

## INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

**The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.** Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

ProQuest Information and Learning  
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA  
800-521-0600

UMI<sup>®</sup>



## **NOTE TO USERS**

**Copyrighted materials in this document have not been filmed at the request of the author. They are available for consultation at the author's university library.**

**345 - 436**

**This reproduction is the best copy available.**

**UMI<sup>®</sup>**



A

**BARTOLOMEO DI TOMMASO DA FOLIGNO**

by

**MICHAEL PATRICK JOHNSON**

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.**

**2004**

UMI Number: 3115262

Copyright 2004 by  
Johnson, Michael Patrick

All rights reserved.

**UMI<sup>®</sup>**

---

UMI Microform 3115262

Copyright 2004 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.  
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against  
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

---

ProQuest Information and Learning Company  
300 North Zeeb Road  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

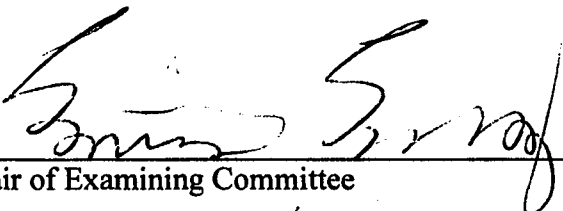
© 2004

**MICHAEL PATRICK JOHNSON**

**All Rights Reserved**


This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Art History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

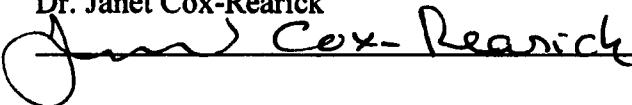
12/04/03  
Date

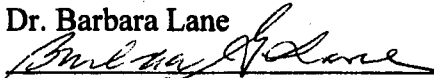
  
Chair of Examining Committee

12/15/03  
Date

  
Executive Officer

Dr. Laurie Adams  


Dr. Janet Cox-Rearick  


Dr. Barbara Lane  
  
Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

BARTOLOMEO DI TOMMASO DA FOLIGNO

by

Michael Patrick Johnson

Advisor: Dr. Michael Mallory

Once famous and influential, the fifteenth century Umbrian painter, Bartolomeo di Tommaso (1408/11-1454) has only begun to receive serious scholarly attention within the past few decades. His long obscurity was in part attributable to the fact that he was not born in Tuscany, and did not work in the great art centers of Florence and Siena, facts that by themselves would relegate him to the status of a lesser artist. Further, his paintings have never been easily reconciled with those that art history has classified as Early Renaissance in style and, indeed even when Bartolomeo was influenced by Tuscan painters, his art retains a distinctly violent, expressionistic character. Though the recent literature has taken a more positive view of Bartolomeo's achievements, for many years his work was classified as "regional" or "archaic," the usual categorization of non-Tuscan artists of the period. However, such evaluations did not take into account the power and quality of his paintings. Nor did they fully recognize the religious and historical significance of his art, the extent to which he influenced other Umbrian artists, or the fact

that at the height of the painter's career Pope Nicholas V would summon him, along with Fra Angelico and Piero Della Francesca, to Rome to fulfill several important commissions. Despite the sudden renewed interest in the painter, a comprehensive study of the painter that takes into account and combines the recent research, existing archival studies, and the painter's expanded oeuvre has yet to be produced. It is the goal of this dissertation to bring these elements together into a first monographic study of the painter that can serve as a basis for more specific future endeavors. When carefully considered, compiled and chronologically juxtaposed, these resources can provide us with a more comprehensive look at the painter and, when examined against the scenario of his rich and well-documented historical context, a greater understanding of his creative and stylistic origins and artistic legacy.

## PREFACE

I have divided this dissertation into five chapters. The first concerns Bartolomeo's historical context with an emphasis on events in Umbria from the middle of the thirteenth to the first half of the fifteenth century. Bartolomeo lived and worked almost exclusively in a Franciscan environment and many of his existing paintings were commissioned by the Conventual or Observant branches of the Order of the Friars Minor. At the time, Franciscanism was centered around the influence of four Franciscan preachers, the "Four Pillars of the Observance" Bernardino da Siena (1380-1444), Giacomo Della Marca (1394-1476), Giovanni da Capistrano (1386-1456), and Albert of Sarteano (1385-?). Further developed through Faloci-Pulignani's archival research and possibly evident in the number and content of several of Bartolomeo's paintings, the influence of the "preaching friars" on the painter suggests that Bartolomeo's worldview remained largely outside the humanist movement and was principally a product of a well-entrenched Franciscan evangelical environment.

The second chapter consists of a chronology and reconstruction of the painter's life based on existing archival studies. Although Bartolomeo's oeuvre remains small, this is offset by the fact that his activities in Umbria, the Marches, and to a lesser extent Rome, have been surprisingly well documented. Scholars have traced the events of his life starting with the period just shortly after his proposed apprenticeship to Camerese master Olivuccio di Ciccarello in 1425 up to his Vatican commissions sometime around 1453. After 1453 Bartolomeo's name disappears from the historical record and it is generally accepted that he died sometime before February 1454 at approximately forty-five years of age.

Following an examination of the painter's life, I provide a formal, historical, and iconographic survey of the painter's oeuvre in a proposed chronological sequence. This portion of the dissertation is divided into three chapters. Chapter three deals exclusively with the *San Salvatore Triptych*, Bartolomeo's earliest documented commission and the source of much of the controversy surrounding his early critical reception. Chapter four considers works completed after 1433, through the proposed date of Bartolomeo's departure for the Vatican in 1451. Included in this chapter is an analysis of several paintings that others have suggested, though have been unable to substantiate, might predate the *San Salvatore Triptych*.

Chapter five examines the painter's most celebrated work, namely the recently restored frescoes of the Cappella Paradisi in the Church of San Francesco in Terni. This chapter reviews the history of the Church of San Francisco, the Paradisi family, and the Cappella Paradisi. It also considers the dating of the Chapel and its attribution to Bartolomeo di Tommaso. Finally I provide a formal and iconographic study of the frescoes of the Cappella Paradisi along with an analysis of the ongoing debate as to whether they are indeed one of the earliest depictions of scenes from Dante's *Divine Comedy*, which was first published in Foligno, the city of Bartolomeo's birth.

At this point, it is appropriate to note that throughout this dissertation, I have supplied my own translations of original Italian and Latin sources. Wherever I have determined that the original text might be relevant to a better understanding of the subject, I have inserted the original text into the endnotes in addition to my own translation. In certain instances, as in the case of archival documents such as the *Santissima Unione*, I added the original documents as appendices.

I would like to close by briefly thanking the noted Signorelli scholar Dr. Jonathan Riess of the University of Cincinnati for his enthusiastic response to my inquiries regarding the possibility of a dissertation on Bartolomeo di Tommaso. I would also like to thank the members of my committee; Drs. Laurie Adams, and Janet Cox-Rearick, for their willingness and patient assistance in helping me develop the proposal for this dissertation and their continued support for the project. In addition, I would like to thank Dr. Barbara Lane for graciously consenting to serve as my outside reader. Finally, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my advisor and committee chairman, Dr. Michael Mallory whose guidance, support, and helpful suggestions were indispensable to the continued progress of this dissertation.

## CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS . . . . .	x
<b>Chapter</b>	
INTRODUCTION: ON THE SUBJECT OF BARTOLOMEO DI TOMMASO . . . . .	1
1. THE PAINTER'S WORLD . . . . .	15
2. THE PAINTER'S LIFE . . . . .	60
3. EARLY YEARS: THE SAN SALVATORE TRIPTYCH OF 1432 . .	115
4. WORKS 1433 TO 1451 . . . . .	162
5. THE CAPPELLA PARADISI . . . . .	275
CONCLUSION . . . . .	321
ILLUSTRATIONS . . . . .	344
<b>Appendix</b>	
1. SANTISSIMA UNIONE . . . . .	437
2. DOCUMENT OF FEBRUARY 9, 1433 . . . . .	451
3. DOCUMENT OF MARCH 31, 1434 . . . . .	452
4. DOCUMENT OF OCTOBER 13, 1439 . . . . .	454
5. DOCUMENT OF APRIL 29, 1442 . . . . .	457
6. CHECKLIST OF WORKS BY BARTOLOMEO DI TOMMASO . . .	459
7. DAMAGED WORKS AND WORKS OF QUESTIONABLE ATTRIBUTION . . . . .	470
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	471

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>San Salvatore Triptych</i> , 1432. Pinacoteca Comunale, Foligno . . . . .	345
2. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Rospigliosi Triptych</i> , ca. 1445. Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome . . . . .	346
3. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>San Caterina Fresco</i> , 1449. Pinacoteca Comunale, Foligno . . . . .	347
4. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Madonna and Child with John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, and Saints Christopher and Dominic</i> , ca. 1451. Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino . . . . .	348
5. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Crucifixion Before an Augustinian</i> , ca. 1449. San Nicol�, Foligno . . . . .	349
6. Olivuccio di Ciccarello, <i>San Primaino</i> , ca. 1430-1435. Destroyed . . . . .	350
7. Olivuccio di Ciccarello, <i>Enthroned Madonna</i> , ca. 1430-1435. Destroyed . . . . .	351
8. Olivuccio di Ciccarello, <i>Madonna of Loreto</i> , ca. 1430-1435. Palazzo Baravelli, Fabriano . . . . .	352
9. Olivuccio di Ciccarello, <i>Madonna and Child</i> , ca. 1430-1435. Chiesa dei Minori Riformati, Massa Fermana . . . . .	353
10. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Road to Emmaus and Pentecost</i> , ca. 1440. Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis . . . . .	354
11. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>San Salvatore Triptych</i> , Detail of Figure 1 . . . . .	355
12. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>San Salvatore Triptych</i> , Detail of Figure 1 . . . . .	356
13. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>San Salvatore Triptych</i> , Detail of Figure 1 . . . . .	357
14. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>San Salvatore Triptych, Cuspide of Saint Ursula</i> , 1432. Pinacoteca Comunale, Foligno . . . . .	358

Figure	Page
15. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>San Salvatore Triptych, Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane</i> , 1432. Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome . . . . .	359
16. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>San Salvatore Triptych, Betrayal of Christ</i> , 1432. Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome . . . . .	360
17. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>San Salvatore Triptych, Way to Calvary</i> , 1432. Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon . . . . .	361
18. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>San Salvatore Triptych, Entombment and Lamentation</i> , 1432. Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino . . . . .	362
19. Sassetta (Stefano di Giovanni), <i>Madonna of the Snow</i> , ca. 1432-1434. Collezione Contini-Bonacossi, Florence . . . . .	363
20. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>San Salvatore Triptych, Detail of Figure 1</i> . . . . .	364
21. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>San Salvatore Triptych, Detail of Figure 1</i> . . . . .	365
22. Jacopo Salimbeni, <i>Virgin and Child with Saints Sebastian and John the Baptist</i> , 1416. Oratory of San Giovanni, Urbino . . . . .	366
23. Jacopo Salimbeni, <i>Virgin and Child with Saints Sebastian and John the Baptist</i> , 1416. Detail of Figure 22 . . . . .	367
24. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>San Salvatore Triptych, Detail of Figure 14</i> . . . . .	368
25. Lippo di Dalmasio, <i>Madonna and Child</i> , ca. 1350. San Giovanni in Monte, Bologna . . . . .	369
26. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Annunciation to the Shepherds</i> , ca. 1445. San Francesco, Cascia . . . . .	370
27. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Saint Jerome in Penitence</i> , ca. 1437. Private Collection . . . . .	371
28. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Resurrection of Christ</i> , ca. 1425-1435. Louvre Museum, Paris . . . . .	372
29. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Betrayal of Christ</i> , ca. 1437. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York . . . . .	373
30. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Madonna of Pergola</i> , ca. 1425-1435. Brera Gallery, Milan . . . . .	374

Figure	Page
31. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Entombment and Lamentation</i> , ca. 1437. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York . . . . .	375
32. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Crucifixion</i> , ca. 1434-1440. San Francesco, Cesena . . . . .	376
33. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata</i> , ca. 1434-1440. San Francesco, Cesena. . . . .	377
34. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Last Supper</i> , ca. 1434-1440. San Francesco, Cesena . . . . .	378
35. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Saint Francis Before the Sultan (Charitas?)</i> , ca. 1343-1440. San Francesco, Cesena . . . . .	379
36. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Death of the Knight of Celano</i> , ca. 1434-1440. San Francesco, Cesena . . . . .	380
37. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Resurrection of Trajan</i> , ca. 1434-1440. San Francesco, Cesena . . . . .	381
38. Pseudo-Jacopino da Bologna, <i>Detail of a Panel from the Dormitium of the Virgin</i> , ca. 1350. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna . . . . .	382
39. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Saint Francis Renouncing His Possessions</i> , ca. 1439-1441. Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino . . . . .	383
40. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Funeral and Canonization of Saint Francis</i> , ca. 1439-1441. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore . . . . .	384
41. Sassetta (Stefano di Giovanni), <i>Saint Francis Renounces His Heritage</i> , ca. 1437-1444. National Gallery, London . . . . .	385
42. Sassetta (Stefano di Giovanni), <i>Funeral of Saint Francis</i> , ca. 1437-1444. National Gallery, London . . . . .	386
43. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata</i> , ca. 1439-1441. Mount Holyoke College, Massachusetts . . . . .	387
44. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Trinity</i> , ca. 1445. San Francesco, Cascia . . . . .	388
45. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Saint Benedict</i> , ca. 1445. San Francesco, Cascia	389
46. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Pentecost</i> , Detail of Figure 10 . . . . .	390

Figure	Page
47. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Pentecost</i> , Detail of Figure 10 . . . . .	391
48. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Rospigliosi Triptych</i> , Detail of Figure 2 . . . . .	392
49. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Rospigliosi Triptych, Central Panel, Coronation of the Virgin</i> , ca. 1445. Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome . . . . .	393
50. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Rospigliosi Triptych, Nativity</i> , Detail of Figure 2 . . . . .	394
51. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Rospigliosi Triptych, Right Panel, Adoration of the Magi</i> , ca. 1445. Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome . . . . .	395
52. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Christ between the Virgin and Saint John</i> , ca. 1451. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore . . . . .	396
53. Osservanza Master, <i>Christ Emerging from the Sepulchre</i> , date unknown. Pinacoteca, Siena . . . . .	397
54. Osservanza Master, <i>Madonna Addolorata</i> , date unknown. Pinacoteca, Siena . . . . .	398
55. Osservanza Master, <i>Saint John</i> , date unknown. Pinacoteca, Siena . . . . .	399
56. Osservanza Master, <i>Christ Emerging from the Sepulchre between the Madonna and Saint John</i> , date unknown. Musée de Beaux Arts, Diogine . . . . .	400
57. Sassetta (Stefano di Giovanni), <i>Madonna Addolorata</i> , 1433. Chigi-Spracini Collection, Siena . . . . .	401
58. Sassetta (Stefano di Giovanni), <i>Saint John Weeping</i> , 1433. Chigi-Spracini Collection, Siena . . . . .	402
59. Giovanni di Paolo, <i>Christ at Gethsemane</i> , date unknown. Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome . . . . .	403
60. Sassetta (Stefano di Giovanni), <i>Prayer in the Garden</i> , 1437. Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit . . . . .	404
61. Sassetta (Stefano di Giovanni), <i>Procession to Calvary</i> , 1437. Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit . . . . .	405
62. Giovanni di Paolo, <i>Pieta</i> , ca. 1450. Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome . . . . .	406

Figure	Page
63. Osservanza Master, <i>Predella of Saint Jerome</i> , date unknown. Pinacoteca, Siena . . . . .	407
64. Sano di Pietro, <i>Saint Jerome in the Wilderness</i> , date unknown. Pinacoteca Siena . . . . .	408
65. Sano di Pietro, <i>Saint Jerome doing Penance in the Desert</i> , date unknown. Louvre Museum, Paris . . . . .	409
66. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Cappella Paradisi, Liberation of the Souls from Purgatory</i> , ca. 1451. San Francesco, Terni . . . . .	410
67. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Cappella Paradisi, Christ's Descent into Limbo</i> ca 1451. San Francesco, Terni . . . . .	411
68. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Cappella Paradisi, Punishments of Purgatory</i> , ca. 1451. San Francesco, Terni . . . . .	412
69. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Cappella Paradisi, Last Judgement</i> , ca. 1451. San Francesco, Terni . . . . .	413
70. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Cappella Paradisi, Central Wall, Lower Register, the Elect</i> , ca. 1451. San Francesco, Terni . . . . .	414
71. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Cappella Paradisi, Prophet Jeremiah</i> , ca. 1451. San Francesco, Terni . . . . .	415
72. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Cappella Paradisi, Prophet Daniel</i> , ca. 1451. San Francesco, Terni . . . . .	416
73. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Cappella Paradisi, Prophet Isaiah</i> , ca. 1451. San Francesco, Terni . . . . .	417
74. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Cappella Paradisi, Prophet Jonah</i> , ca. 1451. San Francesco, Terni . . . . .	418
75. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Cappella Paradisi, Enoch and Elijah</i> , ca. 1451. San Francesco, Terni . . . . .	419
76. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Cappella Paradisi, View of Left Lateral Wall, Purgatory Scenes</i> , ca. 1451. San Francesco, Terni . . . . .	420
77. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Cappella Paradisi, Detail of Figure 76</i> . . . . .	421

Figure	Page
78. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Cappella Paradisi, Detail of the Lustful</i> , ca. 1451 . . . . .	422
79. Sassetta (Stefano di Giovanni), <i>Detail of Saint Francis in Ecstasy, Luxuria and Avarizia</i> , ca. 1437 . . . . .	423
80. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Cappella Paradisi, Detail of Figure 76</i> . . . . .	424
81. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Cappella Paradisi, Detail of Figure 69</i> . . . . .	425
82. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Cappella Paradisi, Detail Figure 69</i> . . . . .	426
83. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Cappella Paradisi, View of Right Lateral Wall, Hell Scenes</i> , ca. 1451. San Francesco, Terni . . . . .	427
84. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Cappella Paradisi, Damned Consigned to Hell</i> , ca. 1451 . . . . .	428
85. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Cappella Paradisi, Detail of Figure 83</i> . . . . .	429
86. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, <i>Cappella Paradisi, Detail of Figure 70</i> . . . . .	430
87. Bartolomeo di Tommaso and Andrea Delitio, <i>Madonna of Loreto</i> , ca. 1445-1449. San Domenico, Foligno . . . . .	431
88. Unknown Artist, <i>Anastasis</i> , ca. 11th-12th Century. San Marco, Venice .	432
89. Unknown Artist, <i>Anastasis</i> , ca. 11th-12th Century. Santa Maria Assunta, Torcello . . . . .	433
90. Sassetta (Stefano di Giovanni), <i>Madonna and Child</i> , date unknown. Museo d'Arte Sacra, Grosseto . . . . .	434
91. Ottaviano Nelli, <i>Crucifixion</i> , 1424. Palazzo Trinci, Foligno . . . . .	435
92. Ottaviano Nelli, <i>Presentation</i> , 1424. Palazzo Trinci, Foligno . . . . .	436

## INTRODUCTION

### ON THE SUBJECT OF BARTOLOMEO DI TOMMASO

Once famous and influential, the fifteenth-century Umbrian painter Bartolomeo di Tommaso (1408/11-1454) has only begun to receive scholarly attention within the past few decades. His long obscurity is in part attributable to the fact that he was not born in Tuscany, and did not work in the great art centers of Florence and Siena, facts that by themselves would relegate him to the status of a lesser artist. Further, his paintings have never been easily reconciled with those that art history has classified as Early Renaissance in style and, indeed even when influenced by Tuscan painters, Bartolomeo's art retained a distinctly violent, expressionistic character.

Though the recent literature has taken a more positive view of Bartolomeo's achievements, for many years his work was classified as "regional" or "archaic," the usual categorization of non-Tuscan artists of the period. However, such evaluations did not take into account the power and quality of his paintings. Nor did they fully recognize the religious and historical significance of his art, the extent to which he influenced other Umbrian artists, or the fact that at the height his career Pope Nicholas V summoned him, along with Fra Angelico and Piero Della Francesca, to Rome to fulfill several important commissions. In addition, they never attempted to explore the possible relationship of his art to that of the later, much admired Tuscan painter, Luca Signorelli, whose apocalyptic frescoes in Orvieto are among the most distinctive works of the Quattrocento.

Despite his fame and accomplishments, art history has rarely been generous to Bartolomeo. In fact, the literature frequently mentions that after executing a series of frescoes on the façade of the Hospital of San Guiliano in Fano in August of 1434, and

having had samples of his work judged by a jury consisting of the Bishop, a Franciscan preacher, the patroness, and two experts as “solemn and beautiful,” the artist received little positive mention of his work for over five hundred years.<sup>1</sup>

Despite his relative obscurity, Bartolomeo’s paintings did not escape the attention of nineteenth and early twentieth-century scholars such as Frenfanelli, Cadolini, Rosini, Rio, Bragazzi, Bartolini, Rossi, Guardabassi, Perkins, Gnoli, Pastor, and Gringioni.<sup>2</sup> While most of these early authorities were never as openly disapproving as some of Bartolomeo’s later critics, most dwelled on the artist only long enough to dismiss him as a minor Umbrian painter who exhibited infrequent flashes of ability that were largely attributed to the eccentric nature of his style. These same historians also repeatedly noted that Bartolomeo’s distinctive style suggested that he was acquainted with the rich and evolving artistic circles of Siena and the Marches during the first decades of the Quattrocento.

By the turn of the century, Bartolomeo’s work began to attract greater critical attention. In 1901, Giulio Magni was one of the first to see Bartolomeo in a light similar to that of the artist’s critics in Fano five hundred years earlier.<sup>3</sup> Magni briefly noted, in relation to Bartolomeo’s earliest documented surviving work, the *San Salvatore Triptych* of 1432, that he saw in the representation of the Madonna and Child, “a beautiful expression of the face and slender figure.”<sup>4</sup>

Surprisingly, a decade later, Adolfo Venturi described the very characteristics of the *San Salvatore Triptych* that Magni found so pleasing as the work of an artist who is:

antiquated, wild, and horrible in type and who breaks down that of the old Sienese masters, by deforming the divine child, as well as the hands of the Virgin with elongated fingers like the distorted prongs of a carving fork.<sup>5</sup> . . . [and from who] could not have come any fruit; and any

similarities to be seen between him and [the painter] Matteo da Gualdo are ones that are only able to exist within aspects of evil or a natural unhappiness.<sup>6</sup>

In 1921, Michele Faloci-Pulignani, also a native of Foligno and a local authority on Umbrian art and ecclesiastical history, was the first to bring to light much of the existing archival material concerning Bartolomeo. Faloci-Pulignani published what had remained up until Zeri's time (1961) the most thorough examination of the painter's life and works.<sup>7</sup> Although neither overtly supportive nor critical of his paintings, Faloci-Pulignani's study questioned Venturi's earlier criticism of the painter in light of his small oeuvre; but for the most part he considered Bartolomeo "one of many hard-working masters" living in a "small center" who had "cheered the country with the smile of the arts."<sup>8</sup>

We find that a similar level of alternately bemused or indifferent criticism continued to appear in the writings of many of the better-known critics and historians of the twentieth century. The most notable of these categorized Bartolomeo as a minor regional painter, but in their own way, each also noted either his distinctive style or his potential influence on other, better known artists.

Cavalcaselle called Bartolomeo: "a painter of no great renown, whose instincts taught him to follow the widespread lesson afforded by his earlier countrymen and such Sieneese as were affected by the models of Taddeo Bartoli and Domenico di Bartolo;" as one who would help prove "the tenacity with which the old Sieneese types were preserved in the smaller cities of this part [Umbria] of Italy;" but one who, despite his shortcomings, is "interesting less for his merit than for a clue which he affords for ascertaining the source of [Niccolo] Alunnó's style."<sup>9</sup>

Bernard Berenson, although including Bartolomeo in his survey of the Umbrian School, displayed what Zeri later referred to as “an almost absolute indifference,” with regard to the painter’s oeuvre.<sup>10</sup> In a brief epilogue to his 1932 edition of *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, however Berenson introduced an important new element into the observations of earlier historians. He put his stamp of approval on earlier critics’ opinions that Bartolomeo was influenced by the Salimbeni and Sassetta, and introduced the notion that he knew the art of Masaccio as well.<sup>11</sup>

Much like Berenson and Cavalcaselle, Van Marle was dismissive of this “very modest” painter, but added that he was also “none the less quite well defined.”<sup>12</sup> Like other critics, Van Marle saw Bartolomeo’s influences as deriving largely from the Marches and particularly the Salimbeni from whom he believed the painter borrowed his “more elongated and more Gothic forms.”<sup>13</sup> He also noted that Bartolomeo’s paintings reveal “certain eccentricities of style” particularly in the faces, which he described as caricatures reminiscent of the style of the Umbrian painter Ottaviano Nelli.<sup>14</sup> This however can hardly be seen as a compliment since Berenson had earlier described Nelli’s paintings as: “marsh growth” and of “such senile imbecility that Siena, in her most palsied moments, cannot show their equal.”<sup>15</sup> Largely dismissive of Bartolomeo’s important papal commissions, Van Marle noted that the Pope, “towards the middle of the fifteenth century surely could have commissioned the services of a better painter than the provincial little master that Bartolomeo after all really was.”<sup>16</sup>

These brief observations of early twentieth-century critics regarding the paintings of Bartolomeo di Tommaso give us some idea as to the scope of criticism that once prevailed. As recently as 1943, Cesare Brandi still referred to the painter as only “the dry

figure” of Bartolomeo di Tommaso.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, even in light of his harshest critics, we repeatedly find the understated notion that the many authoritative voices of this early criticism noticed that Bartolomeo di Tommaso occupied a position both notable and distinct from other painters working in the final phase of the Gothic in Central Italy.

A more positive recognition of Bartolomeo’s work and the extent of his influence on other Umbrian painters began to emerge in 1926 with Roberto Longhi’s favorable mention in *Vita Artistica*.<sup>18</sup> In 1961, Federico Zeri published what remains the most comprehensive study of the painter.<sup>19</sup> Both studies pioneered the artist’s rediscovery and the resulting flow of scholarship that continues to the present day - reversing the tendency of indifference or harsh criticism of Bartolomeo’s work.

Roberto Longhi, who, as editor of *Vita Artistica* had already ascribed several works to Bartolomeo, together with co-author Andrea Ronchi, described Bartolomeo as:

having left us his treasures, his sweet encyclopedia of the sacred and profane, his enchanting “Composition of the World.” Bartolomeo di Tommaso above all – the most important local painter who had worked in Umbria and in Lazio in the second quarter of the 400’s, with cycles of frescoes like the one so-called Dantesque cycle in San Francesco in Terni and with works such as the Rospigliosi in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, here offers us precious elements for the intended points of departure for Andrea Delitio.<sup>20</sup>

Longhi’s next significant reference to the painter appeared a year later with regard to the artistic activity of several minor painters whose art he felt was:

exquisitely mixed with the characteristics and the unrealism of the time, of the remarkable Folignate Bartolomeo di Tommaso. This artist, as we have had occasion to point out another time on these pages, returning to some important works to understand his lively personality, his forms were widely spread all along the way of the Marches from Umbria and from Terni leading to Rome. Matteo da Gualdo was touched by him, and Giacomo da Recanati in his Coronation of Montecassiano demonstrates, at this time, more affinity to Bartolomeo di Tommaso, than to Pietro di

Domenico, only then when compared to the one of his with the Coronation.<sup>21</sup>

Several decades after Longhi's positive assessment of Bartolomeo, Federico Zeri acknowledged Longhi's "repeated and firm indications," widened the artist's oeuvre, and built upon what Berenson had earlier established in *Italian Pictures* of 1932 and 1936. In his 1961 article Zeri examined an artistic career that he described as a: "A journey that was not that of some small provincial master, restricted by narrow horizons within a closed environment and [whose work] applied only to the satisfaction of a purely local clientele."<sup>22</sup>

Much like Berenson's more restrained implications of thirty years earlier, Zeri perceived the problems surrounding Bartolomeo's work as symptomatic of the "absence of a precise position" resulting from the painter's difficult situation with regard to historiography.<sup>23</sup> Specifically, he observed in the work of Bartolomeo di Tommaso problems of the diffusion of the Renaissance either directly by way of Masaccio, or indirectly through the Sieneese painters Sassetta and Giovanni di Paolo, into the late Gothic world of Umbria. Further contributing to and complicating this diffusion, as Zeri frequently points out, was the influence of the Marches and particularly the strong stylistic and figurative presence of more progressive late Gothic masters such as Carlo di Camerino, Archangelo da Cola, and Lorenzo and Jacopo Salimbeni.<sup>24</sup> Rather than producing anything that can truly be defined as Renaissance, this wide assortment of influences would combine to form works that, as Zeri would note in relation to Bartolomeo's frescoes in the Cappella Paradisi in Terni:

can be called many things, but they are certainly not Renaissance; it would be difficult to find an example of such obsessive and fantastic non-

conformism or such unrealistic graphic characterization in any paintings of the century.<sup>25</sup>

Zeri continued on to see the famous frescoes in the Cappella Paradisi as bearing:

plenty of the nods and hints in the direction of plastic mass, chiaroscuro and anatomical realism; but they are all dissolved into a magma of fantasy which dilates, elongates, enlarges and exaggerates, showing allegiance only, and then only occasionally, to rhythmic cadence and calligraphic pedantry.<sup>26</sup>

Such observations, while vaguely reminiscent of Venturi's language of a half-century earlier, by no means indicate that Zeri perceived the painter in a manner consistent with earlier critics. Rather they suggest that his criteria for evaluating the painter differed from those of earlier historians. Zeri considered Bartolomeo to be neither Gothic nor Renaissance in style and attempted to examine his work outside the context of his Tuscan and Siense contemporaries. It was this group of select painters who were so predominant to those critics whom Bruno Toscano later described, in relation to their approach to Umbrian painting and specifically Bartolomeo's work, as "the lazy academics of past centuries."<sup>27</sup>

Zeri and Toscano considered Bartolomeo an intensely individualistic painter at an extreme of the genealogical tree of the dying Gothic in Central Italy. From this vantage point it quickly became evident to both historians that although Bartolomeo's work was drawn from the more popular religious and hagiographical subjects, it rarely remained true to its sources and could not easily be judged by the iconographic conventions and mannerisms commonly associated with these areas. Regardless of the subject matter, these critics seldom found the more conventional expressive values that characterize the works of Bartolomeo's Florentine or Siense contemporaries. They identified instead an

uninterrupted malaise and tension, graphically compact and harsh, and brought on by what Toscano later described as the painter's "autonomous expressive reach."<sup>28</sup>

Zeri described this unique quality of Bartolomeo's work as consisting of two distinct elements which he felt accounted for creating the formal and psychological effects he called "crystals of unreality."<sup>29</sup> He described the first of these elements, the psychological aspect, as an "unexpected crystallization of characterization," That is, Bartolomeo's ability to distill intense human emotion in a simple and straightforward manner.<sup>30</sup> The second element, responsible for the more alluring aspects of the painter's formal and figurative technique, according to Zeri was an "irresistible tendency to reduce the visual to its simplest conventions, fusing with a certain severity and impeccable coherence, in a context of a free fantasy."<sup>31</sup> Both critics agreed that the result of this vision was a violent expressive kind of figuration that continually surfaced and contributed to every aspect of Bartolomeo's style.

Based upon these critical observations and their view of the painter's impact on local painters during the latter half of the Quattrocento, Zeri and Toscano classified Bartolomeo as the *genius loci*, who dictated the climate of figurative expression in Umbria during the period referred to as the "Pseudo" or "Umbrian Renaissance."<sup>32</sup> This artistic position along with its regional impact, while differing dramatically from Florentine and Sieneese conventions was, in their eyes, contextually viable and deserving of its own level of critical analysis and respect.

Though generalized, the concepts applied by Toscano and Zeri to Bartolomeo's unique stylistic and expressive qualities help illustrate the essence of the painter's unsettling vision - one that presented historians with surreal landscapes and harsh, uneven

characterizations at odds with the courtly wealth of the Italian Gothic. In light of these contrasting elements, it has long been evident that Bartolomeo's imaginative though disturbing style has been responsible for sustaining art history's attention to him and preventing his name from fading into the vast landscape of minor Umbrian painters. More than eighty years ago this uneasy relationship was recognized and summed up by Michele Faloci-Pulignani who, acknowledging the troubling though lasting appeal of Bartolomeo's work, concluded that the painter was best classified as, "an uncommon artist who is worth the pain of our dwelling upon him."<sup>33</sup> As a fellow Folignate, Faloci-Pulignani would have been pleased to see that in the ensuing years others agreed with his assessment of the painter and attempted to build on his earlier research.

After the publication of Zeri's article in 1961, there began a period of Bartolomeo scholarship that continues to the present day. Mario Sensi and Romano Cordella identified and published extensive archival material on Bartolomeo, while Bruno Toscano provided valuable information regarding the social milieu in which the artist lived and worked.<sup>34</sup> Along with several other historians, they expanded on Longhi's earlier work by adding or clarifying issues regarding the reattribution of other works to the painter. In recent years, the attribution of additional works, most notably the restored frescoes of the Cappella Paradisi in Terni, has launched a second surge of research on Bartolomeo by Piero Adorno, Paula Mostarda, and Aldo Cicinelli.<sup>35</sup> Much of their research centers around the Cappella Paradisi and the various controversies that have surrounded these apocalyptic frescoes since the chapel's rediscovery at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Despite this renewed interest, what has yet to be produced is a comprehensive study of the painter that takes into account recent research, existing archival studies, and the painter's expanded oeuvre. It is the goal of this dissertation to provide the first monographic study of Bartolomeo di Tommaso that can be used as a basis for future research. When carefully considered, compiled and chronologically listed, a comprehensive view of the painter emerges and, when examined against the scenario of his rich and well-documented historical context, a greater understanding of his creative and stylistic origins and artistic legacy can be achieved.

## NOTES

## Introduction

<sup>1</sup> *Archivio notarile di Fano*. Rogiti di Damiano di Antonio. Vol. 1434-52, Fol. 14, 15, 32: Vol. 1405-08 Fol. 323, in Michele Faloci-Pulignani, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso, Pittore Umbro del XV Secolo," *Rassegna d'arte Umbra* 3, no. 3, (July 1921): 65. "Magister Iohannes magistri Antonii de nursia aurifex civis fani, et magister Georgius di venetiis pictor et habitator fani, requisiti dixerunt et attestati fuerunt corum sacramento corporali in minibus mei notarii infrascripti se vidisse laborerium factum per magistrum bartolomeum tomassi di fulgino pictorem habitatorem fani ad presens pro maiori parte moram trahentem ancone, in Ecclesia santi Juliani, videlicet picturam per eum factam in Capella seu retribuna dicte Ecclesie sancti Juliani de Fano. Et in eorum bona et pura consentia, et secundum eorum iudicium pictura predicta et figure facte in dicta Capella istorialiter prout iacet, est solempnis et pulcra, et sunt pulcre et meliores quam figure facte per dictum magistrum bartolomeum in facie muri anterioris hospitalis dicte Ecclesie sancti Juliani. Et quod dicte figure in dicta Capella dicte Ecclesie sunt facte ex finis coloribus, scilicet azurro ultramarino et aurofino. Et sic declaraverunt et iudicaverunt fideliter ut asseruerunt in eorum animam secundum eorum Iudicium et opinionem per eorum sacramentum ut supra."

<sup>2</sup> Giacomo Frenfanelli, *Orazione recitata nell'Accademia Fulginia, nella Fausta Circostanza, che fu Orimossa alla S. Porpora il Card. Viviano Orfini* (Foligno, 1829) ; Vescovo Cadolini, *Discorso pronunciato il 4 Gennaio 1832 per la Inaugurazione del Novello Tribunale di prima istanza Foligno* (Foligno, 1832) ; Giovanni Rosini, *Storia della pittura Italiana* (Pisa: N. Capurro, 1848-52) ; Alexis Rio, *De l'art Chrètien* (Paris: Bray et Retaux, 1874) ; Bragazzi, *Compendio della storia di Foligno* (Foligno, 1858), *La rosa dell'Umbria* (Foligno, 1864) ; Bartolini, *Frammenti di cronica religiosa* (Foligno, 1868) ; Adamo Rossi, *I pittori di Foligno nel secolo d'oro pittori di Foligno* (Perugia, 1883) ; Mariano Guardabassi, *Indice guida dei monumenti pagani e cristiani dell'Umbria* (Perugia, 1872) ; Perkins, "La pittura all'esposizione de arte antica di Perugia," *Rassegna d'arte* 7 (1907) : 89,94. ; Umberto Gnoli, *L'arte Umbra alla mostra di Perugia* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1908) ; Pastor, *Storia dei papi* (Rome, 1910) ; Carlo Gringioni, "Un opera ignola del Maestro di Niccoló di Liberatore," *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte Italiana* 13 (1910) : 1-7.

<sup>3</sup> Giulio Magni, *Storia dell'arte Italiana dalle origini al secolo XX* (Rome, 1901).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

<sup>5</sup> Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte Italiana* (Milano, 1911), 7:529-530. "È un Pittore antiquato, sgangherato, orrendo ne' tipi, che guastan quelli de' vecchi maestri senesi, nel divan Bambino deforme, e nelle mani della Vergine dalle dita allungate come rebbi torti di forchettone."

6. Ibid. "Da lui non poteva venire alcun frutto; e le simiglianze cercate tra lui e Matteo da Gualdo son quelle che solo possono esistere negli aspetti del male o delle naturali infelicità."

7. Michele Faloci-Pulignani, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso, pittore Umbro del XV secolo," *Rassegna d'arte Umbra* 3, no. 3, (July 1921): 65-80.

8. Ibid., 65.

9. J.A. Crowe and G.B. Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in Italy* (London: John Murray, 1914), 5:226-227. Long considered Foligno's most celebrated painter, Niccolò Alunnó was also known as Niccolò da Foligno or Niccolò di Liberatore. He is universally considered a leading exponent of a lesser school of painters today commonly referred to as the "Pseudo" or "Umbrian Renaissance." Cavalcaselle was not the first historian to make note of Bartolomeo's potential influence on the painter, as already by 1907, Perkins would, in relation to Niccolò, single out Bartolomeo as "parte della generazione tramontata, Niccolò di quella che sorge." See F. Mason Perkins, "La pittura all'esposizione d'arte antica di Perugia," *Rassegna d'arte* (1907): 93-94.

10. Federico Zeri, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Bollettino d'arte* 46 (1961): 41.

11. Berenson's entry reads: "Umbrian. Worked from 1425 to 1455. Could have studied paintings of Giovanni del Ponte and of Masaccio. Influenced by Gothic painters in the Marches such as the Salimbeni and later by Sassetta." His mention of Sassetta and the Salimbeni would reflect influences on Bartolomeo that were frequently proposed by several other nineteenth century historians. These were often accompanied by the equally recognizable name of the noted Sieneese master Giovanni di Paolo. See Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: A List of the Principal Artists and Their Works with an Index of Places, Central Italian and Northern Italian Schools* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), 50. We should also note that Federico Zeri observed that Berenson's epigraph is, "thick with doubt" (*densa di dubbi*) with regard to his classification of Bartolomeo. Zeri, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," 41.

12. Raimond Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1970), 8:370.

13. Ibid., 374.

14. Ibid., A prolific painter of questionable abilities, Nelli was active in Foligno during the early Quattrocento and, like Bartolomeo, received several important commissions from the powerful Trinci family.

15. Bernard Berenson, *Italian Painters of the Renaissance* (New York: Meridian Books, 1957), 189. It should be noted that in his epigraph no comparable words are used to describe Bartolomeo's works and one might also assume that his mention of Masaccio as a possible influence on the painter can be taken as indicating some measure of approval.
16. Van Marle, 374.
17. Cesare Brandi, *Le Arti* (1943), 5:134.
18. Roberto Longhi and Andrea Ronchi, "Primizie di Lorenzo da Viterbo," *Vita artistica* 1 (1926) : 109-114.
19. Federico Zeri, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Bollettino d'arte* 46 (1961): 29-45.
20. Longhi, 113., "Bartolomeo di Tommaso nell'Umbria e nel Lazio, avevano lasciato I loro tesoretti, le loro dolci enciclopedie sacre e profane, le loro incantevoli "Composizioni del Mondo." Bartolomeo di Tommaso soprattutto – il più importante Pittore locale che abbia operato in Umbria e nel Lazio nel 2° quarto del '400 – con cicli d'affreschi come quello cosiddetto dantesco nel San Francesco di Terni e con opere come il Trittico Rospigliosi nella Pinacoteca Vaticana, ci offre elementi preziosi per intendere il punto di partenza di Andrea Delitio."
21. Roberto Longhi, "Una 'Coronazione Della Vergine' di Pietro di Domenico da Montepulciano," *Vita artistica* 2 (1927): 20. "Squisitamente mista di caratterismo e di irrealismo ad un tempo, del notevolissimo Fulignate Bartolomeo di Tomaso. Questi, come abbiamo avuto occasione di accennare altra volta su queste pagine (anno 1, n. 9-10, p. 113), restituendogli alcune opere capitali ad intenderne la vivace personalita, diffuse le sue forme lungo tutta la via che dalle Marche per l'Umbria e per Terni conduce a Roma. Matteo da Gualdo ne fu toccato, e Giacomo da Recanati nella sua Coronazione di Montecassiano dimostra d'essere ormai più affine a Bartolomeo di Tommaso, che non a Pietro di Domenico, solo che confronti quella sua con questa Coronazione."
22. Zeri, 41. "Un percorso che non é punto quello di un piccolo maestro provinciale, chiuso nell'angusto orizzonte di un ambiente senza aperture e applicato a soddisfare alle richieste di una clientela puramente locale."
23. Ibid.
24. For an overview of the painters of the Marches including the Schools of Fabriano, Camerino, and San Severino, see Pietro Zampetti, *Paintings from the Marches: Gentile to Raphael* (London: Phaidon, 1971).
25. See Federico Zeri, "Renaissance and Pseudo-Renaissance," in *History of Italian Art*, vol. 2, ed. Giulio Einaudi (Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 1994), 354.

26. Ibid., 354-355.
27. Bruno Toscano, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Nicola da Siena," *Commentari* 15 (1964): 37.
28. Ibid., 37.
29. Zeri, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," 47.
30. Ibid., 45.
31. Ibid., 45. "Dalla sua irresistibile tendenza a ridurre i dati visivi a pure e semplici convenzioni, fuse con esremo rigore e impeccabile coerenza, in un contesto di fantasia svincolata."
32. This opinion would correspond nicely with and justify Cavalcaselle's much earlier suggestion that Bartolomeo was the moving force behind Alunnó's style.
33. Faloci-Pulignani, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso, pittore Umbro del XV secolo," 66. "Un artista non volgare, e che vale la pena di intrattenersi su di lui."
34. Mario Sensi, "Documenti per Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Paragone* 28 (1977): 103-155. ; "Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Girolamo di Matteo da Gualdo: Due note d'archivio," *Paragone* 43 (1992): 79-91. ; Romano Cordella, "Un Sodalizio tra Bartolomeo di Tommaso, Nicola da Siena, Andrea Delitio," *Paragone* 38, no. 451 (1987): 89-122. ; Bruno Toscano, "A Proposito di Bartolomeo di Tommaso," *Paragone* 28 (1977): 80-85. ; "Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Nicola da Siena," *Commentari* 15 (1964): 37-51.
35. Piero Adorno, "Gli affreschi della Cappella Paradisi nella chiesa di San Francisco a Terni," *Antichità a viva*, 17 (November/December 1978): 3-18. ; Aldo Cicinelli, "Appunti per uno studio della chiesa di San Francesco e degli affreschi attribuiti a Bartolomeo di Tommaso (Sec. XV), nella Capella Paradisi, in Terni," in *Arte sacra in Umbria e dipinti restaurati nei secoli XIII-XX*, (Todi: Ediart, 1987), 25-46. ; Paola Mostarda, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Giacomo della Marca nella Cappella Paradisi a Terni," *Esercizi* 4 (1981): 54-67.

## CHAPTER 1

### THE PAINTER'S WORLD

Bartolomeo di Tommaso's life and art developed within a flourishing Franciscan environment. It was during this time that the Order, long divided by theological differences, had reconciled and began a period of prosperity and expansion. At the time of Bartolomeo di Tommaso's birth, the Great Schism that had split the church for forty years was also in its final decade.<sup>1</sup> The election of Pope Martin V by the Council of Constance in 1417 effectively marked the end of the church's division. Martin V's election resulted in the restoration of a single, centralized papacy in Rome, even though the Avignon antipope Benedict III and his successor Clement VIII maintained their claims to the Holy See until their supporters dwindled to insignificance. By 1429, Martin V was the acknowledged legitimate Pope, and as far as the spiritual realm of the continent was concerned, the long and calamitous division of Europe had ended.

With the consolidation of a papacy under one individual, Martin inherited Papal States, which for years had been in political and economic disarray. Along with a series of reforms drafted and agreed upon by the Council of Constance, one of the prime objectives of Martin's election to the papal throne was to strengthen the financial and canonical state of the entire institution. In April and May of 1418, he formally adjourned the Council of Constance and in a further consolidation of papal power prohibited the appealing of acts of the Pope to a general council. In effect, this bold act after forty years restored complete temporal and spiritual authority to the occupant of Saint Peter's throne.

The consolidation of the papacy allowed Martin to deal with the disastrous effects of the Schism on the Papal States. Although pressed to establish his papal residence in

Avignon or Germany, in 1418 Martin left Constance and, after several intermediate stops, and a negotiated a treaty with Queen Johanna II of Naples, in which she agreed to withdraw her troops from the city, he arrived in Rome. By 1424, Martin's army had defeated Braccione di Montone, one of the more powerful rulers in Central Italy, at the Battle of Aquila. In 1429, papal troops crushed, by force of arms, a Bolognese revolt that had threatened Martin's consolidation of power. Both victories allowed Pope Martin to gain complete control of the papal kingdom and begin a reorganization of the Papal States. It also allowed him to regain the lost papal treasury thereby enriching the Holy See as well as his own political and economic fortunes.

Martin's diplomatic and military efforts in Europe helped to re-establish much of the papacy's prestige. In Rome, he organized a vast public program for the reconstruction of the ruined churches and public buildings that had been neglected during the Great Schism. The generation of warring papal factions had seen many changes in the Church and the religious and intellectual climate in Europe. While pretender Popes battled for control of the divided Holy See, a second, subtler division had also been developing. This was born of the skepticism that had taken root while Europe lacked a centralized institution to guide its religious and intellectual discourse. It was in such a world where the newer ideas of the Renaissance were beginning to establish themselves that the Umbrian painter Bartolomeo di Tommaso matured.

At the time that Bartolomeo di Tommaso was most likely beginning an apprenticeship in the Marches of Ancona, Bernardino da Siena, already a noted Franciscan preacher, described Italy as "the most intelligent country in Europe, Tuscany the most intelligent region in Italy, and Florence as the most intelligent town in Tuscany,"

during the first of his fiery and influential sermons in Florence.<sup>2</sup> But Bernardino added that this advanced culture was also the most corrupt - "For where noble gifts are allied to malice, you get the most evil men."<sup>3</sup>

Bernardino's assertion summed up the second division that had taken root in Italy, one in which the new ideas of the Renaissance began their inevitable collision with the beliefs of those who were still closely bound by Christian tradition and practice. Irigo describes this as a time in which:

A mystic cult of poverty could exist side by side, not only with an extremely flourishing trade but with a deliberate cultivation of the love of money as the basis of civilized life, in which a pagan sensuality and gaiety flourished beside extremes of austerity and asceticism, the senseless violence of party strife beside a deep nostalgia for peace, and a widespread moral corruption beside a high awareness of the "dignity of man."<sup>4</sup>

To better express the context in which Bartolomeo di Tommaso lived and worked, we turn from the vices that Irigo describes and focus on their stated opposites, namely, notions of the "mystic cult of poverty," and "extremes of austerity of asceticism." Irigo speaks specifically of Florence and Siena when she draws the wide distinctions and describes the resulting clash of values. Both cities were wealthy and could support the lavish lifestyles that inevitably developed, through unbridled affluence, into a tenuous relationship with long-established Christian values.

For the most part, we find that Bartolomeo's world was not as well defined as that of his contemporaries in Florence and Siena. He was centered in Umbria and the Marches, regions that while certainly not immune to such clashes of values or the influx of progressive secular ideas, still held fast to a religious way of life well grounded in medieval Scholasticism. Foligno, the city of Bartolomeo's birth, was particularly well established in the "old ways" as it had, since 1305, been under Guelph control. Through

the governance of the Trinci family, Foligno remained strongly traditional until 1439 when the autocratic Corrado Trinci was deposed and the city was placed directly under the rule of a Papal Legate.<sup>5</sup>

If the Trinci family and the Guelph party were the forces that bound Foligno to the restored papacy, the Observant Franciscans were the power that held the hearts and minds of the average “*Folignate*.” A triumvirate of “preaching friars,” consisting of Bernardino of Siena, Giacomo Della Marca, and Giovanni di Capistrano were to be one of the primary vehicles through which the Observant branch of the Order asserted their influence in the many small towns on the hills and plains of Umbria. By the time the young Franciscan novice Bernardino of Siena had arrived in the remote convent of Il Colombaio, the branch of the Franciscan Order that maintained the “strict observance” to the Rule of Saint Francis was just beginning to reestablish itself after a long interval of bitter internal conflict and obscurity. It was to be the presence of this unassuming and pious novice that helped establish a religious and cultural climate that influenced and perhaps even guided much of Umbrian art and culture for the next half-century.

The events that eventually lead to the establishment of the “Observants” and the rise of the preaching friars began in 1226 after the death of Saint Francis. Prior to his death the Order was bound to the strict observance of Saint Francis’ Rule, the *Regula Prima* of 1210, according to which those entering the Order surrendered their lives.<sup>6</sup>

The brothers shall appropriate nothing for themselves, neither house nor place nor anything whatever. And as pilgrims and strangers in this world, serving the lord in poverty and humility, let them beg confidently for alms, nor should they be ashamed, for the Lord himself made himself poor in this world for our sake.<sup>7</sup>

The Rule of Saint Francis stated that the friars unable to live by their own trades, were to beg from door to door. They had to live on the road, not within the protection of the convent walls, but in huts of clay and reeds, “so that all things may sing to them of pilgrimage and exile.”<sup>8</sup> Such was the life of a Franciscan in the early days of the Order. In these formative and comparatively innocent years the friars were observed by many as:

Living in groups often or even in towns or communes, possessing nothing at all, subsisting according to the Gospel, observing extreme poverty in food and dress and going barefoot, they gave the greatest example of humility. . . . They keep no food over the next day, so that the poverty which flourishes in the mind, may live in sight of all.<sup>9</sup>

After the death and canonization of Francis of Assisi in 1228, his successor, Brother Elias, began construction of the great Basilica of Saint Francis in Assisi the city of his birth.<sup>10</sup> Through such grandiose projects in the name of the Order’s founder, it soon became clear that the days of the earliest Franciscan settlement, the *Porziuncola*, were to become a distant memory and the Order that once honored “Lady Poverty” above all things, had achieved great ecclesiastical success but also as an unintended consequence - fabulous wealth.<sup>11</sup> The problems generated by these new-found riches did not stem so much from the construction of enduring and lavish basilicas and churches as from the interpretation of the Rule of Saint Francis. For despite the Order’s financial success, many friars still felt compelled to follow the Rule of poverty with little or no modification.

Four years after the Saint’s death a Papal Bull issued by Pope Gregory IX, *Quo Elongato a Saeculo*, offered what at first appeared to be a reasonable compromise on the matter of the Rule’s interpretation.<sup>12</sup> The Bull stated that although the friars were not permitted to own property as either individuals or groups, they were permitted to use

various materials in the performance of their everyday duties. At the same time, those benefactors who wished to give gifts to the monasteries were permitted to do so through an approved trustee, appointed by the Order. This trustee would then allocate these resources according to the needs of the monastic community as a whole. This in opposition to earlier practices allowing families to donate gifts or patrimonies to members of the Order, thereby creating a wide discrepancy of lifestyles between members of the same monastery.

While the proposed reforms of *Quo Elongato a Saeculo* seemed quite practical and judicious, those against any modification of the Order were violently opposed to the pope's initiative, declaring it a betrayal of the *Regula Prima* and consequently of Christ himself. From this point in the early thirteenth century and for the next two centuries, the Third Order of Friars Minor remained bitterly and almost irreparably divided into two warring factions. The "Conventuals," those who did not feel literally bound by the *Regula Prima*, continued as before under the watchful eye of Rome and with regard to property, under their separate trusteeships. The more radical branch of the Franciscans, the "Spirituals," attempted to function as a distinct body, often acting in direct opposition to established Franciscan authority.

Over the next few decades, as the Conventuals expanded in numbers, strength, and wealth, the zealous Spirituals likewise clung to the belief that they were carrying out the genuine will of Saint Francis. In August of 1279, their first leader, Fra Pietro Giovanni Olivi of Languedoc, had his position on the Rule of the Order strengthened by the Bull of Pope Nicholas III, *Exiit qui Seminata*.<sup>13</sup> This Bull added a more strict interpretation to that issued by Pope Gregory IX several years earlier. The Spirituals, still

unwilling to accept papal authority on the issue, continued to interpret the Rule in a literal manner. Their extreme interpretation called for a total renunciation of property, refusing even to acknowledge the communal use of assets, as was the practice under the Conventuals' trusteeships. The Spirituals were adamant in using only those bare necessities required to remain alive and were against any compromise, papal or otherwise.

The bitterly divided Order continued in this manner until 1294 when there occurred a unique event in the history of the papacy; a Pope was elected from outside the ranks of the usual inner circle of candidates for the Papal Throne. The compromise choice of Pietro da Morrone, an old Benedictine hermit from Abruzzi, as Pope Celestine V satisfied the Spirituals. They saw him as a sympathetic spirit on whom they could depend to advance their cause.<sup>14</sup> Celestine did precisely that. He began a series of radical reforms by placing the Spirituals under his direct authority and even renamed them the "Poor Hermits of Pope Celestine." Unfortunately after just five months as pope, the ascetic nature of Pope Celestine along with his poor education (he could not speak Latin) and complete lack of administrative skills, compelled him, in his *Gran Rifuto* of 1294, to renounce the office for which he felt he was unfit and return to the austerities of his hermits cell.<sup>15</sup> His successor, Pope Boniface VIII quickly declared Celestine's acts null and void and once again, the Spirituals found themselves alone in an increasingly hostile Church.

The Spirituals' next leader, the well-known cleric Angelo Clareno, advocated the strict interpretation of the Rule of the Order, and was more than once condemned for heresy and imprisoned for his refusal to accept the reforms. Before assuming leadership

of the Spirituals he spent several years at the papal court in Avignon there he worked in their interests, approaching the differences within the Order on a more diplomatic and practical level. He preferred to accept the rule of the papacy, while at the same time working patiently from within to bring about change. Unfortunately, at the time of Angelo's leadership, a second schism developed, this time from within the ranks of the Spirituals themselves. This second group, actively working against the more moderate interests of Angelo Clareno, came to be known as the "little brothers" or *Fratricelli*, who aside from their rebellious ways also developed and maintained an unlikely and clearly unholy alliance with the Ghibelline Party, those traditionally allied against the papacy on the side of the Holy Roman Emperor.<sup>16</sup> The Fraticelli believed that all temporal power should reside exclusively in the hands of the Emperor and that spiritual power should be held by a new Pope selected by the Fraticelli alone. They believed that this pope should be the spiritual descendant of Saint Francis.

The matter came to a head almost immediately. On 30 December 1317, Pope John XXII issued, from the papal court at Avignon, the Bull entitled *Santa Romana*. Included in this imposing edict was the following passage:

Certain seculars commonly called *Fratricelli*, *Bizocchi*, *Beguins* or the like . . . have the impudence to wear a religious habit, call themselves children of Saint Francis, and please themselves by observing his rule literally, although they are not authorized by either the church or their founder. They claim that they were formally authorized by Celestine V of saintly memory, but they offer no proof, and even if they did it would be worthless.<sup>17</sup>

With these words there was no longer any doubt as to the Fraticelli's position within the Church. Trials and burnings at Avignon were an immediate consequence of the Bull and existing communities of the Fraticelli were hastily broken up and dispersed

throughout the Europe. The one exception was in Italy where several renegade communities were formed. Some, still nominally under the rule of Angelo Clareno, retreated to remote mountain hermitages and continued to lead their strict ascetic lives. Eventually this group fell back into line with the less radical Spirituals and formed an important core of the Order that over the next century came to be known as the “Observants.”<sup>18</sup> Several years after Bartolomeo di Tommaso’s birth, at Pope Martin’s Council of Constance in 1415, the Observant branch of the Franciscan Order was granted distinct status by the Church. In the years to follow they became the progenitors of the largest group in the Franciscan Order today.

After the decline of the Fraticelli, toward the middle of the fifteenth century, the Franciscan Order once again found itself divided, this time between the Conventuals and the newly established but theologically and politically more secure Observants. These branches remained at odds with one another over the interpretation of the *Regula Prima*, but by now they were also much more willing to grant each other the right to their own temporal and spiritual interpretations of the Rule of Saint Francis.

In 1369, thirty-three years before the novice Bernardino da Siena arrived at the convent of Il Colombaio, a small group of Franciscans headed by the nobleman, Proluccio dé Trinci, received permission to reside in the remote monastery of San Bartolomeo da Brogliano in the hills above Foligno. Based on the Rule of the Observants, this small group observed the precepts of strict poverty bequeathed to them by Saint Francis, while operating with the approval of the Church and within both the hierarchal discipline of the Holy See and the existing Franciscan hierarchies established by the Bulls of Popes Gregory IX and Nicholas III. This was to be strict in spirit and practice but far

beyond the intolerant fanaticism exhibited during the time of the Fraticelli. The future growth of the Observants and the overall impact of Franciscanism in Central Italy revolved around the successful growth of this obscure monastic community on the wild and desolate hills on the outskirts of Foligno, the city of Bartolomeo di Tommaso's birth.

Among the new arrivals was Fra Giovanni da Stroncone who, by the time Bernardino da Siena came to Il Colombaio, was Father Superior of the monastery. He was later named Vicar of the Minister General for the Observant Houses in Tuscany and Umbria. Over the years Fra Giovanni provided the leadership that was passed, as it had been from the time of Saint Francis, to Bernardino da Siena.<sup>19</sup> It was Bernardino who guided the return of the Order to a more moderate rule and helped initiate an expansion of the Observants so fruitful and sensibly founded on Saint Francis' original ideas that he is said to merit the title of "Second Founder of the Franciscan Order." It was also the religious and philosophical fruits of this humble Franciscan and his followers that, over the course of the next generation, figured so prominently in the daily life and culture of Central Italy and, as a result, in the life of the Umbrian painter Bartolomeo di Tommaso.

Bernardino's preaching focused on several issues, primarily the need for penance and voluntary poverty. He spoke vehemently against the most serious sins and the alleged sinners of the day, specifically gambling, usury, homosexuality, witchcraft, Jews, and most importantly against the political climate of the Italian city-states. He rebuked the evil in high places that he felt undermined the intellectual and material wealth of the Quattrocento. The style of Bernardino's preaching was lively and emotional and made use of an entire oratorical repertoire, including anecdotes, mimicry, acting, clowning, and of course, fierce and passionate denunciation. Eyewitness accounts relate that his

audiences were alternately moved to laughter and tears and that his sermons often inspired vast numbers of conversions as well as sudden financial and personal restitution by guilty parties to their victims. So eloquent and beautiful to listen to were his sermons that even typically hostile humanists such as the teacher and biographer of San Bernardino, Maffeo Vegio, acknowledged Bernardino's gifts and directed his pupils to: "Come, boys, and listen to this good little friar, clothed in only a cheap and worn-out habit, yet who commands such beauty of language, such splendour of exposition, [and] such majesty both of words and of ideas."<sup>20</sup>

Eventually Bernardino's sermons were so well received that the Italian city-states openly contended for the honor of having him preach. The assemblies that flocked to his sermons became so large that he was compelled to preach in the marketplaces and piazzas to crowds that were sometimes estimated at more than thirty thousand. On one occasion, it was noted that Bernardino was called upon to preach forty-five sermons on as many consecutive days in Siena between August and September of 1427. In many of the cities the aforementioned vices were so effectively denounced by Bernardino that bonfires were kindled upon which "vanities" were cast into them by the cartload. Moorman describes one of these episodes:

At Florence on 9 April 1424 he preached a moving sermon on the subject of those who stone Christ by their sin and self-indulgence, and invited the people to bring the offensive objects to be burnt. A vast bonfire, known as the "Devils Castle." Was built in the piazza, containing 400 backgammon tables, several baskets full of dice, more than 4,000 packs of playing cards, and a vast supply of false hair, rouge-pots, scent bottles, high-heeled shoes, mirrors, and trinkets. The saint then came down from the pulpit and ordered the whole lot to be burnt. Similar bonfires took place wherever he went.<sup>21</sup>

Regardless of his inflammatory rhetoric regarding usury, homosexuality, witchcraft, and the Jews, throughout his entire ministry this preacher developed a reputation as a great advocate of peace.<sup>22</sup> Bernardino preached throughout Italy with the particular mission of reconciling warring political factions. Even more than the influence of the Jews, Bernardino saw internal strife as poisoning the life of the Italian cities in the fifteenth century. Party strife, feuds, vendettas, warfare, and murder, were very often subjects of his sermons and his admonitions against political factions were well known throughout Italy. Several of his remaining sermons speak with the utmost gravity of the wicked results of partisan conduct. In what was almost certainly hyperbole, he describes women and infants being murdered in their homes, of woman fighting and killing each other, rape and cannibalism, and every other kind of terror. Such wicked strife was, he said, to be seen as, “the greatest of all sins, the evil which poisoned all life and led to utter demoralization and despair, and for which there was no forgiveness.”

In addition to these recurring themes, Bernardino addressed the widely popular and influential apocalyptic subjects of the day. In the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Italian society had continuously gone through difficult periods, making crowds more than willing to trust the self-assured little friar with the captivating voice and air of sanctity who delivered sermons they could understand. Bernardino was able to address the many present dangers by communicating a profound anxiety that only his deep and unquestioned faith prevented him from moving toward despair. With the social and cultural uncertainty caused by the Great Schism, the Hundred Years War, political strife, and ravaging plagues, Bernardino’s sermons on the “end times” became unquestionable vehicles for delivering the masses to the peace that only came through penance.

Perhaps the best remaining example of one of Bernardino's apocalyptic sermons on the "end times" is entitled *De Deminatione Daemonii*, delivered in Padua in 1423. Mormando describes the subject of this sermon and its probable impact on the listener.

The preacher imagines for his audience Satan seated before his infernal court, conducting a detailed review of the political, social, and ecclesiastical conflicts and crises of the age. Among the many afflictions brought upon the world by his own diabolical inspiration, Satan specifically includes the Great Schism and what today is called the Hundred Years War between France and England. Conjured up, in the end is a vast apocalyptic picture of a world on the brink of complete dissolution. Sin, strife, heresy, sedition, and upheaval, the friar says, are running rampant, and all of this, he warns, portends a not-too-distant arrival of the end times. Indeed, Bernardino announces confidently that the world – as men of the Church then generally believed is now well into the penultimate of the seven ages of history, one of inexorable moral decay and institutional crisis, a prelude to the coming of the great Antichrist and the Apocalypse.<sup>23</sup>

As to how the crowd might have reacted Mormando continues on to suggest that:

Giving expression to his anxiety in such open, direct, and emotionally vivid terms, Bernardino inevitably transmitted it - if they had not felt it already – to the masses of people seated at his feet listening to the every word of someone they considered a learned, worldly-wise, and saintly teacher. It is difficult to imagine how a member of Bernardino's audience could sit through the two or three hours of such an apocalyptic sermon and not feel, by its conclusion, some anxiety over the state of his or her world.<sup>24</sup>

After a brief and unsuccessful trial for heresy, brought against Bernardino by the Augustinian, Christopher of Bologna in 1424, and the following year by a Dominican, Manfred of Vercelli, Bernardino was offered the bishopric of Siena, which he refused. He refused similar appointments in Ferrara and Urbino in 1431 and 1435. But through the success of his preaching he was unintentionally drawn into a key position in the controversy between the Conventuals and Observants. By this time, Bernardino's sermons had become so popular and influential that they inspired a new generation of men to take up Franciscan vocations, which expanded the number of Observant

communities. This forced the friar, at first against his will, to take a more active role in running these Observant communities. Eventually he became much more aggressive in his efforts to expand the order and in many respects came to be known as the unofficial leader of the Observant communities in Italy. Moorman describes the later results of Bernardino's participation:

In the great controversy which divided the Conventuals from the Observants, Bernardino was wholly in favor of reform, even if it meant a division among the Friars Minor. As a result of his labours the Observants had grown enormously and he was determined to show the world that they were no longer just a handful of "spiritual athletes" but a great army of preachers and teachers out to convert the world. So anxious was Bernardino to equip his friars that he founded a school of theology in the Observant house at Perugia in 1440, and in the same year held a course in moral theology at Monteripido to help friars in hearing confessions.<sup>25</sup>

Just as Saint Francis had revived a faltering Church over two hundred years earlier, Bernardino and the preaching friars delivered the Franciscan Order from a similar fate. The resurgent influence built upon the activities of Bernardino and other Observant Franciscans had a deep and far-reaching effect on daily life in Quattrocento Italy. Jacob Burckhardt, in his landmark study of the Italian Renaissance alerts us to just how important the mendicant preachers were to the shaping of thought in the Quattrocento, even within an ever-increasing humanist influence. While Burckhardt specifically speaks with regard to the influence of the noted though infamous fifteenth-century Dominican preacher Girolamo Savonarola, this observation could apply equally to the influence of the Observant Franciscans.

No prejudice of the day was stronger than that against the mendicant friar, and this they overcame. They were criticized and ridiculed by a scornful humanism; but when they raised their voices, no one gave heed to the humanists. The thing was no novelty, and the scoffing Florentines had already in the fourteenth century learned to caricature it whenever it appeared in the pulpit. But no sooner did

Savonarola come forward then he carried the people so triumphantly with him, that soon all their beloved art and culture melted away in the furnace which he lighted. Even the grossest profanation done to the cause by hypocritical monks, who got up an effect in the audience by means of confederates, could not bring the thing itself into discredit. Men kept on laughing at the ordinary monkish sermons, with their spurious miracles and manufactured relics; but did not cease to honor the great and genuine preachers. These are a true specialty of the fifteenth century.<sup>26</sup>

This unofficial authority of Bernardino over the Observant Franciscan Order and the extent to which their influence touched upon the daily life of the Italian Quattrocento provides us with a solid indication of the power and scope of the Franciscan worldview during the years 1350-1450. This was particularly true in regions, such as Umbria, that were not fully drawn into the expanding humanist universe and were still largely receptive to the apocalyptic messages of the mendicant friars.

In the wake of these powerful Franciscan preachers with their alarming spirituality and persistent calls to penance and contrition, we find the suggestion that they also contributed to changes in the art of Central Italy and the surrounding regions from the mid-fourteenth through the fifteenth centuries. It has been proposed that particular aspects of paintings that are classified as late or extreme Gothic share elements that recur in specific geographic areas, predominantly Emilia, the Marches, and Umbria. Bartolomeo di Tommaso was active at the height of this Franciscan re-awakening and his family history indicates that he had many opportunities for contact with prominent, influential, and financially powerful members of the Order.

In addressing this phenomenon, Toscano suggests that late Gothic art in these areas, which includes works by Jacopo di Paolo, Giovanni da Modena, Antonio Alberti, and specifically Bartolomeo di Tommaso, reflect many of the dramatic presentations, and to a lesser extent apocalyptic themes, of the preaching friars and in particular those of

Bernardino da Siena and his later protégé, the equally influential and ubiquitous Giacomo della Marca. However, Toscano goes on to say that we should examine these influences more in relation to these specific “environments” and limited areas rather than to any “all embracing and cultural system,” that might mistakenly be seen as a large-scale reaction to the humanist momentum of the time.<sup>27</sup>

In addition to thematic similarities, he notes that certain stylistic qualities are also common to these works. These include space, recurring graphic accentuation, and, as particularly evidenced in the paintings of Bartolomeo di Tommaso, distinctly expressive characterizations and physiognomies of Biblical and hagiographical subjects. In addition, one also finds in these narratives a sense of gloom juxtaposed with varying degrees of excited agitation that might parallel the bipolar spirit of the apocalyptic sermons of the preaching friars.

These unique stylistic qualities portray a certain aspect of late or International style Gothic that is less like the lavish or “courtly art which tended to turn sacred themes into a world of spectacle” associated with its later manifestations.<sup>28</sup> Replacing these displays of wealth is the description of a serious commitment to what Toscano calls, “the purpose of translating eschatological admonishments, calls to repentance and salvation, and the exploits of Christ, the devil and the saints into figures charged with humor and drama.”<sup>29</sup> In his view such an intense involvement, “vividly recalls aspects of violent expressiveness, again religious, to be found in the same regions in the previous century.”<sup>30</sup>

At this point, we find that Toscano is specifically referring to Emilia and in particular to the extraordinarily dramatic and expressive art of the Bolognese Trecento.

During this period the Fraticelli and other apocalyptic cults were flourishing and the Observants were in the ascendancy. The uniquely expressive works of painters such as Andrea da Bologna, Lippo di Dalmasio, Vitale da Bologna, Jacopino di Francesco, and Jacopo di Paolo both initiated and reflected many of the same attributes that Toscano refers to earlier in relation to the paintings of Bartolomeo di Tommaso. Longhi refers to this as a time when painters such as Jacopo di Paolo and his companions “went around romantically initiating some latest abbreviation of *Maestà*, Crucifixions or giant saints, patron saints of journeys, [and] exorcists of misfortune.”<sup>31</sup>

Longhi describes this period as a time “full of nostalgia for ancient fables, to the point of reviving them in cycles full of figurations, and yet open to the dramatic senses of a new harsher and harder-fought life of vested interests, customs and classes.”<sup>32</sup> In addition to the fertile religious milieu, Longhi might also be describing an artistic result, limited in Toscano’s words to a “specific environment,” of the very same meeting of the cultures of the Middle Ages and Renaissance that Origo had earlier described. This sudden shift could equally have been the result of the rise of a mercantile “middle class” which, through its sudden acquisition of wealth, could have prompted and financed an intense commitment to a personal spiritualism that was reflected in artistic taste and resulting patronage.

In addressing the complex relationship between humanist circles and painters, Toscano points to Baxandall’s observation that Pisanello’s work, “sometimes has the character of contriving a series of cues from standard humanist responses – Mongols and birds for variety, whole menageries for decorative itemizing, flashy foreshortenings for *ars*, snakes and gibbets for the [Aristotelian] principle of pleasurable recognition [of base

objects].”<sup>33</sup> Toscano relates Bartolomeo di Tommaso’s paintings to Baxandall’s observation and notes that the, “hieroglyphic symbolism through which he [Bartolomeo] renders his obsessive sense of the numinous, his gloomy mysticism loaded with obscure signs and exaggerated effects may also have been meant for someone in mind whose expectations must be met, someone to ‘contrive’ cues for.”<sup>34</sup> According to the author, this logical “target” group would almost exclusively have been the Conventual and Observant Franciscans.

It is particularly with regard to Bartolomeo di Tommaso’s paintings that Toscano tried to define this “social and cultural context within which his language earned approval or, more importantly, actually received positive encouragement.”<sup>35</sup> He notes that Bartolomeo’s 1434 commission for San Guiliano in Fano, described earlier as one of the earliest surviving documents praising the painter’s work, lists one of his examiners, clearly a Franciscan preacher, as the “venerabile patre magistro Johanne de Montebodio lectore S[an] Francisci de Fano.”<sup>36</sup> In the author’s estimate there is “no doubt that it was his opinion which really counted.”<sup>37</sup> On a cursory examination of Bartolomeo’s oeuvre and several of the remaining contracts drafted by Franciscan *committenti*, it becomes even more evident how many similar and influential opinions from prominent Franciscans Bartolomeo must have encountered. Along with the painter’s oeuvre, the evidence; documentary or otherwise, regarding his activities within this Franciscan socio-cultural context and its resulting influence, presents itself in several ways in an examination of the events surrounding the painter’s life.

Bartolomeo’s father, Tommaso Pucciarelli, was a well-established shoemaker in Foligno and Bartolomeo, at an early age and probably before his association with the

painter Olivuccio di Ciccarello, would have traveled what came to be known as the “Leather Road.”<sup>38</sup> This was the main thoroughfare for leather traffic passing through Foligno, the Marches, and into to the capital of the trade itself Pisa, which could have been reached through either Arezzo or Siena.

These travels suggest that from an early age Bartolomeo was routinely exposed to the Franciscan mendicants through Foligno’s connections with Il Colombaio. He would also have visited numerous cities on the itinerary of Bernardino da Siena and his later protégé Giacomo della Marca. Bartolomeo most probably then would have, as a youth, traveled to and from many of the locations frequented by the evangelistic preachers and had sufficient opportunity to hear them preach. At such an impressionable age, the young man destined for an apprenticeship that would ultimately bring him, perhaps through the leather trade into the workshop of a noted regional painter, had probably been deeply moved by the power exercised over the cities and towns of Umbria by these “Great Preachers of Repentance.”

The prevalence of Franciscan patronage and themes in Bartolomeo’s oeuvre indicate a strong link between the painter and the Franciscan culture we have just described. At least nine surviving works, fully one half of Bartolomeo’s documented oeuvre, as well as the two lost works documented for the committee in Fano in 1434, demonstrate the strength of his professional relationship to the Franciscans. While dates for all but a handful of the works can only be approximated, the stylistic range indicates that encounters with Franciscan patrons occurred uniformly throughout the artist’s career. Those that can be more securely dated are the *Rospigliosi Triptych* of 1445, the *San Caterina Fresco* of 1449, and to a lesser extent, the series of apocalyptic frescoes for the

Cappella Paradisi of ca. 1450-1451. All three are from the artist's late-middle or mature period and were completed, at the height of his fame, shortly before he left Foligno for his Vatican commissions sometime between 1451-1453.

The *Rospigliosi Triptych*, now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, is alleged to have its origins in Camerino and although its subject matter is not overtly Franciscan, the unequivocal influence of Bernardino da Siena is present in the use of the "IHS" or 'Holy Name of Jesus' symbol on the pinnacle of the central panel of the triptych.<sup>39</sup> At the end of Bernardino's sermons, he held up a plaque inscribed with the "IHS" symbol, as a rallying point to the acclaim of the thousands who had gathered to hear him preach. The use of this unique symbol was given its tangible form, sometime around 1410, when Bernardino was preaching in Camaiore and had the sacred monogram "IHS" surrounded by emanating rays of light, carved on the gates and houses of the city. The use of the Holy Name of Jesus was to play a major role in the failed attempt to try Bernardino for heresy in 1427.<sup>40</sup>

The *Santa Caterina Fresco* of 1449 was commissioned by the Poor Clare's of the Observant Franciscan Order for the Convent of Santa Caterina in Foligno. Aside from the *Martyrdom of Saint Barbara* and the *Madonna of Loreto*, the fresco depicts a haloed Franciscan monk gesticulating from behind the parapet of a pulpit. Toscano notes that this could be Girolamo della Marca but it is hardly conceivable that he would be included in the company of Saint Barbara and the Madonna while still alive and only fifty-eight years of age. Others have suggested that this figure represents either Saint Anthony of Padua, one of the better-known Franciscan Saints, or perhaps even Bernardino da Siena, (to whom it does bear some resemblance) although by this time Bernardino had only been

dead for four years and was not canonized until the following year. Beneath each scene we find a series of either male or female Franciscan *committenti* consisting of ten Clares beneath the fresco of Saint Barbara; a single Clare to the lower right of the Madonna of Loreto; and a monk beneath the preaching Franciscan.

The latter work, a series of frescoes in the Cappella Paradisi of 1449, depicts several Franciscans including Francis himself, on the central wall of the Chapel. They are gathered before the golden gates of heaven where Saint Peter holds the fabled keys. Dressed as Franciscans and Poor Clares the *committenti* gesticulate on the lower portion of this scene, as does Monaldo Paradisi, who was said to have commissioned the Chapel in the Church of San Francisco in Terni where Bartolomeo painted the famous frescoes. Monaldo Paradisi was an avid supporter of the Observant Franciscans and specifically of Giacomo della Marca who traveled to Terni many times and is documented as having been behind the adaptation and approval by the Counsel General of the Commune of a series of social and religious reforms drafted in 1444.<sup>41</sup> Toscano and Mostarda both suggest that the iconography of the Cappella Paradisi is drawn directly from the apocalyptic content of Giacomo della Marca's sermons - one of which is believed to have been preached in the Church of San Francisco sometime around 1444.<sup>42</sup>

In addition to these dated works, there exist other paintings in Bartolomeo's oeuvre, almost all illustrating events surrounding the Saint's life. These include panels of the *Funeral and Canonization of Saint Francis* in the Walters Gallery, Baltimore; a companion piece of *Saint Francis Renouncing His Possessions* in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino. In addition, there is a *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* in the collection of Mount Holyoke College; and in the Choir of San Bartolomeo di Marano in

Foligno, a badly damaged fresco of *Saint John the Evangelist, San Bernardino, and other Saints*.

Added to this group, although not securely attributed to Bartolomeo, is a series of frescoes executed in terraverde, in the Rectory of the Church of San Francisco in Cesena. The cycle is believed to have been commissioned by Domenico Malatesta Novello, a patron of Bartolomeo, for whose family Bartolomeo had painted several *cassone* in the 1430's. These depict a *Crucifixion, Last Supper, Stigmatization of Saint Francis, Charitas/Saint Francis before the Sultan, Death of the Knight of Celano, and Resurrection of Trajan*.<sup>43</sup>

Beyond this iconographic evidence there exists additional information that Bartolomeo might have been inclined toward the Franciscan worldview and must have, at some point, established personal contact with Bernardino's protégé Giacomo della Marca. Archival evidence proves that Bartolomeo had been a willing participant and signatory to one of Foligno's most celebrated public covenants – the ceremony for the adoption of Fra Giacomo's *Santissima Unione*. This treaty and civil code was drafted and ratified by Foligno's leading citizens to bring together warring factions in Foligno after deposing Bartolomeo's first documented patron, Corrado Trinci in 1439.

