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**The use of Trecento sources
in Antoniazio Romano
and Lorenzo da Viterbo**

Lorenzo da Viterbo and Antoniazio Romano were the two greatest local painters of the fifteenth century in the region of Rome. Despite their stature, their fame and scholarly fortune has been much inferior to their merits, compared to other contemporary artists. Not surprisingly, the use of fourteenth-century sources by Antoniazio and Lorenzo has gone so far unnoticed: while Lorenzo mainly looked at Sieneese models, Antoniazio showed a preference towards Florence. This essay analyses the complex references to Trecento examples, which affect both composition and meaning, especially in Antoniazio's decoration of cardinal Bessarion's chapel in the Roman church of SS. Apostoli (1464-65) and in Lorenzo's frescoes in the Mazzatosta chapel, in the church of S. Maria della Verità at Viterbo. The influence of Tuscan sources offers a strong clue in favour of a sojourn of both painters in that region over the 1460s (Lorenzo will be documented in Florence in 1473), and of a fruitful experience of Tuscan monuments and artists.

Lorenzo da Viterbo and Antoniazio Romano were the two greatest native painters of the fifteenth century in the region of Rome. Despite this, their name is hardly known today to non specialists, and this is even more true in non-Italian literature. I will not dare compare their status to that of the greatest masters of the century, Piero della Francesca and Andrea Mantegna; but certainly their position is not inferior to that of much better known artists, such as Benozzo Gozzoli and Domenico Ghirlandaio, whose fortune in the past and present is by contrast internationally wide.

The first, obvious reason for such a situation is the silence of ancient sources. Vasari mentions only in passing "Antonio detto Antoniazio romano" in the life of Filippino Lippi, as one of the two painters, together with the mysterious "Lanzilago padovano", in charge of evaluating Filippino's frescoes in the Carafa Chapel, in the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva¹. The appearance of Lorenzo da Viterbo's name in the art-historical literature, after a couple of mentions by local historians of Viterbo in the eighteenth century, dates as late as the early nineteenth century (thanks to Séroux d'Agincourt, Rumohr, Rosini and Minardi)². A proper critical appreciation of both our heroes belongs entirely to the twentieth century and it is chiefly the merit of Adolfo Venturi and Roberto Longhi: Venturi praised them within what he called the Roman school of painting, started by Piero and including Melozzo da Forlì and the Master of the Gardner Annunciation (later identified by Zeri with Piermatteo d'Amelia)³. Longhi highlighted Lorenzo's and Antoniazio's

artistic quality in two almost contemporary essays (1926 and '27)⁴.

Antoniazzo personifies the continuity of the Roman tradition of Christian basilicas and medieval mosaics; at the same time he constantly updated his style to modern tendencies. Lorenzo was both an experimental, *avant-garde*, and an archaistic spirit whose masterpiece, the fresco decoration of the Mazzatosta Chapel (1469, Viterbo, S. Maria della Verità) was one of the most radical accomplishments in perspective in Italy in those years.

Until recently, the use of fourteenth-century sources by the two artists has never been taken into account. Therefore this paper presents some hypotheses and comparisons as problematic case studies⁵. Lorenzo mainly looked at Sienese models, while Antoniazzo showed a preference towards Florence. The references to Trecento examples, which affect both composition and meaning, can be seen in Lorenzo's Mazzatosta frescoes (1469) and in Antoniazzo's slightly earlier decoration of cardinal Bessarion's chapel in the Roman church of SS. Apostoli (1464-67).

The latter, which was originally the right transept chapel of the Paleochristian tri-conch basilica, was known only through archival documents until half a century ago (1959), when the fortuitous discovery of some fragmentary frescoes behind a wall of the right nave of the basilica revealed the still extant apse of the chapel, hidden by the Baroque altar of St Anthony of Padua⁶. The chapel, adjacent to the cardinal's house and also destined to contain his tomb, was decorated between 1464 and 1467. According to the surviving sources, it was composed of a *quadrum exterius*, a sort of square ante-chapel with the representation of *Christ and the Evangelists with the Greek and Latin Fathers* in the cross vault (a conciliarist iconography which may be connected in my opinion to a Venetian model, the fourteenth-century mosaics in the Baptistery of San Marco, fig. 1)⁷, the *Virgin and Child, flanked by standing saints and Cardinal Bessarion kneeling* in the counterfaçade⁸ – a solution typical of Byzantine chapel decorations, pretty unusual in the West⁹ – and the titular saints *Michael, John the Baptist and Eugenia* on the pilasters below¹⁰. The surviving apse wall shows the lower part of the *Angelic Hierarchies* around the *Blessing Redeemer* in the upper semi-dome (which finds a Roman iconographic model in the lost fresco painted a few decades earlier by Giovenale da Orvieto in S. Clemente, figs. 2-3)¹¹, and two *Stories of the Archangel Michael* beneath (figs. 4-5), under which there was originally the *Nativity of Saint John the Baptist*, as we know from a seventeenth-century source, Bonaventura Malvasia¹².

In my view, Antoniazzo took the scheme of the Michaelic episodes from the similar ones in the Velluti Chapel, in Santa Croce, Florence (fig. 6). These frescoes

can be dated around 1321, and can be stylistically referred to the Master of S. Cecilia¹³. In the Florentine chapel we see a continuous narrative which exploits the central mountain as a natural setting shared by both scenes, the *Miracle of Gargano* on the left and the *Procession of the bishop of Siponto* on the right. The iconography is based on the account given by two early medieval sources: the *Liber de apparitione sancti Michaelis in Monte Gargano* (an eighth-century enlarged re-elaboration of a sixth-century original)¹⁴, which refers the story but provides no dates nor names; and the two versions of the *Vita sancti Laurentii* (eleventh-century), where the episode of the bull is absent but the bishop is identified with the Constantinopolitan Lorenzo and the year of the apparition is given as 490¹⁵, and by the later synthesis found in the *Legenda aurea*¹⁶. Both episodes are represented, often together, in Italy, France and Spain from the fourteenth century onward¹⁷. In the first one a wealthy cattle farmer called Gargano tries to punish a bull which has escaped the herd and gone up a mountain – itself named Gargano after him – and is found standing outside a cave, but the poisoned arrows thrown to the animal miraculously bounce back on the archers. After a three-day fast imposed on his community by the local bishop, the latter sees in a vision the Archangel Michael, who reveals that the site where the bull has taken refuge is consecrated to Michael. Therefore the cavern, which was already the place of a pagan cult, is honoured through processions and prayers¹⁸. Later a sanctuary will be built on the site of the miracle, absorbing the sacred cave. At first glance the same two stories are frescoed in the church of SS. Apostoli, but the Latin inscription beneath the right one reads *APPARITIO EIUSDEM IN MONTE TUMBA*: it is then related to a distinct apparition of the Archangel, which happened probably in the year 708 (certainly between 706 and 711) at Mont Saint-Michel, in north-western France, a place which was called *Mons Tumba* in the past. Michael appeared again to the local bishop, Aubert d'Avranches, asking for the dedication of a church to be built in the place where they would find a bull hidden by some thieves: indeed we see in the fresco a bull tied to a tree (fig. 7)¹⁹. After the vision, Aubert together with his community reaches the chosen site «cum hymnis et laudibus», the moment represented in the chapel fresco²⁰. This episode is based on a textual account, the *Apparitio seu Revelatio ecclesiae sancti Michaelis in monte Tumba*, composed in the ninth century. The French sanctuary took the Garganian one as its model, also architectonically: it was similarly built not very high but «in modum cripte rotundam, centum, ut estimatur, hominum capacem, illius in monte Gargani volens exequare formam»²¹. These architectural similarities may be alluded to by the centrally planned walls and buildings visible in the background of both Bessarion frescoes (figs. 4-5)²².

