxvi January 1441 (i.e. 1442) Iohannes filius Francisci Iohannis del Cervelliera pictor populi Sancti Ambroxy de Florentia volens venire ad magistratus dicte artis etc. promisit etc. et juravit etc. et promisit solvere florenos sex auri.

Notation in the margin:

A libro rosso segnato F c. 219
Libra 2 quolibet consulatis

50
We may probably assume that Giovanni was occupied for a while with the convent's altarpiece, and that it was completed in the early 1440s. This was also the date given it by many writers working under the erroneous assumption that it was by Castagno.

51
The essential facts of this document are given by R. Kennedy in *Alesso Baldovinetti*, p.215, note 206, and it is described as found in: *Rogiti di Ser Jacopo Silvestri; Protocollo dal 1423-56, contra fratem Filippum.* Unhappily I have not been able to locate it. See also note 47.

52
The texts of these documents in the Archivio di Stato, which are paraphrased by Levi d'Ancona (*Miniatura e miniatori*, p.146), read as follows:

Conventi Soppressi n° 86, S. Maria degli Angeli, vol.44, Debitori e Creditori, anno 1442-1450
Carta 103v
Giovanni di Franciescho da Verazzano dipintore, el detto Franciescho è chi-

amato il Ciervelliera, de dare adi 29 di dicembre 1445 lire sedici soldi II piccioli, sono per resto d'una sua ragione levata dal quaderno di cassa segnato BB a c. 93, de quali danari ci è oblighato il detto Francescho suo padre et il Rosso chavallaro come appare alla richordanza segnato LL a c. 41, a uscita a c. 189 . . . . . .L. XVI, s.II
Carta 104r
Giovanni di Francesco de avere adi 30 di dicembre lire sedici soldi dua posto debbi dare in questo a c. 177. . . . . .L. 16, s.2
Carta 176v
Giovanni di Francesco del Cervelliera dipintore de dare adi 30 di dicembre 1449 lire sedici soldi dua per resto di sua ragione in questo a c. 104. . . . . .L. 16, s.2
Carta 177r
Giovanni de Francesco dipintore de avere addi primo di febbraio lire XVI soldi II posto gli debba dare al libro bianco segnato CC c. 163 el Convento in questo c. 220 . . . . . .L. 16, s.2

Volume n. 45, Debitori e Creditori, anno 1450-1470
Carta 157v Mccccl
Fra Mariano de Servi al dirimpetto de dare addi 9 di giugno lire III sono per tanti ci e ne promise per Giovanni di Francescho Ciervelliera dipintore detto dì nel 1451, posto detto Giovanni avere in questo c. 163 come appare al giornale c. 11 . . . . . .L. III
Carta 162v Mccccl
Giovanni di Franciesco Ciervelliera de dare addi primo di febbraio lire XVI, soldi II levato dal libro giallo segnato BB c. 177 posto convento avere in questo c. 157 . . . . . .L. XVI, s. II
Carta 163r Mccccl
Giovanni contra scrito de avere addi 23 di luglio 1451 lire IIII soldi XV avemo dal'lui proprio contanti a entrata c. 8 . . . . . .L. IIII; s. XV e adi 6 d'agosto lire VIII soldi VI avemo dal'lui contanti in 2 partite, l'una al'lato, l'altra a entrata c. 9 . . . . . .L. VIII, s. VI
E insino adi 9 di giugno lire III sono per tanti ci e ne promise per lui fra Mariano de Servi, posto detto fra Mariano dare in questo c. 158. . . . . .L.III

53
Archivio di Stato, *Catasto no 718, anno 1451, Quartiere di S. Giovanni, Gonfalone Chiavi carta 293.* It was first published by M. Levi d'Ancona (*Miniatura e miniatori*, p. 146). The text reads:
Al nome di Dio adi 15 d'agosto 1451
Quartiere di Santo Giovanni
Gonfalone Chiavi
Sustanze di
Giovanni di Francesco di Giovanni non à graveza nè in Firenze nè in chontado e sono habitato et abito nel decto Gonfalone più che anni X. Una chassa posta in Firenze nel popolo di San Anbruogio in Via Pietra Piana, da primo detta Via, a secondo Francesco di Chiarissimo, a III° Spedale di Lemmo, a IIII° Lorenzo di Giovanni chalzolaio, la decta chassa tengho per mio abitare insieme cho mia madre, et nel primo chatasto era tralle sustantie di messer Anselmo Calderoni di decto Gonfalone.

54
These documents (Archivio di Stato, Florence, *Catasto vol. 767; Portata dal 1451, Quartiere di S. Giovanni, c. 366-367*) are first mentioned by R. Kennedy (*Alesso Baldovinetti*, 1938, p. 215). Their texts read as follows:

c. 366 Quartiere S. Giovanni
Piviere di S. Giovanni di Firenze
Sant'Agnolo a Rovezano
Popolo di Sant'Anbruogio dentro
Piviere di San Giovanni
Giovanni di Franciesco di Giovanni del Cierveliera popolo soto nom e di Franciesco suo padre è hoggi morto, soldi 8 — ane soldi 16
No nà sustantie
Incharichi
Tiene a pigione una chassa da Bartolomeo di ser Benedetto Fortini posta in Firenze nel popolo di Sant'Anbruogio pagane fiorini 9 l'anno.

Bocche
Giovanni decto----------anni 23
Il decto Giovanni abita in Firenze chome vedete ed avi abitato anni 16 o piu, vole essere nel popolo a estimo dove abita.
Beni alienati
Due terzi d'una chasa posta nel popolo di Rovezano, a primo Via, 2 michele di Nicholò di decto popolo, la quale si vendè 1449 al sopradecto Michele per pregio di fiorini 40 charta per mano di ser Amerigo Vespucci.
c. 367
Quartiere di San Giovanni
Piviere di Ripoli
Podesteria del Galluzo
Popolo di Sant'Angniolo a Rovezano
Giovanni di Franciesco di Giovanni del Ciervelliera fa un'aggiunta alla sua scripta in decto popolo el quale abita al presente nel popolo di Sant' Anbruogio di Firenze drento alle mura e quivi vole essere a estimo e sonvi abitato anni sedici o più.
Beni Venduti
Due staiora e hoto panora di vinngia nel popolo di San Biagio a Petriuolo al luogho decto in Padulecco, vendessi a Stefano di Lucha di Salvi da Peretola, vendessi lire ventiquatro, fune rogato ser Michele del Buono Schiattesi, confini: primo Giovanni de Pigli, secondo la Compagnia di Santa Maria a Peretola, 3 giovanni d'Andrea, quarto lo Spedale di messer Lorenzo. E la scrita de decto Stefano dicie in Lucha di Salvi, quartiere di Santa Maria Novella, Piviere di Santo Stefano in Pane, Podesteria di Sesto. Un chanale vechio posto in decto popolo e nella cassa di Francieschino da Peretola, confini: primo Via, secondo decto Francieschino, 3 Francho di Checo, vendessi all'erede di Tomaso di Michelle del Buono Schiattesi, vendessi lire oto, non'à sustantie.