Giacomo della Marca, in his capacity as an Observant Franciscan peacemaker and direct heir to Bernardino da Siena, with his extensive experience in civil and canonical law, was the moving force and architect behind the drafting of the *Santissima Unione*<sup>44</sup> This episode in the history of Foligno gives some indication as to the depth of the preaching friars' influence on the average citizen and presents us with additional evidence that Bartolomeo di Tommaso, and the intense emotional aspects of his

paintings, reflected a philosophical affinity with prevailing Observant theology as seen through the powerful and influential ideas of the fiery little Franciscan preacher from the Marches of Ancona.

In 1445 Fra Giacomo, after having orchestrated a series of civil reforms in Terni the preceding year, arrived in Foligno, the residence of Bartolomeo di Tommaso.<sup>45</sup> It was in Foligno that Fra Giacomo's preaching shaped an epoch that Faloci-Pulignani referred to as "one of the more beautiful points of its [Foligno's] municipal life."<sup>46</sup> This was the time when the *Santissima Unione* (Appendix I) was proposed, drafted, and ratified in a lavish public display by 359 of the most prominent citizens of the city.

Giacomo della Marca first preached in 1445 in the Cathedral of Foligno during Lent. Although the content of these sermons is unknown the Franciscan scholar Alberto Ghinato suggests that they probably followed such standard topics as "de merchantiis, de usuris, de peccatis per quae Deus mundum flagellat, de luxuria, de vanitatibus mulierum, de sodomia, de ludo, de festis celebrandis, et de blasphemia."<sup>47</sup> By this time the city was divided into several warring factions since in 1439 Pope Eugenius IV, with the help of Cardinal Vitelleschi, deposed the Trinci family who had dominated Foligno from the first quarter of the fourteenth century. With the fall of the Trinci, the city was placed directly under the control of Cardinal Vitelleschi, the newly appointed Papal Legate under Pope Eugenius IV. Not everyone was pleased with this arrangement. Many preferred to remain secular and freely governed outside the influence of the Holy See, while others wished to recall the deposed Trinci. Still others did not dispute the current arrangement and wished to remain under the dominance of the Church. This discord continued for approximately

six years, during which Bartolomeo di Tommaso had already returned from the Marches and had established a thriving workshop and a base of operations in the city of his birth.

In his role as negotiator, Fra Giacomo was immediately drawn into this partisan conflict, where his first inclination was to preach to the public the virtues of civic concord, harmony, and modesty. Crowds were so drawn to the little preacher that the priors of the city ordered the artisans to close their workshops and cease practicing their trades under a penalty of “five soldi.”<sup>48</sup> This insured that the entire population could hear Giacomo’s sermons.

By the end of Lent in 1445, we find Giacomo still residing in Foligno, in the Observant Convent of San Bartolomeo di Marano. From Foligno Giacomo traveled back to his novitiate, the Sanctuary of Santa Maria degli Angeli outside of Assisi. Because of self-imposed Lenten privations, Fra Giacomo fell ill. During his convalescence the citizens of Foligno, having been deeply moved by Giacomo’s Lenten sermons and recommendations for restoring the peace, were motivated to end their divisions by agreeing to bind themselves to a solemn pact and “live in accord and improve the public state.” This pact came to be known as the *Santissima Unione*, the “Holiest of Unions.” The leaders of the city, the “Novanta,” then agreed that Giacomo della Marca, the man whose sermons had driven them to consider this solemn alliance, should be present to assist in the drafting of this historic compact.

On the 22 April 1445, the magistrate of Foligno sent his deputation of advisors, the notary Signore Averardo di Pietro Averardi and the physician Maestro Onofrio di Pietro Onofri, to find Fra Giacomo who was still resident and ailing in Santa Maria degli Angeli. The advisors arrived with donations, confections, and various medications. They

fasted and prayed for Fra Giacomo to come to Foligno and work for the acceptance of the accord after his recovery.

Fra Giacomo returned with the delegates on 27 April 1445 and took up residence in San Bartolomeo. There, along with the leaders of the Commune, he helped draft the proposal for the first Council of the Priory and the citizens of Foligno who, on the 21st of May would agree to this first draft of the holy proclamation to consider the public union between the citizens of Foligno and the Pope for the “quietness of the City and the Diocese of Foligno.” Sixty-four counselors took part in this assembly and a number of them left elaborate personal accounts of their acceptance of the assembly’s agreement. One counselor, Ser Benintese di Ser Giacomo proposed that the priors and several citizens be dispatched to Santa Maria degli Angeli, where Fra Giacomo had returned earlier, to have the entire faculty come to a decision on the proposal. Ser Nicolò della Tacca, one of the more influential counselors, declared for the union, which he described as “a thing holy and cheerful.” A second powerful counselor, Viviano di Luca promised to start “doing the things that Fra Giacomo wished to do,” while a third, Rinaldo Galassi added that Fra Giacomo “had made them to know the character of the inhabitants of the Commune, because he was able to propose a concordance capable of producing good results.” The assembly then approved the measure by a vote of sixty-three to one.<sup>49</sup>

The Priors, after having examined the individual proposals, chose that of Ser Benintese, whose opinion of the approved pact was dispatched along with a delegation of citizens to Santa Maria degli Angeli for discussion with Fra Giacomo and the approval of the entire faculty of the Church. First, however, they decided to send the councilor Ser Nicolò della Tacca to Perugia as ambassador to Cardinal Domenico Capranica who was

the Papal Legate to Umbria and Rector of Foligno. Ser Nicolò was to explain to the Cardinal the wishes of the public and Church with regard to their acceptance of the *Santissima Unione*.

The Cardinal replied that he was content with the document and that they had complied with all of the wishes proposed and supported by Fra Giacomo. It was Cardinal Capranica who then suggested that the solemn pact also be signed by the “greatest number of the citizens of Foligno,” which he expressed in a letter to Triolo de’Verdilotti, his legate in the city. Meanwhile the Priors of the city approved the final work of the committee of twenty-one members, to which they had added an additional four, who it appears, had actually drafted the document. After it was drafted and approved the priors registered the document on 26 May 1445.<sup>50</sup>

It was then established that on the afternoon of Sunday, 6 June 1445, the *Santissima Unione* was to be celebrated in the city of Foligno. Faloci-Pulignani describes the magnitude of the Commune’s planning for the event.

Neither in the palace of the Commune, nor the one of the Podesta, nor the immense one of the Trinci, nor of the Rector of the city, nor the wide Cathedral, were places of a capacity for containing the large number of people that were predicted. They chose the piazza of the Commune, that was the most grand of the city, and they wished that the place where the act would be drawn up, would have been the great steps of the lateral door of the Duomo conserved in the state as it was made in 1201.<sup>51</sup>

Standing on these steps at the appointed hour were Doctor Troilo de’Verdilotti, representing the Cardinal Legate, the Bishop of Foligno, Doctor Antonio Bolognini, Prior of the Duomo, Doctor Nicola da Scopoli, and Marinangelo di Simone and Francesco di Pace, all Canons of the Church. De’Verdilotti was to be the first to receive the oath while the other four acted as the solemn witnesses. Next to the door of the Duomo where they

had erected a pulpit, ascended Giacomo della Marca, who once again preached on the themes of peace, concord, respect, and submission, “for the honor of the Church and Pope Eugenius IV.”

Following Fra Giacomo’s speech, which probably aroused the emotions of the thousands of spectators crowded into the piazza, the frail little preacher summoned to the pulpit Ser Bernardo de Albrizi da Como, the chancellor of the Commune. Ser Bernardo then read a long introduction and finally the nine chapters of the *Santissima Unione*.<sup>52</sup> To the flourish of the Commune’s trumpets, Ser Bernardo called out the names of the heads of the families of the city and country and of each social class in Foligno. After the Prior of the city swore Doctor de’Verdilotti to the oath, while touching the figures of the Evangelists on the Holy Missal, he proceeded to do the same for the other 359 signatories of which we find that number 262 is listed as *Bartolomeo di Thomas Pentore*, one of two painters who had signed the *Santissima Unione*.<sup>53</sup> Of the other painter, Pero Mazaforto little is known.<sup>54</sup> Also included in this list as number sixty-four is the name of Liberator Iacobi Mariani, the father of the painter Niccolo Alunnó, described earlier as an artistic successor to Bartolomeo and a major figure in the “Umbrian Renaissance.”

From the heights of the pulpit, Fra Giacomo blessed the assembly and completed the solemn act of the union designed to bring peace and prosperity to the divided city. The effectiveness of this pious little monk, with his persuasive style and gracious and loving decorum, brought an entire population together at a time of deep divisions and personal vendettas. After several more letters and acts were signed and registered with seals affixed by other Cardinals and Papal legates, the *Santissima Unione* was, in a formal ceremony, placed within a chest in the Church of San Francisco on the 29th of

June 1445. From this point forward the solemn words of the oath had to be supported through the actions of Foligno's citizens.

Unfortunately, history provides much evidence that well-intentioned sacred resolutions such as the *Santissima Unione* are rarely durable, and after a relatively brief time the various political factions of Foligno returned to their entrenched brawling, rioting, and murder. A close examination of the document, indicates that it is not surprising that Foligno resorted to its earlier patterns of civil discord. The provisions of the *Santissima Unione* convey much more of the notion of "wishful thinking" than of any true diplomacy on the part of Giacomo della Marca or the priors of Foligno. In fact, in keeping with the civil law of the Middle Ages, the nine provisions of the document relied more on threats of swift and decisive retribution than on any reasoned or divinely inspired approach to resolving conflicts.

The first and most striking aspect of the nine provisions of the *Santissima Unione* is that most of the statutes are to be maintained under penalty of death, "a pena de la testa" and/or confiscation of all one's property, "confiscacione de tutti li soi beni."<sup>55</sup> Throughout the provisions of the document these two penalties are referred to in the majority of the nine statutes. The threat of such penalties was to apply to many actions that from the start seemed arbitrary and unenforceable. The first of the document's nine provisions states that:

any person of rank and preeminence must not attempt to act against the present good and peaceful state under the penalty of death and the confiscation of all of their goods half of which will go to the Church (Apostolic House) and the other half to the magnificent Commune of Foligno."<sup>56</sup>

This is followed by a similar threat for attempting to kill or rob the home of any citizen.<sup>57</sup> The next provision is more interesting in that it limits public assembly by stating that:

no person of whatever state and condition is to dare to presume to make or assemble or convene any persons in any place without a special license of the Most-Reverend Monsignor the legate of the province, or his agent, and commissioner, or that of the Magnificent Signori Priors under the aforementioned penalties: saved and reserved for the case of marriage, and other contracts, or the death of some person or other true and licit cases both good and honest.”<sup>58</sup>

It continues to assert that:

any person or persons of whatever state or preeminence who dare to stir up by word or deed or attempts to stir up the people or some other person of the city or countryside of Foligno, by that which does not follow will of the said people will also fall under the above penalties.”<sup>59</sup>

Next comes a provision that prohibits wearing or carrying arms within the Commune, essentially disarming the population - once again under penalty of death.<sup>60</sup>

The final provision directed specifically at the public cautions that:

any person who feels or knows anything that can result in damage or prejudice to the state or our Signore and of the peace of this magnificent community, or is truly against the oath that results against the said union must notify the Signore priors who will suppress it. And whoever works against this and does not reveal it will fall under the aforementioned penalties of execution and the privation of his goods.”<sup>61</sup>

Three provisions are concerned with the Signore priors and their behavior. The first states that the Signore must meet no less than twice a year between the “Nativity and the Pentecost,” and any other time when “asked or commanded by the magnificent Signore priors.” It goes on to state that the “meeting will be held in the palace of the Signore priors and that he who attempts to make oneself the leader or come to blows will be punished as mentioned above.” It further notes that a member must not speak to any

assembly without first conferring with the other priors so that they can maintain a “devotion to the Holy Church and the good and peaceful state,” and warns that the priors must have a legitimate reason for missing a meeting and if he “does not have a legitimate excuse will be penalized one ducat for the first time, which will be paid to the commune, and after which the penalty will be doubled and another will be elected in his place.”<sup>62</sup>

The second provision directed toward the Signore Priors, states that in the event of the death or infirmity of any Signore Prior, or for any other crisis, or any reason in which a prior is absent from the city for a period greater than three years the “said magnificent Signore priors will have the power along with the Council of the Ninety, to elect another in his place so that the number of the said jurors will not come to a minority.”<sup>63</sup>

The final provision comes in the form of a warning to the priors who are exhorted to “observe and make observations and execute with diligence all of the above mentioned penalties against anyone (any other prior) who works against them and a penalty of five hundred florins of gold for any such prior, applied to the Apostolic House.” They are also warned that “the same penalties will apply to the Podesta or any high official, and that any who are negligent in any of the aforementioned areas will be sent to their execution.”<sup>64</sup>

Beside the fear of civil or divine punishment, the true binding force behind the efficacy of the proposed compact appears to have been the charismatic personality of Fra Giacomo. Beyond his affiliation with the document what remains is nothing but a series of arbitrary and unenforceable statutes, an interesting combination of civic pride that along with the captivating presence of Giacomo and the rule of law, failed to factor in the

all important variables of human nature and enduring tradition of vendettas and lawlessness in the Middle Ages. Such omissions would doom the best and most sacred holiest of agreements to failure.

It is this powerful force of personality and perhaps the public's faith and reliance on the moral precepts of Franciscanism that appears to have given life to a document that was little more than a series of threats against anyone suspected of conspiring to act against the public order. Added to Giacomo's strong personality and the complete control the contract attempted to exercise over the citizens of Foligno was the force of solemnity and the use of great pomp and public display that seems to have greatly added to the public's resolve to abide by these nine well-intentioned but conspicuously unimaginative rules.

Probably the one most enduring and, as far as the Church was concerned intended *sotto voce* result of the *Santissima Unione* was its confirmation that the municipalities of Foligno would enter a political order in which their autonomy, held and maintained through a primitive and nominal dependence on higher lords of the Church, would be centralized in the hands of a Papal legate resident in Perugia and a Rector who represented him in Foligno. The oath of the *Santissima Unione* little more than a plebiscite "free and well-thought," giving the city a role in the temporal domination of the Holy See. It is here that Giacomo's persuasive skills were at their best and although civil discord appears to have persisted, Faloci-Pulignani points out that the various codes of personal modesty and morality preached by Giacomo remained intact and that the veneration of the future Saint appears to have continued and even prospered in Foligno.<sup>65</sup>

This continued veneration can be seen in a document dated 1464, almost twenty years after the *Santissima Unione*, in which once again Giacomo's persuasive powers are brought to light; this time in the capacity of preaching indulgences on behalf Pope Pius II for the financial support of a Crusade against the Turkish advance into Europe. Here we can see that almost twenty years after the ratification and eventual failure of the *Santissima Unione*, Giacomo is still revered by the citizens and Signore priors of the city.

Then the great servant of God, Father Giacomo della Marca of the Order of Friars Minor Observant, having been commissioned General of the Crusade on May 5th, came on the 16th to the said city of Foligno with a brief of Pope Pius II, in which he concedes plenary indulgences to all those who will give to the aid of the Crusade, the value that one that would spend in one week for him and his family in board. He will receive many alms that he will keep with two depositors who are Bartolo di Gaspare Varcannati, and Sir Betto di Ser Andrea Varini, [Fra Giacomo] living with much poverty and by example, preaching in the Cathedral with the grandest spirit, in Advent to the infirm in the Convent of San Bartolomeo outside of Foligno. He was visited there and did many miracles for the citizens.<sup>66</sup>

We also see that the continued influence and veneration of Giacomo that the Franciscans and specifically the preaching friars remained a powerful and influential force in Central Italy through the latter part of the Quattrocento. Although the drafting and ratification of the *Santissima Unione* failed to end the factionalism that had divided the city for six years, the ideas that motivated the document provide some indication of the receptive character and quality of thought that existed in the region during the 1400's. Much like Irigo's earlier observation regarding the cultural clash between the Church and humanists, this quality of thought was sharply dualistic in nature. It was, however, consistent with certain developments in Central Italy under the preaching friars.

The one major distinction we observe is that even in the face of an expanding humanist influence the worldview of the Umbrian territories was divided into two distinct

categories. The first focused on the practical side of life in Umbria and its environs, where an expanding middle-class was pragmatic enough to believe that they could solve social problems through the *Santissima Unione*. The second was the fact that, in light of developing a stringent set of codified rules for the commune, the binding force behind the quest for the public order was largely based upon their intense personal faith, fear of apocalyptic retribution, and belief that such a union was divinely sanctioned – a theological endorsement of the Folignate citizenry’s noble aspirations. This approval was the motivational nature of the *Santissima Unione*. Although the document threatened harsh punishment for failure to abide by its statutes, it also appears to have derived much of its strength and legitimacy solely from its sanction by the Church and its association with the name of Giacomo della Marca. Therefore, just as Giacomo della Marca’s oratorical and administrative skills inspired the prominent citizens of Foligno to add their signatures to the *Santissima Unione*, it must then follow that such external influence was also exerted on the expressive will of all members of society including that of artists toward seeking a similar level of approbation. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, through his endorsement of the *Santissima Unione* and his probable deep roots in the Observant milieu, stood to benefit greatly from such an affiliation, and as expressed by his faith in Giacomo della Marca’s abilities, must have maintained a deep and abiding spiritual connection with the Order. This idea was again expressed by Toscano when he sums up the entire phenomenon of the *Santissima Unione* and its effects on the citizenry with this particular emphasis on Bartolomeo.<sup>67</sup>

The urgency of the return to the city into the arms of the church and the dangers of further defections and relaxations were presented to the citizens in the vivid (heated) tones of a popular eschatology, both visionary and apocalyptic; acts not to inculcate the conviction of the goodness of the

government but to permeate the souls with a metaphysical terror. Since to sow discord was “alien to human nature” and the rebellion against the Church had occurred “by diabolical suggestion;” each good citizen must have then sworn obedience “before the eyes of God and all of the celestial court” and also “remembering the great city of Nineveh” and the “wickedness and evil,” that is to say to the enemies of the Church, was promised the “final extermination.” It is not certain why these expressions were also signed by Bartolomeo di Tommaso or seem to naturally accompany the last of his works and we note in particular the frescoes *Paradisi*: in the sense that the terrorist mysticism and that the expressions of the Folignate painter’s heavenly “jury” correspond to the persuasive hallucination of divine threats by the implacable celestial hierarchies that support the world. And since it is known that the “Holy Union” of the Folignate was sponsored by the priest Giacomo della Marca, now largely present in Foligno, it is not perhaps in vain that we deduce which suggestive sources our painter had been able to receive through his access to the Franciscans.<sup>68</sup>

The evidence of Bartolomeo’s travels throughout the regions frequented by the preaching friars, the strong presence of Franciscan patronage and iconography in his paintings, and his signature on the *Santissima Unione*, all indicate that Toscano’s observations with regard to the political and religious atmosphere must have influenced the artist’s distinctive style. All of the works cited above, as well as other items in Bartolomeo’s oeuvre, in one way or another, reflect many of the iconographic and stylistic qualities that Toscano describes in his essay. They also share many stylistic and expressive features with some of the better-known works of the Bolognese Trecento.

Further reinforcing the idea of compelling Franciscan influence is the notion that outside of his endorsement of the *Santissima Unione*, what we know of Bartolomeo’s life appears to indicate that nothing out of the ordinary explains his distinctive stylistic and iconographic development. In fact, what remains of the considerable archival sources documenting Bartolomeo’s life and career gives us palpable indication that except for a series of tragic events in the latter portion of the painter’s career, he appears to have led a normal if not moderately stable and successful life. The next chapter covers the events

between Bartolomeo's earliest archival reference in 1425 through his final years in the Vatican and proposed death in 1454.

## NOTES

## Chapter One

1. See Peter Partner, *The Papal State Under Martin V: The Administration and Government of the Temporal Power in the Early Fifteenth Century* (London: British School at Rome, 1958), 248.
2. Iris Origo, *The World of San Bernardino* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1962), 183.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, 183-184.
5. See Cristina Galassi, "Ascesa dinastica della Famiglia Trinci," in *Palazzo Trinci* (Foligno: Comune di Foligno Assessorato alla Culture, 2001).
6. For a brief description of the Rule of Saint Francis see John R. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 15-18.
7. "Le Franceschina, testo volgare del secolo XV, Scritto da Giacomo Oddi di Perugia," Quoted in Irigo, *The World of San Bernardino*, 206.
8. *Ibid.*, 206.
9. Robert Steele, trans. *Speculum Perfectionis*, ed. G. Sabatier (London: British Society of Franciscan Studies, 1903), quoted in Irigo, *The World of San Bernardino*, 206.
10. For a description of the events that occurred immediately after the death of Francis of Assisi see John R. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 83-95.
11. The *Porziuncola* (literally "Little Portion") refers to a small parcel of land believed to have originally been given to Saint Benedict when, in the early sixth century, he established his monks there and built a small chapel. In Saint Francis' time the church had already fallen into ruin in a deep and neglected wooded area on the plains below Assisi. Saint Francis restored the small Chapel with his first disciples and established the first Franciscan community on this site. Today the restored remnants of the Porziuncola exist on this original site, contained within the Church of Santa Maria degli Angeli several miles outside of the city.
12. For a description of the Bull *Quo Elongato a Saeculo* see Moorman, *History*, 90-91.

13. Moorman, 179-181.

14. For additional information on Celestine V see Moorman, *History*, 194-195 and Richard P. McBain, *Lives of the Popes : The Pontiffs from Saint Peter to John Paul II* (New York: Harper Collins, 1997), 227-229.

15. The term *Gran Refuto* refers to Dante's lines:

*Poscia ch'io v'ebbi alcun riconosciuto  
Vidi e conobbi l'ombra di colui  
Che fece per viltade il gran rifiuto.*

Taken from the *Inferno*, Canto III, 58-60. It is believed that Dante placed Celestine V in the Vestibule of Hell, reserved for the Opportunists, for the crime of giving the papacy to Boniface VIII, a Pope that the poet greatly disliked. See Robert Hollander, trans., and Jean Hollander, trans., *The Inferno* (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 46.

16. The term *Fratricelli* was originally applied to Angelo Clareno's followers and then extended to zealots who had taken refuge from church persecution in Sicily and was later used to refer to zealots in general. For a brief description of the *Fratricelli* and their various sects see Moorman, *History*, 453-456.

17. Quoted in Vita Dutton Scudder, *The Franciscan Adventure : A Study of the First Hundred Years of the Order of Saint Francis of Assisi* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1931), 242.

18. During the period immediately following Pope John's *Santa Romana*, the *Fratricelli* and other more radical groups of Franciscans formed unruly bands of vagrants. By the close of the fourteenth century these radical communities continued to be burnt at the stake for preaching their fanatically intolerant way of life. By the early fifteenth century many of these remaining *Fratricelli* had dissolved into various cults, adopting apocalyptic theories of a Second Coming and the establishment of a "new kingdom of the spirit" as first preached by the Cistercian mystic Gioacchino da Fiore (Joachim of Fiore) almost two hundred years earlier. In time these apocalyptic cults died out as they failed to predict with accuracy the arrival of the "end times." Their demise was also hastened by the less subtle arguments of the Inquisition. See Bernard McBinn, *The Calabria Abbot : Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought* (New York: McMillan, 1985).

19. Bernardino was born into a distinguished Sieneese family on 8 September 1380 and died 64 years later in May of 1444. Orphaned at six years of age he was raised by two devout aunts, in Massa Marittima and later in Siena. They raised him with great care and piety through 1397 when he completed his higher education in civil and canonical law. Shortly after completing his studies, Bernardino joined the Sieneese Confraternity of Our Lady which, as a lay community attached to the Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena, still practiced great personal austerity and service to the poor. With the outbreak of plague in 1400, the hospital staff diminished and Bernardino, along with several of his

fraternal companions, took it upon themselves to run the hospital. Eventually the plague reached such a level of intensity that the sick and dying were crowded together in conditions of indescribable misery and horror. In spite of the danger Bernardino spent the next four months caring for the plague victims with such tireless devotion that the Rector of Santa Maria della Scala asked him to take over the administration of the hospital.

When the plague subsided and the hospital resumed normal operation, the young Bernardino found himself free to consider his own vocation. Having already adopted an ascetic lifestyle, Bernardino divided his patrimony amongst various charities and joined the Order of Friars Minor. In 1402 he entered Il Colombaio and was ordained in 1404. Two years later, according to Church legend, while preaching to a large crowd that included Bernardino, the future Dominican Saint, Vincent Ferrer, by then a renowned apocalyptic preacher, predicted that his mantle would be passed to one of those in the vast assembly. He also predicted that this follower would preach in remote areas of Italy that his own ministry would never reach. Years later we will find that Bernardino's commanding reputation and extensive travels through Italy fulfilled Saint Vincent's prophecy. Between 1406 and 1417, we lose track of Bernardino, but it is assumed that he spent these years cloistered in one of the Franciscan convents, perhaps the same Il Colombaio, where he probably learned and refined the *Sermo Humilis* or the well-established Franciscan methodology of preaching. By 1417 his preaching ministry had commenced in Milan. Although forced to play a critical part in the life and function of the Order, Bernardino continued to spend every available moment outside meetings either on the road or in the pulpit. This remained the work that Bernardino really enjoyed and which he did far better than anyone of his era. He continued his itinerant preaching right up to the end of his life. During Lent 1444, he preached daily at his birthplace, Massa Marittima and after Easter, continued southwards, preaching in all the important cities and towns through which he passed. His final trip included Perugia, Assisi, Foligno, and Città Ducale. Everywhere he preached, in spite of his advanced age, his words were effective, and his sermons were still followed by the ecstatic scenes of earlier years. After this round of preaching he moved to Aquila where he lodged with a settlement of Conventual friars. Already ill when he arrived, he died four days later on the 20th of May. See "Bernardino of Siena" in David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 3d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 53. ; Henri Gheon, *Saint Vincent Ferrer* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1939). For the history, development, and structure of the *Sermo Humilis* see Donald R. Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence : the Social World of Franciscan and Dominican Spirituality* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989).

<sup>20</sup>. Moorman, 459.

<sup>21</sup>. Ibid., 462-463.

<sup>22</sup>. Usury became one of Bernardino's prime targets. "The usurer" he said, "is the murderer of the poor man. He takes away his garments, his shoes, his house, his field, his bed, his food and drink, and all his livelihood." Implicit in these exhortations was the idea that, at this time, money lending was largely practiced by Jews, leading Bernardino to implore his listeners that Christians should avoid Jews, and to declare it a mortal sin to

eat or drink with them. He further states that if he had his way, he would make all Jews wear special marks on their clothes so that everyone could recognize them. In spite these passionate denunciations, Bernardino's sermons against usury did have some positive effect as they were instrumental in helping to establish the *Monti di Pieta*, or Beneficial Loan Societies - the progenitors of today's pawnbrokers.

23. Franco Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons : Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 23.

24. Ibid.

25. Moorman, 466.

26. Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944), 288.

27. Bruno Toscano, "The History of Art and the Forms of Religious Life," in *History of Italian Art*, vol. 2, ed. Giulio Einaudi (Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 1994), 266. Parts of this essay were originally published in "A proposito di Bartolomeo di Tommaso," *Paragone*, 28 (1977): 80-85.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. See Roberto Longhi, "La Mostra del Trecento Bolognese," *Paragone* 1 (1950): 18. "andarono parafando romanticamente qualche ultima sigla di Maestà, di Crocefissi o di Santi giganteschi, patroni di viaggi, esorcisti di malanni."

32. Longhi, 19. "piena di rimpianti per le favole antiche, tanto da rinverdirle in cicli di figurazioni lussureggianti, eppure aperta anche ai sensi drammatici di una nuovavita più aspra e contrastata d'interessi, di costumi, di classi."

33. Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators, Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition, 1350-1450* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 96., quoted in Bruno Toscano, "The History of Art and the Forms of Religious Life," in *History of Italian Art*, vol. 2, ed. Giulio Einaudi (Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 1994), 269-270.

34. Toscano, 33.

35. Ibid., 266.

36. Ibid., 271.

37. Ibid.

38. Tommaso Pucciarelli is referred to as a “calzolaio,” and several early documents place Bartolomeo in the presence of “sutores,” (seamsters). The leather road was known as the “Via del Cuoio.”

39. The symbol “IHS” is composed of the first three letters of “Ihsus”, or “Ihcuc”, the name of Jesus in Greek. The “S” and “C” are variant forms in the Greek alphabet. In the past the symbol has been wrongly attributed to the abbreviation of the Latin phrase *Iesus Hominum Salvator* (Jesus Savior of Men). Moorman suggests that Bernardino drew much of his inspiration for the “Holy Name of Jesus” from two earlier sources, Gilbert of Tournai and Ubertino of Casale, but suggests that once he had made the monogram a vital element of his ministry Bernardino would go on to develop it according to his own specific tastes and requirements. See George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 109, 150.

40. In fact the basis of the trial was Bernardino’s use of the symbol of the Holy Name of Jesus, which was declared heretical by Martin V. See Iris Origo, “The Charge of Heresy,” in *The World of San Bernardino* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1962), 117-130.

41. See Alberto Ghinato, O.F.M., “Apostolato religioso e sociale di San Giacomo della Marca in Terni,” *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 49 (1956): 106-142, 352-390.

42. I will examine this interpretation of the iconography of the Cappella Paradisi in greater detail in the Chapter Five on this dissertation. See Paola Mostarda, “Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Giacomo della Marca nella Cappella Paradisi a Terni,” *Esercizi*, 4 (1981): 54-67., and Bruno Toscano, “The History of Art and the Forms of Religious Life,” in *History of Italian Art*, vol. 2, ed. Giulio Einaudi (Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 1994), 260-310.

43. See Giovanni Maroni, “Dante, San Francisco e Malatesta Novello: Interpretazione iconologica degli affreschi in terretta verde del Refettorio di San Francesco in Cesena,” *Studi Romagnoli* 47 (1996): 481-488. ; Francesca Renzi, “Un’ipotesi di lettura iconographica per gli affreschi del Refettorio di San Francesco a Cesena,” *Romagna arte e storia* 17 (1997): 75-84.

44. Giacomo della Marca was born Domenico Gangale in 1391 (exact date unknown) into an impoverished family in Monteprandone, in the Marches of Ancona, and died at the age of 85 on 28 November 1476. Pope Benedict XIII canonized him in 1726. After the death of his father, the future Saint commenced his studies at Offida under the care of his uncle, a priest who then sent him to school at Ascoli Piceno. After his early education, the precocious student attended the University of Perugia where he completed his studies and earned the degree of Doctor of Civil Law.

After finishing his university education, Domenico spent several years in Florence as a notary and in Bibbiena as an inquisitor and “judge of sorcerers.” In July of 1416, he entered the Order of Friars Minor in the Chapel of the *Porziuncola*, of the Convent of

Santa Maria degli Angeli on the plains just below the Basilica of Saint Francis in Assisi. Upon entering the order, he adopted the name of Giacomo and, as was the practice at this time, took as his second name the place of his birth, *Le Marche*. He ultimately earned his novitiate at the Eremo delle Carceri, near Assisi, after which he studied for the priesthood directly under Bernardino da Siena at Fiesole.

Ordained at the age of twenty-nine Giacomo began his career as an itinerant preacher much in the image of Bernardino, but unlike his teacher, who spent most of his years preaching in Italy, Giacomo traveled extensively throughout Central and Eastern Europe. By 1426, Giacomo had already established his reputation well enough to be appointed inquisitor against the *Fraticelli* by Pope Martin V.

Like Bernardino, Giacomo preached the coming apocalypse, repentance and contrition, converted vast numbers of non-believers, and attracted huge and admiring crowds wherever he appeared. Giacomo was also instrumental in helping to establish numerous Observant communities in Europe, and spent much of his time mediating political conflict. It was perhaps his training in Civil Law that enabled him to resolve several long-standing feuds in many of the towns and cities of Italy as well as in central and eastern Europe – not surprisingly most often to the greater political and financial advantage of the Papacy. See “James of the Marches” in David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 3d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 249.

<sup>45.</sup> Alberto Ghinato, O.F.M., “Apostolato religioso e sociale di San Giacomo della Marca in Terni,” *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 49 (1956): 106-142, 352-390.

<sup>46.</sup> Michele Faloci-Pulignani, “Per la storia di San Giacomo della Marca,” *Miscellanea Francescana*, 4 (May-June 1889): 65.

<sup>47.</sup> Ghinato, 118.

<sup>48.</sup> *Archivio comunale di Foligno. Riformanze, 1441-1445, Fol. 56.*, in Michele Faloci-Pulignani, “Per la storia di San Giacomo della Marca,” *Miscellanea Francescana*, 4 (May-June 1889): 66. “Die primo martij 1445. “Vicus tubator magnificorum dominorum Priorum antedictorum eorumque mandato et impositione retulit mihi Cancellario se hodie preconizasse in locis publicis Ciuitatis Fulginie. Quod nullus artifex apperire debeat aliquam appotecham nec exercere aliquam artem donec finita et annunciata erit predicatio que fit singulo mane in Ecclesia beati et gloriosissimi martiris sancti Felitiani sub poena solidorum quinque qualibet vice pro contrafaciente, que pena applicetur pro medietate ordini Prioratus, et alia medietas Camere Fulginia.”

<sup>49.</sup> I have been unable to locate information regarding the one dissenting vote.

<sup>50.</sup> *Archivio comunale di Foligno. Riformanze, 1441-1445, Fol. 56.*, in Michele Faloci-Pulignani, “Per la storia di San Giacomo della Marca,” *Miscellanea Francescana*, 4 (May-June 1889): 67. “Die xxvj mensis Maij. Infrascripti sunt Ciues positi et electi per magnificos dominos Priores antedictos super unione concordia et pace fienda inter omnes ciues et habitatores Ciuitatis Fulginei secundum tenorem Concilii obtenti et reformati die uigesimo primo dicti mensis Maij ut in precodentibus proximus foleis

aperte continetur. Cum additione aliorum quatuor ciuium ellectorum per ipsos dominos priores cum Concilio nouem. Quorum omnium Ciuium super dicta unione ellectorum nomina sunt hec uidelibet.”

Magister Iohannes de Scopio  
 Sinibaldus Iohannis  
 Magister Honofrius magistri Petri  
 Dominus Iohannis Moscatellus  
 Grisantius magistri Iheronimj  
 Petrus Francisci cioli  
 Magister Nicolaus medicus  
 Dominus Guido de bicijs  
 Raynaldus Luce  
 Auerardus Ser Petri

51. Faloci-Pulignani, 67-68.
52. *Archivio comunale di Foligno. Riformanze, 1441-1445, Fol. 82-87., in Michele Faloci-Pulignani, “Per la storia di San Giacomo della Marca,” Miscellanea Franceseana, 4 (May-June 1889): 66. For the entire text of the statutes see Appendix 1., 441-443.*
53. Faloci-Pulignani, 72-73.
54. See Adamo Rossi, *I pittori di Foligno* (Perugia, 1878), 13-15.
55. Faloci-Pulignani, 69.
56. Ibid. “E che niuna persona de qualuncha conditione grado a prehemincia si sia, debba attentare ne fare contra lo presente bono e pacifico stato per ognia modo o via si contrafaciesse a pena de la testa e confiscatione de tutti li soi beni li quali beni siano per la metade de la Camera apostolica e l'altra metade di questo magnifico comune di Foligno.”
57. Ibid. “Ancora che niuna persona de qualuncha conditione si sia presumesse ne attemptasse la morte o robagione di beni, cioe di casa d'alcuno Citadino o Contadino, ne rechidesse alcuno a la dicta morte o robagione et iandio si non havesse effecto li sia pena la testa a publicatione de li soi beni con la diuisione et applicacione como e dicto de sopra.”
58. Ibid. “Ancora che niuna persona de qualuncha stato e conditione si sia ardisca o uer presuma di far aduneta alcuna o conuenticulo d'alcuna persona in niuno loco senza special licenza de lo Reuerentissimo Monsegnor lo Legeto di questa, prouincia, o soi Locumtenenti, e commissarij, o uer de li magnifici Signor priori sotto la predicta pena: Saluo a reseruetto per cagion de noze, ad altri conuitti o quando morisse alcuna persona o uero altri simili casi liciti boni usiteti et honesti.”

59. Ibid. “Anchora che niuna persona de qualuncha stato prehemencia et conditione si sia ardisca ne presuma ne in parole ne in facti soleuare ne attentare di soleuare el populo ne alcuna altra persona do la Citá ne Conta di Foligno per la quale no seguisse la suleuacione del dicto populo sotto la pena predicta.”

60. Ibid., 69-70. “Anchora euenendo lo caso che bisognasse d armare che ciaschuno de li infrascripti jurati de la unione debbia pender l arme e uenire armato al pallacio de li magnifici Signori priori al sono de la Campana grossa del Comune a soi tochi continui et a requisiscione de li dicti magnifley Signori Priori a stare ad obediencia a fare quanto per li Signori priori li sara commesso. E chi contrafaciesse li magnifici priori in sema con lo Consiglio de li nouanta lo debbiano priuare de la dicta unione in forma et modo che piu non possa esser rimesso et uno altro in so locho sia remesso per lo decto concilio. Et che niuna persona sia tanta ardita ne presuma di prender l arme che non sia de la dicta jura senza expressa licencia de li magnifici Signori priori: Saluo si non fosse in compagnia de li dicti jurati li quali nihilominus non possano menar sego piu che uno compagno armato che non sia de la dicta jura, a la pena si imponesse per li magnifici Signori priori, con l’altri de la jura, contra quili contrafacesorono: Et questo non s intenda quill de la propria casa de li jureti de la unione li quali ex nunc li sia licito di andare in copagnia de li dicti de la jura armati o disarmati senza alcuna pena. E che li Sindaci et Consuli del Contado li quali sono in questa jura et unione bisognando d armare como ne dicto di sopra soli vengano armati al pallacio de li magnifici Signori priori, a ueruno altro debbia, prender l arme a pena de la testa.”

61. Ibid., 70. “Ancora, che ciascuna persona che sentisse o sapesse alcuna cosa la quale podesse risultare in danno a pregiudicio di stato di nostro Signore e del pacifico uiuer di questa magnifica Comunità, o ueramente che fosso contra alcuno de la dicta Iura, cioe risultasse contra la dicta unione el debbia notificare a li Signori priori da li quali sara ben reprimieto. Et chi contrafaciesse et non riuellassi cada ne la pena sopradicta de la testa a priuacion de soi beni.”

62. Ibid. “Anchora che li infrascripti homini de la dicta Iura siano tenuti a dengase radunare doe uolte l ano al meno cioe ne la natiuita di nostro Segnor a de la Pentcoste, et tante altre uolte quanta uolte fosso di bisogno a richiesta et commandamenti de li magnifici Signori priori. La quale adunanzia se facia nel pallacio de li dicti magnifici Signori priori. Et ne la quale si debblia fare uns municione. Che niuno ardisca no presuma di farsi grande a uer menar seguito sego, altramente sara punito como di sopra si contiene. E che ne la dicta adunanza si debbia hauer colloquio et ragionamento, si niuno sente alcuna persona che faci, ne tenti de fare alcuna cosa, la qual sia o possa esser contra lo stato di sancta Chiesa, et contra lo pacifico uiuer di questa Comunità. E di hauer colloquio et ragionamento de tutti bisogni et necessita di tutta Is Comunità accio se possa mantenere a deuocione de sancta Chiesa et in bono et pacifico stato. Et chi non comparissi ne li dicti tempi a richesta de li dicti magnifici Signori priori, non hauendo legitima cason cada pena in uno ducato per la prima uolta, la qual pena peruenga nel Comune. E da una uolta in su si doppia la dicta pena, et sia casso ipso facto de la dicta Iura et unione. Et uno altro sia ellecto in so locho.”

63. Ibid. “Anchora: Si alcuno de la dicta Iura morisse o uero per infirmità o per altro caso non fosse ydoneo a la dicta unione, o per tre annj si absentasse di questa magnifica Città, li dicti magnifici Signori priori habiano possanza con consiglio de li nouanta de elligere uno altro in so locho accio che el numero de la dicta Iura non uenga a minuirse.”

64. Ibid., 70-71. “Ancora, Che li magnifici Signori priori che saranno per li tempi sieno tenuti et debiano occurrendo alcuno de li predicti casi contenti ne li sopradioti Capitulli, obseruare et fare obseruare et exequire con diligentia e far exequire tutte le sopradicte cose et pene contra qualuncha contrafaciesse a la pena de fiorini cinquicenti d oro per ciaschuno priore, applicandi a la Camera apostolica irremissibiliter. Le quale exequuione debbiano commettere et far fare al potestà e a li altri officiali de la città di Foligno. Li quali potestà et officiali se in le predicte cosa fossano negligenti cadano in quella medesima pena la quale hauesseno ad mandare ad exequuione.”

65. Faloci-Pulignani, 76-77.

66. L. Iacobilli. *Annali di Foligno*, 1464., in Faloci-Pulignani, 77. “ Il gran seruo di Dio Fr. Giacomo della Marca dell’ Ordine dei Minori Osseruanti, essendo fatto Commissario generale della Crociata a 5 Maggio, viene a 16 detto 1464 a Foligno con un breue di Papa Pio II, nel quale concede indulgenza plenaria a tutti quelli . . . che daranno per il sussidio della Crociata, il ualore di quello che spenderebbero in una settimana per essi e loro famiglia in uitto. Riceue molte elemosine che fa conservare appresso due depositari che furono Bartolo di Gaspare Varcannati, e ser Betto di Ser Andrea Varini, uiuendo esso con molta pouertà et essemplio, predicando nella Cathedrale con grandissimo spirito. Nell’ Auuento s’infermò nel Couento di S. Bartolomeo fuori di Foligno. Fu uisitato e . . . da cittadini e fece alcuni miracoli.”

67. Bruno Toscano, “Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Nicola da Siena,” *Commentari*, 15 (1964): 37-51.

68. Ibid., 47. “L’urgenza del ritorno della città nel grembo della Chiesa e I pericoli di ulteriori defezioni e rilassamenti erano presentati ai cittadini nei toni accesi di un’escatologia popolare, visionaria ed apocalittica, att non ad inculcare la convinzione della bontà del governo ma a pervadere gli animi di terrori metafisici. A seminare la discordia era stato “lo inimico de la humana natura” e la ribellione alla Chiesa era avventua “per suggestione diabolica”; ogni buon cittadino doveva quindi giurare obbedienza “preponendo dio nanti ali ochi soi, e tuta la corte celestial” ed anche “. . . ricordandosi de la grande città de Ninive . . .”; ai “pessimi et malvagi”, cioè ai nemici della Chiesa, era promesso l’“ultimo extermino.” Non è certo perchè queste espressioni furono sottoscritte anche da Bartolomeo di Tommaso che esse ci sembrano accompagnare naturalmente le ultime sue opere a noi note e in particolare gli affreschi Paradisi: nel senso che al misticismo terroristico e strumentale dei capitoli della “giura” corrisponde nel pittore folignate la persuasa allucinazione di divinità minatorie, di implacabili gerarchie celesti che reggono il mondo. E poichè è noto che la “santissima unione” dei folignate fu patrocinata dal frate Giacomo della Marca allora lungamente

presente a Foligno, non è forse del tutto vano in questa sede indurne quali forti suggestione abbia potuto ricevere il nostro pittore dall'acceso francescano.”

## CHAPTER 2

## THE PAINTER'S LIFE

For much of what we know of Bartolomeo di Tommaso's life we are indebted to Carlo Grigioni and Michele Faloci-Pulignani.<sup>1</sup> In addition we owe a debt of gratitude to the much later and meticulous archival research of Mario Sensi.<sup>2</sup> These historians combed the archives of Foligno, Ancona, and Fano to piece together many of the events of the painter's extensive career, the former between the turn of the century and the early 1920's and the latter in the late 1970's. Much of this information is notarial, and the events of Bartolomeo's life are mostly revealed through the prism of the painter's economic and commercial activities beginning in first decades of the 1400's and continuing through his Vatican commissions sometime around 1451.

Unfortunately, the notarial archives of Ancona, the site of much of Bartolomeo's early activities, have yielded little significant information regarding these years. Similarly, the Terni archives show no trace of the commission for the painter's most famous work, the series of apocalyptic frescoes in the Cappella Paradisi in the Church of San Francesco. This lack of information leaves many questions unanswered, specifically the dating of the commission and the execution of the famous frescoes. For decades these gaps also left the authorship of the cycle in doubt. This was further complicated by the fact that a badly damaged date inscribed on the central wall directly beneath the Last Judgment fresco appears to indicate a fourteenth century origin. This date received additional encouragement from a number of nineteenth century historians who were eager to show that the frescoes were contemporary with, and representative of, various scenes from Dante Alighieri's *Divina Commedia*.<sup>3</sup>

Regardless of these very early and very late gaps in the painter's life the tireless work of Federico Zeri<sup>4</sup> leaves little doubt as to the authorship and dating of the Terni frescoes and we are able, through remaining documents, to pick up on the events of Bartolomeo's life starting in 1425. At that time, Bartolomeo was a youth in Ancona and apprenticed to the once renowned master, Olivuccio di Ciccarello. It appears that his apprenticeship lasted for eight years ending sometime in 1432.<sup>5</sup> Gianandrea's research on Olivuccio uncovered two significant documents that mention Bartolomeo at an age when he would have either been poised to enter or had already embarked on his apprenticeship.<sup>6</sup> The date of 1425 would place Bartolomeo's age at about 14 years at the earliest or 17 at the latest depending on whether one accepts the artist's birth as 1408 or 1411.

These first documents, along with two additional notarial deeds bearing the same date of 1425 were registered by an Anconan notary, Chiarozzo Sparipalli, and are dated 10 June, 22 and 23 August, and 8 December.<sup>7</sup> All are brief and reveal little more than the artist's presence in Ancona and the fact that he is called to witness documents that concern "sutores," leatherworkers or shoemakers who were then resident in Ancona. Upon considering that Bartolomeo's father, Tommaso di Pucciarello da Foligno, was employed in the same trade we might conclude that by the time of the first document Bartolomeo had still not entered the painters' profession.<sup>8</sup> Also noted by Sensi is the fact that in neither of these documents or in the additional document dated 1 May 1433, concerning the sale of a house by Tommaso to one Antonio di Pietruccio di Andrea for eighteen florins, is Tommaso referred to as anything more than "calzolaio" or shoemaker.

This, in the absence of the title “magister,” indicates that Bartolomeo’s roots were modest and that Tommaso was, in all probability, in the employ of a master shoemaker.<sup>9</sup>

Sensi notes that in the document of June 10th Bartolomeo is listed as “senza nessuna qualifica” or without qualification.<sup>10</sup> However by the time of the second document of August 22nd, he is referred to as “Bartolomeo Tome pictore de Fulgineo, testibus rogatis”<sup>11</sup> On the next day, in the same notarial establishment, he is once again mentioned but this time we find that, “presentibus magistro Oliuctio Ciccarelli et Bartolomeo Tome pictoribus civibus Ancone testibus,” that is, present and bearing the title of a painter and resident of Ancona, and in the company of his likely teacher Master Olivuccio di Ciccarello.<sup>12</sup>

By the 8th of December of the same year we find Bartolomeo, now referred to as “pictoribus,” again called upon to witness a legal document registered by the same notary, Chiarozzo Sparipalli, this time in the company of Olivuccio and another painter, Giovanni di Corrada listed as an inhabitant of Ancona.<sup>13</sup> Other notarial documents brought to light by Mario Sensi and drafted by Chiarozzo Sparipalli between 1425 and 1439 again list Giovanni di Corrada, known as “Bono,” along with Olivuccio di Ciccarello as witnesses.<sup>14</sup> Mario Sensi believes that Giovanni was in all probability also apprenticed to “Magistri” Olivuccio.

Other than the information in these early notarial documents, between 1425 and 1432 we find little evidence of Bartolomeo’s activities and virtually nothing with regard to his artistic development and training. We do find however that a document dated 19 June 1433 later lists Bartolomeo as a citizen and inhabitant of Ancona thereby suggesting that his artistic roots had probably been cultivated under Olivuccio in this same city.<sup>15</sup>

Between October of 1431 and February of 1433 five documents come to light that relate to the commission and execution of an icon for the Church of San Salvatore in Foligno as well as several resulting biographical items that appear to have come to light as a result of this contract.<sup>16</sup>

The first document, recently discovered by Mario Sensi, notes that by 7 October 1431 Bartolomeo was already busy with the production of an altarpiece for the great altar of the Church of San Salvatore in Foligno. It is here that we find a first documented reference to an existing work of Bartolomeo's - the *San Salvatore Triptych* (Fig. 1, No. 1) in the Pinacoteca Comunale (formerly the Palazzo Trinci) in Foligno.<sup>17</sup>

The next document, drafted by the notary Tommaso di Angelo di Pietro and dated 16 December 1432, appears to verify that the altarpiece had, by this date, already been consigned to the Church and that the payment was to be disbursed.<sup>18</sup> In this document he describes a meeting, in the choir of the College of San Salvatore in Foligno that was attended by Angelo di Agostino a cleric and vicar of Rinaldo Trinci the prior of the church, Don Astor di Antonio Trinci, and Niccolò di Marco, Canons of the same institution. In the presence of the witnesses Iohannis de Robertis and Andrea Vagnoli, citizens of Foligno, and the clerics Angelo Massci and Antonio Puccioli, the prior and two canons agree to carry out the will of Corrado Trinci, father of Rinaldo, and declare themselves debtors to the painter Bartolomeo di Tommaso of the Society of the Cross in the amount of twenty-four gold florins for the execution of an icon for the College of San Salvatore.

Later the same day, 16 December 1432, we find the group again convened in the same location to discuss the contract agreed upon earlier that day. Angelo di Agostino, Don Astor di Antonio Trinci, and Niccolò di Marco after stating their intention to abide by the will of Corrado Trinci by paying to Bartolomeo di Tommaso the sum of twenty-four gold florins for the preparation and execution of the same panel, draft an accord to allow for the rental of a piece of land to Bartolomeo in the vicinity of the *Ponte dell'Abbadia*, for eight years at a total price of 24 florins.<sup>19</sup> It then follows that the money was received from master Bartolomeo and had been converted “for the use and benefit of the Church of San Salvatore.” Sensi here adds a note mentioning that in addition to the triptych described above there also existed an additional work of Bartolomeo’s in the Church of San Salvatore Foligno, a badly damaged *Flight into Egypt* for which there exists no archival record. Nor does it exist in the Church today.<sup>20</sup> It is here, with this additional work, that we begin to sense that the young Bartolomeo, with his important commission and payment administered under the watchful eye of Corrado Trinci, must have been quite favorably viewed by the more prominent citizens of the city. We might also note that Corrado exercised an almost absolute power over the affairs of the painter as evidenced by the authority expressed in the wording and administration of these same documents of 16 December 1432.

Not long after Bartolomeo rented the property near the *Ponte dell'Abbadia* we again find archival records regarding an additional property to be purchased by the painter and his family. Sensi discovered in a document drafted by the same Tommaso di Angelo di Pietro, dated 9 February 1433 (see Appendix II) that one Giovanni di ser Berardo sold to Bartolomeo di Tommaso “painter of the Society of the Cross” and to his

mother Donna Brigida an apartment in the parish or company of “Della Mora.” Also mentioned in the deed is Bartolomeo’s father Tommaso who, it appears, was not present at the signing; quite possibly acting in the capacity of his duties as “sutore” and out traveling upon the “Via del Cuoio.” It is also interesting to note that the parish of the company “Della Mora” is the same under which we find Bartolomeo listed as a resident twelve years later in June of 1445, at the signing of the *Santissima Unione* (see Appendix I, p. 10) – further evidence of his continued close connections to the city of his birth.

The price agreed upon for the purchase of the apartment in the parish of Della Mora is 130 tax-exempt florins. The contract stipulates that the buyers pay 104 florins divided amongst the family in the following manner. Bartolomeo will pay seventy-four florins, from which are to be deducted the twenty-four florins credited to the eight-year lease for the property he rented from the Church of San Salvatore in the vicinity of the *Ponte dell'Abbadia*. This was done with the provision that the family cede the lease to the seller of the property, Giovanni di ser Berardo. In addition, Bartolomeo would pay Giovanni di ser Berardo another forty florins. Bartolomeo’s mother Donna Brigida agrees to pay an additional forty florins from her dowry. The remaining twenty-six florins are to be paid by the buyer to Giovanni di ser Berardo “upon the simple request of the seller,” but based upon the fact that the original proprietor of the lease for Bartolomeo’s new property was the Bishop of Foligno; in order to pass the title over from Giovanni di ser Berardo to Bartolomeo and Donna Brigida a second agreement was drafted. In this agreement Giovanni gave up his claim to the property to the Bishop who yielded his claim to the land to Bartolomeo, Donna Brigida, and Tommaso for a period of three generations and the payment of four florins plus an annual rent of twelve denari. These

arrangements on the part of a committed patron and friend of the family were clearly for the young artist's benefit.<sup>21</sup>

From this information we surmise that the young Bartolomeo had achieved some degree of professional recognition. He clearly performed to the satisfaction of Corrado Trinci, the Canons of the Church of San Salvatore, and the Bishop of Foligno, who rewarded him quite well for his triptych and also appear to have been more than helpful to Bartolomeo and his family in their financial affairs. We also find that Bartolomeo's family; one of modest but financially stable means were enjoying the fruits of Bartolomeo's sudden popularity having invested their first savings in the acquisition of the house in the parish of Della Mora. This purchase allowed the family to sell its smaller and more modest home, perhaps the home of Bartolomeo's birth, to Antonio di Pietruccio di Andrea for eighteen florins in May of the same year.<sup>22</sup> It is also, based on information in the contracts for the sale of both properties, and a later rental by Bartolomeo and his father Tommaso for a house in Ancona, that Mario Sensi attempts to more precisely estimate Bartolomeo's age at the time of the acquisition of the property in the parish of Della Mora.

By 19 June 1433, we find the young artist resident and listed as "cive and habitatore" in Ancona and living with his father Tommaso in the Parish of Sant'Egidio next to the Piazza dei Signori. This rental contract, drawn up by the same Chiarozzo Sparipalli in Foligno stipulates that a Donna Piera is in receipt of two ducati and ten bolognini for the rental of the house and that part of the rent agreed upon will be absorbed from work on the restoration of the "same house," by "Bartolomeo with his father Tommaso."<sup>23</sup> The fact that the earlier contract of 9 February 1433 lists Bartolomeo

along with his mother Donna Brigida in the absence of his father,<sup>24</sup> while the latter has him in the presence of Tommaso but this time as the primary entry,<sup>25</sup> suggests that by February 1433 Bartolomeo was still, in Sensi's words a "filius familias" and "maiores XIV annis minorem tamen XXV."<sup>26</sup> If Bartolomeo had come into his majority later that year, by the time of the rental from Donna Piera in June of 1433, he would have been born sometime around the beginning of the fifteenth century or within the generally accepted period between 1408-1411.

However, Sensi does make note of the fact that Faloci-Pulignani<sup>27</sup> and Zeri<sup>28</sup> both suggest an alternative to this hypothesis. Based on the documents introduced by Gianandrea in which Bartolomeo appears as a witness to several notarial proceedings between August and December of 1425 (see notes 10-13) it has been suggested that his birth occurred sometime around the end of the fourteenth century. Both historians suggest that had Bartolomeo in 1425 been called upon to act as a witness, he would have reached what the communal statutes of Foligno defined as adulthood, "minores intelligantur XXV annorum, maiores annorum XIII" namely a minimum of twenty-five years of age for the common legalization. However, at the same time Sensi points out that the statutes also specify that "adultus asserens se maiorem XIII annis, minorem tamen XXV" rendering him capable of judicial acts and thereby suggesting that by 1425 it was sufficient that the artist had only by this time entered puberty.<sup>29</sup>

The period up until June of 1433 and Bartolomeo's sudden return to the Marches marked a significant period in the life of the painter. In the period of nine years (1425-1433) we find that he has evolved from one "without qualifications" to an established painter preparing to maintain residences in two cities and numbering among his patrons

several of the more powerful luminaries of the Umbrian Quattrocento. Mario Sensi sums up this rapid progress in relation to the family's acquisition of the property on 9 February 1433:

Finally it seems here that the same economic operation of the acquisition of a house signals in the life of the Folignate painter an important stage that is the amount due to his affirmation in the artistic field. The personal availability of liquid funds, evidently fruit of the artistic profession; the trust accorded to him from the seller of the real estate and the drafting of an act that does not demand the total amount of the price, but concedes an extension, for only a fifth of the value; added to this is the recognized patronage on the part of Corrado Trinci, Signore of Foligno and the flattering judgment given by the canons of San Salvatore regarding the icon: so the clarification of a date, December 16th, 1432, notes the consignment of the triptych to the Church of San Salvatore, that signals the watershed between the foundation and the full affirmation of the Folignate master in the artistic field.<sup>30</sup>

Assuming from the rental contract with Donna Piera that Bartolomeo had returned to Ancona by 19 June 1433 we conclude that his stay was brief. We know from 1434 to 1439 he was in Fano executing several important commissions. While in Fano Bartolomeo also carried out other, lesser commissions in Rimini as shown in a notarial document dated 14 December 1434, from the State Archives of Fano. This document indicates that Bartolomeo came into contact with the powerful Malatesta of Rimini and was paid fifty ducati and ten bolognini for five designs, in fine gold, on a chest containing some personal effects of the "magnifico Signore messer Pandolfo."<sup>31</sup> It has also been suggested that around this time Bartolomeo might have produced a second commission for the Malatesta at the request of the humanist patron, Domenico Malatesta Novello. The frescoes in terraverde (Figs. 32-37) are located in the refectory of the Convent of San Francesco, Cesena, and parallel the lives of Christ and Saint Francis.<sup>32</sup>

Bartolomeo was also engaged in larger and potentially more lucrative and demanding work in Fano. The most significant of these was for Donna Gaudiana, widow of the wealthy pharmacist Mattiolo di Matteo, for the execution of frescoes on the façade of the Hospital of San Giuliano in Fano, and a subordinate work for the apse of the Church of San Giuliano - an edifice that, according to Gringioni, was also donated by the same Mattiolo.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately both works are lost but a detailed contract for their execution, dated 31 March 1434 survives (see Appendix III).

These two works, for which the artist was to receive nearly one thousand ducati in several installments, attest to the high regard in which master Bartolomeo was held in the Marches. His popularity in the region is further evidenced by a clause added to the contract of 31 March 1434, stipulating that one of the conditions of his employment by Donna Gaudiana was that he reserved the right to suspend work on the commission and return to his country in the service of “Il Signore di Foligno,” Corrado Trinci for a period of time not to exceed fifteen days.<sup>34</sup> The subject of the works themselves was up to the Bishop of Fano and the priest lectors of the Franciscan Order of the city.<sup>35</sup>

Although we can surmise that by this time Bartolomeo had developed a considerable reputation in the Marches, he still had to prove himself by first agreeing to start painting, “after April of the year 1434” on the façade of the Hospital of San Giuliano with “fine colors” and a “background of gold and ultramarine blue” a representation of the life of the Patron Saint.<sup>36</sup> This work was to be judged by a panel consisting of Donna Gaudiana, the Bishop of Fano, and two “experts” bearing the trust and confidence of the donors. If the work was found to be pleasing and solemn (“si opus dicte picture et historie erit pulcrum et solempne atque commendabile”), Bartolomeo could then paint the apse of

the Chapel in the Church of San Giuliano – “ad pingendam dictam capellam, seu retribunam, cum columpnis, girlanda, et aliis suis circumstantiis.” The price agreed upon for the qualifying work was in the amount of two hundred and sixty ducati. Included in the pact was the provision that Bartolomeo purchase the colors himself while the donors would be required to absorb the expenses for the scaffolding and intonacio.<sup>37</sup>

After completing the first phase of the work to the satisfaction of the donors, the painter could begin the second phase. In the event that the first phase of the work was judged neither “solemn” nor “commendable” the artist would be paid an amount based upon an appraisal of the completed work by Giovanni Francesco de Bartolis and Bartolomeo di Antonio the “expert and intelligent good citizens,” and the contract would be cancelled. Once the hospital façade was accepted, according to the contract, Bartolomeo would again be tested on the apse and “si ipsum opus erit solempne et commendabile per peritos et intelligentes homines in arte predicta” he would be paid the two-hundred sixty ducati including a disbursement of fifty, sixty, and one hundred ducats at the start of the work on the chapel apse. The remaining amount would be paid on completion of this portion of the work after it was again judged “sollempne et commendabile.” Bartolomeo would then be permitted to complete the commission, provided that he not exceed the agreed upon price of one thousand ducati, inclusive of the two hundred sixty already disbursed to him.

Although there is no archival evidence that the initial payments totaling one hundred ten ducati were paid to Bartolomeo, a receipt exists that, without mentioning Bartolomeo, states that Donna Gaudiana deposited a bond of sixty ducati with one Luigi di Andrea da Firenze, a resident of Fano, on 10 May 1434. This would fall within the

required period of time for the start of the work as stipulated in the contract of 31 March 1434.<sup>38</sup> Included in this same record is a cancellation of the same deposit on the 10th of August of the same year, presumably to release the funds into Bartolomeo's possession after having completed the work on the façade of San Giuliano.<sup>39</sup> This is then verified by a receipt dated 25 August 1434, stating that one hundred ducati have been issued by Donna Gaudiana to Maestro Bartolomeo, of which sixty are from Luigi di Andrea (da Firenze) from the account of Donna Gaudiana and the remaining forty directly from the patron herself. This amounted to the final payment of one hundred ducati to be issued at the completion of the work on the Chapel apse, which according to the contract of 31 March 1434, would have completed the first payment of two hundred and sixty ducati.<sup>40</sup>

According to Sensi, Donna Gaudiana died unexpectedly before the remainder of the paintings for the Chapel of San Giuliano were finished, although work on the chapel was allowed to continue.<sup>41</sup> This is evidenced by a notarial document dated 4 September 1438, and drafted in the Convent of San Francesco in Fano. Obviously having been bequeathed some portion of Donna Gaudiana's estate, including various assets and liabilities, the Franciscan brothers of the convent were forced to refute a Judgment rendered by the administrator of the goods of the "Ponte sul Metauro," one of the deceased's properties. In his capacity as administrator of properties and guarantor of Donna Gaudiana's estate, Domenico Peregrini de Garavellis, who also served as administrator of the documents of 25 August 1434, that issued an earlier payment to Bartolomeo of one hundred ducati, notes among these liabilities at the bequest of Donna Gaudiana thirty nine ducati and thirty six bolognini that are due to "Master Bartolomeo di Tommaso of Foligno, the painter of the Chapel of San Giuliano, for the rest of the

chapel's paintings."<sup>42</sup> This amount would then have reflected a final or additional payment from Donna Gaudiana to Bartolomeo for what might have been the remainder of the work. In summing up, we know of four payments (two documented) that were made to the painter for this series of works. These were in the amounts of fifty, sixty, and one hundred ducati reflected in the contract of 31 March 1434, and an additional thirty-nine ducati and six bolognini as stipulated in the Franciscan's refutation of 4 September 1438. This brought the amount of the known payment to two hundred forty nine ducati and six bolognini; just shy of the two hundred sixty specified in the original contract.

The remainder of the work including the Façade of the Hospital of San Giuliano and the apse of the Chapel of the Church of San Giuliano, would not be completed until five years after the original contract of 1434 was drafted. The reason for this long period appears to have been revealed by Michele Faloci-Pulignani<sup>43</sup> who, in the final document relating to the Fano commission, dated 28 July 1439, notes that Bartolomeo is listed as "magistrum bartolomeum tomassi de fulgineo pictorem habitorem Fani ad presens sed pro maiori parte moram trahentem Ancone."<sup>44</sup> This document, attested by the "two experts" - the goldsmith Giovanni di Antonio and the painter Giorgio di Pietro - categorizes the final result of the Fano commission as "solempnis et pulcra" and suggests that by this time the painter, perhaps after the death of Donna Gaudiana, returned to Ancona. He now appears to have begun to move between his home and other Umbrian locales with greater frequency. It is also interesting to note that the document of 29 July 1439 fails to mention any disbursement of funds to the artist for the completion of this portion of the work, perhaps instead acting as closure against the outstanding contract of 31 March 1434. Both Sensi and Faloci-Pulignani imply that the commission in its entirety

had probably never been completed beyond the painting of the apse of San Giuliano and thus the final document merely acts as a settlement for the work completed up until this point in time.<sup>45</sup>

We know that by 19 August 1439 Bartolomeo was no longer in Fano as a surviving document notes that the painter, still referred to as an inhabitant of Ancona, was absent from a notarial act concerning one Battista Vincensoli, a noble of Fano, and a certain Clemente, a herbalist of the same city.<sup>46</sup> Less than two months later we find that Bartolomeo was probably in Cesena working for the Franciscans, who according to two documents dated 13 October 1439, and 11 December 1441, had commissioned the painter to produce an altarpiece for the great altar of the Church of San Francesco within a two-year period (see Appendix IV). This was the start of a five-year period from 1439 through 1443 that Anna Zanolì believes would have had Bartolomeo traveling from Fano to Cesena and finally to Rimini in the service of the Malatesta who had maintained close and generous ties with the Franciscans up until this point.<sup>47</sup> In support of Bartolomeo's probable connections with the Malatesta, Zanolì also notes that a witness to the Fano contract of 31 March 1434, Magistro Mateo Nuti, was, like Bartolomeo, "another Umbrian transplanted in the Marches" who worked for the Malatesta of Cesena and later entered their service in Rimini as the architect of the library of San Francesco.<sup>48</sup>

However Zanolì is also careful to note that Toscano believes that after the completion of the cycle of San Giuliano, Bartolomeo had returned to Foligno for this undocumented five year period.<sup>49</sup> Toscano says that with the deposing of Corrado Trinci in 1439, the painter might have returned to Foligno for the changing of the government. Toscano's theory suggests that Bartolomeo could have been banished from Foligno up to

this point, but according to Zanoli, he fails to take note of the documented good relationship that Bartolomeo sustained with Corrado Trinci. The *San Salvatore Triptych* of 1432 had been executed to the satisfaction of Rinaldo Trinci during his priorship of the Church of San Salvatore, and we know that both documents dated 16 December 1432 clearly imply that Bartolomeo's relationship with Corrado, *Il Signore da Foligno*, had been harmonious. It must also be noted that Bartolomeo's contract with Donna Gaudiana of 31 March 1434 provides an option for him to return to Foligno in the service of the Trinci for "stando et redundo solum per XV dies et non ultra et etiam pro minori spatio," plainly indicating that Bartolomeo could have never been banished from Foligno and outside of his endorsement of the *Santissima Unione* in 1444, probably chose to avoid politics.

The altarpiece in Cesena, for which the contract makes no reference to the subject matter, was to be executed under the watchful eye of one Fra' Zuhanne to whom Bartolomeo would be subordinate. The painter was, according to the contract, responsible for the frame which was to be "gilded and ornate."<sup>50</sup> As proof and guarantee of the quality of execution, Bartolomeo upon arrival in Cesena, was to execute, at his own expense, two samples in the presence of Fra' Zuhanne. The first of these would represent, in relief, some of the figures intended for the altarpiece. The second would represent figures in the actual altarpiece to determine the precision of "the brush." A third sample of the predella was to be added later, "una ystoriotta da piede di la dicta taula." All three proofs would have to undergo the scrutiny of Fra' Zuhanne and the "guardians of the

brothers” Piero di Lionardo da Fano, Apolonio da Mantoa, Francesco degli Abati and master Menico di Andrea.

The Franciscan’s of Cesena were direct and exacting regarding Bartolomeo’s working conditions. Bartolomeo would travel to Cesena at the call of Fra’ Zuhanne for a period of four months during which he could not accept commissions from other patrons without the consent of Fra’ Zuhanne. In the event he did so during his stay in Cesena he would have to renounce the hospitality of the Franciscans who offered the painter and his two assistants rooms for working, sleeping, and eating; the meals of the convent; and an invitation to observe the rules of the Friars Minor on days of fasting. Added at the end of the contract is a clause in Latin, which according to Zanoli is in the hand of Francesco degli Abati one of the judges of the three proofs that Bartolomeo was required to submit to the Franciscan brothers.<sup>51</sup> This clause calls for a financial settlement between Bartolomeo and the Franciscans in the event that any defect on the part of the artist lead to the destruction of the altarpiece within a three-year period.

Bartolomeo was to receive the impressive sum of four hundred gold Venetian ducati for the altarpiece. It was to be paid in four installments of one hundred ducati each. Zanoli points out that when compared with the two hundred sixty ducati agreed upon for the first portions of the Fano commission of five years earlier; a commission requiring decidedly more effort on Bartolomeo’s part, this figure appears to indicate that the Franciscan’s commission was probably one of great prestige and importance.<sup>52</sup> In addition Zanoli notes that the commission’s importance can also be suggested by the fact that amongst the signatories of the contract are listed the friars of the convent with their countries of origin – the Hungarian, the Burgundian, the Sicilian, an unusual occurrence,

as well as the signatures of Francesco da Figline, “cappellano di Malatesta Novello, buon copista e primo custode della libreria di San Francisco,” and that of Niccolò Martinozzi da Fano, “cancelliere del signore di Cesena.”<sup>53</sup>

The second badly damaged Latin document dated 11 December 1441, a full two years after the original contract, differs in specifying the subject of the predella as events from the life of Saint Francis, “[compassus] dictae tabulae, aliam vero ad pedes dicte ancone sit de historia Beati Francisci.”<sup>54</sup> The reasons for this addition to the earlier contract are uncertain. Zanolli suggests that by this time that Bartolomeo had complied with the requirements of the first three required proofs and was preparing to begin the entire work; although were this the case it appears that the Franciscans were more than generous in allowing such a long interval to pass between the drafting of the original contract, the time when “Bartolomeo placed his hand on the work,” and the two year period allotted after this time for the completion of the work was to go into effect.

Regardless it appears as if Bartolomeo had complied with the requirements set forth by the Franciscans as the document notes that he had already collected fifty-six ducati plus an additional thirteen ducati, an amount considerably less than the first installment of one hundred ducati originally agreed upon. The document also notes that the painter could have been traveling throughout the region during this period up until the time of the second document as it notes that:

*ipse magister Bartolomeus non adimpleret contenta in dicta scriptura dictorum pactorum promiset se posse conveniri Cesene, Arimini, Fa(ni), Anchone, Fulgenii et aliisque locis ubi inventus seu repertus esset.*<sup>55</sup>

Bartolomeo was a citizen of Foligno where we are certain that his family owned a house. He was also free to come and go as he pleased in Ancona, of which he was a

citizen and as we know from the document of 19 June 1433, he maintained an additional residence. Clearly the painter was no stranger to Fano where he had worked on and off for several years. It appears that he must have spent some time in Rimini as well, perhaps at the request of the Malatesta, where Zanolì suggests he remained between the drafting of the first document of 1439 and the execution of the samples of 1441.<sup>56</sup> We know from the document dated 14 December 1434 (see note 31) that Bartolomeo had already worked for the Malatesta for whom he had painted several designs, “su la cassa de la felici memoria del magnifico Signore messer Pandolfo.” The possibility of the painter’s making a later trip to Rimini would account for the gap between the first and second documents.

What remains is the question whether Bartolomeo completed the altarpiece for the Franciscans in Cesena. No contractual evidence exists indicating that the painter received the balance of four hundred Venetian ducati specified in the contract of 1439 and its customary final arbitration. In fact, the existing evidence suggests that the painter only received payment for the completion of the three samples required before the start of the altarpiece. However, Zanolì points out that marginalia added by the same hand that transcribed the documents of 1439 and 1441 confirm the existence of Bartolomeo’s polyptych. In the margins of the document of 1439 there is an entry referring to the “expenses made for the gilding of the icon in the great altar for the price of 400 ducati of Venecia and expenses.”<sup>57</sup> Additional marginalia in the second document of 1441 refers to a “bequest for the great altar of 1441.”<sup>58</sup> Both entries appear to confirm that Bartolomeo did in fact fulfill his obligations to the Franciscans of Cesena.

The artist next appears in 1442 in Foligno as witness to a legal act of the Society of the Ammanniti. The act refers to Bartolomeo as a resident of the “Sotietate Mora” indicating that the home he purchased in February of 1433 was probably still in the hands of the artist and his parents, Tommaso and Brigida.<sup>59</sup> From this point forward we learn slightly more about the artist and in particular some of the more eventful aspects of his life.

This starts sometime between the period after he might have completed the altarpiece for the Franciscans in Cesena in 1441, and his return to Foligno in 1442. Bartolomeo must have found time in his busy schedule to marry and settle down. This marriage would have occurred sometime during the height of the painter’s career at about the time that Bartolomeo was entering his thirty-fourth year.<sup>60</sup> His wife Donna Onofria, is listed as the daughter of Andrea di Pietro di Mezastra, also a resident of the Società del Mora, and sister of Pierantonio “pittore.” Donna Onofria would have, according to the date of her obituary in 1447 which refers to her as “Iuvenis pulcerima, etate .20. annorum,” been fifteen years of age at the time of her marriage to Bartolomeo in 1442.<sup>61</sup> The first mention of the young Onofria occurs in a notarial act dated 19 April 1442.<sup>62</sup> The act consists of three separate financial transactions all registered on the same day. It refers to the sale of a parcel of land owned by Bartolomeo “painter of Foligno” and Donna Onofria his wife and daughter of Andrea di Pietro di Mezastra, all residents of the Società del Mora. According to the document the land was originally purchased by Donna Onofria with her dowry, and was now being sold, for twenty-four florins to a butcher, “Florano Pauli Angelilli macellario de Fulgineo.”<sup>63</sup>

The second entry on 19 April 1442, notes that Donna Onofria's father, Andrea di Pietro Mezastra, registered a declaration to the effect that Bartolomeo, assuming that his father Tommaso di Pucciarello is dead, is to receive a declaration of the amount of his daughter's dowry that would have been carried over into her marriage in the amount of twenty-eight florins. This is followed by the third entry stating that the full amount of the dowry was not paid in a single installment at the time of the original matrimonial contract, and that Andrea di Pietro promises to Bartolomeo di Tommaso, who will issue him a receipt, payment of the remainder of the dowry upon the simple request of the painter.<sup>64</sup>

At about the same time that Bartolomeo was fulfilling his professional obligation to the Franciscans in Cesena and beginning married life, we find evidence that he and the painter Nicola da Siena had entered into a contract with the Augustinian friars of Norcia for the decoration of the choir and rostrum of the Church of Saint Agostino.<sup>65</sup> Although clearly under the direction of maestros Bartolomeo and Nicola, the work appears to have been a collaborative effort. A later surviving contract referring to the same commission and dated 29 April 1442 also notes the inclusion of a "fraternity" of three other artists - Luca di Lorenzo "de Alamania," Andrea di Giovanni da Leccio (known also as Andrea Delitio),<sup>66</sup> and Giambono di Corrado da Ragusa, referred to by Romano Cordella as heir to Olivuccio di Ceccarello, Bartolomeo's teacher.<sup>67</sup> The first contract, which according to Cordella was drafted by the notary Leonardo Barattani is lost, but it would have outlined the iconography, cost, and conditions of the commission.<sup>68</sup> It would have been entered into sometime between 11 December 1441, the date mentioned by Zanoli as marking an approximate closure on the Cesena commission, and that of the second contract of 29

April, a mere ten days after Bartolomeo and Donna Onofria sold their parcel of land to the butcher Florano Pauli Angelilli (see Appendix V).