The Mount Tumba scene is enriched by the presence of two groups of tonsured friars who have been identified by Pina Belli D'Elia with the two main branches of the Franciscan order: the Conventuals, wearing a dark grey/black habit, and the Observants, whose habit is brownish²³. In 1463 the church of SS. Apostoli was assigned to the Order of Friars Minor by Bessarion himself, who was protector of the order since 1458²⁴. The Franciscans had a special liking for the Archangel Michael, as is shown by the dedication of their altars, their fresco cycles and altarpieces (the aforementioned Velluti chapel, the Pesciolini chapel frescoed by Taddeo Gaddi in S. Francesco at Pisa, Spinello Aretino in S. Francesco at Arezzo, and Agnolo Gaddi's dismembered polyptych once in S. Croce at Florence). Therefore, the two episodes of Michael represented in the Bessarion chapel, which have also been explained in terms of «revival of the Byzantine predisposition for St. Michael» and «part of a renaissance in militant symbolism [...] of the saint as a defender of Christianity in circumstances of explicit threat» (thus in connection with the Turkish menace and the Christian attempts for a crusade against it)²⁵, reflect a Franciscan iconographic tradition. However, their monumental dimension and eminent location, more common in the previous century, appear rather exceptional in the Quattrocento²⁶.

While looking at the Santa Croce example, Antoniazzo changed the orientation of the two episodes, from converging to diverging. To be sure, one might argue that the iconography of the Archangel Michael was more or less constant and widespread: how can we assert that the painter took inspiration from the Velluti Chapel? Among the many possible representations of Michael, which recur abundantly in Central Italy, Catalonia, and France from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onward, one may look to Coppo di Marcovaldo's Vico l'Abate altarpiece (ca. 1250-60, Florence, Uffizi), or to the early Trecento fresco in the small oratory of S. Maria del Parto, in Sutri, north of Rome²⁷; or to the Sienese late Trecento cycle by Biagio di Goro Ghezzi, in Paganico²⁸; or the early Quattrocento predella panels by Taddeo di Bartolo in Volterra (*Polyptych of the roses*, 1411) and Priamo della Quercia in Lucca (ca. 1430); or even the little known frescoes in S. Scolastica at Subiaco (1426). Admittedly, the similarities of all these works to Antoniazzo's scenes are far more generic; not to say of the non-Italian examples²⁹.

What supports on the other hand the Velluti model are the comparisons of some details, namely the archers (figs. 4 and 6), and Gargano's assistant, caught in a pose of surprise in front of the miracle (figs. 8-9). The most striking affinities are in the *Procession* scenes (figs. 5-6): in the sequence itself and above all in the couple formed by a man in a green garment and a blonde, curly baby dressed in red who looks upward, holding a white lily in the Velluti fresco, a candle in SS. Apostoli (figs. 10-11). These figures are not specifically mentioned in the textual sources

mentioned above, and hence their analogy would rather seem the product of direct – and slightly varied – quotations.

A further clue of Antoniazzo's inspiration from the basilica of Santa Croce can be found in a later work, the fresco he made for the tomb of Cardinal Juan Díaz de Coca in S. Maria sopra Minerva (ca. 1474), where he worked in collaboration with the Lombard sculptor Andrea Bregno³⁰. The sepulchre of the Spanish prelate ranks among the most beautiful combinations of sculpture and painting in fifteenth-century art (fig. 12): the idea of a polychrome canopy enframing the monument, which naturally recalls Piero della Francesca's *Madonna del Parto*, is also distinctive of Desiderio da Settignano's Marsuppini tomb in S. Croce, completed by 1459, and before it of Donatello's and Michelozzo's Coscia sepulchre in the Florence Baptistery (ca. 1422-28), not to say of the Venetian, but Florentine-influenced examples such as the Brenzoni monument by Nanni di Bartolo and Pisanello (1426-1439), and the Malipiero tomb in SS. Giovanni e Paolo by Pietro Lombardo (after 1462). Antoniazzo painted on the back wall behind the *gisant* a sort of individual *Last Judgement*, where Christ flanked by trumpeting angels blesses the kneeling cardinal. Stylistically, the fresco reflects the strong impression on the Roman painter by Melozzo da Forlì's recently completed apse decoration of SS. Apostoli, with its audacious, almost pre-Baroque foreshortened figures. As for its iconography, the subject is, as far as I know, quite rare: it appears identically in the Bardi chapel in Santa Croce, in Maso di Banco's fresco decorating the Bardi tomb (fig. 13). The latter being a family, not an individual tomb, the iconography should be more properly defined – as shown by Roberto Bartalini – as a *Resurrection of the Flesh*, a controversial theme whose most famous representation would be realised by Luca Signorelli in Orvieto at the turn of the sixteenth century³¹.

If the Santa Croce Trecento models here related to Antoniazzo are convincing, then we would have evidence of the painter's stay in Florence in the 1460s, which has often been conjectured for stylistic reasons, but remains undocumented. This should be evaluated together with the recent critical highlighting of an early, beneficial contact of the Roman painter with the Marchigian school, in particular with «Ioannem de Camerino» (who may be either Giovanni Boccati or Giovanni Angelo d'Antonio), since they were both active in the Della Valle chapel in S. Maria in Aracoeli (Giovanni in ca. 1458-59, Antoniazzo five years later)³².

Both Antoniazzo and Melozzo were involved in an episode of Byzantine revival: in ca. 1470 two copies of the most venerated Marian icons in Rome, respectively the so-called *Salus Populi Romani* of S. Maria Maggiore and the icon of S. Maria del Popolo, were commissioned by the lord of Pesaro Alessandro Sforza³³. Both 'copies' are lost (the one by Melozzo has often been implausibly identified with

the painting today in Montefalco, which originally was in the Liberian basilica)³⁴, but Antoniazzo became a sort of specialist of neo-Byzantine Madonnas, often entrusting this repetitive activity to his workshop assistants³⁵.

Moving on to Lorenzo da Viterbo, a document published in 1997 informs us that he was in Florence in 1473: his protector was Cardinal Jacopo Ammannati Piccolomini, who recommended the artist to no less than Lorenzo il Magnifico in a letter written from his villa in Monsindoli in the vicinity of Siena³⁶. The painter is praised for certain friezes that he has made for the cardinal, which were maybe not much different from those decorating the architectural frames of the Mazzatosta chapel³⁷. An indication of how little studied is the Viterbese painter is that until recently a clear derivation from Antonio Pollaiuolo's most influential creation, the engraving with the *Battle of the Nude Men*, had remained unnoticed³⁸.

Lorenzo was then well acquainted with Florence and Siena: whilst in Florence he profitably looked at contemporary models (Andrea del Castagno, Filippo Lippi, Alesso Baldovinetti, and above all Piero della Francesca), in Siena he took inspiration from Trecento examples. The Mazzatosta Chapel, part of a Servite church, illustrates episodes of the *Life of the Virgin*: the *Presentation in the Temple*, the *Marriage*, the *Annunciation*, the *Nativity* and the *Assumption*. But for the *Nativity*, the same subjects recur in the Augustinian hermitage of San Leonardo al Lago, part of the well-known congregation of Lecceto, whose choir was decorated in the 1360s by Lippo Vanni³⁹. Even if the respective position of each scene on the walls does not match, the compositional solutions adopted are much alike: the *Assumption* has in both cycles an arched arrangement, following the curve of the entry arch at S. Leonardo, adapting itself to the altar aedicule beneath in Viterbo; even the groupings of the Apostles and of the Virgin in a mandorla of cherubs correspond to each other (figs. 14-15 and 16-17). The musician angels which flank Lorenzo's *Assunta* may in turn derive from those painted by Lippo in the cross vault, playing a variety of instruments reflecting the contemporary musical practice of the *ars nova*.