55
Idem, p. 147. Florence, Archivio di Stato, *Catasto vol. 578, anno 1435*, c. 318 and c. 324. Their texts read:

c. 318
Quartiere di San Giovanni
Piviere di Ripoli
Podesteria del Bangnio a Ripoli hovero del Ghalluzo
Popolo di Sant'Angniolo a Rovezano
Popolo di S. Ambrogio dentro (in a later hand)
Giovanni di Franciesco di Giovanni del Cierveliera fa un'aggiunta alla sua scripta in decto popolo, el quale abbita al presente nel popolo di Sant' Ambruogio di Firenze dentro e quivi vuole essere a estimo e sonvi abitato anni sedici o più.

Beni venduti
Due staiora ch'octo panora di vingnia nel popolo di San Biagio a Petriuolo al luogho decto in Padulecchio.
Vendessi a Stefano di Lucha di Salvi da Peretola, vendessi lire ventiquattro, fune rogato ser Michele del Buono Schiattesi. Confini: primo Giovanni de Pilgli, secondo la Compagnia di Santa Maria a Peretola, terzo Giovanni d'Andrea, quarto lo Spedale di messer Lorenzo.
E la scritta di decto Stefano dicie in Lucha di Salvi Piviere di Santo Stefano in Pane, Quartiere di S. Maria Novella, Podesteria di Sesto, Piviere di Brozzi.
E più un chanale vecchio sollo in una chassa (casa) posta in decto popolo vale oto lire. Confini: di prima Via, secondo Francho di Checho di Barone, 3° Francieschino el quale comperò, overo, è sua la chassa nel quale è decto chanale el quale chonperò decto canale l'erede di Tomaso di Michele da Peretola e fune rogato ser Michele del Buono Schiattesi. No nà sustantie.
c. 340 verso

Recò el detto adi 15 di febraio.
c. 324
Quartiere di San Giovanni
Piviere di San Giovanni di Firenze
Popolo di Santo Agnolo a Rovezano
di Sant'Ambruogio dentro
Piviere di San Giovanni
Popolo di S. Ambruogio dentro
(by a different hand)
Giovanni di Franciesco di Giovanni del Cierveliera popolo socto nome di Franciesco suo padre e dè hoggi morto, soldi 8 / / 16
Incharichi — Non à sustantie
Tiene a pigione una chassa da Bartolomeo nel popolo di Sant'Ambruogio di Firenze paghasene fiorini 9 l'anno.
Bocche
Giovanni decto---------- anni 23
Il decto Giovanni abita in Firenze chome vedete ed evvi abitato anni 16 ho più, vole essere nel popolo ha estimo dove a hapbitato.
Beni Alienati
Due terzi d'una chassa possta nel popolo di Rovezano. A primo Via, 2 Michele di Nicholò di decto popolo, la quale si vendè 1449 al sopradecto Michele per pregio di fiorini 40, charta per mano di ser Amerigho Vespucci.
c. 335 verso
Recò Giovanni di Francesco detto adì 10 di dicenbre.

56
I am much indebted to Enzo Settesoldi for locating and transcribing these documents for me, and also for his comments. He tells me that the handwriting of the documents of 1435 is identical to that of the documents of 1451 and that they must have been done within a few months of each other. More recently M. Levi d'Ancona has told me that there are records of an artist named Giovanni di Francesco di Piero who is registered in S. Giovanni, Gonfalone Drago, between 1442 and 1498, and who was born in 1428! (i.e. the same year as indicated by one of the contraditory documents). Perhaps there still exists some confusion of names.

57
See note 51.

58
His tax return is mentioned by R. Kennedy (*Alesso Baldovinetti*, p.215) and then given by M. Levi d'Ancona (*Miniatura e miniatori*, p.146).

59
See note 44. The texts of the documents are published in part by Toesca, "Il pittore," p.3.

60
The proof of the date of his death was unknown before being located by R. Kennedy (*Alesso Baldovinetti*, p.215). The documents read as follows:

Arte Medici e Speziali vol. 245, Morti anno 1459-1475
c. 4 retto
Adi 29 di settembre 1459
Giovanni di Francesco da Rovezano dipintore riposto in Santo Ambruogio.

and:

Arte Medici e Speziali — Morti Grascia vol. 5
c. 19 verso
Mcccclviiii adi 29 settembre
Giovanni di Francesco riposto in Santo Ambruogio

M. Levi d'Ancona (*Miniatura e miniatori*, p.146) published a notice of the death of a "Giovanni dipintore" who died as the result of a fall and was buried in S. Ambrogio on November 21, 1458. This must obviously be a different painter named Giovanni.

61
R. Longhi in *Critica d'Arte*, XXIII, 1940, p.100. Longhi did not publish this material at length until his article "Il Maestro . . .," pp.24-29.

62
Reproduced by Longhi in "Il Maestro . . .," fig.10. Its dimensions are given as 88 x 58 cm. See also Longhi in *Paragone-Arte*, 15, March 1951, pp.57-58.

63
No.584. The large panels measure 94 x 49.5 cm. (37 x 19½ inches). For the complete measurements and a discussion, see Davies, *Earlier Italian Schools*, pp.521-524. All of these panels were sold from the nunnery at Pratovecchio sometime prior to 1845 when they were in the Lombardi-Baldi collection at Florence. They were purchased from this collection in 1857.

64
Longhi, "Il Maestro . . .," pp.16-17. Longhi also published a photomontage, fig. 11. The Gardner panel measures 33 x 191 cm. (12⅞ x 75⅛ inches). It was acquired for Mrs. Gardner from J. Eastman Chase in Boston in 1900.

65
Davies, *Earlier Italian Schools*, p.523. Her habit might be that of an Augustinian order, but it corresponds best to the habit of saints such as Martha and Euphrasia who were early saints and whose clothing is indicative of no particular order.

66
P. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Exhibited Paintings and Drawings* (Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston), 1931, pp.81-84.

67
Berenson, *Italian Pictures . . .*, 1963, p.87.

68
For a study of Lippi's studio and Fra Diamante, see M. Pittaluga, "Note sulla Bottega di Filippo Lippi," *L'Arte*, 44, pp.20ff.; and *idem*, "Fra Diamante collaboratore di fra Filippo Lippi," *Rivista d'Arte*, 1941, pp.19-71.

