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**Stefano da Verona:  
A New Work and Some Old Problems**

*In May 2017 a painting of the Crucifixion described generically as «Italian School, 14<sup>th</sup> Century», was sold at auction in London. Acquired by a young Italian dealer who recognized its exceptional quality, it was subsequently purchased by The Metropolitan Museum as a rare, early work by the late Gothic painter Stefano da Verona. The picture provides the occasion to review what we know about the artist, his place in the history of fifteenth-century painting in Lombardy and the Veneto, and the ways in which his art epitomizes a moment of intense exchange between the Visconti court in Milan and that of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.*

The objective of the present contribution is to introduce a painting of the *Crucifixion* acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 2018 (fig. 1) that can with great confidence be ascribed to the young Stefano da Verona (Stefano di Giovanni d'Arbosio di Francia, Paris or Pavia, 1375 – Verona, after 1438)<sup>1</sup>. It is a work that I had the great pleasure of discussing with Diane prior to its purchase. What makes its appearance so remarkable is not merely its rarity and the contribution it makes to our understanding of this foreign-born painter, but the light it throws on the Visconti court in Milan and cultural politics pursued by Gian Galeazzo Visconti in emulation of the Valois courts in France, most especially that of the Philip the Bold in Dijon and Jean, Duc de Berry, to whom he was related by marriage.

Our knowledge of the picture extends back only to the 1880s, when it was purchased – presumably in Italy – by the Munich-based painter Franz von Lenbach. Following his death in 1904, it was inherited by his daughter, and during the 1980s it was placed by the family on deposit in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne – where, however, it appears not to have been displayed<sup>2</sup>. In May 2017, the family sold it together with two other, inconsequential gold ground paintings at Sotheby's in London, where it was purchased by the Italian dealer, Filippo Benappi. It was another dealer, Fabrizio Moretti, who first called it to my attention. At the London sale it was generically catalogued as fourteenth-century Italian, but upon studying an image sent to me by Mr. Moretti, I concluded that it must be a work extremely close to Stefano da Verona. My hesitation in making a definitive attribution was due to our inability to form a coherent body of works ascribable to the artist<sup>3</sup>.

The documentary evidence for his career is far from clear and only one painting – the enchanting *Adoration of the Magi* (1435?) in the Pinacoteca di Brera in Milan (fig. 2) – is signed<sup>4</sup>. Although Vasari professed admiration for his work and describes a number of frescoes in Verona and Mantua, little of what he records survives. When it does, the work in question invariably comes down to us in drastically compromised condition. This is certainly the case with the large frescoed tabernacle that once adorned the exterior of the church of Sant’Eufemia in Verona (it is currently displayed inside the church), while the cycle of frescoes in San Francesco, Mantua, are best studied in old photographs<sup>5</sup>. Moreover, although the artist was born in 1375 – most likely in France, where his father had been employed by Philip the Bold – the surviving works attributable to him seem all to date from the mid-1420s or later, when he was living in Verona. Nothing can be associated with his earlier stay in Treviso and Padua (although whether the Stefano di Giovanni cited in Paduan documents refers to our artist or another is questionable)<sup>6</sup>. As already noted, the mural formerly on the exterior of the Veronese church of Sant’Eufemia, which Vasari praised for the vivacity of the expressions and brilliant color, is in ruinous state. Indeed, Vasari lamented that had Stefano been less attached to the technique of finishing his work *a secco*, his paintings would have survived in better condition. Yet this preference for employing a highly finished technique was hardly unique to him: it was notably shared by his younger contemporary, Pisanello (ca. 1395-1455), who carried it to another level of descriptiveness. Now detached, the Sant’Eufemia mural was painted over the side entrance to the church – a conspicuous position that formed part of a vista in the approaching street. It shows Saint Augustine seated on an elaborate, Gothic-style throne crowned by a dome. To Augustine’s right, Nicholas of Tolentino presents Augustinian friars, while to his left Saint Eufemia presents a host of kneeling figures, the most prominent being the donor of the work. The sides of an ermine-lined pavilion enclosing the scene are held open by diminutive angels (a typical feature of funerary monuments in Verona)<sup>7</sup>. The main body of the mural was recessed in the wall, and the deep, lateral embrasures are decorated with figures of prophets set into niches. Two further prophets fill the spandrels while the entire composition – originally protected from the elements by a pitched roof – is crowned by a depiction of the Annunciation. To judge from a watercolor copy made in 1864, it must have been very impressive. Its composition relates closely to Pisanello’s similarly structured fresco decoration surrounding the tomb of Niccolò Brenzoni in San Fermo: presumably, Stefano was responding to his brilliant contemporary – though the nature of their relationship remains a matter of conjecture. My own sense is that it was the older Stefano who responded to the