As for the *Annunciations*, they both encompass a window in the centre, with the Angel and the Virgin symmetrically placed on either side (figs. 18-19): this setting is notoriously Sienese, first adopted by Ambrogio Lorenzetti at Montesiepi and reused in the same years as Lippo by Biagio di Goro Ghezzi at Paganico⁴⁰.

The relationship with S. Leonardo al Lago appears ever more striking in the *Marriage of the Virgin* (fig. 20), by far Lorenzo's most accomplished masterpiece, whose composition is complementary to that of the *Presentation of the Virgin in*

the Temple above (fig. 21): the 'frieze' of figures on the foreground in the *Marriage* is clearly related to the perspective depth of the *Presentation*. If we consider Joseph and the priest, it is evident that Lorenzo is 'quoting' the lost fresco begun by Domenico Veneziano and completed by Alesso Baldovinetti in the Florentine church of S. Egidio, one of the most influential cycles in Quattrocento Italy, as far as we can argue from the derivation painted by Francesco Botticini⁴¹; the S. Egidio fresco in turn was well aware of Masaccio's Brancacci Chapel in the Carmine, as the figure of Joseph in both Lorenzo and Botticini was drawn after Masaccio's St. Peter in the *Tribute Money*⁴².

Unrelated to the Florentine model is the Virgin, which in Viterbo is static rather than walking and holds a cloth containing her book of prayers. This feature is again distinctive of the Sienese iconography of the theme, while absent in Florence: indeed we see it in Lippo Vanni's fresco, which also shares with Lorenzo a similar frontal assemblage of figures⁴³ (figs. 22-23). As is well known, all Sienese Marian cycles from the second half of the Trecento onwards took inspiration from the celebrated frescoes by Simone Martini and the Lorenzetti brothers which once decorated the façade of the hospital of S. Maria della Scala⁴⁴. If we look at the most faithful copies of those frescoes, the predella painted a century later by Sano di Pietro⁴⁵, we can reach the conclusion that Lorenzo's model was not Simone's painting, based on a diagonal and off-centered composition, but Lippo's version at S. Leonardo al Lago. This is not surprising, as Lippo Vanni's cycle has been unanimously praised by scholars as being among the most mature perspectival accomplishments of fourteenth-century painting.

The last Trecento model to be considered in regard to Lorenzo da Viterbo has to do with the profound meaning of the *Marriage of the Virgin* rather than a visual or compositional motif. The originality of the Mazzatosta scene lies above all in the crowd of contemporary citizens of Viterbo on both sides of the central episode. In the previous iconography, extra-narrative characters were much more limited, and in any case the men were placed only on Joseph's side. Lorenzo eliminates the participants attempting to slap the spouse's shoulders, which reflected a contemporary wedding practice, as seen in all the examples here mentioned (Botticini, Sano di Pietro, Lippo Vanni)⁴⁶. Aside from the disappointed suitors on the far left, we see many young men «ritratti di naturale», as they are called by the Viterbo chronicler Niccolò della Tuccia, the only early source to mention the fresco, who underscored his portrait as a man of sixty-eight years behind the widow dressed in black⁴⁷.

The convergence of two groups towards the centre has been interpreted as an «image of peace»⁴⁸: the community of Viterbo was at the time divided in two

factions, that of the Gatti or Gatteschi and that of the Maganzesi. The protracting violence among them had reached its apex in the 1460s: a lasting peace finally occurred a few months after the completion of Lorenzo's fresco, on 19 November 1469. That the *Marriage of the Virgin* might express auspicious peace seems to be confirmed by the temple represented in the *Presentation* above, which is very close to the *Templum in Pacem* – Temple in Peace – illustrated in the Florentine Picture Chronicle by a close follower of Maso Finiguerra, in the drawing of the *Delphic Sybil and the Temple of Apollo*⁴⁹. On a deeper level, the topic of civic harmony might be inspired from the most famous representation of the theme, the *Good Government* fresco by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena: in particular from the Procession of the Twenty-Four who receive the ropes of Justice's balance scales from the personification of Concord and bring them to the Comune of Siena (fig. 24)⁵⁰.

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- 1 G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, P. Barocchi, R. Bettarini eds, Firenze, 1971, 3, p. 73.
- 2 G.B.L.G. Séroux d'Agincourt, *Storia dell'arte dimostrata coi monumenti dalla sua decadenza nel IV secolo fino al suo Risorgimento nel XVI*, Prato, 1826-29, 6 voll., vol. 4, 1827, pp. 413-415 (French edition, Paris 1833, vol. 2, p. 119); C.F. von Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen* [1827], J. von Schlosser ed., Frankfurt am Main, 1920, pp. 335-336 e 351; G. Rosini, *Storia della pittura italiana esposta coi monumenti*, Pisa, 1850², vol. 3, pp. 29-30; E. Parlato, *Tommaso Minardi e le 'pitture antiche' di Viterbo, Tuscania e Vallerano*, «Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte», 53, 1998, pp. 247-272, esp. 260-261 and 268, records Lorenzo da Viterbo's mention by the eighteenth-century historians Feliciano Bussi (*Istoria della città di Viterbo*, Roma, 1742, pp. XI-XII) and Gaetano Coretini (*Brevi notizie della città di Viterbo e degli uomini illustri dalla medesima prodotti*, Roma, 1774, p. 129), and Tommaso Minardi's notable, first-hand appreciation, as expressed in his report of the trip done in 1850 with the sculptor Pietro Tenerani on behalf of the Pontifical State in order to evaluate the state of monuments and artworks in Viterbo, Tuscania and Vallerano.
- 3 A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana, VII.2. La pittura del Quattrocento*, Milano, 1913, pp. 226-254.
- 4 R. Longhi, *Primizie di Lorenzo da Viterbo*, «Vita Artistica», 1926, pp. 109-114 (with the pseudonym of A. Ronchi), reprinted in *Edizione delle opere complete di Roberto Longhi*, vol. II. *Saggi e ricerche 1925-28*, Firenze, 1967, I, pp. 53-62; Idem, *In favore di Antoniazio Romano*, «Vita artistica. Studi di Storia dell'arte», 1927, 2, 11-12, p. 250, reprinted in *Edizione delle opere complete di Roberto Longhi*, vol. II. *Saggi e ricerche 1925-28*, Firenze, 1967, I, pp. 245-256.