69
Reproduced by M. Pittaluga, *Filippo Lippi*, 1949, figs.170-171.

70
Davies, *Earlier Italian Schools*, p.523; Longhi, "Il Maestro . . .," pp.26-27.

71
34.4 x 25.2 cm. (13½ x 9⅞ inches).

72
See the advertisement in the supplement to *The Burlington Magazine*, CI, Dec.1959, "Notable works of art now on the market," pl.II.

73
At Sotheby's, June 6, 1962, as anonymous Florentine, lot 62.

74
According to J. Weitzner.

75
Suggested in the advertisement in *The Burlington Magazine* (see note 72).

76
Longhi, "Il Maestro . . . " p.24, illus. fig.6.

77
Zeri, *Due dipinti*, p.45, illus. pl.45.

78
It should be recalled that he is known to have done some work for Lippi as early as 1442. See note 51.

79
Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. Carrand no.2025. Overall measurements are given as 182 x 163 cm. Without the frame the central panel measures 162 x 64 cm., and the wings 152 x 56 cm. I have been dependent upon the figures supplied by the museum, since I was not able to measure the triptych myself. They are probably somewhat inexact, especially in view of the fact that the right wing is obviously wider than the left. The triptych belonged to Jean Baptiste Carrand, who died in 1888 and left his collection to the Bargello. See Gerspach, "La Collection Carrand," *Les Arts*,

1904, pp.9-10.

80
Schmarsow in *Kunsthistorische Gesellschaft für photographische Publikationen*, Leipzig, 1900, 6, pp.6-7.

81
According to their letter of June 14, 1972.

82
W. Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz*, 1940, 4, pp.372 and 386.

83
H. Mackowsky in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, X, Jan.1899, p.83; and W. Weisbach in *Jahrubuch*, pp.50-55.

84
The Bargello records evidently do not mention it, but at one time the triptych was briefly attributed to Neri di Bicci. Gerspach in *Les Arts*, 1904, pp.9-10, says the Madonna is attributed to Neri di Bicci but the wings are by another hand. He doubts the attribution to Neri and sees analogies with Ghirlandaio.

85
Schmarsow in *Kunsthistorische Gesellschaft*, pp.6-7; Berenson in *Catalogue of a Collection* (Johnson Collection), 1913, I, p.34.

86
Weisbach in *Jahrbuch*, pp.50-55; and in *Francesco Pesellino*, 1901, pp.6-10.

87
Toesca, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1917, pp.2-4.

88
Longhi, "Ricerche . . .," p.27.

89
Giovannozzi, "Note . . .," pp.338-339.

90
Florence, Casa Buonarroti, 23 x 158 cm. See Ugo Procacci, *La Casa Buonarroti a Firenze*, 1965, p.192, for a fairly complete bibliography and history of the painting.

91
Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, 1932, p.341. In the later lists (1963) the suggestion is retained but with a question mark. So far as I know, Berenson never discussed the problem beyond the brief note in his lists.

92
See note 79.

93
I have not taken the time to make a thorough survey of predellas and their relation to triptychs during this period; I know of only two that have a comparable arrangement and neither is Florentine. One is the altarpiece by Sano di Pietro of 1448 painted for S. Biagio at Scrofiano and now in the Siena Pinacoteca. The other is also by Sano, done in 1471 for the Badia a Isola. In both cases there are five sections to the predella and they do not correspond to the widths of the upper sections.

94
Il libro di Antonio Billi, ed. C. Frey, 1892, p.27.

95
Il codice magliabecchiano, ed. C. Frey, 1893, p.97.

96
Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, 1906, III, p.37.

97
F. Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 1768, IV, p.30.

98
According to a description of the gallery written in 1684. See Procacci, *Casa Buonarroti*, p.227, where the text is reprinted.

99
Weisbach, *Jahrbuch*, pp.35f.; and *Francesco Pesellino*, 1901, pp.6-10.

100
See H. W. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello*, 1957, II, pp.103-108.

101
The same point is made by Janson, *idem*, p.106.

102
The predella by Filippo Lippi (or his school) done for the altarpiece in S. Lorenzo in Florence is often cited as a parallel. The principal portion of the altarpiece contains the *Annunciation* while the predella has the very same three scenes from the life of St. Nicholas. There is a curious relationship between Lippi's altar and Donatello's. It has often been remarked that Lippi's work seems to be heavily dependent on the earlier tabernacle from Santa Croce and at least two writers have suggested that Giovanni di Francesco was responsible for both predellas: see Pudelko, "Per la datazione delle opere di Filippo Lippi," *Rivista d'Arte*, I, 1936, pp.61-64; and M. Pittaluga, "Note sulla Bottega di Filippo Lippi," *L'Arte*, 44, 1941, pp.29-35. In fact it is far from certain that the S. Lorenzo predella was originally done for the altarpiece to which it is now attached.

103
21 x 117 cm. (8¼ x 46 inches), from the Campana collection. For a summary and complete bibliography, see *De Giotto à Bellini*, Orangerie des Tuileries, 1956, no.80, pp.56-57.

104
Weisbach in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXII, pp.76-77; and later in *Jahrbuch*, pp.43-44; A. Schmarsow, *Masacciostudien*, V, 1899, p.139; and H. Mackowsky in *Zeitschrift . . .*, X, Jan.1899, p.83. See also F. Witting, *Piero della Francesca*, 1898, pp.158-162.

105
Longhi, "Ricerche . . .," pp.26-27.

106
Giovannozzi, "Note . . .," pp.344-346.

107
No.1141, 99 x 49 cm. (39 x 19½ inches), from the Solly collection in 1821.

108
H. Mackowsky in *Zeitschrift*, p.83; discussed in more detail by Weisbach, *Repertorium*, p.77; and later in *Jahrbuch*, pp.38-39.

109
5.85 x 2.75 m. (230 x 108 inches). It was recently damaged in the flood of 1966 and some details of its condition, as well as its construction, can be found in A. Conti, "Quadri alluvionati 1333, 1557, 1966," *Paragone-Arte*, 223, pp.8-10.

110
H. Mackowsky in *Zeitschrift*, p.83; discussed in more detail by Weisbach, *Jahrbuch*, pp.41-43.

111
Longhi, "Ricerche . . .," p.27.

112
Giovannozzi, "Note . . .," pp.346-348.

113
The dimensions are unknown to me.

114
Italian Pictures of the Renaissance, 1932, p.341.

115
Giovannozzi, "Note . . .," p.348, note 1. See also Salmi in *Rivista d'Arte*, XV, 1933, p.258.

116
G. Giustini, "Un centenario dimenticato," *L'Arte*, LIX, 1960, pp.3-6.

117
Dimensions are unknown to me.

118
In *The Burlington Magazine*, LXIII, Oct.1933, p.177. The painting had been exhibited that same year (see

Catalogo della Mostra del Tesoro di Firenze sacra, 1933, no.351) as anonymous Florentine 15th century.