From this point in 1442 and for the next five years we can assume that Bartolomeo must have experienced a short period of domestic tranquility during which he continued to reside with his family in Foligno. Parish records indicate that during this period the painter had four children with Donna Onofria. We also know for a fact that he was resident in the city after the fall of the Trinci, during the time when he lent his signature to San Giacomo della Marca's *Santissima Unione* in June of 1444 (see Appendix I, p. 10.) It is assumed, however, that the painter must have had to travel to Camerino, Cesena, and Terni for several important commissions assigned by scholars to the period between the years 1445-1450. These would include a work executed for the Collegiata of Camerino, the *Rospigliosi Triptych*<sup>69</sup> (Fig. 2, No. 13), now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana; three remaining frescoes from an interior Chapel in San Francesco in Cesena; the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, *Saint Benedict*, and a *Trinity*<sup>70</sup> (Figs. 26/44/45, No. 12), and the extensive cycle of frescoes for the Cappella Paradisi in the Church of San Francesco in Terni.<sup>71</sup>

Scarcely five years into Bartolomeo's marriage, with what appears to have been a steady flow of children and commissions, and when all probably seemed to be going well, we find that the painter entered into a period referred to by Michele Faloci-Pulignani as a time of "domestic vicissitudes."<sup>72</sup> Just a year after the effort to unify the city under the *Santissima Unione*, on 10 July 1446, the rector of the Church of Santa Maria Maddalena writes in the parish records that one of Bartolomeo's children was buried in the lower church, "filie magistri Bartholomei pictoris, sepultum fuit in sepulcro

antiquorum.”<sup>73</sup> Shortly after the death of this child, before 19 December 1446, Bartolomeo must have executed an altarpiece for the abbey of the Church of Santa Maria in Campis near Foligno. A document bearing this date, witnessed by the “honest and religious” Leonardi Iohannis Sanctori and the monks Placitus Angeli and Iohannes Petri, notes the sale of a plot of ground to Bartolomeo by monks of the Corpus Christi Order of Benedictines, for nineteen gold florins, “pro solvendo unam conam factam dicte ecclesie. Marie per magistrum Bartolomeum Thome pictorem de Fulgineo, pro altari maiori ecclesie antedictae.”<sup>74</sup>

Following this transaction there is some indication that Bartolomeo was involved in the production of an altarpiece, no longer extant, for the Confraternity of Santa Maria dei Raccomandati of Gualdo Tadino. This commission corresponds to a series of works by several artists that began in 1429 with the restoration of the Maestà of the Hospital of San Giacomo following the building’s complete renovation finished sometime in 1448. Two entries in the Confraternity’s register under the year 1447 suggest that a panel was completed. The first notes that in August a payment was made by one “Bernardo” to priors Ranaldo de Santucio for a panel of Saint Mary for the great altar of the Confraternity.<sup>75</sup> A second entry notes that on September 7th of the same year the same Bernardo received a payment which he consigned to a future prior, Giapocho de maestro Antonio, to carry to Foligno to “maestro Bartolomeo per la tavola.”<sup>76</sup> While one other painter with the given name Bartolomeo (Bartolomeo da Miranda) was active in the area, Sensi suggests that our master’s reputation was so well established by this time that he would have so eclipsed Bartolomeo da Miranda that it would not have been necessary for the register in Gualdo to record the painter’s surname or his parish of residency.<sup>77</sup> Also

mentioned in this document is the fact that a final payment for the panel, dated 6 October 1447, was made on the part of a member of the Gualdese Society. If in fact the document is referring to Bartolomeo di Tommaso it is interesting to note that the date of this final payment preceded the entry in the parish records of the death of the painter's wife by only one day.<sup>78</sup>

The first brief entry of 10 July 1446 into the parish records of Santa Maria Maddalena was followed slightly more than fifteen months later with an additional entry dated 4 October 1447, noting the death of a second of Bartolomeo's children.<sup>79</sup> Adding to Bartolomeo's terrible grief was the fact that scarcely three days later on 7 October 1447, a third entry appears noting the death of his wife Onofria at the age of twenty.<sup>80</sup>

Sensi notes that by the end of 1447 Bartolomeo found himself burdened by his widowed mother Brigida, his two remaining children Isotta and Polidoro, and Donna Nicoluccia, his widowed paternal aunt who had lost her only child, a daughter named Caterina.<sup>81</sup> In keeping with the practice of many family enterprises of the fifteenth century Bartolomeo encouraged Polidoro to study art. Eventually, Polidoro was apprenticed to Mariano da Perugia. Polidoro, in 1476, worked in Sassoferrato in the Palazzo Perotti and later, between 1477 and 1483, maintained a workshop beneath the Palazzo della Canonica in Foligno.<sup>82</sup>

A series of documents dated from 14 February to 21 April 1447 indicate Bartolomeo's deep commitment to his widowed aunt. Donna Nicoluccia provided an equal inheritance to Bartolomeo and to her grandchild, Antonio di Corradillo di Massiolo, consisting of the worldly goods that would otherwise have gone to her deceased daughter Caterina.<sup>83</sup> The bequest to Bartolomeo, verified before the communal authorities of

Foligno, is in exchange for what appears to have been a promise of long-term assistance. This must have included some reciprocal gratification as a portion of the document specifies “pro multis gratis servitiis et gratuitis dicta Nicolucia a dicto mag. Bartolomeo receptis.”

Despite being the co-recipient of Donna Nicoluccia’s patrimony this must have been a terrible time for the painter. He must have tried to ease his sorrow by presenting the Church of Santa Maria Maddalena, where the bodies of his loved ones reposed, with several items in remembrance of Donna Onofria and (one supposes) the deceased children. The first donation, a surplice, perhaps used in a memorial service, appears in a church inventory dated 6 March 1451 is recorded as, “item una cottarella nuova, dette maestro Bartholomeio depentore l’anima de Honofria sua dompna.”<sup>84</sup> A second gift is recorded in an inventory of 12 January 1455 and is described as:

a great chalice of copper, with a silver cup and a pommel with enameled figures, which was purchased by master Bartolomeo, painter of Foligno without patina, and which was purchased from father Francesco of the Order of the Holy Augustinian preachers of the convent for the soul of Onofria who was his wife. And the patina was made for the church by master Marino Angelo of Marenciaro at a cost of sixty bolognese.<sup>85</sup>

Two surviving votive frescoes were completed by Bartolomeo sometime between 1449 and 1451, shortly after the death of Donna Onofria. The first, now in the Pinacoteca Comunale of Foligno, was commissioned by the Poor Clares of the monastery of Santa Caterina. It depicts the *Martyrdom of Saint Barbara*, *Madonna of Loreto*, and an unidentified Franciscan monk wearing a halo and gesticulating from behind the parapet of a pulpit (Fig. 3, No. 14). After its detachment, a subsequent cleaning revealed the following inscription: “SANTA BARBARA A’FACTA FARE LU CONVENTU DE SANCTA CHATERINA PER LORO DIVOTIONE. – MCCCCXXXVIII – BARTOLOMEUS THOME HOC

OPUS FECIT.”<sup>86</sup> The second work completed shortly before his departure for Rome in 1451 and probably, judging from stylistic similarities, contemporary with the frescoes of the Cappella Paradisi in Terni, is now in the sacristy of the Augustinian Church of San Nicolò in Foligno.<sup>87</sup> Depicting a *Crucifixion Adored by an Augustinian*, (Fig. 5, No. 15) the recently restored though badly damaged fresco offers no documentation on the commission, but Sensi has uncovered a document noting that Bartolomeo had established a relationship with the Augustinian friars prior to his leaving Foligno.<sup>88</sup> This document reports the sale of a parcel of land by Bartolomeo to the prior, Anthonio Bonilli de Trevio of the convent of San Nicolò, for fourteen florins on 26 July 1451, less than a month before the artist’s departure for the Vatican.

Also contemporary with these works was an apparently major commission for a triptych over the great altar of the Church of Santa Maria Maddalena, which may be identifiable as the *Madonna and Child with John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, and Saints Christopher and Dominic*, (Fig. 4, No. 16) in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino. This was completed sometime around 1451 and located in the same church where Bartolomeo’s family was buried. Because of an earthquake that destroyed the Church in 1832, the particulars of Bartolomeo’s commission are unknown and there is no definite record of the subject matter or date. Several surviving ancillary documents refer to the altarpiece and offer some possible answers to these unanswered questions. In 1921 Faloci-Pulignani stated that there was no trace of the triptych, but there is also convincing evidence to suggest that this altarpiece is the same triptych.<sup>89</sup>

The first document to mention the painting is taken from the parish records of Santa Maddalena and is dated 19 February 1446. The entry, recorded in the presence of

one brother Bartholomeo and one Sebastiano Benedicti notes the receipt of six florins bequeathed by one Petrus Dominici for assistance in making the panel for the icon of the great altar.<sup>90</sup> This is followed by a second entry dated sometime later on 15 October 1448 reporting the receipt of forty bolognini from the “hand of Lorença” in partial payment of six florins left by her father Pietro (Petrus Dominici?) for the construction of a panel for the great chapel.<sup>91</sup> Following this is an item dated 12 January 1449, noting that perhaps the same Lorenza [sic] has given five of the above-mentioned six florins.<sup>92</sup> Between 1448 and 1450 we find an additional entry that speaks of the payment of three florins on behalf of Christoforus and Baptista Jacobi Massorelli by their mother Caterina for an icon on a painted panel.<sup>93</sup> Another entry dated 6 January 1450 notes that on this date the rectors and sextons of Santa Maria Maddalena collected from a certain Caterina, the wife of Jacobo de Massorello, six florins dedicated to the church in the name of her children Baptista and Christoforo.<sup>94</sup> These entries indicate that a painting was commissioned for Santa Maria Maddalena and that, if by Bartolomeo in the name of the two children Baptista and Christoforo, it could be the work in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche. This depicts the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, and Saint’s Christopher and Dominic on opposing wings.<sup>95</sup>

Despite the fact that the first reference to the altarpiece in Santa Maria Maddalena is dated 19 February 1446, the initial reference to Bartolomeo and verification that the work proceeded does not appear until 5 August 1451. On this date a parish entry notes that, “nine florins, two soldi, and six denari were given by Filippo de Lucarello, sexton of the church, to Iohanni Francesco a merchant, for gold given to Maestro Bartolomeo the painter, in partial payment for the panel that he had painted for the church.”<sup>96</sup> Seven days after the payment for the gold, on 27 August 1451, an additional entry indicates that the

work was completed prior to Bartolomeo's arrival in Rome on 21 August. It notes the payment of eight bolognini to the Jew Agnolo for labor and supplies used to make an awning to protect the "icon on the great altar."<sup>97</sup>

As Sensi shows, this final document does not confirm Bartolomeo's commission for Santa Maria Maddalena. A notarial document drafted in Foligno and dated 26 January 1452 suggests that the triptych might have been finished by another painter or, at the very least, was a collaborative effort.<sup>98</sup> The document records the sale of a parcel of land with a vineyard by the same church sexton Filippo de Lucarello to one Pietro di Giovanni, the son of the painter Giovanni di Corraduccio, a painter of Foligno, for a total of nine florins. The sale seems to have been necessary for the church to meet several obligations: maintenance which included masonry and roof repair as well as the surprising: "pro quadam cona noviter facta, affixa super altare magna." Sensi suggests that the money was earmarked by the canons of the church for the painter prior to the notarial transfer of the property, a transaction similar to the one made in Bartolomeo's favor by the canons of San Salvatore many years earlier. Sensi's hypothesis is that this sudden transfer enabled Pietro to complete the altarpiece and allow Bartolomeo to leave Foligno for Rome sometime before 21 August 1451. There is a great deal of archival evidence concerning the activities of Pietro di Giovanni, but apart from this documentary evidence there exist no paintings or assignments. We do know, however, that the artist was active in Foligno where he maintained a workshop on the Piazza del Commune from 1440-1475 and at one time collaborated on a polyptych with his son-in-law Niccolò Alunnó.

One additional obligation by the painter appears to have been outstanding because of his sudden departure for Rome. In a notarial document dated 24 May 1451 we find that

Bartolomeo promised a certain Gregorio di Tommaso da Foligno the “conservatio indemnitatis” a sum of money deposited by a Count Lamberto di Carpegna in the name of the painter.<sup>99</sup> Sensi suggests that this action was taken of behalf Lamberto di Carpegna for what might have been a security deposit made on the painter’s behalf for a work he was unable to execute.<sup>100</sup> Only two months later, on 26 July 1451, Bartolomeo sold a parcel of land to the prior, Anthonio Bonilli de Trevio of the convent of San Nicolò in Foligno (see note 79). This indicates that the painter acted in haste to resolve any matters that might have prevent him from accepting this prestigious commission. It is thus probable that the aging Bartolomeo’s reputation was sufficient to require that he suspend his obligations in Foligno and hurry to Rome at the request of Pope Nicholas V (1397-1455), a patron of many well-known Quattrocento painters.<sup>101</sup>

Often referred to as “the first of the Renaissance Popes.” Tommaso Parentucelli had been archbishop of Bologna, a cardinal priest of Santa Susanna, and papal legate in Germany when elected pope Nicholas V as a compromise choice on 6 March 1447. During a conclave of eighteen Cardinals, eight votes were cast for Cardinal Domenico Pantagale, and ten for Cardinal Prospero Colonna. The close vote swung to Cardinal Parentucelli whose swift and diplomatic election was announced by his competitor Cardinal Colonna, prompting another Cardinal, Antonio Martino di Chaves to exclaim, “God has elected the pope, not the cardinals.” The almost immediate success of Nicholas’ papacy suggests that the statement of Cardinal Martino di Chaves was accurate.

Beginning with the lingering problems of Eugenius IV, Nicholas immediately took control and proved himself both a political and ecclesiastical peacemaker. He restored order in Rome, expelled troublesome mercenary troops from the Papal States

and swiftly obtained the allegiance of several expatriate Italian cities. Added to this impressive list was his successful effort to ratify Eugenius' agreement with the German Church and with the Concordat of Vienna of 1448. He also persuaded Frederick III to recognize papal rights to annates as well as to church appointments in Germany. In 1449 Nicholas negotiated reconciliation with the antipope Felix V persuading him to abdicate in favor of his being a cardinal-bishop as well as a papal vicar and legate. The new pope also convinced Felix's council of Basel to disband after the antipope's abdication by appointing several of his appointees to the Roman College of Cardinals; positions that frequently included a substantial income.

Nicholas' reforms were so effective that he proclaimed the year 1450 a Jubilee year, during which thousands of pilgrims flocked to Rome. Although marred by an outbreak of plague that forced the Pope to leave the city, Nicholas further proved his commitment to church unification and reform by canonizing reformers such as Bernardino da Siena as well as by sending the powerful and influential Cardinals Nicholas of Cusa and Nicholas of Capistrano to Germany along with Cardinal d'Estouteville to France, to promote similar reforms outside of Italy.

The true mark of Nicholas' appeal was most evident in his highly developed intellect. Having been a tutor to wealthy Florentine families while studying at the University of Bologna, the Pope was most in his element among architects, artists, and scholars. His personal library of books and manuscripts numbered over twelve hundred volumes and would become the basis of the Vatican library. Pope Nicholas also arranged for the translation into Latin of numerous Greek authors both classical and contemporary and sponsored the rebuilding of the Roman infrastructure. He oversaw the renovations of

numerous churches, bridges, palaces, and roads. These improvements to the long neglected city also included the walled Leonine City that consisted of Saint Peter's and much of the Vatican Hill that was created by Pope Leo IV after the Muslim attacks of 846. Naturally many of the renovations, including those in the papal residence, were the work of outstanding artists and architects from several nations. It was into this bustle of culture and wealth under Pope Nicholas that archival evidence notes the entry of Bartolomeo di Tommaso sometime prior to 21 August 1451.

At the end of the nineteenth century Müntz, was the first to edit the papal records referring to the Vatican activities of Maestro Bartolomeo.<sup>102</sup> These entries, which cover the period from 21 August 1451, through 28 November 1453, show that Bartolomeo was highly regarded. The first entry, of 21 August 1451, refers to the fact that the artist was "presently in the palace" and given an advance of 25 ducati by the Pope. This amount was issued by commandment of Nicholas V to Bartolomeo in partial payment of his monthly salary, which was set at seven ducati and was to include the artist's expenses including room and board.<sup>103</sup>

Bartolomeo's works, none of which remain, must have lived up to the Pope's expectations as Müntz points out that Vatican treasury records indicate monthly payments of the same amount to Bartolomeo from August of 1451 to 28 November 1453. Payments are registered from 10 June 1452 through 12 September 1453 for work that included the second hall of the papal apartments; "lavorò in palazzo a dipingere la sichunda sala di palazzo."<sup>104</sup>

At the same time Müntz indicates that while working in the Vatican, Bartolomeo received from Pope Nicholas another impressive commission to produce works for the Campidoglio. This entry dated 1452, discovered by Müntz in the Registry of the Capitoline dated 1452, notes that a sum of ninety-four ducati was paid to the painter Maestro Bartolomeo of Foligno for “the frieze in the great hall of the Campidoglio and for the glorious image of the Madonna that’s stands at the top of the great staircase of the Campidoglio.”<sup>105</sup> Although questions have arisen regarding the extent of Bartolomeo’s participation in these Vatican activities, Faloci-Pulignani argues that these entries indicate that Bartolomeo was personally known to the Pope. He concluded that:

Bartolomeo was in Rome at the time of Fra Angelico and of Nicholas V, and for three years was occupied in painting the second hall of the papal apartments, that he decorated the great Capitoline Hall with a frieze, [and] in 1452 painted the image of the Madonna at the top of the Capitoline stairs, [and based on this evidence] it is necessary to state that he certainly must not have been just an ordinary painter.<sup>106</sup>

As an interesting aside to Bartolomeo’s activities for Nicholas V in the Campidoglio, Faloci-Pulignani points out that several years later in 1460, the Pope had entrusted custody of the Campidoglio to a garrison of fifty soldiers commanded by one Tartaglia da Foligno. Perhaps this assignment grew out of the Pope’s satisfaction with Bartolomeo’s work or the painter’s personal relationship with the Pontiff. Although we shall probably never know whether the appointment of a Folignate to this important position was due to Bartolomeo’s relationship with the Pope, Faloci-Pulignani notes with some degree of satisfaction that Tartaglia da Foligno:

would have every day descended and ascended, who knows how many steps, and who knows how many times he would have been pleased to smile at the colors of the sacred Image, knowing that it was one of his fellow citizens that had executed it.<sup>107</sup>

Despite Bartolomeo's success in Rome, we know that the painter probably had little intention of remaining outside of his native city beyond the three years already spent in the Vatican. A document drafted in Foligno and dated 27 June 1452, on behalf of Bartolomeo and a neighbor, Angelus Liberatoris, and presented to a commission of the mayor and priors of the Commune, requests that both parties be allowed to build an archway over a public thoroughfare between their respective homes.<sup>108</sup> Bartolomeo's justification for building this structure, which was ultimately granted by the Commune, was that it was needed to support the house he had purchased in Foligno with his parents some twenty years earlier and which, by this time, was in need of restoration. Based on this, and what I believe to be other less tangible sources, Sensi proposes that the painter, toward the end of his life and despite his many commissions, was not financially secure and might have had to sell property or borrow money to meet his financial obligations.<sup>109</sup>

The *terminus ante quem* of Bartolomeo's death according to Sensi is 6 February 1454 slightly more than two months after the entry of 28 November 1453 and the completion of his work at the Vatican. Sensi arrives at this conclusion from a notarial document of the same date that reflects the sale of a parcel of land. The document notes that the home of the seller Signore Sebastiano di ser Nicolò is adjacent to the home acquired by Bartolomeo with his parents in 1433, and was now entered into the registry as bordering on the property of Bartolomeo's heirs.<sup>110</sup>

Additional information regarding Bartolomeo's presumed insolvency is sparse and is based on the financial disposition of the painter's surviving children Isotta and Polidoro. No evidence exists regarding any patrimony left by Bartolomeo to his children,

although two documents drafted after the proposed death of the painter suggest that his offspring might have inherited debts from their father.

The first of these documents, dated 23 August 1457, cites Bartolomeo in relation to the last will and testament of Donna Angelina, the wife of Andrea di Pietro di Mezastra, the parents of Donna Onofria Bartolomeo's deceased wife.<sup>111</sup> The will bequeaths the greater part of Andrea di Pietro di Mezastra's assets to their two children Pierantonio, the painter, and Tommaso. Also mentioned in the will are their grandchildren through Bartolomeo and Onofria, the recently orphaned Isotta and Polidoro. At this time both would have been approximately fourteen years of age. Isotta was bequeathed *biancheria* or linens and real estate. Polidoro, the artistic heir to Bartolomeo, received only four florins, an indication that by 1457 he was apprenticed in the workshop of the painter, miniaturist, and metalsmith, Mariano da Perugia. Perhaps his meager inheritance indicates that by this time Bartolomeo's son had become more self-sufficient. We know through Rossi that some twenty years later Polidoro was well-enough established to open his own workshop in Foligno.<sup>112</sup>

The second document drafted in Foligno and dated 12 January 1459 can be construed as relating to the economic situation of the orphans. However, if we consider that both had by this time reached their legal majority, the document might also be interpreted as a convenient way of managing the family residence purchased by Bartolomeo and his parents in 1433. The notarial act describes the rental of this house and assumption of debt by Polidoro to one Dattalo di Alleguccio di Ventura da Rieti, a Jew residing in Foligno. The document declares that Polidoro the son of "magistri Bartolomei Briscide de Fulgineo," is indebted to Dattalo in the amount of nineteen florins

“pro acconcimine domus dicti Polidori quam tenet ad pensionem ab ipso Polidoro,” conceivably a reference to the repairs begun by Bartolomeo seven years earlier in 1452.<sup>113</sup> Other expenses are mentioned in the document but without further details. Neither document can be taken as proof of Sensi’s suggestion that Bartolomeo had fallen on hard times, and if we consider that Isotta could have by this time been happily married, and that Polidoro was well-along in his apprenticeship, the document can just as easily be seen as confirming a wise investment and the efficient disposal of their aging family home. Neither document can be construed as an indication of Bartolomeo’s financial situation toward the end of his life. The fact remains that throughout his active years, the master was well known in the highest levels of society, never lacked for commissions, and from the very beginning of his documented career in 1432 through his Vatican and Campidoglio commissions commanded impressive prices for his paintings.

This concludes the survey of documentation that currently exists regarding the life of Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno. Although riddled with gaps, particularly in his earlier years, the record shows that the painter was admired by his Umbrian contemporaries, and had reached an important pinnacle late in life through his Vatican and Campidoglio commissions. Though for years only a handful of works were attributed to Bartolomeo, or were classified as being “of modest value,” several recent attributions have compelled historians to reserve judgment. The next chapters will examine the early works cited by Faloci-Pulignani as well as many others attributed to Bartolomeo since the turn of the century. This examination begins with what has been proposed as his earliest painting dated 1432 and continues through 1453, one of the many dates proposed for the impressive cycle of frescoes found in the Cappella Paradisi in Terni.

## NOTES

## Chapter Two

<sup>1</sup> Carlo Grigioni, "Un' opera ignota del Maestro di Nicolò di Liberatore," *Rassegna Bibliografica dell'arte Italiana* 13 (1910) : 1-7. ; Michele Faloci-Pulignani, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso, pittore Umbro del XV secolo," *Rassegna d'arte Umbra* 3, no. 3, (July 1921): 65-80.

<sup>2</sup> Mario Sensi, "Documenti per Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Paragone* 28 (1977): 103-155. ; "Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Girolamo di Matteo da Gualdo: Due note d'archivio," *Paragone* 43 (1992): 79-91.

<sup>3</sup> For an overview of this argument see, Piero Adorno, "Gli affreschi della Cappella Paradisi nella chiesa di San Francisco a Terni," *Antichita a Viva*, 17 (November/December 1978): 3-18. ; Aldo Cicinelli, "Appunti per uno studio della chiesa di San Francesco e degli affreschi attribuiti a Bartolomeo di Tommaso (Sec. XV), nella Cappella Paradisi, in Terni," in *Arte sacra in Umbria e dipinti restaurati nei secoli XIII-XX*, (Todi: Ediert, 1987), 25-46. ; Paola Mostarda, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Giacomo della Marca nella Cappella Paradisi a Terni," *Esercizi* 4 (1981): 54-67.

<sup>4</sup> Federico Zeri, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Bollettino d'arte* 46 (1961): 29-45.

<sup>5</sup> Outside of the fact that Maestro Olivuccio died in 1439 and that his name appears briefly in several notarial documents, often in the company of leather workers or "calzolaio," little else exists regarding his career. Fortunately for our purposes and as enumerated in the last chapter, three of these documents also include the name of Bartolomeo di Tommaso. See *Archivio di Stato di Ancona, Notarile.*, 178, Chiarozzo Spampalli. Vol. (1420-39), pp. 51, 52, 57, in Sensi, *Documenti*, 133., entries of 22 and 23 August and 8 December 1425.

Amico Ricci notes that the first documented mention of the painter's work occurs in 1429, four years after we first find his name alongside Bartolomeo's in several Anconese notarial documents. In this year, Filippo Maria Visconti commissioned Olivuccio to paint an *Adoration of the Magi* for the Holy House of Loreto for the impressive sum of fifty gold florins. According to Ricci, the contract lists the artist's name as "Magister Alegutius Cicarelli de Ancona," and although later research by Giannandrea would lead him to conclude that the painter had his origins in Camerino, historians have established that he would mostly remain active in Ancona. Olivuccio might have been aware of the work and felt the influence of the Fabriano-born Allegretto Nuzi whose reputation and use of many local as well as Venetian Gothic elements in his paintings was known throughout Central Italy and who tradition places as being the teacher of the late Gothic master Gentile da Fabriano. Feliciangeli and Gianandrea both established that, aside from the aforementioned work for the Visconti, the master executed two paintings, one of an unknown subject in San Francisco alle Scale in 1430 and another of a *Crucifixion and Six Scenes from the Life of San Nicolò* in the Church of San Martino di Sirolo in 1431.

Although the works for San Francisco and San Martino no longer exist there are several existing and lost paintings that historians feel could be the work of the master. Perhaps the two most prominent examples were those of *San Primaino* (Fig. 6) and a majestic *Enthroned Madonna* (Fig. 7) both originally in the Duomo of Ancona where they were destroyed in the bombardments of World War II. Both frescoes were done sometime around the third decade of the Quattrocento and displayed common elements of a rigid frontality and grandiosity of line, sharp delineation of drapery, and the type of ornate and structurally solid Byzantine or Gothic style thrones that we often find in many early to mid-Trecento works of Siena and its outlying regions. Added to these two examples of possible works by Master Olivuccio are two additional paintings. Again both works are Madonnas, the first a detached *Madonna of Loreto* (Fig. 8) now found in the Palazzo Baravelli in Fabriano; and the second the remnant of a *Madonna and Child* (Fig. 9) in the Chiesa dei Minori Riformati in Massa Fermana. See Giuseppe Vitalini Sacconi, "Olivuccio di Ciccarello," in *Pittura Marchigiana, la Scuola Camerinese* (Trieste: La Editoriale Libreria, 1968), 69-78. ; A. Gianandrea, "Olivuccio di Ceccarello pittore Marchigiano del secolo XV," *Nuova rivista Misena* 3, no. 12, (1890): 179-187. ; "Ancora del pittore Olivuccio di Ciccarello e di altri suoi contemporanei in Ancona," *Nuova rivista Misena* 6, no. 3, (1893): 35-39. ; Amico Ricci, *Memorie storiche delle arti e degli artisti della Marca di Ancona* (Macerata, 1834). ; Pietro Zampetti, *Paintings from the Marches: Gentile to Raphael* (London: Phaidon, 1971), 72. ; B. Feliciangeli, *Pittori Camerinesi del Quattrocento* (Chieti and Potenza, 1910).

<sup>6</sup> A. Gianandrea, "Olivuccio di Ceccarello pittore Marchigiano del secolo XV," *Nuova rivista Misena* 3, no. 12, (1890): 179-187. ; "Ancora del pittore Olivuccio di Ciccarello e di altri suoi contemporanei in Ancona," *Nuova rivista Misena* 6, no. 3, (1893): 35-39.

<sup>7</sup> *Archivio di Stato di Ancona, Notarile.*, 178, Chiarozzo Sparipalli. Vol. (1420-39), pp. 51, 52, 57., in Mario Sensi, "Documenti per Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Paragone* 28 (1977): 133.

<sup>8</sup> Mario Sensi provides us with the following ten notarial documents from the Archivio di Stato da Foligno dated between 1405 and 1416 that mention Bartolomeo's father Tommaso di Pucciarello. These refer to his profession as shoemaker; his wife Brigid; the district in which he lived – the "Società della Croce," and the fact that he either received rentals for property, sold a parcel of land, or acted as a witness to other legal proceedings. See Mario Sensi, "Documenti per Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Paragone* 28 (1977): 132-133.

a) *Archivio di Stato da Foligno, Notarile.*, 106, Luca Lilli, 1405, novembre 3: "in clauastro cellarii Iohannis Vangeli Unti Martinutius Martini Puccipti de Fulgineo et sotietate Contrastagne vendidit Thome Pucciarelli de Fulgineo et sotietate Crucis, tria staria terre campie et clausate cumocto ceppariis sive pedalibus olivarum in contrata Fossature pretii duorum fl. auri pro quolibet stario."

b) Ibid., 1406, gennaio 10: “in sotietate Contrastagne Martinutius Martini Pucipti vendidit Thome Pucciarelli de Fulgineo et sotietate Crucis quatuor staria terre in contrata Fossature, iuxta ipsum venditorem pretii unius fl. auri cum dimidio pro quolibet stario.”

c) Ibid., 1406, gennaio 23: “in sotietate Contrastagne Martinutius Martini Pucipti vendidet Thome Pucciarelli de Fulgineo et sotietate Crucis duo staria terre campie in contrata Fossature, iuxta ipsum venditorem pretii trium fl. auri in totum.”

d) Ibid., 1406, febbraio 17: “in sotietate Crucis, iuxta viam, Thomam Bartholi Pucciarelli Martinutius Martini Pucipti vendidit Thome Pucciarelli de Fulgineo et sotietate Crucis unum starium terre campie in contrata fossature iuxta ipsum emptorem pretii unius floreni auri cum dimidio.”

e) Ibid., 1406, dicembre 10: “in sotietate Crucis Thoma Pucciarelli de Fulgineo et sotietate Crucis test.”

f) Ibid., 1408, febbraio 12: “in sotietate Contrastagne Thoma Pucciarelli sartore de Fulgineo et sotietate Crucis test.”

g) Ibid., 1410, gennaio 27: “in sotietate Contrastagne Thoma Pucciarelli sutore de Fulgineo et sotietate Crucis test.”

h) *Archivio di Stato da Foligno, Notarile.*, 113, Francesco di Pucciarello, (1408-10), p. 198 v, 1410, novembre 24: “d. Nerius Andree ut procurator cappellanorum in Maiori ecclesie Fulginat. tradidit ad afflictum seu coptum Tome Pucciarelli de Fulgineo et societate Crucis unam petiam terre positam in comitatu Fulginei, in contrata ...”

i) *Archivio di Stato da Foligno, Notarile.*, 106, Luca Lilli, (1415-17), p.2., 1415, dicembre 3: “in sotietate Crucis, in quodam inlaustro, ave orto infrascriptorum venditorum, posto in dicta sotietate, iuxta viam, dictos venditores a duous lateribus, Francischum Michaelis Ambrosiocti et alia altera Tomas Pucciarelli sutor de Fulgineo et sotietate Crucis et d. Brisida, uxor ipsius Thome, cum presentia, consensu et voluntate dicti Thome sui mariti vendiderunt Iohanni Nicholai de Fulgineo et sotietate Crucis unum petium terre campie in comitatu Fulginei, in contrata Prati pretii quatuor fl. pro quolibet stario habuerunt et receperunt sectem fl. auri.”

j) Ibid., 1416, giugno 28: “in platea veteri Thoma Pucciarelli sutore de Fulgineo et sotietate Crucis test.”

<sup>9</sup>. Sensi, 104.

<sup>10</sup>. *Archivio di Stato di Ancona, Notarile.*, 178, Chiarozzo Sparipalli. Vol. (1420-39), pp. 51, 52, 57, 1425 luglio 10, in Sensi, 133., “Actum in banca residentie nostre notarie,

presentibus Bartholomeo Tome de Fulgineo habitatore Ancone et Mecolo Bartolutii de Monteseuro, comitatus Ancone. Silvester Laurentii civis et habitator Ancone ex causa venditionis promisit mag. Benedicto Iacobi (sutori de Nursia civi et habit. Ancone) dare tempore vindemiarum in Ancona ad domum habitationis dicti mag. Benedicti quinque sagmas vini tribiani pretii viginti septem ancon. de argento.”

<sup>11.</sup> Ibid., 1425 agosto 22: “Actum in banca nostre notarie, presentibus Francesco Laurentii Adovardi et Bartolomeo Tome pictore de Fulgineo, testibus rogatis. Christofanus Martini Foronsinfronii habit. Ancone constituit ser Marcutium Benincase civem Ancon. suum procuratorem.”

<sup>12.</sup> Ibid., 1425 agosto 23: “In dicto loco (in banca notarie), presentibus magistro Oliuctio Ciccarelli et Bartolomeo Tome pictoribus civibus Ancone testibus. Domina Andriola mag. Antonii sutoris de Sancto Severo constituit prov. Virum ser Marcutium Benincase not. Civem Ancon., suum procuratorem.”

<sup>13.</sup> Ibid., 1425 dicembre 8: “Actum in strata publica ante apotecam mag. Oliuctii pictoris, presentibus Bartolomeo Tome de Fulgineo et Iohanne Bono Corradi pictoribus, habitatoribus Ancone.”

<sup>14.</sup> *Archivio di Stato di Ancona, Notarile.*, 178, Chiarozzo Sparipalli. Vol. (1420-39), p. 72v, 1426 agosto 20, in Sensi, 122., “magister Oliuctius Ciccarelli, pictor civis Ancone fecit Iohannem Corradi, alias Bono pictorem famulum suum, absentem tamquam presentem, suum verum et legitimum procuratorem” ; p. 208v, 1439 giugno 5: “Iohannes Bonus Corradi pictor civis et habitator Ancone ut heres ex testamento quondam magistri Oliuctii Ciccarelli pictoris sui olim magistri fecit, procuratores” ; p. 220, 1439 settembre 5: “Iohannes Bonus Corradi pictor ex testamento magistri Oliuctii Ciccarelli pictoris de Camereno, olim civis Ancone.”

<sup>15.</sup> *Archivio di Stato di Ancona, Notarile.*, 178, Chiarozzo Sparipalli. Vol. (1420-39), p. 95r.

<sup>16.</sup> Although clearly not an icon the contracts refer to the work as “cona,” apparently an early derivation of the term.

<sup>17.</sup> *Archivio di Stato di Foligno, Notarile.*, 93, Tommaso di Angelo di Pietro (1430-41), 1431 ottobre 7, in Mario Sensi, “Bartolomeo di Tommaso E Girolamo di Matteo da Gualdo: Due note d’archivio,” *Paragone* 43, no. 505-507, (March-May 1992): 87-88. “actum in ecclesia S. Salvatoris de Fulgineo cum hoc fuerit quod qn. Franciscus Venantii mercator de Fulgineo in ultimis constitutus suum ultimum condiderit testamentum et si contingerit dicti mei filii et dicte mee filie omnes decederent, ut dictum est, sine filiis legitimis substituit eius heredem tertiam dicte hereditatis relinquo ecclesie Sancti Salvatoris et ecclesie Sancti Augustini et ecclesie Sancte Marie in campis prope Fulgineum pro cappellis construendis in dictis ecclesiis quas cappellas clerici ipsarum teneantur facere et construere infra spatium trium annorum et si secus fuerit, cadant a dicto relicto. Et cum as presens dicte condiciones in eo opposite avenerint deliberaverunt

dictum testamentum executioni mandare. Et cum ad presens sit in fieri in dicta ecclesia quedam cona sive tabula pro magno altare ipsius ecclesie magni spendii, cuius constructor est Bartolomeus filius Tome Briside de Fulgineo et sotietatis crucis, habitator ad presens in civitate Ancone et quod apud omnes videtur nimis necessaria ipsi ecclesie, tam pro utilitate omnium parrochianorum, quam etiam pro ornamentis ipsius ecclesie, idcirco prefati vicarius et canonici constituti coram rev. in Chr. P. et d. d. Jacobo de Elmis, Dei et apostolice sedis gratia episcopo Fulginate existenti in coro ecclesie quia dicta quantitas non sufficit ad construendum cappellam predictam, secundo quia in ipsa cappella non ets locus in quo ipsa cappella construi possit, unde consideratis predictis prefati vicarius et canonici (*fecerunt Marine uxoris qn. Francisci Venantii*) refutationem (*de*) quatragesima quinque fl. auri dicte ecclesie Sancti Salvatoris relictis vigore dictorum relictorum eosque conversisse in cona predicta et in eius constructione. Et pro residuo et complemento totius dicte summe XLV fl. idem Raynaldus (Corradi Galassi de Fulgineo et sotietate abbacie) de mandato et voluntate dictorum vicarii et canonicorum solvit et numeravit dicto Bartolomeo Tome Briside constructori et pictori dicte cone ididem presenti et recipienti et habuisse et recepisse confitenti dicta de causa fl. auri viginti.”

<sup>18.</sup> *Archivio di Stato di Foligno, Notarile.*, 93, Tommaso di Angelo di Pietro (1430-41), p. 159v, 1432 dicembre 16, in Sensi, *Documenti*, 134., “Milleximo CCCCXXXII., X. indictione, tempore sanctissimi in Christo patris et d. d. Eugenii div. prov. pape quarti et die XVI. Mensis decembris. Actum in coro ecclesie s. Salvatoris de Fulgineo, posito in sotietate abbaze, iuxta plateam, viam et res Iohannis de Robertis de Ferraria, civis Fulginatis et alia latera; presentibus d. Angelo Massci, d. Antonio Puccioli clericis fulginat. et Andrea Vagnoli de Rasilia, habitat. civit. Fulginei, testibus ad hec vocatis, habitis et rogatis.

Dominus Angelus Agostini clericus fulginas, necnon vicarius magnifici viri domini Raynaldi de Trinciis de Fulgineo, prioris dicte ecclesie, de cuius vicariato plene patet manu mei Tome notarii infrascripti, et dominus Astor domini Honofrii et dompnus Nicola Marci de Fulgineo, canonici dicte ecclesie, sponte per se ipsos et eorum in dicta ecclesia perpetuos subcessores, nomine et vice dicte ecclesie, ad infrascripta omnia et singula facienda, in coro ecclesie predictae, more solito capitulariter congregati, ipsorum nemine discordante et de mandato et voluntate magnifici et excelsi domini Corradi de Trinciis, patris dicti prioris, mihi commisso oraculo vive vocis, fuerunt vere confessi et contenti esse debitores Bartolomei Tome, pictoris de Fulgineo et sotietate Crucis, ibidem presentis, stipulantis et recipientis pro se suisque heredibus et subcessoribus et cui seu quibus ius suum dare vel concedere voluerit, in quantitate XXIII, florenorum auri in quibus asseruerunt sibi teneri occasione provisionis salarii et mercedis facture unius cone per ipsum facte et fabricate in dicta ecclesia ad requisitionem et postulationem dictorum prioris et canonicorum, videlicet pro residuo dicti sui salarii et mercedis, quos vero XXIII, florenos promixi erunt eidem Bartolomeo stipulanti et recipienti, ut supra, dare et solvere ad omnem ipsius requisitionem et petitionem, pro quibus solvendis dictis nominibus obligaverunt seipsos et omnia et singula dicte ecclesie bona presentia et futura et pro predictorum osservatione voluerunt seipsos cogi in curia episcopatus Fulginei et in qualibet alia curia ecclesiastica vel seculari. Et si casus evenerit quod prior et canonici ecclesie predictae non satisfecerint eidem Bartolomeo de dictis XXIII florenis, dederunt

eidem licentiam intrandi tenutam et possessionem dictorum bonorum obligatorum eius propria auctoritate etc.”

19. *Archivio di Stato di Foligno, Notarile.*, 93, Tommaso di Angelo di Pietro (1430-41), p. 160, 1432 dicembre 16, in Sensi, 134-135., “Dicta die, loco et testibus as hoc vocatis, habitis et rogatis Prefati vicarius et canonici asserentes sese dicits nominibus esse bene servitos a dicto magistro Bartolomeo tam de factura dicte cone quam et etiam de mercede dicte facture cone predicte, volentesque sibi in aliquo retribuere, sponte per se ipsos et eorum in dicta ecclesia perpetuos subcessores, nomine et vice dicte ecclesie et volumptate prefati magnifici domini Corradi dederunt, tradiderunt et locaverunt ad afflictum eidem magistro Bartolomeo ibidem presenti stipulanti et recipienti pro se et suis heredibus et cui, seu quibus ius suum concesserit octo staria unius petie terre laborative, prioratus ecclesie predicte, posite iuxta pontis abazie, quod petium terre dicitur esse staria XV., iuxta viam mediante foveo, res Petri Cole mag. Cagni et nepotum, res Ciani Augustini, alias lu grasso, et alia latera, pro VIII annis proxime venturis, pro fictu trium florenorum ad rat XL., quolibet anno, in totum florenos XXIII pro dictis VIII annis, quos XXIII florenos prefati vicarius et canonici fuerunt vere confessi et contenti a dicto magistro Bartolomeo habuisse et recepisse in pecunia numerata et eos conversisse in utilitatem et comodum dicte ecclesie et de quibus fecerunt eidem finem, quietationem, liberationem et pactum inrevocabile de ulterius aliquid non petendo vel agendo, liberantes eum a solutione dicte pecunie per sollempnem stipulationem etc., promictens dictus magister Bartolomeus dictam terram bene colere et gubernare temporibus debitis et congruis durante dicto tempore fictus. Renuptiantes”

20. Sensi, 123. In the summer of 2001, I inquired as to the whereabouts of this fresco, known to have already been badly damaged, as the Church of San Salvatore in Foligno was under a complete renovation due to a recent earthquake. Upon making inquiries and conducting a close examination of the Church I was unable to discover the work and to date have not learned of its present location or whether it survived the earthquake and the extensive and possibly unrecoverable damage done to this medieval Umbrian city. A pastoral visit at the turn of the century records the following entry with regard to the disposition of this fresco. *Foligno Archivio della Curia Vescovile., LXI Prima visita pastorale nella città e diocesi di Foligno di mons. Vescovo Giorgio Gusmini 1911-1914*, Tomo I, *Relazioni dei parroci di Foligno e Spello*, San Salvatore, risposta al questio C. III chiesa parrocchiale § 1, n.6., in Mario Sensi, “Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Girolamo di Matteo da Gualdo: Due note d’archivio,” *Paragone* 43, no. 505-507, (March-May 1992): 88., “Sopra il muro di chiusura della porta laterale – a destra di chi entra – fu esternamente dipinto in affresco una fuga in Egitto, probabilmente del sec. XV da me fatto distaccare nell’anno 1898 dal prof. Arturo Tradardi.” Although the fresco was evidently detached by Professor Tradardi, existing literature makes no mention of its location.

21. *Archivio di Stato di Foligno, Notarile.*, 93, Tommaso di Angelo di Pietro (1430-41), p. 172v., 1433 febbraio 9, in Sensi, 136-137., “Dicta die, loco et testibus. Supradictus dominus Iacobus episcopus sponte per se et suos in dicto episcopatu perpetuos subcessores nomine et vice dicti episcopatus, cum presentia, consensu,

voluntate ac expressa renuntiatione supradicti Iannis ser Berardi, qui omni iuri quod habebat in dicta re scripta renuit in manibus dicti domini episcopi iure et causa permutationis dedit, tradidit et concessit ad scriptum supranominatis Bartolomeo et domine Briside, ibidem presentibus, stipulantibus pro se ipsis et vice et nomine dicti Tome et usque in ipsorum et cuiuscumque ipsorum tertiam generationem legitimam masculinam et fememinam finitam et insupervenientem supradicta unum pugillum, IIII uncias et quatuor punctos terre scripti episcopatus predicti superius laterata et confinata cum ingressibus suis usque in vias publicas vel vicinales et cum omni eo et toto etc. ominique iure et actione etc. ad habendum, tenendum, possidendum et fructandum dicto iure scriptus quam concessionem et omnia supradicta fecit dictus dominus episcopus pro quatuor florenis auri quos fuit vere confessus et contentus a dictis emphyteotibus, dictis nominibus dantibus et solventibus, habuisse et recepisse in pecunia numerata, eosque converisse in utilitatem et comodum episcopatus predicti. Et de quibus fecit idem dominus episcopus quietationem Et quia dicti emphyteote dictis nominibus sponte per se ipsos et dictam eorum tertiam generationem promixerunt et convenerunt prefato domino Iacobo episcopo stipulanti et recipienti per se et nomine et vice dicti episcopatus annuatim in futurum in festo sancti Felitiani denarios duodecim. Renuntians.”

22. *Archivio di Stato da Foligno, Notarile.*, 103, Pietro Paolo di Giovanni Germani, (1432-35), p. 119 v, 1433 maggio 1, in Sensi, 137., “in monasterio sancte Crucis de Saxovivo, fulginatis diocesis, sub portico inclaustri dicti monasterii prope cisternam Tomas Pucciarelli sutor de Fulgineo et sotietate Crucis, sponte per se, suosque heredes, iurascriptus monasterii s. Crucis de saxovivo dedit, vendidit, tradidit et pleno iure concessit Anthonio Petrutii Andree alias Iuda de villa Uppelli comitis comitatus Fulginei ibidem preenti unam domum scriptam monasterii Saxivivi predicti, positam in civitate Fulginei, in sotietate Crucis, iuxta viam publicam a duobus lateribus, Angelinum . . Nicholam et Laurentium Mannaiolo et alia latera salvo etreservato semper iura dominii et proprietatis dicti monasterii Saxivivi nomine pretii decem et octo florenorum auri boni et iusti ponderus ad pondus iustum communis Fulginei, ad rat. XL bol. Pro quolobet fl.”

23. *Archivio di Stato di Ancona, Notarile.*, 178, Chiarozzo Sparipalli. vol. (1420-39), p. 95r, 1433 giugno 19, in Sensi, 137-138., “actum in strata publica, ante domum habitationis infrascripte domine, presentibus mag. Iacobo Antonii de Eugubio et ser Iohanne Antonii de Auximio, habitatoribus Ancone, testibus rogatis.

Domina Piera, uxor ser Iohannis Tincti, habuit et recepit a Bartholomeo Thome pictore de Fulgineo, cive et habitatore Ancone, duos ducatos et bolonenos decem de argento, innumeratis in presentia dictorum testium et mei notarii infrascripti, pro residuo omnis eius et totius quod dicta domina Piera petere et exigere posset ac habere deberet a dicto Bartholomeo occasione pensionis et nauli domus dicte domine, posite in parochia s. Egidii, iuxta res dicte domine et plateam Dominorum facte et habite as naulum per dictum Bartholomeum et Thomam eius patrem pro toto temporare preterito et in futurum usque in quintum decimum diem iulii proximi futuri computatis et deductis omnibus expensis factis in dicta domo per eos et computata solutione registri. De quibus duobus ducatis et bolonenis decem fecit dicta domina finem et quietationem dicto Bartholomeo presenti, stipulanti pro se suisque heredibus liberans et absolvens dictos Bartholomeum et

Thomam sub pena decem librarum denariorum in quolibet captulo huius contractus et obligatione omnium suorum bonorum.”

24. et vice et nomine Tome viri dicte domine Briside et patris dicti Bartolomei . . .
25. per dictum Bartholomeum et Thomam eius patrum . . .
26. Sensi, 108.
27. Michele Faloci-Pulignani, “Bartolomeo di Tommaso, pittore Umbro del XV secolo,” *Rassegna d'arte Umbra* 3, no. 3, (July 1921): 67..
28. Federico Zeri, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1964) 6:775.
29. Sensi, 125. Added to Sensi’s thesis regarding Bartolomeo’s entry into his legal majority is the fact that while in the Archivio di Stato di Ancona, I was able upon examination of the Chiarozzo Sparipalli document dated 10 July 1425 (see note 10) observe that at a later date an entry was made, by the same hand, into the marginalia above Bartolomeo’s name describing him as “pintem [sic] and intelligetem.” Although unsure regarding the definition of the first term, I discovered that in the much later contract with Donna Gaudiana of 31 March 1434 (see Appendix III) that Bartolomeo is described as “expertis et intelligentibus.” Later in the same document the painter’s panel of examiners are also described as “intelligentes homines in arte predicta.” The use of this term in describing both the painter and a group of expert examiners clearly implies adulthood and some degree professional or civic responsibility. The fact that in the entry of 1425 is added as an afterthought might suggest that at the time of the document Bartolomeo was in the process of entering, or had just entered his legal majority.
30. *Ibid.*, 108-109. “Infine ci sembra che la stessa operazione economica dell’acquisto di una casa segni nella vita del pittore folignate una tappa importante e sia il corrispettivo della sua affermazione in campo artistico. Alla disponibilità personale di denaro liquido, evidentemente frutto della professione artistica; alla fiducia accordatagli dal venditore dell’immobile che alla stesura dell’atto non esige l’ammontare totale del prezzo, ma concede una proroga, anche se solo per un quinto del valore, si aggiungano la riconosciuta protezione da parte di Corrado Trinci, Signore di Foligno e il giudizio lusinghiero dato dai canonici di San Salvatore sull’icona: così la precisazione di una data, 16 dicembre 1432, appunto la consegna del trittico alla chiesa di San Salvatore, segna lo spartiacque tra la formazione e la piena affermazione in campo artistico del maestro folignate.”
31. *Archivio di Stato di Fano, Archivio storico comunale*, cod. Malatestiani, vol. 84, p. 7, 1434 dicembre 14, in Sensi, 142., “A maestro Bartolomeo depentori ducati cinque, bolognini dieci, a bolognini .40. per ducato, per composizione facta con lui per el referendario da Rimini e mi Lodovico referendario, cioè per cinque arme a la schachiera, le qual dé fari su la cassa de la felici memoria del magnifico Signore messer Pandolfo, a oro fino et a tucte suo spixi, val a moneta da Fano.”

32. See Francesca Renzi, "Un'Ipotesi di lettura iconographica per gli affreschi del Refettorio di San Francesco a Cesena," *Romagna arte e storia* 17 (1997): 75-84.

33. Carlo Grigioni, "Un' Opera ignota del Maestro di Nicolò di Liberatore," *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte Italiana* 13 (1910): 2.

34. Ibid., "Salvo et reservato quod si Magnificus dominus Fulginei micteret pro dicto magistro Bartolomeo, temporare dicti laborerii, possit ipse magister Bartolomeus ad ipsum Magnificum dominum ire et morari, in eundo, stando et redundo solum per XV dies et non ultra et etiam pro minori spatio, si possibile erit, operando et sollicitando eius reditum cum illo Magnifico domino quanto frequentius fieri poterit."

35. For further information on Saint Julian see "Julian the Hospitaller" in David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 3d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 273-274.

36. *Archivio di Stato di Fano, Notarile E*, Damiano di Antonio di Domenicuccio (1411-1453), pp. 13v-14, 1434 marzo 31, in Grigioni, 3-6., "de dictis finis coloribus, azurro ultramarino et auro fino, picturis et ystoriis illis de quibus previsus erit, ut supra dictum est, et cum compassibus suis, de dictis finis coloribus omnibus suis sumptibus, laboribus et expensis et coloribus et auro predictis, exceptis calce et armatura, que calx ex armatura spectet et pertineat ad dictam dominam Gaudianam. Et promixit et convenit dictus magister Bartolomeus dictam picturam s. Iuliani confessoris post transactum mensem aprilis proxime futuri statim incipere et subsequenter proseguere et continuato tempore, ulla temporis intermissione finire."

37. Ibid., "laboribus et expensis et coloribus et auro predictis, exceptis calce et armatura, que calx ex armatura spectet et pertineat ad dictam dominam Gaudianam."

38. *Archivio di Stato di Fano, Notarile E*, Damiano di Antonio di Domenicuccio (1411-1453), p. 15v., 1434 maggio 10, in Sensi, 141., "in civitate Fani, in domo infrascripte domine Gaudiane presentibus ven. Patre mag. Iohanne de Montebodio lectore s. Francisci de Fano, Iohanne Francisco de Bartotiis, Bartolomeo Antonii de Fano, Petro Antonio filio dicti Iohannis Francisci, Dominighino et Melchiorre Petri de Faventia, omnibus Fani, testibus Alovisius Andree de Florentia, civis et habitator Fani fuit contentus et confessus habuisse in depositum ab egregia et ven. domina domina Gaudiana filia quondam Iacobi Petri Berte et uxore quondam Matioli Matei de Fano, per se et suis heredibus deponente ducatos sexaginta auri boni, iuri, iusti et legalis ponderis. Renuptians dictus Alovisius sub pena dupli."

39. *Archivio di Stato di Fano, Notarile E*, Damiano di Antonio di Domenicuccio (1411-1453), p. 15v., 1434 agosto 25, in Sensi, 141., "in domo habitationis dicte domine Gaudiane presentibus ven. Dominico Pelegrini de Garavellis de Fano pontenerio pontis Metauri s. Marie de Fano, Iohanne Francisco de Bartotiis de Fano, Dominighino Peri de Faventia et Guidone Petri de Cesena habitatoribus Fani, testibus dicta domina Gaudiana fecit finem, quietationem dicto Alovisio Andree de dictis sexaginta auri penes ipsum

Alovisium per dictam dominam Gaudianam depositatis et casavit et annullavit hoc instrumentum depositi”

40. *Archivio di Stato di Fano, Notarile E*, Damiano di Antonio di Domenicuccio (1411-1453), p. 32., 1434 agosto 25, in Sensi, 141-142., “in civitate Fani, in domo habitationis infrascripte domine Gaudiane presentibus nobilibus et egregiis viris Dominico Pelegrini de Garavellis pontenerio pontis Metauri iuxta s. Mariam de Fano, Iohanne Francischo domini Andree de Bartotiis de Fano, Dominichino Peri, Dominico Blaxii de Fano, Guidone Peri de Cesena, habitatoribus Fani, testibus ibique magister Bartolomeus Tomaxii de Fulgineo, habitator Ancone, pictor, per se et heredes et successores fuit contentus et confessus habuisse et recepisse a domina Gaudiana filia quondam Peri Berte ducatos centum auri videlicet: ducatos sexaginta per manus Alovisii Andree et ducatos quadraginta per manus ipsius domine Gaudiane pro parte solutionis et numerationis ducentorum sexaginta ducatorum promissorum per dictam dominam dicto magistro Bartolomeo pro pictura et laborerio picture retribune ecclesie s. Iuliani, iuxta bona ecclesie s. Francisci de Fano, quam retribunam tenetur pingere solempniter et bene, de fino auro, azurro ultramarino et aliis finis coloribus et picturis illis prout et sicut continetur in contractu seu rogitu et pactis initis et firmatis inter dictam dominam Gaudianam ex una parte et dictam magistrum Bartolomeum ex altera Renuptians promictens solempniter pingere dictam retribunam et laborerium dicte picture continuato tempore perficere ut promixit et versa vice dicte domina Gaudiana promixit et convenit se integre solutura dicta magistro Bartolomeo de residuo dictorum ducentorum LX ducatorum perfecto per eum opere et pictura tota dicte retribune secundum dicta pacta et conventiones. Pro quo magistro Bartolomeo et eius precibus et mandatis Alovisius Andree de Florentia, civis Fani, solempniter fideiuxit et se principaliter obligavit et in solidum. Et pro dicta domina Gaudiana et eius precibus et mandatis Dominicus Pelegrini de Garavellis de Fano pontenerius predictus solempniter fideiuxit et se principaliter et in solidum obligavit. Renuptiantes beneficio novarum constitutionum et de fideiussionibus et omni alii legum et iuris auxilio. Et si dictus magister Bartolomeus mortuus naturali vel divino iudicio et casu fortuito, quod Deus advertat, perficere non posset dictum laborerium et picturam dicte retribune, dictus Alovisius promixit facere et curare taliter et cum effectu quod dictus magister Bartolomeus vel eius heredes et successores restituent dicte domine Gaudiane id quod tenerentur restituere de receptis pecuniis ab ipsa domina Gaudiana secundum dictum, declarationem et sententiam prefati Iohannis Francisci ad iudicium et extimationem unius vel duorum magistrorum in arte pictorie peritorum et expertorum, alias attenderet ipse Alovisius de suo proprio. Que omnia sub pena dupli.”

41. Sensi, 110.

42. *Archivio di Stato di Fano, Notarile A*, Damiano di Antonio di Domenicuccio (1405-1449), pp. 242-244v, 1438 settembre 4, in Sensi, 143., “in domibus conventus et loci s. Francisci de Fano, videlicet in sala seu loco librerie nove dicti conventus ibique syndici et procuratores Capituli et conventus Ordinis Fratrum Minorum s. Francisci de Fano cum presentia fr. Augustini de Montebarchio, minsitri Ordinis predicti, fr. Antonii quondam Mathei prioris et fr. Iohannis quondam Baldassarris et fr. Petri de Fano facerunt finem, quietationem egregio viro Dominico Pelegrini de Garavellis pontenerio pontis

Metauri item dixit dictus dominus pontenerius esse in dicta donatione et administratione bonorum predictorum debita infrascripta, que restant solvenda pro medietate per conventum pro uno quarto per pontem Metauri et pro uno alio quarto per hospitale s. Iuliani, videlicet: item magistro Bartolomeo Tomaxii de Fulgineo pictori capelle s. Iuliani, videlicet pro resto pictorie capelle predicte, ducatos trigintanovem, bonenos trigintasex.”

43. Michele Faloci-Pulignani, “Bartolomeo di Tommaso, pittore Umbro del XV secolo,” *Rassegna d'arte Umbra* 3, no. 3, (July 1921): 65-80.

44. *Archivio di Stato di Fano, Notarile A*, Damiano di Antonio di Domenicuccio (1405-1449), p. 323, 1439 Iuglio 29, in Michele Faloci-Pulignani, “Bartolomeo di Tommaso, Pittore Umbro del XV Secolo,” *Rassegna d'arte Umbra* 3, no. 3, (July 1921): 69-70., “in domo Bartolomei et Andree Antonii mercatorum de Fano presentibus Antonio de Curnano mercatore et Bartolomeo magistri Angeli de Fano, testibus coram presentia egregii et ven. Viri Dominici Peregrini de Garavellis pontenerii pontis Metauri iuxta s. Mariam Metauri et nobilium virorum Iohannis Francisci de Bartotiis et Bartolomei Antonii mercatoris de Fano, magister Iohannes magistri Antonii de Nursia, aurifax civis Fani et magister Georgius de Venetiis, pictor habitator Fani, requisiti dixerunt et attestati fuerunt, eorum sacramento corporali in manibus mei notarii infrascripti, se vidisse laborerium factum per magistrum Bartolomeum Tomasii de Fulgineo, pictorem habitatorem Fani ad presens, sed pro maiori parte moram trahentem Ancone, in ecclesia s. Iuliani, videlicet picturam per eum factam de capella seu retribuna dicte ecclesie s. Iuliani de Fano. Et in eorum bona et pura conscientia et secundum iudicium pictura predicta et figure in dicta capella istorialiter prout iacet est solempnis et pulchra et seu pulcre et meliores quam figure facte per dictum magistrum Bartolomeum in facie muri anterioris hospitalis dicte ecclesie s. Iuliani. Et quod dicte figure facte in dicta capella dicte ecclesie sunt facte de finis colorius, silicet azurro ultramaro et auro fino. Et sic declaraverunt et iudicaverunt fideliter, ut asseruerunt in eorum manus, secundum eorum iudicium et opinionem per eorum sacramentum, ut supra. Rogantes dicti dominus pontenerius, Iohannes Franciscus et Bartolomeus me notarium infrascriptum ut de predictis publicum conficerem instrumentum.”

45. Faloci-Pulignani, 70. ; Sensi, 112.

46. *Archivio di Stato di Fano, Notarile A*, Damiano di Antonio di Domenicuccio (1405-1449), p. 332, 1439 agosto 19, in Sensi, 144., “in gabella communis Fani Baptista Vincensoli, nobilis de Fano, fecit et constituit prudentem virum magistrum Bartolomeum Tomasii de Fulgineo, pictorem habitatorem Ancone, absentum tamquam presentum in causa seu causis, quam vel quas habet seu habere sperat cum Clemente .. aromataro de Ancona. Et generaliter cum qualibet alia persona tam spirituali quam temporali in curia potestatis civitatis Ancone et in qualibet alia curia, ad agendum item ad exigendum omnem pecunie quantitatem debitam per dictum Clementem dicto Baptiste”

47. Anna Zanoli, “Un altare di Bartolomeo di Tommaso a Cesena,” *Paragone arte*, 23 (1969): 63-76.

48. Zanolì, 64.
49. Bruno Toscano, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Nicola da Siena," *Commentari*, 15 (1964): 37-51.
50. Zanolì draws our attention to the gilded and ornate surviving frame of the *Rospigliosi Triptych* of 1447, originally from the College of Camerino and now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana as an example of the extent Bartolomeo's responsibilities. Zanolì, 65.
51. Zanolì, 75., "Hoc insuper acto quod perfecta dicta tabula, si defectu dicti magistri Bartolomei et sui operis devastaretur infra tres annos teneatur illam in parte in qua esset devastata refficere suis expensis, casu vero quo dicta tabula devastaretur non ex defectu operis dicti magistri Bartolomei seu ex alio defectu turc ad expensas fratrum damnum (reficendum)."
52. Zanolì, 66.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid., 67.
56. Ibid.
57. Zanolì, 67., "spese fattesi per l'indorare la ancona nell'altare grande per prezzo ducati 400 de Venecia e le spexe."
58. Ibid., 67., "lascito per l'altar grande 1441."
59. *Archivo di Stato da Foligno, Notarile.*, 107, Luca Lilli, (1442), p. 10v. 1442 marzo 20, in Sensi, 145., "actum in sotietate Admanitorum presentibus Honofrio Barnabovis de Fulgineo et sotietate More, Filippo Iohannis Filippi de Fulgineo et sotietate Cippischorum, Bartolomeo Tome Pucciarelli de Fulgineo et sotietate More et Iohanne Nocchori de Fulgineo et sotietate Spate, testibus."
60. This figure is arrived at using Sensi's proposed birth date of the painter as occurring between 1408-1411. If we were to use an approximate birth date sometime at the end of the fourteenth century proposed by Faloci-Pulignani and Zeri, Bartolomeo could have been considerably older at the time of his nuptials. Conversely, if we are to assume, as proposed by Mario Sensi, that Bartolomeo could have been approximately fourteen years of age at the witnessing of his first notarial document in 1425 he would have been, at the very least, thirty-two, more than twice the age of Donna Onofria at the time of his marriage in 1442.

<sup>61.</sup> Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p. 23. 1447 ottobre 7, in Faloci-Pulignani, 77., “Item die VIJ eiusdem mensis sepultum fuit corpus venerabilis domine Honofrie uxoris dicti magistri Bartholomey. Que domina fuit dilecta Deo et hominibus, ornata moribus et vita honesta. Iuvenis pulcerima, etate .20. annorum, cuius anima requiescat in pace. Et honorifice in dicto sepulcro sepulta fuit in die sabbati.”

<sup>62.</sup> *Archivo di Stato da Foligno, Notarile.*, 107, Luca Lilli, (1442), pp. 21v-22. 1442 aprile 19, in Sensi, 145.

<sup>63.</sup> Ibid., “actum Fulginei, in domo habitationis infrascriptorum venditorum, poxita in civitate Fulginei, in societate More, iuxta viam a tribus lateribus, ser Sebbastianum ser Nicolai de Fulgineo et alia latera Bartolomeus Tome Pucciarelli, pictor de Fulgineo et sotietate More et domina Honofria eius uxor et filia Andree Petri Meçcastre, cum consensu, presentia et voluntate dicti Andre sui patris et dicti Bartolomei sui mariti, quelibet et quilibet ipsorum Bartolomeus et domina Honofria, sponte per se et eorum et utriusque ipsorum heredum et quilibet ipsorum renuntiantes dederunt, vendiderunt, tradiderunt et perpetuo iure concesserunt Florano Pauli Angelilli macellario de Fulgineo et sotietate Crucis unam petiam terre positam in civitate Fulginei, in contrata Partisapi, iuxta viam a duobus lateribus, ipsum emptorem, res monasterii Saxivivi et res ecclesie s. Angeli de Sterpetis. Et hoc pro pretio et nomine pretii vigintiquatuor florenorum, ad rat. .XL. bol. Pro quolibet fl. Quam asseruerunt esse octo staria, unum pugillum et octo uncias; quod pretium totum dicti venditores fuerunt confessi et contenti sese a dicto emptore habuisse et accepisse et pro residuo habuerunt et receperunt duodecim florenos in pecunia numerata.”

<sup>64.</sup> Ibid., 146. “Eodem die, loco Pateat omnibus quod constitutus coram me notario infrascripto. Andrea Petri Meçcastre de Fulgineo et sotietate More, sua propria, libera et spontanea voluntate, liberoque arbitrio fuit confessus et contentus se esse debitorem Bartolomei Tome Pucciarelli pictoris de Fulgineo et dicta sotietate More in quantitate decem et octo florenorum et duodecim anconitanorum ad rat. quadraginta bol. pro quolibet fl., pro residuo dotis promisse per dictum Andream dicto Bartolomeo, videlicet pro dotis domine Honofrie, sue filie dicti Andree, et uxoris dicti Bartolomei, quem quantitatem dictus Andreas per se suisque heredibus promixit et convenit dare et solvere dicto Bartolomeo ad omnem ipsius Bartolomei terminum et petitionem.”

<sup>65.</sup> See Romano Cordella. “Un sodalizio tra Bartolomeo di Tommaso, Nicola da Siena, Andrea Delitio,” *Paragone*, 38, no. #451, (1987): 89-122.

<sup>66.</sup> This is the same painter referred to by Roberto Longhi and Andrea Ronchi in their seminal article on Bartolomeo’s contribution, “Primizie di Lorenzo da Viterbo,” *Vita artistica* 1 (1926): 109-114.

<sup>67.</sup> “Semper a pueritia usque in presentem diem (3 giugno 1439) retinuit in domo sua ut filium” in Cordella, 99.

68. Ibid., 93.
69. See Angelo Antonio Bittarelli, 1992. "Il Trittico Rospigliosi di Bartolomeo di Tommaso proviene da Camerino?" *Bollettino storico della citta di Foligno*, 16 (1992): 337-341. ; Carlo Pietrangeli, "Ancora sul cosiddetto Trittico Rospigliosi," *Bollettino storico della citta di Foligno*, 17 (1993): 301-302.
70. See Bruno Toscano, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Nicola da Siena," *Commentari*, 15 (1964): 37-51.
71. Piero Adorno, "Gli affreschi della Cappella Paradisi nella chiesa di San Francisco a Terni," *Antichita a viva*, 17 (November/December 1978): 3-18. ; Aldo Cicinelli, "Appunti per uno studio della chiesa di San Francesco e degli affreschi attribuiti a Bartolomeo di Tommaso (Sec. XV), nella Capella Paradisi, in Terni," in *Arte sacra in Umbria e dipinti restaurati nei secoli XIII-XX*, (Todi: Ediart, 1987), 25-46. ; Paola Mostarda, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Giacomo della Marca nella Cappella Paradisi a Terni," *Esercizi* 4 (1981): 54-67.
72. Faloci-Pulignani, 76.
73. Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p. 21v. 1446 luglio 10, in Michele Faloci-Pulignani, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso, Pittore Umbro del XV Secolo," *Rassegna d'arte Umbra* 3, no. 3, (July 1921): 76., "die dominica. Corpusculum ciusdam puelle, filie magistri Bartholomei pictoris, sepultum fuit in sepulcro antiquorem suorum, quod est inter sepulcrum magistri Guasparis mag. lignaminis et sepulcrum Nicole Francisci Trapassi, quod est in medio ecclesie inferioris. Que fuit puella angelica in etate, moribus et naturaliter pulcra, cuius anima inter angelos in patria requiescat et pro nobis intercedat."
74. *Archivio di Stato da Foligno, Notarile.*, 101, Francesco di Giovanni Germani, (1446-1447), 1446 dicembre 19, in Sensi, 148., "actum Fulginei, in sotietate Contrastagne, ante apotecam heredum Leonardi Iohannis Sanctori. Religiosi et honesti viri, frater Placitus Angeli et frater Iohannes Petri de Fulgineo, monaci Corporis Christi, Ordinis sancti Benedicti, monasterii s. Marie in campis, prope Fulgineum sindaci et procuratores abbatis, monacorum, capituli et conventus dicte ecclesie a Marie dederunt, vendiderunt, tradiderunt et pleno iure concesserunt Davino Nicolai de Tuderto unum petium terre positum in territorio Tuderti, in contrata Castanelli. Et hoc pro pretio et nomine pretii .XVIII. florenorum auri. Et predictam venditionem fecerunt dicti sindaci et procuratores tamquam de re minus dapnosa dicte ecclesie s. Marie in campis et pro solvendo unam conam factam dicte ecclesie s. Marie per magistrum Bartolomeum Thome pictorem de Fulgineo, pro altari maiori ecclesie antedicte."
75. *Confraternita del Gonfalone*, Registro I (1427-1590), p.1. A p.19v., in Mario Sensi, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Girolamo di Matteo da Gualdo: Due note d'archivio," *Paragone* 43, no. 505-507, (March-May 1992): 79., " del mese d'agosto: ancho pagò el

dicto Bernardo ad Ranaldo per la tavola de Santa Maria fl. tre bol. 47 per fiorino, cioè Ranaldo de Santucio fl. III, lib. II, s. XII, d. VI.”

76. Ibid., “Item à pagato al dicto Bernardo a di .VI. de settembre fl. quatro e bol. Sedece, a bol. .40. per fiorino, quali dio a Giapocho de maestro Antonio che ghe portò a Folignie a maestro Bartolomeio per la tavola fl. IIII, lib. II, s.-.”

77. Ibid., 80.

78. Sensi only references this entry of 6 October 1447 as being included in what I assume to be the first register of the confraternity’s records. No other details regarding this entry are given and the original text has been omitted from Sensi’s article.

79. Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p. 23. 1447 ottobre 4, in Michele Faloci-Pulignani, “Bartolomeo di Tommaso, pittore Umbro del XV secolo,” *Rassegna d’arte Umbra* 3, no. 3, (July 1921): 77., “Item die IIII mensis octobris sepultum fuit corpuscolum cuiusdam filie magistri Bartholomey pictoris in sepulcro suo quod est in medio ecclesie inferiori; cuius anima intercedat pro nobis.”

80. Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p. 23. 1447 ottobre 7, in Michele Faloci-Pulignani, “Bartolomeo di Tommaso, Pittore Umbro del XV Secolo,” *Rassegna d’arte Umbra* 3, no. 3, (July 1921): 77., “Item die VII eiusdem mensis sepultum fuit corpus venerabilis domine Honofrie uxoris dicti magistri Bartholomey. Que domina fuit dilecta Deo et hominibus, ornata moribus et vita honesta. Iuvenis pulcerima, etate .20. annorum, cuius anima requiescat in pace. Et honorifice in dicto sepulcro sepulta fuit in die sabbati.”

81. Sensi, 114.

82. Adamo Rossi, *I pittori di Foligno* (Perugia, 1872), 15, 62-63.

83. *Archivo di Stato da Foligno, Notarile.*, 104, Pietro Paolo Germani, (1442-1452), 1447 febbraio 14, in Sensi, *Documenti*, 149., “in sotietate Burgi, in domo infrascripte domine Nicolutie instrumentum pro domina Niccholusia uxore olim Laurentii Pucciarelli et filia olim Andreoli de Fulgineo et sotietate Burghi titulo et causa donationis inter vivos concessit magistro Bartholomeo Thome Pucciarelli pictori de Fulgineo et sotietate More et Antonio Corradilli Mascioli funario de Fulgineo et sotietate Spate, ibidem presentibus utrique ipsorum pro equali portione, omnia et singula sua bona reservato tamen eidem domine Nicoluite usufructu dictorum bonorum sic donatorum toto tempore vite sue et pro sui necessitate liberam habeat potestatem alienandi de dictis suis bonis pro substentatione sue vite. Et si opus fuerit, in casu necessitatis, dictus magister Bartolomeus et Antonius promisserunt dictam Nicolutiam alimentare, regere et gubernare ex pacto habito inter ipsas partes de omnibus sibi necessariis.”

b) Ibid., 1447, aprile 21: “in sotietate Menacode, in platea episcopatus, videlicet ad petronem ididem affixum ubi acta mulierum solita sunt fieri. Constituta coram eximo legum doctore domino Spinello de Spinis, iudice causarum civilium communis Fulginei domina Nicholutia, uxor olim Laurentii Pucciarelli cum presentia, consensu et voluntate Anthonii Claramontis et Salvutii Corradutii de Fulgineo, consanguineorum proximiorum dicte Nicholutie, nec Sinibaldi Iohannis Pagliarini, vocati ad prestandum consensum et voluntatem ob defectum alterius consanguinei carnalis pro parte dicte domine Nicholutie recolens se pridie fecisse quamdam donationem de suis bonis magistro Bartholomeo Thome Pucciarelli pictori et Antonio Corradilli Maxioli de Fulgineo, tunc presentibus, stipulantibus et recipientibus et cum in celebratione dicti instrumenti donationis non intervenerat auctoritas iudicis et presentia et consensus consanguineorum, prout dictat forma Statutorum Fulginei, idcirco dicta domina Nicholutia ratificavit cum illis pactis, conditionibus et reservationibus in dicto instrumento donationis contentis. Et reservata cidem Nicholutie quadam domo posita in civitate Fulginei, in sotietate Burgi, iuxta viam publicam a duobus lateribus et alia latera et presentibus dictis magistro Bartholomeo et Anthonio.”

c) Ibid., 149-150., 1447, aprile 21: “dicta die supradicta domina Nicolucia consensu et voluntate supradictorum concessit supradicto magistro Bartholomeo Thome pictori de Fulgineo, ibidem presenti omnia iura et actiones in et super bonis et hereditate domine Catarine, sue olim filie et filie olim dicti Laurentii Pucciarelli et uxoris olim Iohannis Maxioli sutoris. Et hoc fecit quia sibi bene placuit et utile visum fuit et pro multis gratis servitiis et gratuitis dicta domina Nicolucia a dicto magistro Bartolomeo receptis et que in futurum sperat recipere. Quam vero donationem dicta Nicolucia promixit perpetuo habere sub pena quinquaginta florenorum.”

<sup>84.</sup> Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p. 6. 1451 marzo 6, in Michele Faloci-Pulignani, “Bartolomeo di Tommaso, Pittore Umbro del XV Secolo,” *Rassegna d'arte Umbra* 3, no. 3, (July 1921): 77.

<sup>85.</sup> Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p. 4. 1455 gennaio 12, in Faloci-Pulignani, 77., “item uno calice grande de rame colla coppa d'argento e col pomo con figure smaltate, el quale comperò maestro Bartholomeio de pentore da Fuligno sença patena, el quale comperò da frate Francesco dell'Ordine de sancto Augustino predicatore del convento per l'anima de dompna Nofria che fu sua dompna. Et la patena fece la chiesa a maestro Marino Angelo de maron coio, la quale costò bol. .60.”

<sup>86.</sup> Michele Faloci-Pulignani, “Bartolomeo di Tommaso, pittore Umbro del XV secolo,” *Rassegna d'arte Umbra* 3, no. 3, (July 1921): 75-76. The figure of the gesticulating monk has been alternately described as Saint Anthony, Bernardino da Siena, or Giacomo della Marca.

<sup>87.</sup> This is found in Bartolomeo's distinctive rendering of angels who appear to almost be surfing or gliding on highly stylized horizontal clouds. The Cappella Paradisi

offers several examples of this distinct and unprecedented representation and its inclusion in San Nicolò make the attribution unmistakably Bartolomeo's.

<sup>88.</sup> *Archivio di Stato da Foligno, Notarile.*, 104, Pietro Paolo Germani, (1447-1452), 1451 luglio 26, in Sensi, 152., “actum Fulginei, in sotietate Cippischorum, in loco s. Nicolai, in inlaustro Bartolomeus Thome Pucciarelli pintor de Fulgineo et sotietate More, sponte per se, suosque heredes, iure proprio vendidit fratri Anthonio Bonilli de Trevio, priori ecclesie s. Nicolai de Cippischis de Fulgineo nomine et vice dicti loci s. Nicolai et eiusdem ecclesie unum petium terre clusatum, positum in comitatu Fulginei, in contrata Macieratarum, iuxta heredes Iacobi Iohannis Unti, viam publicam, heredes Sanctis Loli de Scannulario. Et hoc pro pretio et nomine pretii quatuordecim florenorum ad rationem .XL. bol. pro quolibet fl., in totum. Quod pretium totum dictus venditor fuit confessus et contentus penes se habuisse et recepisse, sibique datum, traditum, solutum et numeratum esse in rei veritate habuit et recepit in presentia dictorum testium et mei notarii infrascripti. Renuptians.”

<sup>89.</sup> Faloci-Pulignani, 78.

<sup>90.</sup> Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p.30. 1446 febbraio 19, in Sensi, 147., “obiit d. Petrus Dominici, vir seu maritus prefate d. Francisce et in fine vite reliquid oraculo vive vocis et cum bono sensu, coram me fratre Bartholomeo et Sebastiano Benedicti et filiabus suis florenos sex pro adiutorio cone seu tabule picture pro cappella maiori fienda – lib. .XXX. s. – d. -.”

<sup>91.</sup> Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p.65v. 1448 ottobre 15, in Sensi, 147., “recevetti per mano de Lorença dompna de Francesco bastaio bolognini .40. per parte de pagamento de fiorini sei che lassò Pietro suo padre per fare la tavola alla cappella maggiore, sicome appare in questo, a foglio 30.”

<sup>92.</sup> *Ibid.*, “item a di XII de gennaio 1449. recevetti per mano della sopradicta Lorenza libre .V. per parte de pagamento de' sopradetti sei fiorini.”

<sup>93.</sup> Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p.31. 1448-1450, in Sensi, 147., “Christoforus et Baptista Jacobi Massorelli reliquerunt pro cona seu tabula pingenda, quilibet ipsorum, tres florenos; et in fine vite per suum testamentum confirmavit dictus Baptista. Solvit pro eis Caterina eorum mater, ut patet ad introitum a[d] folium 65.”

<sup>94.</sup> *Ibid.*, “item a di . . de gennaio .1450. Caterina dompna che fu de Jacobo de Massorello pagò fiorini sei (c) quali lassaro alla chiesa de s. Maria Magdalena Baptista e Christoforo suoi figlioli. Recevecte Gregorio de Francesco della fede, camariengo della detta chiesa libre .XXX.”

<sup>95.</sup> This attribution was given by Federico Zeri in “Tre argomenti Umbri,” *Bollettino d'arte*, 48 (1963): 36-38.

<sup>96.</sup> Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p.61. 1451 agosto 5, in Faloci-Pulignani, 77-78., “Item, a di IJJ d’agosto 1451 detti per mano de Filippo de Zucarello santese della Chiesa fiorini nove, soldi IJ, denari sey, cquali detti a Iohanni Francesco Mercatanti per oro dato a maestro Bartolomeio deponentore per parte di pagamento della tavola che esso depegne per la detta chiesa.”

<sup>97.</sup> Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p.61. 1451 agosto 27, in Faloci-Pulignani, 78., “Item, detti ad agnolo iudeo per teginitura de panni per fare la tenda alla cona dello altare maggiore bolognini .8.”