- 5 I have partially touched on this in previous studies including G. de Simone, *Melozzo e Roma*, in *Melozzo da Forlì. L'umana bellezza tra Piero della Francesca e Raffaello*, D. Benati, M. Natale, A. Paolucci eds, exhibition catalogue (Forlì 2011), Cinisello Balsamo, 2011, pp. 37-51; Idem, *Per Lorenzo da Viterbo, dal Palazzo Orsini di Tagliacozzo alla Cappella Mazzatosta*, in *Su Lorenzo da Viterbo e Piermatteo d'Amelia*, «Predella Monografie», 4, 2012, pp. 29-79 (online version: «Predella», 30, 2012, www.predella.it).
- 6 The frescoes were whitewashed in 1645 and a few years later a new altar was erected by Carlo Rainaldi. From 1703 on the chapel was radically transformed by its new patrons, the Odescalchi: Rainaldi's altar was moved to the church of S. Vendemmiano in Narni, and the architect Ludovico Rusconi Sassi entirely rebuilt the *sacellum*, giving it its actual shape and sacrificing Bessarion's chapel (but for the apse). On the Bessarion Chapel see C. Busiri Vici, *Un ritrovamento eccezionale relativo all'antica basilica dei SS. Apostoli in Roma*, «Fede e arte», 8, 1960, pp. 70-83; C. Haas, *A proposito degli affreschi nella cappella funeraria del Card. Bessarione ai SS. Apostoli di Roma*, «Ricerche di storia dell'arte», 13-14, 1981, pp. 131-138; F. Lollini, *La cappella di Bessarione ai Santi Apostoli: una riconsiderazione*, «Arte cristiana», 79, 1991, pp. 7-22; V. Tiberia, *Antoniazio Romano per il Cardinale Bessarione a Roma*, Todi, 1992; A. Cavallaro, *Antoniazio Romano e gli antoniazzeschi. Una generazione di pittori nella Roma del Quattrocento*, Udine, 1992, pp. 42-44 e 182-184; C.M. Richardson, *Bessarion's hat: Making connections in a cardinal's funerary chapel*, in *Making Renaissance Connections*, G. Neher ed., Ashgate Publishing (forthcoming; I thank the author for kindly allowing me to read a draft of her article); Eadem, *Reclaiming Rome. Cardinals in the fifteenth century*, Leiden-Boston, 2009, pp. 220-233; L. Finocchi Ghersi, *La Basilica dei SS. Apostoli a Roma. Storia, arte e architettura*, Roma, 2011, pp. 78-82; S. Isidori, *Il cardinal Bessarione e gli affreschi della cappella dei Santi Eugenia, Giovanni Battista e Michele Arcangelo nella basilica dei Santi XII Apostoli in Roma*, in *Bessarione e la sua accademia*, A. Gutkovski, E. Prinziavalli eds, Roma, 2012, pp. 135-155; F. Lollini, *L'iconografia di Bessarione: Bessarion pictus qualche anno dopo*, in *Bessarione, La natura delibera. La natura e l'arte*, P.D. Accendere, I. Privitera eds, Milano, 2014, pp. 261-294: 293-294.
- 7 «Antonatzius pictor Romanus [...] in medio faciet Christum cum quattuor angelis item in quolibet quattuor angulorum unum Evangelistam et ex utraque parte unius Evangelistae unum doctorem Graecum et alium Latinum sedentes in studio scribentes totum residuum voltae stellatum cum azurio et frigiis necessariis» (document of 23 August 1465, published by A. Cecchini, *Appendice documentaria*, in Tiberia, *Antoniazio Romano*, pp. 121-122). The mosaics in the Baptistery of San Marco in Venice were commissioned by Andrea Dandolo in the 1340s. The four Greek Fathers (John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil and Athanasius) appear under the dome showing the Baptismal mission, while the Latin Fathers (Augustin, Ambrose, Jerome and Gregory the Great) are under the adjacent dome with the Angelic Hierarchies: these reveal a further iconographic similarity with the Bessarion chapel, together with the Stories of the Baptist on the walls (see *infra*). The representation of Greek Fathers was pretty rare in the medieval West (and symmetrically the same is true as for Latin Fathers in the East), with the exceptions of Byzantine-influenced areas, such as Puglia, Calabria, or Norman Sicily, where their inclusion together with the Latin Fathers signifies an East-West synthesis. In Rome, we find them in eighth-century frescoes in S. Maria Antiqua, which was administrated by Greek monks (See V. Pace, *Una rara presenza: i vescovi greci. L'iconografia e la devozione come aspetti della "maniera greca"*, in *Le plaisirs de l'art du Moyen Âge. Commande, production et réception de l'œuvre d'art. Mélanges en hommage à Xavier Barral i Altet*, R. Alcoy, D. Allios eds, Paris, 2012, pp. 806-812). However,

none of these examples, but the San Marco mosaics, shows four Greek Fathers as in the vault of the Bessarion chapel (more often the Three Holy Hierarchs, or a different number): besides the obvious, and often noted, unionist message of the Greek and Latin Fathers flanking the Evangelists, the possibility of a Venetian model is corroborated by the cardinal's special and long-standing acquaintance with Venice, which culminated in the donation of his library first to the monastery of San Giorgio (1463-64), then to the basilica of San Marco (1467-68); see P.D. Accendere, *Scriptorium Bessarionis: focolare della paideia greca nel grembo dell'Occidente latino*, in Bessarione, *La natura delibera*, pp. 235-247: 243-245. A partial Roman precedent can be traced in the Niccoline Chapel frescoed by Fra Angelico in the Vatican Palace (1448), where two Greek Fathers are present (Athanasius and Chrysostom). The scheme of the Bessarion chapel vault will in turn inspire that of Lorenzo da Viterbo's Mazzatosta chapel in Viterbo (1469), where only one Greek Father is portrayed (Chrysostom), and partially Antoniazio Romano himself in the decoration of S. Giovanni Evangelista in Tivoli, where the presbytery groin vault shows in the center the *Blessing Redeemer* in an *imago clipeata*, and in the four *vele* couples of Evangelists and Latin Fathers. Furthermore, the cycle illustrates Stories of the Baptist, herein included the Nativity, which may as well recall the Bessarion precedent.

- 8 «In facie majori, videlicet septentrionali, quae est contra altare, depingatur Dominus noster Jesus sedens in sede, cui assistant B. Virgo. S. Angelus, S. Joannes Baptista et S. Eugenia, et imago mea genuflexa ante pedes Christi, et sub me arma mea» (testament of the cardinal, written in Venice on 17 February 1464, see Cecchini, *Appendice documentaria*, pp. 120-121).
- 9 Lollini (*La cappella di Bessarione*, p. 10 and note 13, p. 18) cites as examples the decoration in the narthex of Hagia Sophia and of the Kariye Cami in Constantinople.
- 10 «In parietibus sub fenestris [...] duos angelos in una pariete. In altero v. unum angelum et unum Sanctum Joannem Baptistam [...]» (document of 23 August 1465, see Cecchini, *Appendice documentaria*, p. 122).
- 11 On the S. Clemente fresco see J. B. Lloyd, *The Trinity amid the Hierarchies of Angels: a lost fresco from S. Clemente in Rome and an iconographic tradition of the angelic choir*, «Arte Cristiana», 73, 1985, pp. 167-180. Another interesting model not far from Rome is the 1422 fresco in the vault of the Oratory of the Annunziata in Riofreddo (L. Di Calisto, *Devozione per immagini al tempo di Martino V. I murali dell'oratorio dell'Annunziata a Riofreddo*, Pescara, 2012). On the Angelic Hierarchies see B. Bruderer Eichberg, *Les neufs chœurs angéliques Origine et évolution d'une thème dans l'art du Moyen Âge*, Poitiers, 1998.
- 12 «sopra la Volta vi era dipinto il Salvatore con li nove chori degli angeli, più sotto la Sac. Historia dell'Apparitione dell'Archangelo S. Michele sul Monte Gargano; più a basso finalmente la natività di S. Gio. Battista; sopra la volta dell'Arcone vi erano dipinti li Quattro Evangelisti, li Quattro della Chiesa Latina, e li Quattro della Chiesa Greca», from Bonaventura Malvasia, *Compendio Historico della Ven. Basilica di SS. Dodici Apostoli...*, Roma, 1665, pp. 36-39, quoted in Cecchini, *Appendice documentaria*, pp. 124-126. Cecchini's *regestum* includes all the numerous, yet incomplete, surviving documents – papal bulls, testaments, contracts, apostolic visitations, etc. – relating to the chapel. Malvasia's text was published a couple of decades after the frescoes had been whitewashed: he mentions as a whole one Gargano story and one Baptist story: this makes one think that the latter as well consisted of two adjacent narratives, perhaps juxtaposing the Nativity and the Naming of the Baptist as in Antoniazio's later fresco cycle in S. Giovanni Evangelista at Tivoli (see above note 7). Be that as it may, the Baptist frescoes were damaged by the Tiber flooding and replaced – but for a still visible fragmentary figure wearing a red garment on the extreme right – in the