119
Longhi, "Ricerche . . .," pp.26-36, attributed a large number of works to Giovanni di Francesco claiming them to be from his early period, 1445 to 1455. He has since reattributed them to Uccello. See the Appendix: Attributions not Accepted.

120
See note 53.

121
Longhi, "Ricerche . . .," pp.32-33.

122
It was formerly in the Post collection in London. I do not know its dimensions.

123
Formerly in a private collection in Rome. I am not aware of its dimensions, but they are presumably the same as the right wing in Lyon which is 139 x 52 cm. (55 x 20½ inches).

124
139 x 52 cm. (55 x 20½ inches), donated to the Lyon Museum in 1911 by J.-B. Giraud. For a summary and bibliography, see *De Giotto à Bellini*, no.81, p.57.

125
No.1473, 35 x 24 cm. (14 x 9½ inches), gift of J. Maciet in 1901.

126
F. Antal in *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLVI, 1925, p.17.

127
Giovannozzi, "Note . . .," pp.340-342.

128
Berenson, *Catalogue of a Collection*, p.34.

129
Weisbach, *Jahrbuch*, pp.44-46. Its dimensions are 58.5 x 40.5 cm. (23 x 17¾ inches). He acquired the painting in Florence in 1900.

130
Berenson, *Italian Pictures . . .*, 1963, p.87.

131
Berenson, *Catalogue of a Collection*, 1913, I, p.34. Its dimensions are 57.8 x 37.5 cm. (22¾ x 14¾ inches).

132
Sculpture collection, inv. no.74; 72.5 cm. (28½ inches) diameter.

133
H. Mackowsky, *Zeitschrift*, p.83; discussed in more detail by Weisbach, *Jahrbuch*, pp.39-43.

134
Kress no.1128, 50.2 x 31.7 cm. (19¾ x 12½ inches); formerly in the Contini-Bonacossi collection, Florence; given to Berea College in Kentucky, 1961. See Fern Rusk Shapley, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection, Italian Schools, XIII-XV Century*, 1966, pp.104-105.

135
A Study Collection of Italian Renaissance Paintings and Sculpture, given . . . to Berea College, 1961, p.12.

136
Toesca, "Il pittore . . .," pp.2-4. See also note 44.

137
Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, 1932, p.342.

138
Giovannozzi, "Note . . .," pp.362-364.

139
See R. Kennedy, *Alesso Baldovinetti*, pp.89 and 215, note 203.

140
Longhi, "Il Maestro . . .," pp.23, 36; Zeri's opinion appears in B. Fredericksen and F. Zeri, *Census of Pre-Nineteenth Italian Paintings in North American Public Collections*, 1972, p.135.

141
Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, 1932, p.90.

142
G. M. Richter, "Rehabilitation of Fra Carnevale," *Art Quarterly*, 3, 1940, p.314.

143
Longhi, "Il Maestro . . .," p.23; Zeri, *Due dipinti*, p.54; and *Census*, p.135. The frame, which is appearently not the one made for the painting, has the inscription: AVITMATER NIHILALIVT PITASNISI CAPVTIOANIS DOMINEMIREXDAM IHIINDISCO CAPVT IOANNIS BAPTISTA PVELAESALTANTIIMPER.

144
Although I followed Zeri's opinion in the *Census*, I have since come to disagree. I reached the conclusion that it was by the Barberini Master before seeing Richter's article.

145
It should not be forgotten that Berenson once thought that the Barberini Master was Giovanni di Francesco, in *Italian Pictures*, 1932, p.342.

146
37 x 25 cm. (14½ x 9¾ inches), panel, gift of W. von Bode in 1929.

147
Longhi, *Critica d'Arte*, XXIII, pt.2, 1940, p.100; and "Il Maestro . . .", pp.21-22, 35.

148
M. Salmi in *Commentari*, V, 1954, p.72.

149
Salmi, *idem*.

150
Longhi in *Paragone-Arte*, 33, Sept. 1952, p.43; F. Zeri, *Italian Paintings, a catalogue . . . of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Florentine School*, 1971, pp.113-114. Berenson (*Pitture italiane*, 1936, p.229) had originally suggested the Carrand Master, but dropped the idea in his later edition of 1963.

151
C. Ragghianti in *Critica d'Arte*, III, 1938, p.xxv; Pittaluga, "Note sulla bottega . . .," p.35, note 2; and *idem*, *Filippo Lippi*, p.222.

152
Published in *The Connoisseur*, 103, March 1939, p.171.

153
O. Wulff in *Zeitschrift*, pp.99-106.

154
Berenson, *Italian pictures*, 1932, p.342; 1963 ed., p.87.

155
Paatz, *Kirchen*, v.1, 1940, pp.583-4, 676, note 482.

156
M. Salmi in *Bollettino d'Arte*, XXVIII, 1934, p.19.

157
See the *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde*, 9th ed., 1931, p.132, cataloged under Domenico Veneziano. R. van Marle, *Italian Schools of Painting*, X, 1928, p.388, mentions they were attributed to the Carrand Master.

158
O. Sirén, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures in the Jarves Collection*, 1916, no.37.

159
Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, 1963, p.87.

160
Idem.

161
F. Zeri in *Art Quarterly*, XXXI, 1968, pp.76-82.

162
Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, 1963, p.87. See Fredericksen, *Catalogue of the Paintings in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, 1972, no.15.

163
Berenson, *idem*, p.87.

164
Berenson, *idem*, p.88.

165
Longhi, "Ricerche . . .," p.31; Berenson, *idem*, p.88. Longhi later dropped the attribution to Giovanni di Francesco and gave it to Uccello.

166
Schmarsow in *Kunsthistorische Gesellschaft*, pp.6-7; Longhi, *idem*, pp.30-31; Berenson, *idem*, p.88. Longhi later changed his attribution to Uccello.

167
Berenson, *idem*, p.88.

168
Giovannozzi, "Note . . .," p.362.

169
Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, 1963, p.88.

170
Berenson, *idem*, p.88.

171
Berenson, *idem*, p.88.

172
Longhi, "Ricerche . . .," pp.27-29; Berenson, *idem*, p.88.

173
Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, 1932, p.341, to the Carrand Master. In Berenson's lists of 1963 he attributes it to Machiavelli. I am tempted to relate this painting to the Barberini Master, but am unable to finally convince myself.