younger and vastly greater genius of Pisanello. If this is so, then the fresco must date from ca. 1426, when the artist was over 50<sup>8</sup>.

Stefano's badly damaged fresco of the *Stigmatization of Saint Francis* – the most important remnant of his decorations for a chapel in the church of San Francesco in Mantua – is another, rare example of his large-scale mural painting. On the basis of documents relating to the construction of the chapel, the fresco would seem to date after 1428<sup>9</sup>. Again, we see an artist of remarkable inventiveness responding – so it would seem – to the example of both Gentile da Fabriano (ca. 1375-1427) and Pisanello. There is an inevitable analogy with Gentile's painting of the same subject executed in 1420 for the church of San Francesco in Fabriano – minus, it needs to be said, the extraordinary effects of light that makes Gentile's picture so exceptional. But the more direct source for the overlapping hills of the distant landscape was Pisanello's great chivalric fresco cycle in the Ducal Palace of Mantua, for which various dates have been proposed, but which, on grounds of style, would seem also to have been begun in the 1420s<sup>10</sup>. So again, the two artists would seem to have been working almost contemporaneously, Stefano acutely studying the work of the young Pisanello and adapting it to a style that in all respects remained bound to an abstracting rather than naturalistic impulse.

Today, only two panel paintings are universally ascribed to Stefano. The earlier of the two is a panel that probably formed the center of an altarpiece and shows the *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Angels* (Rome, Galleria Colonna). We don't know where or when it was painted, but its elegantly abstracting style is consistent with the frescoes in Verona, and it, too, would seem to date from the 1420s<sup>11</sup>. So extreme is the artifice of the figural canon that it is easy to overlook the exceptionally architectonic organization of the work, with the angels distinguished in size and position so as to create a niche for the exquisitely rendered Madonna and Child. The attention in the rendering of birds and fruit to either side of the throne and the combination of such passages with the abstracting style of the figures finds a parallel in the work of Michelino da Besozzo (active 1388-1450), who was working in the Veneto in the teens of the fifteenth century and whose oeuvre there must have exerted a strong attraction on Stefano. That said, Stefano likely also meditated on a picture such as the *Madonna of the Quail* (Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona), usually ascribed to the young Pisanello, in which the seeds of a new naturalism are evident<sup>12</sup>. The other picture – Stefano's most famous – is a late work of quite singular and captivatingly quirky elegance: the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Pinacoteca di Brera in Milan that is signed and dated 143(5?), although the last digit is uncertain. The coat of arms at the bottom is that of the Bevilacqua Lazise family of Verona, and it was presumably painted there. In this work Stefano