sixteenth century by the extant frescoes of SS. Eugenia and Claudia and by the placement on the altar in between them of the so-called *Bessarion Madonna*, a 'modern', typically Antoniazzesque version of a Byzantine icon, which stands today in the chapel of S. Antonio. This panel, often wrongly considered to be originally part of the Bessarion project, belongs to a later, late 1480s-early 1490s phase in Antoniazzo's oeuvre (S. Tumidei, *Melozzo da Forlì: fortuna, vicende, incontri di un artista prospettico*, in *Melozzo da Forlì. La città e il suo tempo*, M. Foschi, L. Prati eds, exhibition catalogue (Forlì, 8 November 1994 - 12 February 1995), Milano, 1994, pp. 19-81: 74).

- 13 S. De Luca, *La cappella Velluti-Zati in Santa Croce fra giottismo e arcaismi (1321 circa)*, «Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte», 102, 2010, pp. 25-36.
- 14 *Liber de apparitione santi Michaelis in Monte Gargano*, in *Culte et pèlerinages à saint Michel en Occident. Les trois monts dédiés à l'archange*, P. Bouet, G. Otranto, A. Vauchez eds, Rome, École Française de Rome, 2003, pp. 1-10 (with Italian and French translation). For the dating of the text, and other relevant historical considerations, see G. Otranto, *Genesi, caratteri e diffusione del culto micaelico del Gargano*, *ibid.*, pp. 43-64; *idem*, *Il "Liber de apparitione", il santuario di san Michele sul Gargano e i Longobardi del Ducato di Benevento*, in *Santuari e politica nel mondo antico*, Milano, 1983, pp. 210-245; A. Petrucci, *Aspetti del culto e del pellegrinaggio di San Michele Arcangelo sul Monte Gargano*, in *Pellegrinaggi e culto dei santi in Europa fino alla prima crociata*, Todi, 1963, pp. 147-180.
- 15 The two versions of the *Vita* are published in *Acta Sanctorum, Februarii, 2*, Antverpiae, 1658, pp. 57-60 (*Vita Maior*, late eleventh century) and 60-62 (*Vita Minor*, early eleventh century). See A. Campione, *Storia e santità nelle due «Vitae» di Lorenzo vescovo di Siponto*, «Vetera Christianorum», 29, 1992, pp. 169-213. While the *Apparitio* ties the cult of Saint Michael to the Langobards, bishop Laurentius' biography connects it to the Byzantines.
- 16 *Jacobi a Varagine, Legenda Aurea vulgo Historia Lombardica dicta*, Th. Graesse ed., Lipsiae, 1801, pp. 642-652: 642 (Italian edition: *Jacopo da Varazze, Legenda Aurea*, A. and L. Vitale Brovarone eds, Torino, 1995, pp. 793-804: 793-794). Unjustifiably, Jacopo da Varazze's text has been the only source considered so far in the literature on the Bessarion chapel (e.g. Lollini and Tiberia, as in note 6).
- 17 On the Gargano and Mont St.-Michel iconography see P. Belli D'Elia, *Il toro, la montagna, il vescovo. Considerazioni su un tema iconografico*, in *Culto e insediamenti micaelici nell'Italia meridionale fra tarda Antichità e Medioevo*, C. Carletti, G. Otranto eds, Bari, 1994, pp. 575-602; *Eadem*, *L'iconographie de saint Michel au Mont Gargan*, in *Culte et pèlerinage*, pp. 523-530; *Rappresentazioni del Monte e dell'Arcangelo san Michele nella letteratura e nelle arti*, Conference proceedings [Cerisy-la-Salle, Centre Culturel de Cerisy-la-Salle, 2008], P. Bouet et al. eds, Bari, 2011.
- 18 When the archangel Michael appears to the bishop, he states to be «"loci [...] inspectorem atque custodem". Hac revelatione conperta, consuetudinem fecerunt cives hic Dominum sanctumque deposcere Michaelem. [...] sed ne ultra cruptam intrare ausi, prae foribus orationi vacabant» (*Liber de apparitione...*, *cit.*, p. 2, chap. 2). The *Legenda Aurea* combines literal borrowings and an explicit reference to a procession: «episcopus atque cives cum processione locum adeunt et ingredi non praesumentes orationi prae foribus insistunt» (*Legenda Aurea vulgo*, p. 643).
- 19 «Percunctanti igitur episcopo qui aedificationi congruus posset videri locus, angelica in hunc modum est responsione dictatum, ut loco eo aedificaretur aedes, quo inerat taurus absconditus et religatus» (*Apparitio Sancti Michaelis Archangelis in Monte Tumba*,

seu Revelatio ecclesiae Sancti Michaelis in Monte Tumba, in *Patrologia latina*, J.P. Migne ed. (Paris, 1844–64) vol. 96, 1892, cols. 1389–94: 1391–1392; *Culte et pèlerinages*, pp. 10–26, with French and Italian translation: 13). On the various editions of the *Apparitio*, a text written in the early ninth century by a canon of Mont Saint-Michel, and on the history and cult at the Normandian Sanctuary, see K. Allen-Smith, *An angel's power in a bishop's body: the making of the cult of Aubert of Avranches at Mont-Saint-Michel*, «Journal of Medieval History», 29, 2003, pp. 347–360; P. Bouet, *La Revelatio et les origines du culte à saint Michel sur le Mont Tombe*, in *Culte et pèlerinages*, pp. 65–90; Idem, *La Revelatio ecclesiae sancti Michaelis et son auteur*, in *Tabularia « Études »*, 4, 2004, pp. 105–119; J.C. Arnold, *The Revelatio Ecclesiae de Sancti Michaelis and the Mediterranean Origins of Mont St.-Michel*, «Journal of Early Medieval Northwestern Europe», 10, 2007 (online).