174
Longhi, "Ricerche . . .," p.30; Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, 1963, p.87. Longhi later changed his attribution to Uccello.

175
G. Pudelko in *Rivista d'Arte*, I, 1936, pp.61-64; Pittaluga, "Note sulla Bottega . . .," pp.29-35; and *idem*, *Filippo Lippi*, pp.178-179.

176
P. Toesca in *Enciclopedia italiana*, XVII, 1933, p.241.

177
See G. Pudelko in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts*, IV, p.176.

178
E. Liphart in *Les Anciennes Ecoles de Peinture dans les Palais et Collections privées Russes*, exhibition, St. Petersburg, 1909 (publ. 1910), pp.22-23.

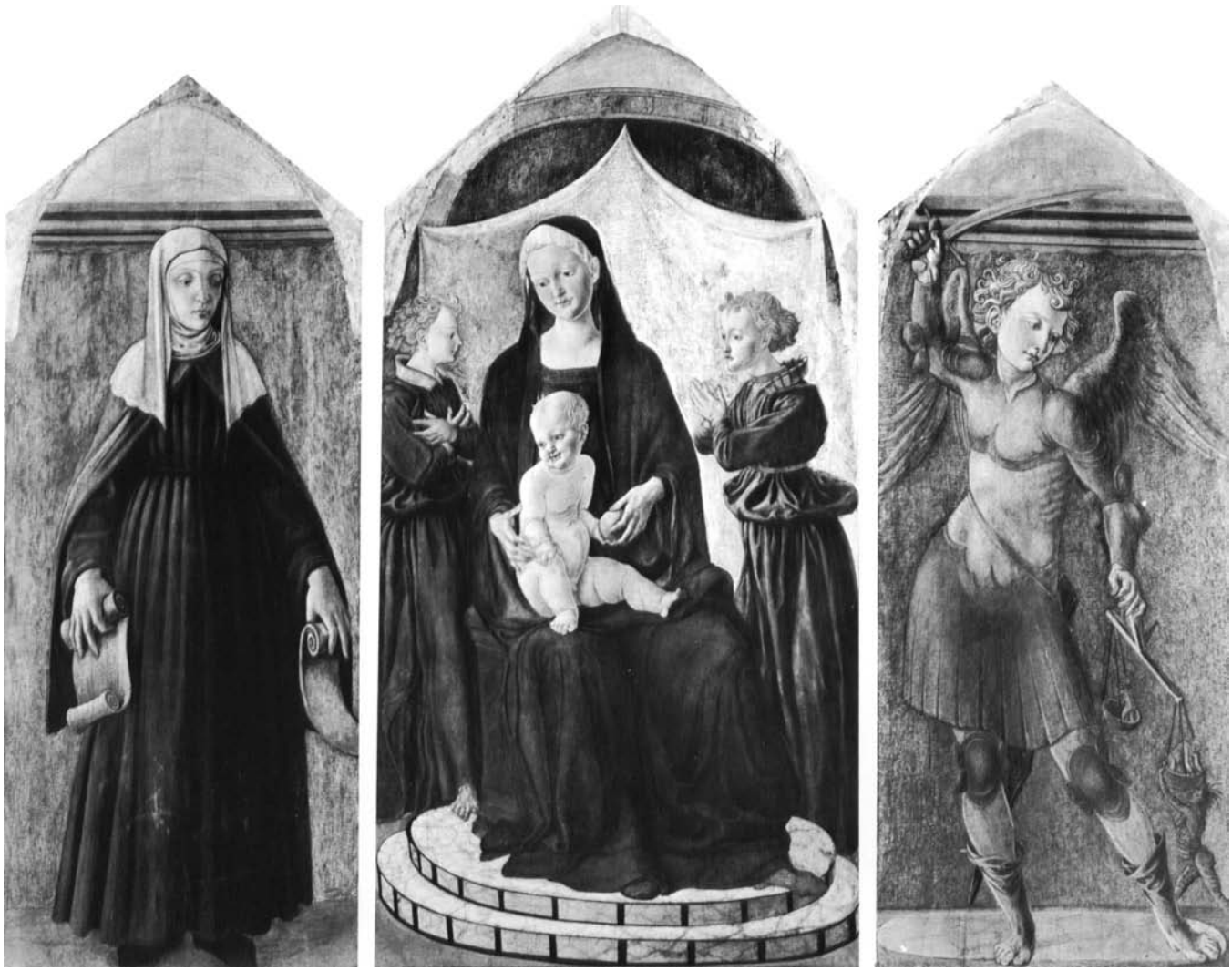
179
Pudelko in *Mitteilungen*, IV, p.176.

180
Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, 1963, p.87.

181
Giovannozzi, "Note . . .," pp.361-362, note 5.

Plates

1
Triptych with the Madonna and Child and Sts. Bridget and Michael.
Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.



2
Madonna and Child (central section of fig. 1)
Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

3
Madonna and Child (showing its condition before restoration, ca. 1920)
Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

4
St. Bridget (left wing of fig. 1)
Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

5
St. Bridget (showing its condition before restoration, 1914)
Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

6
St. Michael (right wing of fig. 1)
Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

7
St. Michael (showing its condition before restoration, ca. 1920)
Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

8A & B
Madonna and Child (in stripped condition during restoration, ca. 1920)
Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

9 A

9 B

10

9
St. Bridget (in stripped condition during restoration, ca. 1920)
Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

10
St. Bridget (detail showing partial restoration, ca. 1920)
Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

11
Madonna and Child (condition in 1920, from advertisement for Satinover Gall.)
Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

12
Assumption of the Virgin (central section of polyptych)
Pratovecchio, S. Giovanni Evangelista nunnery.

13A
Sts. Michael and John Baptist (left wing of Pratovecchio polyptych)
London, National Gallery.

13B
Anonymous bishop and female saints (right wing of Pratovecchio polyptych)
London, National Gallery.

14A
St. Benedict (pilaster)
London, National Gallery.

14B
Anonymous pope (pilaster)
London, National Gallery.

14C
Anonymous Benedictine monk
(pilaster)
London, National Gallery

15A
St. Ansanus(?) (pilaster)
London, National Gallery.

15B
Anonymous bishop saint (pilaster)
London, National Gallery.

15C
St. Peter (pilaster)
London, National Gallery.

16A
St. Romuald? (pilaster)
London, National Gallery.

16B
St. Catherine (pilaster)
London, National Gallery.

16C
St. Sebastian (pilaster)
London, National Gallery.

17A
St. Jerome (pilaster)
London, National Gallery.