achieves a new level sophistication. Once again, the naturalism evident in the botanical details and the representation of animals may have its origins in the traditions of the «l'ouvrage de Lombardie» and the work of Giovannino de Grassi and Michelino da Besozzo – one thinks of both Giovannino's illuminations in the *Visconti Hours* and of Michelino's beautiful *Nativity* in a book of hours in Avignon (inv. ms. 111, f. 21r) – but we have now moved to a much more advanced stage, and there is a complete integration of observed details with the composition as a whole. For once we get a sense of Stefano's narrative gifts and his marvelous pungency and comedic wit, evident in the grinning ox within the stable and the balletic stride of the camel no less than in the humorously described faces of the Magi's retinue who, together with the harnessed horses, press close for a better view. The various shepherds in the background, each given a marked personality, remind us that there is a social hierarchy to this kind of humor – as well as a further link with the work of both Michelino and, most particularly, Pisanello. Indeed, the background landscape and spatial treatment of the scene suggests that Stefano had occasion to see Pisanello's mural above the Pellegrini Chapel in Sant'Anastasia (fig. 3), which may have been in progress (it is usually dated to ca. 1435, which would make it virtually contemporary with the *Adoration of the Magi*). Given this increasing response to the rising star of Pisanello, it is worth recalling that in describing Pisanello's lost mural in the Palazzo Ducale in Venice, Bartolomeo Fazio singled out for praise a «throng of courtiers with German costume and German cast of feature, a priest distorting his face with his fingers, and some boys laughing at this, done so agreeably as to arouse good humor in those who look at it»<sup>13</sup>. Michelino probed the same kind of humor in his *Marriage of the Virgin* in The Metropolitan Museum, in which one of the rejected suitors expresses his frustration by biting his rod, but Stefano's interest in individual figure types as well as the increased sophistication of the composition all point in the direction of Pisanello.

Any comparison of The Metropolitan's *Crucifixion* with the *Adoration of the Magi* will underscore the enormous distance in style that separates the two – a distance that can be measured not only in terms of chronology, but of visual stimuli. Therein, of course, lies the picture's importance. The geometric structure and quasi-sculptural severity of the composition, no less than the rustic, almost brutal figure of Christ are quite unlike the elegance we find in the *Adoration*, with its lilting, rhythmic composition. However, at the same time, comparison of details of the two paintings underscores certain constants in Stefano's art. There is the similarity of Mary Magdalene's drapery and that of the kneeling magus. In both it sweeps first one way and then doubles back. Similar, too, are the eloquently pliable fingers and sharply defined profiles. Stefano is well documented as a

draughtsman and the surviving drawings – which, again, seem to date later in his career – offer further confirmation of his authorship of the *Crucifixion*. This is evident in the preference for elegantly elongated bodies, the delineation of the facial features, the delicacy of the hands and fingers as well as the expressive use of gesture and the preference for those long folds of drapery that seem to flow down and around the figure. A double-sided drawing in The Metropolitan Museum (inv. 1996.364a, b; fig. 4) is a prime example. And then, there is the type of angel, with the body trailing off into pure drapery. This is a constant in Stefano's work, although it is only in his mature paintings that he embraced the complex S-curve that so distinguishes the hovering angels in the *Madonna and Child* in the Colonna Gallery. This disintegration of the body into pure drapery is found as well in the work of Michelino, but it was, more broadly, typical of other Lombard artists and is found in the illuminations of Giovannino de Grassi in the *Visconti Hours* as well as in a small Lombard panel of the *Madonna and Child with Saints and Donor* in the North Carolina Museum of Art in Raleigh. These are works of the 1390s, when Stefano's training is likely to have taken place. Apparently only later – in a work like the Colonna *Madonna and Child* or the fresco fragment in the church of San Fermo – did he embrace the repeating rhythmic curves that already animate Michelino's miniature illustrating Pietro da Castelletto's funeral oration of 1402 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 5888, f. 1r). By that date Stefano had moved from Milan, and we thus have a further indication of his later (re-)encounter with Michelino in Verona. The *Crucifixion* thus suggests that Stefano's response to the rich, cultural environment of Visconti Milan in the 1390s was in certain respects different from that of Michelino.