<sup>98.</sup> *Archivio di Stato di Foligno, Notarile.*, 33/I, Andrea di Feliciano di Buono (1451-53), 1452 gennaio 26, in Sensi, 153., “actum Fulginei, in sotietate Crucis, in ecclesia s. Marie Matalene Felippus Lucarelli et Laurentius Iohannis alias dicto de mannaiola de Fulgineo et sotietate Crucis ut sancteses ecclesie s. Marie matalene de Fulgineo concesserunt Petro magistri Iohannis pictori de Fulgineo et sotietate Crucis, presenti, ementi, stipulanti et recipienti pro se suisque heredibus unum petium terre vineatum duorum starie, vel quasi, de bonis dicte ecclesie s. Marie Matalene, posite in comitatu Fulginei, in contrata Passature, iuxta Cagnum Ambrosini, Petrum . . de Iano et Magnum . . de villa Roviglieti et alia latera asserentes se dicti Phelippus et Laurentius santeses dicte ecclesie presens venditio facta fore pro necessitate prelibate ecclesie s. Marie Matalene, videlicet: pro quodam cona noviter facta, affixa super altare magna et etiam pro acconcimine et reparatione cuiusdam tecti noviter facti constructi in dicta ecclesia s. Marie Matalene. Et hoc pro pretio et nomine pretii in totum novem florenorum de quo pretio toto dicti santeses, venditores predicti fecerunt eidem Petro emptori presenti, stipulanti et recipienti pro se, suisque heredibus finem, quietationem pro eo quia habuerunt et receperunt totum dictum pretium a dicto emptore in pecunia numerata.”

<sup>99.</sup> *Archivio di Stato da Foligno, Notarile.*, 101, Francesco di Giovanni Germani, (1451-1453), 1451 maggio 24, in Sensi, 151., “actum Fulginei, in sotietate Contrastagne, ante apotecam Iacobi Petri Zaccarie, mercatoris de Fulgineo presentibus: Liberatore Iacobi Mariani et Ianne Iacobo Iannis Petripauli magistri Iohannis de Fulgineo et sotietate More, testibus Magister Bartholomeus Thome pictor de Fulgineo et sotietate More, sponte per se, suosque heredes, nullo errore ductus, promixit et convenit Gregario Thome de Fulgineo et dicta sotietate More, ibidem presenti, stipulanti et recipienti pro se, suisque heredibus ipsum Gregorium omni futuro tempore conservare indenpnem a quadam confessione depositi facta per ipsum Gregorium pro ipso Bartholomeo ad instantiam et petitionem magnifici comitis Lamberti de Carpegna, nec non promixit et convenit eidem Gregorio reficere et resarcire omnes expensas, dampna et interesse que et quas dictus Gregorius faceret, substineret et passus esset quoquomodo occasione dicte confessionis dicti depositi. Renumptians. Et dampna omina. Sub Pena et ad penam .XXV. florenorum auri etc.

<sup>100.</sup> Sensi, 119.

<sup>101.</sup> For additional information on Nicholas V, his papacy and support of the arts see Richard P. McBain, *Lives of the Popes : The Pontiffs from Saint Peter to John Paul II*

(New York: Harper Collins, 1997)., and Carroll William Westfall, *In This Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V, and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome, 1447-55*. (University Park Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974).

<sup>102.</sup> Eugene Müntz, *Les arts à la cour des Papes* (Paris: E. Thorin, 1878), 1:93-94, 130-131.

<sup>103.</sup> *Ibid.*, *Roma Archivio di Stato*, Tesoreria segreta di Niccolò V, Pagamenti del 1451, p.246 ss., “1451, 21 Agosto. M. Bartolomeo di Tomasso da Foligno dipentore al presente in palazzo de dare adì 21 d’Aghosto duc. 25 de papa, e quali gli o prestati cont. di comandamento di N. S. per parte di suo salario et tempo ci deba servire a ragione di duc. 7 di camera il mese e le spese di mangiare e bere, de quali se obrigado m. Simone da Roma dipintore in chasa, quando il detto m. Bartolomeo non vi sodisfacesse.”

<sup>104.</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105.</sup> *Ibid.*, *Registro Camera Capitoline.*, 1452., p. 86., “Ad mastro Bartolomeo de Foligno dipentore per lo friso della sala grande de Campituoglio et per la gloriosa N.D.V.M. che stao in capo le scale de Campitoglio.”

<sup>106.</sup> Faloci-Pulignani, 79., “che egli in Roma, a tempo del B. Angelico e di Nicolo V, si occupò per tre anni a dipingere la seconda sala dell’appartamento papale, che decorò con un fregio la maggior sala capitoline, che nel 1452 dipinse l’Immagine della Madonna in cima alla scala di Campidoglio, bisogna dire non dovea essere certamente un pittore dozzinale.”

<sup>107.</sup> *Ibid.*, “Questi, il quale ogni giorno dovea scendere e salire chi sa quante volte quelle scale, chi sa quante volte si sarà dovuto compiacere al sorriso dei colori di quella sacra Immagine, sapendo che era stato un suo concittadino quello che l’aveva eseguita.”

<sup>108.</sup> *Archivio di Stato da Foligno, Priorale, Riformanze* 28, (1447-1450), 1452 giugno 27, in Adamo Rossi, *I pittori di Foligno* (Perugia, 1872), 57-58., “Magister Bartolomeus Tome, pictor et Angelus Liberatoris de Fulgineo et sotietate More’, poichè le rispettive case di abitazione, che erano prospicienti, minacciavano rovina, supplicarono i Priori della città di Foligno di tirare archi, tra l’una e l’altra, sopra la via pubblica. Udito il parere favorevole di un’apposita commissione composta da Bartolomeo di Pietro di Girardo sindaco del comune e da Mariano di Giacomo di Mariaio della società della Mora, i Priori concedono licenza ai due richiedenti, dietro un versamento di cinquecento mattoni a favore del palazzo comunale.”

<sup>109.</sup> Sensi, 120.

<sup>110.</sup> *Archivio di Stato da Foligno, Notarile.*, 101, Francesco di Giovanni Germani, (1454-1456), 1454 febbraio 6, in Sensi, 154., “actum Fulginei, in sotietate More, in domo habitationis infrascripte domine Bartholomee, posita in dictis civitate et sotietate, iuxta viam, Nicholam Francisci de Fulgineo de dicta sotietate, heredes Bartholomei Thome de

Fulgineo et sotietate predicta Domina Bartholomea, uxor quondam ser Sebbastiani ser Nicolai de Fulgineo et sotietate More vendidit Leonardo Bartholomei de Fulgineo et sotietate Contrastangne unum petium terre.”

<sup>111.</sup> *Archivo di Stato da Foligno, Notarile.*, 101, Francesco di Giovanni Germani, (1448-1496), 1457 agosto 23, in Sensi, 154., “domina Angelina, uxor quondam Andree Petri Mezastre de Fulgineo et sotietate More, corpore infirma hoc presens testamentum fecit. Item reliquit domine Ysocte eius nepoti et filie domine Honofrie filie ipsius testatricis et filie quondam magistri Bartholomei Thome de Fulgineo, unam tunicam panni lane viridis ad usum ipsius testatricis et unam lentiamen. Item reliquit dicte Ysocte unam camisiam novam, duas coppias panictorum, duas saginctas, duas capellas et omni anno unam coppiam canipe donec et quousque fuerit maritata, vel intraverit aliquod monasterium. Item reliquit dicte Ysocte octo tovaglosos et hoc tantum iure institutionis. Item reliquit Polidoro eius nepoti et filio dictorum Honofrie et magistri Bartholomei Thome quatour florenos iure institutionis; et quod plus in bonis suis petere non possit. Item reliquit Perantonio, eius filio, de bonis suis, videlicet de dote sua florenos viginti tres, bononenos duodecim et denarios viginti, pro duabus tertiis tangentibus dicte testatrici et dicto Perantonio vigore provisionis facte per eos pro restitutione dotis domine Lodovice, uxoris Thome filii ipsius testatricis. Item reliquit dicto Perantonio in partem pro compensatione dictorum .XXIII. florenorum, duodecim bononenorum et .XX. denariorum de bonis suis tot et tanta bona que bene sufficient pro compensatione quantitatis predictae. Item reliquit dicto Perantonio eius filio cassam suam cum omnibus in ea existentibus. Item reliquit dicto Thome, eius filio, de bonis suis superdotalibus, tres quatrellos vinee. Heredes universales instituit supradictos Thomam et Perantonium Actum in sotietate More, in domo eius solite habitationis, posita iuxta viam, Angelillum Angeli, heredes Permathei Filippi et alia latera.”

<sup>112.</sup> See Michele Faloci-Pulignani, *Storia della Canonica di San Feliciano in Foligno*. (Foligno, 1926): 32-33.

<sup>113.</sup> *Archivo di Stato da Foligno, Notarile.*, 30, Andrea di Feliciano di Buono, (1455-1460), 1459 gennaio 12, in Sensi, 155., “actum Fulginei, in sotietate More, in domo et habitatione infrascripti Polidori, quam tenet ad pensionem infrascriptus Dattalus, posita iuxta stratam publicam a duobus lateribus et alia latera. Polidorus filius quondam magistri Bartolomei Briscide de Fulgineo, in pura veritate, in presentia supradictorum testium et mei notarii, fuit confessus et contentus habuisse et recepisse a Dattalo Allegutii, ebreo de Reate, habitatori Fulginei, florenos .XVIII. ad rationem .XL. bol. pro quolibet fl., in pecunia numerata, quos asseruit dictus Polidorus, recepisse tam pro se ipso, quam pro sua sorore carnali, pro certis spensis factis ad instantiam dicti Polidori et dice sue sororis carnalis in una manu; et in alia manu asseruit habuisse certos denarios pro certis spensis factis de per se a supradictis .XVIII. florenis pro acconcimine domus dicti Polidori quam tenet ad pensionem ab ipso Polidoro. Que denaria non sunt computata in dicta quantitate .XVIII. florenorum. Et quos .XVIII. florenos et denaria pro spensis domus factis patent in bastardella dicti Dattali. Ipsi partitis dicto Polidoro lectis per dictum Dattalum et acceptatis per dictum Polidorum in presentia supradictorum testium et mei notarii

**infrascripti. De quibus denariis dictus Polidorus promisit dicto Dactalo confessionem facere ubique et in nullo modo contrafacere per se vel per alium, seu alios etc. Rogans.”**

## CHAPTER 3

EARLY YEARS:  
THE SAN SALVATORE TRIPTYCH OF 1432

One of the more thought-provoking aspects of any formal and iconographic study of the works of Bartolomeo di Tommaso is the fact that his style is not consistent and its development and importance to the Umbrian Renaissance revealed itself only intermittently throughout the course of his career. A survey of the painter's earliest documented work in 1432, through the surviving works of the early 1450s, shows that there are considerable differences between his early and late works. Were we not in possession of documentary evidence indicating Bartolomeo's authorship of several such paintings we might conclude that they are not by the same artist.

A cursory examination of his earliest documented work, the *San Salvatore Triptych* of 1432, might seem to confirm Bartolomeo's characterization by several earlier art historians as "very modest" and a "painter of no great renown."<sup>1</sup> We certainly cannot forget the pointed criticism of Venturi or the cautious judgment of the painter by Faloci-Pulignani with regard to the quality of Bartolomeo's small oeuvre at the turn of the century. We can only wonder how these scholars would have assessed Bartolomeo had they been aware of the important and radically different works later attributed to him.<sup>2</sup>

Another challenging feature of Bartolomeo's oeuvre is the problematic chronology of his known paintings. Of his approximately thirty surviving works only four can be dated with any certainty. This includes the *San Salvatore Triptych* of 1432 (Fig. 1, No. 1) in the Pinacoteca Comunale, Foligno,<sup>3</sup> the *Rospigliosi Triptych* of 1445 (Fig. 2, No. 13) in the Pinacoteca Vaticana,<sup>4</sup> the detached *Santa Caterina Fresco* of 1449

(Fig. 3, No. 3) also in the Pinacoteca Comunale;<sup>5</sup> and if we are to accept Federico Zeri's dating, the *Madonna and Child with John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, and Saints Christopher and Dominic* of 1451 (Fig. 4, No. 16) in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino.<sup>6</sup> Within this group we might include two additional works, the badly damaged fresco of a *Crucifixion Adored by an Augustinian* (Fig. 5, No. 15) in the sacristy of the Augustinian Church of San Nicolò in Foligno,<sup>7</sup> and the fresco cycle in the Cappella Paradisi in the Church of San Francesco in Terni.<sup>8</sup> Although no documentation exists proving that these last two works are by Bartolomeo, Zeri's attribution of the latter cycle has largely been accepted. On a stylistically based chronological assessment both works can reasonably be placed between 1449 and July 1451, sometime prior to the artist's departure for the Vatican in August of the latter year.<sup>9</sup> Aside from these works referenced above we have an oeuvre consisting mostly of panels of unknown provenance, questionable attributions, predella scenes, and badly damaged frescoes and fragmentary works. From this rather sketchy body of evidence we must attempt to construct a chronology of Bartolomeo di Tommaso's paintings.

We start our chronology with the *San Salvatore Triptych*. By examining this same triptych, we discover the origin of the critical view of Bartolomeo as well as any disagreement about Bartolomeo's place in the history of art. This critical disagreement centers upon a series of atypical stylistic features which by themselves might seem to be artistic shortcomings, but when seen together reflect a rich, unconventional intelligence and painterly skill. This troubling dichotomy is nowhere more apparent than in the figurative elements of the triptych and in particular the painter's fascinating representation of the Madonna and Child in the central panel. From the earliest research

on Bartolomeo up to his recent “rediscovery” these contradictory elements remain foremost in his critical history.<sup>10</sup> If not for the efforts of several historians toward the expansion of the master’s oeuvre over the past half century, it is almost certain that the judgment of art history would have remained forever linked to this single controversial work.

The *San Salvatore Triptych* currently consists of five panels that were removed from the Church of San Salvatore several years ago after the Church was destroyed by an earthquake. The panels are in the Pinacoteca Comunale, Foligno; they include a central panel, two wings, and two pinnacles. In addition, four predellas, presumed to have belonged to the triptych, are in three different European collections.

Archival evidence indicates that the triptych was commissioned for Rinaldo Trinci, third born of Corrado Trinci, the head of the dynastic ruling family of Foligno. These sources note that Corrado had destined young Rinaldo for an ecclesiastical career. He was eventually named Bishop-elect of Foligno and its surrounding areas. In 1398, quite possibly the day of his baptism, Rinaldo was nominated Prior of the Church of San Magno and Canon of the Cathedral of Foligno. According to Sensi, two years later he was also elected Prior of the Cathedral of San Feliciano but in 1409, for unknown reasons, appears to have renounced the title in favor of one Paolo Palmaroni.<sup>11</sup> After 1409 we lose track of young Rinaldo until 1430. Sensi suggests that during this period he lived outside of the city where he more than likely attended to the demanding theological studies necessary for his future responsibilities in the diocesan hierarchy.<sup>12</sup>

Upon Rinaldo’s return to Foligno, he was named to the highly prestigious priorship of the Church of San Salvatore and Canon of the churches of San Martino di

Morro and Santa Maria Infraportas. The record indicates that on 9 August 1435 he was also named Prior of the College of San Giovanni Profiamma. He is believed to have occupied these positions until their revocation on 24 November 1439, the year of the fall of the Trinci dynasty and the transfer of local communal power to the Papal legate, Cardinal Vitelleschi.<sup>13</sup>

After payment, sometime in the year 1432, the completed triptych was moved into the Church of San Salvatore in Foligno and placed upon an altar composed of a great slab of stone, supported by a “fulcro di travertino.” The triptych remained in this location until 1622 when the altar was destroyed by an earthquake. The Prior, Cherubino Barnabo speaks of its relocation in the same church upon an altar that also appears to have been commissioned years earlier by Rinaldo Trinci:

The icon was positioned for convenience in the altar of Saints Simone and Giuda, that was commissioned by Signore Rainaldo of the house of Trinci and Prior of San Salvatore as it appeared in the record of the writings of the said Church.<sup>14</sup>

From this point forward for a period of over two hundred years, we find no further reference to the altarpiece. By the first quarter of the nineteenth century Bartolomeo’s altarpiece reappears in the parish records. The current Prior, Antonio Marcelli registers a rather disconcerting entry regarding the fate of the *San Salvatore Triptych’s* four predellas:

In the year 1825 four small painted panels were sold to Signore Carlo Salustri, Maestro of the Cappella di Bevagna, that formerly made up a part of the great panel that stood in the present place near to Altar of the Sacrament, of our Bartolomeo di Tommaso, for the price of six scudi. Three scudi were distributed in the sale of a brass monstrance, and another three scudi in the sale of some pieces of linen for the use of the sacristy.<sup>15</sup>

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this entry, described by Faloci-Pulignani, as “curious information” rests on the fact that for a copper monstrance and several pieces of linen, the “great panel” of Maestro Bartolomeo was broken up and deprived of its four predellas.<sup>16</sup> Contributing to this puzzling, one-sided transaction with Signore Salustri is the fact that Prior Marcelli, with what is described by Faloci-Pulignani as “patriotic sentiment” refers to the author of the work using the possessive “*nostro*” or “our Bartolomeo di Tommaso.”<sup>17</sup> No further evidence exists as to what the contributory factors behind this sale must have been for the church to approve of the partial dismemberment of its cherished altarpiece and the disbursement of the predellas so obviously treasured by the Canons and citizens of Foligno.

Adding to this mystery, at about the time of the altarpiece’s dismemberment Faloci-Pulignani notes that the Canons of San Salvatore, had sold off a critical component of the altarpiece but still chose to highlight what remained of the altarpiece by having the following inscription placed prominently above it:

Master Rinaldo di Corrado Trinci last Signore of Foligno created as prior of this college in the year 1430 had this painting made with his image placed at the foot of the chair of the Virgin Mary by Bartolomeo di Tommaso painter of the same city.<sup>18</sup>

From this point forward the triptych would find its way into modern art history, where it continues to attract scholarly attention today. In 1829, in a speech before the Foligno Academy, the noted historian Giacomo Frenfanelli delivered the first modern scholarly attribution of the *San Salvatore Triptych* to Bartolomeo di Tommaso. He proposed that the altarpiece was the same as that ordered by Rinaldo Trinci in the year 1437<sup>19</sup> [sic] and that the painter, Maestro Bartolomeo belonged to the “Compagnia della Croce.”<sup>20</sup> It is also from this point forward that the erroneous date of 1437 found its way

into the literature and sparked one small element of the long and ongoing scholarly discourse on Bartolomeo.

Zeri noted that what remains of the altarpiece scarcely echoes the original shape of the triptych. He observed that physical evidence indicates that the panels must have suffered an arbitrary reshaping sometime during the seventeenth century. According to Zeri, this reshaping, or more precisely “mutilation,” completely deprives us of what must have been the original height, curvilinear outline, and a directional thrust of the panels that probably would have resulted in the familiar arched or arabesque appearance as seen in three of Bartolomeo’s surviving works: the *Rospigliosi Triptych* of 1445 (Fig. 2, No. 13), the *Madonna and Child with John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, and Saints Christopher and Dominic* of 1451 (Fig. 4, No. 16), and the two surviving wings of *Christ on the Road to Emmaus* and the *Pentecost* (Fig. 10, No. 11) from the fifth decade of the Quattrocento.<sup>21</sup>

The loss of this important accent leaves us with little more than a squared off central panel and two rectangular wings so reduced in size that their original relation to the surviving pinnacles can only be approximated. Even more discouraging is the fact that in trimming the original panels the elegant and highly detailed haloes of the central figures, were also crudely sacrificed - leaving them mere shadows of their former splendor.

At first glance the iconography is conventional. The central panel (Fig. 11, No. 1) shows an enthroned Madonna who looks off to her left while holding the struggling Christ Child on her right knee. In the Madonna’s left hand, a book is opened to the first verses of the *Magnificat*.<sup>22</sup> Christ grasps a goldfinch and appears to be aggressively

pushing himself away from the Virgin while also struggling to look back in her direction. The Virgin does not meet the infant's gaze but mournfully gazes down in the opposite direction. Over the throne are six angels, three on either side of the Madonna. To the left of the Madonna on one wing of the triptych is the praying image of a local Umbrian religious figure the "blessed" Pietro Crisci (Fig. 12, No. 1).<sup>23</sup> The much smaller donor figure of Rinaldo Trinci, with his hands joined together in prayer, kneels in profile directly above the right-most edge of the central panel, at the foot of the Madonna.<sup>24</sup> On the wing to the right of the Madonna, posed in a familiar attitude, is Saint John the Baptist (Fig. 13, No. 1) who holds a cross in his left hand while his right hand points to the Madonna and Child. Above the wings, on the pinnacles, we find two of the more popular Saints of the Middle Ages, the Apostle Bartholomew and Ursula (Fig. 14, No. 1).

The four divided and widely dispersed predellas that Zeri suggests originally belonged to this altarpiece depict scenes from the Passion: the *Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane* (Fig. 15, No. 1) and *Betrayal of Christ* (Fig. 16, No. 1) in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome; the *Way to Calvary* (Fig. 17, No. 1) in the Musée du Petit Palais, Avignone; and the *Lamentation and Entombment* (Fig. 18, No. 1) in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia.<sup>25</sup>

What now remains of Bishop Rinaldo's triptych is small, measured by Faloci-Pulignani in 1921 at approximately 98 by 111 cm. prior to the separation of the remaining parts.<sup>26</sup> Certain portions of the work, particularly the pinnacle of Saint Bartholomew, still contain a heavy coat of varnish. While not fully obfuscating the subject matter, the chromatic distortion caused by the varnish makes the pinnacles difficult to photograph. They are also difficult to integrate visually with the other three panels. We also find

damaged areas along the edges of the central panel and wings that reflect several centuries of abandonment.

Regardless of years of neglect, the restoration of the triptych that coincided with its removal from San Salvatore to the Pinacoteca Comunale has left us with an impressive fragment. The background of the panels consists of gold which is also used in the hem of the Virgin's robe creating a lovely, though agitated, winding effect that starts in the middle of the painting and continues down to the bottom and rises up again to the lower left quadrant of the central panel. This gold band contrasts nicely with the dark ultramarine blue and gentle naturalistic delineations of the Virgin's robes dominating the central two-thirds of the panel. It also, perhaps unintentionally, acts as a unifying agent between the central panel and the gold backgrounds of the wings. We can assume that the gold of the original frame must have created a similar effect, bridging the gold of the Virgin's hemline with that of the triptych's exterior panels.

The throne, of which very little is visible on the left hand side of the panel, consists on the right of two solid blue rectangular areas separated by a band of simple and partially obscured architectural detail. Lacking any great depth or solidity, what can be seen reminds us of late Duecento or early Trecento thrones in the Byzantine tradition.

In spite of the arbitrary reshaping of the panels, we find that a strong indication of Bartolomeo's pronounced and eccentric rhythm continues to dominate the composition. It is an inconsistent rhythm, one that at first glimpse gives the impression of unevenness consisting of sudden starts, interruptions, and a variety of severe gradations that, according to Zeri, are "unaware of any normal rhythm" but "very rich in spontaneity and reason."<sup>27</sup> This rhythmic pulsing starts with the figure of the Baptist, on the left wing of

the altarpiece, as it expands straight up within its narrow confines nearly consuming the remaining portion of the panel's surface. This thrusting motion continues through the upward drift of the leftmost folds of the Baptist's robe where it is further enhanced by the simple yet effective vertical line of the cross and its arm that rises from top of the figure's left shoulder and continues to the rightmost corner of the panel.

In order to curtail the severe flow of vertical motion in the direction of the wing, Bartolomeo has added a sequence of horizontal rib-like folds that break from the vertical folds of the Baptist's robe and allow the motion to drift toward the central panel. Six prominent and well-defined furrows on the forehead of the Baptist appear to mimic the horizontal folds of the robe while directing the viewer toward the Virgin and Child in the center panel. To ensure that this flow continues unabated, Bartolomeo uses the convention of the Baptist's pointing finger parallel to the horizontal folds in the robe and, through the use of *contrapposto*, points the Saint's left knee toward the enthroned Virgin.

From the figure of the Baptist the rhythm jumps across the central panel and is carried down to the right panel, that of the "blessed" Pietro Crisci. This figure has a similar upward thrust conveyed by the bright white garment, but less subtly by the column-like parallel white furrows that move the eye toward the Saint's hands. Clasped together in prayer, the hands create an apex that echoes the shape of the pinnacle above and appears to merge with the pleats of the robe keeping the motion rapidly moving in an ascending direction. At this point rather than, as in the case of the Baptist, using separate elements of the middle and lower portion of the figure to gently carry one's attention to the Enthroned Madonna, Bartolomeo, perhaps in homage to what must have been a beloved local Saint, has shifted the figure's position immediately in her direction. He

further aids this transition by turning their heads toward one another. As in the figure of the Baptist, the artist has placed six deep and parallel furrow-like lines on the forehead of Pietro Crisci. These are aligned in the direction of the Madonna's forehead, further achieving a connection between the heads of the two figures - although in this instance only the Saint gazes directly upon the Madonna whose eyes remain focused downward in the conventional attitude of sorrow and humility. Zeri described the convergence and condensing of the linear forces between these three figures of the lower portion of the triptych and their garments as being like "isobars from a meteorological chart," leaving us to imagine how much more energetic and eccentric this rhythm might have appeared prior to the resizing of the panels.<sup>28</sup>

Above the wings, if our reconstruction is correct, we would probably have found the more solid and sculptural figures of Saint Bartholomew, holding his symbol of martyrdom, the knife, and Saint Ursula, holding her symbol of martyrdom, the arrow. Both heavily robed figures are placed prominently on what appear to be a marble hexagonal base, creating an almost sculptural solidity that is in sharp contrast to the lively energy and simple humanity of the figures in the lower three panels.

The central panel of the Enthroned Madonna at first appears to act as a fixed point in relation to the two outer figures. The six angels in alternating tones of pale red and blue hover around the head and shoulders of the Virgin in an unconventionally restless and agitated manner. They recall the wailing angels of Giotto's alleged fourteenth-century *Crucifixion* in the lower Church of San Francesco in Assisi. Beneath this apprehensive band of angels dominating the first quadrant of the panel we arrive at the relatively more stable Madonna who, although exhibiting some conventional

compositional qualities, also displays certain elements that are surprisingly unconventional and largely unprecedented.

The first of these elements translates into various rhythmic accents that appear to render the panel at the mercy of several competing forces that, with a clear component of Zeri's "spontaneity and reason," combine to form an oddly cohesive though disturbing whole. These uncommon rhythms begin with the almost sculptural and parallel fluted white folds of the Madonna's detailed veil that create a strong downward thrust broken by the gentle zigzag pattern of the cascading folds and delicate white bands below her neck and across her bosom. This downward motion is then met, closer to the center of the painting, by a second, engaging rhythmic element of the composition that starts at the center of the right portion of the panel, where the inner architectural framework of the throne begins its curvilinear sweep. This sweeping motion aggressively proceeds to the left where it is reinforced by the conspicuously long hand and fingers of the Virgin. From the tips of the Virgin's fingers the momentum of this sweeping curvilinear band is carried to the left by the alignment of Christ's hands, which, aided by the parallel sweep of his arms, are able to accentuate this descending leftward arc. Further contributing to this momentum is the energy produced by the dynamic though exceedingly tense lower torso and coiled legs of Christ.

This highly charged depiction of the infant fleeing from the Madonna carries the momentum leftward and, if not for two carefully positioned elements, would succeed in upsetting the composition's delicate equilibrium. The first of these elements is the flattened and delicately detailed cruciform halo of the Christ Child whose head turns back toward the Virgin interrupting the leftward flow of the composition. This is countered on

the right side by the simple yet ample rectilinear portion of the throne that along with its gold surface and blue interior create a second and much more subtle curvilinear band above the more pronounced sweep of the Virgin's hand and that of Christ. This is aided by Bartolomeo's omission of a prominent corresponding element in the throne on the opposite side.<sup>29</sup> A smaller but similar glimpse of the throne below the hemline of the Virgin's robe, toward the lower right quadrant of the painting, along with the image of the donor Rinaldo Trinci, further reinforces this careful balance. In achieving this balance, Bartolomeo has succeeded in harmonizing the circle and rectangle.

In addition to these stabilizing elements, Bartolomeo has introduced, almost in the direct center of the painting, the opened "*Magnificat*" which, assisted by the narrow gold and blue space created between the symmetrical sides of the Virgin's headdress, permits the eye to settle comfortably upon this near midpoint of the central panel. This is further enhanced by the small portion of the infant's leg resting heavily on the Virgin's knee and the left heel lightly touching upon the lower left corner of the opened book. This well orchestrated juxtaposition of tensions is balanced, in the lower portions of the panel, by the lively rhythm created by the elegant and sinuous folds of the Virgin's golden hemline. This delicate but restless and angular downward motion carries the eye from the extreme right of the panel to the extreme lower left, uniting the tense middle areas of the painting with the dominant, and much more tranquil, lower portions. This cascading balance of tensions creates a successful though cautious union and delicate equilibrium between the three major portions of the central panel.

This lively and unusual composition is but one aspect of the emotionally charged style that gradually emerges and becomes more evident and refined in Bartolomeo's later

works. Although the painting appears atypical and without obvious precursors, it is assumed that Bartolomeo owes much of the basic overall concept of the *San Salvatore Triptych* to Sassetta. Bartolomeo had by this time evidently seen Sassetta's *Madonna of the Snow* of 1430-1432 (Fig. 19). He appears to have remained faithful to the form of the Sieneese triptych but takes a more personal and complex approach toward the expressive and compositional elements of his Sieneese counterpart.<sup>30</sup>

Upon examination of the Sassetta triptych, we notice several corresponding formal and iconographic elements that the young Folignate painter, fresh from his apprenticeship, probably used as a model for what must have been a particularly important and career-defining early commission from one of Umbria's oligarchic families. In addition to the basic formal similarities, differing mostly in Sassetta's addition of a second figure to each of the wings, we can see the expressive similarities in the depiction of the Baptist, in the left-most positioning of the Virgin and Child, and in the convincing typological relationship between Sassetta's Saint Peter and Bartolomeo's Pietro Crisci. This relationship is evidence that Bartolomeo knew Sassetta's triptych and had either met Sassetta or viewed his *Madonna of the Snow* at some point after its completion sometime between 1430-1432.

In light of other widespread and relevant suggestions regarding possible early influences on the painter it is with this available evidence that most authorities generally support the idea that between 1430 and 1435 Bartolomeo, distanced himself from the style of his teacher Olivuccio di Ciccarello and his artistic roots in the Marches. At this time it is believed that he maintained a more concrete relationship with the Sieneese circle, and in particular with Sassetta. It is on an expressive level that the differences between

Bartolomeo and this early Sieneese circle of influence begins to surface and become much more personalized and pronounced. This invites a comparison with a much more eclectic array of artists and styles, which becomes most evident with the figures of the central panel, in particular the Madonna and Child.

The down-to-earth face of Bartolomeo's Madonna (Fig. 20, No. 1) is probably derived less from the local or Sieneese elements than from the Tuscan tradition. In spite of her unusually dark complexion and the resulting emotive severity produced by harsh chiaroscuro, she has an affinity with the more realistic, peasant-like faces of some of Bartolomeo's more geographically distant Florentine contemporaries than to those drawn from Siena or his more immediate environment. Certainly, at this point in Bartolomeo's career, there exists little trace of any relationship to the Madonnas attributed to his teacher Olivuccio di Ciccarello whose strict frontality and formal mannerisms have little to do with the style of the *San Salvatore Triptych*. Even the Madonnas of the more progressive painters of the Marches, the Salimbeni, Carlo da Camerino, and Archangelo di Cola, although charming and reverent, are much more child-like and simplistic compared to the labored detail, devout sincerity, and weighty emotionalism of Bartolomeo's characterization.<sup>31</sup>

In Bartolomeo's Madonna we find archaic elements of early Sieneese and Tuscan Trecento painting combined with more progressive currents. Certainly the position of the head and the elongated neck and hands refer to the Sieneese Trecento and early Quattrocento as well as to certain widely used conventions of the Marches. However, the facial features also reflect the newer trends found in the art of Masaccio. Bernard Berenson in his 1932 edition of *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance* was one of the

earliest historians to note that Bartolomeo might have known Masaccio's work.<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately Berenson was never specific regarding these influences, and though Zeri was quick to point out that Berenson's suggestion was "thick with doubt," we shall later discover that there are a number of examples in the painter's oeuvre that hint at contact with Masaccio.<sup>33</sup>

Indeed the face of Bartolomeo's San Salvatore Madonna bears some resemblance to that of the Madonna of Masaccio's *Pisa Polyptych* executed only six years earlier. There is a related tilt and attitude of the head and neck of the Virgin as well as a lack of direct eye contact with the Christ Child. We also note that both artists emphasize the simple humanity of the Virgin. Both have plain, peasant-like, down-to-earth faces, three-quarter profiles with high foreheads, ornate halos, simple tiaras, and slightly receding chins and tiny mouths. All of these similarities point to the possibility that Bartolomeo was influenced by Masaccio's polyptych during his apprenticeship.

The earliest document that suggests that Bartolomeo might have been apprenticed to Olivuccio di Ciccarello is dated 1425, only a year before the generally accepted date of Masaccio's polyptych.<sup>34</sup> As noted earlier, Bartolomeo probably spent some time during the years prior to his association with Olivuccio traveling with his father Tommaso di Pucciarello along the "Leather Road," or *Via del Cuoio*, the main thoroughfare for leather traffic through Foligno, the Marches, and ultimately to the capital of the trade itself, Pisa.<sup>35</sup>

However, this admittedly debatable relationship with Masaccio, does not explain the troubling presence of archaic elements in the *San Salvatore Triptych*. One such feature is the darkened complexion of the Madonna and the unusual “raccoon-like” mask around her eyes giving them a sunken appearance. This heavy chiaroscuro continues down from the Madonna’s face to her cylindrical neck the top of her chest where it then bifurcates. These darkened tones, which extend to most of the figures in the altarpiece, excluding those of Pietro Crisci and Saints Ursula and Bartholomew in the pinnacles, are even more pronounced in the figure of Christ.

While we cannot exclude the build up of dirt or retouching, the uniformity of the darkened skin tones of each affected figure in the triptych, including the six angels, with their careful modeling and delicate blending of the light and dark areas, clearly suggest the painter intended them to be this way. We might also note that the figure of Pietro Crisci, in the right wing, has much lighter, almost opposite, skin tones than those of the other figures, demonstrating a conscious decision on the artist’s behalf to utilize strikingly dark tones in the central figures. It is probable that that Bartolomeo was drawing upon much earlier, perhaps Byzantine conventions, for this aspect of his painting.

It is also possible that the dark tonality was derived from contemporary sources. We know that by the first quarter of the 1400’s, Ottaviano Nelli, already considered by Van Marle as a likely influence on Bartolomeo, had completed several large commissions for the Trinci family in Foligno. In his extensive cycle of frescoes in the Palazzo Trinci (Figs. 91,92) we find a similar though much less severe darkened and heavy linear modeling on the faces of his figures that could have been observed by Bartolomeo

through his later connections with Foligno's ruling family.<sup>36</sup> It is almost a certainty that Ottaviano's facial types were an important influence on Bartolomeo's later works such as his *Pentecost* (Fig. 10, No. 11) dated sometime within fourth decade of the Quattrocento, and his frescoes in the Refectory of the Convent of San Francisco in Cesena, datable to the late 1430's (Figs. 33,34,35,36,37, No. 7). Ottaviano's frescoes in the Chapel of the Palazzo Trinci could have inspired Bartolomeo, who might have been inclined to produce works he thought would appeal to the Trinci.

In addition, we find that a similar type of gaunt modeling of the faces can be traced directly to Siena and Giovanni di Paolo, another frequently proposed influence on the Folignate master. In *Saints Matthew and Francis* and *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints*, both in New York's Metropolitan Museum, and the *Virgin Enthroned with Four Saints*, in the Uffizi in Florence, as well as in other works by Giovanni di Paolo, we find a corresponding type of gaunt and deeply etched facial and physical modeling that is reminiscent of Bartolomeo's Madonna, though generally much more linear and finely applied. In these works, Giovanni's saints exhibit the same type of cadaverous deep-set eyes that imbue them with a similar mask-like appearance. It is interesting to note that this high degree of expressive facial characterization is only found on those saints adjoining Giovanni's Madonnas and not the Madonnas themselves, whose features remain soft and delicate, but are clearly bland and much less expressive than Bartolomeo's. Bartolomeo appears to have borrowed and widened the use of such expressive elements to include the facial characteristics of his Madonna, a figure that historically, through the absence of similar qualities, was intended to appear more gracious than the martyred saints that usually surround her.

A second puzzling feature and one of the most often discussed stylistic features of the Triptych is the Madonna's long fingers (Fig. 21, No. 1). Venturi called them the "distorted prongs of a carving fork."<sup>37</sup> Several explanations have been proposed for this prominent deformity, which appears only this one time in Bartolomeo's paintings. Common to Florentine and Sieneese works of the Duecento and early Trecento the use of elongated or perhaps "protective" hands and fingers, specifically the hands of the Madonna, continued in other regions of Italy throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>38</sup> One of the areas in which this convention continued to be widely used throughout this period was in the Marches. Here we again discover its use within the circle of painters considered important to Bartolomeo's early development: Archangelo di Cola, Carlo da Camerino, and even more so the late Gothic masters Lorenzo and Jacopo Salimbeni.

With regard to the latter, both Lorenzo Salimbeni's *Triptych of the Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine with Saints Simeon and Thaddeus* of 1440 in Pinacoteca Civica, San Severino, and his *Madonna of Paradise* of 1416 in the Oratory of Saint John the Baptist in Urbino, include figures with exceptionally thin, elongated fingers loosely reminiscent of Bartolomeo's Madonna. This is particularly true of Saint Catherine's fingers in Salimbeni's triptych which are not only unusually long but, much like the San Salvatore Madonna's, exceedingly thin and skeletal in relation to her other physical features. In the latter work in Urbino, in contrast to the delicate and much more natural hands of the Madonna, we find a similar disproportionate relationship between the fingers and physiognomy of the Baptist, where once again the length is far less prominent than the uneven effect created by their extreme slenderness.

In both instances, Lorenzo has used these long slender fingers to focus the viewer's attention on the painting's main events. Saint Catherine's elongated fingers draw the eye toward Christ who is consummating the "mystic marriage" by placing a wedding ring upon her extended finger. The Baptist is in the conventional "pointing" or "witnessing" pose as he draws attention to the Christ Child. Bartolomeo's use of elongated hands with extremely thin fingers to enhance subject matter is not readily apparent in the *San Salvatore Triptych's* Madonna where, although it carries the action in the direction of the Christ Child, the hand primarily serves a formal purpose. In light of this, the *San Salvatore Triptych's* interesting relationship to another work of the Salimbeni, gives us a much greater indication of the potential reason for Bartolomeo's use of this unusual effect.

Jacopo Salimbeni's fresco of the *Virgin and Child with Saints Sebastian and John the Baptist* of 1416 (Fig. 22) provides some insight as to why the Madonna of the *San Salvatore Triptych* has this distinguishing characteristic. Certainly the "more elongated and more Gothic forms" of the Salimbeni noted years earlier by Van Marle are apparent in the figures of the Baptist and Saint Sebastian.<sup>39</sup> In addition we find that the expressiveness so characteristic of Bartolomeo's later works makes an early appearance in Jacopo's remarkable portrayal of Saint Sebastian (Fig. 23). His exquisitely pained grimace will surface, first and most conspicuously in two instances from Bartolomeo's *Santa Caterina Fresco* (Fig. 3, No. 14) and later in the Cappella Paradisi in Terni. There are strong similarities in both artists' depiction of the Baptist. Both have garments that are colored in a similar manner and strong well-developed legs and calves that are

prominently thrust into the foreground. They also share similar “Ghibertesque” facial features and maintain equal, though oppositely placed, poses of diffidence and humility.<sup>40</sup>

Jacopo’s fresco uses this distinct (though more truncated) type of hand in a manner similar to Bartolomeo’s. Here it contributes to the creation of an opposite formal and resulting emotional effect. Whereas the Virgin’s hand in the *San Salvatore Triptych* supports the composition by producing the large descending band that begins on her extreme left side and continues to her far right directly into the image of the combative Christ Child, Jacopo’s produces a similar sweeping band of motion that defines a much smaller but tighter arc that drives this momentum in an opposite ascending direction.

Jacopo’s ascending motion is initiated by the Baptist’s right hand which gently touches the toe of the infant and begins the lively arc that is supported and largely defined by the elegantly elongated left hand of the Virgin and the crisp white folds of her shawl. The motion then proceeds up along the back and shoulder of the infant. From the infant’s shoulder, it moves into the Virgin’s raised right hand. Beginning from the tips of the fingers of the Virgin’s right hand, this momentum joins with the curvilinear motion produced by the haloes and is reinforced in its upward sweep by the delicate arabesque latticework on the canopy over the throne. In contrast to Bartolomeo’s more somber and devout Madonna, whose solemnity is reflected in the weight of this downward sweeping band of motion, Jacopo’s elegant and charming Madonna smiles sweetly and is lovingly embraced by the Christ Child. Unlike Bartolomeo’s descending arc, Jacopo’s upward motion contributes to the joyous, reverent atmosphere of the painting.

Further evidence of Bartolomeo’s use of a similar “band of motion” can be seen in the pinnacle of Saint Ursula (Fig. 24, No. 1) of the very same *San Salvatore Triptych*.

Here the Saint's elongated right hand and fingers run directly into the folds of her garment and then sweep up consuming the form created by the fingers of her left hand. This motion then runs along the length of the Saint's arm, over her shoulders, and down along her right arm creating an interesting and finite circularity. When we consider Bartolomeo's proximity to the Salimbeni and the Schools of Camerino and San Severino it seems probable that this particular aspect of his earliest triptych could have a stylistic precursor in formal elements of Jacopo's Gothic masterpiece.

The Christ Child is the final problematic representation of the *San Salvatore Triptych* (Fig. 11, No. 1). Certainly one of the more energetic depictions of the subject in the first half Quattrocento, the momentum of Bartolomeo's infant is enhanced by the dynamic sweep produced by the wide arc of the Virgin's hand carried to the extremes of the painting by its incorporation with the similar sweep and direction of the inner band of the throne. In this instance, Bartolomeo's infant is placed in a rather unconventional position that fluctuates somewhere between standing and sitting.

With the exception of the head, the Child's entire torso points away from the Virgin. This uncertain position lends itself nicely to the idea of his departure from his earthly mother and oscillation between accepting or rejecting his ordained mission. The violent motion creates the impression that the momentum and inertia produced by the infant's body will almost immediately whip the head away from gazing upon the Virgin. In contrast to other works, the arms do not push away from the Virgin but rather the force is transferred through Christ's unusual position into his lower torso and legs. Through their powerful appearance and coiled strength, they convey the urgency of the moment. The Child's midsection, lighter in tonality compared to his left arm and lower torso helps,

along with his parallel arms, to complete and define the sweeping band of motion created by the inner architecture of the throne and the Virgin's elongated hand. Though not used to push away from the Virgin, the arms and hands with their stubby fingers and clenched fists point away from her and contribute to this momentum.

The tonality of the Christ Child, like that of the Madonna, is uncharacteristically dark. His face, the only element of the figure that points towards the Virgin, has an appearance that Zeri calls "Asiatic" or "mongoloid"<sup>41</sup> Around the child's neck is a piece of coral, while his left hand firmly clutches a goldfinch.<sup>42</sup>

Though failing to provide any concrete examples, Zeri located the Christ Child's formal antecedents in the Bolognese Trecento and refers to the work of Andrea da Bologna. This despite the fact that Andrea's relationship to Bartolomeo is based solely on their similar expressive qualities. A more highly stylized Christ Child displaying an equally unconventional aggressiveness can be seen in Vitale da Bologna's *Madonna and Child* from the mid-fourteenth century, now in the Museo Viterbo and in his *Virgin, Child, Angels and Donor* from the same period in the Pinacoteca Bologna.<sup>43</sup>

A far more conspicuous resemblance, in the almost identical facial features of the Christ Child, along with the same serene, though slightly startled appearance and positioning of the head, is found in a mid-fourteenth century work attributed to the Bolognese master Lippo di Dalmasio.<sup>44</sup> In this detached fresco of the *Madonna and Child*, (Fig. 25) on display in San Giovanni in Monte, Bologna, the child, much like Bartolomeo's, also has a cruciform halo, wears a small piece of coral, and delicately clutches a goldfinch in his right hand. Much less aggressive and situated in a more conventional pose, Dalmasio's Christ Child simultaneously pushes away from the

Madonna, whose head and eyes make direct and comforting contact with those of the infant.<sup>45</sup>

Bartolomeo's final effect is one in which the Christ Child appears to be violently fleeing from the Virgin who, with her barely perceptible but physically normal right hand, grasps the child under his right arm while attempting to catch his translucent tunic with her opposite hand. Perhaps this contrast between the Virgin's hands reflect the duality of good and evil. The normal right hand, almost hidden, reflects the absence of sin, while the deformed left hand is a reminder of sin and Christ's sacrifice. The result is a momentum quite unlike others of the period where other artists have attempted to depict the same symbolic relationship between Christ's Incarnation and Passion. Most often such representations were expressed in a more subtle manner, with the turning of the Child's head or body away from the Virgin, giving some delicate indication of escape.<sup>46</sup> At other times the significance of this relationship could be expressed more overtly with the Christ Child at times thrusting himself away from the Virgin with a single extended arm or leg.<sup>47</sup> Still on other occasions, as in the case of the goldfinch, this relationship can be expressed symbolically through the use of objects held by the Christ Child.<sup>48</sup> In this instance Bartolomeo uses all three conventions. The combination of the three joined with the exuberant energy produced through the unusual composition gives us an unusually aggressive characterization that has invited speculation on the function of the *San Salvatore Triptych* and whether it could have served for other than devotional purposes.

An alternate or more specific purpose for the *San Salvatore Triptych* was proposed by Mario Sensi who suggests that the altarpiece was financed by the Trinci for what could have been two very distinct functions.<sup>49</sup> The notarial act of 7 October 1431

stresses that the commission must quickly be finished since in the opinion of all it was necessary, *tam pro utilitate omnium parrochianorum, quam etiam pro ornamentis ipsius ecclesie*.<sup>50</sup> This lesser motivation was simply for what amounts to using the altarpiece for the liturgical and artistic needs of Bishop Trinci as Bartolomeo's commission was destined for the great altar of the church for which the donor was also the elected Prior. Sensi then proposes that a primary function, much more solemn and reflective of the times than the former, was tied to the grim and expedient demands brought about by one particularly dark moment in the diocesan history of Foligno.

According to the *Chronicle of Iacobilli*, in 1429 Foligno was in the midst a terrible plague which forced the residents to flee into the hills surrounding the city.<sup>51</sup> Sensi suggests that Bartolomeo introduced unconventional iconographic elements into the altarpiece to reflect the effects of the epidemic. He writes that:

the themes of the passion, narrated in the predella, undoubtedly allude to the suffering on the part of the citizens of Foligno during the pandemic, while the [Christ] child with a horrified face, in his hand a stunned goldfinch, and with a heel that rests on the breasts of the Madonna, is in the act of escaping from her hands, symbolizing the terror of many, who in the face of danger, tried to escape from the city. While for those for whom it was impossible to go elsewhere and were forced to stay in the city to suffer the contagion, nothing remained higher than to entrust themselves to the protection of the Virgin and the ancient patron saints, like San Giovanni and the more modern ones, like the blessed Pietro Crisci and to the therapeutic saints: Saint Ursula, who is represented on one of the cuspidi, one of whose attributes is an arrow, invoked against the plague, and Saint Bartholomew, attesting to his martyrdom, invoked against the sorrows of the lacerations inflicted from the buboes.<sup>52</sup>

Although at first glance persuasive we should note that this theory omits the numerous instances in art history where similar iconographic conventions were used with little or no known specific relation to the many plagues that ravaged Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth century.<sup>53</sup> In such instances, the Saints are used in a more generic

protective sense often based on their historic connections to the region. As early as the Trecento the Passion had routinely been used in predellas beneath enthroned Madonnas as well as beneath the many other iconographic themes that can be found in central panels. As we can see from earlier examples, there are numerous artistic examples of the Christ Child straining against the Virgin - a convention routinely used to expose the congregation to the spiritual mission and divine calling of Christ, that along with the Savior's earthly ministry, ultimately led to his Crucifixion.

In addition, there exist further inconsistencies between the figures of the Madonna and Christ Child. For example the fleeing infant's expression can hardly be described as horrified. In fact, in relation to the intense atmosphere surrounding the entire triptych, the face of the infant, much like that of the Madonna, though startled is more serene. It expresses a clear element of devotion and attachment to Mary – a marked contrast to the other intense and agitated elements of the painting. This interpretation is further supported if we accept that Bartolomeo knew of and was influenced by Lippo di Dalmasio's almost identical representation of the infant's face of almost a century earlier. The serenity and devotion of the Christ Child is further expressed through the artist's having the infant's head at a point where the inertia of his escaping body is almost ready to whip the head in the opposite direction.

In contrast to Sensi's observation we also find that the figure of Christ is not propelling himself away from the Madonna with a heel that rests upon her breast, a misreading that I believe was used to reinforce his thesis. Instead, we observe that the Madonna's breast is considerably higher than the level of the infant's legs. They rest just below the *Magnificat* opened on her lap. It is in the attitude and positioning of the

infant's lower body, helped along by Bartolomeo's vibrant composition that a sense of struggle is conveyed.

There is also little evidence that Saints Ursula and Bartholomew were principally invoked against plagues and epidemics. According to hagiographical sources Ursula is considered a generic "protective saint" while Bartholomew, the painter's namesake, is the patron saint of tanners and "all who work at skins."<sup>54</sup> This is further supported by the fact that Bartolomeo's family was involved in the leather trade and that Foligno, along with Pisa, was probably an important stop along the *Via del Cuoio*. This inclusion of Saint Bartholomew would then have reflected the Trinci's and the town's relationship with the leather trade and could be read as indicating San Salvatore's relationship to the leather and tanning guilds. Even Bartolomeo's teacher Olivuccio di Ciccarello during his frequent stops in Foligno is mentioned in several notarial documents as being in the company of "calzolaio," or leatherworkers. Other Saints such as Barbara, who through the events surrounding her martyrdom, came to be known as the patron saint of sudden death, were used more often during plagues and probably would have been more appropriate toward supporting this reading. In light of this evidence, we find that the strongest argument for Sensi's interpretation only rests upon the unusually excessive force and tension we find in the struggling Christ Child's body.<sup>55</sup>

Surprisingly Sensi makes little mention of the Madonna's elongated hand, which, in other instances in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, had probably been used as a symbol of her maternal protection. Faloci-Pulignani was to make note of this possible symbolic significance of the Madonna's hand as early as 1921.<sup>56</sup> There is one instance where a protective hand, the *dextera dei* or "hand of God," makes an appearance in

another of Bartolomeo's works, also believed to have been used to invoke divine protection against the plague. This occurs the *San Caterina Fresco* of 1449 where God's hand descends from the clouds (Fig. 3, No. 14) to punish those responsible for Saint Barbara's martyrdom: a Saint as noted above also widely invoked during the Middle Ages against plagues and pestilences. Nevertheless, I suspect that the extreme slenderness of the Madonna's hand as depicted in the *San Salvatore Triptych*, lends itself much more to those formal elements already discussed.

Although Sensi's interpretation is worthy of consideration and cannot be ruled out, based on the available information it is difficult to assume that the primary devotional purpose of the *San Salvatore Triptych* was protection against the plague of 1429. Added to this is the more conclusive evidence that the triptych was not finished until 1432, at least three years after the plague's onset. This suggests that the work could have been commissioned in thanks of being saved from the plague. It is thus more appropriate to consider the inclusion of the elements cited by Sensi as coincidental, and the events of 1429 as only one of several possible contributing factors to the unique expressiveness and intensity of Bartolomeo's first documented commission.

Finally, we come to the four predella panels for which there exists no definitive written evidence linking them to the *San Salvatore Triptych* other than the earlier-mentioned document's vague reference to the breaking up of the triptych and the sale of four paintings in 1825 (see note 15) and Zeri's attributions in 1961.<sup>57</sup> Even in the absence of additional evidence we can be reasonably assured that these four predellas are those in question.<sup>58</sup>

Reading from left to right we find in chronological order the *Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane* (Fig. 15, No. 1), the *Betrayal of Christ* (Fig. 16, No. 1), and the *Way to Calvary* (Fig. 17, No. 1), all originally recognized by Berenson as by Bartolomeo.<sup>59</sup> The final panel of the sequence is an *Lamentation and Entombment* (Fig. 18, No. 1) that was discovered years ago in Rome, and for a time wrongly attributed to Masolino da Panicale.<sup>60</sup> The suggested Tuscan influences on these predellas run from Lorenzo Monaco, Masolino and Jacopo della Quercia, to Masaccio. However, Zeri and others, in light of Bartolomeo's distinctive renderings, are never fully committal as to the depth of this influence and these names are only briefly noted with very little, if any qualification. Regardless of any Tuscan influence, Sassetta, Giovanni di Paolo, and the Sienese presence is evident in each of the panels, though Zeri was also careful to point out the strong presence of:

a figurative substance that represents a journey of a formal breaking into pieces, of a force of a transfigurative capacity, free and independent, that would be unthinkable in a circle similar to that of the Sienese, where the great rhythmic models of Duccio and of Simone Martini and the spatial institutions of the Lorenzetti were not dead. . . .<sup>61</sup>

The first work in the sequence, the *Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane*, begins with Christ and an apostle arriving at the Garden on the extreme left. The narrative then proceeds to the center of the predella the tense figure of Christ admonishes his three sleeping apostles, who are enclosed within a well-defined and clearly demarcated central cluster. Further, on toward the right top corner of the panel we observe an angel suspending a cup over the praying figure of Christ just below him.

Taken from the *Book of Mark*, the story of the Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane has Christ first praying and then coming upon his sleeping apostles, who he

then admonishes for their failure to remain alert, “even for one hour.”<sup>62</sup> Also unusual, though not uncommon to Sieneese works of the same period is Bartolomeo’s depiction of the angel in the right portion of the painting who holds an actual cup before the praying figure of Christ who, during his agonized prayer has asked God the Father to “take away this cup from me” an inference to Christ’s impending Passion. However, it is not so much Bartolomeo’s unconventional representation of this Biblical event that separates him from his Sieneese counterparts as much as it is his distinctive landscapes and the spatial relationships of the figures.

At first glimpse the predella is much more simplistic and lacks the detail of similar Sieneese subjects. As with Giovanni di Paolo’s undated *Christ at Gethsemane* (Fig. 59) in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, we note Bartolomeo’s formal affinity with the flow of Giovanni’s narrative. Giovanni’s grouping of the three figures in the center, and the praying figure of Christ in the rightmost portion of the painting is more elegant and carefully delineated <sup>63</sup> On the left side of the painting Giovanni replaces the entry of Christ and Saint Peter with a group of eight sleeping apostles. Also missing from Giovanni’s panel is Christ rebuking the sleeping figures. The rightmost portion of the painting depicts a similar rendering of the praying Christ and the cup-bearing angel. Unlike Bartolomeo’s barren landscape, Giovanni’s landscape is more detailed and shows a greater attempt at perspective with its crude but effective middle ground consisting of a marching column of soldiers and a rich background of dark mountains and castles.

The same subject by Sassetta dated 1437 (Fig. 60) draws an interesting parallel with Bartolomeo’s work.<sup>64</sup> Although nearly as barren of detail as Bartolomeo’s landscape, the clarity of form makes up for his simplistic rendering of the subject. This

contrast between the painters' rendering of the same subject exemplifies one of the major distinctions that Zeri saw between Sassetta and Bartolomeo. In his comparison between the *San Salvatore Triptych* and Sassetta's *Madonna of the Snow*, Zeri asserted that Bartolomeo's paintings, while bearing some formal and figurative similarities to Sassetta's paintings, had "nothing in common with the crystal clear space of the great Sienese painter," and that they can even "allude to an orientation in the direction of all that is opposite."<sup>65</sup>

This opposite orientation more fully reveals itself in Bartolomeo's *Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane*, which introduces the viewer to one of the recurring elements most often associated with Bartolomeo di Tommaso's troubling appeal. In this as well as in the three other predellas, we find the earliest examples of the distinctive nocturnal landscapes that continued to appear in Bartolomeo's later altarpieces and frescoes. Consisting of steep and rounded undulating hills and clouded vistas, these solemn surroundings are less detailed and darker and more ominous than the Sienese works. Bartolomeo's dull and lifeless tonality contributes to the sometimes-hallucinogenic atmosphere of his paintings.

Originally based upon browns, dark reds, and dull blues, Bartolomeo's landscapes later have a more phosphorescent and vibrant tonality, though they continue to retain a disturbing emotional quality. This aspect of Bartolomeo's nocturnal landscapes reached their most distinctive level with the predella panels in New York's Metropolitan Museum; his *Christ on the Road to Emmaus* (Fig. 10, No. 11), the *Rospigliosi Triptych* of 1447 (Fig. 2, No. 13), and a badly damaged fresco of the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (Fig. 26, No. 12) in the Church of San Francisco, Cascia.

In addition to these surreal landscapes, we find that Bartolomeo's placement of figures produces an even more distinctive, disconcerting effect. This can best be seen in the *Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane*, referred to by Zeri as "graphically compact and harsh."<sup>66</sup> The two leftmost figures of Christ and the apostle fail to provide an impression of walking into the landscape; rather they hang as if suspended, almost piling on top of one another as though they were about to crash into the picture plane. Although there are crude attempts at perspective in the sloping positions of the sleeping figures, they too seem to have been inserted into their surroundings with little thought of their naturalistic relation to the landscape.

Further adding to this unrealistic scenario is the tight clustering of the figures, weighed down by the heavy, inelegant folds of their robes, with their heads and bodies facing different directions. This clustering occurs within a self-contained unit that is severely defined by a continuously flowing, impenetrable line that cuts off the three figures from their surroundings. They differ greatly from similar groupings by Giovanni di Paolo and Sassetta. Theirs are more freely defined through a vibrant and less restrictive linear quality and with elements, such as the haloes and the varied tones of their robes, that better integrate the figures into the landscape.

This odd relationship between figure and landscape exemplifies the painter's early ability to reduce visual elements to their simplest conventions. This reduction, with its resulting abstraction of subject matter, marked one important component of Bartolomeo's visual syntax. Through his use of such airtight groupings, he develops what Zeri called the painter's ability to establish "a context of a free fantasy." Though not as evident in the other three panels, this aspect of Bartolomeo's style resurfaced and made its most

pronounced reappearance nearly twenty years later in the *San Caterina Fresco* of 1449 (Fig. 3, No. 14).

The next panel, the *Betrayal of Christ* is set against the dense night sky against which we can see the clouded tops of Bartolomeo's rounded hills fading into the background. Into this barren and impassable landscape Bartolomeo has crowded an explosive array of figures. This begins on the rightmost portion of the panel with the figure, in profile, of one of the soldiers pursuing two haloed apostles. Moving to the left we find the majority of the figures consisting of an airtight assembly of soldiers dressed in various types of layered and shining armor plating. This armor along with the soldier's pointed helmets create the impression described by Zeri as resembling the "metallic skins of locusts."<sup>67</sup>

Crowded into the center of the composition, the soldiers' spears and tridents appear delicate and weak in contrast to the shields. Some of these shields appear large and cumbersome in relation to the figures carrying them. Two shields, at the left, appear particularly unwieldy, as Bartolomeo's attempt at foreshortening their edges gives them a graceless, almost pod-like appearance that, along with the positioning of the other shields, contributes to the panel's staccato rhythm. Most of these soldiers face away from Christ and Judas forming an anonymous and rather chaotic grouping behind the central figures.

This central group consists of Christ, Judas, and two figures, possibly apostles, who stand directly behind them, and whose faces and heads appear larger and more defined than the others. Also included in this central group are the simplified, detached, and somewhat abstract wrestling figures of Peter and Malchus, bringing to mind the

similarly amorphous figures of the sleeping apostles from the *Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane*. Framing this entire group are two full-length soldiers with their backs to the viewer on the immediate left of Christ and outside the figures of Peter and Malchus. Balancing Christ, and to the right of the serpentine figure of Judas, we find another of Bartolomeo's soldiers dressed in elaborately detailed black armor. In contrast to the two apostles adjacent to him, the soldier's head is entirely too small and disproportionate in relation to his massive body and suit of armor.

Further defining this central group is the outline of the shield of the rightmost soldier. He defines a flat and narrow geometric zone consisting of the shields and armor of the soldiers who occupy the background. The edge of this shield is the starting point of a sweeping motion that blends into and reinforces the slopes of the large hills on the right-most corner of the panel. Beneath the hills is another, somewhat amorphous, though better defined group of three plotting Pharisees. The sweep of the robe of the rightmost Pharisee creates a line that blends into the hill behind him. This, in turn, forms another large, ascending arc that echoes the soldier's shield to his left. Of interest is the fact that the Pharisees are oddly out of place in relation to other representations of this subject, where if read from left to right, we find that they are placed to the left of Christ and soldiers pursuing the apostles to his right. This is something that Bartolomeo appears to have resolved in the later predella of the same subject in New York's Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 29, No. 5).

The third predella scene, the *Way to Calvary* is like the *Betrayal of Christ*, in that it is more conventional than the *Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane*. Based on the Sieneese model and reflecting the styles of Giovanni di Paolo and Sassetta, Bartolomeo's

panel is a tightly populated, flowing panorama of sudden starts and stops amidst a similar nocturnal background of barren rolling hills.<sup>68</sup>

Moving from left to right, we encounter a haloed figure, presumably Saint John the Evangelist. The next is Mary Magdalene. Her features are pronounced and her erect stance and simple red robe anchor this portion of the composition. Immediately to her right is the Virgin, heavily robed and nearly in silhouette, with only a small portion of her face visible beneath her darkened cowl. The bottom folds of her robe are geometric like those of Mary Magdalene and firmly settle upon the ground. This anchors the group solidly in the leftmost portion of the panel. Inserted between the figures of Mary Magdalene and the Virgin we see another unidentifiable haloed figure in three quarter profile.

From this point forward, until our eye arrives at the central figure of Christ, we see a tight cluster of anonymous soldiers with spears pointing into the sky and helmets similar to those in Sassetta's *Procession to Calvary* of 1437 (Fig. 61) and in similar works by Giovanni di Paolo. Two of the soldiers, one light and one dark, with their backs to us, push against their shields in an effort to prevent the Virgin and those immediately behind her from advancing. In front of the Virgin and standing between these two soldiers, another anonymous figure looks in her direction; his face is heavily lined and deeply expressive. The soldiers suddenly arrest the rightward flow of the composition which picks up again with two additional figures near the center of the crowd. Alternately light and dark, these figures, one looking back toward the soldiers, are engaged in pushing the mournful figure of Christ. Until we reach the figure of Christ we find the sudden stops and starts of this oddly rhythmic flow of figures, even though some are

facing in opposite directions, is partially achieved through the artist's alternation of light and dark figures.

The haloed figure of Christ at the center of the panel bears the Cross and sorrowfully looks at the events behind him. Christ is tall and his bent legs show beneath his fluted robe. His angular face, as in the *Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane*, appears beardless.<sup>69</sup> To the left of Christ the directional flow of the panel changes as the crowd suddenly turns into Bartolomeo's shallow foreground toward his simplified steep hill of Golgotha in the upper right.

This sudden change of direction begins with the bound figure of the first thief who is escorted by two soldiers clad in glowing dark armor and continues upward with a figure reaching out and pushing or pursuing two additional figures. The bound figure on the right is the second thief, whereas the second figure is likely from the following incident in Mark's account of the betrayal and arrest of Christ.

Mark tells of how a young man, who had followed Jesus and was suddenly set upon by soldiers fled away naked.<sup>70</sup> This event, which appears here on the right, is normally depicted in scenes of Christ's arrest and is therefore out of place. It appears again in a later predella of the *Betrayal of Christ* by Bartolomeo.<sup>71</sup> Since the young man was sometimes identified with either Saint John or Saint James he is often shown with a halo, although in this instance it is absent. This figure and its relationship to the soldier pursuing him is clearly identical to the two figures in the later panel. But Bartolomeo's reasons for placing them in the *Way to Calvary*, outside the proper sequence of events, remains uncertain and might, in this instance, only reflect his use of a familiar

convention. However, it should also be noted that it is not uncommon to find concurrent narratives in several of Bartolomeo's other existing predellas.

While not as spatially or figuratively unwieldy as the *Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane*, the figures in the final panel, the *Lamentation and Entombment* (Fig. 18, No. 1) in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria in Perugia, continue to find themselves in a bleak, melancholic landscape. Bartolomeo's panel is based on Sienese representations of the subject and is nearly identical in its arrangement of figures to Giovanni di Paolo's *Pieta* (Fig. 62) of ca. 1450. In Bartolomeo's panel these seven figures are better defined, less weighed-down by their robes, and by virtue of the differences in the color of their clothing much more independent and naturalistically integrated into their surroundings.

At times, as in the case of Mary Magdalene, who crouches with clasped hands above Christ's wasted and bony legs, the facial features of Bartolomeo's characters are severely modeled like the face of the Virgin in the *San Salvatore Triptych*. Throughout this series of predellas, this type of mask-like characterization can be absent or not as uniformly applied or apparent in other figures within the same panels. This causes an unusual and uneven juxtaposition between Mary Magdalene and the wailing Virgin on her right. At times, as in the leftmost figure in the *Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane* and several of the central figures in the *Arrest of Christ*, such modeling endows the figure's head with a greater physical presence, forming an inelegant contrast with the other figures. And although this technique is useful for identification purposes, it adds to the harsh, uneven nature of Bartolomeo's predellas.

Unlike the figures in the *Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane*, that oppose the flow and contour of the landscape, those in the *Lamentation and Entombment* are more

carefully woven into their surroundings. The leftmost figure crouches beneath one of the rounded hills, while another more elongated hill crowns the upper torso of the dead Christ, a mourning figure in profile, and the Virgin. A third, mandorla-like mound symmetrically rises over Mary Magdalene. This flow of the landscape with its integration of figures creates a gentle rhythm that, along with the genuflecting figure at Christ's feet, creates a transition toward the right. This portion of the painting consists of Bartolomeo's unusual depiction of the preparation of Christ's tomb, a scene that dominates nearly one half of the panel with its enormously wide entrance – appropriately described by Zeri as like “the mouth of a whale.”<sup>72</sup>

The main panels of the *San Salvatore Triptych* represent the earliest and perhaps the most diverse phase of the master's “Sienese” period. The predellas with their dark landscapes, intense characterizations, and harsh uneven figures, provide us with a small but significant indication of the artist's future development. We find that the apparent eclecticism so evident in the *San Salvatore Triptych* becomes gradually less prominent toward the middle phase of Bartolomeo's career. Bartolomeo's more mature phase, though perhaps not as harsh and aggressive as his early career, continued to retain and build upon many of the dark expressive elements first exhibited in the *San Salvatore Triptych*. However, what becomes more evident is that over time Bartolomeo becomes less harsh and uneven and evolves a more technically refined and psychologically uniform style. His work also begins to exhibit a surprising malleability and diversity of technique that allows his style to be tailored to regional conventions and the needs of his patrons – perhaps accounting for much of his popularity. It is through this steady maturation of his style that we begin to see greater evidence of the unconventional

intelligence and painterly aptitude that Federico Zeri felt observed in his early assessment of the painter.

The next chapter will examine the greater body of the painter's works. Although there exist several paintings that are thought to belong to the master's first stylistic phase (1425-1430), Zeri only divided Bartolomeo di Tommaso's career into two distinct phases. The first, (1432-1449) draws more upon Sieneese elements, and particularly the influence of Sassetta. It begins with the *San Salvatore Triptych* and ends with the *Santa Caterina Fresco* of 1449.<sup>73</sup> In light of several significant additions to the painter's oeuvre and the lack of evidence suggesting that any existing works can be dated before 1432, I have divided Bartolomeo's catalog of works after the *San Salvatore Triptych* of 1432 into three categories: the first comprises the master's middle period and consists of paintings completed between the years 1433-1439, the second consisting of a handful of works with certain stylistic refinements which were executed sometime between 1440-1445, and the third comprising Bartolomeo's mature phase, consisting of paintings completed before his departure for the Vatican between the years 1446 and 1451.

## NOTES

## Chapter Three

1. Raimond Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1970), 8:370. ; J.A. Crowe and G.B. Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in Italy* (London: John Murray, 1914), 5:227.
2. Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte Italiana* (Milano, 1911), 7:529-530. ; Michele Faloci-Pulignani, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso, pittore Umbro del XV secolo," *Rassegna d'arte Umbra* 3, no. 3, (July 1921): 65-80. Faloci-Pulignani's study and Venturi's criticism were both based upon only two paintings, the *San Salvatore Triptych* of 1432, and the *Santa Caterina Fresco* of 1449 – both works are at extreme points within the artist's chronology and hardly representative of the painter's current oeuvre.
3. The precise dating of the San Salvatore Triptych appears in the *Archivio di Stato di Foligno, Notarile.*, 93, Tommaso di Angelo di Pietro (1430-41), 1431 ottobre 7, in Mario Sensi, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Girolamo di Matteo da Gualdo: Due note d'archivio," *Paragone* 43, no. 505-507, (March-May 1992): 87-88. ; *Archivio di Stato di Foligno, Notarile.*, 93, Tommaso di Angelo di Pietro (1430-41), p. 159v, 1432 dicembre 16, in Sensi, *Documenti*, 134. ; *Archivio di Stato di Foligno, Notarile.*, 93, Tommaso di Angelo di Pietro (1430-41), p. 160, 1432 dicembre 16, in Sensi, 134-135.
4. See Angelo Antonio Bittarelli, 1992. "Il Trittico Rospigliosi di Bartolomeo di Tommaso proviene da Camerino?" *Bollettino storico della città di Foligno*, 16 (1992): 337-341. ; Carlo Pietrangeli, "Ancora sul cosiddetto Trittico Rospigliosi," *Bollettino storico della città di Foligno*, 17 (1993): 301-302.
5. This detached fresco is the master's only signed and dated surviving work: "SANTA BARBARA A FACTA FARE LU CONVENTU DE SANCTA CHATERINA PER LORO DIVOTIONE. – MCCCCXXXVIII – BARTOLOMEUS THOME HOC OPUS FECIT."
6. Federico Zeri, "Tre argomenti Umbri," *Bollettino d'arte*, 48 (1963): 36-38.
7. Mario Sensi, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso: Crocifisso adorato da un Agostiniano," *Bollettino storico della città di Foligno*, 14 (1990): 514-515.
8. Federico Zeri, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Bollettino d'arte* 46 (1961): 29-45. ; Piero Adorno, "Gli affreschi della Cappella Paradisi nella chiesa di San Francisco a Terni," *Antichità a viva*, 17 (November/December 1978): 3-18. ; Aldo Cicinelli, "Appunti per uno studio della chiesa di San Francesco e degli affreschi attribuiti a Bartolomeo di Tommaso (Sec. XV), nella Cappella Paradisi, in Terni," in *Arte sacra in Umbria e dipinti restaurati nei secoli XIII-XX*, (Todi: Ediar, 1987), 25-46. ; Paola Mostarda, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Giacomo della Marca nella Cappella Paradisi a Terni," *Esercizi* 4 (1981): 54-67. Although it is generally accepted that Federico Zeri is credited with the final word on the attribution of the *Cappella Paradisi*

to Bartolomeo, it is important to note that Roberto Longhi and Andrea Ronchi also made mention of Bartolomeo's probable authorship of this important cycle as early as 1926. See Roberto Longhi and Andrea Ronchi, "Primizie di Lorenzo da Viterbo," *Vita artistica* 1 (1926): 113.

9. Ibid.

10. Michele Faloci-Pulignani was one of the first historians to offer anything more than a cursory glance at the controversial triptych and its puzzling characterizations. In 1921 he was to research and compile the existing literature on the painter and as a result propose two enduring questions to future historians: "Is it truly worthy of Bartolomeo's panel (the *San Salvatore Triptych*) to merit receiving praise?," and "Is it truly so deformed as to merit the wild censure of Venturi?" ("E veramente di pregio la tavola di Bartolomeo da meritare le lodi ricevute? È essa veramente così deforme da meritare la fiera censura del Venturi?").

In his examination of the triptych he notes ("Bartolomeo di Tommaso," 74.): "Nel centro è la Madonna seduta, in posizione maestosa, che colla destra sorregge il Bambino, assai poco elegantemente disegnato in atto di fuggire dal seno materno. La sinistra si distende a raccogliere un velo che copre il Bambino stesso, ma ha le falangi così inverosimilmente lunghe da far sospettare che egli con quella forma scorretta abbia voluto intendere qualche significato simbolico. Questo è un difetto notevolissimo di tale figura, la quale del resto è studiata con amore diligente nelle vesti, nei dettagli, nelle particolarità più minute. Il volto della Madonna è forse un po' duro, ha il collo troppo alto, e rassomiglia ad una statua, ma è gentile, delicato, devoto, e prelude alle Madonne del Mesastris. Ha sei Angeli intorno al capo in posizioni diverse, e genuflessa presso il piede destro sta la figura del Committente, che ha le mani giunte, difettose come quelle della Madonna." (This refers to works of the Folignate painter Pierantonio Mesastris (1430-1506), who by 1460 had a workshop in Foligno and was the brother-in-law of Bartolomeo di Tommaso through Bartolomeo's marriage to his sister Donna Onofria Mesastris. See Mario Sensi, "Nuovi documenti per Niccolò di Libertore detto l'Alunno," *Paragone*, #389, (1983) 91-92. ; Filippo Todini, *La pittura Umbra: dal Duecento al Primo Cinquecento* (Milano: Longanesi, 1989), 226-228, 407-410).

Unlike Venturi's comments of a decade earlier, Faloci-Pulignani's observations are clearly more reserved and perhaps upon a close examination of the central panel to some extent understated. Perhaps this reserved approach owes much to the fact that he was also a Folignate and inclined to give the benefit of the doubt to his fellow countryman. Fifty years later, through a more detailed examination of the artist's by then expanded catalog, Federico Zeri ("Bartolomeo di Tommaso," 42.) would arrive at a similar though more discriminating assessment of the triptych. Zeri speaks of: "del violento nodo figurativo cui concorrono, ciascuno a suo modo, la scarnificata lunghissima mano della Vergine, il ricadere delle pieghe del manto, lo svincolarsi "a svastica" del Bambino: un condensato campo di forze e di repressa agitazione, riecheggiato in alto dai sei Angeli, disposti oltre il trono slargato e prospettivamente appiattito, ai quali è impossibile dominare la propria irrequietezza, e che, per restando nell'atteggiamento reverenziale a braccia conserte, rompono in disordine le file dovute per antica consuetudine iconografica alla maestà della Regina celeste."

After noting these negative impressions that almost always accompany a first glimpse of the painting, Zeri (*Ibid*, 43.) much like Faloci-Pulignani continued on to conclude that: “insolita eccentrica realizzazione, aspra ed impreveduta sino a risultare sconcertante, si attenua al constatare l’alta qualità dell’esecuzione tecnica e lo splendido cesello di alcuni nimbi, per approdare infine alla certezza che, lungi dal situarsi ai margini del popolare del folkloristico e dell’occasionale, il trittico risponde alle esigenze di propositi mentali ben chiari e coscienti, frutti cioè di una situazione molto ricca e complessa, persino estenuata nelle sue rarefatte sottigliezze.”

11. Mario Sensi, “Rinaldo Trinci vescovo eletto di Foligno,” *Bollettino storico della città di Foligno* 20-21 (1999): 795-798.

12. *Ibid.*, 795.

13. *Archivio di Stato di Foligno, Notarile.*, 93, Tommaso di Angelo di Pietro (1430-41), p. 39, 1430 settembre 20, in Sensi, *Rinaldo*, 796. ; *Archivio di Stato di Foligno, Notarile.*, 93, Tommaso di Angelo di Pietro (1430-41), p. 267v, 1435 agosto 9, in Sensi, *Ibid.* ; *Archivio di Stato di Foligno, Notarile.*, 93, Tommaso di Angelo di Pietro (1430-41), p. 306, 1436 giugno 12, in Sensi, *Ibid.* ; *Archivio di Stato di Foligno, Notarile.*, 100, Bartolomeo di Giovanni Germani (1436-37), p. 209, 1439 novembre 24, in Sensi, *Ibid.*

14. *Archivio di San Salvatore. Libro del Priorato. Penultima carta.*, in Michele Faloci-Pulignani, “Bartolomeo di Tommaso, Pittore Umbro del XV Secolo,” *Rassegna d’arte Umbra* 3, no. 3, (July 1921): 73. “la Cona fu collocata per comodità nell’altare dei Santi Simone e Giuda, la quale la fece dipingere il Sig. Rainaldo di casa Trinci Priore da Santo Salvatore come apparisce per ricordo nelle scritture della detta Chiesa.”

15. *Archivio di San Salvatore. Libro del Priorato. Fol. 117.*, in Faloci-Pulignani, 73. “L’anno 1825 furono vendute al Sig. Carlo Salustri, Maestro di Cappella di Bevagna quattro tavolette dipinte, che anticamente facevano parte della tavola grande che sta al presente collocata vicino all’altare del Sacramento, del nostro Bartolomeo di Tommaso, per il prezzo di scudi sei, e scudi tre furono erogati nella compra di unostensorio di ottone, ed altri tre scudi nella compra di alcuni pezzi di biancheria per uso della sagrestia.”

16. Faloci-Pulignani, 73.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Faloci-Pulignani, 73. “MESSER RINALDO DI CORRADO TRINCI ULTIMO SIGNOR DI FOLIGNO CREATO PRIORE DI QUESTA COLLEGIATA L’ANNO 1430 FECE DIPINGERE LA PRESENTE TAVOLA COLLA SUA IMMAGINE POSTA A PIÈ DELLA SEDIA DI M. V. DA BARTOLOMEO DI TOMMASO PITTORE DELLA STESSA CITTÀ.