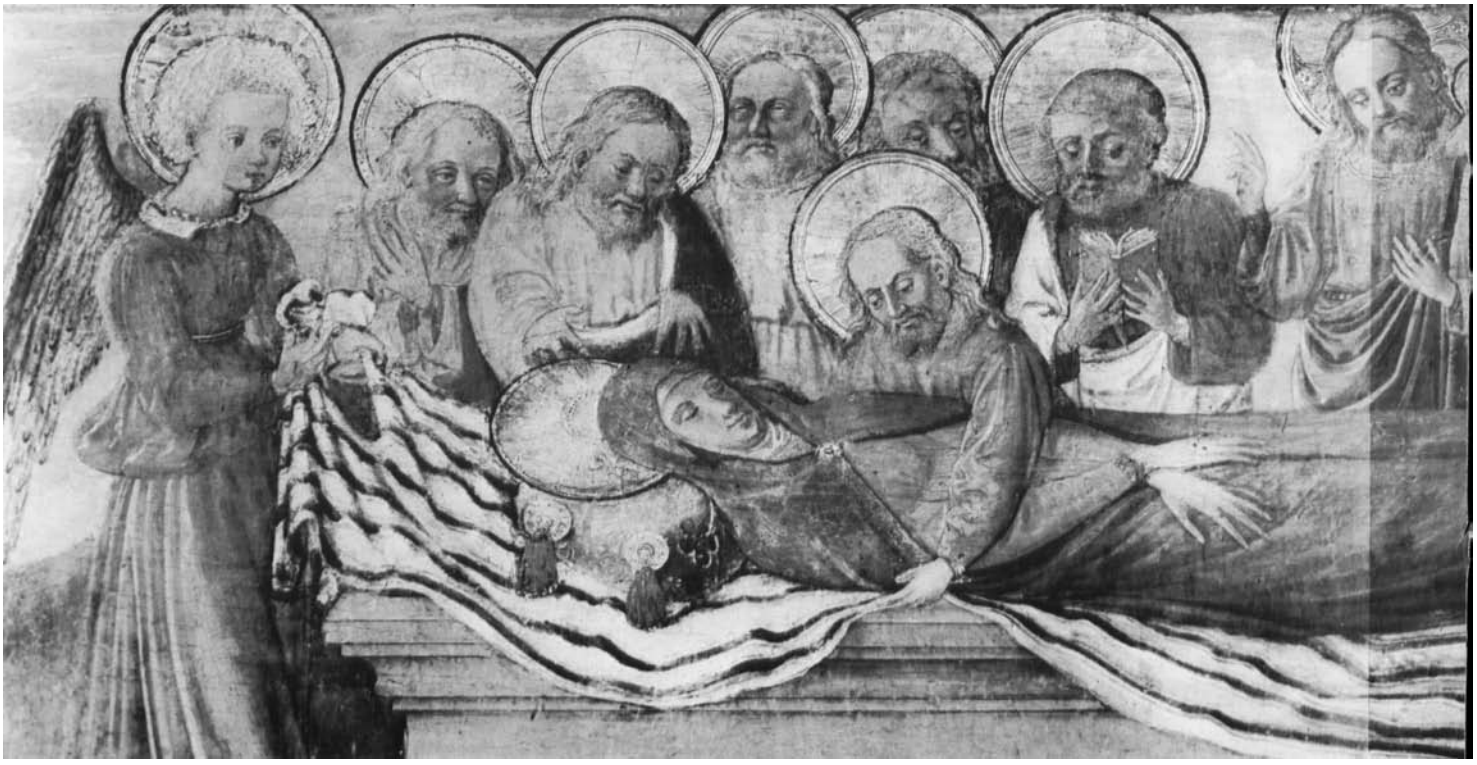
17B
St. Paul (pilaster)
London, National Gallery.

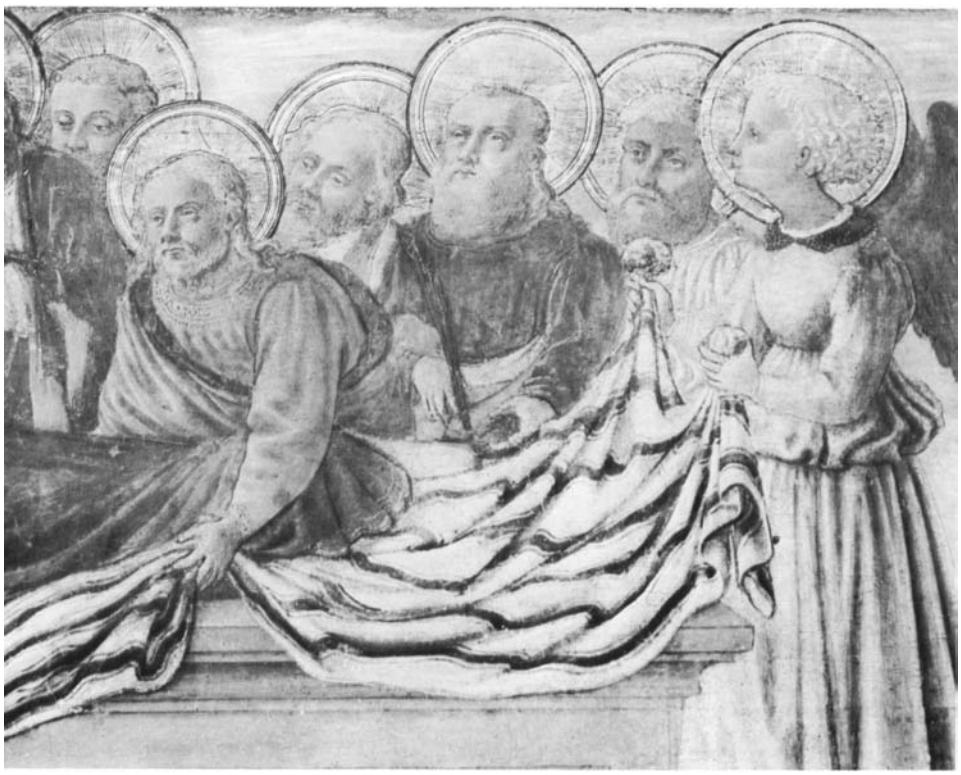
17C
St. Mary Magdalen (pilaster)
London, National Gallery.

18A & B
Annunciation (two medallions above pilasters)
London, National Gallery.

18C & D
St. John and Mary (two pinnacles)
London, National Gallery.

19A-C
Death of the Virgin
Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.