This should not surprise us, for what distinguished Milan during these years was the remarkably varied array of artists – painters, sculptors, and artisans – who arrived from all over northern Europe, attracted by the great enterprise of the construction and decoration of Milan Cathedral inaugurated by Gian Galeazzo Visconti in 1386<sup>14</sup>. Further projects involved the Certosa at Pavia and the ducal residence. Importantly, among those employed at Pavia was Stefano's father, Jean d'Arbois, or Giovanni Darbosio, as he was known in Italy<sup>15</sup>.

As his name suggests, Jean d'Arbois hailed from Arbois, southeast of Dijon. He may have been recommended to the Visconti by Gian Galeazzo's wife, Isabelle of France, the sister of Philip the Bold and the Duke de Berry. Be that as it may, we first hear of Jean d'Arbois in 1373, when he was summoned from his position at the Visconti court to work for Philip the Bold in Paris. In 1375 – the year of Stefano's birth – Jean accompanied Philip the Bold to Bruges. A year later his position as the duke's Varlet de Chambre was taken by another painter, Jean de Beaumetz

(ca. 1335-1396), so presumably Jean d'Arbois had returned to Milan, where his reputation was such that in 1421-1422 – long after his death – the Visconti's court humanist Umberto Decembrio declared him one of the greatest artists of the age, placing him together with Michelino da Besozzo and Gentile da Fabriano (like Stefano, Gentile's formation seems also to have taken place at the Visconti court in the 1390s and represents a yet differently inflected response to this extraordinarily international center)<sup>16</sup>. By the time Jean d'Arbois died in Pavia in 1399, his 24-year-old son Stefano seems to have been an established artist on his own, having apparently moved first to Mantua in 1397, and then Treviso in 1399.

There has been much conjecture about what Jean d'Arbois may have painted and what, in consequence, could have formed the basis of his son's art. The most intriguing – if completely conjectural – hypothesis is that he is the author of a remarkable manuscript recounting the chivalric tale of Guiron le Courtois (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Nouv. Acq. fr. 5243), illuminated around 1380 for Bernabò Visconti, the uncle of Gian Galeazzo<sup>17</sup> (in 1385, Bernabò was deposed, imprisoned, and – it is said – poisoned by Gian Galeazzo). The illustrations in this manuscript are notable for their attention to setting, their wonderfully sensitive description of animals, and their engagingly genial approach to narration that envelopes us in a storybook world at once enchanting and believable. Setting aside the intractable issue of authorship, they reveal the exceptional level of quality of the artists employed at the Visconti court. They also reveal a continued link with the traditions of Giottoesque painting that was part of the great legacy of Giovanni da Milano. Was this a reference point for the way, in Stefano's *Crucifixion*, the geometry of the cross is employed as the compositional scaffolding, accompanied by a rigorous use of symmetry and insistence on echoing profiles? Within this reductively geometric system, the contrasting gestures of grief become emphatic accents. No less notable is the way each figure inhabits its own space, so he or she appears wrapped in his or her particular emotional world. Laura Cavazzini, whose work on Lombard sculpture in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries has transformed our understanding of this period, kindly suggested to me that analogies for these aspects in Stefano's painting can also be found in sculpture, and particularly in that of Jacopino da Tradate, whose career presents some interesting parallels with Stefano's<sup>18</sup>. Much employed on the Milan Cathedral, like Stefano he also worked later in Mantua, where, in 1394, Stefano is documented in working for Filippo della Molza, the Gonzaga's ambassador at the Visconti court. Around 1420, Jacopino's sculpture – seemingly in parallel with Stefano's paintings – takes on a richer, more florid style. The closest analogies between Jacopo's work and Stefano's *Crucifixion* relate to the first