19. Zeri, in the wake of Frenfanelli’s earlier research mistakenly dated the *San Salvatore Triptych* at 1437, having concluded that Bartolomeo painted the triptych during the fifteen-day period that the painter’s contract with Donna Gaudiana permitted him to

spend at the Court of the Trinci. This would have fallen sometime between 1434 and 1439. He appears to have not taken into account the possibility that the triptych could have easily been completed between 1432 and Bartolomeo's departure for Fano sometime prior to 1434; a fact sustained years later by Mario Sensi's archival work. He also fails to note that the wording of the contract appears to imply that the fifteen-day period was arbitrary and not set for one specific event. See *Archivio di Stato di Foligno, Notarile.*, 93, Tommaso di Angelo di Pietro (1430-41), 1431 ottobre 7, in Mario Sensi, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Girolamo di Matteo da Gualdo: Due note d'archivio," *Paragone* 43, no. 505-507, (March-May 1992): 87-88. ; *Archivio di Stato di Foligno, Notarile.*, 93, Tommaso di Angelo di Pietro (1430-41), p. 159v, 1432 dicembre 16, in Mario Sensi, "Documenti per Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Paragone* 28 (1977): 134. ; *Archivio di Stato di Foligno, Notarile.*, 93, Tommaso di Angelo di Pietro (1430-41), p. 160, 1432 dicembre 16, in Sensi, 134-135.

20. Giacomo Frenfanelli, *Orazione recitata nell'Accademia Fulginia, nella Fausta Circostanza, che fu Orimossa alla S. Porpora il Card. Viviano Orfini* (Foligno, 1829), 11., in Michele Faloci-Pulignani, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso, pittore Umbro del XV secolo," *Rassegna d'arte Umbra* 3, no. 3, (July 1921): 73. In addition to Frenfanelli's mistaken attribution of the date of 1437 we should also note that most later archival documents including the *Santissima Unione* list Bartolomeo and his family as members of the Compagnia della Mora.

21. Zeri, 42. "ma perchè le tre tavole hanno sofferto di un arbitrario rimaneggiamento seicentesco, che, scorciandole e mutilandole da tutti i lati, le ha totalmente private del profilo originario, soprattutto in alto, dove la sagoma, verosimilmente di andatura curvilinea, è stata rasata, senza neppure consentire al disegno dei nimbi di chiudere compiutamente il proprio giro."

22. The Magnificat is the title commonly given to the Latin text and vernacular translation of the Canticle (or Song) of Mary. It is the opening word of the Vulgate text (Luke, i, 46-55): "Magnificat anima mea, Dominum", etc. (My soul doth magnify the Lord, etc.). The writing that can be seen on the book held by Bartolomeo's Madonna is: <<Ego / Sum Lux / Mu(n)di // Et Via / Veritas>> (I am the light of the world, the way, the truth).

23. Although his remains are located in the Cathedral of Foligno, after checking several town resources including libraries, local hagiographies, and parish authorities, I was unable to find any detailed information regarding Pietro Crisci. Kaftal notes that he was born in 1243 in Foligno and that "after his conversion, he gave all his possessions to the poor." See George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting* (Florence: Sansoni, 1965), 912-913.

24. Although Faloci-Pulignani notes that the hands of the donor are "imperfect like that of the Madonna" there is little similarity and I suspect that he is referring here to Bartolomeo's technical execution of the donor's hands. Faloci-Pulignani, 74.

25. Zeri, 46-48.
26. I believe that this measurement was taken at a time when the triptych was still in the Church of San Salvatore and joined together although not in the original frame. A photograph of the painting in this former state can be found in Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: A List of the Principal Artists and Their Works with an Index of Places, Central Italian and Northern Italian Schools*. (London: Phaidon, 1968), 1: Plate 629.
27. Zeri, 42. “ignaro di qualsiasi cadenza normativa, passa attraverso le più svariate gradazioni, in una gamma assai ricca di spunti e motivi.”
28. Ibid., “ora centrifughe ed ora convergenti come le isobare di una carta meteorologica”
29. There is a possibility that this section might have also been arbitrarily reduced from its original size.
30. Although others such as Berenson have alluded to Sassetta’s influence on Bartolomeo, Zeri would dwell upon it at length and do so with enough assurance as to refer to the relationship with the *Madonna of the Snow* as “evidence.” Ibid., 43.
31. For examples of works by these artists see Pietro Zampetti, *Paintings from the Marches: Gentile to Raphael* (London: Phaidon, 1971).
32. Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: A List of the Principal Artists and Their Works with an Index of Places, Central Italian and Northern Italian Schools* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), 50.
33. Zeri, 41.
34. *Archivio di Stato di Ancona, Notarile*, 178, Chiarozzo Spampalli. Vol. (1420-39), pp. 51, 52, 57, 1425 agosto 23, in Mario Sensi, “Documenti per Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno,” *Paragone* 28 (1977): 133.
35. For an overview of the leather trade in the Quattrocento see Romano Pierotti, “Aspetti del mercato e della produzione a Perugia fra la fine del secolo XIV e la prima metà del XV: La bottega di Cuoiame di Niccolò di Martino di Pietro,” *Bollettino di storia patria per l’Umbria*, 1: Part 1 (1975): 79-185. ; “Aspetti del mercato e della produzione a Perugia fra la fine del secolo XIV e la prima metà del XV: La bottega di Cuoiame di Niccolò di Martino di Pietro,” *Bollettino di storia patria per l’Umbria*, 1: Part 2 (1976): 1-131.
36. See Cristina Galassi, Piero Lai, and Luigi Sensi, 2001. *Palazzo Trinci* (Foligno: Comune di Foligno, Assessorato alla Cultura, 2001).

37. Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte Italiana* (Milano: U. Hoepli, 1911), 7:529-530.
38. Representative of this would be works such as Guido da Siena's *Enthroned Madonna* of the second half of the thirteenth century; Cimabue's *Enthroned Madonna and Child* of circa 1280; and to a lesser extent Duccio's *Rucellai Madonna* of 1285.
39. Raimond van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1970), 8:370.
40. This description was used by Zeri in describing Bartolomeo's Baptist. Zeri, 43.
41. Zeri, 45., Besides this feature being present in the figure of the Christ Child, we find similar facial features in Bartolomeo's Saint Barbara of the *Santa Caterina Triptych* of 1449; that of Christ in the *Last Judgement Fresco* of the Cappella Paradisi of ca. 1449-1451; and a similar figure of God the Father from a *Trinità* in the Church of San Francisco in Cascia dated sometime between 1440-1445.
42. Known for eating thistles and thorns, alluding to Christ's crown of thorns, the goldfinch became an accepted symbol of the Passion. When combined with the Christ Child its inclusion is used as an iconographic convention to symbolically express the close and disturbing connection between the Incarnation and the Passion. See George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 19.
43. A detail of the first work as well as some background on the artists and paintings of the Bolognese Trecento can be found in Roberto Longhi, "La Mostra del Trecento Bolognese," *Paragone* 1 (1950): 5-44.
44. This work has also been attributed to Vitale da Bologna.
45. Among the aforementioned relationships with painters of the Bolognese Trecento, we should also note that similar depictions of a dramatic and playful infant, at times also reflecting Zeri's "swastika" position and reflecting a similar darkened tonality, were also to be found throughout Italy and neighboring Adriatic countries in fifteenth-century icons and mosaics. Regardless of Bartolomeo's relationship to the Bolognese masters we must keep in mind his professional and geographic relationship to the Le Marche and neighboring provinces, and subsequently note that we can not rule out, as a further source of influence, the artist's close proximity to Ravenna and its wealth of great mosaics. An excellent example of this type of position, that can be used to express either joy or struggle, can be seen in the *Icon of the Virgin Kardiotissa* from the second quarter of the fifteenth century, signed "Hand of Angelos," in the Byzantine Museum, Athens.
46. As seen in Giovanni di Paolo's *Madonna and Child* of 1457, in the Municipio, Castiglione Fiorentino.

47. A superb example of this type is seen in Bernardo Daddi's *Madonna and Child* of 1346-1347 in Orsanmichele, Florence.
48. Perhaps the finest example of this type of symbolism is found in the use of grapes symbolizing the Eucharist in Masaccio's *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Four Angels* of 1426 in London's National Gallery.
49. Sensi, "Rinaldo Trinci," 797-798.
50. *Ibid.*, 798.
51. L. Iacobilli, *Croniche della Città di Foligno*, 1429 18 luglio, in Sensi, *Rinaldo Trinci*, 798., "peste grande in Foligno per la quale morirono molti e però gran parte degl'abitatori di questa città vanno ad habitare nelle case della montagna nelli mesi d'agosto e settembre dove fabbricano molte bone habitationi. In piazza di Foligno si fa il consiglio pubblico per tal causa. Mori fa gli altri in quest occasione Ianni di Pietro Paolo priore della città e proconsole degli orefici e Francesco di Bertole del terziere de' SS. Nicolò e Giovanni."
52. Sensi, 798., "i temi della passione, narrati nella predella, indubbiamente alludono alla sofferenza patita dai Folignati durante la pandemia, mentre il bambino dal volto esterrefatto, in mano un cardellino tramortito e col calcagno che poggia sul seno della Madonna, in atto di sfuggirgli dalle mani, simboleggia il terrore di quanti, di fronte al pericolo, scappano dalla città. Mentre a coloro che, impossibilitati ad andare altrove, restavano in città, per sfuggire al contagio non rimaneva altro che affidarsi alla protezione della Vergine e dei santi patroni: antichi, come S. Giovanni e moderni, come il B. Pietro Crisci e dei santi terapeuti: sant'Orsola, il cui attributo è una freccia, invocata contro la peste, e s. Bartolomeo, atteso il suo martirio, invocato contro I dolori laceranti inflitti dal bubbone."
53. An excellent example of this can be seen in Giovanni da Milano's *Polyptych with Madonna and Saints* of 1355 in the Civic Museum, Prato.
54. See "Bartholomew, Apostle" and "Ursula and Companions" in David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 3d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 39, 473-474. We should also note that Voragine's *Golden Legend* makes little mention of either Saint's relation to plagues and pestilences although he does note the fact that Bartholomew performed many miraculous healings during his earthly ministry. See "Saint Bartholomew" and "The Eleven Thousand Virgins," in Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 2:108-116, 256-260.
55. This information is concerning Saint Barbara is provided by Mario Sensi himself in "Martiro di Santa Barbara, Madonna di Loreto, Santo Francescano e Committenti," *Bollettino storico della città di Foligno*, 19, (1995): 207-212.

56. Faloci-Pulignani, 74.
57. Zeri, 46-48.
58. Zeri points out that they are clearly connected by style, dimension, and subject; though knowing the eclectic and uncertain nature of Bartolomeo's early catalog, we must also keep in mind that there exist two similar predellas by Bartolomeo, and a remote possibility that either of these could have also, based on dimension and subject, been from the *San Salvatore Triptych*. These are the *Betrayal of Christ* and a *Lamentation and Entombment* dated sometime within the late 1430's on display in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.
59. Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: A List of the Principal Artists and Their Works with an Index of Places, Central Italian and Northern Italian Schools* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), 50. ; *Italian Painters of the Renaissance* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1936), 43.
60. Zeri, 46.
61. Zeri, 46. "la sostanza figurativa è qui percorsa da un impegno di spezzatura formale, da una forza di capacità trasfigurativa, libera e indipendente, che sarebbero impensabili in una cerchia come quella senese, dove i grandi modelli ritmici de Duccio e di Simone Martini e le intuizioni spaziali dei Lorenzetti non erano lettera morta. . . ."
62. Mark. 14:36-37 KJV (King James Version): *And he said, Abba, Father, all things are possible unto thee; take away this cup from me: nevertheless not what I will, but what thou wilt. And he cometh, and findeth them sleeping, and saith unto Peter, Simon, sleepest thou? Couldst not thou watch one hour?*
63. Giovanni di Paolo, *Christ at Gethsemane* (date unknown) in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome.
64. Sassetta, *Agony in the Garden* of 1437 in the Detroit Institute of Arts.
65. Zeri, 43. "dove l'accento caratteristico si condensa in un significato arcano, ermetico, che nulla ha in comune con le nitide crisalidi spaziali del grande pittore senese.
66. Zeri, 45.
67. Zeri, 48., "simili a cavallette dall'epidermide metallica"
68. Sassetta, *Procession to Calvary* of 1437 in the Detroit Institute of Arts.
69. Bartolomeo's depictions of a beardless Christ occur throughout his career, beginning with this one instance in 1432 and continuing through the Cappella Paradisi and the latter portion of his career in the 1450's.

<sup>70.</sup> Mark. 14:51-52 KJV (King James Version): *And there followed him a certain young man, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body; and the young men laid hold on him: and he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked.*

<sup>71.</sup> See the *Betrayal of Christ* dated sometime within the early 1440's and on display in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

<sup>72.</sup> Zeri., 47.

<sup>73.</sup> Others have suggested that the *San Caterina Fresco* was primarily a votive work and due to its simplicity should be treated as separate and distinct from other works in Bartolomeo's chronology. Zeri seems to have discounted the fresco as having any potential votive qualities, preferring instead to place it at a point directly within the artist's stylistic progression and bordering on his second and most advanced phase which he placed between 1450-1453.

## CHAPTER 4

## WORKS 1433 TO 1451

After the *San Salvatore Triptych*, we reach the stylistic phase of Bartolomeo di Tommaso's career that I define as his middle period, which extends from 1433 through 1439. Zeri divided Bartolomeo's career into only two separate stylistic phases consisting of an early or developmental period from 1433 to the *San Caterina Fresco* of 1449, a work that he felt marked the start of the painter's "mature phase."<sup>1</sup> Over the past few decades additions to Bartolomeo's oeuvre have allowed historians to broaden their grasp of Bartolomeo's development as well as to expand upon and refine this chronology.

Any chronology that includes works from this supposed middle period must still be based on a comparative analysis with the *San Salvatore Triptych* of 1432, the *Rospigliosi Triptych* of 1445, the *San Caterina Fresco* of 1449, and those few works that we assume were completed sometime after 1449. In addition to a comparative analysis with Bartolomeo's few secure paintings, we can then compare among those works that appear to fall within this period, keeping in mind that Bartolomeo's paintings exhibit a continued though scarcely uniform refinement through what is assumed to be his latest surviving work, the cycle of frescoes for the Cappella Paradisi in the Church of San Francisco in Terni. This final work, completed sometime within the late fifth to early sixth decade of the Quattrocento, marks Bartolomeo's most imaginative and technically advanced stylistic phase.

In addition to stylistic evidence, we are also assisted in constructing Bartolomeo's chronology by several surviving notarial documents and contracts. Besides providing useful information regarding patronage, these documents frequently refer to

Bartolomeo's residence at the time of their drafting and, in several instances, vaguely refer to the subjects and terms of the artist's commissions. While mostly lacking in detail these references to subject matter are useful in placing fragmentary works within some possible and relevant working context. However, it is important to keep in mind that Bartolomeo was popular during his lifetime and his work was in constant demand. Certain subjects, such as those done for the Friars Minor, were probably produced on more than one occasion and for different patrons. This would render any chronology based on anything but the most detailed archival information and exact requirements of subject matter as hypothetical and subject to future archival research and stylistic analysis.

Added to the problems we find in constructing a chronology of Bartolomeo's paintings based on the above criteria, we must also note that there are a small cluster of works that, based upon their Anconese, Camerese, and San Severese qualities, are seen by historians as possibly predating the *San Salvatore Triptych*. These works, which I examine early in this chapter, may fall into the artist's first stylistic or "Marchigian" phase. Further complicating matters is the presence of either historic or stylistic evidence that might be used to link these questionable paintings to the *San Salvatore Triptych* or a later period. The existence of such challenging works hints at the fundamental problems in the oeuvre of a painter who, in addition to having a fertile and eclectic artistic nature, also worked, at times concurrently, in rich and highly diverse artistic environments and for patrons of varying and often regionally-centered tastes and requirements.

The first work to fall within Bartolomeo's middle phase, referred to by Zeri as a "work whose birth can not fall too far from 1437," is a small panel of *Saint Jerome in*

*Penitence* (Fig. 27, No. 2) discovered in 1933 in the De Clemente Collection in Rome and reattributed by Zeri to Bartolomeo in 1961.<sup>2</sup> Physiologically similar to the Pietro Crisci figure of the *San Salvatore Triptych* and a figure with strong roots in Sassetta's *Madonna of the Snow*, the style of this small panel of Saint Jerome is described by Zeri as:

a confirmation of the Umbro-Sienese of which Bartolomeo is a major exponent of towards the end of the fourth decade of the century [and where] his Sassetta roots are the ones that determine the evident parallels with the Ambrosi [Pietro di Giovanni D'Ambrogio]<sup>3</sup> while the formal composition urges a comparison with the Osservanza Master and with Sano di Pietro.<sup>4</sup>

Zeri noted differences between Bartolomeo's figures and those of the Sieneese painter Pietro di Giovanni D'Ambrogio (1409/10-1449), whose grotesque and gaunt characters recalled certain aspects of Giovanni di Paolo.<sup>5</sup> It is clearly in Bartolomeo's painting's formal affinities with similar subjects by the Sieneese painter the Osservanza Master (active 2nd quarter of the 15th century) and Sano di Pietro (1405-1481) where the stronger connection can be made.<sup>6</sup>

Against Bartolomeo's dark night we find the haloed Saint Jerome seated in the rounded mouth of the cave and surrounded by the foliage of an imaginary, abbreviated desert. The Saint's head and expression resemble Pietro Crisci's as does his white skin, strong well-developed arms, and the simple but bold parallel lines of his robe.<sup>7</sup> The Saint's upper torso is bare and he appears to be sitting before the cave as his robe bears no sign of his bent knees but rather falls naturalistically to the ground. His hands also appear proportional to those of the Saints on either wing of the *San Salvatore Triptych*. Much like Pietro Crisci, Saint Jerome gestures inwardly, holding a stone, a sign of his

voluntary penance, while he points toward his chest with his right hand and gazes on the Crucifix placed on a diagonal in the right corner of the painting.<sup>8</sup>

Swarming around the figure of the Saint and at times spilling onto his vestments are several snakes and a scorpion. Like the foliage, these creatures seem abbreviated, with the S-curves of the snakes winding their way in the direction of Jerome's lion, and away from the smoothly descending parallel lines of Bartolomeo's landscape. This landscape, like the predellas of 1432, continues to be set against the dark of night. However, any resemblance to these earlier landscapes ends with this darkness as the environment no longer consists of layer upon layer of dark and distant rolling hills. Instead a much more naturalistic though undoubtedly condensed and schematized rendering of the desert consists of sharp, jagged terrain. We even find that the artist has tried to depict a receding landscape as the much brighter ground surrounding the Saint contrasts sharply with the slightly darkened tones of the jagged hill, and its simplified patches of vegetation, that appear to fade slowly into the darkness behind the Crucifixion.<sup>9</sup>

Whether or not we accept Zeri's dating of the panel to the 1430's, the Sieneese influence of the Osservanza Master, and even more so that of Bartolomeo's contemporary, Sano di Pietro is evident.<sup>10</sup> A predella panel of the same subject from the *Osservanza Master Triptych* (Fig. 63) shows a similar though less gaunt Jerome who also gestures inwardly with a stone in his right hand as he kneels in the arched open mouth of the cave. The colors of both works are similar, bringing to mind the bold though flat palette of the Osservanza Master's *Saint Anthony Abbot* series and in particular one of its more notable panels, the *Saint Anthony in the Wilderness*.<sup>11</sup> The cave consists of similar

ascending and descending parallel lines that roll gently up and down its slopes, which in this case are free of snakes and scorpions. To the right of Saint Jerome and the lion, the Master of the Observance, rather than using Bartolomeo's shorthand, depicts a series of richly detailed fruit-bearing trees that begin to recede slowly into the small triangular shaped middle ground behind the cave and ultimately into a distant landscape of rolling hills and turreted castles.

While the Osservanza Master's predella is reminiscent of Bartolomeo's in its formal structure and simplistic rendering of the natural world, it is in a combination of the two works of the same subject by the Sienese painter Sano di Pietro where we find a more convincing relationship. The first of these, a small undated panel entitled *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness* (Fig. 64), shows the Saint assuming a kneeling position similar to that of the Osservanza Master's predella panel. The Saint, who bears much more robust facial and physical features than Bartolomeo's figure once again holds his right arm and stone bearing hand in a similar attitude of supplication. The Saint's head, in three quarter profile is surrounded by an ornate and flattened halo. As in Bartolomeo's panel, there are highly schematized snakes and scorpions clustered around the kneeling Saint and his lion attribute, is also present - this time behind the Saint. Like Bartolomeo, Sano has placed Jerome before a crucifix, which rather than appearing off into the landscape, stands on a rectangular altar directly before the Saint at the mouth of the cave. Even in light of his use of this altar and its unusual positioning before the cave, his addition and placement of the crucifix along with his positioning and gestures of Saint Jerome are convincingly similar to those of Bartolomeo. As in the Osservanza Master's

panel, Sano di Pietro's landscape is much more detailed than Bartolomeo's and contains receding trees, a similar triangular-shaped middle ground, and distant hills and castles.

A second panel by Sano, an undated predella of *Saint Jerome Doing Penance in the Desert* (Fig. 65), also shares a common element with Bartolomeo's panel. This second painting is evidently more panoramic than Bartolomeo's work, where the Saint kneels before the jagged and arched mouth of the cave, set within a small schematized hill that is echoed by two similarly shaped hills that recede along the same diagonal far into the background. The Saint, unlike Bartolomeo's, kneels and faces the observer in three quarter profile. His left hand assumes the position of supplication while his right, which holds the rock, is held straight out and away from his body. His face and physiognomy are much more naturalistic than Bartolomeo's as are the fruit bearing trees and landscape that we find to his left and right, and that continue far into Sano's background. The most conspicuous resemblance between both artists' works can be seen in Sano's depiction of the snakes and scorpions that surround the Saint. Sano's flat, dark, and almost calligraphic depiction of these creatures has much in common with Bartolomeo's, as does his clustering of these desert animals so close to the Saint who, like Bartolomeo's, is oblivious to their presence.

The simplistic landscape and almost identical placement of the figure of the Saint and his relation to the Crucifix in Sano's *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness* combined with the nearly identical calligraphic depiction and placement of the snakes and scorpions suggest that Bartolomeo had some familiarity with Sano's style. In addition to these factors, we also find correspondences to the bright, flattened palette of the Osservanza Master. While there is some question as to the dating of these potential sources of

influence, the fact that all the artists were contemporaries and geographically close to one another, along with the more obvious archaic qualities of Bartolomeo's panel, appear to favor a dating no later than the fourth decade of the Quattrocento. This would make Bartolomeo's *Saint Jerome in Penitence* along with the *San Salvatore Triptych* relatively important as they represent two surviving works that attest to Bartolomeo's Siena-based style after his Anconese apprenticeship and before the 1440's. However, the obvious Siennese influence in these two works does not serve as a secure point of departure or transition to an analysis of other works from Bartolomeo's middle phase. Rather, there is a series of works that create an additional array of questions.

Four of Bartolomeo's works are particularly problematic with regard to the painter's chronology. Based on historians such as Zeri and Zanoli we must keep in mind that these works could conceivably represent a separate class of Bartolomeo's oeuvre that is reflective of his Marches experience and might predate the *San Salvatore Triptych* and the *Saint Jerome in Penitence*.<sup>12</sup> Two of the works, a predella of the *Resurrection of Christ* (Fig. 28, No. 3) and the *Madonna of Pergola* (Fig. 30, No. 4), might fit into the category of works derived from Bartolomeo's Anconese experience, where he was in residence from 1425<sup>13</sup> to 1431 according to his earliest mention in the notarial archives of Foligno.<sup>14</sup> Although at one time thought to fall within this period, two additional works, predella panels of *Saint Francis Renouncing his Possessions* (Fig. 39, No. 8), and its companion piece the *Funeral and Canonization of Saint Francis* (Fig. 40, No. 9) can now, through Zanoli's illuminating research, be dated after the *San Salvatore Triptych* - somewhere between 1439 and 1443 toward the end of Bartolomeo's middle phase.

The first and possibly earliest of these works, which does not appear in Zeri's 1961 study of Bartolomeo, is the small predella panel of the *Resurrection of Christ* (Fig. 28, No. 3).<sup>15</sup> In relation to the importance of this painting Zanoli noted her view that "The frescoes of Terni [*Cappella Paradisi*] are the surprising poetic culmination of an artistic event that had its incunabulum [in this small panel]."<sup>16</sup> Aside from the fact that prior to its relocation to the Louvre the painting was in the collection of Léon Salavin in Paris, little information is available regarding the origins of the work as well as the source of its attribution to Bartolomeo. Nevertheless certain passages are unmistakably by his hand.<sup>17</sup>

The scene depicts the resurrected Christ as he stands, partially within the sarcophagus, with his left hand brandishing the red and white banner of resurrection signifying his victory over death. The white flag, which breaks into two separate but nearly identical pennant-shaped strands is weighty and ornately furled. It contrasts sharply with the rich gold background. Christ's right hand rests in a familiar though slightly curled-in position of benediction, with his index and middle fingers together as his other three fingers curve in and touch one another. His right leg remains within the sarcophagus while his left, in defiance of death, rests upon the heavy lid placed on a diagonal across the center of the panel and stretching from the lower portion of the painting to the extreme limits of the middle ground. Also on the lid of the tomb, flowing around Christ's leg we can see an ample portion of his robe flowing from his sleeve and dropping, like water, on the cover of the sarcophagus lid where it hangs over its edge.

On his right side, Christ's robe appears to cascade beyond his body in a billowing wave of deep furrows that resemble those of the banner though in an opposite pitch and direction. Beyond the figure of Christ, there is a landscape of three hills, two of which

create a crescent shaped furrow between which the figure of Christ is centered. The leftmost of these hills bears three fruit laden trees signifying the resurrection and standing in sharp contrast to the severely striated and barren hills on his opposite side.<sup>18</sup>

Clustered around the sarcophagus are six soldiers in various attitudes of sleep or disorientation. To the right of these soldiers is a rather unusual, serene figure in profile - possibly a representation of the angel said to have removed the cover from Christ's tomb.

This episode, from the *Book of Matthew* relates that:

there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it. His countenance was like lightning and his raiment white as snow. And for fear of him the keepers did shake, and become as dead men.<sup>19</sup>

The same incident in the *Book of Mark* describes "a young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment; and they [the soldiers] were affrighted."<sup>20</sup> It is more than likely that here we are seeing Bartolomeo's rather uncommon though elegant and effective interpretation of this biblical event.

Zanoli describes the *Resurrection of Christ* as preceding another work Zeri identified as Bartolomeo's earliest surviving painting, the *Madonna of Pergola* (Fig. 30, No. 4). In her assessment she notes the *Resurrection of Christ* exhibits:

the exclusive Marches citations that are already adapted to a unitary context that recovers the mystery of the resurrection and the significance of its enigmatic wonder which is now lost in the distraction of a courtly interpretation.<sup>21</sup>

More specifically she adds that the painting shows the influence of Gentile da Fabriano in:

the insertion of the small tree of Gentile (that returns also in the small panel of Baltimore) and, one insinuates, from an illusive magical sign, the golden crescent of the background.<sup>22</sup>

and that Bartolomeo has the: “willowy rhythms of Lorenzo Salimbeni” and:

recognizable in the mantle of Christ, the ambiguously drawn zoomorphic outlines and the exquisite vacuity of the figures that are drawn from the same San Severino [influences].<sup>23</sup>

It is because of these very same Marchigian influences described by Zanoli that we are compelled to begin questioning the suggested early dating of the panel. The first problem occurs in the same article where we later discover the same “small tree of Gentile,” in the *Funeral and Canonization of Saint Francis* (Fig. 40, No. 9). In a somewhat contradictory manner in relation to this predella and its companion piece in Urbino,<sup>24</sup> she attributes the occurrence of a similar type of small tree in the “attempted representation of a real environment” to the influence of Sassetta.<sup>25</sup> She repeats this with regard to the “golden crescent of the background,” which she again appears to attribute to the influence of Gentile regarding the *Resurrection of Christ*: but similarly ascribes to Sassetta and a Sienese influence regarding a similar appearance in the same *Funeral and Canonization of Saint Francis*.<sup>26</sup> With regard to Bartolomeo di Tommaso, any exposure to the works of Sassetta is generally ascribed to the very beginning of the fourth decade of the Quattrocento long after the approximate dating of this panel which we can assume she places sometime between 1425 and 1430.<sup>27</sup>

Added to this, other passages exist that could possibly link the *Resurrection* to a later date. The background landscape, in addition to the painter’s inclusion of the aforementioned trees, displays almost identical abbreviated mountains and geological serrations found in Bartolomeo’s *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness*. Zeri believed that Bartolomeo’s *Saint Jerome* was painted sometime around 1437, a date he had mistakenly assumed would have made it contemporary with the *San Salvatore Triptych*.<sup>28</sup> If indeed

this is the case we might then conclude that the landscape of *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness* was a brief departure from the sullen and rounded hills in the predellas of the Foligno altarpiece as well as in several of the Bartolomeo's later works. This departure might actually have some basis in an earlier dating as this type of topology points to the Salimbeni and a Marchigian connection; but in light of the fact that they appear in a later work, could also be equally attributed to Bartolomeo's eclectic if not highly impressionable artistic nature.<sup>29</sup> This possibility becomes even more evident from additional figurative elements that could indicate more tangible connections between the supposed later predellas of the *San Salvatore Triptych* and the *Resurrection of Christ*.

The figures of the sleeping soldiers beneath the victorious figure of the resurrected Christ bear an unmistakable relation to those found in the predellas of the *San Salvatore Triptych* as well as to a later predella of the *Betrayal of Christ* in New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 29, No. 5).<sup>30</sup> The similarities become evident in the distinctive skullcap helmets as well as in the uniforms of the sleeping soldiers and those in the predella scenes of the *Betrayal* and *Way to Calvary* from the *San Salvatore Triptych*. Identical passages can also be found in the piece in the Metropolitan Museum - another undoubtedly more mature variation of the *Betrayal of Christ*.

The *Resurrection of Christ* and those of the three other predella scenes depict what Zeri described as the "locust-like" appearance of dark uniforms set off against the silver-gray metal bosses of the soldier's armor.<sup>31</sup> However, despite these similarities between the predellas, in the *Resurrection of Christ* we find that there appears to be less of the harshness and awkward detail in the predellas of the *San Salvatore Triptych*. There is much more of a refined detail and a clarity that is absent in these documented predella

scenes of the *San Salvatore Triptych*, and that more securely lend themselves to the *Resurrection* as well as to the later predella in the Metropolitan.<sup>32</sup>

Also more refined are the hands and feet of the soldiers, which in the *Resurrection of Christ* clearly lack the “monkey-like” appearance singled out by Zeri with regard to the predellas of the Foligno triptych.<sup>33</sup> Even more noticeable are the faces of the sleeping soldiers in the *Resurrection of Christ* - who in several instances possess a type of exaggerated and better-defined characterization that is absent in the other panels. In relation to the soldiers of the *Resurrection of Christ*, the *San Salvatore Triptych*'s predella scenes are inclined to be inordinately crude and disproportionate in the handling of the heads and faces, with the only exception being that of Christ, whose features appear to be largely uniform throughout all the predellas.

In the *Resurrection* the faces of Bartolomeo's soldiers, particularly those of the two peering out from behind the tomb and the leftmost character who stares up at the sky in a confused state, are undoubtedly more reminiscent of the expressiveness in the paintings of Ottaviano Nelli (ca. 1370-1444). Nelli's unquestionable influence on Bartolomeo, and particularly on his facial characterizations, would begin to assert itself more visibly later in the artist's career, closer to the late fourth and early fifth decades of the Quattrocento.<sup>34</sup>

Added to the elements linking Bartolomeo's panel to those of a later date is the monumental and serene figure of the Angel who strides in profile toward the right side of the painting. Upon examining the *Way to Calvary* from the *San Salvatore Triptych*, we note that the figures of the Virgin and Mary Magdalene have similar strong and erect profiles and postures though they lack the rich attention to detail and drapery, appearing

to be much more two-dimensional than the figure in the *Resurrection of Christ*. On comparing the later predella scene of the *Betrayal of Christ* to the *Resurrection*, we observe that the leftmost figure shows the same type of ornate and stately appearance along with the almost identical rich folds of sculptural drapery.<sup>35</sup> These brief but cumulative passages in the *Resurrection of Christ* provide us with additional indication that Zanoli's placement of the panel at the beginning of the third decade of the Quattrocento, a dating inclusive of Bartolomeo's Marchigian experience, and one that would subsequently make this the painter's earliest known work, is at best open to doubt.

A second panel that falls within this gray area is seen by Zeri as one of three works that "exhibited the limits of the painter's vocabulary within the environment of the Marches that preceded Bartolomeo's exposure to any strong Sieneese or Tuscan influence."<sup>36</sup> The *Madonna of Pergola* (Fig. 30, No. 4) from the Church of San Giacomo in Pergola<sup>37</sup> is also known as the *Virgin of the Sun*, a subject that was typical to the region during the latter half of the Quattrocento and alludes to the Immaculate Conception.<sup>38</sup> The painting, according to Zeri, was dated no later than the third decade of the Quattrocento, prior to the *San Salvatore Triptych*, and perhaps as early as the late 1420's when the artist had Anconese citizenship and was probably active in the workshop of Olivuccio di Ciccarello.<sup>39</sup> Zeri's reason for placing the panel in this earliest phase of the artist's career derives from what he believed was a strong Gothic presence, one in which the painter's intentions:

[openly] allude to a style of unrealistic characterizations, where the great figure of the Virgin raises against the bottom of the brocade with an austerity, as sullen and solemn as an idol; where the course of her mantle unwinds according to a musical rhythm very "Gothic," that has not been seen in the works examined up to this point, and where the layers of her clothing gather themselves at the bottom in an almost festive manner . . .<sup>40</sup>

Zeri continues on to describe what he felt were evidently the “very Gothic” physical attributes of the Madonna whose eyes “are weakly defined, malleable, and in short lacking the mordant aggressiveness and the graphic sharpness of things much later.”<sup>41</sup> In addition to what he felt were the painting’s expressive shortcomings, Zeri also attempted to draw an analogy between Bartolomeo’s *Madonna of Pergola* and a comparable type of diminished chiaroscuro in the works of the Anconese Gothic painters Carlo da Camerino (active 1396) and Archangelo da Cola (active 1416-1429) elements of which Zeri felt were derivative of late Gothic Venetian painting and in particular the extended influence of painters such as Giambono (Michele di Taddeo di Giovanni Bono) (active 1420-1460) and Jacobello del Fiore (active 1400-1439).

Aside from a similarity in the delicate lightened chiaroscuro of the Madonna, several of the Gothic elements of both Anconese masters are evident in the *Madonna of Pergola*. The “festive” and richly cascading folds and delicate modeling of the Madonna’s garments with their gently patterned gold crests, along with a similar type of capricious gold border and elegant flowing hemline, can be seen in Archangelo’s *Madonna of Humility* in the Pinacoteca Civica in Ancona. To a lesser extent, similar elements are also present in Carlo’s *Virgin and Child Enthroned* in the Church of San Marco in Osimo.

In addition to a more Gothic type of vibrant and ornate linearity in the clothing, there is also a physical resemblance in the face of Bartolomeo’s Madonna to that of the *Osimo Madonna*, and perhaps to an even greater extent that of Archangelo’s *Virgin and Child Enthroned* in the Frick Collection in New York City. All of these Anconese works possess a rather decorative and superficial quality that lacks the strong and labored

characterization we find so evident in the Madonna of the *San Salvatore Triptych* and its corresponding predella scenes. In addition, there are similarities to Archangelo's *Madonna of Humility* and the cascading garland of angels set against a black background of intricate patterning that contrasts with and surrounds the head and shoulders of the *Madonna of Pergola*.

Lastly, we note that the positioning of Carlo da Camerino's *Virgin and Child with Angels* in the Cleveland Museum of Art reflects the same type of horizontal arcuated infant that is so rhythmic and decorative compared to the exuberance of the infant in the *San Salvatore Triptych*. The use of this type of reclining figure of the Christ Child further reflects the strong Venetian presence of Jacobello del Fiore whose undated *Madonna and Child* in an undisclosed location, places the Madonna and Christ Child in an identical position to that of Bartolomeo's.

All of these elements indicate that the *Madonna of Pergola* points to Bartolomeo's Anconese roots where both of the aforementioned painters were active and at the height of their careers during the time of Bartolomeo's apprenticeship.<sup>42</sup> However, even in light of this strong evidence, it is important to examine the *Madonna of Pergola* with regard to Zeri's suggested dating within the third decade of the Quattrocento before the *San Salvatore Triptych* in 1432.

While the *Madonna of Pergola* lacks any suggestion of Bartolomeo's expressionistic qualities or any convincing hint of possible Sienese or Tuscan influence, the restrained chiaroscuro evident in the face of the Madonna is not present in the full figure of the Christ Child, who to a slightly lesser extent reflects the same darkened tonality of the infant in the *San Salvatore Triptych*. In addition to this one subtle hint of Bartolomeo's expressive tendencies, an apparent contradiction becomes evident on examination of one of the painter's better-known documented works, the flowery *Rospigliosi Triptych* of 1445 (Fig. 2, No. 13) in the Pinacoteca Vaticana. It lacks any of Bartolomeo's predominantly expressive portrayals but is conspicuously rich in mawkish characterizations and corresponding Gothic decorative elements.<sup>43</sup>

The presence of a much later painting so lavishly Gothic in temperament and lacking in the artist's celebrated expressive qualities leads us to suspect that in his dating of the *Madonna of Pergola*, Zeri omitted any consideration of Bartolomeo's uneven stylistic development and, as evidenced in the *San Salvatore Triptych*, adventurous stylistic tendencies. In addition, he appears to have also left out the more important notion that the painter's eclectic and adaptive nature appears to have enabled him to combine Gothic style with more progressive influences and with widely varying degrees of intensity at different points in his career.

Completed a full fifteen years after the *San Salvatore Triptych*, the *Rospigliosi Triptych* reflects very little of Bartolomeo's unique emotional appeal and maintains much closer stylistic affinities to the late Trecento and early Quattrocento Marches. This is particularly true of the extended influence of the late Gothic and its better-known exponent Gentile da Fabriano. Gentile's probable influence on Bartolomeo's triptych is

even more credible when we take into account that Bartolomeo had probably been in contact with Gentile's work, specifically a series of frescoes for the Palazzo Trinci in Foligno, commissioned by Corrado Trinci, Bartolomeo's earliest known patron.<sup>44</sup>

Even more convincing is the fact that for years the *Rospigliosi Triptych* was alternately attributed to Gentile or to the School of Lorenzo Salimbeni. Of added interest is the fact that one of the earliest attributions of the painting to both artists was given by Adolfo Venturi.<sup>45</sup> It would have been interesting to see how Venturi would have reacted to the idea that the same artist that painted the "horrible" *San Salvatore Triptych* also painted the *Rospigliosi Triptych*, a work he attributed to the likes of Gentile da Fabriano or the Salimbeni - artists he held in much higher esteem.<sup>46</sup> The fact that such an attribution by Venturi was possible gives us further reason to question Zeri's dating of the *Madonna of Pergola*.<sup>47</sup>

Added to these factors regarding the dating of the *Madonna of Pergola* is the fact that this supposed earlier work also exhibits comportment and refinement that is lacking in the boldly expressive though arguably flawed *San Salvatore Triptych*. Various physical features of the *Madonna of Pergola* are controlled and elegant. The colors are warm, rich, and equally as appealing as any of those of Gentile and his contemporaries. The Madonna's hands are delicately proportioned, naturalistic, and clearly executed in a painterly fashion. The same can be said for the Madonna's face, which although lacking in more expressive qualities comes across as equally solemn and devout and like the *San Salvatore Triptych*, still appears better developed than those of Bartolomeo's Anconese influences, Carlo da Camerino and Archangelo da Cola. The more usual Gothic decorative elements, such as the floral pattern behind the Madonna, the elaborate flowing

and detailed gold hemline of her mantle, and the finely crafted patterns that adorn her robe, display an attention to detail that comes close to that of the triptych of 1445. Nor can we completely rule out the possibility that the Madonna's rounded and peasant-like features are not, as in the *San Salvatore Triptych*, remotely derived from Masaccio or similar Tuscan sources.

Although Zeri believed that the differences between the *Madonna of Pergola* and *San Salvatore Triptych* were due to Sieneese influence on the development of Bartolomeo's exaggerated expressive characterizations, we must ask whether some measure of the "notable defects" pointed out years earlier by Faloci-Pulignani, such as the Madonna's long neck, exaggerated fingers, etc., are due less to his expressive development than to the possible development of his draftsmanship, early artistic abilities, or some particular and volatile impressionability arising from the collective influence of several "established" Sieneese painters.<sup>48</sup> In all, the *Madonna of Pergola* shows a surprising side of Bartolomeo, one that, in contrast to the *San Salvatore Triptych*, is elegantly measured and controlled, and based on what I believe to be a high level of technical refinement can equally be placed sometime very close to or more probably after 1432. Perhaps the painting was completed before the painter's departure for Fano in 1434, or in the intervening years up until 1439, a period when we know that Bartolomeo had been resident in Fano but also appears to have moved within various Umbrian locales with greater frequency.<sup>49</sup>

Zeri suggests that the painting was for the Church of San Giacomo in Pergola and we know that Bartolomeo could have been in the Pesaro region at any time between 1429 and 1447, when he could have been summoned regarding a commission some forty miles

south in Gualdo Tadino.<sup>50</sup> The reason for his appearance in this region would have been his involvement in the production of a panel of Saint Mary for the altarpiece of the confraternity of Santa Maria dei Raccomandati. This was to have been one of a series of works commencing in 1429 with the restoration of the Maestà of the Hospital of San Giacomo following the building's renovation and which was only finished in 1448. A entry notes that on 7 September 1447 a payment was consigned to one "Bernardo" to carry to Foligno to "maestro Bartolomeo per la tavola."<sup>51</sup> Other than our knowledge of the painter's likely foray into this region within this twenty-year period there is little else linking him to Pergola and a possible dating of the *Madonna*.

It is precisely because so many questions can be asked regarding the validity of the Marchigian elements that Zanoli and Zeri argue, that one can only attempt to place both works as either slightly before or after the *San Salvatore Triptych* and the *Saint Jerome in Penitence*.<sup>52</sup> If we consider that Bartolomeo's approximate date of birth was sometime around 1408, an approximate dating for both works would fall sometime between 1429 – 1433 prior to the start of his expanded obligations in the Marches and most likely coming on the heels of his apprenticeship. The uncertainty as to the two works placement in the painter's chronology and the obvious stylistic evolution we find in the other two paintings that at one time fell within this category force us rule out any certainty as to exactly what would constitute Bartolomeo's first stylistic phase.

The next works to fall within Bartolomeo's chronology are two paired predella scenes from an unknown altarpiece that Zeri dates to sometime prior to 1437 and immediately after what he suggests was Bartolomeo's return from Tuscany.<sup>53</sup> The panels represent the *Betrayal of Christ* (Fig. 29, No. 5) and the *Lamentation and Entombment*

(Fig. 31, No. 6). Both works, originally in the collection of Martin Le Roy of Paris, were reattributed to Bartolomeo by Berenson and are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City.<sup>54</sup> Zeri's suggestion that Bartolomeo, prior to painting these works, might have spent some time in Tuscany, takes on a puzzling connotation when we consider that his suggested dating of these panels, sometime prior to 1437, makes them roughly contemporary with the *San Salvatore Triptych* and its much less refined predella scenes of the same subjects.<sup>55</sup>

If not for Sensi's discovery that the *San Salvatore Triptych* dates from 1432, there would still be ample reason to question Zeri's dating of both sets of panels within the same period.<sup>56</sup> In light of Sensi's discovery, we know that with Zeri's proposed 1437 dating of the orphaned panels, there is the added potential for a gap of several years between both sets of works. At least two of these years, between mid-December of 1432 after completion of the *San Salvatore Triptych*, and December of 1434 when Bartolomeo was in Rimini working for the Malatesta, could actually be a period when he could have traveled to Tuscany.<sup>57</sup> After this, Bartolomeo was active in Fano and the Marches for several years and any journey beyond this region would be unlikely.

The differences between the predella scenes of 1432 and these panels are significant enough to consider that Bartolomeo must have been strongly influenced by some external source during this period. Much as in his earlier assessment of the predella scenes from the *San Salvatore Triptych*, Zeri traces the possible influences on the predellas to Tuscan masters such as Masaccio, Lorenzo Monaco, and Jacopo Della Quercia. As noted in chapter three, there is a possibility that Bartolomeo saw the *Pisa Polyptych* at some point during his apprenticeship, before 1432. The weightiness and

simple solidity of several of the figures from the predella panels of 1432, particularly those of the *Betrayal of Christ*, *Way to Calvary*, and *Lamentation and Entombment*, hint at a connection to Masaccio's polyptych. Similar connections are present in Masaccio's *Crucifixion* in the Museo di Capodimonte in Naples. However, in the case of the panels in the Metropolitan such similarities are much more evident than in these earlier suggested examples and less likely to be taken as hypothetical.<sup>58</sup> Perhaps we are seeing the results of an extended stay in Tuscany – products of an artist who having reached his legal adulthood, and having just concluded an important commission for one of Umbria's governing families, was free to travel and further refine the techniques he might have only briefly been exposed to as a youth during his intermittent visits to Pisa.

This sudden change also includes a noticeable alteration in Bartolomeo's palette from the predella scenes of the *San Salvatore Triptych*. In this regard even Zeri appears to deviate from his earlier dating and notes with regard to these panels that Bartolomeo's "chromatic change confirms a dating older than the previous series (*San Salvatore Triptych*)."<sup>59</sup> In comparing the sharp contrast between the panels of 1432 and the later works, he speaks of how Bartolomeo's palette has moved from:

the dull and burnt lifeless tonality, that is based upon essentially brown, dark red, and dull blues, that proceed here to a loud and even violent stage of a "flowering" palette that cloaks the personages in a light of rose-cyclamen, acute ultra-marines, and the broken flaming reds of the "Cattura" [*Betrayal of Christ*] . . ."<sup>60</sup>

Still it is not only the sudden shifting of color from a somber to a bright and violent tonality that demonstrates a broader influence. There is also an increase in detail compared to the predella scenes of 1432. This first becomes evident in Bartolomeo's treatment of landscape. The same dull rounded hills in the early panels no longer

constitute the shorthand of an endless and impenetrable range broken only by a sudden, arbitrary splash of brightness as in Bartolomeo's use of red in the *Lamentation and Entombment*. Rather, in both panels we find that the number of these monotonous mounds has been decreased and replaced with a few representative examples of varying shapes, sometimes expressionistically ragged, and upon which, in the *Betrayal of Christ*, we suddenly find a series of mysterious structures. These include two strange crenellated round castles: a church-like building probably intended to represent a Jewish temple, and a series of buildings on a distant hill representing Jerusalem. All of these structures are highly luminescent and appear surreal against Bartolomeo's dense night sky.

Along with the buildings that seem to grow from the tops of Bartolomeo's hills, his later version of the *Betrayal of Christ* includes a rich assortment of vegetation, referred to by Zeri as "dripping with light," that is missing from the 1432 version.<sup>61</sup> Here there is no question that the action occurs in the Garden of Gethsemane. Blossoming behind the soldiers on the right side of the panel is an assortment of fruit-bearing trees, some on trellises, and others that appear almost in miniature and form a small and evenly patterned grove. Prominently placed in the foreground to the left of the struggling figures of Peter and Malchus is a puzzling single tree that Zeri likens to a caduceus.<sup>62</sup> The reason for this single odd-shaped tree is unknown, although Bartolomeo might have used it in some formal capacity as it does initiate an arc of vegetation that extends from the foreground around the figures engulfing Christ and Judas.

Bartolomeo's characterizations in both panels are more expressive and better developed than those of the earlier series. Zeri described the dark and crowded passage of the *Betrayal of Christ* as "streaked with a sharp and even frightening grotesqueness."<sup>63</sup> It

is here where he first draws the troubling analogy between Bartolomeo's soldiers with their bright shining armor and the "metallic skins of locusts."<sup>64</sup> We consider that his treatment of figures has become less harsh and uneven. Their facial characteristics are better developed and the individual personalities of Bartolomeo's characters are more evident. In comparison to the earlier *Betrayal of Christ* there is a more realistic proportionality of figures with regard to their heads and faces (with the exception of Christ) which remain largely uniform throughout the passage.

This expressiveness and more developed figures continue to an even greater degree in the companion *Lamentation and Entombment*. Here Bartolomeo brings the viewer much closer to the events and unlike its opposite in the National Gallery of Umbria, no longer divides and weakens the intensity of the scene by bifurcating the panel to include an immense and darkened cave. Here the ragged hills, although undulating with a wave-like intensity, are largely secondary to the severely accented and violently tragic scene that unfolds before us. Both events from the Passion include a rich variety of figures that are much larger than those Bartolomeo's other predellas and that focus closely in upon their individual facial expressions. In the *Entombment* scene, the powerful, individual grief of all but one figure (whose back is to the viewer) projects a sense of helplessness and despair as Christ's scourged body is lowered into the tomb. The hands, sinuous and at times painfully contorted, contribute to the excruciating tension pervading the panel.

The *Lamentation* consists of equally intense and disturbing characterizations. Against a gold sky, likened by Zeri to the effect of a first dawn, we find, in addition to the Masaccio-like wailing figure, the sprawling figures of Mary Magdalene at Christ's feet

and the Virgin at his head – both caressing and kissing the stiffened body that is tragically unaware of their touch. Had this later *Lamentation and Entombment* been the result of some exposure to Tuscany, this influence on Bartolomeo must have been quite profound. We might even suspect that from this point forward begins a maturing and concretization of the uniquely expressive elements that would later become synonymous with the Bartolomeo's mature style.

At about the same time that Zeri suggests that Bartolomeo painted these last two predella scenes, the artist was probably active in the Marches, specifically Fano. Within the five year period he spent in this city (1434-1439), several notarial documents testify to the fact that he had contracted for a series of works for Donna Gaudiana, the widow of a wealthy pharmacist, for frescoes on the façade of the Hospital of San Giuliano, and another work in the apse of a church of the same name. Both works are lost but a contract dated 31 March 1434 survives (see Appendix III). It is during this period, sometime before December of 1434, that Bartolomeo broke away from his obligations in Fano, and traveled to Rimini. There in a document dated 14 December 1434, it notes that he entered into the service of the Malatesta who paid him to execute several designs, in fine gold, on a chest containing some personal effects of "Signore messer Pandolfo."<sup>65</sup> It is perhaps from the success of this now lost commission that Bartolomeo found his way into the service of Domenico Malatesta Novello for whom he might have executed of a series of frescoes paralleling the lives of Christ and Saint Francis in the refectory of the Convent of San Francesco in Cesena.<sup>66</sup> These paintings, in terraverde, depict an interesting assortment of scenes from the life of Christ and popular legends of Saint Francis, including the *Crucifixion* (Fig. 32, No. 7), *Last Supper* (Fig. 34, No. 7), *Stigmatization of*

*Saint Francis* (Fig. 33, No. 7), *Charitas/Saint Francis before the Sultan*<sup>67</sup> (Fig. 35, No. 7), *Death of the Knight of Celano* (Fig. 36, No. 7), and *Resurrection of Trajan* (Fig. 37, No. 7).<sup>68</sup>

This series of frescoes seems sedate when compared to the expressionistic works already discussed. The chiaroscuro produced through Bartolomeo's use of terraverde allows us to examine his facial and physical types in greater detail though the condition of the frescoes is far from perfect. Here we can see the influence of Ottaviano Nelli in Bartolomeo's faces. Much as in Bartolomeo's *Resurrection of Christ*, another work with strong antecedents in Nelli, we find the same broad and expressive faces with heavily lined mouths and dark deep-set eyes. The robes are heavily furrowed and the hands, although reminiscent of those in the 1437 *Lamentation and Entombment*, lack the excruciating tension of this earlier work. In fact, aside from the badly damaged Crucifixion scene, which hints at greater expressive tendencies, the majority of these frescoes fall short of the violent characteristics of works examined to this point. It is perhaps for this reason that this cycle has been attributed to the "School of Bartolomeo di Tommaso." However, such assessments fail to note that in these frescoes Bartolomeo's expressiveness takes a lesser position to their well-structured iconography. This subtle iconography appears to have been the result of the strong influence of Malatesta Novello, Bartolomeo's humanist patron. If true, what we might be seeing here is a work more influenced by Novello than by the artist.

This entire cycle is located below the main hall of the Biblioteca Malatesta, the first known architectural work commissioned by Malatesta Novello. The refectory is divided into two great naves of great triangular pillars, in which the capitals, decorated

with acanthus leaves, support shields bearing the Malatesta family coat of arms. The frescoes are within two lunettes in the rear of the refectory.

The first scene, which occupies the entire left lunette, is a large dramatic *Crucifixion* (Fig. 32, No. 7) in which the most prominent figure is the centurion Longinus who pierces Christ in the ribs with his lance. The prominence afforded to this event is seen by Maroni<sup>69</sup> as relating to a medallion by Pisanello that is “much reproduced in the volumes of the Biblioteca Malatesta.”<sup>70</sup> Pisanello’s medallion shows Malatesta Novello, having dismounted, on his knees embracing a crucifix. The analogy has Malatesta, much like Longinus, in the part of the newly converted centurion who suddenly recognizes the divinity of Christ. Malatesta Novello and his wife, Violante da Montefeltro maintained an intense devotion to the Franciscans, where the love for Christ crucified is a prominent motif in the writings of the Order and directly relates to the stigmatization of Saint Francis. The relationship between the episodes is more evident when we consider that Bartolomeo’s *Stigmatization of Saint Francis* occupies the highest position in the opposite lunette.

In the lunette on the right the images are divided into three areas. In the upper register (Fig. 33, No. 7) Saint Francis receives the Stigmata. The scene is not unlike better-known treatments of the subject, with Christ wrapped up within the wings of the Seraph, from which emanate the lights that confer the Saint’s wounds. The Saint kneels toward Mount La Verna, while an extremely weighty Brother Leo sits reading to the left. Maroni notes that this scene has deep and well-established roots in conventional Franciscan iconography.<sup>71</sup> The landscape reflects that seen in the *Saint Jerome in*

*Penitence and the Resurrection of Christ* while the trees recall those of Sano di Pietro and indicate a Sieneese influence.

On the bottom of the same lunette, is a somewhat commonplace *Last Supper* (Fig. 34, No. 7), in which the only notable accent is the Apostle John stretched out on the lap of Christ with what Maroni refers to as an “evident Franciscan accent.”<sup>72</sup> Christ places his protective hand gently on the back of his favorite disciple in a manner described by Maroni as “more mother than father.”<sup>73</sup> Before Christ is Judas, to whom Jesus in a similar tender motion holds out the bread, placing it within the mouth of his betrayer. While at first there are no immediate Franciscan elements visible in the *Last Supper*, it is important to note that the fresco cycle was painted for the refectory of a Franciscan convent, where this subject would have been indispensable. Moreover, we find that the theme of food continues to play a peripheral role in the lateral scenes of the middle register of the same lunette.

The middle register is divided into three scenes. The one on the left has been interpreted in two ways – each with some degree of validity, but neither with enough evidence to arrive at a more positive identification. The scene depicts a group of Franciscans clustered behind the barefoot Saint holding an open book on which Renzi claims is written the word *Charitas* (Fig. 35, No. 7).<sup>74</sup> Huddled below the Saint, on his lower right, one of the brothers also holds an open book. Before Francis stands another figure offering the Saint a basket of fruit. Maroni interprets the scene as an episode from some of the popular biographies of the Saint that place Francis and several of his frightened brothers in the presence of the Sultan.<sup>75</sup>

According to Maroni, the Sultan has just surrounded Francis and his monks with many gifts and regal honors in attempt to persuade them to accept material wealth. At first the Saint refuses the Sultan's generosity but then he finally accepts them upon the insistence of the Sultan, who marvels at the Saint's contempt for worldly goods. Saint Francis then shows the Sultan the Gospel while another brother reads from the *Regula Prima*. Once the Saint is convinced of the futility of trying to convert the Sultan and his people, and of the fact that his desire to die a martyr has been frustrated, he decides to return to Italy. Dante recalls this episode in Canto XI of the *Paradiso* (100-105).<sup>76</sup>

Renzi looks toward a much more simplistic explanation of this scene. In her view, the motif portrayed is the "New Charity" as exemplified by Saint Francis in the *Regula Prima*. According to Renzi, the barefoot Saint is in the act of preaching charity to his assembled brothers. He stands before them displaying the book upon which the single word *Charitas* is written, lecturing on the Franciscan belief that through their good and selfless works of charity God will take care of their needs. The scene concludes with the appearance of an unknown figure who stands before Francis offering the assembled brothers a basket of fruit. Such an interpretation, considering its location in a convent refectory, could have been used as a convenient reminder to the brothers to reflect upon the true nature of their vocations as they dined.

Unlike the *Charitas*, the far right of the middle register is much easier to identify and again deals with a food motif. Two combined scenes represent events from the *Death of the Knight of Celano*,<sup>77</sup> (Fig. 36, No. 7) a well-known miracle from the *Legenda Maior* and Thomas of Celano's *Treatise on the Miracles of the Blessed Francis*.<sup>78</sup> Celano and the *Legenda Maior* relate that after the Saint's return from overseas, he went to preach in

Celano d'Abruzzo where, through devout prayers and much insistence, a knight invited the Saint and brothers to dine at his house. In the scene on the left Francis is welcomed affectionately by the knight who humbly joins his hands. Behind the knight, emerges a second figure.

Legend states that after arriving at the knight's house the Saint offered prayers and praise to God, after which he gently took his host aside to tell him to make his confession immediately, as on that day, the Lord was to reward him for having welcomed the "Poverello" of God and his poor followers into his home. The knight then prepares for death by confessing his sins and putting his house in order – after which he dies. Bartolomeo depicts the moment of the knight's death, at the dinner table surrounded by the Saint and another brother on the far right of this register. This episode has Biblical roots in a passage from Matthew: "He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward."<sup>79</sup> In other words, the knight, through his good works, receives the same reward in heaven that Francis receives. The passage might also be interpreted to mean that anyone who welcomes a prophet will receive one of the rewards that a prophet can give: the chance to prepare for an imminent death in order to save one's soul.

As the *Crucifixion* relates to the *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* on the top of the right lunette, the *Death of the Knight of Celano* also works with the *Last Supper* in the lower portion of the same lunette. Both parallel the lives of Christ and Francis. The Saint is portrayed as the *Alter Christus*, or "Other Christ," a recurrent Franciscan theme in the early Renaissance that bestows upon the Saint many of Christ's divine attributes. The *Crucifixion* and *Stigmata* define the relationship between the suffering of Christ and

the Saint's wounds and elevates Francis to a place compared with Christ's divinity. The *Death of the Knight of Celano*, while illustrative of salvation through charitable acts, also expresses a deeper level of equivalence between Christ and Saint Francis. Here we are presented with the two salient moments: the prediction and the confession of the knight, followed by his end before a well-prepared table. Here we note the positioning of the knight resembles that of Saint John as seen in the *Last Supper*. Another relationship between Francis and Christ is derived from the Saint's capacity (as exemplified in assorted tales of his dreams and premonitions) to foresee the imminent death of the knight. This prophetic ability is paralleled by Christ in the *Last Supper* of lower register, who at the same moment is foretelling the betrayal of Judas: a prediction that will also result in death.

At the center of the middle register is the enigmatic central panel depicting a kneeling pope, with his hands joined beneath an architectonic structure (Fig. 37, No. 7). The pope glances toward the sky from which extends the hand of God<sup>80</sup> and an uncovered sarcophagus from which arises a figure wearing a king's crown and sword.<sup>81</sup> This figure is accompanied by an angel who places his hand on the second figure's shoulder. This iconography has been interpreted by Pasini as an allegory of the legitimization of the three illegitimate sons of Pandolfo Malatesta by Pope Martin V.<sup>82</sup> The symbolism implies that the house of Malatesta, by this legitimization, rises from the grave. The prince, who stands within in opened sarcophagus, is thus an emblematic representation of the Malatesta family.

While this theory received some early support, later scholars such as Maroni and Renzi pointed out that the explanation was not convincing.<sup>83</sup> First, we find that kneeling

Pope wears a conventional tri-regnum, and also has the halo of a saint. Therefore, this is probably not Martin V, but rather one of the Holy Popes, the select few who in addition to having ascended Saint Peter's throne while on earth, achieved sainthood after death. The crowned king rises from the tomb accompanied by the angel, it seems to be happening, (as evidenced by the Hand of God) because of the Pope's interceding prayers. It is also evident that the figure alleged to be signifying the Malatesta family is depicted as a king and, as noted by Renzi, the use of the crown would have been uncharacteristic in the portrayal of a Malatesta who was "more plainly *vicarii in temporalibus*."<sup>84</sup>

Both scholars suggest that rather than an allegorical symbol of the legitimization of the Malatesta family, we are seeing the representation of a widely diffused Medieval legend – one that connects the resurrection of a king with the presence of a Papal saint. The foremost example of this scenario would be the legend of the resurrection of the pagan Emperor Trajan following the prayers of Gregory the Great. The principal vehicle of this diffusion would have been the popular *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine in which he describes how:

One day many years after that emperor's [Trajan's] death, as Gregory was crossing through Trajan's forum, the emperor's kindness came to his mind, and he went to Saint Peter's basilica and lamented the ruler's errors with bitter tears. The voice of God responded from above: "I have granted your petition and spared Trajan eternal punishment; but from now on be extremely careful not to pray for a damned soul!" Furthermore, John of Damascus, in one of his sermons, relates that as Gregory was pouring forth prayers for Trajan, he heard a divine voice coming to him, which said: "I have heard your voice and I grant pardon to Trajan." Of this (as John says in the same sermon) both East and West are witness. On this subject some have said that Trajan was restored to life, and in this life obtained grace and merited pardon: thus he attained glory and was not finally committed to hell nor definitively sentenced to eternal punishment.<sup>85</sup>

Renzi notes that from an iconographic point of view Bartolomeo could have again turned to a painter of the Bolognese Trecento. A precedent for this scene can be found in the detail of a polyptych of the *Dormitian of the Virgin* (Fig. 38) attributed to the Bolognese Pseudo-Jacopino di Francesco.<sup>86</sup> Currently in the Pinacoteca Nazionale Bologna, the panel depicts Pope Gregory, on his knees, praying in front of Trajan's sepulchre. The image of Christ in a mandorla-like enclosure and with a cruciform halo occupies the upper right-hand corner. In the act of granting the Pope's wish and granting the pagan emperor the gift of eternal salvation, Christ extends his hand toward Gregory. On the bottom, just below the image of an unknown kneeling figure (perhaps the Virgin), two angels receive the newly redeemed soul of the emperor.

Aside from a nearly positive identification of this scene, the question must be asked why the *Resurrection of Trajan* appears in a Franciscan cycle. As with the *Charitas* from the same cycle we are again faced with two hypotheses. The first, much like that of the *Charitas* with its possible links to the story of Saint Francis and the Sultan, could have roots in Dante, whom we learn was much appreciated by the Franciscans for having celebrated Saint Francis in Canto XI of the *Paradisio*. The episode regarding the resurrection of Trajan, besides appearing in Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, makes a brief appearance in Canto X of Dante's *Purgatorio*.<sup>87</sup> We know that the poet had a sister who was member of the order of the Poor Clares in Ravenna, where the tomb of the poet was, not by chance, placed near the Basilica of Saint Francis.

Nevertheless, it is also known that there was no strong Dantesque inclination in Signore Malatesta, the patron whose library contained almost exclusively classical texts. Maroni suggests that the episode relates to the *Death of the Knight of Celano* in which

another figure has been raised to eternal life through earthly virtue; and that perhaps the inclusion of both episodes within the cycle of frescoes acts as a reconciliation between the differing worlds and beliefs of the humanist Domenico Malatesta Novello and the Franciscans.<sup>88</sup> He notes that one possible reason for this inclusion could have been borne out of some feeling by Malatesta and the Franciscans that derived through a political alliance between the Signore and the people in the name of “Lady Poverty.”<sup>89</sup> Added to this there is also a genuine religious as well as economic reason that could scarcely have been overlooked by the Signore: the Franciscans had rediscovered a dimension of the Gospel and of Christ that for centuries had been centered in Umbria and that brought much notoriety along with a resulting flood of commerce into the region.

Renzi provides us with a second hypothesis: one that sheds additional light on the iconography of Pope Gregory but, as in Maroni’s theory, also appears to reflect a philosophical reconciliation between Signore Malatesta and the Order of Friars Minor.<sup>90</sup> Renzi sees the inclusion of this scene in a Franciscan-Christology cycle as being part of a local and popular devotion that revolved around the Papal-Saint. Evidence of this local affection for Pope Gregory begins with the fact that there exists in Cesena a reliquary hand of the Saint that had once been stolen by a pilgrim to Rome but had been returned to the city after 1350. She notes that a record of this event exists in the *Annales Caesenates* under the date of April 8th, 1352.<sup>91</sup> She also says that there had once existed a small church within the oratory of the hospital, that had been dedicated to the Saint and was located just outside of the Porta Gandolfina (today Cervese).<sup>92</sup> Records indicate that each year, on the day of the feast of the Saint Pontiff, and in celebration of the return of the relic, there was a procession in which the hand was carried by the clergy from the capital

to just outside the Porta Gandolfina, where it had originally been recovered. This tradition continued until the seventeenth century after which it was restricted to the interior of the cathedral.<sup>93</sup>

Aside from evidence of this local veneration, Pope Gregory continued to be represented in the iconography of this region during the first half of the sixteenth century. Renzi lists three local instances in which Pope Gregory appears: in the frescoes of the Church of San Martino in Fiume, where he is depicted at the foot of the Virgin and Child wearing his tri-regnum and holding his attribute, a closed book signifying his role as a doctor of the Church; in the Cathedral, where he is shown as old and in his study, dipping the pen into an inkwell with his left hand, and holding open a codex with his right; and in the Pinacoteca of Cesena, where a dove has settled on the Saint's shoulder and whispers into his ear. In the background, at the center, we again find the mysterious scene of the *Resurrection of Trajan by the Prayers of Gregory the Great*. The prevalence of images of the Saint within this area speak of a deep and mysterious devotion, one that would combine, within a Franciscan context, the patron Domenico Malatesta Novello of Cesena with a figure who is considered to be one the greatest exponents of the Benedictine order.

Nevertheless, Renzi points out that on the surface what we see is nothing more than a representation of the reconciliation between the differing worlds and beliefs of the humanist Malatesta Novello and the Franciscans. She notes that throughout his life, Malatesta Novella maintained a particular affection for the Order and the Convent of San Francesco and that this affection was expressed in many ways, but mostly through his active participation in many projects to enrich his adopted convent. We know that the execution of the frescoes coincided with Novello's renovation of the refectory, that he

maintained a residence in the building, and that he worked to enrich the convent through the introduction of his library and codices. Renzi thus asserts that:

the hypothesis of a presence of the Signore in the choice of the central panel can be connected to the cultural formation that allowed him this privilege, according to the testimony of his library collection, classical works, and texts of his patrimony. The image of the Resurrection of Trajan, the just emperor, one of the most loved figures of antiquity, would signify the possibility of a conciliation of the ancient values brought out and legitimized in light of a profound religiosity, that constitutes a fundamental aspect, also little studied, of the figure of the doner.<sup>94</sup>

The next two paintings in Bartolomeo's chronology also appear to have roots in Cesena and point to the possible influence of Domenico Malatesta Novello. These two small paintings in tempera on panel, were originally classified by Zeri as having possibly been completed before the *Madonna of Pergola* sometime between 1425-1430,<sup>95</sup> and represent two parts from a predella based on the life of Saint Francis of Assisi.<sup>96</sup> They represent *Saint Francis Renouncing his Possessions* (Fig. 39, No. 8) and the *Funeral and Canonization of Saint Francis* (Fig. 40, No. 9).<sup>97</sup>

The first panel, *Saint Francis Renouncing his Possessions*, depicts the dramatic moment, reported by four of the Saint's early biographers:

When he gave everything back to his father. Having taken off his clothes, he renounced all of his claims to fleeting worldly goods, saying to his father, "From now on I can freely say, 'Our Father who art in heaven,' since Pietro di Bernardone has disowned me."<sup>98</sup>

The panel consists of eight figures divided into two groups of four. Each group is tightly clustered either within or in front of two buildings before a distant wall behind which is a solitary tree. Within this attempted representation of a real environment, one that Zanoli sees as exhibiting "substantial dependence of the style of Sassetta," Pietro

Bernardone is attempting to strike his son as Francis stands beneath an archway and looks back at his father while at the same time being sheltered by the Bishop of Assisi.<sup>99</sup>

We can see that Bartolomeo's attentions were not entirely focused on the Saint but in equal measure upon the father. The four dark figures that dominate the left half of the painting make up the father's group. They stand within the secular world that the Saint has just renounced, beyond the archway symbolic of the Church that covers the Saint and three figures behind him. Two statues stand on the two thin columns that support this arch. The one on the left, closest to the father's figure and above the head of one of the courtiers appears to boldly hold a shield and sword while looking down upon the father and his attendants. The other figure, on the column above the Saint and his group is unarmed with his back to the observer and looks directly at the other statue, symbolically reflecting the confrontation below.

The furious characterization of Pietro Bernardone is largely expressed through pose and gesture rather than through his facial expression, which seen in profile is unusually cold and unemotional. What the father's face lacks in emotion is made up for in the aggressive forward momentum of his raised hand and upper body as it advances well before his legs that are close together and off balance. Perhaps his position is suggestive of his being thrown off balance by his son's rejection. Surrounding the elder Bernardone are three courtiers, two of which stand behind him and view the events with a sense of detachment while the third, with a more sorrowful expression, attempts to prevent the father from striking his son.

Perhaps the lack of overt anger, replaced by the father's dispassionate appearance is more a display of a resolved lack of pity toward his errant son on the father's behalf. If

depicting the loss of any emotional bond between father and son was Bartolomeo's intention it is more than effective. Also adding to the elder Bernardone's unusual characterization is the fact that Francesco's elegant fur-lined robe, which the father has just recovered from the ground, is carefully folded with loving attention and draped over his left arm. This in itself is interesting and suggests that Bartolomeo's expressive intent was similar to representations from the third and fourth decades of the Quattrocento that routinely depict the Saint's clothing scattered on the ground beneath his feet. Zanolì sees this as depicting evidence of the elder Bernardone's interest in money, which in the face of Francesco's renunciation further embitters him and contributes to the strong and determined resolve reflected in his face.<sup>100</sup>

The four figures in the second half of the panel contrast strongly with those on the left. The figures of the Saint, the Bishop of Assisi, and what appear to be two monks, are of lighter tonalities that are enhanced by the nearly nude figure of the Saint that clearly distinguishes them from their opposites. The Saint, clad in nothing but a loincloth and echoing his father's stance, cowers meekly in the embrace of the Bishop, whose hands gently shield him in marked contrast to the courtier whose hands restrain the elder Bernardone. Francesco's moonlike head appears somewhat larger and his facial features more prominent than the others in the painting.<sup>101</sup> The look of pitying tenderness in the son and the steely and unemotional resolve of the father, much like Bartolomeo's physical separation of both groups into the secular and sacred worlds, further points to the painter's desire to highlight the contrast between saintliness and worldliness.

Zanolì's mention that this piece owes much to the style of Sassetta appears to be well founded based on *The Saint Renounces His Heritage* (Fig. 41) from the *Borgio*

*Sansepolcro Altarpiece* of 1437-1444.<sup>102</sup> It is here that we can see how Bartolomeo's construction of the figures within the installation of the scene suggests much more than a coincidental resemblance to what by then must have been a popular subject amongst artists - specifically those of the Umbrian region, the birthplace of the Saint.

A comparison of the two paintings shows that the architecture is similar and used to the same effect, although Sassetta's is more detailed, occupies a greater area, and recedes further into the background. Each work consists of two similar bifurcated groups of four figures, both of which are also delimited as either inside or outside the sacred area defined by the sheltering arches of the Church.<sup>103</sup> In addition, the leftmost backgrounds of both paintings terminate in a small glimpse of a single tree, perhaps a post-figuration of the Cross, that stands beyond the crenellations of the wall that appears to encircle the church. However, even if the architecture and staging of the figures leads us in the direction of some substantial influence on Bartolomeo, it is within the figures and their respective groupings that an even closer relationship is revealed.

In the Sassetta, the group of the father and his courtiers at the left is constructed in a manner similar to Bartolomeo's, where the father, also in profile is the hub around which the other figures revolve. In this instance, his hand is not raised as in Bartolomeo's piece, but reaches out with his palm opened and fingers spread apart toward his son. His legs are also placed in a similar position but not quite as off balance or endowed with the latent energy as those of Bartolomeo's figure. In the Sassetta piece Bernardone is restrained from behind while the remaining courtiers, much like Bartolomeo's, stand behind the father curiously observing the spectacle. There is also a close similarity in the intensity of both painters' depiction of the elder Bernardone's face and physical attitude.

This is particularly evident in the father's strong and determined profile, and the impression that he is blocked by some unseen force just outside of the archway separating him from his son. Here too the son seems to be not only out of his father's reach but also in an entirely different world. This particular cluster of figures and particularly its visual syntax suggests more than a casual familiarity between Bartolomeo and Sassetta's great altarpiece.

Sassetta's second group of figures, including the Saint, the Bishop of Assisi, and two unknown monks, expresses a similar though slightly more subdued visual syntax and energy than Bartolomeo's panel. While the construction of the group is comparable, it is inverted in its relation to the father's group. In the Sassetta, the two unknown clerics stand before the Saint and the Bishop of Assisi providing a buffer that is absent from Bartolomeo's panel. Between the monks and Bernardone, there is a much wider area occupied by a row of columns that recede diagonally into the background. Between two distant columns the solitary figure of a monk strolls forward, holding an opened book and unaware of the momentous event occurring around him.

Sassetta's Saint Francis bears a superficial resemblance to Bartolomeo's. He is equally pale, white, and vulnerable, and stands in a similar position with his hands clasped in prayer. Unlike Bartolomeo's figure, the legs of Sassetta's Saint are not visible, and in the absence of such detail, the entire cluster of the three clerics and Francis appears to lack the intensity of Sassetta's opposing group consisting of Bernardone and his courtiers. In comparison to Bartolomeo's depiction of the Saint, Sassetta's appears more delicate - perhaps even effeminate - and his expression is far less determined and angry in relation to his father. Like Bartolomeo's figure, Sassetta's Francis looks over his

shoulder at Bernardone while being tenderly sheltered in the arms and vestments of the Bishop. The Bishop, who seems to be seated, reflects much of the same upper body positioning that we find in Bartolomeo's panel.

Although this group of figures around the Saint lacks the intensity of both Bartolomeo's representation of the scene and Bernardone's opposite grouping in Sassetta's same panel, the similarities between the formal arrangement and visual syntax are far too close to be entirely coincidental. In light of such similarities and a later dating of the Sassetta panel, we must conclude that Zeri's location of the work between 1425-1430 and before the *Madonna of Pergola* and *San Salvatore Triptych* is incorrect. Our supposition is reinforced through an examination of the second predella panel.

The companion piece to *Saint Francis Renouncing his Possessions*, the *Funeral and Canonization of Saint Francis* in the collection of the Walters Gallery in Baltimore, as opposed to the efficient simplicity of the former panel is made up of a startling amalgam of individuals and groups. As with some of Bartolomeo's other predella panels, this work consists of concurrent narratives set against a distant though more well defined and naturalistic background that we have yet to observe in Bartolomeo's work. Until this time Bartolomeo's landscapes have consisted only of rolling dark hills and dunes or oddly stratified outcroppings of rock from which appear wide gaping fissures and caves. In the *Funeral and Canonization of Saint Francis* he gives us what Zanolli calls "two of the most tender excerpts that he [Bartolomeo] has ever made [standing] between the arches of the Franciscan halls."<sup>104</sup>

Whereas a brief glimpse of one of Bartolomeo's earliest diurnal landscapes can be seen in the work's smaller companion piece, it is in this larger predella panel in the short

space between these arches that we observe what Zanolli describes as a “luminous backdrop” consisting of small pomegranate trees within the convent walls and beyond which are two additional trees set against a finely diluted sky.<sup>105</sup> Outside of the opposite arch is a series of delicately furrowed mountains that recede into a wooded plateau beyond which there is the second of Zanolli’s “crescent shaped openings.” This break between the mountains opens into a blue sky filled with white cloud puffs terminating at either end with very fine, barely visible trees.

Zanolli sees this sudden inclusion of a crystal clear landscape as evidence that Bartolomeo has evolved from what Zeri believed to be the “limits of a more strict local culture,” one that was dictated by the “narrative rhythm that reminds one of Lorenzo and Jacopo Salimbeni, as well as that of another major artist working within the first decade of the Quattrocento, Carlo da Camerino.”<sup>106</sup> According to Zanolli this shift to the attempted representation of real environments indicates a substantial dependence on the style of Sassetta and is in contrast to Zeri’s earlier assertion that the one element lacking from Bartolomeo’s probable exposure to Sassetta was that his work had “nothing in common with the crystal clear space of the great Sieneese painter.”<sup>107</sup> In light of this sudden shift in Bartolomeo’s representation of the natural world, Zanolli’s observation confirms our rejection of Zeri’s early dating of the panel.

However, it is not just the sudden transformation of Bartolomeo’s landscape that leads us to question the dating of these panels. One can argue that the sweetly desolate landscapes of the *San Salvatore Triptych’s* four predellas are driven by their subject matter, scenes from the Passion - and that a combination of the death and canonization of a Saint should reflect a more celebratory environment. The same might also be said for

the landscape of Bartolomeo's *Saint Jerome in Penitence* - one that could only correspond to the physical and natural deprivations that accompany the ascetic life. Even in light of such ideas, we find that Bartolomeo's small glimpse of the naturalistic world receives far greater support from the remarkable scene in which these two small glimpses of nature only play a minor role.