- 20 «Venerabilis vero episcopus de visione certissimus, cum hymnis et laudibus predictum locum ingressus, exercere imperatum opus adgressus est» (*Apparitio Sancti Michaelis*, p. 13). No explicit mention of a procession following the apparition is given in the *Legenda Aurea* (*Legenda Aurea vulgo*, pp. 643–644). The first scholars who correctly interpreted the inscription beneath the fresco in relation to Mont St-Michel were S. Lo Giudice, *La leggenda di San Michele*, «Strenna dei Romanisti», 47, 1986, pp. 321–328, and I. Mazzucco, *Iscrizioni della basilica e convento dei Santi Dodici Apostoli in Roma*, Roma, 1987, pp. 50 and 155. The choice of the French Michaelic episode – oddly not acknowledged as such by all commentators – has been explained by Tiberia (*Antoniazzo Romano*, pp. 38–49) as a veiled reference to the hoped for crusade against the Ottomans by Bessarion: the cardinal would have looked at King Louis XII of France as the ideal candidate to lead the Christian-European army, eventually asking Antoniazzo to portray the French sovereign under the guise of Bishop Aubert (thus paying homage). However, if Aubert's figure is a crypto-portrait, it seems more plausible to connect it to Niccolò Perotti who was Bessarion's secretary and archbishop of Siponto in those years (as already proposed by Busiri Vici, *Un ritrovamento eccezionale*, p. 80): Perotti's features, as they appear in a recently published Ferrarese drawing showing a project for his tomb (<<http://storiedellarte.com/2013/01/2013-uno-sguardo-alle-aste-di-gennaio.html/disegno-ferrarese-lightbox/0/>>), are comparable to the figure in the Bessarion chapel. It is worth noting that the cult of the warrior Archangel at Gargano had been used by Pope Leo IX as a means of propaganda in favour of a "crusade" against the Normans in southern Italy in the years 1051–1053 (Petrucci, *Aspetti del culto*, pp. 175–179). On crusades in the Renaissance period see M. Pellegrini, *La crociata nel Rinascimento. Mutazioni di un mito 1400-1600*, Firenze, 2014.
- 21 *Apparitio Sancti Michaelis*, p. 14. On the close relation between the two Michaelic cults, see S. Bettocchi, *Note su due tradizioni micaeliche altomedievali: il Gargano e il Mont Saint-Michel*, «Vetera Christianorum», 31, 1994, pp. 333–355. A third Michaelic sanctuary, the Sacra of San Michele at Val di Susa, was founded in the late tenth-early eleventh century at mid-point between the Gargano and Mont Saint-Michel.
- 22 The landscapes are also characterised no less than they are in the respective Michaelic accounts: rocky mountains, woods, and coastal scenery in both frescoes, and, in the Monte Tumba one, a sandy beach scattered with shells (a detail noticed by Tiberia, *Antoniazzo Romano*, p. 38).
- 23 Belli D'Elia, *Il toro, la montagna, il vescovo*, p. 594, note 59. Tiberia (*Antoniazzo Romano*, pp. 39–44), followed by other scholars, had interpreted the brown/grey friars as Franciscans and the black ones as Basilian monks. Bessarion had started his religious life as a Basilian in his native Trebizond, and he reformed the Southern-Italian Basilian monasteries, being their

protector from 1446. However, the tonsured, unbearded figures in the fresco are clearly western friars, and do not bear the attributes of Byzantine monks.

- 24 It is worth noting that within the Michaelic textual tradition we find together not only the two narrations of the Monte Gargano and Mont Saint-Michel, but also accounts on the angels' orders, which make one think of the representation, only partially preserved in the apse of the Bessarion chapel, of Christ surrounded by the nine angelic hierarchies: see for example the oldest and most authoritative version of the *Revelatio in Monte Tumba*, the late tenth-century ms. 211 of the Bibliothèque Municipale at Avranches (the content is summarized by Bouet, *La Revelatio et origines*, pp. 69-70). In this codex, together with the two Michaelic stories, one reads four texts related to the cult of angels, herein included Gregory the Great's Homily 34 (see <http://monumenta.ch/latein/text.php?tabelle=Gregorius_Magnus&rumpfid=Gregorius%20Magnus,%20Homiliae%20in%20Evangelia,%202,%20%20%2034&nf=1>) based on Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's *De Coelesti Hierarchia*. Both Gregory and Pseudo-Dionysius were evoked by Tiberia in his analysis of the Bessarion apse iconography (Tiberia, *Antoniazio Romano*, p. 55). Gregory's Homily 34 begins with Luke's parable of the lost sheep (Lc, 15, 1-7), which is a sort of a biblical parallel of the lost bull incident common to both the Gargano and Mont Saint-Michel legends. Another biblical prefiguration is found in the Old Testament, in the story of Balaam's donkey stopped by the angel of God, in the Book of Numbers (22-24), which was often represented next to Gargano's miracle in painted and sculpted examples (G. Otranto, *Il Santuario di San Michele*, pp. 220-223).
- 25 M. J. Gill, "Where the danger was greatest: a Gallic legacy in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 59, 1996, pp. 498-522: 509, note 22. Interestingly, Gill proposes a parallel reading of the Bessarion chapel with that of Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville, who was closely connected with Mont Saint-Michel, in S. Maria Maggiore: indeed the latter, frescoed by Piero della Francesca and by a follower of Benozzo Gozzoli, also included Michaelic scenes. On the d'Estouteville chapel see also A. Pinelli, *Esercizi di metodo: Piero e Benozzo a Roma, tra cronologia relativa e cronologia assoluta*, in *Presenze cancellate. Capolavori perduti della pittura romana di metà '400*, A. Pinelli ed., «Ricerche di Storia dell'arte», 76, 2002, pp. 7-30.
- 26 Belli D'Elia, *Il toro, la montagna, il vescovo*, pp. 586, 588, 594.
- 27 F. Gandolfo, *Storie di un città. Sutri. Alla ricerca di una cattedrale perduta*, Roma, 1997, p. 54.
- 28 G. Freuler, *Biagio di Goro Ghezzi a Paganico. L'affresco nell'abside della chiesa di S. Michele*, Firenze 1986.
- 29 The paintings here mentioned are analysed, together with many others, by Belli D'Elia, *Il toro, la montagna, il vescovo*, who also examines French and Spanish examples, obviously less significant in the present context. On the Subiaco chapel, see L. Bevilacqua, *La cappella degli Angeli di Santa Scolastica a Subiaco: problemi storici e iconografici*, in *Universitates e baronie. Arte e architettura in Abruzzo e nel Regno al tempo dei Durazzo*, conference proceedings (Guardiagrele-Chieti, 9-11 november 2006), P.F. Pistilli, F. Manzari, G. Curzi eds, Pescara 2008, vol. 2, pp. 213-226. An illustrious chapel dedicated to St. Michael was decorated by Matteo Giovannetti for Pope Clement VI at Avignon (1344-45), but unfortunately the extant sinopia fragments do not allow a precise identification of the episodes; S. Romano, *Voli d'angeli da Avignone a Subiaco*, in *Synergies in Visual Culture - Bildkulturen im Dialog. Festschrift für Gerhard Wolf*, M. De Giorgi, A. Hoffmann, N. Suthor eds, München, 2013, pp. 421-430.
- 30 De Simone, *Melozzo e Roma*, p. 47 and notes 76-80 (with further bibliography).