decade of the century. As can be seen from the marble relief of the *Crucifixion* on his altarpiece in Sant'Eustorgio, Milan (ca. 1410; fig. 5), there is in Jacopino's work a clarity of design and an emotional tenor that are not dissimilar to what is found in Stefano's panel<sup>19</sup>. Where his work differs strongly is in the stockier figures with bodies that describe gently swaying arcs. The gazes of Jacopino's figures also lack the shared focus and plangently expressive profiles of Stefano's painting, which so enhances the panel's function as a devotional aide. Jacopino's Christ possesses a restrained nobility quite unlike the quality of tragically fragile pathos found in Stefano's. In these respects, Stefano seems closer to what can be found in French painting and goldsmith work – not least as seen in two surviving panels of the *Crucifixion* (fig. 6) that formed part of a series of 26 that Philip the Bold commissioned in 1387-1388 for his Carthusian monastery of Champmol from Jean de Beaumetz – Jean d'Arbois's successor at the Duke's court. There is also an analogy with the extraordinary reliquary in the Museo Sisto-Vescovile of Montalto, the central *Pietà* of which was created prior to 1379 for Charles V's private oratory<sup>20</sup>.

In her book, Cavazzini has noted how the astonishing influx of Franco-Flemish artists in Milan in the 1390s fundamentally altered the artistic terrain in Lombardy, introducing what she describes as «soft cadences in the drapery and delicate sweetness in the expressions»<sup>21</sup>. So it is not surprising that some of the most compelling analogies for these aspects of Stefano's picture are to be found in contemporary French miniature painting as well as in certain pieces of northern sculpture. Among the paintings that bear consideration are the marvelous illuminations by the great Boucicaut Master, who evidently accompanied his patron, the Maréchal de Boucicaut, to Genoa in 1401, and there illuminated the famous *Hours*, now in the Musée Jacquemart André, Paris; he also, later (ca. 1409) illuminated a missal in Paris for the Lucchese merchant Lorenzo Trento<sup>22</sup>. In the marvelous dedication page showing the Maréchal de Boucicaut kneeling before Saint Catherine (fig. 7) can be found a similar figure canon to that of Stefano, with the drapery pooling on the floor. Another splendid example of this tendency is the full-page illumination showing the *Coronation of the Virgin* by another Franco-Netherlandish artist. Its authorship has been much disputed, but among the various suggestions is the possibility that it might be by Jacques Coene – another of the outstanding Netherlandish painters active at the courts of both Philip the Bold and Gian Galeazzo Visconti – who is documented in Milan in 1399<sup>23</sup>.

No less important than the Franco-Netherlandish painters are the sculptors who descended on Milan or were employed by the Sabauda court in Turin. The sculptor Claus de Werve had worked with Claus Sluter in Dijon before traveling to Italy,



where he is mentioned in the Sabauda account books. Another is Jean de Prindall<sup>24</sup>. Prindall has been proposed as the author of the two candlestick-bearing angels on the Brenzoni monument in Verona that Pisanello embellished with a frescoed surround, thereby delineating a trajectory across Lombardy to the Veneto. Whether or not these marvelous angels are, in fact, by him rather than by some other itinerant, Burgundian-trained sculptor is less important than the evidence they provide of the presence of itinerant artists of the highest caliber working in Lombardy and the Veneto and the analogies they offer with Stefano's panel for both the tall figure canon and softly flowing treatment of drapery.

Still another important aspect of Stefano's panel that relates to Franco-Burgundian courtly taste has to do with the decoration of the gold background with a pattern of delicately tooled, thornless roses – an emblem of the Virgin. Once again, there is a parallel for this in French painting: a close analogy is, indeed, found in the two surviving panels Jean de Beaufort painted for Philip the Bold's foundation of Champmol. But, of course, the ultimate source for this sort of decoration was goldsmith work, such as is found on a pax in a private collection containing a miniature from the circle of Giovannino and Salomone de Grassi, and thus pointing to its probable creation in Milan and Pavia in the 1390s<sup>25</sup>.