The central scene of the *Funeral and Canonization of Saint Francis* takes place in what Zanoli describes as "a great box of cardboard with a checkered cover."<sup>108</sup> Within this setting and pouring in from three rear and two side arches is a splendid array of nearly sixty figures consisting of what Zanoli calls a "delicious sampling of characters, ingenuous, the stupid, and the spiteful."<sup>109</sup> Those on the left, some holding candles and exhibiting various degrees of emotion, are representative of those mourning at the Saint's funeral. Those on the right attend to the Saint's canonization. Two figures in the center separate the two groups. The first figure, dressed in the fur-lined purple robes of wealth and royalty, bears a candle and looks toward the left group of grieving clerics. His opposite, obviously a Bishop in the process of having his miter placed upon his head, reads from an opened book over the Saint's dead body.

For the most part the mourners are Franciscan clerics dressed in traditional brown hooded robes - while several others are dressed in darkened robes signifying a higher rank within the order. At the extreme left is a tightly packed cluster of three Franciscan nuns in dark robes and white-bordered hoods. The clerics' faces and their expressions are unmistakably by the hand of Bartolomeo and their heavy features and darkened tonality have much in common with the other grieving figures in the predellas of the *San Salvatore Triptych*.

In contrast, those in the canonization are more pallid and although two humble Franciscans are present before this group, it consists mostly of the elite: Bishops, Cardinals, wealthy individuals, and Pope Gregory IX, who dictates the decree of canonization to a scribe seated before him. In sharp and what Zanolli terms “sadistic” contrast to both groups is a grotesque sampling of the crippled and infirm scattered before the funeral bier. Zeri describes them as follows:

An extraordinary variety of maimed, cripples, dwarfs and the deformed, that are drawn toward the miraculous funeral: the “despicable” elements that comprise the theme and come to us as those things that redeem that which is bizarre, a humorous rarity of the same dignified and precious menagerie that are paired nearby with the exemplary “nobles” within gentlemen shining with velvet, fur coats and wide brimmed hats.<sup>110</sup>

Zeri’s “extraordinary variety” consists of: a blind man with his dog who is assisted by another figure in touching the Saint’s body; a bell-shaped legless man; a man on crutches; one with deformed feet, and another on all fours. All attempt to touch the Saint’s remains in the hope of a miraculous cure. In the foreground, a single snarling dog runs amidst the proceedings.

Again we are drawn to the probable influence of Sassetta’s *Borgio Sansepolcro Altarpiece* and the much less crowded and simplified panel of *The Funeral of Saint Francis* (Fig. 42). As in Bartolomeo’s *Funeral and Canonization of Saint Francis* in the Sassetta piece, we observe several different simultaneous events. In addition to the Saint’s funeral, there are two additional well-known episodes reported by the Saint’s early biographers. The first is of the Verification of the Stigmata where the knight and physician Girolamo checks the Saint’s wounds with his own hands.<sup>111</sup> The second represents the Mourning of the Clares, where the Saint’s body was brought before the cloistered Sisters of Charity for a final viewing by their founder who, like Girolamo, also

touches the Saint's wounds.<sup>112</sup> Both scenes were widely represented in the late Duecento and early Trecento where they were frequently treated as separate subjects.<sup>113</sup>

Zanoli suggests that Bartolomeo's interpretation of the Saint's funeral and canonization is a conscious expansion of the much simpler Sassetta panel. She notes that in Sassetta's predella the knight Girolamo corresponds in Bartolomeo's painting to the same figure who stands in his fur-lined coat in the center of the crowd surrounded by the notables of the region and the fathers of the convent. She expands on this theory by noting that the three figures of the nuns in Bartolomeo's predella correspond to the simple kneeling figure of Saint Clare in Sassetta's work. In fact she continues to note that Bartolomeo's panel is a threefold expansion of the most important figures in the Sassetta piece, with its three Bishops, Cardinals, and a crowd of clergymen all corresponding to single figures in the predella from the *Borgio Sansepolcro Altarpiece*.<sup>114</sup> The "less conventional gestures" we find in Sassetta's predella panel, such as the monk who stares up at the ceiling, are also reflected and multiplied by Bartolomeo. This same gesture can be seen in the faces and positioning of the heads and necks of two monks at the Saint's funeral, both dressed in dark vestments, as well as in the gesture of one of the leftmost monks who hides his face in the manner of a similar figure in the Sassetta panel. Further Zanoli believes that the insertion of the scribe with his pen and inkwell, at the feet of Pope Gregory in Bartolomeo's painting is derived from the representation of the notary drawing up the pact between the Saint and the Wolf of Gubbio from another panel of the *Borgio Sansepolcro Altarpiece*.

These similarities with the *Borgio Sansepolcro Altarpiece*: some quite pronounced while others less tangible, raise the question of the dating of the panels. We

know that Sassetta's altarpiece was completed sometime between 1437 and 1444. Although there is no record that Bartolomeo had traveled to Borgo Sansepulcro, the similarities suggest that he might have returned to Tuscany to view the altarpiece.

Zanoli properly notes that:

The comparison with the predella of the polyptych of Borgo San Sepulcro, began in 1437 and consigned in 1444, induces one to play down the Marches interpretation of Zeri and ask again for a change in the dating of this panel to something more recent, something between the works of Bartolomeo and closer to the flowery style of the altarpiece of Camerino (ca. 1445)<sup>115</sup> than to the triptych of San Salvatore of Foligno (start of 1434).<sup>116</sup>

However, she attempts to go beyond an approximate dating of the panels by proposing that the works are part of the predella for the great altar created for the "Fathers of the Convent" of the Church of San Francisco of Cesena sometime between 1439 and 1441.<sup>117</sup> The dates of 1439 and 1441 would correspond to the two documents dated 13 October 1439 and 11 December 1441 that confer the commission for the altarpiece. It stipulates a five-year period under the supervision of the leader of the convent "Fra Zuhanne." We know that before awarding the commission to Bartolomeo, one of the three "proofs" that was stipulated by the Franciscans in the contract dated 1439 (see Appendix II) was the completion of a predella panel: "una ystorieta da piede di la dicta taula." It is assumed that the work was completed sometime between these dates as the first document refers to "expenses made for the gilding of the altarpiece for the great altar," and marginalia in the second document makes reference to a "bequest for the great altar of 1441."<sup>118</sup>

Zanoli's insightful approach proposes that the panel of the *Funeral and Canonization* depicts "at the foot of the Saint" all of the individuals responsible for

awarding and supervising of the commission. Fra Zuhanne, the head of the convent, stands “finally blissful” at the Pope’s side along with the scribe, Francesco da Figline, “cappellano de Malatesta Novello, buon copista,” and the other major signatories to the contract.<sup>119</sup> She adds that included in this group, in their stately habits, are the notable Francesco degli Abbati, one of the judge’s of Bartolomeo’s three “proofs”, Niccolò Martinozzi da Fano, Simone Cancelli, Antonio Santi, and Antonio del fu Bartolomeo. In addition, she notes that the resplendent individual in the center of the panel could be the same Malatesta Novello of Cesena, “scarcely more youthful than he appeared later in the small medallion of Pisanello.”<sup>120</sup> This suggestion takes on broader significance when we consider that Bartolomeo was known to the Malatestas, having executed commissions for the family in Rimini sometime in 1434, and that Francesco da Figline, the same scribe who drafted the contract of 1439, was employed in the service of Malatesta Novello of Cesena.<sup>121</sup>

If Zanoli’s suggested assignment of these two predella panels to a period between 1439 and 1443 is correct, and the *Funeral and Canonization of Saint Francis* is accepted as falling outside his Marchigian experience, then we must also add a third of Bartolomeo’s Franciscan works to this group. The panel of *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* in the Mount Holyoke College Art Museum is a comparable (or even directly related) example of a work from this middle phase of the artist’s career. Based on its size and the uniform tonality in all three works, this panel could be another part of the work commissioned by the same Fra Zuhanne and the Franciscans of Cesena, to which Zanoli reattributed the two aforementioned predella panels.<sup>122</sup>

Considering the painter's documented popularity among the Friars Minor, it is also likely that this panel was financed by another group of Franciscan *committenti*, from whose support Bartolomeo appears to have consistently benefited throughout the course of his career. Regardless of the panel's patrons, Bartolomeo's *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (Fig. 43, No. 10) contains several allusions to a stylistic development and maturity that has not been seen in his work up until this point in time. Although Zanoli notes that the lineage of the Cappella Paradisi is first evident in the *Resurrection of Christ*, it is in this highly stylized rendering of this widely repeated theme from the life of Saint Francis that a primary stylistic relationship to his late masterpiece begins to solidify.<sup>123</sup>

*Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, a work that does not appear in Zeri's 1962 study, seems to have been reattributed to Bartolomeo di Tommaso as late as 1989 by Todini.<sup>124</sup> It is a remarkably expressive work that starts to articulate many of the better-developed elements of Bartolomeo's mature vision. These include the elongation of his figures and the initiation of a curious, almost symbiotic relationship between Bartolomeo's subjects and their landscape: one that crudely began with certain aspects of the predellas from the *San Salvatore Triptych* but ultimately are exemplified in his *Martyrdom of Saint Barbara* from the *San Caterina Fresco* in Foligno. In addition to these elements we find a surprisingly rich and warm palette and a well developed and rhythmic relationship between figure and landscape that was praised by Zanoli in relation to the brief glimpses of the natural world found in the possible companion piece, the *Funeral and Canonization of Saint Francis*.<sup>125</sup>

Iconographically the panel is not unlike other versions of this well-known episode from the Saint's life.<sup>126</sup> Centered within the painting is an inordinately large depiction of Saint Francis who kneels in the familiar pose as he receives the Stigmata from a six-winged Seraph with the face of Christ. Unlike better-known versions of this theme, Bartolomeo's narrative has these events occurring from left to right with the Saint facing the upper left corner of the panel.<sup>127</sup> Emanating from the six wings of the Seraph and matching the placement of Christ's wounds are straight beams of blood-red light that pierce the Saint's hands, feet, and right side. The blood of the Saint's wounds match the blood red of the light beams which in turn match the red wings of the Seraph, creating a phosphorescent quality that permeates the foreground.

In the lower right corner of the panel, is the figure that usually represents the Saint's companion, Brother Leo who, in this instance, appears to be kneeling in prayer. Bartolomeo's depiction of this figure varies in several respects from the more usual representations of this event. The first difference is size. Normally, as in the earlier fresco in the Upper Church of Saint Francis in Assisi and in Sassetta's version in the *Borgio Sansepolcro Altarpiece* of 1437-1444, the figure of the Saint and Brother Leo are proportional. But here the figure of the Saint towers over the kneeling figure. In addition to this disparity, other renderings have both figures facing one another, stressing the close relationship between Francis and Leo. In this instance, Bartolomeo has the Leo figure kneeling behind the Saint as he receives the Stigmata. While other renderings, such as the cycle in Cesena, show Brother Leo holding a small prayer book, Bartolomeo's figure simply kneels and prays. Unlike conventional portrayals of Brother Leo, Bartolomeo's figure lacks a halo. Finally, the cassock worn by the kneeling figure is bright white and

reminiscent of the fluted robes worn by Pietro Crisci in the *San Salvatore Triptych*. This is in contrast to the typical dark-brown habit worn by Saint Francis which was used almost exclusively during the early “*Porziuncola*” years of the Order of Friars Minor.

These differences suggest that this is not a conventional portrayal of Brother Leo but rather the inclusion of some Franciscan dignitary or *committente*. Perhaps this Franciscan represents one of the figures in the crowd of mourners and celebrants in the *Funeral and Canonization of Saint Francis*, a work that includes three Friars in similar white vestments.

The central figure of Saint Francis, while related to conventional representations, also displays passages that are better associated with Bartolomeo’s style. Starting with the Saint’s features, we note that the gaunt, broadened, and almost angular face, though less mottled also appears to be modeled on Ottaviano Nelli’s characterizations. The Saint’s expression also shows a strong counterpart to another figure in Bartolomeo’s *Funeral and Canonization of Saint Francis*. This connection exists with regard to the left figure in the *Canonization*, the seated scribe identified by Zanolli as Francesco da Figline, an employee of Malatesta Novello. On close examination, we see that he bears similar expressive and physical features to that of the Saint. This resemblance is present in the attitude of the scribe’s head and neck and in the almost identical large ears and placement of the tonsure. Added to this is the fact that both figures share the rather unique grimace identified earlier in relation to the influence of Jacopo Salimbeni and that resurfaces in Bartolomeo’s later work.<sup>128</sup>

It is in the delightful depiction of the landscape that we can discern greater evidence of Bartolomeo’s development as well as a more precise indication that the work

can be dated, in accordance with Zanoli's placement of the other two Franciscan panels, to the late fourth or early fifth decade of the Quattrocento and bordering on Bartolomeo's late-middle phase. Although Bartolomeo's representation of the church on the left side of the painting is typical of other works of this genre, the landscape in which he has placed Francis is almost symbiotically related to the figure and is not seen again until the much later *Santa Caterina Fresco* of 1449 (Fig. 3, No. 14).

This relationship consists of a stylistic integration of figure and landscape within which Bartolomeo's subjects appear to merge into the terrain producing a sense of shared and sometimes violent motion. Although slightly less evident here than in the work of 1449, we can see how this motion flows from the Saint's right arm to the small tree and back again to meet the two rounded sweeps of tiny trees that fade into the distance. The resulting motion of this blending of arm and landscape reminds us of the similar motion produced by the Virgin's elongated hand in the *San Salvatore Triptych* and that produced by the arm and hand of Saint Ursula from the pinnacle of the same work. However, while Bartolomeo used a comparable sweeping motion in this work from the early fourth decade of the Quattrocento, it is in this panel of Saint Francis where we find that it first becomes integrated within the artist's perception of the natural world.<sup>129</sup>

This merging of the figure begins with the sweep of the Saint's right arm but is more effectively enhanced by the conspicuous meeting of his head and the black and tree-lined road that fades far into the distance. This winding road terminates at the vanishing point and creates a form that appears to crown and nearly engulf the Saint's head and his elaborately decorated halo. Further adding to the impact of this relationship is the

brightness and layered construction of the landscape and the setting of the Seraph against a monotone gray sky.

The curiously layered landscape that is created by the integration of these elements, which extends into the distance beyond the Saint, produces a nearly convulsive effect. This effect represents a motion and upheaval that is almost contemporary in its expressionistic appeal. Such intensity lends itself exceedingly well to the shock and surprise of the Saint who suddenly finds himself facing a Seraph bearing Christ's likeness while receiving wounds identical to those of Calvary.

Compared with Bartolomeo's surviving early works, the expressionistic effect and the activity of Saint Francis and his surroundings, along with the better developed figure of the Saint, indicates that this painting was completed several years after the *San Salvatore Triptych*, *Saint Jerome in Penitence*, and those few questionable works referred to as being from the master's Marchigian period. This would place the work as roughly contemporary with or perhaps even later than the second predella panels of the *Betrayal of Christ* and the *Lamentation and Entombment* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Added to this, when we take into account the likelihood that the kneeling figure to the right of the Saint is not Brother Leo but an unknown Franciscan notable or donor, we have reason to believe that this panel might have some relation to the two predella scenes of *Saint Francis Renouncing his Possessions* and the *Funeral and Canonization of Saint Francis*. Considering that the upper painted portion of the panel is rounded, it is probable that the painting was one wing of a triptych or larger work completed sometime between 13 October 1439 and 11 December 1441, the dates of the two documents that refer to the commission for Fra Zuhanne and the Franciscans of Cesena.

From this point we are in the late-middle phase of Bartolomeo's chronology – a period that runs from the early 1440's through 1445, up to the *San Caterina Fresco*, which signals the beginning of the painter's "mature phase." Consisting of three paintings, this group can be placed, through a stylistic analysis and existing evidence to within this five-year period. Two of these works have never been securely dated, while a third, which I use as the terminus, has a generally accepted date of 1445.

The first works to fall within this group are of two wings of an unknown altarpiece. Originally from a private collection in London, today they are in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. One wing depicts a rare scene for the Quattrocento, *Christ on the Road to Emmaus* (Fig. 10, No. 11), while the second represents the more conventional *Pentecost* (Fig. 10, No. 11). Both were reattributed by Zeri to Bartolomeo in 1955, and were dated to the cusp of this ten year period sometime after 1437, probably close to the start of the fifth decade of the Quattrocento, perhaps sometime immediately after the aforementioned scenes from the life of Saint Francis.<sup>130</sup>

The second group to fall within this period consists of three badly damaged frescoes from the Church of San Francesco in Cascia and includes the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (Fig. 26, No. 12), *Trinity* (Fig. 44, No. 12), and *Saint Benedict* (Fig. 45, No. 12).<sup>131</sup> This incomplete cycle was dated by Toscano to sometime around 1445-1446, within a year of the final and most recognizable work at the start of Bartolomeo's latter phase, the noted *Rospigliosi Triptych* (Fig. 2, No. 13) in the Pinacoteca Vaticana. This well-preserved work consists of three panels and a large portion of the original frame. The left panel depicts an *Annunciation to the Shepherds and Nativity Scene*. The central panel shows a resplendent *Coronation of the Virgin*, and the right an *Adoration of the*

*Magi*. Above each panel are elaborately carved teardrop shaped pinnacles that consist of an *Annunciation to the Virgin* and, above the central panel, an elaborate sunburst “IHS” symbol of Bernardino of Siena.

The *Christ on the Road to Emmaus* and *Pentecost* were originally seen by Zeri as marking the midway point between the painter’s Tuscan-Sienese influence starting with the *San Salvatore Triptych*, which he believed was of 1437, and the final phase of the painter’s stylistic development.<sup>132</sup> Zeri notes that:

the insistent and accented individualization of the figures has not yet reached its final definition, and has not yet overlaid the lyrical accent, which, is very characteristic of the “Deposition” [*Lamentation and Entombment*] in the Metropolitan Museum, is also felt in the scene of the pilgrims on their way to Emmaus.<sup>133</sup>

Zeri’s nearest analogous work, the *Lamentation and Entombment* along with the accompanying *Arrest of Christ*, in the Metropolitan Museum, are works he placed at sometime between 1437 and 1440. Based upon this estimate, I believe that a dating of 1440 for the *Christ on the Road to Emmaus* and *Pentecost* would be appropriate.

According to Zeri the panel of *Christ on the Road to Emmaus*, is rare in fifteenth-century iconography. It depicts Christ meeting two of his disciples on the road to Emmaus, and shows him with what Zeri refers to as a “rather singular, and typically Gothicizing taste, dressed in the style of the “wandering clerks” (clerici vagantes), with a “Goliardic” (student-style) béret.”<sup>134</sup>

Comparing the panel to the *Lamentation and Entombment* predella in the Metropolitan Museum, we find that the colors and tonality are almost identical and if not for the fact that both panels are much too small in relation to the predella pieces, we might suspect that they originated from the same unknown altarpiece.<sup>135</sup> The robe of the

first disciple has the same gothicized and elaborate scrolled detail while it also appears to go slightly beyond the earlier panel as the folds of the robe settle much more naturalistically around the calves and thighs of the figure - appearing somewhat less sculptural in this instance. Christ's robes appear more like Pietro Crisci's from the *San Salvatore Triptych*, although they now fall more naturalistically to the ground.

The facial representations in the *Road to Emmaus* have the same dark and severe modeling and tonality that is found in the *Lamentation*. Their faces are more pronounced than those of Bartolomeo's earlier works and are more securely modeled on Nelli's characterizations. The hands of the two disciples who stand before Christ are almost identical to those in the *Lamentation* and display the same disturbing and rigid intensity. Christ's arms and hands continue to be somewhat out of proportion, further proof of Zeri's observation that the work can best be placed at a transitory point along Bartolomeo's chronology. This is helped to some extent by Bartolomeo's continued use of two-dimensional haloes, a practice we know that the painter would discard toward the latter portion of his career.

Regardless of these remaining archaic accents, one has the impression that there is a slight lessening of the expressionistic intensity of the earlier scenes. Although still stiff in appearance, the expressions of Christ and the disciples, in spite of their dependence on Nelli, are almost calm and composed when compared to Bartolomeo's earlier characterizations. We also note that Bartolomeo's figures, while still not fully and successfully integrated into his landscape, no longer act in opposition to their surroundings. It is within this work and these subtle indications that we begin to sense

that the artist's personal intensity has come under the control of his developing artistic sensibilities.

As in several other works by Bartolomeo, his treatment of landscape provides us with clues to the dating and direction of his stylistic evolution. *The Road to Emmaus* is set in a steep narrow valley, over which the crests of the cliffs reveal a twilight sky. Thickly scattered within this sky are traces of cirrus clouds that are tinted yellow and orange by the sunset glow. Once again there is a castle with crenellated fortifications on the crest of one of the hills. As in several earlier works, there is a sparse distribution of trees amongst the hills and, in the foreground, an almost abbreviated notation of small plants and scattered vegetation. Nevertheless, it becomes apparent here that Bartolomeo's world has opened up and is a more believable reflection of the tall hills and deep valleys of the Umbrian and Marchigian landscape. The landscape is no longer small and harshly abbreviated as in the early predella scenes: nor is it a small window onto reality that Zanoli felt was so important to two of Bartolomeo's works for the Franciscans of Cesena. Rather Bartolomeo depicts a landscape that probably reflects vistas he must have experienced during his lengthy forays into the heart of Italy as a youth working in his family's leather business. This reflection of a believable world, along with the impressive landscape of *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* from about the same time, suggests an emerging maturity that, along with his more controlled rendering of Christ and his disciples, places the painter securely on the road to the Terni frescoes.

A similar latent maturity is evident in the *Pentecost*. Here Bartolomeo includes at least twelve figures<sup>136</sup> in a small enclosed space at the time when scripture reveals that:

The day of the Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a

rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.<sup>137</sup>

Bartolomeo's *Pentecost* diverges from similar Quattrocento representations of this post Resurrection biblical event. Most evident is the simplistic rendering of the setting in which he has placed his figures. The room, frequently delineated by a series of posts placed around seated figures has been eliminated. The only remaining part of the traditional setting occurs in the raised floor with its elaborate molding and a view of the feet and coiled robes of several disciples beneath the platform. Above the figures there is no longer a schematized canopy-like covering, but rather an opened blue and slate-gray sky with its white horizon and ten descending bands of flame that emanate from the Holy Spirit.

Outside of this simplified rendering of the Biblical "Upper Room" what is most striking in Bartolomeo's representation of the *Pentecost* is the extraordinary assemblage of facial characterizations packed into this one small panel. When compared to his earlier paintings, we find that Bartolomeo seems to have reached an expressive pinnacle. The predella scenes from the *San Salvatore Triptych* and those in the Metropolitan Museum give us some early indication of the direction in which Bartolomeo was heading but still fall short of the labored detail in the *Pentecost*. In several figures from his *Resurrection of Christ* of the third decade of the Quattrocento we find a familiar likeness. Two of the soldiers beneath the risen Christ have the same physiognomy as the figures in the *Pentecost*. However, the works that can be placed between the *Resurrection of Christ* and the *Pentecost* all lack the same level of intense characterization.

The expressive detail of the *Pentecost* is best exemplified by the group of seven figures that make up a small circular band that centers on the placement of the three figures in the solid red, yellow, and blue robes who occupy the foreground. While these three figures, with their two-dimensional haloes, are the most prominent, they are only seen in profile and are much less interesting than the four figures facing toward the viewer. This select group gives us four figures that almost make an immediate jump to the highly stylized frescoes of the Cappella Paradisi in Terni and Bartolomeo's latest and most mature phase. Particularly striking are the faces of the two leftmost figures from this group.

The first figure to the viewer's far left (Fig. 46, No. 11) has the same type of dark tonality as in several of the *San Salvatore* figures. He also transmits a similar sense of the numinous described in Bartolomeo's earliest documented work. Although heavily lined and with a crudely thickened nose and mouth, this first figure gives the impression of being "filled with the Holy Ghost." This reverent feeling is further enhanced by the opened hands with their palms out as if drinking in intense spiritual nourishment. In spite of the figure's crude countenance, we are less aware of his earlier tendencies toward violent expressiveness and more fully convinced of a self-control that conveys the distinctive sanctity of the moment.

The figure (Fig. 47, No. 11) immediately to the left of the first occupies the most central position in the painting. He has a similar countenance, but in this instance, it is wonderfully foreshortened. When we consider the problems Bartolomeo had encountered with the foreshortening of his figures from several of his earlier works, we sense that the artist has arrived at a greater level of maturity and technical proficiency.<sup>138</sup> The face is

again broad and flattened and we can, due to Bartolomeo's excessive foreshortening, almost gaze into his nostrils as he too extends his hands with their palms out in a similar reverent attitude. With the addition of the other two figures that look out toward the viewer, both possessing an equally interesting appeal – we can understand Zeri's willingness to place this work at a pivotal point in the painter's career.

The next work to fall within Bartolomeo's chronology is the cycle of badly damaged frescoes from the Church of San Francesco in Cascia. On various occasions these works were attributed to the "School of Bartolomeo di Tommaso" and in particular to the hand Nicola da Siena.<sup>139</sup> However Toscano's excellent research has restored them to Bartolomeo's oeuvre with a proposed dating of 1445 – approximately five years after the two wings from the Minneapolis Institute of Arts.<sup>140</sup>

There are three remaining frescoes, the *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, the *Trinity*, and a better-preserved *Saint Benedict*. It is probable that these three frescoes are all that remain of a much larger cycle lost during a major renovation of the Gothic church sometime in the seventeenth century.<sup>141</sup>

The *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (Fig. 26, No. 12) is probably the most firmly anchored with regard to Toscano's dating of the cycle to sometime around 1445. The scene, which is damaged almost beyond recognition with numerous blank areas, provides a glimpse of typically Bartolomeo-like characterizations. This consists of the two shepherds and their dogs at the moment when the angel bearing good tidings appears. Toscano states that the fresco was constructed in a manner similar to that of the nativity scene from the *Rospigliosi Triptych* of 1445 - the third significant work from the painter's late-middle phase.<sup>142</sup>

The more obvious relationship between both works is found in the dramatic intensity of the angel's revelation and similarities of the shepherds in the Cascia fresco and a small representation of this scene at the top of the left wing of the Vatican triptych (Fig. 48, No. 13). In the *Cascia Annunciation* the shepherds are wedged tightly between Bartolomeo's Apennines - described by Toscano as "desolate and inaccessible."<sup>143</sup> Both shepherds share elements of the characteristic foreshortened faces found in Bartolomeo's *Pentecost* of 1440. They are dressed in simple robes and appear shocked by the sudden angelic presence. Just as the barely visible angel appears above them they recoil in fear, tense and off balance, with their arms opened wide in disbelief. The belongings of the lower shepherd, consisting of a sack, staff, and lantern, lie on the ground, just above two snarling dogs that are also startled by this unexpected heavenly appearance.

The *Rospigliosi Triptych* also shares similar, though slightly less agitated and compact characterizations. The landscape opens into a deep mountainous vista, less impenetrable, but equally bare and uninviting. As the angel appears, one of the shepherds also recoils in disbelief. His back is toward the viewer though his body is twisted as though thrown off balance. Much like the lower figure in the *Cascia Annunciation*, he attempts to prop himself back up with an extended arm while his legs extend straight out as if he has suddenly been knocked to the ground. Like the *Cascia* figure, he tries to shield his eyes from the celestial light of the angel, who in this instance appears not against the night sky but the bright gold background of the panel. The opposite figure, unlike the corresponding shepherd in the *Cascia* fresco has only just noticed the event as he continues to play his bagpipe, and peers over his shoulder at the source of the commotion. The dogs, so effective in the *Cascia* piece, are replaced by a single and much

more sedate dog in the *Rospigliosi Triptych*. The artist has also added a small circular pen of sheep visible far off into the distance.

Although the Vatican piece is more subdued than the Cascia fresco, the evident “International Gothic” flavor of the former cannot mask the deeper tensions of the latter. This expressive link with the *Annunciation* in Cascia would place these frescoes within a few years of the *Rospigliosi Triptych* sometime before 1447 and probably nearer to Toscano’s estimate of 1445.

In the *Trinity* (Fig. 44, No. 12) there is an interesting blend of the archaic with newer trends probably acquired through Bartolomeo’s exposure to Tuscan influences. Originally attributed to Nicola da Siena, a lesser artist of the school of Bartolomeo di Tommaso, this work is influenced by Masaccio’s *Trinity* of 1425. Other representations of the Trinity had been done by other artists and can be considered one of the more popular and recurrent themes of the late Trecento and early Quattrocento.<sup>144</sup> Aside from the obvious connection to Masaccio, the fresco establishes more a subtle link to Bartolomeo’s teacher Olivuccio di Ciccarello through the severe frontality of God the Father - an influence not as evident in Bartolomeo’s work until now. The effectiveness of the work resides in Bartolomeo’s contrast between the old and the new, the archaic and near hypnotic sacredness of the father and the realistic, almost morbid mortification of the son.

The image of God the Father with his triune halo makes it easy to understand the mistaken attribution of the work to Nicola da Siena, whose *Resurrected Christ* in the Church of Santa Scholastica in Norcia has almost identical features. However, the crucified Christ just below this figure bears the unmistakable imprint of Bartolomeo – an

expressionistic quality rarely if ever observed in Nicola's work. Christ's emaciated thorax is cruelly met here by the dead weight of his collapsed head. The lifelessness and weightiness of the body, along with Christ's pendulous head, is further distanced from similar representations by the delicate dark shadows that form beneath and amplify his large and distended stomach. Christ's thin arms are only able to support him with the assistance of God the Father, whose hands curl delicately under them on the outer edges of the transept. Christ's legs appear equally as weak, short and stubby in relation to the rest of his body as they hang lifelessly over the schematized "skull of Golgotha."

In Bartolomeo's Crucifixion, any sense of the Savior's dignity is diminished by the reality of pain and death. The dignity has been replaced with a sense of impotence. Christ is seen only as a victim, trampled upon and defeated. His lifeless, decaying body is as distant from the promised resurrection as can be imagined. Such a characterization makes up one element of what Toscano describes as "personages of the terrifying liturgy of the Folignate, the same that we will find again in the more complex scenes of the Cappella Paradisi."<sup>145</sup>

Another indication of things to come in relation to the Terni frescoes can be seen in the final surviving work from the Cascia cycle, the *Saint Benedict* (Fig. 45, No. 12). Here we find one of the better early examples of the elongated figure that became so prominent in the Terni cycle. However, far more important than the length of this figure is the fact of its distinct facial expression that reappears several years later in the Cappella Paradisi. This expression, described by Toscano as "annoyed and fierce," became a characteristic of the figures in the Terni cycle, appearing on Bartolomeo's angels, saints, and assorted Christian luminaries. Some indication of this future direction can be seen in

a comparison between the faces's of Saint Benedict and Saint Peter (Fig. 86, No. 18) in the Cappella Paradisi fresco of the *Elect*. Although Peter's countenance is fiercer and more irascible, the face of Saint Benedict reveals every suggestion of a development leading to this later type of characterization.

The final work of this earlier phase of the 1440's is, next to the Cappella Paradisi, Bartolomeo's best-known work. Much of its fame derives from the fact that the large triptych was restored to excellent condition and is prominently displayed in the Pinacoteca Vaticana. However, much like other works by Bartolomeo, the so-called *Rospigliosi Triptych* (Fig. 2, No. 13) poses a number of puzzling contradictions in relation to its origins and its chronology.

Generally accepted as having been completed sometime around 1445, when Bartolomeo's style was seen as entering into his later phase, the *Rospigliosi Triptych* can best be described as having an accent that is strikingly "international" and flowery. The extent of the international flavor is best illustrated by the fact that for years the painting had been attributed to Gentile da Fabriano, whose influence can easily be detected in the painting.<sup>146</sup>

For years the *Rospigliosi Triptych* was believed to have been painted for the College of San Venanzio in Camerino, although research in the archives of the Collegiata have never uncovered a contract between the painter and the Church fathers. In addition, the registry of works removed from the city during the Napoleonic era does not mention the painting. This assumption of beginnings in Camerino originates in 1913 with the publication of D'Achiardi's guide to the collection of the Pinacoteca Vaticana.<sup>147</sup> In 1915 Feliciangeli added to this mystery by noting, in relation to a polyptych of Niccolo

Alunnó's from the same church in Camerino, that from the "same Collegiata di San Venanzio also emerges the so-called Rospigliosi Triptych."<sup>148</sup>

According to Bittarelli an insert in the Vatican records of the "General Inventory" lists the painting as number 206 in Room VI and refers to the triptych under the name "Rospigliosi." A much later transcription adds the phrase the "Collegiata di San Venanzio a Camerino."<sup>149</sup> The records note that the painting was donated by the Altieri family to Pope Leo XIII in 1888 on the celebration of the jubilee of the pontiff's priesthood.<sup>150</sup> At this time the head of the family was Prince Emilio Altieri (1814-1900) the commander of the noble guard. Pietrangeli suspects that it was he who presented the Pope with this generous gift.<sup>151</sup> The means by which the painting arrived at the Casa Altieri is not known and the name "Rospigliosi" for years attached to the painting appears to have no foundation.<sup>152</sup>

As with so many other clarifications regarding the career of Bartolomeo di Tommaso the reattribution of the triptych to the painter must be credited to Roberto Longhi whose 1926 article proved the painter's importance to late Umbro-Marchigian circles.<sup>153</sup> Longhi's attribution was upheld by Berenson in 1932 and again by Zeri in 1961.<sup>154</sup> Placed by all three critics at around 1445, the *Rospigliosi Triptych* was seen by this group of historians as filling a gap within the activities of the Camerese school. The gap starts in 1429, when Archangelo di Cola painted his last work, and ends in 1449 when another Camerese master, Girolamo di Giovanni, paints the first of the works generally considered to mark the end of the Camerese era. Bittarelli believes that, in spite of an absence of documentation, the earlier critics assumed Camerese origins and assigned the dating of 1445 to fill this gap in the history of painting in this region.<sup>155</sup>

These historians believed that this would have stylistically worked toward the progressive continuation of the school – and a gap that Bittarelli believes is only a gap “in our knowledge.”<sup>156</sup>

However, despite the absence of documentation regarding the triptych’s origins, Zeri provided some indications that the painting had a Camerese provenance and was dated to around 1445. He draws on the similarities between Alunnó’s documented polyptych from the Collegiata di San Venanzio in Camerino and now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana. Both works have the same type of rich and flamboyant type of arches along with elaborate spires and cornices that Zeri felt marked a point along the development of the Camerese style that had its roots in Gentile da Fabriano.

Zeri further derived his dating of 1445 from a comparison with the signed and dated *San Caterina Fresco* of 1449, although the simple votive style of these frescoes and their troubling characterizations appear to have little in common with the physiognomic models in Bartolomeo’s triptych. Perhaps his more convincing proof lies in the prominent use of the “Holy Name of Jesus” or “Insegna Bernardiniana” found on the triptych’s central spire. Having originated as early as 1410, the symbol became widely recognized throughout Italy but found specific popularity in Camerino around 1445. Zeri suggests that the symbol’s modulation and prominence, in relation to the subordinate figurative elements, suggests some “inflexible influence” – perhaps relating to the Saint’s death a year earlier in 1444.

Regardless of whether the work has a Camerese provenance, it can almost certainly be placed at some point around 1445. The one rather troublesome aspect of its assumed date is the triptych’s lack of naturalism, which has little in common with the

stylistic developments found in Bartolomeo's other works. According to Zeri, it is perhaps best to assume that what we are seeing here is Bartolomeo's final encounter with the International Gothic before moving into his later phase.<sup>157</sup> This final surge can be seen as the painter's crystallization of a dying style, or what Zeri describes as a culmination of Bartolomeo's "literary second thoughts,"<sup>158</sup> one that would culminate with "a baptism of all outside of the realistic."<sup>159</sup> He declared that: "In effect the triptych in the Vatican constitutes one of the most significant monuments of the extreme fires of the International Gothic prior to its extinguishing."<sup>160</sup>

The triptych's panels are divided into iconographic sections of three separate subjects based on a Mariological repertory. The center panel represents the *Coronation of the Virgin* (Fig. 49, No. 13), on the left is a *Nativity* (Fig. 50, No. 13) and on the right the *Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 51, No. 13). The *Nativity* has a small scene of the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (Fig. 48, No. 13) directly above the main scene in the small area that extends from the rounded arch of the manger and borders on the edge of the frame. The panel on the right uses the same space to open into a characteristically dark though gently rolling and rather tranquil landscape. Within the highest spire, above the central panel, is found the "Insegna Bernardiniana." The left spire contains a small roundel of the *Angel of the Annunciation* while a *Virgin Annunciate* is in the opposite spire on the right.

Although he does not cite specific examples, Zeri believed the figurative scenes and structure of the triptych originated in the "Oltralpe," regions on the other side of the Alps with probable Germanic roots. He also suggests that a work with a similar type of Mariological iconography can be found in a triptych by Bonifacio Bembo that is now

divided between several museums. This work, which also drew Longhi's attention as early as 1928, consists of a central *Coronation of the Virgin*, flanked by an *Adoration of the Magi* and a *Meeting at the Golden Gate*.<sup>161</sup> The possibility of a different influence, one less inclined to be assigned to the "dying fires" of the late Gothic, becomes possible on examination of Bartolomeo's rendering of the triptych's three major subjects.

The *Rospigliosi Triptych's* figurative elements reveal a side of Bartolomeo di Tommaso that forms a disturbing contrast to works that are dated either before or slightly after its suggested date of 1445. Bartolomeo's chromatic range remains constant. His mixed blues, violets, and subdued reds all remain and are used to a similar effect to those of his earlier works. The dark and dense chiaroscuro associated with Bartolomeo and his landscapes appear to have also persisted as did his landscapes. In addition, in the distant background of the *Adoration of the Magi* Bartolomeo has added a similar assortment of hilltop castles with crenellated battlements that are found in his *Betrayal of Christ* of 1437. Also present are small trees and a furrowed landscape reminiscent of the impressive view in *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* of ca. 1439-1441. As a charming afterthought, Bartolomeo has inserted the heads of two of the Magi's camels as they peer out from behind the ridge just beyond the manger. It is clear that Bartolomeo's landscapes, like his chromatic range, have remained constant up to this date.

The major problem associated with the triptych is the painter's sudden use of a unique physiognomic model that appears foreign and out of place in comparison to the forceful and more aggressive physical elements that remained constant from the *San Salvatore Triptych* up through the Cascia frescoes. Even the one brief departure from his more expressive figurative style, as seen in Malatesta Novello's Cesena frescoes, retained

a basic physiognomy and a latent expressiveness that is missing in this work. Added to his use of this atypical physiognomic model is the equally troubling lack of emotion that Zeri described as a “pronounced psychological and passionate indifference.”<sup>162</sup> Bartolomeo’s figures, in this one isolated instance, have suddenly grown impassive - their bodies, once vibrant and aggressive have become frail and rigid. Their expressive characterizations, considered unique among Bartolomeo’s contemporaries, have grown solemn and remote. The touching numinous qualities associated with works such as the *San Salvatore Triptych*, have given way to an over-sentimental, bittersweet quality.

The *Nativity* on the lower left wing best illustrates this sudden shift. The donkey and ox, as opposed to the realistic snarling dogs of the Cascia cycle, have become cartoon-like. Joseph and Mary are also reduced to simple animations, pale with large heads and stick-like limbs that are frozen in weak and unconvincing gestures. Both figures crudely mirror the vast assortment of more conventional representations of this scene. The Virgin’s robe, with its gentle pattern of Gothic stars, adds one charming dimension to the group, as does the bathing of the Christ Child. This unusual depiction of the bathing of the infant, supposedly a Sieneese iconography, lacks emotional depth, but adds a rather elegant, charming quality in contrast to the figures above. Nonetheless, all the figures, regardless of these separate and appealing Gothic touches, appear to be detached from their surroundings and unaware of each other’s presence. They lack any sense of the humanism latent in Bartolomeo’s work up to this point. Zeri sees this as an “economy,” the creation of what he described as an autonomic “dada” as if the artist has drawn upon his technical skills but without the emotional depth that made such skills so effective in his earlier years.<sup>163</sup>

The right panel, the *Adoration of the Magi*, in terms of the naturalistic rendering of its subjects, is slightly more appealing than its opposite. Here we see a greater, though less lavish influence of Gentile da Fabriano and his celebrated *Adoration of the Magi* of 1423. The figures, with the exception of Joseph in the background, no longer retain the cartoon-like quality of the Nativity, but are depicted in a much more careful and deliberate manner with facial details that reflect the influence of Gentile and the Salimbeni. Much like Gentile's figures, though reversed, two of the Magi stand reverently before the Virgin while a third kneels before the playful infant. Also similar to Gentile's *Adoration* are brief passages of vibrant red. The leftmost king is closest to Gentile and reflects some of the more recognizable Gothic elements of the panel. The rich, flowery blue arabesques pleasantly contrast with the deep red of the tunic and are complemented by the faint and delicate stars that adorn the pale pink robe of the kneeling king just beneath him.

The Virgin, much less emotionally forceful than those in Bartolomeo's earlier works, sits in a manner similar to Gentile's Virgin – even to the point of holding the Christ Child in a similar attitude and with one hand in an identical position. Bartolomeo's Virgin is not without certain recognizable Gothic touches as we note that the border of her hemline contains a continuously running "Ave Maria," corresponding to the "Ich Diene" embellished on the garter of the first king at the left.<sup>164</sup> She also has close physical and expressive ties to Bartolomeo's important predecessors from the Marches, Carlo da Camerino and Archangelo di Cola. The figure of Joseph has much in common with Gentile's *Adoration* as both appear in a secondary position behind the Virgin and

retain an attitude of resignation and humility, with arms that are meekly crossed before their bodies and heads that are lowered in a remorseful and unassuming manner.

The central panel of the *Rospigliosi Triptych*, the *Coronation of the Virgin*, continues and elaborates upon the more archaic elements of the two wings. The influence of Gentile and to some extent Giovanni di Paolo, along with Bartolomeo's Sieneese experience, are fully manifest in the solemn grandiosity of Christ and the Virgin.<sup>165</sup> Their imposing size is nowhere more evident than in the drapery folds over the knees of Christ and the Virgin, which upon close examination appear almost elephantine. Creating even more of a contrast are the hands of both figures that, like those in the *Nativity*, are exceedingly small and poorly defined in relation to the large mass of their bodies. The faces of both figures have a tonality - the dark brown texture of the skin and deep-set eyes, similar to the Madonna and Child of the *San Salvatore Triptych*. However, both figures, while retaining an element of solemnity, lack any of the expressive qualities that began their evolution with the triptych of 1432. This lack of expressiveness carries over in the portrayal of the six angels who cluster around the perimeter of the mandorla. Unlike the gesticulating angels flanking either side of the Madonna in the *San Salvatore Triptych*, this group is decorative and sedate: lost in some indeterminate region between those of 1432 and the fierce beings that dominate the Cappella Paradisi. This effect carries over into the cluster of Seraphim in the upper bright red register of the mandorla and the broad band of elegant angels who sing and play musical instruments.

Further highlighting the divine figures is the band of flowery red and blue arabesques encircling the mandorla and corresponding to a similar pattern in the robes of the left figure on the adjoining wings. This rich decorative pattern contrasts rather

effectively with the extraordinarily ornate robes of the Virgin. Their flowering blue patterns on a white background bordered with a gold hemline create one of the more memorable passages of the triptych. Further adding to the richness of this central composition is the use of the hemlines to define the lower edges of the mandorla, nearly eclipsing its rainbow colored bands that terminate at the foot of the composition with the group of three standing angels.

Zeri correctly notes here that what we are observing, quite inexplicably, is Bartolomeo's interpretation of "a solemn and grandiose mosaic or the fresco from an apse of an earlier century."<sup>166</sup> While such a relationship to an earlier period is evident, the question remains what could have been the artist's motivation for this sudden regression to a state where his distinctive expressiveness would be so dormant. Two possible factors could account for this sudden transformation.

If we accept a dating of 1445 for the *Rospigliosi Triptych*, it is possible that the lack of expressiveness can be traced to his participating as a signatory to Girolamo della Marca's *Santissima Unione*, a pact that was signed by the artist only a year earlier in June of 1444. Perhaps the expressiveness that had earlier been a result of the Franciscan evangelicals had been briefly curtailed by the strict codes of this pact. It is interesting to note that Bartolomeo's most distinct and effective level of expressiveness returned a few years later after the failure of the *Santissima Unione*.

If we are to propose a later dating of the *Rospigliosi Triptych*, perhaps sometime between 1446-1447, we might then attribute Bartolomeo's sudden diminished expressiveness to the personal problems between 10 July 1446 and 7 October 1447. We know from existing documents that the painter suffered three great losses during this

period. On 7 July 1446 records indicate that one of Bartolomeo's children died.<sup>167</sup> This was followed, on 4 October 1447 by the death of a second child.<sup>168</sup> Scarcely three days later, on 7 October 1447, records document the death of the painter's wife Onofria.<sup>169</sup> During this period Bartolomeo, though legally resident in Foligno and suddenly burdened with the need to care for an extended family, was actively producing commissions in Foligno as well as throughout Umbria and the Marches. If we accept a Camerese provenance for the triptych, it is quite probable that the commission fell at some point during or after these events. Perhaps what we find in the *Rospigliosi Triptych* is some indication of Bartolomeo's deep sorrow and a brief loss of artistic passion: one that is evidenced through a work that has obviously been purged of any discernable emotional intensity and reduced to what Zeri referred to as a "colossal hieroglyphic."

After the examination of the *Rospigliosi Triptych* we come to the group of paintings that represent what I would classify as Bartolomeo's "mature phase." This consists of four paintings that can be placed sometime after 1445 and more specifically from 1449 to 1451 to the artist's departure for Rome. Chronologically the first painting of this group is the detached *San Caterina Fresco*, depicting the *Martyrdom of Saint Barbara*, the *Madonna of Loreto*, and a *Preaching Franciscan and Donors* (Fig. 3, No. 14) originally in the Church of Santa Caterina in Foligno. Presently in the Pinacoteca Comunale in Foligno, the painting is signed and dated 1449.<sup>170</sup>

The next painting is the damaged fresco of a *Crucifixion Adored by an Augustinian* in the sacristy of the Augustinian Church of San Nicolò in Foligno (Fig. 5, No. 15). Based on a document noting that Bartolomeo had established a relationship with the Augustinian friars prior to his departure from Foligno, Sensi places the fresco

between 1449-1451.<sup>171</sup> This document reports the sale of a parcel of land by Maestro Bartolomeo to the prior, Anthonio Bonilli de Trevio, of the convent of San Nicolò for the price of fourteen florins on 26 July 1451 less than a month before the artist's departure for the Vatican.

The third work of this group follows closely on the heels of the 1451 *Crucifixion*. Depicting the *Madonna and Child with John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, and Saints Christopher and Dominic* (Fig. 4, No. 16), this work is in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche in Urbino. Zeri<sup>172</sup> has proposed that this is the same triptych that was painted for the great altar of the Church of Santa Maria Maddalena, and was also completed sometime around 1451.<sup>173</sup> Although six documents, beginning with 19 February 1446 mention the construction of a panel for the great chapel, none are specific and the one that actually mentions Maestro Bartolomeo, noting that the work eventually commenced, is dated much later on 5 August 1451.<sup>174</sup>

The fourth and final work of this second part of Bartolomeo's mature phase cannot be documented with regard to provenance and dating. However, based on stylistic similarities with the *Madonna and Child with John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, and Saints Christopher and Dominic*, it can probably be dated at sometime around 1451. This work, an orphaned predella panel of *Christ between the Virgin and Saint John* (Fig. 52, No. 17) is in the collection of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore.

The first painting of this late phase, the *San Caterina Fresco* (Fig. 3, No. 14) consists of a detached fresco of three ostensibly unrelated scenes that border on one another. By most accounts, this work is one of the most singular of Bartolomeo's oeuvre as well as unique in Italian painting.<sup>175</sup> Zeri considered a possible Northern European or

German influence and suggested that Bartolomeo knew the work of the early Quattrocento painter, Meister Francke (active 1424-1436). The facial expressions, particularly those of Saint Barbara and her father in the central scene, recall those of the Salimbeni, and in particular the Saint Sebastian of Jacopo's 1416 fresco. Zeri adds that there are similarities with the forms of Carlo da Camerino and, with regard to the figure of Saint Barbara's father, Masaccio.<sup>176</sup> Whatever the original inspiration, Zeri described the painting as by the "hand of an extremely talented individual" for whom any attempt to "identify any possible precedents and cultural pretexts is arduous and even futile."<sup>177</sup> He further stated that "the tradition is not that of the public Bartolomeo di Tommaso but [rather] one that is more unexpected and surprising."<sup>178</sup>

The fresco remains one of the most striking examples of Bartolomeo's ability to condense an event to its basic physical and emotional core, his "irresistible tendency to reduce the visual to its simplest conventions, fusing with a certain severity and impeccable coherence."<sup>179</sup> While we have seen indications of this ability in several early works, it is with the *San Caterina Fresco*, and particularly the episode of the *Martyrdom of Saint Barbara* that we can more fully appreciate Zeri's description of Bartolomeo's capacity to produce this now familiar "crystallization of characterization."<sup>180</sup> Some argument exists as to whether this reduction of image and emotion could have been an unintended result of the more simplistic votive nature of the fresco and what might have been the limited funds of the Franciscan nuns. Zeri appears to have discounted such theories, preferring to place the work at a point directly on the painter's stylistic progression and serving as a gateway to the artist's most advanced phase.

Divided into three compartments, the center of the fresco depicts the *Madonna of Loreto* standing beneath a shrine supported by four columns. The Virgin, who is rigidly frontal and almost iconic, is reminiscent of a painting of the same subject attributed to Bartolomeo's teacher, Olivuccio di Ciccarello (Fig. 8) dating from the first half of the Quattrocento. Much like Olivuccio's Madonna, who also stands beneath what must have been a canopy or related structure supported by four thin columns, Bartolomeo's Madonna wears a similar transparent white veil, small crown, and perfectly centered halo that in this case is adorned with a small ring of plain circles. Wearing a red garment and a blue mantle, she supports the Christ Child wearing a yellow tunic and similar halo on her right arm. In her other hand, she holds open a book on which are written the words: <<EGO / SUM LUX/ MU(N)DI // ET VIA / VERITAS>>. <sup>181</sup> In contrast to Olivuccio's Madonnas, her expression, similar to those in the other parts of the painting, is far more serious, almost severe, indicating that the purpose of the fresco could have been related to certain unrecorded events from the history of the Convent or the city of Foligno.

The two front colonnades of the shrine are suspended by two elegant angels with red wings and robes - white on the left figure and yellow on the other. Both angels' robes are decorated with a floral pattern of gray and brown that is repeated on the light green curtain behind the Virgin. Both are also highly evocative of those in Olivuccio's *Madonna of Loreto*. The Madonna and Angels all stand on a hexagonal base similar to the one found beneath Saints Bartholomew and Ursula on the pinnacles of the *San Salvatore Triptych*. Beneath this base, on the right side of the Virgin, is the tiny figure of a praying sister, a member of the Franciscan Order of the Sisters of Saint Clare - the Order that commissioned the fresco.

On the right of the *Madonna of Loreto* we find the most forceful episode of the fresco, the *Martyrdom of Saint Barbara*.<sup>182</sup> Reading from left to right, in the upper corner the Saint's father discovers that Barbara escaped the prison to which she was sentenced after her conversion to Christianity. He asks a shepherd as to whether he has seen her. On the left hill behind them there is a castle with three towers that refer to Barbara's prison.<sup>183</sup> To the right of this episode, another shepherd points out the hiding place of the runaway Saint to her father. He sees her head behind one of the rolling hills. In retribution for the shepherd's wrongdoing, the hand of God miraculously descends from the sky, changes him into a statue, and transforms his sheep into locusts.

In the central scene, the Saint, in violet-red robes decorated with a greenish-brown floral decoration, is being dragged by her father to her martyrdom. Missing from the narrative is an episode depicting the sudden death of the father who, like the errant shepherd, was also punished by divine intervention. The father's sudden death contributed to Saint Barbara being recognized as the "Patron Saint of Sudden Death," an epithet that made her a very popular plague saint. Sensi suggests that the painting dates to after the plague of 1447 and 1448 in Foligno: among the victims were the wife and two of Bartolomeo's four children.<sup>184</sup> At the foot of the Saint Barbara scene a group of ten nuns genuflect.

The figures, particularly those of Saint Barbara and her father, are unparalleled in Bartolomeo's oeuvre. They are graphically compact, harsh, and largely unfamiliar to works of the region. They are situated in a fantastic landscape, one that is nearly modular in the manner in which Bartolomeo has placed his figures into it. Behind them in the background there is a dark sky under which there are rolling hills similar to those in

Bartolomeo's predellas and particularly his *Lamentation and Entombment* of 1437. As in the *Lamentation* and several earlier predella scenes, the figures are here integrated, perhaps even consumed, by the flowing contours of the landscape. We can observe this in the body of the father to the right. He merges into the slope of the hill while the sweeping arms of the shepherd near him closely follow the contour of the ascending terrain. In addition, Bartolomeo has integrated the father's head and turban-like covering into the flow of the sloping hill the rises behind him and descends barely touching the locusts spread on the ground. This integration of figure and landscape produces a symbiosis that contributes to a tense though fluid motion as well as to the visual compactness of the scene.

As with several figures in the *San Salvatore Triptych* predellas, and unlike those surrounding her, Saint Barbara is spatially cut off. She is severely defined by a strong and impenetrable outline that isolates her within a type of figurative shorthand that ignores any sense of a third dimension. There is a rather peculiar rhythm in the oddly placed legs of the Saint. Both are opened wide and form sharp angles in relation one another - as though the base of a large and unsteady triangle. The movement is far from fluid; it is a rocking motion that further adds to the uniqueness of the scene and the disturbing relationship of the figure to the terrain and the other figures surrounding her. The father is somewhat reminiscent of the elder Bernardone in the scene of *Saint Francis Renouncing his Possessions* (Fig. 39, No. 8) but his face is fierce and his body is more fluid than in the small predella.

To the left of the *Madonna of Loreto* is a *Preaching Franciscan* with an emaciated face and halo. With his right hand he gesticulates while the left leans on a

book placed on the parapet of the pulpit. The Saint has been likened to Bernardino da Siena, Giacomo della Marca, and Anthony of Padua, although, with regard to the first two, a dating of 1449 proposes a number of questions concerning the depiction of Franciscan celebrities who had by this time still not been canonized. No evidence exists with regard to the latter suggestion that this individual is Saint Anthony. Below the pulpit, to the right of the preaching Franciscan there is a praying nun wearing a black veil.

The preaching Franciscan, like the *Saint Benedict* from the fresco cycle in San Francisco, Cascia, shows some of the elongation and stylization of the Terni frescoes. The figure occupies a long, graceful S-shaped pose accentuated by the elegant positioning of his hand and the highly stylized folds of his robe flowing down to his knees and then billowing outwards in a circular pattern. He stands higher than the other figures in the fresco and his pose is authoritative. He also appears closest to the viewer, acting as a witness to the events occurring nearby. His expression though not yet as fierce as those in the Terni frescoes, still shows no sign of the lovable, comedic side of the “preaching friars.” Rather they reflect the calls to repent, perhaps in fear of a similar type of divine retribution that occurs in the Saint Barbara scene.

Beneath the three scenes are three horizontal red bands. On the left side of the fresco and along the red face of one of the bands are barely discernable white gothic characters: BARTOLOMEU(S) THO<M>E H(OC) OP(US) FECIT.<sup>185</sup> Along the bottom within two of the red bands in a white field, are three additional scripts. The first, under the story of Saint Barbara, reads: SANCTA BARBARA A FACTA FARE LU CONVENTU DE SANCTA CHATERINA PER LORO DEVOTIONE : MCCCXXXVIII.<sup>186</sup> Below the Madonna of Loreto:

QUESTA FIGURA A FACTA FARE SURA NOFRIA P(ER) SUA DIVOTIONE.<sup>187</sup> And below the preaching Franciscan: ET QUESTA SORA PAULUCIA (PER SUA) / DIVOCIONE.<sup>188</sup> The three scripts appear to indicate that the different parts of the fresco were either financed by, or intended for, the private veneration of the group or of specific individuals. The larger episode of Saint Barbara appears to have been intended for the use of the greater body of the Order represented by the group of ten praying nuns. The next two seem to have been for the sole devotion of the Franciscan Sisters Onofria and Paulucia - obviously superiors of the Order or persons of some standing within the convent.

While we might assume that the iconographic themes between the three episodes of the fresco are unrelated because they were intended for separate groups, there is a possibility that at least two of the scenes can be linked. Sensi suggests that the three scenes, the Madonna of Loreto, martyred saint, and preaching Franciscan, must have been related through the plague that struck the city of Foligno between 1447 and 1448.<sup>189</sup>

We know that Saint Barbara was widely evoked against sudden death: a protection that was significant to a convent that was, by nature of its ministerial duties, exposed to such dangers on a continuous basis. According to the *Chronicle of Iacobilli*, the populace was forced to flee the City of Foligno into the hills and mountains surrounding the city during a similar outbreak in 1429.<sup>190</sup> Had anyone remained within the city to assist the sick and dying it probably would have been such Orders as the Sisters of Saint Clare. It is also probable that the nuns of the Convent of Santa Caterina would have felt compelled to worship the martyr, whose life was in perfect consonance with their religious choice and beliefs. The ten gesticulating nuns at the foot of the Saint's martyrdom could reflect their gratitude for the rescue from a pneumatic plague that

carried with it a rapid and agonizing death. This sudden death would prevent those stricken from adequately repenting of their sins and thereby consign them, much like Saint Barbara's father, to an uncertain afterlife. In addition, the Saint's image was also used to exorcise the plague and other agents of sudden death, at times functioning for the devout as a pictorial type of sanctuary against its ravages.

The preaching Franciscan, if we were to imagine some connection with the plague of 1447-1448, would favor identification with Bernardino da Siena. Dead in 1444, Bernardino was canonized six years later in May of 1450, shortly after Bartolomeo executed the fresco. Through a reputation probably established by his work in Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala during a previous outbreak in 1400, Bernardino was already numbered amongst a select group of religious individuals and Saints who had miraculously survived several outbreaks of plague. It has also been established that from the time of his death the viewing of the Saint's burial place had become the goal of countless pilgrimages that were made by the faithful in an attempt to seek his divine help in escaping the epidemics.

The association of the *Madonna of Loreto* with plague is far less certain than the previous two scenes. Originally a part of the See of Ancona in the Marches, the Shrine of the Holy House of the Blessed Virgin was believed to have been miraculously transported by angels to Loreto in the thirteenth century. From then on numerous popes and future saints made pilgrimages to the shrine where miraculous cures are alleged to have taken place. A history of miraculous cures plus the fact that the shrine was in the Marches might well have been sufficient cause for its association with the plague as well as its appearance in churches throughout the region.

According to Sensi, in the Sanctuary of the Madonna del Sasso in Serravalle del Chienti, there is on the right entrance a fresco that “repeats the iconographic theme of the one above [San Caterina].”<sup>191</sup> This fresco includes a *Madonna of Loreto*. On the right of the Madonna there is a representation of *Saint Onofrio*, a popular hermit Saint in the region. To the left of the Madonna is another representation of *Bernardino da Siena*. He faces the Madonna with his left hand holding an open book, on which is written <<PATER / MANIFESTAVI // NOMEN / TUUM / (HOMINIBUS) >> This is an obvious relation to the fact that the Saint’s right hand is showing the “Insegna Bernardiniana” (IHS) placed within a flowered cornice.

In addition to the work in the Sanctuary of the Madonna del Sasso, we know of four other works with a similar theme in the immediate area. According to Sensi, sometime around the middle of the fifteenth century, Bartolomeo collaborated with the painter Andrea Delitio, on a representation of the *Madonna of Loreto* (Fig. 87) in the Church of San Domenico in the diocese of Foligno.<sup>192</sup> Although badly damaged, what remains depicts the same rigid frontality of the Madonna accompanied by a similar representation of the Christ Child beneath a strand supported by four thin columns (at one time supported by four angels, now lost). In comparison to the *Santa Caterina Fresco*, the badly damaged fresco argues for the inclusion of this work in Bartolomeo’s oeuvre. Unfortunately other than this one mention, Sensi offers no further evidence, archival or otherwise, of the painting’s attribution to the two artists.<sup>193</sup>

The other three depictions referred to by Sensi as from the Folignate school are in the immediate countryside of Foligno.<sup>194</sup> One is a *Maestà* in a small shrine along the ancient road to Montefalco that displays similar properties. The other two are in the

Sanctuary of the Madonna della Grazie of Rasiglia. The first depicts a *Madonna of Loreto between Saint Lucy and the Angel of Peace*, a recent attribution to the painter Cristoforo di Jacopo. Sensi notes that this painter was “not necessarily in communication with the work of Bartolomeo di Tommaso.”<sup>195</sup> The second work is of a *Madonna of Loreto* who stands between *Saint Amico* and an unidentified monk. This representation essentially refers us back to a style that would be in conjunction with an alumnus of the school of Bartolomeo di Tommaso. Sensi suggests that Bartolomeo’s unique image can be traced back to a *Madonna del Latte* in the Conventual Church of the Augustinians of San Pietro in Terni.<sup>196</sup> Much as in the *San Caterina Fresco* the Madonna is rigidly frontal and placed below a hexagonal stand decorated on the upper part with four small angels. Beneath the architectonic structure above the Madonna, six columns are sustained by angels. Sensi believes that in the *San Caterina Fresco* Bartolomeo has reduced this iconography to its essentials and that the Folignate painter had a direct knowledge of images of the Madonna of Loreto whose sanctuaries were placed along the “possible roads that he frequented in his documented trips between the Marches and Umbria.”<sup>197</sup>

As is often the case with Bartolomeo di Tommaso, we find that his stylistic evolution can be rapid and with little to suggest a uniform transition. The next work in Bartolomeo’s chronology, the *Crucifixion Adored by an Augustinian* (Fig. 5, No. 15) in the Church of San Nicolò in Foligno is an example of this type. Dated to sometime between 1449-1451 the fresco makes a transition from the emotionally intense though much more simplistic style of the *San Caterina Fresco* to one that borders on the style of the Cappella Paradisi. Reattributed by Zeri to Bartolomeo in 1963, the badly damaged fresco is one of the first concrete stylistic connections with the Terni frescoes and

displays several unique elements lacking in previous works.<sup>198</sup> Based on one existing document that establishes a connection between the painter and the Augustinians of San Nicolò, the latter dating of the fresco seems preferable. This document reports what appears to have been the hurried sale of a parcel of land by Bartolomeo to the prior of the convent for fourteen florins on 26 July 1451, less than a month before his departure for the Vatican.<sup>199</sup>

The fresco is probably the unique survivor of several works that must have adorned the walls of San Nicolò before its renovation in the seventeenth century. Its present location in the sacristy at one time probably constituted a much more important location within a church that over the years has probably experienced several expansions and renovations. Zeri suggests that the painting might have been located behind the altar of the early church. Further complicating matters is the fact that the fresco was between two Gothic windows where years of exposure to rainwater proved nearly disastrous, leaving the work (after several restorations) only about sixty percent intact. What remains provides us with enough evidence to establish the important transitional nature of a painting which was never mentioned by Michele Faloci-Pulignani in his seminal 1921 article on the painter.<sup>200</sup> When the question of the authorship of the fresco did surface, as during some of its early restorative work, it was most often generically attributed to the hand or school of the better-known Folignate master Niccolo Alunnó.<sup>201</sup>

Zeri believed that the painting revealed the painter's "singular oscillation" between Siena and the Marches. He points out some modest connection to works by the Sienese master Pietro di Giovanni Ambrosi and the Camerese painter Girolamo di Giovanni.<sup>202</sup> Upon examination of both artists' works it appears that neither connection is

firm and any association between their interpretation of the subject and Bartolomeo's is based entirely upon certain similarities to the arid landscapes found behind the figures of the crucified Christ. On comparing the *Crucifixion Adored by an Augustinian* to Bartolomeo's earlier *Trinity* (Fig. 44, No. 12) of 1445-1446, in the Church of San Francesco in Cascia, we note that a much more profound and refined psychological and stylistic transition has occurred.

It is probably more appropriate to suggest that as far as any possible influence is concerned a formal connection to Masaccio's small *Crucifixion* panel of 1426 from his *Pisa Altarpiece* and today in the Museo di Capodimonte along with his *Trinity* of 1427-1428, in Santa Maria Novella in Florence cannot be ruled out. This connection is seen in the similarities between both master's works and in particular with Masaccio's *Trinity*, where the position of Christ's head and body, a similar type of Cross, and his extended arms have much in common with Bartolomeo's rendition.<sup>203</sup> Also suggesting of some connection is the halo of Bartolomeo's Christ which is in a similar position to Masaccio's and, like his has now become nearly three-dimensional. Perhaps most important is the fact, noted by Zeri, that the figures and backgrounds of both works have the same low, dark, and near ashen tonality that he felt contributes to the "minute and symbolic sorrows" of the *Crucifixion*.<sup>204</sup>

In addition to qualities shared with Masaccio we find that Bartolomeo's *Crucifixion* has new elements. Particularly significant are the three frenetic, agitated angels who make up the upper half of the painting and are set quite effectively against a solid black background. One angel, who obviously once occupied the badly damaged section in the upper right corner of the scene is lost, but the three that remain are unique

to Bartolomeo and are one of the most significant links to the Cappella Paradisi. Their uniqueness consists first in Bartolomeo's use of elongated arms similar to those of the crucified Christ below them that contribute to the sweeping flow and motion of the scene. The sources of this type of representation of an angel are uncertain. Their wings and facial features occur in several of Bartolomeo's works, perhaps most prominently in the *Rospigliosi Triptych*. The extended arms have little by way of a precedent although the shepherd from the *Martyrdom of Saint Barbara* in the *San Caterina Fresco* has arms that flail outward in a manner similar to the angels on the right of the crucified Christ, and also contribute to the flow and motion of the scene.

Perhaps even more interesting is the fact that the lower portions of the wailing angels consist of long striated clouds that endow the figures with a "surfing" quality – as though they are effortlessly gliding along upon the tops of these leaden clouds. The resulting effect is odd in that it detracts from the intensity of their grief and agitation, adding an inappropriate buoyant dimension to the scene. The use of clouds in this manner appears to have no clear precedent in the art of the region.<sup>205</sup> To our good fortune, this lack of any traceable influence enables us to draw a substantial link, both stylistically and chronologically, to the Cappella Paradisi, which depicts almost identical "surfing" angels. This association provides us with a relatively secure period for estimating the date of the fresco cycle in Terni and a more discernable connection to Bartolomeo's authorship of the same cycle through the contract with Augustinians of San Nicolò of 26 July 1451.

Further adding to the uniqueness of the fresco is Bartolomeo's landscape representing the Hill of Golgotha. The landscape has an arid quality that adds to the solemnity of the Crucifixion. In certain passages are the artist's distinctive rounded hills,

along with added a mixture of elements found in several of his other works. The long furrowed recesses that flow over the small opening containing the oversized and delightfully expressive skull recall the cave and landscape of the earlier *Saint Jerome in Penitence*. The convulsive nature of the hills that recede into the background reflects those of the *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* of 1439-1441. To these Bartolomeo has an element of perspective; beyond the hills and valleys is a dry, clouded vista at its furthest limits with several small clouds disappearing over the horizon.

The *Crucifixion Adored by an Augustinian*, even though badly damaged, is one of the more important and revealing works of Bartolomeo's late oeuvre. Together with the *San Caterina Fresco* it shows evidence of a more tangible and uniform stylistic evolution absent from the artist's more eclectic early middle phase. More specifically the fresco is a marker in the oeuvre of a painter whose record offers the historian few tangible stylistic indicators. It is perhaps one of the first works that begins to reveal Bartolomeo's style and elevates him from being a mere curiosity to an artist of significance. This development culminates in the Cappella Paradisi. However, before we examine the cycle of frescoes in Terni there are two additional paintings executed at some point between the *San Caterina Fresco* in 1449 and Bartolomeo's departure for the Vatican sometime before 21 August 1451. In the event that Sensi's theory is correct regarding the provenance of one of these works; the triptych of the *Madonna and Child with John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, and Saints Christopher and Dominic* (Fig. 4, No. 16), it is likely to have been painted after the Cappella Paradisi further narrowing the cycle to sometime between the years 1449-1451. If true, the second work, a predella panel of *Christ between the Virgin and*

*Saint John* (Fig. 52, No. 17), based on several similarities with the above triptych, would also have been painted around this time.

It was Federico Zeri, with the help of Philip Pouncey, who identified the *Madonna and Child with John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, and Saints Christopher and Dominic*, which had originally been in a private British collection.<sup>206</sup> This large panel was later brought back to Italy for the collection of Vittorio Cini and has since been moved to the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche in Urbino. Zeri first drew a connection between the content of this work and Bartolomeo's ties to the Church of Santa Maria Maddalena in Foligno. We know through several existing documents that Santa Maria Maddalena had been Bartolomeo's parish and was where his wife Donna Onofria and his two unfortunate children were buried. Zeri notes that documents refer to an altarpiece commissioned for the church in 1451 "in the form of a triptych on a gold background."<sup>207</sup> Unfortunately he provides no archival source for this rather convincing information and Sensi's later archival research on the painter notes that only one of the six documents concerning a painting for the church mentions Bartolomeo's name, and this only with regard to a payment.<sup>208</sup> This document notes that on 5 August 1451, "nine florins, two soldi, and six denari were given by Filippo de Lucarello, sexton of the church, to Iohanni Francesco a merchant, for gold given to Maestro Bartolomeo the painter, in partial payment for the panel that he had painted for the church."<sup>209</sup> This leaves Bartolomeo's authorship of the triptych as inconclusive though much of the evidence proposed by Zeri as well as iconography suggest that the painting of the *Madonna and Child with John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, and Saints Christopher and Dominic* was the one originally intended for Santa Maria Maddalena. A final entry in the archival record adds that had

Bartolomeo painted the altarpiece it might have been as the original participant in what Sensi suggests later became a collaborative effort undertaken to complete the work quickly and allow Bartolomeo to leave for the Vatican.<sup>210</sup>

The panel measures 140 X 165 cm. The parts of the triptych are fused together in an elaborately sculpted frame where the pointed arches of each section are beneath a frieze of stylized gilded plants. The plant motif appears to have a precursor in the Marches in the work of Archangelo di Cola. His *Madonna and Child with Angels* (date unknown) in the Boymans Museum in Rotterdam has a similar motif, though it is less ornate and its dimensions are more modest.<sup>211</sup>

The central panel depicts a Maestà with a standing Christ Child. On the right of the Virgin in the outer position, we find the figure of Saint John the Baptist and on the inner Mary Magdalene after whom the church was named. To the left of the Virgin in the outer position we have a representation of Saint Dominic while on the inner that of Saint Christopher bearing the Christ Child. It might be useful to recall that one of two existing archival documents possibly regarding payment for this work note that the father of one donor, a certain Lorenza, was referred to as Pietro.<sup>212</sup> This relates to an earlier entry regarding the death of one Petrus Dominici and the payment of six florins for the construction of a panel for the great altar.<sup>213</sup> In addition, while these documents might shine light on the origins of the image of Saint Dominic, a short time later we discover that another puzzling entry mentions a payment of three florins on behalf of Christoforus and Baptista Jacobi Massorelli by their mother Caterina for an icon on a painted panel.<sup>214</sup> This is followed by a slightly later entry noting that the rectors and sextons of Santa Maria Maddalena collected from a certain Caterina, the wife of Jacobo de Massorello, an

additional six florins given to the church in the name of her children Baptista and Christoforo.<sup>215</sup> The inclusion of images of saints bearing the given names relatives of individuals who bequeathed funds to the Church for the construction of an icon, along with the prominent image of Mary Magdalene, add to the argument that the work is by Bartolomeo.<sup>216</sup>

The triptych has a bright gold background with vivid pastel colors at times associated with the Marches. The Baptist is dressed in emerald green with red lining, Christopher's clothes are yellow and red, and the angels are dressed in violet, red, and green. Saint Dominic's habit stands out amidst all of the surrounding bright colors by the rich contrast between the fluting of his white vestments and his traditional black Dominican habit. Each figure is long, elegant and heavily delineated - indicating that if the work is by Bartolomeo it is undoubtedly a product of his most mature phase and contemporary with the frescoes in the Cappella Paradisi.

However, though pleasing to the eye, there is still an obvious deep psychological element at work in the painting. Despite the elegance of the figures, we sense that each has a harshness that lends an element of isolation to them. The solemn atmosphere of the triptych was referred to by Zeri as a result of this "frowning severity of the personages."<sup>217</sup> Unlike the vapid remoteness of the figures in the *Rospigliosi Triptych*, there is an active intelligence at work in the painting, and though there is little documented evidence as to the reason for the commission, we sense that it must have been the result of the most solemn of circumstances.

For a stylistic antecedent of this work, we find that Bartolomeo's eclectic nature has moved back to several earlier associations. The severe characterizations in the

triptych are less like the “annoyed and fierce” expressiveness of the Terni cycle and more like the somber earlier antecedents. In addition, the realism, relationship with Masaccio, and the lavish late Gothic touches of Gentile also seem to have reverted to the painter’s early and more austere Sienese roots. Here we find the presence of Giovanni di Paolo and Sassetta once more appear to have reasserted themselves. The relationship the Giovanni can be identified with the gaunt and severe psychological bearing of each of the figures along with their precise modeling and strict physical delineation: elements that were of Sienese derivation and present in the *San Salvatore Triptych*. That of Sassetta goes beyond such generalizations and is based upon associations with two of his surviving works. Zeri proposed that there exists a “direct pretext of a recognizable borrowing”<sup>218</sup> within one possibly separated fragment of the *Borgio Sansepolcro Altarpiece*, a work that was probably known to the master, and that Zanoli suggests had strongly influenced Bartolomeo’s earlier commission for the Franciscan’s of Cesena.<sup>219</sup>

This association is found in a surviving wing representing *Saint Christopher* from the Perkins collection in Assisi. Zeri felt that the “bad retouching does not impede the recognition of the hand of Sassetta, near certainly a portion of the polyptych of Borgio San Sepolcro.”<sup>220</sup> The relation between these works is far from coincidental, as they are thematically analogous. Saint Christopher’s turned head and the sharp and angular facial features (excluding the fact that Sassetta’s figure has a much less distinguishable beard) are nearly identical to Bartolomeo’s. So too is the depiction of the Christ Child, whose single leg and right hand are the same in relation to their placement on the head and shoulder of the Saint. The stances of the figures are the same; their left legs are thrust forward into the picture plane separated by about a foot’s length, while their right legs

remain slightly behind with both knees at the same planar level. Perhaps the only difference is in the placement of the Saints' hands, as those of the Sassetta are separate with only one on Christopher's staff, while Bartolomeo's are both joined at the top of the staff against the right edge of the panel. This positioning is probably due much more to formal requirements as it is largely dependant on the figure's relation to that of Saint Dominic to the left of Christopher that has allowed the artist far less room in which to improvise the Saint's image.

Zeri believed that the second association, far less distinct than that of the first, could be seen in the head and features of Bartolomeo's Madonna and that of Sassetta's fragment of a *Madonna and Child* in the Duomo of Grosseto (Fig. 90). They share the same position of the head along with a similar strong appearance, defined through the straight bridge of the nose and severely arched and geometrically precise eyebrows. In addition to this relationship to the Grosseto fragment, Zeri stressed that we take into account the strong presence of Sassetta's *Madonna of the Snow* of 1430-1432, its importance to Bartolomeo's early development, and the fact that its influence can still be discerned close to twenty years after the *San Salvatore Triptych*.<sup>221</sup>

Along with the Sieneese associations, this triptych once again brings us back to one of the more distinct formal factors that we noticed during Bartolomeo's Sieneese phase, particularly with regard to the *San Salvatore Triptych*. Bartolomeo has again used the Madonna's hand to create a compositional flow that, as in the case of Saint Ursula from the pinnacle of the *San Salvatore Triptych*, creates a desired spatial relationship: or as in the central panel of the *Madonna and Child* from the same triptych, defines a flow and motion further emphasizing the subject matter.

In the Madonna and Child of the central panel of the triptych, the Madonna's long and slender hand, defines an imaginary line that continues directly into the arm of the standing Christ Child. This then flows up and over the halo where it drops down creating a large descending curvilinear arc that continues up and around the Virgin's head. Similar to that of Saint Ursula in the pinnacle of the *San Salvatore Triptych*, in the *Madonna and Child with John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, and Saints Christopher and Dominic*, Bartolomeo has created a small and self-contained compositional unit within the painting that acts to continually focus the viewer's attention on the central panel. To further emphasize further this central point of the composition Bartolomeo has used the gold hemline of the Virgin's robe to define a second line that continues out from the Christ Child's feet and drops into the lower portions of the painting. In relation to the bright colors and crowded activity of the outer panels, this near figure-eight effect keeps the eye focused on the Madonna and Child and unifies Bartolomeo's composition in a manner similar to that seen in the triptych of twenty years earlier.

The final painting in this chronology dates from around the same time as the *Madonna and Child with John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, and Saints Christopher and Dominic*. The small panel (possibly a predella scene) is a Pietà consisting of the figures of Christ between the Virgin and Saint John (Fig. 52, No. 17). In the collection of the Walter's Gallery in Baltimore, this panel is unusual in that the three separate half figures, an arrangement not uncommon to the Quattrocento, have also been placed within three roundels circumscribed by a winding faux-marble band.<sup>222</sup> The inner areas of the roundels are a satiny blue-black that highlights the figures and creates an impressive contrast that is further enhanced by the dull red dominating the background. Weaving the three

roundels together are four smaller and exactly symmetrical circles: two in the center uniting those containing the three figures and one directly preceding and following the outer edges of the larger circles and touching upon the furthest limits of the panel. Embedded in the red background in the inner spaces created by the roundels and the frame is a frieze of highly stylized vegetation that is nearly identical to that of the triptych of approximately the same date in the National Gallery of the Marches in Urbino.