- 31 R. Bartalini, «*Et in carnem meam videbo Deum meum*». *Maso di Banco, la cappella dei Confessori e la committenza dei Bardi; a proposito di un libro recente*, «*Prospettiva*», 98-99, 2000 (2001), pp. 58-103.
- 32 Giovanni from Camerino decorated the chapel between 18 March 1458 and 18 April 1459, while Antoniazio intervened in 1463-64, see M. Mazzalupi, *Novità sui viaggi dei pittori camerinesi, tra Padova e Roma*, «*Nuovi Studi*», 19, 2014, n. 20, pp. 5-18; see also S. Petrocchi, *Roma 1430-1460. Pittura romana prima di Antoniazio*, in *Antoniazzo Romano Pictor Urbis, 1435/1440- 1508*, exhibition catalogue (Rome 2013-2014), A. Cavallaro, S. Petrocchi eds, Cinisello Balsamo, 2013, pp. 12-19, *speciatim* 16; A. Cavallaro, *Antoniazzo Romano, pittore "dei migliori che furono allora in Roma"*, *ibidem*, pp. 20-47, *speciatim* 23.
- 33 De Simone, *Melozzo e Roma*, p. 42 and note 37; Cavallaro, *Antoniazzo Romano e gli antoniazzeschi*, pp. 54-58.
- 34 Tumidei, *Melozzo da Forlì*, p. 28. An alternative attribution to the Perugian painter Bartolomeo Caporali, who is documented in Rome in 1467, has been proposed by L. Teza, *Pittori a Perugia tra il settimo e l'ottavo decennio del XV secolo*, in *Perugino. Il divin pittore*, V. Garibaldi, F.F. Mancini eds, exhibition catalogue (Perugia 2004), Cinisello Balsamo, 2004, pp. 55-72.
- 35 *Ibidem*, pp. 58-60; A. Cavallaro, *Il rinnovato culto delle icone nella Roma del Quattrocento*, in *L'arte di Bisanzio e l'Italia al tempo dei Paleologi 1261-1453*, A. Iacobini, M. della Valle eds, conference proceedings (Rome 1994), Rome, 1999, pp. 285-299.
- 36 I. Ammannati Piccolomini, *Lettere (1440-1479)*, P. Cherubini ed., Roma 1997, 3, no. 681 pp. 1742-43; see also no. 704 pp. 1781-1782.
- 37 On the iconography and the visual sources of these friezes see my *Ercole e i leoni. Marginalia iconografici nella cappella Mazzatosta di Lorenzo da Viterbo*, in *Arte e politica. Studi per Antonio Pinelli*, G. de Simone, N. Barbolani di Montauto, T. Montanari, C. Savettieri, M. Spagnolo eds, Firenze, 2013, pp. 26-32. In Siena, Lorenzo may have painted the monochrome heads on a round shield (*imagines clipeatae*) on the façade of the Palazzo Piccolomini Clementini, see G. Fattorini, *Francesco di Giorgio e la cultura urbinata nel "giro" degli Orsini*, in *Su Lorenzo da Viterbo e Piermatteo d'Amelia*, pp. 81-102: 88-89.
- 38 De Simone, *Per Lorenzo da Viterbo*, p. 50. Surprisingly, this derivation has been neglected in the recent *Antonio e Piero del Pollaiuolo. "Nell'argento e nell'oro, in pittura e nel bronzo..."*, exhibition catalogue (Milano, Museo Poldi Pezzoli, 7 November-16 February 2015), A. Di Lorenzo, A. Galli eds, Milano, 2014.
- 39 On Lippo Vanni's frescoes see E. Borsook, *The Frescoes at San Leonardo al Lago*, «*The Burlington Magazine*», 98, 1956, n. 643, pp. 351-358; E. Carli, *Lippo Vanni a San Leonardo al Lago*, Firenze, 1969; A. Cornice, *San Leonardo al Lago. Gli affreschi di Lippo Vanni*, in AA. VV., *Lecceto e gli eremi agostiniani in terra di Siena*, Cinisello Balsamo, 1990, pp. 287-308.
- 40 D. Arasse, *L'Annonciation italienne. Une histoire de perspective*, Paris, 2010 [1999¹], pp. 80-90. In Florence, an analogous solution characterized Niccolò di Pietro Gerini's detached fresco in S. Felicità (1390 ca.) see L. Waldman, *Octahedron Tattianum*, in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*, M. Israëls, L. Waldman eds, Florence, 2013, vol. I, pp. 1-18: 15-16 (VII. *Pontormo, Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, and the Capponi Chapel Annunciation*). A round oculus-window between the Angel and the Virgin can be found in Altichiero's fresco at Padua (1379-84, Chapel of St. George), in Alesso Baldovinetti's panel in S. Miniato al Monte (1466-67, Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal), and in S. Saba at Rome (1463, a fresco attributable in my opinion to Antoniazio Romano and which was taken as model by

Lorenzo da Viterbo a couple of years later in the Orsini Palace at Tagliacozzo, see de Simone, *Per Lorenzo da Viterbo*, p. 35).

- 41 A reproduction of Botticini's panel, today part of the Berenson Collection at Villa I Tatti, is in de Simone, *Per Lorenzo da Viterbo*, fig. 68. Botticini's derivation from Baldovinetti's lost fresco was argued by M. Meiss, *Mortality among Florentine Immortals*, «Art News», 57, 1959, pp. 26-29, 46-47, 56-57: 56; see also R. Bartalini, *Alesso Baldovinetti, Frammento di figura e finti marmi*, in *Pittura di luce: Giovanni di Francesco e l'arte fiorentina di metà Quattrocento*, exhibition catalogue (Firenze 1990), L. Bellosi ed., Milano 1990, p. 168.
- 42 Lorenzo's quotation from Masaccio was noticed by E. Bentivoglio, S. Valtieri Bentivoglio, *Le pitture di Lorenzo da Viterbo nella cappella Mazzatosta a Viterbo*, «Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz», 17, 1973, 1, pp. 87-103: 97.
- 43 See for example the Sienese versions by Lippo Vanni (S. Leonardo al Lago), Bartolo di Fredi (San Gimignano), Sano di Pietro (Pinacoteca Vaticana), and by contrast the Florentine examples by Giotto (Padua), Taddeo Gaddi (S. Croce), Lorenzo Monaco (S. Trinita), Andrea di Giusto (Prato), Fra Angelico (Prado and Museo di San Marco), Benozzo Gozzoli (Pinacoteca Vaticana); cfr. de Simone, *Per Lorenzo da Viterbo*, p. 54.
- 44 H. Maginnis, *The Lost Facade Frescoes of Siena's Ospedale di S. Maria della Scala*, «Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte», 5, 1988, pp. 180-194.
- 45 G. Fattorini, *La lezione trecentesca e le immagini dell'identità civica*, in *Da Jacopo della Quercia a Donatello. Le arti a Siena nel primo Rinascimento*, exhibition catalogue (Siena 2010), M. Seidel ed., Milano, 2010, pp. 142-147; A. De Marchi, entry *ibidem*, pp. 170-173. See also Fattorini's essay in this issue of «Predella».
- 46 On contemporary wedding practice and iconography see M. Seidel, *Studi sull'iconografia nuziale del Trecento*, in *Idem, Arte italiana del Medioevo e del Rinascimento*, Venezia, 2003, vol. 1, pp. 409-442; A. D'Elia, *The Renaissance of Marriage in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, Harvard U.P., 2005; J. Bridgeman, *A Renaissance Wedding. The Celebrations at Pesaro for the Marriage of Costanzo Sforza & Camilla Marzano d'Aragona (26 – 30 May 1475)*, London, 2013.
- 47 Niccolò della Tuccia, in I. Ciampi, *Cronache e statuti della città di Viterbo*, Firenze, 1872, reprint Bologna, 1976, p. 97.
- 48 M. Miglio, *Cultura umanistica a Viterbo nella seconda metà del Quattrocento*, in *Cultura umanistica a Viterbo. Atti della giornata di studio per V centenario della stampa a Viterbo (12 novembre 1988)*, Viterbo, 1991, pp. 11-46: 39.
- 49 De Simone, *Per Lorenzo da Viterbo*, figg. 72-73.
- 50 On Lorenzetti's frescoes see most recently M. R. Dessì, *Il bene comune nella comunicazione verbale e visiva. Indagini sugli affreschi del "Buon Governo"*, in *Il Bene comune: forme di governo e gerarchie sociali nel basso medioevo* (XLVIII Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 12-15 October 2011), Spoleto, 2012, pp. 89-130; M. Kühr, *Krieg und Frieden, gute und schlechte Regierung; Bilder und Gedanken von Homer bis Dante, im Palazzo Pubblico in Siena 1338/39*, Mandelbachtal, 2012.