As noted at the outset of this brief contribution, Stefano's place in the history of painting in Lombardy has been subject to radical revisions. For how can one properly judge an artist known to us by so few works, and those in such compromised a state? Moreover, paintings once widely accepted as his – foremost among which is the *Madonna del Roseto* in the Museo di Castelvecchio in Verona – are now more reasonably ascribed to Michelino da Besozzo, whose catalogue has expanded and profile risen at the expense of Stefano's. The *Crucifixion* reminds us that we are still far from doing justice to the rich artistic environment of Gian Galeazzo's court in Milan and Pavia and the various alternatives open to the son of a French-trained artist. The picture's importance thus resides not only in refining our understanding of the artist's possible formation in the international environment of Milan and Pavia in the 1390s, but as a key indicator of the cultural politics waged by Gian Galeazzo through his alliances with the Valois courts in France and Burgundy.

- 1 The picture and a catalogue entry for it can be found on the website of The Metropolitan Museum (<http://www.metmuseum.org>) together with a review of the artist's biography and a discussion of the issues surrounding the documents that have been associated with him.
- 2 See *Wallraf-Richartz-Museum Köln: Vollständiges Verzeichnis der Gemäldesammlung*, ed. by C. Heße, M. Schlagenhauser, Köln, 1986, pp. 39, 334; *Franz von Lenbach, 1836-1904*, exh.

cat., München, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus 1986-1987, ed. by R. Gollek, W. Ranke, München, 1987, ill. p. 122.

- 3 The changing fortunes and the consequential shifting of our understanding of Stefano and his place in north Italian painting is perhaps best exemplified by the marvelous *Madonna of the Rose Arbor* (*Madonna del Roseto*) in the Museo di Castelvevchio, Verona, and the *Madonna and Child* in the Museo di Palazzo Venezia, Rome (PV 4724). The first, long ascribed to Stefano, is now considered by most scholars to be by Michelino da Besozzo. The second, often discussed as an early work by Pisanello, has more recently been discussed as possibly by Stefano. For a review of these attributions, see E. Daffra, F. Tasso, *Filippo Maria Visconti e il corso ininterrotto del gotico in Lombardia*, in *Arte lombarda dai Visconti agli Sforza: Milano al centro dell'Europa*, exh. cat., Milano, Palazzo Reale 2015, ed. by M. Natale, S. Romano, Milano, 2015, pp. 224-225, cat. III.5 (Daffra); pp. 226-227, cat. III.10 (Daffra). Tied up with these shifts in attribution is the position of Stefano as a protagonist of Lombard painting or, as Daffra and Tasso describe him (*ivi*, p. 175), «non caposcuola a Verona, ma pittore itinerante tra Lombardia e Veneto». A key contribution in the re-evaluation of Stefano's place is that of E. Moench, *Stefano da Verona: la mort critique d'un peintre*, in *Hommage à Michel Laclotte: études sur la peinture du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance*, ed. by P. Rosenberg, Milano-Paris, 1994, pp. 78-97.
- 4 For a review of the documents, see E. Karet, *Stefano da Verona: The Documents*, in «Atti e memorie della Accademia di Agricoltura, Scienze e Lettere di Verona», 43, 1991-1992, pp. 375-466; S. L'Occaso, *Fonti archivistiche per le arti a Mantova tra medioevo e rinascimento (1382-1459)*, Mantova, 2005, pp. 12-13, 149-153. As remarked above in note 1, I review these documents in the online entry of The Metropolitan Museum's website.
- 5 For Stefano's work in San Francesco, see L'Occaso, *Fonti archivistiche*, cit., pp. 274-275.
- 6 We find a Stefano di Giovanni di Francia living in Padua and receiving a marriage dowry from the widow of a weapons dealer. Since the woman Stefano married in Treviso in 1399 – Tarsia d'Antoniazio di Verona – was still alive in 1425 when the artist and his family were living in Verona, the documents referring to his activity in Padua present a quandary for which there is no satisfactory solution. Indeed, it has been argued that the Paduan documents – like the earlier ones relating to Mantua – may concern another painter. Here it is enough to note that the Stefano di Giovanni di Francia in the Paduan documents became a prominent figure, acquiring citizenship, living in the city until at least 1414, and assuming a lead position (*gastaldo*) in the painters' guild. One of the Paduan documents was notarized by a well-known humanist, pointing to elite contacts. Then, from 1425 to 1434, we find the 50-year-old artist (his age is given in the document) – this time unquestionably ours – settled in Verona, whence the name by which Vasari knew him. See E. Moench, *Stefano da Verona: la quête d'une double paternité*, in «Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte», 2, 1986, pp. 220-228; and *ead.*, *Verona*, in *La pittura nel Veneto: il Quattrocento*, ed. by M. Lucco, Milano, 1989, vol. 1, p. 183, note 43, where she comments that «The bigamy would tend to divide the person in question [i.e., Stefano di Giovanni] into two, but issues about the status of individuals and their relationships in the Middle Ages are uncertain».
- 7 See the discussion of T. Franca, *'Qui post mortem status honorati sunt'. Monumenti familiari a destinazione funebre e celebrative nella Verona del primo Quattrocento*, in *Pisanello*, exh. cat., Verona, Museo di Castelvevchio 1996, ed. by P. Marini, Milano, 1996, pp. 139-150.
- 8 For a carefully reasoned discussion of the relationship of Stefano to Pisanello, see E. Moench, *Verona gli anni venti del Quattrocento*, in *Pisanello*, cit., pp. 62-69. Noting the central place of Pisanello, Moench (p. 64) nonetheless – and, I believe, correctly – argues for viewing