Although the reappearance of this singular type of vegetation creates a stylistic and possible chronological link to the *Madonna and Child with John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, and Saints Christopher and Dominic*, the overall tonality of the small panel brings us back to the muted browns, reds, and blues of the predella scenes of the *San Salvatore Triptych*. With the exception of the figure of Christ in the central roundel, whose careful modeling and delicate chiaroscuro has much in common with the *Crucifixion Adored by an Augustinian* and a later dating, the remaining figures also bear some relation to these early predella scenes. Both the Madonna and Saint John reflect very little of the dignified solemnity of the characters from the Santa Maria Maddalena triptych. Both suggest a harshness seen in the predella panels of twenty years earlier. The most evident of these is that of the Virgin in the left roundel whose expression appears as course as that which we find in the *Way to Calvary* (Fig. 17, No. 1) in the Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon. We can also see that her face and figure are almost fully shrouded in her dark cloak and that her hands are clasped before her in a manner similar to that in the *Way to Calvary*.

The figure of Saint John also lacks the grace and appeal of other figures dated to sometime within the period between 1449-1451. The heaviness of his torso as compared

to his stick-like arms and fingers remind us of the awkward characterizations of the *Rospigliosi Triptych*. The Saint's head, like those of many of the figures in the predella scenes of the *San Salvatore Triptych*, seems far too large for the body and bends as if it unable to sustain its weight. Perhaps this link to Bartolomeo's Siennese past can be explained by a relationship to the Osservanza Master's undated predella scenes of *Christ emerging from the Sepulchre*, the *Madonna Addolorata*, and *Saint John* (Figs. 53/54/55); *Christ emerging from the Sepulchre between the Madonna and Saint John* (Fig. 56), and Sassetta's small panels (from the arms of a cross) of the *Madonna Addolorata* and *Saint John Weeping* (Figs. 57/58) of 1433. All five works appear to exhibit a strong relationship to the figures of Bartolomeo's panel and we know, through several of the works from Bartolomeo's Siennese phase, that he was strongly influenced by both painters.

This final work forms an interesting, though not at all surprising, coda to Bartolomeo's oeuvre. There remain far more questions than answers regarding Bartolomeo's development. What stands out, in light of this chronological examination, is that Bartolomeo's eclectic nature oscillated from archaic to progressive with no apparent logic or definable methodology. At his earliest stages, with the *San Salvatore Triptych* (Fig. 1, No. 1) and the *Saint Jerome in Penitence* (Fig. 27, No. 2), there is a strong and expressive Siennese presence along with occasional unverified hints to Tuscan influence. During his middle phase, we would also be introduced the added presence of the Marches and works such as the *Resurrection of Christ* (Fig. 28, No. 3) and *Madonna of Pergola* (Fig. 30, No. 4). These elegant works would touch upon the limits of the Umbrian high Gothic, but also prompt the emergence of questions regarding what

constituted Bartolomeo's earliest stylistic phase. Imbedded within this period, as in the case of the three Franciscan-themed works (Figs. 39/40/43, Nos. 8/9/10), and the predella scenes from the Metropolitan Museum (Figs. 29/31, Nos. 5/6), there are also flashes of the brilliant characterizations that would become synonymous with Bartolomeo's name.

His late middle phase would provide us with little relief regarding these stylistic inconsistencies. Here we find that while there was evidence of a developing maturity, as in the *Pentecost* and *Road to Emmaus* (Fig. 10, No. 11), and Cascia frescoes (Figs. 26/44/45, No. 12), there was also the enigmatic appearance of the *Rospigliosi Triptych* (Fig. 2, No. 13) with its maudlin characterizations and relation to the opulent high Gothic paintings of Gentile da Fabriano. This would be followed by his late phase, one that would provide us with distinctive works such as the *San Caterina Fresco* (Fig. 3, No. 14) and *Crucifixion Adored by an Augustinian* (Fig. 5, No. 15), but would also close out Bartolomeo's oeuvre with works such as the *Madonna and Child with John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, and Saints Christopher and Dominic* and the *Christ between the Virgin and Saint John*, that would again show evidence of a much earlier Sieneese presence.

In light of Bartolomeo's ever-changing nature the question then remains as to where we find the Bartolomeo di Tommaso who was able to capture and sustain the attention of historians such as Longhi and Zeri - and at what point does the true painter emerge. Although we began to see this emergence with works like the *San Caterina Fresco* and *Crucifixion Adored by an Augustinian*, it is the frescoes of the Cappella Paradisi that justify Bartolomeo's higher standing within the fading moments of the Late Gothic and ultimately within art history itself.

## NOTES

## Chapter Four

1. Federico Zeri, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Bollettino d'arte* 46 (1961): 46.

2. *Ibid.*, 46. It is important to recall that Zeri, like Giacomo Frenfanelli before him, was mistaken in his dating of the *San Salvatore Triptych*, placing this work five years after its actual completion in 1437. Based on his mistaken dating I believe that it is reasonable to assume that Bartolomeo's *Saint Jerome in Penitence* would have been completed sometime close to 1432.

3. I have been unable to find a painting on this subject by Pietro di Giovanni D'Ambrogio and assume that Zeri drew this analogy to Bartolomeo's work through other subjects and characterizations.

4. Zeri, 46. "è una conferma del rapporto umbro-senese di cui Bartolomeo è il maggiore esponente verso la fine del quarto decennio del secolo. Anche qui la radice sassettesca è quella che determina l'evidente parallelo con l'Ambrosi, mentre il modulo compositivo sollecita confronti con il Masetro dell'Osservanza e con Sano di Pietro."

5. *Ibid.*

6. We should note that the dating of these artists' works remain uncertain, with suggestions running from the early 1430's through a period as late as 1450. Such a wide variance of dates along with some of the more evident formal similarities could place some marginal doubt as to Zeri's assignment of Bartolomeo's panel to the fourth decade of the Quattrocento. For a recent summary of the artists' careers see Keith Christiansen, Laurence B. Kanter, and Carl Brandon Strehlke, *Painting in Renaissance Siena, 1420-1500* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988).

7. I believe that these similarities are the basis for Zeri's restoration of this work to Bartolomeo as well as his dating of 1437.

8. See "Jerome" in David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 3d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 252-253. ; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 2:211-216.

9. A similar type of landscape and foliage to that of the Saint Jerome Resurrection panel can be seen in sections of the Salimbeni's cycle of frescoes: *Scenes from the Life of Saint John the Baptist*, in the Oratory of Saint John the Baptist in Urbino. See Pietro Zampetti, *Paintings from the Marches: Gentile to Raphael* (London: Phaidon, 1971), 131-142, 145, 160.

10. Sano's dates are given as 1406-1481. This would have the Siene painter two years Bartolomeo's senior and outliving the Folignate master by some thirty years.
11. In the Lehman Collection of New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, this work was previously attributed to Sano di Pietro and Sassetta.
12. Federico Zeri, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Bollettino d'arte* 46 (1961): 46. ; Anna Zanolì, "Un altare di Bartolomeo di Tommaso a Cesena," *Paragone arte*, 23 (1969): 68.
13. In regard to Zanolì's dating of this panel to sometime between 1425 and 1430 we must pay attention to the fact that had Bartolomeo been born in 1408 he would have only been seventeen at the time of the earlier date and twenty-two by the latter.
14. *Archivio di Stato di Ancona, Notarile.*, 178, Chiarozzo Sparipalli. Vol. (1420-39), pp. 51, 52, 57., in Mario Sensi, "Documenti per Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Paragone* 28 (1977): 133.
15. According to the Bibliotheca Hertziana the panel's inventory number (1973-24) indicates that it was acquired in 1973. It measures .220 x .290 cm., approximately 8.6 x 11.4 inches.
16. Zanolì, 71. Zanolì's quotation reads, "Gli affreschi di Terni sono il sorprendente culmine poetico di una vicenda artistica che ha il suo incunabolo in una tavoletta con il 'Cristo risorto' . . ."
17. *Ibid.*
18. Usually one can find several variations of this symbolism as in Piero Della Francesca's *Resurrection* of ca. 1459, where the trees on the left are dry, while those on the right are green.
19. Matt. 28: 2-4 KJV (King James Version).
20. Mark. 16: 5 KJV (King James Version).
21. Zanolì, 71. "Un'opera prima che si può supporre anche precedente alla 'Madonna' di Pergola, in cui le citazioni esclusivamente marchigiane sono già adattate ad un contesto unitario che recupera al mistero della Resurrezione il significato di prodigio enigmatico ormai perduto nelle divagazioni dell'interpretazione cortese."
22. *Ibid.* She refers here to Bartolomeo's *Funeral and Canonization of Saint Francis* in the collection of the Walters Gallery in Baltimore: another of the works that fall into the same category as possibly being earlier than the *San Salvatore Triptych*.
23. *Ibid.*

24. The tree makes an appearance in *Funeral and Canonization of Saint Francis* in the collection of the Walters Gallery in Baltimore and *Saint Francis Renouncing his Possessions* in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino.
25. Zanolì, 68.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Although Zanolì does not provide us with an estimate as to the date of this work we must assume that she places it at some point between 1420-1425 and before the *Madonna of Pergola*, a work considered by Zeri to be the artist's earliest surviving work.
28. Zeri., 46.
29. A similar type of landscape and foliage to the Saint Jerome and Resurrection panels can be seen in sections of the Salimbeni's cycle of frescoes: *Scenes from the Life of Saint John the Baptist*, in the Oratory of Saint John the Baptist in Urbino. See Pietro Zampetti, *Paintings from the Marches: Gentile to Raphael* (London: Phaidon, 1971), 131-142, 145, 160.
30. This predella panel, from an unknown altarpiece, was noted by Zeri as being painted sometime before 1437.
31. Zeri, 48.
32. We will examine this version of Bartolomeo's *Betrayal of Christ* in detail later in this chapter.
33. Zeri, 47.
34. One of the better examples of Nelli's influence can be seen in the faces of the Apostles in Bartolomeo's *Pentecost* in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. This work was restored by Zeri to Bartolomeo in 1955 and represented what he felt was a phase of Bartolomeo's work that fell "mid-way between the key Tuscan-Sienese chapter that is assembled around the triptych [*San Salvatore Triptych*] of [sic] 1437 and the final phase of the language of Bartolomeo." See Zeri, 51.
35. It is upon such figures that much of the speculation that Bartolomeo was familiar with the works of Masaccio is based.
36. Zeri, 48.
37. The panel was added to Pinacoteca di Brera in 1811 with the Napoleonic suppression. Originally it was attributed to Jacobello del Fiore and accepted by Berenson who included it under this name in *Italian Painters* in 1932 and 1936. After the Brera raised questions as to Jacobello's authorship it was excluded from the 1957 reprinting of

Berenson's *Venetian School*. The painting was verbally restored to Bartolomeo di Tommaso by Roberto Longhi. See Zeri, 64 note 11.

38. The title of this painting is probably derived from the image of the two genuflecting angels beneath a gold sunburst that appears above the image of the Madonna.

39. Zeri, 48.

40. *Ibid.*, 48. "Già in questo prodotto le intenzioni del pittore alludono apertamente a modi di irrealismo caratterizzato, e la grande figura della Vergine si innalza contro il fondo di broccato con l'austerità cupa e solenne di un idolo affumicato; il percorso del mantello si snoda seguendo una partitura ritmica più "gotica" che nei numeri sinora esaminati, mentre le falde del panno si aggrovigliano in basso secondo un concorso di festonature . . ."

41. *Ibid.*, "e di occhielli, alla cui definizione partecipa un segno molle, duttile, privo insomma della mordente aggressività cui si affidano il piglio e la nettezza grafica delle cose più tarde." I am assuming that Zeri here refers to the lack of the emotional intensity found in what he believed were later works such as the *San Salvatore Triptych*, its four predella scenes, and the *Saint Jerome in Penitence*.

42. We should also remember that Bartolomeo's alleged teacher Olivuccio di Ciccarello appears to have also had a close stylistic if not professional relationship with Carlo da Camerino and Archangelo da Cola. See Pietro Zampetti, *Paintings from the Marches: Gentile to Raphael* (London: Phaidon, 1971), 73.

43. We will examine the *Rospigliosi Triptych* in detail later in this chapter.

44. See Cristina Galassi, Piero Lai, and Luigi Sensi. *Palazzo Trinci*, (Foligno: Comune di Foligno, Assessorato alla Cultura, 2001).

45. Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte Italiana* (Milano, 1911), 7:182 and note 1.

46. *Ibid.*, 7:529-530.

47. Anna Zanoli also believed that the *Madonna of Pergola* preceded the *San Salvatore Triptych*. See Zanoli, 71.

48. Michele Faloci-Pulignani, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso, pittore Umbro del XV secolo," *Rassegna d'arte Umbra* 3, no. 3, (July 1921): 74.

49. Bartolomeo's travels through Umbria and adjoining regions during this period are confirmed in two documents. The first, in which he is referred to as "magistrum bartolomeum tomassi de fulgineo pictorem habitorem Fani ad presens sed pro maiori parte moram trahentem Ancone" is from the *Archivio di Stato di Fano, Notarile A*,

Damiano di Antonio di Domenicuccio (1405-1449), p. 323, 1439 Iuglio 29, in Michele Faloci-Pulignani, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso, pittore Umbro del XV secolo," *Rassegna d'arte Umbra* 3, no. 3, (July 1921): 69-70. A second inference to his travels during these years is referred to by Anna Zanoli in an unpublished document of December 11<sup>th</sup>, 1441 which notes that in relation to his residence in Cesena while in the employ of Fra Zuhanne, "ipse magister Bartolomeus non adimpleret contenta in dicta scriptura dictorum pactorum promiset se posse conveniri Cesene, Arimini, Fa(ni), Anchone, Fulgenii et aliisque locis ubi inventus seu repertus esset." See Zanoli, 67.

50. Zeri, 48.

51. *Confraternita del Gonfalone*, Registro I (1427-1590), p.1. A p.19v., in Mario Sensi, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Girolamo di Matteo da Gualdo: Due note d'archivio," *Paragone* 43, no. 505-507, (March-May 1992): 79.

52. We should note that Zeri also placed the *Saint Jerome in Penitence* at sometime around 1437, the same date he mistakenly attributed to the *San Salvatore Triptych*. See Zeri, 46.

53. Zeri, 47.

54. Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: A List of the Principal Artists and Their Works with an Index of Places, Central Italian and Northern Italian Schools* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), 50.

55. Again we are forced to take into account that Zeri's mistaken dating of the *San Salvatore Triptych* at 1437 creates other problems regarding his chronology and reflects on our assessments of the *Saint Jerome in Penitence* as well as these two predella panels from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

56. See Mario Sensi, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Girolamo di Matteo da Gualdo: Due note d'archivio," *Paragone* 43 (1992): 79-91.

57. It is during this period of time that Bartolomeo is listed as "cive and habitatore" in Ancona where he was living with his father Tommaso in the Parish of Sant'Egidio next to the Piazza dei Signore. Sensi suggests that at this time Bartolomeo had just reached his majority. Had this been the case this brief period between commissions might have been the perfect time for the young artist to travel to Tuscany. See *Archivio di Stato di Ancona, Notarile.*, 178, Chiarozzo Sparipalli. vol. (1420-39), p. 95r, 1433 giugno 19, in Sensi, 137-138.

58. Zeri believed that Bartolomeo's exposure to Tuscan influences might have even occurred as early as 1432. He notes, in relation to the pieces in the Metropolitan Museum that the "identical form of the source of Masaccio that has already been seen in the *Capture (Betrayal of Christ)* from the *San Salvatore Triptych* of the Vatican (Pinacoteca Vaticana) returns here in two instances (in the figure on the left of the panel with the

same name (*Betrayal of Christ*) and in the woman of three quarters next to the sepulcher of Christ).” See Zeri, 47.

59. Zeri, 47.

60. Zeri, 47. “tonalità spente e bruciate, basate essenzialmente su bruni, rossi scuri e azzurri spenti, si passa qui ad una squillante e persino violenta ripresa della tavolozza “fiorita,, : i manti dei personaggi si accendono di rosa-ciclamino, di oltre-marini acutissimi, di rossi fiammeggianti, staccati, nella ‘Cattura’ . . .”

61. Zeri, 47.

62. Ibid.

63. Zeri, 48.

64. Ibid.

65. *Archivio di Stato di Fano, Archivio Storico Comunale*, cod. Malatestiani, vol. 84, p. 7, 1434 dicembre 14, in Sensi, 142., “A maestro Bartolomeo depentori ducati cinque, bolognini dieci, a bolognini .40. per ducato, per composizione facta con lui per el referendario da Rimini e mi Lodovico referendario, cioè per cinque arme a la schachiera, le qual dé fari su la cassa de la felici memoria del magnifico Signore messer Pandolfo, a oro fino et a tucte suo spixi, val a moneta da Fano.”

66. The first attribution of this cycle to Bartolomeo appears in Pier Giorgio Pasini, *I Malatesti e l'arte* (Milan, 1983), 46.

67. Although described by Renzi as having a “wide diffusion in the first half of the fifteenth century,” few examples of this style remain. Of those remaining, the most notable is that of Paolo Uccello’s cycle of frescoes (now detached) in the Chiostro Verde in Santa Maria Novella in Florence and dating from 1424-1425. This cycle depicts *Stories from Genesis, the Creation of the Animals, and the Creation of Adam*. See Renzi, 77.

68. In addition to Pasini’s attribution of this cycle to Bartolomeo, two slightly contrasting iconographic studies have also recently been written. See Francesca Renzi, “Un’Ipotesi di lettura iconographica per gli affreschi del Refettorio di San Francesco a Cesena,” *Romagna arte e Storia* 17 (1997): 75-84. ; Giovanni Maroni, “Dante, San Francisco e Malatesta Novello: Interpretazione iconologica degli affreschi in terretta verde del Refettorio di San Francesco in Cesena,” *Studi Romagnoli* 47 (1996): 481-488.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid., 482.

71. Maroni specifically refers to the alleged Giotto fresco of the scene in the Upper Church of San Francisco in Assisi “and still more” in Pietro Lorenzetti’s in the Lower Church of Assisi. See Maroni, 482.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid.

74. Renzi, 78.

75. Maroni, 482-484.

76. The lines read:

*E poi che, per la sete del martiro,  
nella presenza del Soldan superba  
predicò Cristo e li altri che’ l sequiro,  
e per trovare a conversione acerba  
troppo la gente, per non stare indarno  
reddissi al frutto dell’italica erba*

See Daniele Mattalia ed., *La Divina Commedia* (Milano: Rizzoli Editore, 1966) 2:203-204.

77. This episode from the Saint’s life also appears in the Upper Church of the Basilica of Saint Francis in Assisi.

78. The Latin text reads: CUM BEATUS FRANCISCUS IMPETRAVIT SALUTEM ANIMAE CUIDAM MILITI DE CELANO QUI EUM DEVOTE AD PRANDIUM INVITAVERAT, QUI EST POST CONFESSIONEM ET DOMUS SUAE DISPOSITIONEM ALIIS MANDUCARE INCIPIENTIBUS IPSE STATIM SPIRITUM EXHALAVIT ET IN DOMINO OBDORMIVIT

79. Matt. 10: 41 KJV (King James Version).

80. The “hand of God” will appear again in Bartolomeo’s oeuvre in his *Martyrdom of Saint Barbara* from the *San Caterina Fresco* of 1449.

81. The uncovered sarcophagus depicted in this scene closely resembles the one seen in Bartolomeo’s earlier *Resurrection of Christ* in the Louvre.

82. Pier Giorgio Pasini, *I Malatesti e l’arte* (Milan, 1983), 46.

83. Maroni, 484 ; Renzi, 81.

84. Renzi, 81.

85. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 1:178-179.

86. Renzi, 81-82.

87. Taken from Canto X, lines 73-76, this reference to the resurrection of Trajan reads:

*Quiv' era storiata l'alta gloria  
del roman principato, il cui valore  
mosse Gregorio a la sua gran vittoria;  
l'dico di Traiano imperadore;*

See Robert Hollander, trans., and Jean Hollander, trans., *The Purgatorio* (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 200.

88. Maroni, 486-487.

89. Maroni, 486.

90. Renzi, 83-84.

91. *Annales Caesenates*, 1352 aprile 8, in Renzi, 83., "Dominus Guillielmus Episcopus Caesenae Sanctissimam Venerandamque manum Sancti Gregorii in suis manibus, sociatus a toto Clero et Populo Caesenate, a loco Sancti Gregorii as majorem Ecclesiam Caesenae reverenter portavit, atque translavit, et in ipsa majori Ecclesia dimisit eandem, ut ibi perpetuo debito honore servetur."

92. Renzi, 83.

93. *Ibid*, note 25.

94. Renzi, 84. "l'ipotesi di una presenza del Signore nella scelta del riquadro centrale può essere collegata alla sua formazione culturale che privilegia, secondo quanto ci è testimoniato dal suo collezionismo librario, opere classiche e testi di patristica. L'immagine della resurrezione di Traiano, l'imperatore giusto, una della figure dell'antichità più amate, potrebbe significare la possibilità di conciliazione fra mondo classico e cristiano, e di esaltazione degli antichi valori riletti e legittimati alla luce di una profonda religiosità, che costituisce un aspetto fondamentale, anche se poco studiato, della sua figura di committente."

95. Zeri, 48.

96. The suggestion that both panels were from the same source was originally given by Roberto Longhi and attributed to Archangelo di Cola in *Pinacotheca* I, (1928): 154. This was later corrected by Longhi and given to Bartolomeo di Tommaso in *La critica d'arte* XVIII-XIX, (1940): 186 note 23.

97. *Saint Francis Renouncing his Possessions*, before its relocation to the Cini Collection in Venice was originally in the Sterbini Collection in Rome. It would later be moved again to Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino. The companion piece the *Funeral and Canonization of Saint Francis* before its removal to the Walters Gallery in Baltimore was in the Woodyat Collection also in Rome.

98. The is described in the *Legenda Maior* by Saint Bonaventure, *The First Life (Legenda Gregorii)* and *Second Life (Memoriale in Desiderio Animae)* by Thomas of Celano, and in the anonymous *Legend of the Three Companions*. The Latin text reads: CUM RESTITUIT PATRI OMNIA, ET, VESTIMENTIS DEPOSITIS, RENUNTIAVIT BONIS PATERNIS ET MUTABILIBUS, DICENS AD PATREM: AMODO SECURE DICERE POSSUM <<PATER NOSTER QUI ES IN COELIS>> CUM REPUDIaverit ME PETRUS BERNARDONIS.

99. Zanolì, 68.

100. One prototype of this format can be traced back to the late Duecento and early Trecento as in the fresco scene: *The Renunciation of Worldly Goods* attributed to the School of Giotto in the Upper Church of the Basilica of Saint Francis in Assisi.

101. We should note that Bartolomeo also used a similar means of drawing the viewer's attention to specific figures that he wished to single out in the predellas of the *San Salvatore Triptych*.

102. Zanolì, 68.

103. Upon close examination of this painting it is possible that the face of a barely distinguishable fifth figure exists between the father and the figure restraining him.

104. Zanolì, 68.

105. *Ibid.*, In Christian symbolism the pomegranate generally alludes to the Church as the inner unity of its countless seeds are combined within the same fruit. See George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 37.

106. Zeri, 49.

107. *Ibid.*, 43.

108. Zanolì, 68. "avviene all'interno di una grande scatola di cartone dal coperchio quadrettato."

<sup>109.</sup> Ibid, 69. “un delizioso campionario di caratteri (gli ingenui, il tonto, il dispettoso) . . .”

<sup>110.</sup> Zeri, 49., “Una straordinaria varietà di storpi, mutilati, nani e deformati, si trascina verso il miracoloso funerale: gli elementi “ignobili” che comporta il tema vengono così riscattati quali bizzarre, umoristiche rarità del medesimo serraglio aulico e prezioso di cui, lì accanto, appaiono esemplari “nobili” nei gentiluomini rifulgenti di velluti, pellicce e cappelli a larga tesa.”

<sup>111.</sup> The event appears in the *Legenda Maior* by Saint Bonaventure. The Latin text reads: IN PORTIUNCULA ET CUM IACERET BEATUS FRANCISCUS MORTUUS, DOMINUS HIERONYMUS DOCTOR ET LITTERATUS CELEBER MOVEBAT CLAVOS SANCTIQUE MANUS, PEDES ET LATUS MANIBUS PROPRIIS CONTRECTABAT.

<sup>112.</sup> This is described in the *Legenda Maior* by Saint Bonaventure and the *First Life (Legenda Gregorii)* by Thomas of Celano. The Latin text reads: CUM TURBAE QUAE CONVENERANT DEFERRENT AD CIVITATEM ASSISII CUM RAMIS ARBORUM ET CEREORUM MULTIPLICATIS LUMINIBUS SACRUM CORPUS MARGARITIS COELESTIBUS INSIGNITUM, EUM VIDENDUM BEATAE CLARAE ET ALIIS SACRIS VIRGINIBUS OBTULERUNT.

<sup>113.</sup> As in the frescoes attributed to the School of Giotto in the Upper Church of the Basilica of Saint Francis in Assisi.

<sup>114.</sup> While I believe that Bartolomeo knew of and was influenced by the *Borgio Sansepulcro Altarpiece*, I suspect that Zanolli has taken some license here with this theory, as I am unable to locate the image of a Cardinal she refers to and can count four monks amongst those observing the Saint’s body. Nor does she address Sassetta’s architectural setting or the fact that we find a rather elaborate triptych behind these figures.

<sup>115.</sup> Zanolli refers here to the *Rospigliosi Triptych* of 1445 mentioned earlier in relation to Bartolomeo’s *Madonna of Pergola*.

<sup>116.</sup> Zanolli, 69. “Il confronto con la predella del polittico di Borgo San Sepolcro, iniziato nel 1437 e consegnato nel ’44, induce ad attenuare l’interpretazione marchigiana dello Zeri e richiede uno spostamento nella datazione di queste tavolette che del resto risultano più vicine, fra le opere di Bartolomeo, allo stile fiorito della pala di Camerino (1445 circa) che al trittico di San Salvatore a Foligno (prima del 1434).”

<sup>117.</sup> Zanolli, 70.

<sup>118.</sup> Ibid., 67.

<sup>119.</sup> Ibid., 70.

<sup>120.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121.</sup> *Archivio di Stato di Fano, archivio storico comunale*, cod. Malatestiani, vol. 84, p. 7, 1434 dicembre 14, in Mario Sensi, "Documenti per Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Paragone* 28 (1977): 142. "A maestro Bartolomeo depentori ducati cinque, bolognini dieci, a bolognini .40. per ducato, per composizione facta con lui per el referendario da Rimini e mi Lodovico referendario, cioè per cinque arme a la schachiera, le qual dé fari su la cassa de la felici memoria del magnifico Signore messer Pandolfo, a oro fino et a tucte suo spixi, val a moneta da Fano."

<sup>122.</sup> The painting is not particularly large, measuring (inclusive of the frame) 94.9 x 56.5 x 7.62 cm. The panel alone measures 81.9 x 43.8 cm. or 32.2 x 17.2 inches, suggesting that if it was not a wing or central panel of a very small triptych it was probably one component of a much larger polyptych.

<sup>123.</sup> Zanolli, 71.

<sup>124.</sup> Filippo Todini, *La pittura Umbra: dal Duecento al Primo Cinquecento* (Milano: Longanesi, 1989), 1:28.

<sup>125.</sup> Zanolli, 68.

<sup>126.</sup> The Stigmata is described in the *Legenda Maior* by Saint Bonaventure and the *First Life (Legenda Gregorii)* by Thomas of Celano. The Latin text reads: CUM BEATUS FRANCISCUS ORARET IN LATERE MONTIS ALVERNAE, VIDET CHRISTUM IN SPECIE SERAPHIM CRUCIFIXI, QUI IMPRESSIT IN MANIBUS ET PEDIBUS ET ETIAM IN LATERE DEXTRO STIGMATA CRUCIS EIUSDEM DOMINI NOSTRI IESU CHRISTI.

<sup>127.</sup> Two famous examples of this theme would be *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* from the early fourteenth century and attributed to the School of Giotto in the Upper Church of the Basilica of Saint Francis in Assisi, and a work of the same title by Sassetta from the *Borgio Sansepolcro Altarpiece* of 1437-1444.

<sup>128.</sup> Specifically with regard to the former in the *Virgin and Child with Saints Sebastian and John the Baptist* of 1416 in the Oratorio of San Giovanni in Urbino, and Bartolomeo's detached *Santa Caterina Fresco* dated 1449 in the Pinacoteca Comunale Foligno.

<sup>129.</sup> We should note that one of the most conspicuous aspects of the predellas of the *San Salvatore Triptych* was the intermittent failure of Bartolomeo to integrate his figures into his landscapes. The figures of the sleeping Apostles from his *Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane* and the struggling figures of Peter and Malchus from the *Betrayal of Christ* are self-contained and exist well apart from their natural surroundings. In the *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* we find their much more pleasing if not slightly more naturalistic opposite.

<sup>130.</sup> Zeri, 51., The restoration of these works to Bartolomeo appears to have been verbal as I have been unable to find any outside written references to Zeri's observation.

<sup>131.</sup> See Bruno Toscano, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Nicola da Siena," *Commentari*, 15 (1964): 37-51.

<sup>132.</sup> Zeri, 51.

<sup>133.</sup> Ibid. "essi sono situati a mezza strada fra il capitolo in chiave tosco-senese che si raccoglie attorno al trittico del 1437 e l'ultima fase del linguaggio de Bartolomeo; la marcatura dei caratteri, insistita e accentuata, non vi appare ancora giunta all'ultima definizione, e non perviene ancora a riassorbire l'accento lirico che, molto affine come tombro alla 'Deposizione' del Metropolitan Museum, circola nella scene dei 'Pellegrini di Emaus.'"

<sup>134.</sup> Ibid., "una scelta assai singolare, tipicamente goticeggiante, col Redentore vestito della foggia dei "clerici vagantes,, , e munito di berretto goliardico . . ."

<sup>135.</sup> Both panels measure 7 x 19 inches (17.8 x 48.2 cm.).

<sup>136.</sup> I count thirteen haloes within this assembled group.

<sup>137.</sup> Acts 2: 1-5 KJV (King James Version).

<sup>138.</sup> Such problems are best exemplified in the four predella scenes from the *San Salvatore Triptych* and particularly in the problems Bartolomeo appears to have encountered with the soldiers' shields in the *Betrayal of Christ*.

<sup>139.</sup> As late as 1989 Filippo Todini continued to give these three frescoes to Nicola da Siena. See Filippo Todini, *La pittura Umbra: dal Duecento al Primo Cinquecento* (Milano: Longanesi, 1989), 1:249.

<sup>140.</sup> See Bruno Toscano, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Nicola da Siena," *Commentari*, 15, (1963): 37-51.

<sup>141.</sup> Ibid., 38. Toscano notes that the frescoes are found on the right wall of the nave and immediately before the transept. The *Annunciation to the Shepherds* measures 155 x 215 cm. and appears below the *Trinity* that measures 95 x 215 cm. The *Saint Benedict*, which measures 80 x 170 cm., is found on the thickness of the flanking wall. Between the first two frescoes and the third, there is a vast space into which were added a door and pulpit. He suggests that there must have at one time existed a pendant piece, perhaps an *Adoration of the Magi* that stood opposite that of the *Shepherds*. He also observed that there stills exists a space above the *Saint Benedict* that would have been sufficient for an additional figure. The remaining area, measuring 420 cm. would probably have contained an altar as well as additional space for other long lost parts of the cycle. He reports that there existed an inscription on the wall over the transept that was contiguous to the frescoes that referred to a chapel erected by one Bartolomeo di Antonio bearing a partially obscured dating of 1443. This date, he suggests, might have marked a point in time during which the decorations of the entire church were produced.

<sup>142.</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>143.</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>144.</sup> The motif can be seen in works by Taddeo Gaddi, Lippo Vanni, Paolo di Giovanni Fei, and Bartolomeo di Fredi.

<sup>145.</sup> Toscano, 38. “sono I personaggi della terrificante liturgia del folignate, quelli stessi che in una più complessa inscenatura ritroviamo nelli pareti della Cappella Paradisi.”

<sup>146.</sup> As early as 1903 this work was routinely given to Gentile da Fabriano. See George La Lafenestre and E. Rhythemberger, *Rome, le Vatican, les églises* (Paris, 1903), 11., in Angelo Bittarelli, “Il Trittico Rospigliosi di Bartolomeo di Tommaso proviene da Camerino?” *Bollettino storico della città di Foligno* 16 (1992): 337, note 1. In 1911 Adolfo Venturi would also give the work to Gentile. See Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte Italiana* (Milano, 1911), 7:182 and note 1 (as School of Salimbeni). The work was originally attributed to Bartolomeo in 1926. See Roberto Longhi and Andrea Ronchi, “Primizie di Lorenzo da Viterbo,” *Vita artistica* 1 (1926) : 109-114. The dating was supplied by Zeri who determined that the work was “datable on comparison with the fresco of 1449,” (The San Caterina Fresco). See Zeri, “Bartolomeo di Tommaso,” 51.

<sup>147.</sup> Pietro D'Achiardi, *Guida della Pinacoteca Vaticana* (Roma, 1913), 95.

<sup>148.</sup> Bernardino Feliciangeli, “Sul tempo di alcune opere d'arte esistenti a Camerino,” *Atti e memorie della deputazione di storia patria della Marche* (1915): 76.

<sup>149.</sup> Bittarelli, 337.

<sup>150.</sup> The insert in the Vatican Inventory is dated November, 13th, 1980. Further complicating matters is a notation that the work was “donated from the Borghese Prince.”

<sup>151.</sup> *L'Esposizione Vaticana* (Roma, 1890), 168, n. 32 in Carlo Pietrangeli, “Ancora sul cosiddetto Trittico Rospigliosi,” *Bollettino storico della città di Foligno* 17 (1993): 301, note 3. The entry reads: “Altra pittura antica regalata dalla Principesca Famiglia Altieri. Questo bel quadro e Trittico è dovuto a Gentile da Fabriano . . . Rappresenta nei due quadri laterali la Natività di Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo, e l'Adorazione dei Re Magi e in quel di mezzo la Coronazione della Beata Vergine in cielo. Questa pittura era gelosamente conservata dalla Nobile Famiglia Altieri . . .” Pietrangeli also notes here that in 1888 there was also a living son of Emilio, Prince Paolo (1849-1901) who was also a commander of the noble guard.

<sup>152.</sup> Pietrangeli's article also informs us that Maestro Enrico Guidi restored the triptych. In addition he notes the interesting fact that: “La cornice è risultata in gran parte antica; l'elemento centrale della cimasa con il « Nome di Gesù » di S. Bernardino è invece completamente di restauro.” Pietrangeli, 301 note 5, and 302.

153. Roberto Longhi and Andrea Ronchi, "Primizie di Lorenzo da Viterbo," *Vita artistica* 1 (1926) : 113.
154. Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: A List of the Principal Artists and Their Works with an Index of Places, Central Italian and Northern Italian Schools* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), 50. ; Federico Zeri, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Bollettino d'arte* 46 (1961): 51-52.
155. Bittarelli, 340.
156. Ibid.
157. Zeri sees this painting as the limits of Bartolomeo's lack of discourse with naturalism, what he describes as: "uno stile che, conchiusa la parabola del proprio percorso e nell'impossibilità di riaprire il discorso col naturalismo . . ." See Zeri, 52.
158. Ibid. "ripensamento letterario."
159. Zeri, 51. "un battesimo del tutto fuori della realtà."
160. Ibid. "E in effetti, il trittico della Vaticana costituisce uno dei monumenti più significativi dell'estrema fiammata del Gotico Internazionale, prossimo a spegnersi . . ."
161. Roberto Longhi, *Pinacotheca* 1 (1928): 79.
162. Zeri, 52. "una marcata indifferenza psicologica e passionale."
163. Ibid.
164. Zeri incorrectly reports that the wording on the Virgin's hemline is the aristocratic "Ich Diene," while that on the garter of the leftmost king is "Io Servo." Zeri, 52.
165. Zeri notes this relationship to Giovanni di Paolo and specifically his *Pecci Polyptych* of 1425. See Zeri, 52.
166. Zeri, 52. "Qui il paesaggio vive, per la forza di contrasto, accanto all'enorme, smisurato gruppo divino, ideato con la solenne grandiosità e con il metro di un mosaico o di un affresco absidale di secoli addietro."
167. Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p. 21v. 1446 luglio 10, in Michele Faloci-Pulignani, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso, pittore Umbro del XV secolo," *Rassegna d'arte Umbra* 3, no. 3, (July 1921): 76.

<sup>168.</sup> Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p. 23. 1447 ottobre 4, in Michele Faloci-Pulignani, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso, pittore Umbro del XV secolo," *Rassegna d'arte Umbra* 3, no. 3, (July 1921): 77.

<sup>169.</sup> Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p. 23. 1447 ottobre 7, in Michele Faloci-Pulignani, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso, pittore Umbro del XV secolo," *Rassegna d'arte Umbra* 3, no. 3, (July 1921): 77.

<sup>170.</sup> The inscription reads: "SANTA BARBARA A FACTA FARE LU CONVENTU DE SANCTA CHATERINA PER LORO DIVOTIONE. – MCCCCXXXVIII – BARTOLOMEUS THOME HOC OPUS FECIT."

<sup>171.</sup> *Archivio di Stato da Foligno, Notarile.*, 104, Pietro Paolo Germani, (1447-1452), 1451 luglio 26, in Sensi, 152.

<sup>172.</sup> The attribution to Bartolomeo was given by Federico Zeri in "Tre argomenti Umbri," *Bollettino d'arte*, 48 (1963): 36-38.

<sup>173.</sup> See Mario Sensi, "Documenti per Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Paragone* 28 (1977): 103-155.

<sup>174.</sup> Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p.61. 1451 agosto 5, in Faloci-Pulignani, 77-78.

<sup>175.</sup> Although this work was detached and moved into Foligno's Pinacoteca Comunale sometime around 1860, the discovery of the artist's signature and date did not become known until after its restoration in 1916. Before this time Zeri notes that Cavalcaselle, "con un'intuizione davvero eccezionale" had already recognized the work as Bartolomeo di Tommaso's. See J.A. Crowe, J.A. and G.B. Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in Italy* (London: John Murray, 1866), 3:122. ; Federico Zeri, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Bollettino d'arte* 46 (1961): 44 and 64 note 7.

<sup>176.</sup> Zeri, 45.

<sup>177.</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>178.</sup> *Ibid.*, "Ma quale che sia la fonte del canovacco narrativo, la traduzione che ne pubblica Bartolomeo di Tommaso è fra le più imprevedute e sorprendenti."

<sup>179.</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>180.</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>181.</sup> This is the same line from the Magnificat that we find in the *San Salvatore Triptych*: I am the light of the world, the way, the truth.

<sup>182.</sup> For information on Saint Barbara see David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 3d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 37.

<sup>183.</sup> Saint Barbara's attribute is the tower and we usually find that three representing the trinity are depicted.

<sup>184.</sup> Mario Sensi, "Martiro di Santa Barbara, Madonna di Loreto, Santo Francescano e Committenti," *Bollettino storico della città di Foligno* 19 (1995): 208.

<sup>185.</sup> Literally, "the painter Bartolomeo di Tommaso made this."

<sup>186.</sup> "Saint Barbara was made for the Convent of Saint Caterina for their devotion in 1449."

<sup>187.</sup> "This figure was made for Sister Onofria for her devotion."

<sup>188.</sup> "And this one for Sister Paulucia for her devotion."

<sup>189.</sup> Sensi, 208.

<sup>190.</sup> L. Iacobilli, *Croniche della città di Foligno*, 1429 18 luglio, in Sensi, *Rinaldo Trinci*, 798., "peste grande in Foligno per la quale morirono molti e però gran parte degl'abitatori di questa città vanno ad habitare nelle case della montagna nelli mesi d'agosto e settembre dove fabbricano molte bone habitazioni. In piazza di Foligno si fa il consiglio pubblico per tal causa. Mori fa gli altri in quest occasione Ianni di Pietro Paolo priore della città e proconsole degli orefici e Francesco di Bertole del terziere de' SS. Nicolò e Giovanni."

<sup>191.</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.

<sup>192.</sup> If true this would have been Bartolomeo's second known collaborative effort with Andrea Delitio. The first would have occurred in Norcia between April and December of 1441 (see Appendix V) with the Augustinian friars for the decoration of the choir and rostrum of the Church of Saint Agostino. See Romano Cordella. "Un sodalizio tra Bartolomeo di Tommaso, Nicola da Siena, Andrea Delitio," *Paragone*, 38, no. #451, (1987): 89-122.

<sup>193.</sup> I have been unable to find any further evidence linking this work to Bartolomeo other than Sensi's attribution. Todini in his authoritative work on Umbrian art also lists the work amongst Bartolomeo's. See Filippo Todini, *La pittura Umbra: dal Duecento al Primo Cinquecento* (Milano: Longanesi, 1989).

<sup>194.</sup> Sensi, 209.

195. **Ibid.**
196. **Sensi, 210.**
197. **Ibid.**
198. **Federico Zeri, "Tre argomenti Umbri," *Bollettino d'arte*, 48 (1963): 38-39.**
199. ***Archivio di Stato da Foligno, Notarile.*, 104, Pietro Paolo Germani, (1447-1452), 1451 luglio 26, in Sensi, 152., "actum Fulginei, in sotietate Cippiscorum, in loco s. Nicolai, in inlaustro Bartolomeus Thome Pucciarelli pintor de Fulgineo et sotietate More, sponte per se, suosque heredes, iure proprio vendidit fratri Anthonio Bonilli de Trevio, priori ecclesie s. Nicolai de Cippischis de Fulgineo nomine et vice dicti loci s. Nicolai et eiusdem ecclesie unum petium terre clusatum, positum in comitatu Fulginei, in contrata Macieratarum, iuxta heredes Iacobi Iohannis Unti, viam publicam, heredes Sanctis Loli de Scannulario. Et hoc pro pretio et nomine pretii quatuordecim florenorum ad rationem .XL. bol. pro quolibet fl., in totum. Quod pretium totum dictus venditor fuit confessus et contentus penes se habuisse et recepisse, sibique datum, traditum, solutum et numeratum esse in rei veritate habuit et recepit in presentia dictorum testium et mei notarii infrascripti. Renuptians."**
200. **What is most surprising is the fact that the author was a native of Foligno and as the church is located in the heart of the city, must have seen the painting countless times. See Michele Faloci-Pulignani, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso, Pittore Umbro del XV Secolo," *Rassegna d'arte Umbra* 3, no. 3, (July 1921): 65-80.**
201. **Mario Sensi, ed. "Bartolomeo di Tommaso: Crocifisso adorato da un Agostiniano," *Bollettino storico della città di Foligno*, 14 (1990): 514-515.**
202. **Zeri, 38.**
203. **Although Bartolomeo's Crucifixion bears much more in common with Masaccio's *Trinity* of 1427-1428 we should note that like Masaccio's small panel in the Museo di Capodimonte it also depicts a small tree growing from the top of the cross.**
204. **Zeri, 39.**
205. **Sassetta appears to use something similar in his *Borgo Sansepolcro Alterpiece* although the figures of the angels fully dominate and the clouds that they stand upon are barely discernable.**
206. **Zeri, 37.**
207. **Ibid.**

<sup>208.</sup> The other five documents in their entirety can be found in Mario Sensi, "Documenti per Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Paragone* 28 (1977): 103-155. See Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p.30. 1446 febbraio 19, in Sensi, 147. ; Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p.65v. 1448 ottobre 15, in Sensi, 147. ; Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p.65v. 1448 ottobre 15, in Sensi, 147. ; Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p.61. 1451 agosto 27, in Sensi, 78.

<sup>209.</sup> Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p.61. 1451 agosto 5, in Sensi, 77-78., "Item, a di III d'agosto 1451 detti per mano de Filippo de Zucarello santese della Chiesa fiorini nove, soldi II, denari sey, cquali detti a Iohanni Francesco Mercatanti per oro dato a maestro Bartolomeio depentore per parte di pagamento della tavola che esso depegne per la detta chiesa."

<sup>210.</sup> *Archivio di Stato di Foligno, Notarile.*, 33/I, Andrea di Feliciano di Buono (1451-53), 1452 gennaio 26, in Sensi, 153.

<sup>211.</sup> Zeri mentioned that a second painting by Archangelo bearing this motif can be found in the Cini Collection in Venice. Although he did not specifically refer to the work other than noting that it is a triptych; I assume he meant the *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints Francis, Anthony Abbot, Bartholomew, and Christopher*. See Zeri, "Tre argomenti Umbri," 37.

<sup>212.</sup> Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p.65v. 1448 ottobre 15, in Mario Sensi, "Documenti per Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Paragone* 28 (1977): 147.

<sup>213.</sup> Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p.30. 1446 febbraio 19, in Sensi, 147.

<sup>214.</sup> Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, *Libro parrocchiale de Santa Maria Maddalena*, f. 216. p.31. 1448-1450, in Sensi, 147.

<sup>215.</sup> *Ibid.*, item a di . . de gennaio, 1450.

<sup>216.</sup> In addition to the image of Mary Magdalene on this panel, the Joslyn Art Museum in Omaha, Nebraska has another much smaller image of the *Ecstasy of the Magdalene* that has been attributed to Bartolomeo as well as several other artists. While Zeri, along with Fredericksen have given the work to Bartolomeo, Berenson has proposed Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio, and others have suggested Giovanni di Paolo and Paolo di Giovanni Fei. While some elements suggest that the work could be Bartolomeo's those suggesting otherwise far outweigh these and I have not placed the work in this chronology but rather within that small list of works of questionable attribution.

<sup>217.</sup> Zeri, 37.

218. Zeri, 37-38.
219. Anna Zanolì, "Un altare di Bartolomeo di Tommaso a Cesena," *Paragone arte*, 23 (1969): 63-76.
220. Zeri, 38.
221. Ibid.
222. The panel measures 21.8 X 77 cm.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE CAPPELLA PARADISI

On 5 October 1218, the city of Terni, deserted since the barbarian invasions, was placed under the protection of Pope Honorius III. The Pope's reinstatement of the long suppressed Episcopal See and his appointment of Bishop Raniero as patron and protector of the city gained the support of the neighboring Bishops of Spoleto and Narni. This reconciliation gained the papacy the legitimization needed to lift the siege of the Basilica of San Valentino, the ancient religious center of the region.<sup>1</sup>

However, it was not only the appointment of Bishop Raniero that helped begin the revival of this medieval city. In neighboring Assisi, at the same time that Terni had begun its ascent, Francis and his *Poverello*, already well-known, had established one of the ancient houses of the Franciscan Order between the fields and forests stretching to the west of the city. This early settlement was built in a deserted area adjacent to the circumference of the city's walls bordering upon the Camporeali road.<sup>2</sup>

On the Saint's death in 1228, Umbria became the seat of a Franciscan cult that changed the spiritual and economic face of the region for centuries to come. The creative spirit that inspired the Saint's great basilica in Assisi was also present in Terni. Here the Bishop of the city, Filippo, sought and obtained Pope Alexander's permission to expand the Franciscan settlement located on the outskirts of the city. On 15 October 1259, the simple monastery and oratory was given to the Episcopate for the erection of a church and convent. According to local history the Church of San Francesco was built in 1257 and consecrated in 1265.<sup>3</sup> Lanzi, one of the first to publish a study of the church, notes that in 1288 sixteen Bishops were convened in Rieti for the issuance of a Bull granting

indulgences to those who visited the Church of San Francesco during a festival held that same year.<sup>4</sup> According to Lanzi, the Bull specified that indulgences be granted to all who: “*porrexerint manus adiutrices ad fabricam seu ad sustentacionem ornamentorum, seu luminarum, ecc. . .*”<sup>5</sup>

Modeled on an early prototype of the Basilica of Saint Clare in Assisi, the church consisted of a simple nave and transept. According to Guardabassi, to these were soon added a series of small chapels corresponding to the design of the Lower Church of the Basilica of Saint Francis in Assisi.<sup>6</sup> Sometime around 1445 the small chapels were joined together to form the two lateral naves we find today.<sup>7</sup> At about the same time the campanile was added by the architect Antonio da Orvieto.<sup>8</sup> The Cappella Paradisi joins the rear of the original transept. It is accessible through a wide arch on the newer right lateral nave. One of the Chapel’s two lancet windows faces onto the interior of the church, suggesting either that it was once a separate unit or was absorbed by a later expansion.

After more than six centuries of use the Church of San Francesco was closed and abandoned for ten years. During this time, the Church was used as a warehouse by merchants drawn to the city when an adjacent piazza was widened. The Cappella Paradisi suffered a similar, though more undignified fate than that of the Church since it was walled up and, according to Lanzi, used as a granary.<sup>9</sup> During this same period a series of leaks caused by the decaying roof and the constant flood of rainwater seeping into the Chapel through its one open window caused catastrophic damage to the long-forgotten frescoes decorating its walls.

The Church and Chapel remained in this state until 1860, after the fall of the civil power of the Papacy and transfer of Umbria to the King of Italy, Vittorio Emmanuelle II. A year later, by the extension of the laws of the King of Sardinia, and two public decrees, all church properties in Umbria were nationalized and the Church of San Francesco became the property of the newly established Commune of Terni.<sup>10</sup> The civil authorities then commissioned the architect and engineer Benedetto Faustini to supervise the building's restoration and transform the former Franciscan church and convent into a men's boarding school.

On the occasion of the transfer of ownership from the newly restored church to the Commune of Terni, there was a monumental plaque (now lost) that was placed to the left of the Church entrance with the amusing epigraph:

THIS CHAPEL/THAT WAS PAINTED IN THE CENTURY OF AND BY THE SCHOOL OF DANTE/AND WAS THEN CLOSED TO THE CULT OF CHRIST AND BEAUTY/ BECAUSE OF VANDALISM AND STUPIDITY IT WAS LEFT IN A SORRY STATE/THE CONVENT AND CHURCH IS NOW DONATED/BY KING VITTORIO EMMANUELLE II/ TO THE COMMUNE OF TERNI/ RECLAIMED FOR THE PUBLIC AND ART/IN THE FIRST YEAR OF THE ITALIAN REDEMPTION/ JUNE 2ND 1861/.<sup>11</sup>

According to Guardabassi's original observations, it was this plaque that first proposed a "Dantesque" hypothesis for the Cappella Paradisi. Several years later, in 1865, Guardabassi, in an unpublished study, gave modern art history some of the earliest known iconographic information regarding the frescoes and dated them within the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>12</sup> In addition, he attempted to reconstruct the genealogy of the Chapel's donors, the Paradisi family of Terni.<sup>13</sup> Much of Guardabassi's speculation regarding a possible Dantesque source of the Chapel's iconography was drawn from his discovery of a significant and long-standing relationship between the Paradisi family and the city of Florence.<sup>14</sup> Seven years later in 1872, in the conclusion of a work for the

newly established "Provincial Commission," Guardabassi was to provide a more comprehensive Dantesque description of the frescoes.<sup>15</sup>

Guardabassi's report to the commission was the first supposedly accurate description of the Cappella Paradisi and its Dantesque iconography. Twenty years later Lupatelli delivered a series of lectures on the Chapel and helped to popularize Guardabassi's interpretation by inserting verses from the *Divine Comedy* into his descriptions of the frescoes.<sup>16</sup> In the years to follow, despite dissenting voices, the Dantesque interpretation was developed by others.<sup>17</sup> Much of this sentiment was centered on the fact that the *Divine Comedy* was first printed in Foligno in April of 1472. This would have made Umbria the first region of Italy to come under the influence of Dante's epic. In actuality, the acceptance of a Dantesque interpretation of the Chapel's iconography rested on little more than strong regional bias. It is thus not surprising to learn that references to the Chapel and its scenes from the *Divine Comedy* were frequently highlighted in Umbrian guidebooks of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>18</sup>

Aside from the alleged connection to the *Divine Comedy*, after Faustini's restoration and Guardabassi's first interpretation of the frescoes, little was written regarding the Chapel or its iconography. Suggestions as to who the author of the mysterious works might be were virtually non-existent, although iconographic and stylistic connections were drawn between the unknown master and the *Last Judgments* of Giotto and Orcagna.<sup>19</sup> In 1908 Lanzi, an early proponent of a Dantesque interpretation, wrote one of the first detailed studies of the frescoes.<sup>20</sup> This work, although failing to address all of the Chapel's iconography, objectively examined many of the Dantesque

aspects, and cited passages from the *Divine Comedy* to illustrate his iconographic hypothesis. Today, Lanzi's study of the cycle remains one of the most authoritative and resolute arguments of a connection with Dante and comprises one key element of several theories regarding the source of frescoes.<sup>21</sup>

It was sixty-one years after Faustini's restoration of San Francesco before the Cappella Paradisi was re-attributed to Bartolomeo di Tommaso. This occurred with Longhi's article of 1926.<sup>22</sup> Thirty-five years later Zeri reinforced Longhi's attribution in his equally influential study of Bartolomeo's life and works.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, evidence of Bartolomeo's authorship was based on little more than a comparative analysis with his other works. To date the most compelling of these can be traced through certain similarities to passages of the *San Caterina Fresco* of 1449 (Fig. 3, No. 14) and the *Crucifixion Adored by an Augustinian* in the sacristy of the Augustinian Church of San Nicolò in Foligno (Fig. 5, No. 15). In addition, with regard to the latter, an archival document dated 26 July 1451, establishes a connection between the painter and the prior of the convent of San Nicolò. This would place Bartolomeo in the region during the years 1449 and 1451, the suggested dates of the Chapel's completion.<sup>24</sup>

However, despite the lack of more convincing documentation since Longhi's first mention of the painter in connection with the cycle, consensus has uniformly attributed the frescoes to Bartolomeo di Tommaso. This consensus of noted historians, aided by Zeri's analysis of the frescoes and his substantiation of several strong stylistic links to other works by the artist, has been accepted by historians as the final word on the matter.

Today, upon entering the Cappella Paradisi we probably find little more than what was first observed by Faustini and Guardabassi in 1860 after the Chapel's reopening and

first restoration.<sup>25</sup> The damage over the centuries, along with additional devastation caused by the bombardments in World War II, was extensive. And although there have been several restorations since, there are sections of the cycle from which Bartolomeo's original plaster has been completely removed.<sup>26</sup> This has resulted in large vacant areas of wall or the exposure of fragments from a cycle of inferior fourteenth-century frescoes<sup>27</sup>

The present Chapel consists of five sections with remaining fragments of Bartolomeo's frescoes. The first, on the archivolt, consists of six quatrefoils containing figures of *Prophets*. Passing through the archway and entering the Chapel, we find, on the inner side of this archway, two reclining figures usually identified as *Enoch and Elijah*. These small portions of the cycle are still complete although in the latter, the state of conservation is poor and the coloring faded to the point where important details are obscured.

Inside the Chapel, remnants of Bartolomeo's paintings on three principal walls depict an ascent from *Purgatory* through the *Last Judgment*, and then down into the *Inferno*. The left wall appears to have originally contained three levels of frescoes. On the top, on either side of the lancet window and occupying the arch, there are, on the left, two scenes popularly referred to as the *Liberation of the Souls from Purgatory* (Fig. 66, No. 18), and on the right, *Christ's Descent into Limbo* (Fig. 67, No. 18). The middle level is broken into several cave-like areas originally identified by Guardabassi as the *Punishments of Purgatory* (Fig. 68, No. 18). The lower level, next to the entrance and separated by a multi-colored winding band, no longer exists, but considering the iconography of the middle level, and the inclusion of the names of five of the "seven

deadly sins” in Gothic script, probably continued this theme to include the two additional deadly sins and their punishments.<sup>28</sup>

The central wall is the most complete. As on the left, it is divided into three sections. The upper section, occupying the space within the arch, represents the *Last Judgment* (Fig. 69, No. 18). The middle band is divided into two sections, consisting of, in the upper register, the *Apostles*, and in the lower, the *Elect* (Fig. 70, No. 18). Included with the images of the *Elect* are three small figures of donors. Beneath the *Elect*, on the lowest level, are damaged areas that probably contained an altar or choir once framed on either side by remaining *a secco* crests of the Paradisi family.

The right wall consists of two bands of frescoes. On the upper level on either side of the lancet window, is the *Damned Driven into Hell*. The *Inferno* occupies the entire wall on the lower level and, like Purgatory, is divided into small cavern-like enclosures depicting an array of punishments revolving around the central figure of Satan. Unfortunately, what remains is badly faded and more than half of the frescoes on the right side of the wall in both registers are lost.

Based on the architectural structure of the Chapel, Bartolomeo had an obvious choice for the physical division of his paintings. He divided the walls horizontally equivalent to the height of the small corbels supporting the ribs of the arch on the central wall. To define further the partitioning of these frescoes he painted false pillars beneath each corbel. In an attempt to unify the three walls and their subjects he then included a band of illusionistic corbels that wind their way around the walls between the scenes of the arches and those directly below them. Bartolomeo ran these bands directly into the sides of the lancet windows where they blend into the decorative painted frames

surrounding them and keep the windows equally partitioned in relation to the lower registers and within the flow of the thematic distribution.

Adorno suggests that Bartolomeo added the illusionistic corbels to compensate for the loss of light from the window on the left that today shares a wall with the rostrum.<sup>29</sup> He suggests that the illusion of perspective created by this false band helped to create an effect that, from the viewer's point of view, compensated for the poor illumination supplied by the single small opening of the window on the right. He notes that this use of a unified "perspective-illumination" in relation to the spectator has roots in "the experience of Masaccio," as seen in the Brancacci Chapel, and "reveals equally a cultural flooding beyond the limits of the province."<sup>30</sup> He also notes that this approach could be derived from Bartolomeo's contact with Fra Angelico during his residence in Rome: a connection that he argues reinforces dating the Chapel to sometime after 1450.<sup>31</sup>

Beneath the corbelled band, there is a thin second layer of decorative *archetti* that function as a painted frame and traverse the Chapel on its horizontal and vertical levels between each register and around both windows. These stamped *archetti* are elegantly woven into a pattern that recurs in several of Bartolomeo's other works. The earliest incidence is found in the framing of the *San Caterina Fresco* (Fig. 3, No. 14). It also appears in the framing of the *Crucifixion Adored by an Augustinian* (Fig. 5, No. 15) in the Church of San Nicoló. In addition to appearing in three of Bartolomeo's works, the pattern occurs on the campanile of the Church of San Francesco. The campanile bears a date of 1445 while the *San Caterina Fresco* is signed by Bartolomeo and dated 1449. The *Crucifixion Adored by an Augustinian* is believed by Sensi and Zeri to have been painted sometime between 1449 and 1451. If we were to emphasize the contract of July 1451,

noting the sale of a parcel of land from Bartolomeo to the convent of San Nicolò, we might favor a later dating of the small fresco. This appearance of the same pattern in several of Bartolomeo's works from this seven year period is further proof of his authorship of the frescoes and a source for dating them to the middle of the fifteenth century.

Beyond questions of the Chapel's date or Bartolomeo's use of perspective, it is the visionary and apocalyptic nature of the frescoes that set them apart from related works from the second half of the Quattrocento. On entering the Chapel, we find themes of vision and prophecy are expressed through the band of six quatrefoils covering the archivolt. Each quatrefoil contains the half-length image of an Old Testament prophet, once identified through the inscriptions on their scrolls. Today the scrolls are fragmentary, but the surviving letters and the work of earlier scholars provide us with a clue to their identities. Adorno and Lanzi suggest they represent, from right to left: Jeremiah, Daniel, Malachi, Isaiah, Jonah, and Obadiah.<sup>32</sup> Each of these prophets are credited with having predicted the second coming of Christ or some type of divine retribution or universal judgment.<sup>33</sup> All six look defiantly out toward the exterior of the Chapel, toward the congregation, perhaps as a symbolic invitation to reflect upon the truth of their predictions as seen in the terrifying cycle that methodically unfolds behind them.<sup>34</sup>

The haloes of Bartolomeo's prophets are three-dimensional. While similar leanings toward three-dimensional haloes have been seen in several of Bartolomeo's earlier works, here the effect is complete.<sup>35</sup> Ruling out Florence and Siena as the source of this influence, it has been suggested that the painter might have had some knowledge

of Domenico Veneziano and Giovanni Boccati.<sup>36</sup> Both painters painted haloes in perspective and worked in Perugia. Considering the city's proximity to Foligno and Terni, Adorno suggests that we cannot rule out the possibility that Bartolomeo had visited Perugia and was familiar with the work of both artists.<sup>37</sup>

Each prophet is framed by a quatrefoil with receding lines adding depth and solidity to the space. Increasing the sense of motion is the linear quality produced by the creases of the prophet's robes and their near-organic relation to their winding scrolls. This is most evident in the quatrefoils, of *Jeremiah*, *Daniel*, *Isaiah*, and *Jonah* (Figs. 71,72,73,74, No. 18) where the swiftly flowing linear quality creates a harmonious relationship between the quatrefoil and the upward thrust of the figures. These curvilinear relationships recall Bartolomeo's use of a similar self-contained motion in works such as the *Madonna and Saint Ursula* (Figs. 11,14, No. 1) from the *San Salvatore Triptych*, *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (Fig. 43, No. 15), and the *Madonna and Child with John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, and Saints Christopher and Dominic* of 1451 (Fig. 4, No. 16). It is an inclusive, internalized motion further heightened in the *Cappella Paradisi* by the artist's naturalistic illumination of each figure and his well-orchestrated use of *chiaroscuro* with sharp, clear colors that add strength to his composition.

The impressive linearity of Bartolomeo's prophets is enhanced by their variety of expression. Each figure displays the characterization described earlier by Toscano as "annoyed and fierce." The *Jeremiah* (Fig. 71, No. 18) has a well grounded though brooding and pessimistic appearance as he looks out of the space. His forehead, halo, and the upper quadrant of the quatrefoil echo the line of his deep exaggerated frown. The *Daniel* (Fig. 72, No. 18), the prophet most identified with apocalyptic visions, is equally

dramatic.<sup>38</sup> Much like the figures from Bartolomeo's *Pentecost* (Fig. 47, No. 11) of a decade earlier, Daniel's head is violently foreshortened. As in the *Pentecost*, the face is bathed in a naturalistic light as it turns toward the heavens. Daniel's long neck and undulating, furrowed hair enhance this ascetic, visionary quality. With his right hand, he firmly clutches the scroll while with the left he gestures inwardly, as if doubting his celestial calling. Adorno suggests an evident "recalling of the triptych of the "Beato Crisci," in the figure of Daniel, and notes that "on the other hand [there is also] an intense plasticity and an energetic linear character that recalls Andrea del Castagno."<sup>39</sup>

Also reminiscent of Castagno's linearity is the image of *Isaiah* (Fig. 73, No. 18). Like the *Daniel* it has the same tense, irascible expression, although Bartolomeo's prophet does not look upwards, but glares at the viewer in an intimidating manner while gesturing inwardly with his right hand. The gesture, along with the expression, makes the prophet seem to challenge the viewer. It is a self-righteous and authoritative combination of expression and gesture, perhaps indicating that of all the prophets depicted above his messianic prophecies are the most theologically quoted and justifiable regarding the divinity of Christ.<sup>40</sup>

The last of the better-preserved quatrefoils contains *Jonah* (Fig. 74, No. 18) whose head is in profile. Highly praised by Adorno, Jonah seems to be rejecting the command that he journey to Nineveh.<sup>41</sup> The figure's back is to the viewer, with his head rotating left, as if an overwhelming unseen power is seizing him by the shoulders. Accenting this unnatural pose is an oblique imaginary line that runs from his elbow, and climbs up along his shoulder to his halo. The same line created by the Prophet's elbow and arm terminates, on the other end, by touching upon the frame of the quatrefoil, which again

carries the motion upwards. Beneath the arm, his robes create the same impression of ascending motion as they run into the frame of the lower portion of the quatrefoil. The prophet's face and calm closed eyes contrast with his tense, twisted body, as if in this brief instant he has been delivered from doubt.

The remaining prophets are badly damaged although we can still make out the pensive features of *Malachi* with his starry halo, and *Obadiah*, whose tense stare resembles Daniel's. Still well preserved between the outer edge of each of the quatrefoils and their frames are several different examples of stylized vegetation that recall similar motifs from the *Madonna and Child with John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, and Saints Christopher and Dominic* of 1451 (Fig. 4, No. 16) and the small panel of *Christ between the Virgin and Saint John* (Fig. 52, No. 17) from around the same period.

Once inside the Chapel, the visionary quality of Bartolomeo's iconography continues in the small and badly damaged lunette (Fig. 75, No. 18) on the inner side of the entrance arch. On either end of this lunette are two bearded figures with open books. Both figures mirror each other with their books balanced at opposite ends of the lunette. The figures appear to sit on a large stone slab beyond which there is a detailed landscape consisting of a wooded area between the slopes of two mountains. The mountain at the left is in the distance, while the one on the right occupies the foreground. The landscape is unique to Bartolomeo as it represents a true and naturalistic depiction of nature. Although we have seen hints of the natural world in several of Bartolomeo's earlier works, here we have its fulfillment.<sup>42</sup> No longer schematized, Bartolomeo's woods now consist of scattered rocks and green trees that are random and have a vitality Adorno refers to as the "uniting naturalistic element of the entire cycle."<sup>43</sup> Unfortunately the poor

condition of the lunette prevents a more detailed examination of Bartolomeo's most accurate reflection of the natural world.

The bodies of both figures follow the curvilinear outline of the lunette and have a well-defined relationship to their natural environment. The one on the left, with a white beard reminiscent of Bartolomeo's *Saint Jerome in Penitence* (Fig. 27, No. 2), holds a book in his right hand and raises his left in a gesture of admonition. His lower torso is elongated, with his thighs far below and almost at a ninety-degree angle to his upper body and parallel to the stone platform where he sits. The prophet's lower legs are nearly perpendicular to the side of the arch, while his foot rests upon a small shelf of rock. His raised left arm is placed equally between the two mountains and carries the motion toward the right of the lunette through its relationship to the ascending slope of the mountain in the foreground. This slope continues to climb until it reaches the head and halo of the figure on the right. Seated in an identical position and sporting a dark beard, his arms are drawn closer together with his right pointing to the book while his left supports it on his knee.<sup>44</sup>

The two figures were identified by Guardabassi and Lanzi as *Enoch and Elijah*.<sup>45</sup> Adorno agrees with this identification but adds that Zeri suggested they might represent "Doctors of the Church, or writers of apocalyptic things [such as] Daniel and Saint John the Evangelist."<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, in the Bible, both prophets share a distinct experience that would justify their inclusion in Bartolomeo's apocalyptic cycle. Unlike other Old Testament prophets, scripture notes that Enoch and Elijah never died but were "by faith translated" so that both "should not see death."<sup>47</sup> Having never experienced death, Enoch and Elijah exist neither in Heaven nor on earth but somewhere between both worlds. By

virtue of their prophetic abilities and this unique relation to God's cosmology, they serve as perfect mediums for revealing the Chapel's eschatological plan to the viewer.

In addition to bridging the worlds of the living and dead, Enoch and Elijah serve a second theological purpose. Adorno identifies the text on the page held open by the figure on the left as the well-known passage from Isaiah: *Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium et vocabitur nomen eius Emmanuel.*<sup>48</sup> From the page at the opposite end of the lunette he transcribed text not taken from scripture but what he believes to be one of the basic themes preached by Bernardino da Siena: *Jesus rex venit in pace deus homo factus est.*<sup>49</sup> A theme common in Christian literature, the text is used here, along with the quote from Isaiah, to illustrate the bond between the Old Testament prophets and the advent of Christ. Besides guiding viewers through Bartolomeo's vision of the Apocalypse, Enoch and Elijah represent the symbolic lifting of the veil to reveal the messianic vision of the Old Testament prophets and its realization in the New Testament.<sup>50</sup> The fulfillment of this vision is theologically confirmed on the opposite wall by Bartolomeo's *Last Judgment*, where several Old Testament fathers, perhaps Abraham, David, and Jeremiah, stand with the heavenly hosts in the presence of Christ in his role as the Universal Judge.

Adding to the mystery of this small lunette is the inclusion of a series of numbers on the final line of the book on the right. Here Adorno claims to have identified the roman numerals "XXXVIII." He suggests that this could be a Biblical citation, but adds that it could equally be a date "expressed anomalously without thousands or hundreds."<sup>51</sup> If it were the date of the completion of the Chapel, it places it as contemporary with the *San Caterina Fresco* of 1449 (Fig. 3, No. 14) and several years before the suggested date of the *Crucifixion Adored by an Augustinian* of ca. 1451 (Fig. 5, No. 15).

While the iconography of the two aforementioned scenes exists apart from the controversy regarding a connection with the *Divine Comedy*, those on the three principal walls bring us to the center of the debate. The most controversial of the three begins on the left wall with what has historically been described as Bartolomeo's unprecedented depiction of *Purgatory* (Fig. 76, No. 18).<sup>52</sup> Lanzi, in his 1908 article, largely ignored the iconography of this section, preferring to focus on *Christ's Descent into Limbo* (Fig. 67, No. 18) in the upper register. With regard to the other two scenes, he ignores *Liberation of the Souls from Purgatory* (Fig. 66, No. 18) and only makes one reference to the *Punishments of Purgatory* (Fig. 68, No. 18) in connection with Dante's *Purgatorio*.<sup>53</sup> Years later Adorno observed that the inclusion of Purgatory in the iconography of the *Last Judgment* is extremely rare and its inclusion along with Heaven and Hell could have been seen by earlier historians (such as Guardabassi and Lanzi) as representing the three sections of the *Divine Comedy*. However, he suggests that Bartolomeo's intention was much more subtle than a literal depiction of Dante, and his analysis argues that the *Divine Comedy* was not the primary source of the cycle.

Adorno believes that Bartolomeo's inclusion of Purgatory was not an attempt to reproduce Dante's vision, but rather a more literal interpretation of scripture and theology. Theological reasoning dictates that at the time of the Last Judgment, Purgatory could not be represented because there could no longer exist an intermediate realm of temporary punishments between Heaven and Hell. After Judgment, all that would remain were those who were either saved or damned: present in Heaven alongside Christ or

consigned to the Inferno. Adorno suggests that Bartolomeo depicts the moment when Christ sends his angels to liberate the souls from Purgatory and carry them off to Paradise. This makes the events on the left wall instantaneous, occurring when the temporal world ends and Christ's "millennial reign" begins.

This interpretation is supported by the overall program of Bartolomeo's frescoes. Working from the lower level of the left wall, we begin our examination with the section referred to (years earlier) by Guardabassi as the *Punishments of Purgatory* (Fig. 68, No. 18). As in conventional medieval representations of Hell, the scene is divided into a series of caves where sinners are placed according to their sins. The caves are elevated mounds that can be loosely interpreted as representations of Dante's vision of Purgatory. He describes it as a seven-tiered mountain that must be scaled by each repentant soul before reaching Paradise.

The remaining sections are identified by lettering that corresponds to five of the seven deadly sins: sloth, pride, avarice, wrath, and lust.<sup>54</sup> The other two sins, envy and gluttony, were probably in the missing sections. The punishments are not derived from Dante's *Purgatorio*, which like the *Inferno* was built on a hierarchical system where penance was clearly defined and symbolic of a particular sin. Adorno suggests that Bartolomeo's representation is derived from some other unknown tradition. He notes that from the edges of the rocks there are curvilinear lines representing flames which at certain points appear to wrap around the bodies of the sinners. Nevertheless, apart from these barely discernable fires and the troubled expression of some sinners, there is little to suggest penance. This absence of a clear punishment supports Adorno's theory that we

are not actually seeing Purgatory but rather the remnants of Purgatory immediately after the liberation of souls.

Instead of the cleansing tortures in Dante's Mount of Purgatory, this vast array of nude figures is swept into a movement extending from the left of the fresco to the right and then toward the upper registers. Most of the figures are packed tightly together in caves or in pairs who walk on a wide, stone covered plain in the center of the middle register. In or above each of the caves is an angel who points toward the upper registers inviting the souls to hurry on their journey to Paradise. Other angels, particularly those on either side of the window, extend their hands to lead the saved upwards. We even find the solitary figure of an angel in the lower portion, just above the damaged area, who assists a soul from one of the lost sections of the fresco corresponding to Envy and Gluttony.

Besides the movement of the figures toward Paradise, there is little iconographic variety on the lower level. At the center of the wall is the great stone plain that occupies the largest of the five sections. In this section the vainglorious "vanagloria" are hurried toward the right and up along a stony path that leads to an arched stone ridge with jagged fissures on its sides. This shelf of stone reaches to the frieze of *archetti* bordering on the next scene. The figures in the cave of the vainglorious are divided into four pairs in a much more spacious area than elsewhere in Purgatory. In front of them stands an enormous angel with towering wings and outstretched arms (much like that of the shepherd in the *San Caterina Fresco*) that follow the contour of the sloping rocks. All the angels are nude, hairless, and androgynous, perhaps an indication that we are seeing only souls, shadows of those no longer possessed of earthly bodies or identities. Zeri describes these figures as "precursors of the repertory of science fiction."<sup>55</sup>

The majority of the figures are upright and elongated. The two left figures are smaller than the others, perhaps representing children, although their presence in an area of Purgatory reserved for punishment is debatable. Unlike other figures in the lower portion of the scene these two appear to be holding hands, while two larger figures immediately before them look back in an almost protective manner. The shape of the large cave mimics that of Satan's location in the Inferno on the opposite wall. Adorno notes that by this arrangement there is: "in the Paradisi Chapel, an order that goes well beyond the logical distribution of the theme, taking on the significance of a coordinated rational composition, in spite of the expressionistic overcoming of each rational object of the narration."<sup>56</sup>

In the remaining four caves, the figures are closely huddled together identified only by the names of their sins. The highest of the caves is for the wrathful, ten of whom occupy the far right corner of the fresco. In the black area to the right of the wrathful is the Latin word "ira" (anger) (Fig. 77, No. 18). All move toward an angel above them. The angel reaches out and grabs the hands of the tallest soul, whose body seems to be streaked with thin curvilinear flames. On the rocks above and below the figures there are similar small tongues of fire erupting from the crevices. The expressions of the wrathful vary from frightened and anguished to serene, becoming more peaceful as they approach the angel. Several clasp their hands as if in prayer. Although their faces are nondescript, the long lips and flared nose of the soul who looks toward the viewer is reminiscent of a guard who peers into Christ's tomb in Bartolomeo's *Resurrection of Christ* (Fig. 28, No. 3) of several decades earlier. The bodies of the wrathful appear robust with a volumetric muscularity, but they are anatomically incorrect. We find large circular bulges upon the

back of the figure nearest the viewer and similar odd bulges and protrusions on the bodies of the other nine figures.

Of the three remaining caves, two are stylistically identical to that of the wrathful. Below the wrathful, is the cave of “avarizia” (avarice). Here eight figures are tightly packed together and have similar expressions and physical features. An angel with outstretched arms approaches from just below the band of *archetti*. The cave on the leftmost portion of the wall, nearest the entrance, is that of “accidia” (the slothful). Nothing distinguishes this group of approximately ten figures from any of the other caves except that the angel does not approach them with open arms but rather points the way to Paradise, perhaps an indication that the Slothful must leave Purgatory by their own efforts. Unlike the other two caves where the assembled souls look in different directions or occasionally out at the viewer, the slothful are all focused, like some great sluggish choir, on the angel.

The only cave that portrays the redeemed sinners differently is that of “luxuria” (the lustful) (Fig. 78, No. 18). Located in the lower right corner of the fresco, above Bartolomeo’s votive image of Saint Margaret, this group is less congested but also farthest from the angel, who beckons to them from the pinnacle of a rock. Occupying a dark crevice the majority of the lustful are at the very bottom and frantically trying to climb their way onto a shelf of rock they share with the vainglorious. Two figures have found their way on to this narrow platform. One points down at the sinners below him with his left hand and toward an immense angel guiding the vainglorious with his right. The other sits on the edge of the shelf with his arms tightly wrapped around his ears and

head as if terrified. Between the two figures in Gothic letters is the word “luxuria” (Fig. 80, No. 18).

Below these figures, others scramble over one another to escape from the cave. They are immersed in green water represented by long, undulating parallel lines that can be traced to Byzantine tradition. Several of the figures cover their faces in an attempt to hide their fear or shame or perhaps to evade the smell of the stagnant water. Adorno suggests that this green water symbolizes the instability of lust and notes that it is used for a similar purpose in Sassetta’s *Saint Francis in Ecstasy* (Fig. 79) from the Borgo Sansepolcro Altarpiece. Here beneath the towering figure of Saint Francis, the personifications of *luxuria* and *avarizia* are immersed in a sea of similar green undulating lines. Three of Bartolomeo’s figures in the cave of “luxuria” are partially out of the water. One has managed to free his head and is focused on another half-submerged soul who points the way to the angel far above them. On his left, a figure thigh-deep in the water, stands with hands clasped in prayer as he looks toward the liberating angel.

As we move up to the left side of the lancet window, we find a representation of the *Liberation of the Souls from Purgatory* (Fig. 66, No. 18). This scene acts as a thematic continuation of the events below. Rather than being hurried along by the ministering angels, the figures here are being raised up, sometimes in groups, toward Paradise. Paradise is represented by a quarter of a sphere with polychromed stripes that could correspond to the mandorla surrounding Christ on the central wall. The sphere’s round shape is complemented and continued by the painted floral arch and triple-headed grotesque, perhaps symbolic of the Trinity, above the cornice of the window. This

circular relationship carries the motion from the left to the right side of the upper wall and the scene of *Christ's Descent into Limbo* (Fig 67, No. 18).

The angels who liberate the souls from Purgatory have three-dimensional haloes and colored wings with stylized feathers. Like those of the *Crucifixion Adored by an Augustinian* (Fig. 5, No. 15), the angels ride upon long striated boat-like clouds. The figures they push toward Paradise resemble those below in the *Punishments of Purgatory*, although here their hands are clasped in prayer and their expressions reflect resignation and solemnity.