Fig. 1: *Angelic Hierarchies and Latin Fathers*, mosaic, 1340s, Venice, San Marco, Baptistery



Fig. 2: ANTONIAZZO ROMANO, *Angelic Hierarchies* (detail), 1464-67, Rome, SS. Apostoli, Bessarion Chapel



Fig. 3: *Inner view of the right-nave wall of the church of San Clemente in Rome (detail showing Giovanale da Orvieto's lost fresco of the Trinity amid the Hierarchies of Angels), drawing, 1715 ca., Windsor Castle, Royal Library, RL 10346*



Fig. 4: ANTONIAZZO ROMANO, *Miracle of Gargano*, 1464-67, Rome, SS. Apostoli, Bessarion Chapel



Fig. 5: ANTONIAZZO ROMANO, *Apparition of the Archangel Michael to Bishop Aubert d'Avranches at Mont St. Michel*, 1464-67, Rome, SS. Apostoli, Bessarion Chapel



Fig. 6: MASTER OF S. CECILIA, *Miracle of Gargano and Procession of the Bishop of Siponto*, 1321 ca., Florence, S. Croce, Velluti Chapel



Fig. 7: detail of Fig. 5



Figs. 8-9: Left: detail of Fig. 4; Right: detail of Fig. 6



Figs. 10-11: Left: detail of Fig. 5; Right: detail of Fig. 6

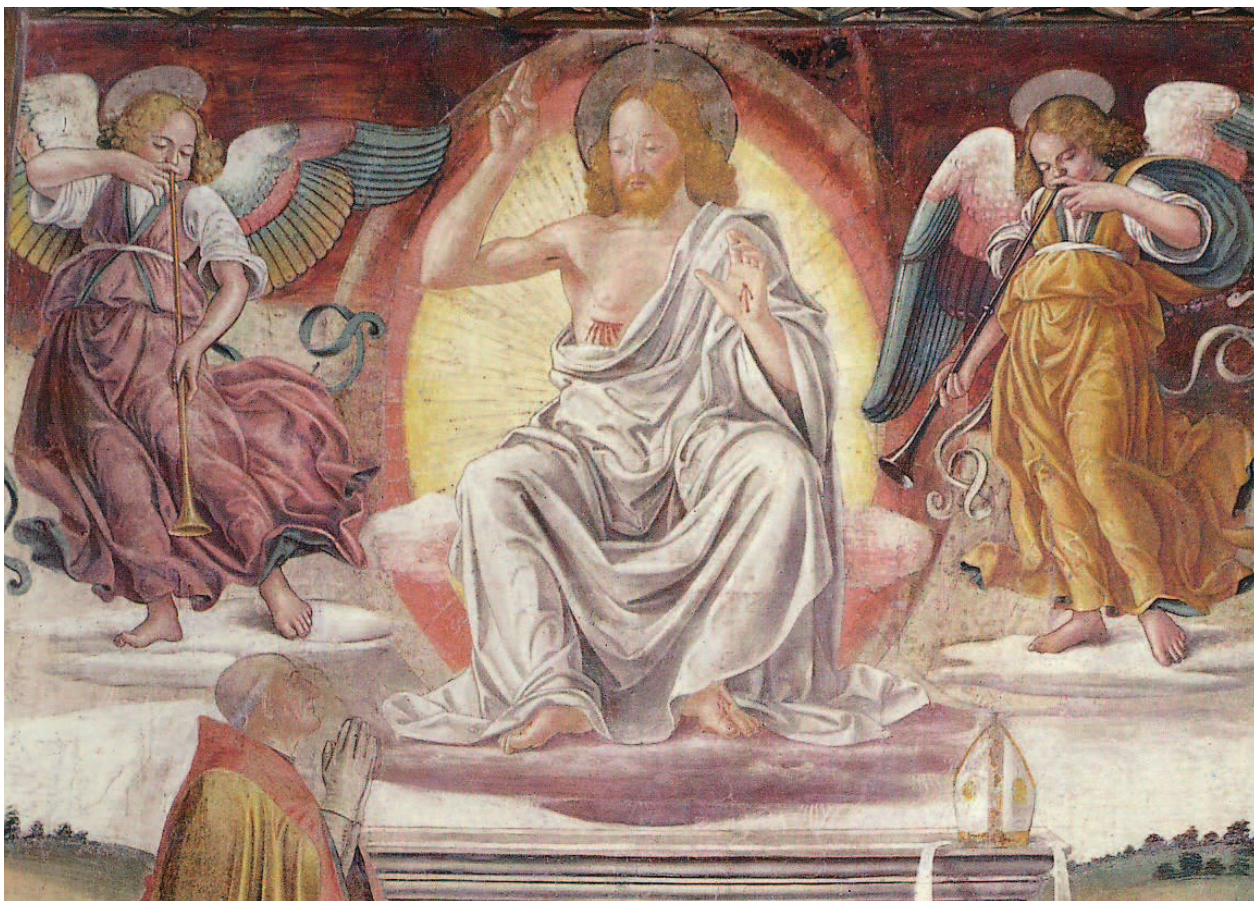


Fig. 12: ANTONIAZZO ROMANO, *Christ the Judge, two trumpeting Angels, and Cardinal Juan Diaz de Coca*, 1474 ca., Rome, S. Maria sopra Minerva, Chapel of St. Raymond of Penyafort

Fig. 13: MASO DI BANCO, *Christ the Judge, six Angels, and kneeling donor*, 1335 ca., Florence, Santa Croce, Bardi di Vernio Chapel



Figs. 14, 16: LIPPO VANNI, *Assumption of the Virgin* (details), 1360-70 ca., Eremito di San Leonardo al Lago (Siena)

Fig. 15, 17: LORENZO DA VITERBO, *Assumption of the Virgin* (details), 1468-69, Viterbo, S. Maria della Verità, Mazzatosta Chapel



Fig. 18: LIPPO VANNI, *Annunciation*, 1360-70 ca., Eremo di San Leonardo al Lago (Siena)

Fig. 19: LORENZO DA VITERBO, *Annunciatio*, 1468-69, Viterbo, S. Maria della Verità, Mazzatosta Chapel



Fig. 20: LORENZO DA VITERBO, *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, 1468-69, Viterbo, S. Maria della Verità, Mazzatosta Chapel

Fig. 21: LORENZO DA VITERBO, *Marriage of the Virgin*, 1468-69, Viterbo, S. Maria della Verità, Mazzatosta Chapel



Fig. 22: LIPPO VANNI, *Marriage of the Virgin*, 1360-70 ca., Eremito di San Leonardo al Lago (Siena)

Fig. 23: LORENZO DA VITERBO, *Marriage of the Virgin* (detail before 1944), 1468-69, Viterbo, S. Maria della Verità, Mazzatosta Chapel

Fig. 24: AMBROGIO LORENZETTI, *Procession of the Twenty-Four*, 1338-40, Siena, Palazzo Pubblico, Sala dei Nove