Stefano as «un vettore decisivo del rinnovamento artistico che andava operandosi negli anni venti» in Verona. But also someone who «spinge ai limiti estremi un linguaggio d'astrazione lirica ereditato dall'*Ouvraige de Lombardie*».

- 9 See L'Occaso, *Fonti archivistiche*, cit., pp. 274-275.
- 10 For a fine summary of the problems relating to the dating of the Palazzo Ducale fresco cycle, see Moench, *Verona gli anni venti*, cit., pp. 118-121, cat. 18.
- 11 For a review of the critical history of the picture, see Daffra, Tasso, *Filippo Maria Visconti*, cit., p. 227, cat. III.11 (Daffra).
- 12 The attribution of the *Madonna del Roseto* is reviewed by Daffra, in Daffra, Tasso, *Filippo Maria Visconti*, cit., pp. 224-225, cat. III.5. Esther Moench gives extensive discussion of both the *Madonna del Roseto* and the *Madonna of the Quail* in *Verona gli anni venti*, cit., pp. 76-78, 84-86.
- 13 See the well-known discussion of M. Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist observers of painting in Italy and the discovery of pictorial composition 1350-1450*, Oxford, 1971, reprint Oxford, 1991, pp. 90-96, 107.
- 14 A. De Marchi, *Gentile da Fabriano: un viaggio nella pittura italiana alla fine del gotico*, Milano, 1992, pp. 14-37, reconstructs the artistic ambience in Pavia in the second half of the 1390s, when Gentile da Fabriano seems also to have been present. In attempting to understand Stefano's early career, it is crucial to remember not only the wide-ranging origins of the artists at work and the different stylistic outlook they brought, but that by 1397 our artist had already left Visconti Milan and Pavia for Mantua. The Visconti and Gonzaga courts were, of course, closely connected, Agnese Visconti (a daughter of Bernabò) having married Francesco Gonzaga. For a more recent overview, see the various contributions and catalogue entries in Natale, Romano, *Arte lombarda*, cit., particularly M. Rossi, *Milano 1400*, pp. 111-119.
- 15 For recent thoughts on Jean d'Arbois, see I. Villela-Petit, *Propositions pour Jean d'Arbois, in La création artistique en France autour de 1400*, ed. by E. Taburet-Delahaye, Paris, 2006, pp. 315-344; R. Delmoro, *Jean d'Arbois e Stefano da Verona: proposte per una rilettura critica*, in «ACME-Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia del Università degli Studi di Milano», 57, 2004, pp. 121-158.
- 16 In addition to De Marchi, *Gentile da Fabriano: un viaggio*, cit., see *id.*, *Alla corte di Gian Galeazzo Visconti; l'anconetta di Pavia*, in *Gentile da Fabriano e l'altro rinascimento*, exh. cat., Fabriano, Spedale di Santa Maria del Buon Gesù 2006, ed. by L. Laureati, L. Mochi Onori, Fabriano, 2006, pp. 62-63.
- 17 Delmoro, *Jean d'Arbois*, cit.
- 18 I am grateful to Laura Cavazzini for an exchange via email in December 2017. See L. Cavazzini, *Il crepuscolo della scultura medievale in Lombardia*, Firenze, 2004.
- 19 *Ivi*, pp. 88-90.
- 20 Jean de Beaumetz's two surviving panels are in the Musée du Louvre and The Cleveland Museum of Art. It is widely conceded that they are the products of a workshop. For the Reliquary of Montalto, see the entry of Benedetta Montevecchi, in Laureati, Mocchi Onori, *Gentile da Fabriano e l'altro rinascimento*, cit., p. 102.
- 21 Cavazzini, *Il crepuscolo*, cit., p. 6.
- 22 In addition to Millard Meiss's groundbreaking *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master*, London-New York, 1968, see A. Châtelet, *L'âge d'or du manuscrit à*