20
Madonna and Child with Four Saints
Florence, Art Market.

21
Madonna and Child
Florence, Vittorio Frascione.

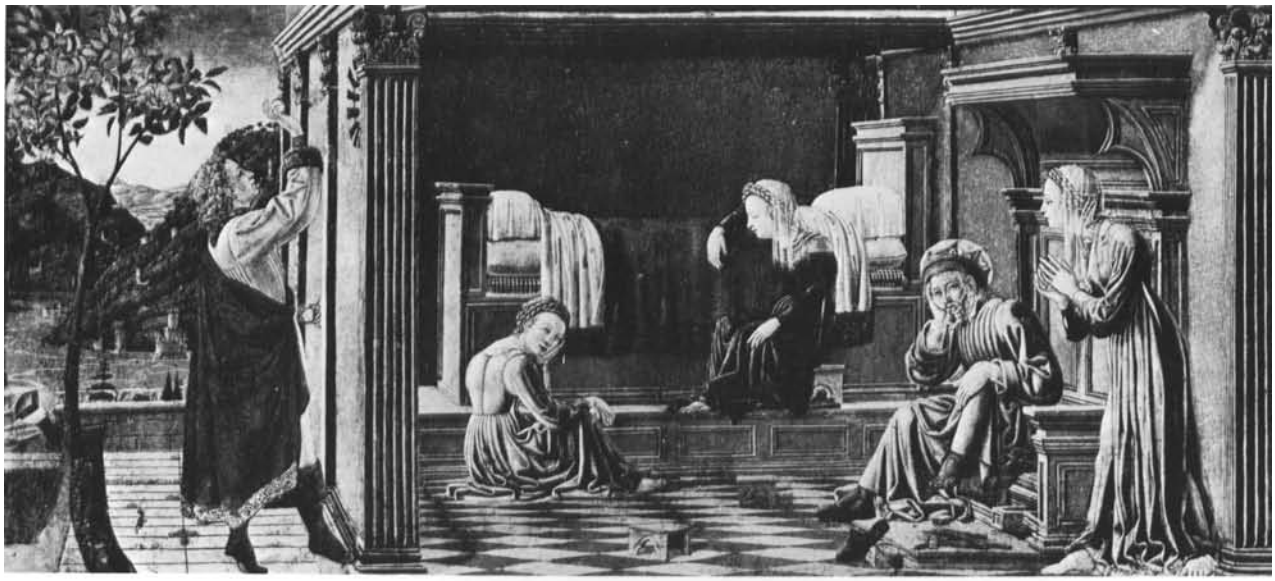
21

22
Madonna and Child
Formerly Germany, unknown collection.

22

23
Madonna and Child with Four Saints
(The Carrand Triptych)
Florence, Museo Nazionale
(Bargello)

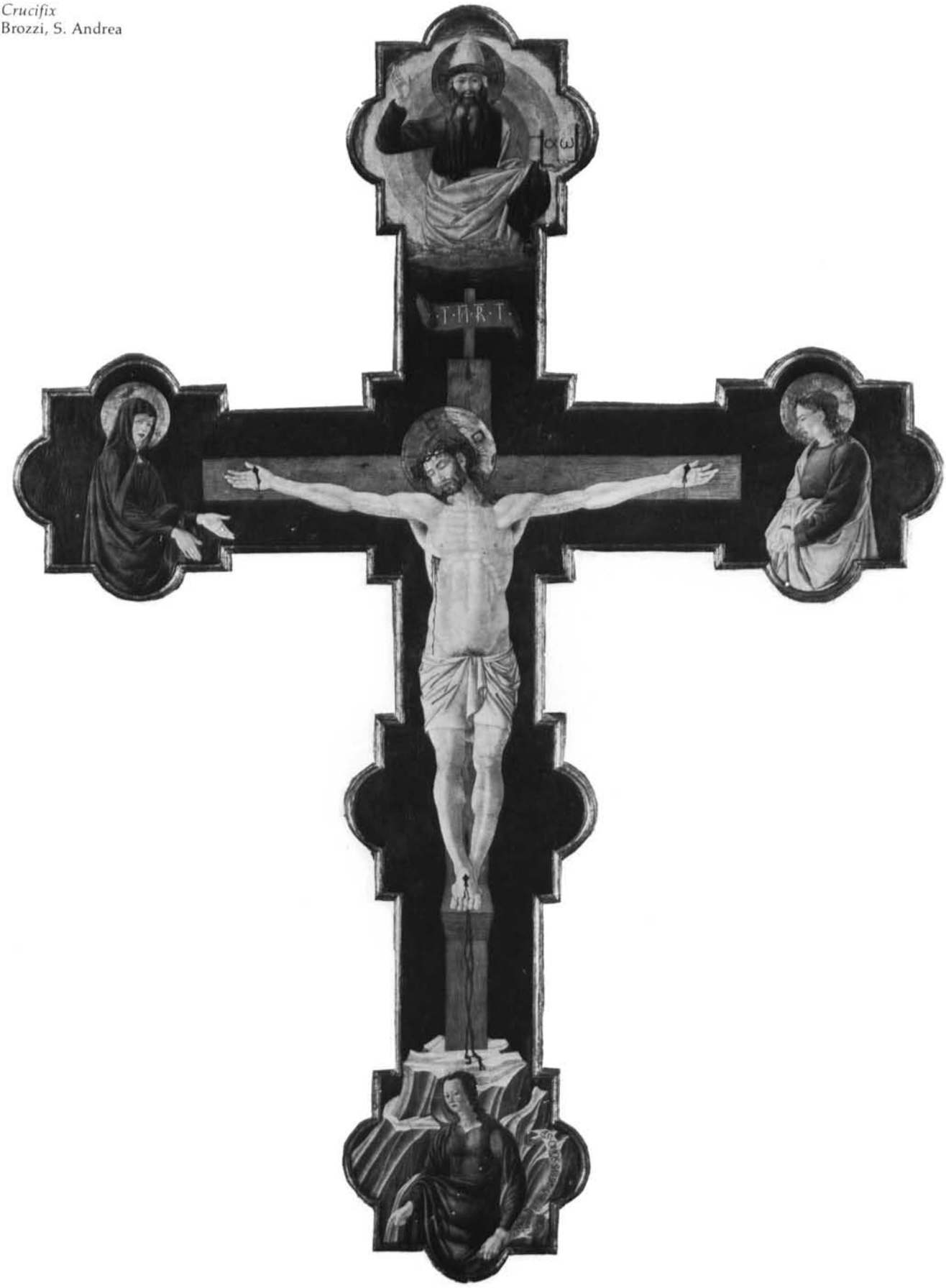
24
Three Episodes from the Life of St. Nicholas
Florence, Casa Buonarroti.