*peintures en France au temps de Charles VI et les Heures du Maréchal Boucicaut*, Dijon, 2000, pp. 105-110.

- 23 *Id.*, *Le miniaturiste Jacques Coene*, in «Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France», 2000, pp. 29-42.
- 24 See the following: N. Schätti, *Jean Prindale et l'activité des ateliers de sculpture franco-flamands à Genève et en Savoie au tournant des XIVe et XVe siècles*, in «K+A: Kunst + Architektur in der Schweiz», 3, 2007, pp. 13-22; L. Cavazzini, A. Galli, *Scultura in Piemonte tra Gotico e Rinascimento. Appunti in margine a una mostra e nuove proposte per il possibile Jan Prindall*, in «Prospettiva», 103-104, 2001, pp. 113-132.
- 25 See the entry of Gabriele Barucca, *Arte, orafa lombarda e Maestro del libro d'ore di Modena (Tommasino da Vimercate)*, in Laureati, Mochi Onori, *Gentile da Fabriano e l'altro rinascimento*, cit., p. 88.



Fig. 1: Stefano da Verona, *Crucifixion*, ca. 1400, tempera on wood, gold ground, 86 x 52.4 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (2018.87).  
Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Fig. 2: Stefano da Verona, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1435 (?), tempera on panel, 42 x 72 cm. Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera. Photo: Wikimedia Commons.



Fig. 3: Pisanello, *Saint George and the Princess of Trebizond*, ca. 1435, mural. Verona, Sant'Anastasia. Photo: Lib-Art.com.



Fig. 4: Stefano da Verona, *Three Standing Figures* (recto), pen and brown ink, over traces of charcoal or black chalk, 30 x 22.4 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1996.364a, b). Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.





Fig. 5: Jacopino da Tradate, *Altarpiece of the Passion*, ca. 1410, marble.  
Milan, Sant'Eustorgio. Photo: Chiostrisanteustorgio.it.



Fig. 6: Jean de Beaufort, *Calvary with a Carthusian Monk*, 1389-1395, oil on oak panel, 56.6 x 45.7 cm. Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., Fund, 1964.45. Photo: Clevelandart.org.



Fig. 7: Maître de Boucicaut, *The Marshal of Boucicaut Praying to Saint Catherine*, from *The Hours of the Maréchal de Boucicaut*, 1401, parchment, 18 x 11.8 cm. Paris, Musée Jacquemart André. Photo: Wikimedia Commons.