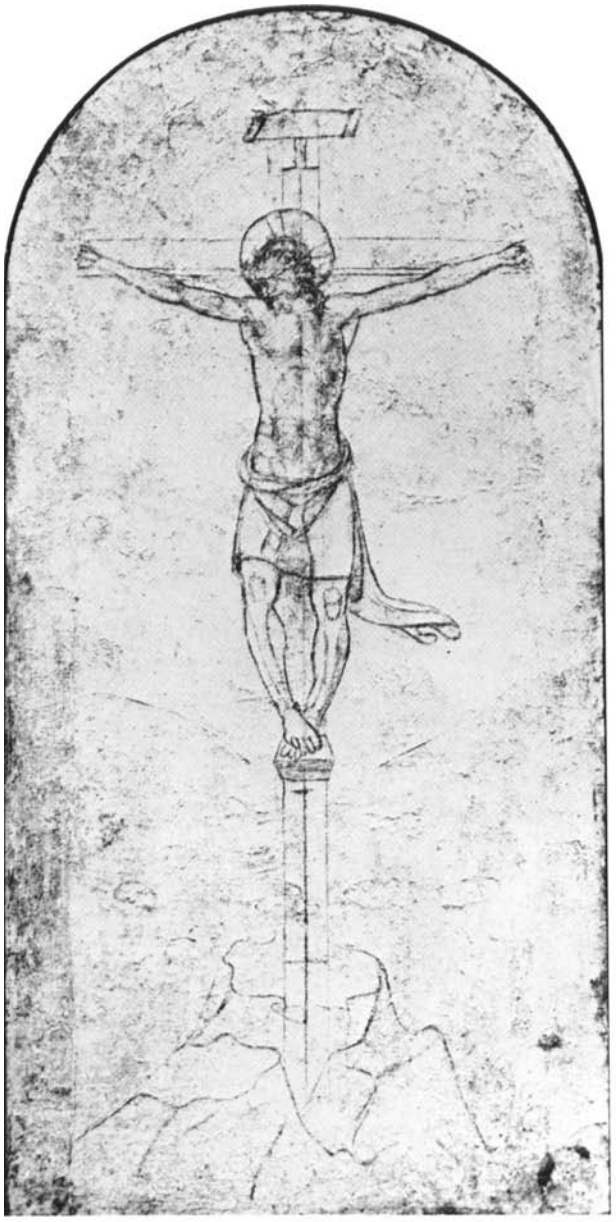
25
Nativity and *Adoration of the Magi*
Montpellier, Musée Fabre.

26
St. Anthony of Padua
Berlin, Staatliche Museen (Dahlem).

27
Crucifix
Brozzi, S. Andrea

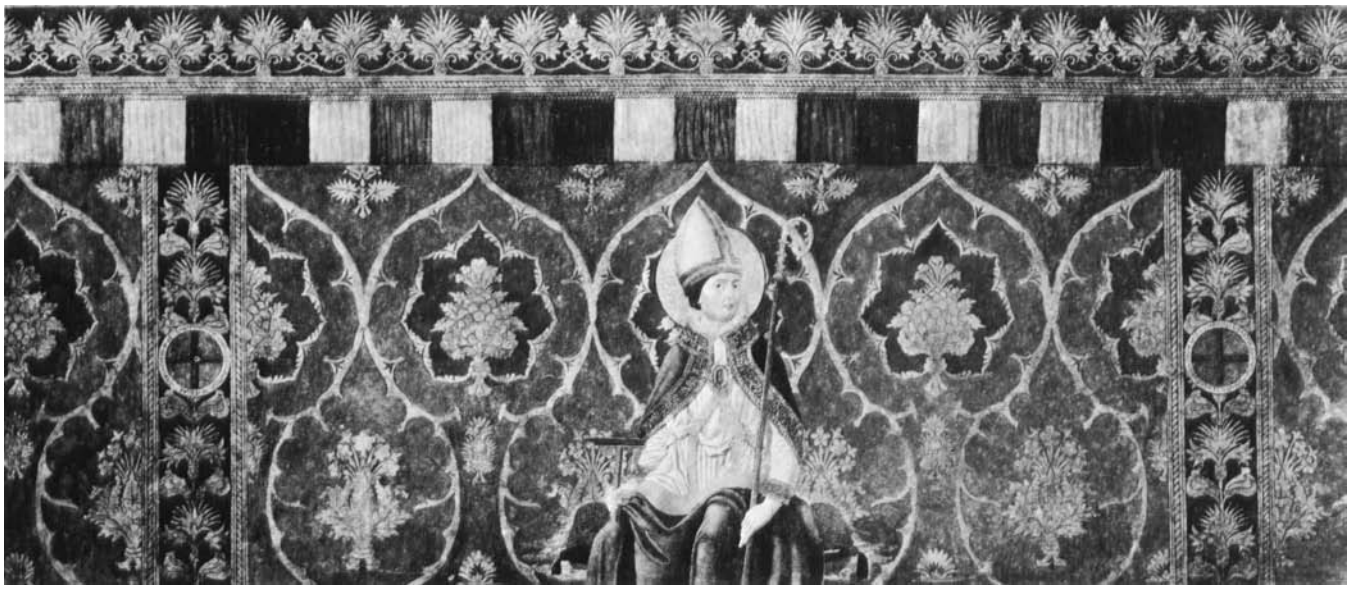


28A
Crucifixion (sinopia)
Florence, Sta. Maria Maggiore.



28B
Crucifixion
Florence, Sta. Maria Maggiore.

29
Altar Frontal with St. Blaise
Petriolo, S. Biagio



30
Madonna and Child
Florence, Contini
collection.

31A

31B

31A
St. Anthony Abbot
Milan, Brizio collection.

31B
St. James
Lyon, Musée de Lyon.

32
Sts. James and Anthony with a donor
Dijon, Musée de Dijon

32

33
Madonna and Child with two Saints
Formerly Berlin, Weisbach collection.

34
Madonna and Child with four Saints
Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection.

35A
Frame with three Prophets and a Sibyl
Formerly Berlin, Staatliche Museen
(destroyed in World War II)

35B
Nativity
Berea, Berea College (Kress Study
Collection)

36
God the Father
Florence, Loggia degli Innocenti.

37
Praying Angel (detail of fig. 36)
Florence, Loggia degli Innocenti.

38
Fresco fragment
Morrocco (near Florence), Sta. Maria.

39

39
Barberini Master?
Madonna and Child with Angels
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.

40

40
Barberini Master? *Madonna and Child*
Cambridge, Fogg Museum, Harvard University.

41
Barberini Master? *Three Archangels*
Berlin, Staatliche Museen (Dahlem).

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