Four main groups make up the *Liberation of the Souls from Purgatory*. Each group, with the exception of the one below the sphere, occupies a quadrant of this portion of fresco. Three are ministered to by a single angel and the fourth by two angels. From the lower left, five thin, stylized figures, rise from the stone fissures, as if a continuation of the *Punishments of Purgatory*. They are assisted by two stern angels who hold both hands of one figure and the single hand of another. Both angels stand on clouds that curve around the bottom of their long flowing robes. The quadrant immediately above this group consists of four redeemed souls under an angel with large blue wings who pushes a tiny body, perhaps that of an unbaptized infant, into the circular sphere of heaven.

Beneath this angel, are four souls with hands clasped in supplication looking toward him. All four are seated on a cloud much like Charon's boat, which was used to ferry souls to Hades. Immediately before them, the legs of another figure hang outside one of the circular bands. Below the orb, from which a larger set of legs protrudes, an angel occupies the center of the fresco. This central angel carries the motion of the fresco

on a diagonal from the lower left to the upper right of the scene. This large angel pushes a soul up toward heaven with both hands. The soul looks back doubtfully, as if uncertain that he merits redemption.<sup>57</sup>

The group, in the lower right quadrant is the most unusual of the scene. Here half-length souls again rise from a stone fissure. But, they are not assisted by the angel above them. Instead, they appear to be lifting the angel palanquin-like onto a cloud supported by their shoulders. Their faces show the signs of strain as they support the angel who is lifting another soul toward Paradise. From here the motion jumps to the left of the window and what has been described as the most beautiful part of the cycle. Here we find the scene identified by Guardabassi years earlier as *Christ's Descent into Limbo* (Fig. 67, No. 18).<sup>58</sup>

Beside the immense figure of Christ and two angels, there are six figures in Bartolomeo's Limbo. Three are clustered together on the left. They are down on one knee and rise before the figure of Christ as Liberator. Their arms and open hands reach imploringly for Christ's right hand. The motion and direction of their arms create an imaginary line that follows Christ's outstretched arm and travels up and then down his rounded shoulders and along the back of the standing figure, terminating with the halo of the figure in the lower right corner. This line echoes the curve of the arch above the lancet window. To the left of Christ three figures create a solid, weighty triangular grouping anchored by the two who kneel in the foreground. This group, after having been liberated by Christ, prepares to enter Paradise and seems to have fallen to their knees before making their entrance. Unlike the figures below them in Purgatory, those in Limbo are no longer non-descript reflections of the living but have individual features and

personalities. They are dressed in different types of clothing, and have haloes signifying that they are to occupy exalted positions within Christ's kingdom.

The group on Christ's right is dressed in tattered robes. They have long hair, beards, and three-dimensional haloes. Their appearance suggests Old Testament Prophets, those who were virtuous but fell within the dispensation of Judaic law and therefore outside of Christ's redemption. The length and appearance of the figure nearest the viewer reminds one of Saints John and Christopher from Bartolomeo's *Madonna and Child with John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, and Saints Christopher and Dominic* of 1451 (Fig. 4, No. 16). The two kneeling figures on Christ's left differ in that one appears to be beardless and their robes are highly stylized, which Zeri referred to as: "a film of fins, like bats."<sup>59</sup> The features of the figure nearest Christ are bathed in light and similar to those in Bartolomeo's *Pentecost* (Fig. 47, No. 11) of ca. 1440. Both also share a Masaccio-like sense of mass and solidity. The figure that stands above them, creating the apex of the triangle formed by these two lower figures, was believed, by Zeri, to represent John the Baptist.<sup>60</sup> Zeri's identification is supported by the fact that the bearded, wild-looking figure is nearly nude with what Zeri describes as a "Masaccio-like thorax 'naked,' translated into a crack inserted into the spinal nerves, ribs and skin, [that are] no less like the carcass of a dog."<sup>61</sup> He is dressed in a thin translucent loincloth and carries a cross. At first, we may question why the earliest Christian martyr is found in Limbo. Nevertheless, a literal interpretation of scripture suggests that the Baptist was martyred before Christ's Crucifixion, thereby placing him, along with the Old Testament figures, outside of the redemption bought through Christ's sacrifice.<sup>62</sup> His importance in Christian

martyrology is perhaps best conveyed in Bartolomeo's Limbo by his being the first allowed to enter Paradise.

The figure of Christ (Fig. 67, No. 18) is one of the most memorable of the cycle. Dressed in flowing robes and holding a billowing white flag, he descends into Limbo as if accompanied by fierce winds and a clash of thunder and lightning.<sup>63</sup> His right leg is extended while his rear leg bends at the knee creating a sweeping intensity aided by his powerful right arm. The arm is held out toward the figures below him, echoing the arms of the angel on his right. One of the largest in the cycle, Christ's figure is powerfully volumetric with a broad chest and heavy solid limbs. His expression is typically late-Bartolomeo, with fierce narrow slits for eyes and a severely exaggerated frown. Except for his fierce expression, his face is similar to the much more benign Christ in the 1445 *Rospigliosi Triptych* (Fig. 2, No. 13) as are his other physical features and particularly his knees which are equally massive and out of proportion to his lower body. His fierce expression is shared by the angel directly behind him who has a similar intensity, and a second angel whose face is foreshortened but of an equal temperament. Adorno suggests that Christ's position is of Byzantine origins and derived from works such as the *Anastasis* of San Marco in Venice (Fig. 87) or the Duomo of Torcello (Fig. 88). He further notes that because of its heavy linear emphasis and "dynamic exasperation," Christ's figure is perhaps the most singular reflection of Bartolomeo's high evolutionary standing within the late International Gothic.<sup>64</sup>

From *Christ's Descent into Limbo* the narrative moves to the central wall and the *Last Judgment* (Fig. 69, No. 18). Lanzi was the first to examine this scene which he

referred to as “La gloria di colui che tutto move.”<sup>65</sup> It is in relation to this scene that he provides us with some of his strongest allusions to Dante’s *Paradiso*.

Occupying the center of the lunette is the resplendent image of Christ the Judge. He sits, with his hand raised in the sign of benediction, on a traditional tricolored arch enclosed in a polychromatic mandorla. Filling out the inner circumference of the mandorla are the heads of seraphim wrapped in blue wings. Outside the mandorla, are angels who sing and dance to pipes and lutes which they play.

Christ is wearing a blue tunic and his lower half is covered by a mantle of pale red sprinkled with crosses and stars. The crosses, made with a small stamp, are nearly identical to those on the garments of Saint Barbara in the *San Caterina Fresco* (Fig. 3, No. 14). Christ wears a triune halo and is fully frontal, with eyes opened wide and a solemn attitude reminiscent of a Byzantine “Pantocrator.” The figure of Christ closely keeps to this Byzantine tradition. The design, the attitude, the proportions, and the character reflect Bartolomeo’s long-neglected relationship to his teacher Olivuccio di Ceccarello. Adorno sees this as an iconographic necessity - “the most traditional part of the entire cycle.”<sup>66</sup> He notes that this “superhuman firmness” and sense of hieratic ritual is common to the works of Bartolomeo, “when the images are not represented in action, but rather as sovereign figures that must be adored, as for example the *Madonna of Loreto* (Fig. 3, No. 14) in the fresco of Foligno (*San Caterina Fresco*) or the God the Father in the *Trinity* in Cascia (Fig. 44, No. 12).”<sup>67</sup>

Just outside the mandorla, to the right and slightly below Christ, is the Virgin in prayer. Though badly faded, her figure is one of the most beautiful and inspired of the cycle. Like the image of Christ or that of Saint Barbara from the *San Caterina Fresco*

(Fig. 3, No. 14), the Virgin wears a mantle sprinkled with flowery stamped crosses. Zeri describes her as having a “remarkable eastern physiognomy,”<sup>68</sup> a trait she shares with Saint Barbara from the *San Caterina Fresco*.<sup>69</sup> On her head, which is surrounded by a gold halo, she has a small white tiara, from which hangs a veil: another iconographic novelty which, like her face, is probably Eastern in origin. However, unlike her counterpart in Foligno, and in sharp contrast to all of the other figures that appear on the central wall, she projects an image of kindness and humility.

On the opposite side of the Virgin and closer to the bottom, according to what Lanzi felt was a precise Dantesque disposition, stands John the Baptist who holds an open book on which lies a symbolic lamb.<sup>70</sup> In what little remains we can see that his figure is lean and anxious, with a body defined by a sharp and tense curvilinear line glancing toward Christ. Lanzi<sup>71</sup> argued that the structure of this scene was derived from Canto 32, 28-33, of *Il Paradiso*:

*And as, on this side, the resplendent throne  
of Heaven's Lady, with the thrones below it,  
establishes the line of the division;*

*so, facing hers, does throned blessedness  
of the Great John who, ever holy, bore  
the desert, martyrdom, and Hell's distress.*<sup>72</sup>

Beneath the mandorla are three great archangels, each dominating a group of smaller angels. Zeri called this group the “assistant ministers of the thresholds of the heavens.”<sup>73</sup> Particularly striking is the central archangel, probably Michael, who stands menacing and erect while he slowly draws his sword. Dressed in gold armor and fierce in his demeanor he thrusts his right leg forward and coils his left behind him as if ready to pounce on an unseen intruder. He furiously issues commands to the lower order of angels

clustered beneath him. One of the angels emulates Michael by also unsheathing his sword (Fig. 81, No. 18). Zeri notes that the archangel recalls “a celebrated passage” of the Archangel Michael in Sassetta’s *Polyptych of the Madonna and Child between two Angels* of ca. 1433-1437.<sup>74</sup>

On the right of the central figure is a seated archangel who is unarmed and dressed in a white tunic. Lesser angels are also tightly packed before him on his right. He holds a white lily of which only a small trace remains visible just below his tip of his wing. On the right of the central archangel, sits a second archangel in blue armor who holds a scepter and, like the others, has a group of much smaller, similarly dressed angels, beneath him. Lanzi notes that this grouping is particularly interesting in that it has “no comparison in any other painting of the genre, and as Professor Cosmo was disposed to concede, they [the angels] represent the hierarchy that the poet [Dante] put exactly at every step to the throne of God.”<sup>75</sup> Lanzi<sup>76</sup> believes that this hierarchy is described in Canto 28 (121-123) of *Il Paradiso*:

*These are the divinities therein found  
Dominations first, then Virtues, then, in order,  
The ranks of Powers within the widest round.*<sup>77</sup>

Lanzi believes that Bartolomeo’s placement of the archangels reflects this hierarchy, with the figure of the archangel Michael representing the hierarchy of the Dominations, the figure who is unarmed and holding the lily the hierarchy of the Virtues, and the final figure with the scepter, the one of the *Podestadi*.<sup>78</sup>

Rounding out the lunette are the figures of six patriarchs arranged on either side of the mandorla in pyramidal groupings of three figures each. Those on the left, although faded, are largely intact, while those on the right are obscured by missing portions of the

fresco. Despite faded colors and lost areas of the fresco, the patriarchs project a major expressive power enhanced by a solid spatial organization. Two unidentified, massive and foreshortened figures on the far left squat before the Virgin and the Mandorla. Two damaged figures on the right mirror the positioning of those on the left and also convey a sense of mass. Forming the apex of these two pyramids are two figures who occupy a place within Bartolomeo's celestial hierarchy slightly below that of John the Baptist and the Virgin. The rightmost figure is King David,<sup>79</sup> recognizable by his crown and octagonal halo (Fig. 82, No. 18).<sup>80</sup>

The barely visible second figure, one of the most fascinating of Bartolomeo's patriarchs, is opposite King David and forms the apex of the group on the left side of the lunette. His head is covered by a dome-like miter and an oriental veil analogous to the one worn by the Virgin slightly above him to his left. In the furrow of his mantle he elevates a small ashen group of souls. Adorno detects a Byzantine influence and a tradition that relates to the representation of the innocent "brides of Christ."<sup>81</sup> However, just below the group of patriarchs on the extreme left corner of the lunette, several souls emerge into the presence of Christ in Glory. These souls could be connected to those held by the patriarch representing those liberated from Purgatory. In particular, they could relate to those from the adjoining wall who are pulled by the angels into the sphere with polychromed stripes corresponding to the mandorla surrounding Christ on the central wall. In all probability, this group of souls was mirrored on the damaged opposite side of the lunette by a similar group of figures cast into the Inferno.

However, the fact that the patriarch receives these figures to "his bosem"<sup>82</sup> indicates that the figure could represent Abraham, "the father of nations" and a patriarch

of equal, if not greater, importance to King David.<sup>83</sup> This might account for the patriarch's absence from the six quatrefoils above the entrance to the Chapel, and would also continue Bartolomeo's dualistic approach to the bond between the Old Testament prophets and the advent of Christ.<sup>84</sup> In this instance, the typological parallelism is between the heaven of the Old Testament, the "bosom of Abraham," and the "true" messianic kingdom that unfolds before us in the lunette.

On the lower half of the wall are two rows of figures, representing the *Elect* (Fig. 70, No. 18). On the upper level, fourteen large Apostles (including Paul and perhaps Judas' replacement, Barnabus) are divided into two groups of seven each. The group on the right is led by Saint Paul who is recognizable by his sword, and on the left by Saint Peter who invites the virtuous to enter the gold door of heaven into which he has inserted the key. These figures, particularly those on the left wall, are the best preserved of the entire cycle. Notable for their expressive vigor and linear qualities, their faces have the same sharp exasperated features and physiognomy as others from Bartolomeo's mature period. Particularly striking are their beards and hair which produce a separate flurry of linear activity aided by Bartolomeo's intermittent distribution of apostles in profile. The heads in profile are between those that are frontal and create a lively staccato transition between the row of apostles that terminates, on the inner sides, with Saints Peter and Paul. Unlike the other apostles, who stand, Saint Peter sits before the gate. His knees, thrust out from the picture plane, are massive and similar to those of Christ in the upper lunette and the central panel of the *Rospigliosi Triptych* (Fig. 2, No. 13).

In addition to the activity above, crescents produced by the folds of the apostles' garments in the lower portion of the scene create a lively curvilinear motion that

produces a twisting effect and a flow of half-circles that rise and fall, like waves, from the outside to the inside of both groups. The right and left bands of apostles are joined by the robes of Peter and Paul that drop down into the next band of figures and appear to meet somewhere behind the archangel standing between them.

Beneath the row of apostles, there is a second, proportionally smaller and more crowded band of *Elect* (Fig. 70, No. 18). This band is also divided into two separate groups, however in this instance they are divided into male and female, referred to by Lanzi as “Virgins and Saints.”<sup>85</sup> Between both groups stands an archangel with a drawn sword, who is similar to but less terrifying than the one before Christ’s mandorla.

On the left side, there is a dense crowd of haloed saints, most of whom wear the simple brown robes of the Friars Minor. Leading this group and closest to the archangel is Francis, symbolic head of the Church of San Francesco, at whose feet are two tiny praying figures dressed as Franciscans. The small figure nearest the Saint is female. She is the only female figure on the left side of *the Elect*. Dressed in the black and white robes of the Clares her position is duplicated on the right side by the small figure of a solitary male amongst the female elect who is also dressed in Franciscan robes and kneels by the archangel’s shield. Adorno suggests these represent the donors, Monaldo Paradisi and his wife, and could be dressed in the clothes of one of the lower tertiary orders of the Franciscans (see note 14). Behind Saint Francis is another small and elegantly dressed male figure believed by Adorno and Lanzi to be either Angelo Paradisi, the famous magistrate, or Giovanni Paradisi, the progenitor of the family whose name appears in the inscription found below in the center of the band that frames the lower fresco.

Surrounding the figure of the Magistrate are three Bishops in miters and elaborate robes. Each robe also has a floral stamp similar to those of Christ and the Virgin on the upper lunette and the *San Caterina Fresco*. Of the three Bishops, the one in blue holds a small image of the city of Terni. The Bishop in red places his hand on the back of the Magistrate as if invoking the favor of Saint Peter on the donor's behalf. The three Bishops probably represent the three protectors of Terni: Saint Valentine, Saint Procolo, and Saint Anastasio.<sup>86</sup>

Among the male saints are two haloed figures in black and white. One is just above Saint Francis at the foot of Saint Peter and to the immediate left of the archangel. The other, unlike the other figures in this section, looks in the opposite direction. It is possible that the first represents Saint Dominic, whose Order of the Friars Preachers mirrored the popularity of the Franciscans and routinely preached on apocalyptic themes prevalent in the *Cappella Paradisi*.<sup>87</sup> The second figure could represent Saint Benedict, who appears in Bartolomeo's frescoes in Cascia (Fig. 45, No. 12), and whose birth in nearby Norcia made him highly venerated in Le Marche and Umbria.<sup>88</sup>

On the right side of the lower band, that of the "virgins," are four prominent figures among the large group of saints. The elderly figure closest to the archangel, corresponding to Saint Francis, wears a Franciscan habit and mantle with a thin blue veil. The border of her mantle drops directly on the head of the tiny donor figure below her, perhaps an indication of her protection. Since she is the most pronounced figure and stands on a diagonal to Saint Francis, we can assume that she represents Saint Clare, the founder of the female branch of the Order. Several figures to her right is another female figure, also old, in the simple black and white habit of the Clares. In contrast to both of

these figures two young figures are placed in equally prominent positions in relation to the archangel. The kneeling figure closest to the archangel is in profile and wears a red mantle with folds that cascade into the foreground. Her head is uncovered and her long blond hair is tied back with a ribbon. Much like the hair and beards of the Apostles, it flows in thick undulating lines. The other figure, similar in appearance but nearly frontal, occupies the background behind the Clares. This figure mirrors the image and position of the male saint dressed in black vestments on the opposite side just above the figure of Francis. Considering that an image of Saint Margaret of Cortona is depicted on the adjacent wall below the Purgatory scenes, we can assume that one of these young Saints represents this same, much-venerated local saint also known for her great beauty.

Rounding out this portion of the lower band are the figures of additional female saints, some in profile, and others with their backs to the viewer. Conspicuous among this group is the large kneeling figure facing away from the viewer dressed in dark red and white robes. Like those of the kneeling figure next to the archangel, the folds of her garments cascade into the foreground. Falling directly down, almost to the midpoint of the white portion of her robes is a long thick braid of hair that recalls that of Saint Barbara from the *San Caterina Fresco*.

Beneath both bands of the elect is a badly damaged area that at one time must have been the location of an altar. At either end of the altar are the crests of the Paradisi family, painted *a secco*. Adorno believes that these crests are stylistically later than the frescoes.<sup>89</sup> This area would have corresponded to the space on the left adjacent wall next to the large image of Saint Margaret. Here there is an outline of what must have been a gallery or choir and probably one large prominent chair, perhaps for the officiating cleric.

Zeri's sense is that the altar was placed to coincide with the opening of the gold "Door of Paradise," from the upper band between the figures of the Apostles.<sup>90</sup> This would have served two purposes: that of a central point in lieu of an altarpiece and a convenient reminder to the congregation of the donors of the Chapel – *la Famiglia Paradisi*.

The wall on the right, Bartolomeo's once great panorama of the *Inferno* (Fig. 83, No. 18) is the most damaged of the cycle. The right wall is divided into three scenes with upper and lower registers that, like the opposite scenes of *Purgatory*, are divided above by the false shelf of three-dimensional corbels and below by the thin band of *archetti*. Two scenes flank the window and correspond to the positioning of the *Liberation of the Souls from Purgatory* and *Christ's Descent into Limbo* on the opposite wall. However, in this case both are of the same subject: the *Damned Driven into Hell*. Here, unlike the upward thrust of the opposite frescoes, the motion flows down toward the expanded third scene of the *Inferno*.<sup>91</sup>

The area to the left of the window is still intact and retains much of the color faded from the other parts of the wall. Particularly prominent is the strong blue background applied over a foundation of red, creating a deep contrast between the figures and their surroundings. This area consists of two angels, one tall and bearing a sword and the other foreshortened with a spear (Fig. 84, No. 18). Both are violently pursuing sinners, who like those on the opposite wall are non-descript and androgynous, although with much more aggrieved expressions on their faces. Below the angel with the sword are two sinners whose poses recall Adam and Eve from Masaccio's *Expulsion*. Five figures tremble in fear beneath the angel with the spear. Several of these figures are chained as in Medieval representations of the damned. Both angels create a tension that pushes from

the left to the right and from the height of the window to the base of the *Inferno*. Particularly striking is the contrast between Bartolomeo's use of the curve of the lunette, the graceful flow of the angels' wings, and the sharp and straight lines of the swords and spears. The right side of this upper level contains two additional sword-bearing angels who are dramatically foreshortened and attack a small group of five sinners. Other than a few fragments of painted corbels and *archetti*, the remainder of the right side of the lunette is blank.

From the tops of the lunette we descend into Bartolomeo's *Inferno*. Here demons chase and torment the damned who are consigned to a series of caves. As in Purgatory, at one time each of these caves was designated by one of the seven deadly sins. In other instances, the sinners are being hunted by a variety of demons through its winding vestibules. The iconography is conventional, with roots in the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance. Zeri notes similarities to the "Cimabuesque" Cappella Velluti in Santa Croce in Florence,<sup>92</sup> while Adorno, suggests a northern influence, and, like Lanzi before him, also mentions Giotto and Orcagna as well as a panel by Giovanni di Paolo in the Pinacoteca di Siena.<sup>93</sup> In addition, Adorno mentions Giovanni da Modena's frescoes in the Chapel Bolognini in San Petronio in Bologna, which share the same vision of a compartmentalized hell consisting of similar physiognomic types, round caves with small fires that burn on their outside edges, and the use of written text to indicate specific sins.<sup>94</sup> This connection with Giovanni again brings us back to Bologna, a region that figures prominently in Bartolomeo's earlier influences and which Adorno suggests Bartolomeo knew through its proximity to Cesena and his 1439 commission for the Franciscans.<sup>95</sup>

In the lower portion, directly beneath the false corbels, the damned are grouped together in a series of caves. In one of the first caves they are immersed in water up to their genitals. Lanzi,<sup>96</sup> suggests a Dantesque influence from Canto 32, 34-36, of the *Inferno* where:

*just so the livid dead are sealed in place  
up to the part at which they blushed for shame,  
and they beat their teeth like storks.<sup>97</sup>*

Nearby, other sinners are chained in a red-hot cauldron, an image particularly popular in western art that was used to represent the eternal and unquenchable fires of hell. Once again Lanzi,<sup>98</sup> supplies an allusion to the *Inferno*, Canto 21, 16-18:

*but by art divine and not by fire  
a viscid pitch boiled in the fosse below.<sup>99</sup>*

Beneath the boiling cauldron, a large demon flies toward the central portion of the lower fresco and the great figure of Satan. Other large demons, with bat wings, occupy the periphery where they chase and torment the condemned. Some of the sinners stand in groups, while others are individually carried by demons. Among the sinners, one is devoured by a snake while another lies bound and isolated. Still others appear to have been recently condemned and, in contrast to the ascending figures on the opposite wall, fall freely into the *Inferno* toward eternal punishment

One of the more prominent demons has a soul slung across his shoulder as he approaches Satan. Lanzi<sup>100</sup> notes that Bartolomeo's portrayal of this demon and his action recall Dante's description of a tormentor, in Canto 21, 32-36:

*Galloping so, with his great wings outspread  
he seemed the embodiment of all bitterness.  
Across each high-hunched shoulder he had thrown  
one haunch of a sinner, whom he held in place  
with a great talon round each ankle bone.<sup>101</sup>*

On the top and to the right, amidst the most damaged area of the fresco, is a small group of three sinners who cringe beneath a goat-headed demon. In the same cave, a flying demon with large red and white striped wings grabs another sinner by the head. Although difficult to confirm because of its poor condition, Lanzi notes that this group has torn and putrescent flesh recalling Canto 29, the portion of hell reserved for the falsifiers.<sup>102</sup> Dante describes them as: *covered with great scabs from head to foot.*<sup>103</sup> Still higher and to the right is one of the better-preserved fragments of the Hell fresco. The small fragment is the only remaining portion that, like the opposite wall of *Purgatory*, is identified by the written name of one of the seven deadly sins - "accidia" (Fig. 85, No. 18). Here the slothful have their flesh ripped apart by horned devils armed with long sharp knives. This punishment has little basis in Dante's *Inferno* where in Canto 38, a similar punishment is reserved for sowers of discord.<sup>104</sup>

The largest cave is the dwelling of Satan the "Lord of the Dark Realm," who sits in the center of the fresco directly beneath the lancet window. The stone cave, an arch of fire, expands toward the base of the wall, occupying at least one third of the lower register. The image has strong antecedents in Giotto's Scrovegni Chapel fresco, Taddio di Bartolo's San Gimignano Collegiata fresco, and Orcagna's *Triumph of Death and Inferno* fresco in Santa Croce in Florence. In all of these paintings Satan is the focal point of Hell, subjected to divine punishment but also inflicting punishments of his own. Bartolomeo's Satan is horned and has a broad flat face with a body from which grows two huge bat-like wings. Unlike Dante's Satan or other depictions where he has three faces, a perversion of the Trinity, here he has only one. As in the paintings described above, crowds of demons encircle Satan and bring him damned souls, which he devours and expels throughout

eternity. At the same time, he grasps at souls with his hands and claws at them with his feet. Two additional souls are crushed on his pectorals from which grow two eagle heads. Satan straddles a huge leonine head that devours other souls and is executed in a style described by Adorno as “long and rich in classical precedents’ and “derived from the bestiary of medieval sculptures.”<sup>105</sup>

The greatest differences between Bartolomeo’s vision and the *Divine Comedy* are in this final portion of the cycle. This part of the cycle has little relation to Dante’s work and despite Lanzi’s quotes from the *Inferno* to illustrate several passages, the punishments never match the sinners. This lack of a unified connection to the *Inferno* suggests that Bartolomeo’s hell is not directly taken from Dante, but is probably derived from several elements in the *Bibliae Pauperum* and a tradition grounded in the *Sermo Humilis* or Franciscan preaching of the time. It is with this in mind that we introduce a popular alternate theory for the Chapel’s iconography.

Despite Adorno’s exacting interpretation of the cycle, it is appropriate to consider Paola Mostarda’s excellent 1981 study of the frescoes. Apart from the interpretations of Adorno, Guardabassi, Lanzi, and to a lesser extent, Cosmo, Mostarda questions the widely accepted Purgatory interpretation by introducing an element that was undeniably present in Bartolomeo’s life but ignored by earlier critics in their iconographic analysis of the cycle: namely the influence of Giacomo della Marca.<sup>106</sup> According to Mostarda the presence of this noted preacher in Terni when the paintings are alleged to have been painted changes the iconographic context of the cycle and specifically its representation of Purgatory.

Mostarda's analysis originates with Toscano's earlier study of the relationship between Bartolomeo and the Franciscans<sup>107</sup> Although this relationship is traced to several cities - Cascia, Cesena, and Foligno - Mostarda claims it is above all in the social and religious life of Terni that Giacomo's intervention was most felt.<sup>108</sup> Rather than look to an eclectic interpretation or a literary source such as the *Divine Comedy* for the frescoes, she suggests that Giacomo and his apocalyptic preaching were the primary inspiration that was assisted by a vast culture with a "place relevant to Dante."<sup>109</sup> According to Mostarda, it is likely that the well-educated preacher knew the poem and was open to suggestions about the *Divine Comedy* during the planning stages of the commission. This would explain the "distinctly Dantesque" flavor of several scenes from the cycle that "had erroneously carried with them the belief for all of the time that Dante was the primary source of the Terni Chapel."<sup>110</sup> This "Dantesque flavor" appears in the division of the Purgatory and Hell scenes into individual sections for the seven deadly sins. But Mostarda notes, as did Adorno and Lanzi, that the conditions of the sinners do not recall the ones "so characteristic that Dante had assigned to the various sins."<sup>111</sup>

With neither earlier writers such as Giacomino de Verona nor Dante as the primary source of the frescoes, Mostarda, like Adorno, believes that the *Purgatory* scenes should be interpreted as instantaneously unfolding before the viewer. However, unlike Adorno, she places greater emphasis on this theory with regard to the other two walls, the *Last Judgment* and *Inferno*. Analysis of the latter, has never fully stressed this aspect, preferring to treat these scenes as fixed depictions of the *Last Judgment* and *Inferno* with little temporal relation to the Purgatory scenes. Indeed, Lanzi had previously considered the *Last Judgment* to be a literal depiction of Dante's *Paradiso*, and Adorno, only

stressing the immediacy of the *Purgatory* scenes, treated the other two as fixed points in eternity. Mostarda's re-interpretation of the cycle rests upon her belief that:

The motive then in this final "account," does not lie beyond in its fixed aspect in eternity, but in the unfolding of the Universal Judgement. The scene must therefore be read in a unitary and continuous manner, from the left wall to the right wall, according to a rotary-movement, prompting out of the confusion of things, that which will remain, successively, in the representation of the [Last] Judgement.<sup>112</sup>

Mostarda believes that the left wall represents the Second Coming of Christ, a more appropriate description of the *Last Judgment* on the center wall that "effortlessly supercedes" the interpretations of earlier historians.<sup>113</sup> Her analysis begins with a re-interpretation of *Christ's Descent into Limbo* to the right of the window. This, she believes represents a series of apocalyptic events described in *Luke*.<sup>114</sup> Rather than the liberation of John the Baptist and Old Testament patriarchs from Limbo, who Mostarda argues have already been liberated by the Resurrected Christ, the scene represents them as they prepare to participate in the Last Judgment after the resurrection of the dead. This scene has a scriptural basis in the first book of *Thessalonians* that speaks of the "dead in Christ."<sup>115</sup> Mostarda believes that John the Baptist and the other figures represent these "dead in Christ," particularly those who in life were closest to him and are now summoned to join with him in the Last Judgment.

According to this interpretation the scene to the left of the window, the *Liberation of Souls from Purgatory*, represents the *Resurrection of the Dead*. Here the angels are not moving the souls to Paradise, but are ferrying them on clouds into the presence of Christ and his seated apostles, saints, and patriarchs, where they shall be judged. This makes the relationship between the scenes on both sides of the window more consistent, illustrating the resurrection and movement of the bodies to the Judgment of Christ.

From this perspective, the lower scenes on the left wall are no longer the *Punishments of Purgatory*, but rather precursors of the *Resurrection of the Dead* in the upper lunette. Instead of depicting those who have already been judged and are leaving Purgatory, this group represents the dead being summoned from sleep to their procession to judgment. This movement toward uncertain judgment is conveyed by the expressions on the faces of the resurrected souls. Some appear serene and walk hopefully toward heaven, while others with “desperate gestures,” cover themselves with their hands and turn away from Christ.<sup>116</sup> According to Mostarda the scene:

wants them [the figures] not to represent Purgatory, but more generically a condition of the expectation of the Judgement, one moment in which the souls, are not yet introduced into the dimension of eternity, and remain participants in the human reality of sin.<sup>117</sup>

The “reality of sin” is symbolized by the caverns, each one with its written identification of a seven deadly sin. Here are hints of the punishments depicted on the opposite wall in the *Inferno*. However, according to Mostarda these do not represent literal punishments, but rather:

the indication of a sin, within which the figures find themselves now immersed in water, now in the middle of a field of fire, [where] the traditional iconography of the infernal punishments is utilized for the representation of the same sins, as conditions of a discomfort [of conscience].<sup>118</sup>

From the *Resurrection of the Dead* the narrative shifts to the central wall and the *Universal Judgment*. However, in Mostarda’s reading the narrative first descends to the lower band and the image of Saint Peter and the apostles who open the “Door of Paradise” to the worthy. In this scene Saint Francis functions less as one of the elect awaiting his turn to enter Paradise, and more as an intercessor present at the Last Judgment, a role that he appears to fill by holding his hand on the tiny figure of the donor

as a sign of protection. This establishes a more direct relationship to the evangelical mission of Giacomo della Marca and the historical role of the Franciscans as intercessors – a theme that has already appeared in Bartolomeo’s Franciscan frescoes in Cesena.<sup>119</sup> From here the narrative continues in a more traditional sequence as the newly resurrected dead on the left wall are ushered before Christ, and the unworthy are hastened by Bartolomeo’s fierce angels into Hell.

According to Mostarda, the scenes that follow are based on the Bible and not on Dante. In her opinion this interpretation was “predicted with a particular insistence on the terrifying final events, by Saint Giacomo della Marca.”<sup>120</sup> Ghinato’s research indicates that Giacomo della Marca was in Terni many times, but specifically in 1444. In that year he helped initiate a series of twenty-seven social and religious reforms that were to “redress and severely punish each mark of corruption,” sparking a similar series of statutes in Foligno less than a year later.<sup>121</sup> Here Giacomo would have the citizens of Foligno sign a sworn pact of submission to the Church, the *Santissima Unione* (Appendix I). The name of Bartolomeo di Tommaso is among the list of signatories. When called to Terni several years later to paint the cycle in San Francesco, Bartolomeo would have found a climate imbued with severe religiosity produced by Giacomo’s oratory. Archival evidence indicates that the Paradisi family was bound to the preaching of the Observants and supported the statutes of San Giacomo. A document dated 25 October 1455, several years after the proposed completion of the frescoes in the Cappella Paradisi, notes that the donor, Monaldo Paradisi, was present, in an official capacity, to hear Giacomo speak at the dedication of another chapel in the Church of San Francesco.<sup>122</sup> This chapel,

described by Mostarda as “having already been filled with the apostolic fervor of the priest” was devoted to Giacomo’s teacher and predecessor Bernardino da Siena.<sup>123</sup>

In Mostarda’s opinion this combination of factors, the preaching of Giacomo della Marca, his devoted followers in Terni, the ties of the Paradisi family with the Observants and the Church of San Francesco, and the bond of Bartolomeo with both the donors and priest, reflect an undeniable relationship. Because the climate of Giacomo’s eschatological terrors were known throughout the region, a direct expression of this climate can be found in the works of the Cappella Paradisi. To Mostarda, it is only natural that the inspiration for Bartolomeo’s frescoes were “those [Giacomo’s sermons] regarding the facts of the final days.”<sup>124</sup>

Of the surviving transcriptions of Giacomo’s sermons, the one delivered on 25 October 1455 proceeds with a progressive unfolding of events similar to the Terni cycle.<sup>125</sup> He starts with an allusion to Saint Luke: “they shall see the Son of man coming in a cloud with power and great glory.”<sup>126</sup> As noted earlier this relates to the scene re-identified by Mostarda as *The Second Coming of Christ* on the upper register of the left wall. From here he recounts several other events found in the Bible that precede the Last Judgment and correspond to Bartolomeo’s cycle. After Christ’s coming, the preacher’s words echo those of Saint Matthew, where we find the gathering of the patriarchs and the elect:<sup>127</sup>

And Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, That ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.<sup>128</sup>

They also bring to mind Paul’s letter to the Thessalonians describing Christ’s earthly descent for the Last Judgment and a similar gathering of souls:

For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord.<sup>129</sup>

Both passages can be loosely interpreted as describing the events in the upper register of the *Purgatory* scenes as well as several from the *Last Judgment* of the central wall. As Giacomo's sermon continues, he seems to describe the events in the *Resurrection of the Dead* from the lower register of the left wall (Fig. 68, No. 18). Here, in relation to the newly arisen dead he says that: "There will come a time when all will arise, those with joy, those with sadness."<sup>130</sup> This is followed by an allusion to the structure of Bartolomeo's fresco in which: "Each of the dead will come from the grave and each concealed in caverns."<sup>131</sup> Giacomo's description of the Second Coming continues with another reference to Saint Matthew and the culminating moments of Christ's return and ascension to the throne of heaven:<sup>132</sup>

And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory."<sup>133</sup>

According to Mostarda each of the above passages corresponds to Bartolomeo's cycle. Giacomo's images have their related depictions in the frescoes: Christ's great power and majesty, the mobilization of his angelic armies, the gathering of souls, and the presence of the apostles and patriarchs seated at the throne of Judgment. Here the souls rapidly rise from their graves to be present amongst those "dead in Christ," the first to move towards him. Other figures rise from Giacomo's caverns, where awakened from their long sleep the just and the sinners set out toward judgment. Their faces reveal an expectation of punishment for their guilt or reward for their innocence.

From here, Giacomo's sermon brings us to the final moment of judgment. The elect are invited to enter the Kingdom of God and the sinners are thrown into Hell. Giacomo's conclusion is of a dialogue between Christ and the damned:

O Lord, send us to some pleasant place.  
 But he replied: To the fire of the accursed one.  
 But they said: Hand us over to a less loving Lord.  
 But he replied: The Devil, whose slaves you are, will be your Lord.  
 But they said: Oh, Lord, grant us pleasant company.  
 But he replied: And his angels.<sup>134</sup>

Mostarda sees this dialogue as echoing the events of the *Inferno* on the right wall. The damned are between bands of eternal fire that fall everywhere but cannot be considered as a punishment for any specific type of sin. In this "ignis eternus," Satan rules as the master of darkness, an analogy to the image of Christ in the mandorla of Paradise. Scattered throughout Hell's caverns and forever punishing the damned are the "societas amena" of malignant angels as promised by Christ in San Giacomo's dialogue.

This final separation of the guilty from the just concludes Bartolomeo's cycle, and Mostarda's theory of its iconographic relationship to the sermons of Giacomo della Marca. Finally, she cites one of Giacomo's sermons from the *Codice of Napoli* which is aptly entitled "The Inferno."<sup>135</sup> Here, where the imagery once again falls short of Dante's, she reasserts Bartolomeo's reliance on the sermons of San Giacomo but reinforces the idea that images of the *Divine Comedy* were never far from Giacomo's thoughts or the thoughts of his congregation:

In the priest's description of the Inferno, the variety of the punishments aroused from his imagination are such as to not necessarily be able to assume the presence of a Dantesque inventiveness in our paintings, or better yet, if this is felt in some measure in the frescoes, it arrives here as exactly filtered through the preaching of Saint Giacomo, who served much of Dante and his images by his own orations. Nor is it a surprise, if one thinks that in the fifteenth century the *Divine Comedy* was used in popular

circles as a didactic work for divulging the truth of the faith with the simple people. The presence of this didactic character and its admonishments in the frescoes of Terni cannot be denied.<sup>136</sup>

Mostarda's closing observation, one that returns to the question of Dante, reminds us that above all there is multiplicity of indirect sources in forming the iconography of the Cappella Paradisi. The arguments of modern historians such as Lanzi, Adorno, and Mostarda, while well constructed and often convincing, continue to fall short of being conclusive regarding the primary source of Bartolomeo's vision. Whether the key disputed elements of Bartolomeo's Cappella Paradisi recall a literary source, represent Purgatory, or the Resurrection of the Dead, their interpretations remain speculative and the sources behind the painter's greatest achievement are another of the mysteries surrounding Bartolomeo di Tommaso's life and art. Nevertheless, in the absence of a more authoritative interpretation of the Chapel's iconography, art history cannot overlook the fact that this wealth of influences was an essential part of Bartolomeo's culture. Traces of Bartolomeo's imagery are found in Dante, to a much lesser extent in Giacomo da Verona, the *Sermo Humilis*, Scripture, in Medieval tradition, and in the works of other, more contemporary artists, such as Orcagna, Giotto, Giovanni di Paolo, and Giovanni da Modena, who share elements of their apocalyptic visions with Bartolomeo. In addition, like Adorno, Mostarda, and Toscano, we must assume that on some fundamental level the influence of Giacomo della Marca penetrates Bartolomeo's iconography. While Mostarda's analogies between Bartolomeo's frescoes and Giacomo's sermons are questionable, the influence of the "preaching friars" throughout the region is undeniable, and the saint's relationship to Terni is well documented.

Despite so many potential sources of influence, in the Cappella Paradisi Bartolomeo combined, in a particularly well-balanced manner, many elements suggestive of the rich late Gothic culture in Umbria. Gone are the recurrent borrowings from Siena and its environs that are found in his earlier works. Also absent is the eclecticism that was so prominent during Bartolomeo's Sienese and middle periods. His imagery in the Cappella Paradisi remains uniform and homogeneous and provides a glimpse of the artist's most refined creativity. His artistic personality dominates the entire composition.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, Bartolomeo's so-called *Purgatory* scenes, his powerful fresco of *Christ's Descent into Limbo*, his iconographic mixture of Old and New Testament elements in *Enoch and Elijah*, and the *Last Judgment* attest to his inventive talent. Added to these are powerful reminders of Bartolomeo's innovations prior to the Cappella Paradisi: his Saint Barbara in the *San Caterina Fresco*, the dark, phosphorescent landscapes of his *Betrayal of Christ* and *Road to Emmaus*, and the expressive power of his *Lamentation* and *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*. All reveal an exceptional ability undermined only by the art historical view of his eclectic lack of stylistic uniformity.

Despite his fame, it is perhaps the unevenness of Bartolomeo's style that remains the greatest obstacle to establishing his place in art history. Bartolomeo brings us to expressive and stylistic peaks and then returns us to the archaic. Always on the brink of moving beyond Gothic style to more progressive elements, Bartolomeo's paintings, according to Zeri, "can be called many things, but they are certainly not Renaissance."<sup>137</sup> Nor can we neglect the fact that Zeri described Bartolomeo's uncertain relationship to art history as one that originates from the "absence of a precise position."<sup>138</sup> Compounding the problem of Bartolomeo's inconsistencies are the troubling contradictions between the pivotal *San Salvatore Triptych* and his surviving works. These distinctions are even more apparent in the uncertainty regarding what surviving works constitute the master's early or "Marchigian" phase.

In light of what we know of Bartolomeo's abilities, it is possible that the puzzling inconsistency of his style can be attributed to the wide gaps in his oeuvre and that missing

works might resolve many of these issues. However, due to his small oeuvre, we can see why historians once classified Bartolomeo as a minor artist, but certainly not as one who is “unhinged,” “very modest,” or a “small provincial master.” Rather, with regard to his demonstrated abilities, and in the absence of better evidence, we must see Bartolomeo and his surviving oeuvre in the same cultural context as the Cappella Paradisi. Much like this crowning achievement, Bartolomeo was an artist whose work was continually shaped by a confluence of powerful artistic, cultural, and spiritual currents. While working in the late Gothic style, Bartolomeo was initially formed by his roots in Ancona and Fano; but he was also exposed to the powerful art of the Bolognese Trecento as well as to that of Siena and Tuscany. Added to these artistic influences was the presence of Franciscan spirituality, and the socio-economic changes brought on by an expanding middle-class that had also started expressing its own, more personal, blend of religious mysticism. In addition, Bartolomeo’s own spirituality, reflected in his signing of the *Santissima Unione*, and with roots in the fading fanaticism of the Fraticelli and the presence of San Giacomo and the “Great Preachers of the Repentance,” add a more complex dimension to his work.

Perhaps one of the more powerful of these many influences is reflected in Bartolomeo’s surviving contracts. Notarial documents suggest that Bartolomeo was subject to the exacting demands of his patrons. Judging by a partial list of these patrons, we can assume that his reputation was solid and that he could be depended on live up to the terms and conditions of his commissions. Patrons such as Donna Gaudiana, the Trinci, the Paradisi, Fra’ Zuhanne, and the Malatesta, along with Pope Nicholas V, remind us that Bartolomeo was employed by some of the most influential and wealthy individuals of his day. When we consider such patrons and their geographic variety, the

stylistic differences between Bartolomeo's surviving commissions might reflect differences among his patrons. Bartolomeo's success might have been linked to his stylistic flexibility and complying with the tastes of his patrons might have come easy for him. Before his apprenticeship to Olivuccio di Ciccarello, we know that his formative years were spent in the leather trade and that even at a very young age he acted as a signatory to several notarial documents.<sup>139</sup> Perhaps Bartolomeo's popularity as an artist was related to an instinct for commerce developed through his family's leather business. The probability that Bartolomeo spent several years on the road with his father, Tommaso, suggests that he could have learned the importance of being open to his clients' demands. Perhaps what we perceive as Bartolomeo's shifting from works reminiscent of Sassetta, to those of Gentile da Fabriano, and ultimately to works suggestive of passages from Masaccio, are the results of an artist willing to produce commissions in the manner of other artists for a large and diverse clientele. In light of this, we cannot forget how well rewarded Bartolomeo was by Corrado Trinci for his *San Salvatore Triptych*: one of the works most responsible for his poor reception by late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century historians. Nor can we forget that his reputation among these powerful patrons was so well established that two surviving contracts contain stipulations allowing Bartolomeo to travel and accept other commissions.<sup>140</sup> In addition, if we accept that Bartolomeo produced the cycle of frescoes for Malatesta Novello in Cesena, we are left with a work in which the presence of the patron seems to have eclipsed the abilities of the artist. Bartolomeo was a man of his times, skilled in commerce, spiritually aware, and open to the newer ideas of the Renaissance. He was

very much a member of the same powerful and expanding middle class responsible for shaping the spiritual and economic climate of the region.

Taken separately or together, these factors might account for the sudden starts and changes in Bartolomeo's surviving works. Yet, regardless of the reasons for Bartolomeo's inconsistencies, his uniqueness continually surfaces in his art and historians cannot deny that his legacy is that of an important and influential painter. The names associated with Bartolomeo's style, or better yet, the "School of Bartolomeo di Tommaso," carry a certain historical weight. His elongated and tormented figures recur throughout the Umbro-Marchigian and Lazio regions in the works of Matteo da Gualdo, Andrea Delitio, Giacomo da Racanati, Nicola di Maestro Antonio, Nicola da Siena, Antonio da Viterbo, and Paolo da Visso. Added to these names is that of Niccoló Alunnó (Liberatore) considered Bartolomeo's successor and, in Adorno's words, the necessary link explaining the continuity of Umbrian painting.<sup>141</sup> This continuity was expressed by Perkins years earlier who, in relation to Niccoló referred to Bartolomeo as "parte della generazione tramontata, Niccolo di quella che sorge."<sup>142</sup> All of these painters, in some manner, reflect the influence of Bartolomeo di Tommaso and his spirit echoes throughout the region in many of their surviving works.

In addition to painters of the Umbro-Marchigian and Lazio regions, we cannot rule out the possibility of another important association between Bartolomeo and the much-admired Tuscan painter Luca Signorelli.<sup>143</sup> Faced with the intellectual and stylistic sophistication of the Cappella Paradisi, we must consider whether a similar work might have been completed for Pope Nicholas during Bartolomeo's residence in the Vatican. Bartolomeo's commissions bordered on events surrounding Nicholas' Jubilee year of

1450, and it is possible that his works for the Pope could have focused on apocalyptic themes. It could have been the frescoes of the Cappella Paradisi that first captured the Pope's attention and ultimately brought Bartolomeo to Rome in 1451. We know that Fra Angelico was called to the Vatican before Bartolomeo and had earlier begun a similar apocalyptic cycle of frescoes in the Cappella di San Brizio in the Cathedral of Orvieto. Although Fra Angelico's summons to Rome in 1447 probably forced him to abandon his commission in Orvieto, the cycle was completed years later by Signorelli who expanded upon the apocalyptic theme.<sup>144</sup>

Completed fifty years after the Cappella Paradisi for Pope Alexander's half-millennium in 1500, Signorelli's *Rule of Antichrist* remains one of art history's most renowned representations of the "end times" and shares features with the Cappella Paradisi that suggest Signorelli's familiarity with Bartolomeo's work. These similarities appear (see note 41) in the quatrefoils of Bartolomeo's prophets and Signorelli's portraits of *Cicero*, *Virgil*, *Ovid*, *Lucan*, *Statius*, and *Dante* from the basement level of the Cappella di San Brizio. Situated within a series of grotesques bordered by grape vines alluding to the Eucharist, Signorelli's literary scenes point to the pagan antecedents of Christian prophecies of the coming of Antichrist and events at the end of time. As in Bartolomeo's quatrefoils, which depict Old Testament Prophets as a similar basis for prophecy, Signorelli's figures provide a historical basis within which to include his vision of the Apocalypse. In addition, figures from Purgatory in the Cappella Paradisi share certain physical characteristics with Signorelli's figures. Both artists' include what Reiss describes as the "directional" and "writhing movements of densely grouped nudes."<sup>145</sup> Described in less than glowing terms, Zeri referred to Bartolomeo's figures as "Martians,

baptized and from metaphysical galaxies.”<sup>146</sup> and Signorelli’s, although considered by some as “the most ambitious nude composition of their day,” were described by Leonardo as “sacks of nuts.”<sup>147</sup>

A closer association between both depictions of the end of time is geographical. Signorelli painted a small representation of Purgatory in the Cappella di San Brizio.<sup>148</sup> If we accept that the scene of the left wall of the Cappella Paradisi represents Purgatory, we must take into the account the rarity of two representations of Purgatory appearing less than forty kilometers apart. The image of Purgatory is rare in Italian Quattrocento painting and this proximity suggests that Signorelli’s comprehensive vision of the end times was based on a prototype possibly established a half-century earlier by Bartolomeo. This idea is supported by Reiss who referred to Bartolomeo’s Purgatory scenes as “the most grandiose Renaissance representation of the subject,”<sup>149</sup> and his entire Chapel as “the single earlier eschatological scheme of decorations in Italy that had a real bearing, if not an important determining influence, on Signorelli’s decorations.”<sup>150</sup>

With the exception of the Antichrist, Bartolomeo’s scaled down vision of the Apocalypse mirrors Signorelli’s. Particularly significant is the fact that Signorelli’s cycle also has two figures above the entrance that correspond to Bartolomeo’s *Enoch and Elijah*. This inclusion of two figures who, like those in Terni, introduce the events of the final cataclysm to the viewer, have led Reiss to note that “one cannot help but believe that Signorelli looked to Terni for direction.”<sup>151</sup> However, beside these similarities both artists also share a distinction that relies less on any technical virtuosity than upon their ability to synthesize a vast literary and visual apocalyptic tradition into a single frame of events. Before Bartolomeo and Signorelli, few artists had attempted to treat the

Apocalypse as anything other than separate episodes representing single instances of time. It is within Bartolomeo's Purgatory scenes and Signorelli's *Rule of Antichrist* where time ceases to be linear and crosses into a region where the sequential flow of events becomes secondary to a series of instantaneous and concurrent episodes signaling the dawning and close of eternity. It is here where both artists' iconography moves from the merely representational to the visionary.

In closing, years ago Faloci-Pulignani's seminal study of Bartolomeo di Tommaso was based upon only two paintings, the *San Salvatore Triptych* and the *San Caterina Fresco*. Even then, faced with all of the archival testimony related to Bartolomeo, Faloci-Pulignani cautioned that these two works should not be judged as the more beautiful or significant things that he had painted. More than eighty years after Faloci-Pulignani's study, and with close to twenty additional works in Bartolomeo's oeuvre, we find that we are much closer to judging his capacity. For this we are indebted to historians like Longhi and Zeri who acted on Faloci-Pulignani's advice and restored Bartolomeo's reputation. In addition, the tireless efforts of modern historians like Adorno, Mostarda, Sensi, and Toscano, have added important new insights into the master's life and works.

Nevertheless, many questions regarding Bartolomeo's work remain unanswered. While his increased oeuvre has shed light on his talents and established reasons for his popularity in the mid-Quattrocento Umbro-Marchigian region, it has also posed additional questions that can only be answered by works capable of bridging the wide gaps in Bartolomeo's oeuvre. However problematic this might appear, it does not lead us to a historical impasse. There remains much cause for optimism and the need for

continued scholarship on Bartolomeo. As Faloci-Pulignani noted in 1921, and what remains true to the present day, is: “Foligno and its territories are sown with hundreds of anonymous altarpieces and frescoes. If they could speak and reveal who painted them, we would many times hear the name of Bartolomeo di Tommaso.”<sup>152</sup> With the knowledge of Bartolomeo di Tommaso that has been acquired over the years and its continued consolidation, it is certain that interest in the painter will expand. Along with this continued interest, further works will be discovered, additional valuable research will be forthcoming, and a clearer picture of the artist and his contributions will emerge in the years to come.

## NOTES

## Chapter Five

1. Luigi Lanzi, "Note e ricordi sulla chiesa di San Francisco in Terni," *Miscellanea Francescana* 9 (1902): 3.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., 3-4.
5. Ibid., 4
6. Aldo Cicinelli, "Appunti per uno studio della chiesa di San Francesco e degli affreschi attribuiti a Bartolomeo di Tommaso (Sec. XV), nella Capella Paradisi, in Terni," in *Arte sacra in Umbria e dipinti restaurati nei secoli XIII-XX*, (Todi: Ediert, 1987), 25.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., 28.
9. Lanzi, 4.
10. Public Decree of September 29th, 1860, #39 and Public Decree of December 11th, 1860, #205., in Cicinelli, 33.
11. Lanzi, 8.

QUESTA CAPPELLA  
 CHE DIPINTA AL SECOLO E ALLA SCUOLA DI DANTE  
 FU POSCIA CHIUSA AL CULTO DI CRISTO E DEL BELLO  
 E PER VANDALICA NOVA STUPIDEZZA MALCONIA  
 DONATO ORA IL CONVENTO E LA CHIESA  
 DAL RE VITTORIO EMANUELE II  
 AL COMUNE DI TERNI  
 VENNE RIVENDICATA AL PUBBLICO E ALL'ARTE  
 L'ANNO I DELL'ITALICA REDENZIONE.  
 2 GIUGNO 1861.

12. Mariano Guardabassi, "Rapporto generale sulla chiesa di San Francesco e sulle pittore della Cappella Paradisi." Soprintendenza per I BB.AA.AA.AA.SS. dell'Umbria, Perugia, Archivio Storico, A.G.C.M., IX-4/6., in Cicinelli, "Appunti," 45, note 13.

13. The relationship between the Paradisi family and the frescoes of the Cappella Paradisi stem from the remnants of an inscription, in Gothic letters, found below the central fresco of the *Last Judgment*. Badly damaged by the bombardments of World War II, today we can only read the words: "DE PARADISIS DE INTERAMNA SUB A.D. MCCCII..." The first part of the inscription can be supplemented by several pre-war photographs and the accounts of scholars who examined the wording between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The complete inscription once read: "HEC EST CAPPELLA HEREDUM DNI JOHANNIS DE PARADISIS DE INTERAMNA SUB A.D. MCCCII..." A fourteenth-century dating of the cycle was supported by the fact that scholars have interpreted the "I" as an "L" placing the frescoes at sometime around 1350. However, several scholars have observed that this damaged portion of the inscription should not be read as an "L" but rather a "C" elongated toward the height and toward the bottom. This would place the final grouping at sometime in the fifteenth century and according to Adorno at sometime between 1453 and 1455. See Piero Adorno, "Gli affreschi della Cappella Paradisi nella chiesa di San Francesco a Terni," *Antichita a viva* 17, no. 6, (1978): 3.

14. According to a document uncovered by Lanzi, the Paradisi family appears to have origins in Assisi. In 1315, we find that a Giovanni Paradisi engaged in several financial transactions with the Augustinians of San Pietro. Adorno suggests that this is the same Giovanni Paradisi, considered the progenitor of the family behind the financing of the Cappella Paradisi, whose name is recorded in the Reformation of Todi in 1313 as: "tempore readunationis sapientis et discreti viri domini Johannis paradisi de Interapne, honorabilis readunatoris Com. Tuderti." It is believed that two of Giovanni's grandchildren, Paolo di Pietro di Giovanni and Angelo di Pietro, were elected "Captains of the People" in Florence in 1333 and 1335 respectively. Paolo is also listed as being a priest in the Order of the Friars Minor and after 1451, the Bishop of Lacedonia. Angelo, a "Doctor of Law," appears to have been appointed as magistrate in Todi in 1335. In 1348 his name appears in the Todi reformation: "Die penultima mensis augusti honorabiles ac sapientes viri domini Priores populi Tudertini . . . concorditer, nemine discordante . . . nominaverunt in Conservatorem status pacifici prefati Com. Nobilem et sapientem Virum dom. Angelum dom. Johannis Paradisi de Interapne." In 1354, we find that he is recorded as a participant in a legal interrogation in the Campidoglio by the notary Pietro Giovanni: "praesente D. Angelo D. Johannis Paradisi da Interampna legum doctore." Again, in 1355 we find his name mentioned in connection with the drafting of an act as a witness of some declarations rendered by one fr. Monreale before an individual who by order of the tribune Cola di Rienzo was hung on the gallows. In 1417 another Angelo is mentioned in an argument with Rieti regarding the "acque del Velino." Adorno suggests that this is the same Angelo who is listed as the son of Francesco Paradisi a Podestà of Florence in 1419. Later we find the name of a "blessed" Cirillo Paradisi who led a monastic life in the Church of Santa Maria Maddalena, where records indicate he died and was interred on 22 August 1420.

During the period of the frescoes, which depict three donors, an elegantly dressed figure, a monk, and a nun, the most often mentioned member of the Paradisi Family seems to have been Monaldo, who like his distant relative Angelo, was also a "legum doctore." This honored position seems to have kept him in the public service. In 1442, he took part as an ambassador to Florence to Pope Eugenio IV. In 1444, the same Pope

dispatched him as a commissioner in Corsica. In 1455, on of the suggested dates of the Cappella Paradisi, he was named as speaker of the “ternani” under Pope Callisto III. Monaldo was also appointed to the commission behind the creation of the “Monte di Pieta.” He would personally announce the formation of this institution from the pulpit of San Francesco in 1467.

In the absence of further information, the identity of the Paradisi family members shown in the fresco cannot be determined. Lanzi, who believed the work to be from the mid-fourteenth century, suggests the monk is Paolo; the elegantly dressed figure is Giovanni, head of the family, or Angelo, the famous magistrate. He was unable to identify the nun. Adorno, who holds to a fifteenth-century interpretation, suggests that the figures of the monk and nun are Monaldo and his wife dressed in the clothes of the Franciscans, perhaps in those of the lower or tertiary orders. This would leave us to suggest that the third figure represents Giovanni, the progenitor of the family and the one whose name appears in the damaged inscription. The fact that he is being introduced to the elect by a holy Bishop seems to support this hypothesis.

<sup>15.</sup> Mariano Guardabassi, *Indice-Guida dei monumenti dell’Umbria*, 314-315., in Cicinelli, “Appunti,” 34, 45 note 14., “Cappella a capo di nave, affreschi ridonati al pubblico per il merito dell’intelligente ingegnere Faustini. Fascione dell’arco di ingresso – Sei mezze figure di Profeti comprese in belli ornati – Parete interna sopra l’ingresso: nello spazio compreso tra l’arco ed il punto ove stacca la vela – Enoc ed Elia. –

Sulle pareti che stiamo per descrivere ci piace fare osservare che il pittore fu tra i primi artisti che impresero a riprodurre in grandi quadri I profondi concetti dell’Alighieri. Parete sinistra: I quadro superiore – La Liberazione delle anime dalle pena del Purgatorio. Il quadro superiore – La discesa del Christo nel Limbo. – Il quadro inferiore – I castighi del Purgatorio. Parete di centro: dipinto superiore – La gloria del Redentore. Nel dipinto inferiore prosegue la gloria celeste a cui partecipano vari Santi, però tre figure sono estranee a questa composizione, un frate, una monica ed un magistrato, che probabilmente sono I ritratti dei committenti, e quello del loro prozio Giovanni de’Paradisi, come appare dalla scritta sottostante recante la data A.D.MCCCL.

Nel basamento ai lati dell’altare – gli stemmi della famiglia Paradisi. Parete Destra: Nei due distinti quadri superiori, a lato della finestra – La caduta degla Angioli. Nello spazio inferiore – l’Inferno.”

<sup>16.</sup> A. Lupattelli, *La chiesa di San Francesco e gli affreschi del secolo XIV nella Cappella Paradisi*, (Terni: Ceccarelli, 1892).

<sup>17.</sup> Those early works supporting a Dantesque interpretation include: Mariano Guardabassi, *Indice-Guida dei monumenti pagani e cristiani riguardanti l’istoria e l’arte esistenti nella provincia dell’Umbria*, (Perugia, 1872), 315. ; R. Gradassi-Luzi, “La Compagnia dei Disciplinati di Terni,” in *Ricordo di Terni*, (Terni, 1886), 37-38. ; A. Lupattelli, *La chiesa di San Francesco e gli affreschi del secolo XIV nella Cappella Paradisi*, (Terni: Ceccarelli, 1892). ; Luigi Lanzi, *L’Umbria descritta e illustrata (Terni)*, (Perugia, 1894), 11. ; Luigi Lanzi and V. Alterocca, *Guida di Terni e dintorni*, (Terni, 1899), 60-62. ; Luigi Lanzi, “Note e ricordi sulla chiesa di San Francisco in Terni,” *Miscellanea Francescana* 9 (1902): 3-10. ; O. Gurrieri, “Terni,” in *Le cento città d’Italia*,

(Milan), 5-6. ; A. De Angelis, "Il Tempio di San Francesco," in *Latina Gens*, (1931), 39-40. ; L. Morelli, *Terni*, (1960), 86-88. ; P. Grassini, "Consolidamento di una chiesa trecentesca mediante cementazione," in *L'industria Italiana del cemento* 30, no. 10, (October 1960): 297.

Works opposed to a Dantesque interpretation include: Umberto Cosmo, "Della così detta Cappella Dantesca," *Giornale Dantesco* 3 (1894) 174-178. ; A. Basserman, *Orme di Dante in Italia*, (Bologna, 1902), 662-663. ; G. Finali, *L'Umbria nella Divina Commedia*, (Spoleto, 1895), 14.

18. The practice of describing the frescoes as scenes "based on Dante's Divine Comedy," continues to the present day. See Touring Club of Italy, *the Heritage Guide: Umbria, A Complete Guide to the Landscape and Hill Towns, including Assisi, Gubbio, Orvieto and Spoleto*, (Milan: Touring Editore s.r.l., 1999), 154.

19. The comparisons would refer to Orcagna's detached frescoes of the *Triumph of Death and Inferno* in the Museo Dell'Opera di Santa Croce in Florence of ca. 1348, and Giotto's *Last Judgment* scene in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua of 1305.

20. Luigi Lanzi, "La Cappella Paradisi nella chiesa di San Francesco in Terni," *Bollettino della deputazione di storia patria del l'Umbria*, 14 (1908): 261-279.

21. Years later a second argument regarding the Chapel's iconography was published by Paola Mostarda. I shall discuss Mostarda's theory later in this chapter. See Paola Mostarda, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Giacomo della Marca nella Cappella Paradisi a Terni," *Esercizi*, 4 (1981): 54-67.

22. Roberto Longhi and Andrea Ronchi, "Primizie di Lorenzo da Viterbo," *Vita artistica* 1 (1926): 109-114.

23. Federico Zeri, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Bollettino d'arte* 46 (1961): 41-65.

24. See Endnotes - Chapter Four, note 171.

25. Unfortunately, the public can no longer enter the Chapel, which has been cordoned off and protected with an alarm system. The frescoes must now be observed from outside of the archway behind a barrier. In addition, the poor lighting from the lancet window (as well as a prohibition against photography) have made the reproduction of the frescoes virtually impossible. Further adding to the problem of examining the entire cycle is the fact that the figures of Enoch and Elijah that occupy the inner portion of the entrance arch cannot be seen unless one actually stands inside the Chapel.

26. Because it was the center of the Italian armaments industry, Terni was destroyed by the Allied bombings of the Second World War. Outside of the Church of San Francesco, little remains of the ancient city. Although they survived, the Church and the

Cappella Paradisi were both so badly damaged that for months their walls were open and exposed to the elements.

27. The most recent restoration is described in Aldo Cicinelli, "Gli affreschi della Cappella Paradisi," *Italia nostra* 236 (1985): 38-41.

28. The sinners in each of the caves of the middle register are identified by words written above them corresponding to five of the Seven Deadly Sins: sloth, pride, avarice, wrath, and lust. It is likely that the lower register depicted the punishments of the last two sins, envy and gluttony. Although Dante's Purgatory, like his Inferno, was based on a hierarchy that began with pride on the lowest level, followed by envy, wrath, sloth, avarice, gluttony, and lust, we find no corresponding hierarchy in Bartolomeo's vision.

29. Adorno, 5.

30. Ibid., "Proprio questo criterio di unità prospettico-luministica in relazione allo spettatore rivela una conoscenza da parte di Bartolomeo delle esperienze masacesche; conoscenza che non è assorbimento dello spirito umanistico fiorentino; è solo un accenno esteriore che non incide nelle sostanza. Ma rivela ugualmente un allargamento culturale al di là dei limiti della provincia. . . ."

31. Ibid., "[f]orse, poteva essere determinato dai contatti con le opere dell'Angelico durante il soggiorno romano ed è un elemento che convalida la datazione dopo il 1450, più precisamente nel periodo vuoto che troviamo nei documenti fra l'ultimo pagamento in Vaticano (28 novembre 1453) ed il momento in cui il pittore risulta essere in Foligno (1453)."

32. Adorno, 5. ; Lanzi, 265.

33. Dan. 12: 1-13 KJV; Mal. 4: 106 KJV; Isa. 13: 9-11 KJV; Obad. 1: 15-16 KJV. Jeremiah makes frequent references to the coming judgment while Jonah's experiences at Nineveh are seen as paralleling the Universal Judgment.

34. This is particularly relevant with regard to the Prophet Jonah as "la grande Cité de Ninive" is specifically mentioned with regard to neighboring Foligno in Giacomo della Marca's *Santissima Unione* (Appendix I, page 2).

35. The beginnings of Bartolomeo's use of a three dimensional halo can be seen in the crucifixion scenes of the *Trinity* from the Church of San Francesco in Cascia and the *San Nicolò Crucifixion* in Foligno. Both works date from the fifth decade of the Quattrocento. The haloes of both crucified figures appear to slightly tilt in the viewer's direction, and in addition, those of the three remaining angels in the *San Nicolò Crucifixion* are clearly plate-like and foreshortened.

36. There are three paintings by Boccati with possible origins in Perugia that were painted toward the middle of the Quattrocento and that show haloes in perspective. They

are, the *Madonna of Pergola* of 1447, painted for the Brotherhood of the Disciplinati of San Domenico; the *Madonna and Child with Angel Musicians*; and a *Madonna and Child with Four Angels*. All are in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria. I have not been able to trace any works to Domenico Veneziano that meet this criteria.

37. Adorno, 6-7.

38. Daniel's prophecies are perhaps the most comprehensive of Old Testament apocalyptic visions. In books 7 through 12 his vision sweeps the entire course of Gentile world-rule to its catastrophic conclusion and ultimately the creation of the Messianic kingdom.

39. While the analogy to Castagno is relevant, a strong typological relationship to that of the Beato Crisci from the *San Salvatore Triptych* is less likely. The stronger relationship lies with the figures of Bartolomeo's *Pentecost* of the 1440's.

40. Isa. 53: 1-12 KJV (King James Version).

41. The author notes that the typology and placement Bartolomeo's Jonah anticipates Signorelli's *Empedocles* at Orvieto. This relationship should be expanded to include an additional series of six grotesques also found in Signorelli's cycle of frescoes. These include the figures of *Cicero*, *Virgil*, *Ovid* (?), *Lucan*, *Statius*, and *Dante*. Each are placed in square frames, some with scrolls, in positions and with expressions reminiscent of Bartolomeo's prophets. While Bartolomeo's figures are concerned with prophecy, those of Signorelli reflect a humanist reconciliation with the Church in the wake of Savonarola. See Adorno, 6. ; Jonathan Reiss, *The Renaissance Antichrist: Luca Signorelli's Orvieto Frescoes*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), Illustrations, figures 19-24.

42. The landscape in Bartolomeo's *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* and that of his *Christ on the Road to Emmaus* from late fourth or early fifth decades of the Quattrocento give us some indication of the refinement of the master's landscape. However, missing from each is the sense of a natural randomness that appears in the lunette of *Enoch and Elijah*.

43. Adorno, 7.

44. Adorno notes that a corresponding relationship exists between these two figures and that of two figures that are found in a miniature in *Hymnal III of Stroncone* (Municipality of Stroncone, Terni). Within the latter "A" in the upper portion, there is a figure of Christ between two angels. In the lower portion, two prophets are posed in a position identical to that of the figures in Bartolomeo's lunette. Considering the painter's close relationship to Terni, it is probable that he was familiar with the hymnal. See A. Serafini, "Ricerche sulla miniature Umbra," *L'arte* 15, no. 4 (1912): 56., in Adorno, 16, note, 25.

45. Guardabassi, *Indice-Guida dei monumenti dell'Umbria*, 314-315. ; Lanzi, "La Cappella Paradisi," 265.

46. Zeri, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso," 54.

47. Gen. 5: 24 KJV: *And Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him.* ; Heb. 11: 5 KJV: *By faith Enoch was translated that he should not see death; and was not found, because God had translated him: for before his translation he had this testimony, that he pleased God.* ; 2 Kings. 2: 11 KJV: *And it came to pass, as they still went on, and talked, that, behold, there appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, and parted them both asunder; and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven.*

48. Isa. 7: 14 KJV (King James Version): *Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.*

49. "Jesus the king comes in peace God made man."

50. Cicinelli also uses the analogy of the veil in reference to the lunette. See Cicinelli, "Appunti," 34.

51. Adorno, 7.

52. At the foot of this wall on the right side and directly below the *Punishments of Purgatory*, the image of a female Saint is inserted within a small niche that probably once stood next to an altar or chair where the shape still remains on her right, and adjacent to the choir or altar that was located on the central wall. Along the border that adorns the vestment around her collar we find, in Gothic script, the name, "Santa Margareta." Bartolomeo used a similar convention in his Rospigliosi Triptych of several years earlier where on the border of the vestments of the Virgin and one of the three Magi we find respectively, "Ave Maria" and "Ich diene." With regard to this Saint, the question then arises as to what her relationship is to the *Last Judgment* and particularly to the adjoining scene of the *Punishments of Purgatory*. Margaret, a nun of the Third Order of Friars Minor had deep roots in a local cult that was centered in Cortona and Arezzo. Her legend notes that as a youth she was "much drawn to the world" but after years of giving in to temptation she became convinced of the necessity of self-discipline and dedicated her life to religion. Adorno suggests that her appearance beneath the scene of the *Punishments of Purgatory* is symbolic of the redemption from sin through penitence as depicted by the souls who are cleansed above.

53. Lanzi, "La Cappella Paradisi," 274. In this instance he notes that "the central group, for example, represents some sinners who hasten toward a middle point, and while carrying the legend "vainglory," recall instead the punishment of the slothful:

*Noi siam di voglia a muoverci sì pieni,  
Che ristar non potem; per però perdona,  
se villania nostra giustizia tieni.*

See Robert Hollander, trans., and Jean Hollander, trans., *Purgatorio* (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 368.

<sup>54.</sup> With the exception of wrath and vainglory which are written on the wall of Purgatory in capitalized Latin, the other three sins, avarice, sloth, and lust are written in Gothic script. It is interesting to note that the major themes of Giacomo della Marca's sermons usually revolved around factionalism and violence – both with roots in pride.

<sup>55.</sup> Zeri, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso," 57., "sotto di precursore dei repertori di "Science Fiction."

<sup>56.</sup> Adorno, 12., "C'è dunque, nella cappella Paradisi, un ordine che va ben oltre la distribuzione logica dei temi, per assumere piuttosto il significato di un coordinamento compositivo razionale, malgrado l'espressionistico superamento di ogni razionalismo oggettivo nella narrazione."

<sup>57.</sup> Lanzi suggests that this figure represents Adam who is being recognized by the rightmost angel in the opposite scene of the *Descent of Christ into Limbo*. He turns his face away in shame because according to Dante he was "the cause of all the exile" and cannot confront the glance of Christ. Lanzi, 273.

<sup>58.</sup> Seen as a separate realm apart from Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory, the concept of Limbo has traditionally taken on two dimensions. The *limbus patrum* applies to a temporary state of the souls of the just who, although cleansed of sin, were excluded from heaven until Christ's triumphant ascension. This would have applied to figures such as Dante's "virtuous pagans" or the Old Testament patriarchs. The *limbus infantium* or *limbus puerorum* referred to a permanent place for unbaptized children and others who, dying without great sin, were excluded from heaven only because of original sin. The Limbo of the Christian tradition was derived from Jewish sources appearing in extra-canonical writings of the first and second centuries B.C. The earliest concepts were generally established upon three beliefs. The first was that the condition of Limbo's inhabitants was one of happiness; the second that their condition was only temporary; and the third that it is to be replaced by a state of final and permanent bliss when the Messianic Kingdom is established. In Bartolomeo's small depiction we appear to be witnessing the first moments of the final condition, that in which Christ has descended into Limbo and is releasing those virtuous souls who will now enter eternity. See Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

<sup>59.</sup> Zeri, 56.

<sup>60.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61.</sup> Ibid., "e col masacesco torace "ignudo,, tradotto in uno scricchiolante incastro di nervature spinali, costole e pellami, non meno della carcassa di un cane."

62. In addition, in the middle ages it was believed that John the Baptist was sanctified in the womb and had never committed sin.

63. Lanzi suggests that the painter was not satisfied to paint Christ with only a cruciform halo, and had wished to include the halo wrapped within the furling white flag as a sign of victory. He notes that the combination of the flag and superimposed red and white halo recall to the banner and motto of Constantine: *In hoc signo vinces*, and adds that Bartolomeo's allusion may be drawn from *Il Paradiso*, Canto 14, 121-126:

*so from that choir of glories I heard swell  
so sweet a melody that I stood tranced,  
through what hymn they were singing, I could not tell.*

*That it was raised in lofty praise was clear,  
for I heard "Arise" and "Conquer" – but as one  
may hear, not understanding, and still hear.*

See Lanzi, 273, note 1. ; Ciardi, *Il Paradiso*, 151.

64. Adorno, 13., "Anzi questo Cristo dimostra chiaramente come una posizione tradizionale, addirittura di origine bizantina (come in San Marco a Venezia o nel Duomo di Torcello), possa diventare tipicamente 'internazionale' nell'accentuato linearismo, nell'esasperazione dinamica, nell'intera concezione compositiva."

65. Lanzi, "La Cappella Paradisi," 265.

66. Adorno, 8.

67. Ibid.

68. Zeri, 54.

69. Zeri, 45.

70. Lanzi, 267.

71. Ibid.

*E come quinci il glorioso scanno  
Della Donna del cielo, e gli altri scanni  
Di sotto lui cotanta cerna fanno;  
Così di contra quel del gran Giovanni,  
Che sempre santo il deserto e il martiro  
Sofferse, e poi l'inferno da due anni.*

72. The English translation of *Il Paradiso*, Canto 32, 28-33, is taken from John Ciardi, trans., *Paradiso* (New York: Modern Library, 1996), 346.

73. Zeri, 54. "Ministri assistenti al Soglio Ultramondano."
74. Ibid.
75. Lanzi, 268. "Queste tre composizioni e'interessano specialmente perchè non trovano riscontro in nessun altro dipinto del genere, e, come è disposto a concedere lo stesso prof. Cosmo, rappresentano la gerarchia che il poeta pone appunto a piè del trono di Dio."

76. Ibid.

*In essa gerarchia son le tre Dee,  
Prima Dominazioni e poi Virtudi,  
L'ordine terzo Podestadi ee.*

77. Ciardi, 305.
78. Lanzi, 268.
79. Adorno, 9. ; Lanzi, 268. ; Zeri, 54.
80. Zeri notes that there is also a harp near the figure of King David. Upon personally viewing the Chapel and reviewing the photographic evidence, I have been unable to verify this. Zeri, 54.

81. Adorno, 9.

82. Ibid.

83. The concept of heaven as "Abraham's bosom" is taken from Christ's parable of the rich man and Lazarus, Luke 16: 22-23 KJV (King James Version): *And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom; the rich man also died, and was buried; and in hell he lift up his eyes, being in torments and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom.*

I was later pleased to find that the French scholar Anca Bratu also recognized this figure as that of Abraham. See Anca Bratu, "Fin des temps et temps du Purgatoire dans quelques Jugements Derniers de la fin du moyen age," in Centre Universitaire d'Etudes et de Recherches Médiévales d'Aix, *Fin des temps et temps de la fin dans l'univers médiéval*. (Aix-en-Provence: Bureau du C.U.E.R. M.A., 1993), 75.

84. We should also keep in mind that unlike the other figures in the quatrefoils, Abraham is not generally considered a prophet.

85. Lanzi, 268.

86. Before the seventeenth century the city had three protectors, Saint Anastasio, Saint Procolo, and Saint Valentine. Following a decree by the sacred congregation of

Rieti in 1642, the city was placed under a single protector, Saint Valentine. See Adorno, 17, note 35.

87. See "Dominic" in David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 3d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 133.

88. *Ibid.*, "Benedict" 45.

89. Adorno, 18, note 37. "Probabilmente a quest'epoca, in cui la cappella fu rimodernata a cura della famiglia committente, risale la collocazione, sulla fronte esterna, di un monumento a Giovan Giulio Paradisi, di cui parla il Lanzi [Lanzi, 265, note 1.] citando un manoscritto (che egli dice del XVII secolo) e riportando anche l'iscrizione. Egli ritiene che anche la decorazione che si trova ai piedi della parete di fondo sia del '600. Questa decorazione, a finti marmi e porfidi, oggi malridotta, appare invece settecentesca. Credo perciò che l'intera cappella possa essere stata rimodernata e restaurata dopo i terremoti che sconvolsero la città nel 1703 provocandone il rinnovamento edilizio e che pertanto la datazione per la decorazione e per il suddetto manoscritto debba essere spostata al secolo XVIII. Del resto, che nel primo decennio di quel secolo vi furono, nella chiesa di San Francesco, dei lavori sovvenzionati dal patriato locale, è provato dagli affreschi (perduti con i bombardamenti dell'ultima guerra) nelle lunette del chiostro, ciascuno accompagnato dallo stemma della famiglia committente: fra queste era la Giocosi-Paradisi."

90. Zeri, 55.

91. Even though we can only see angels with swords driving small figures representing the souls of sinners into the Inferno, Guardabassi and Lanzi incorrectly interpreted this scene as representing the *Fall of the Rebellious Angels*.

92. Zeri, 57.

93. Adorno, 18, note 40.

94. *Ibid.* 10.

95. *Ibid.*

96. Lanzi, 270, note 1.

97. The English translation of the Inferno, Canto 32, 34-36, is taken from John Ciardi, trans., *Inferno* (New York: Modern Library, 1996), 272.

98. Lanzi, 270, note 2.

99. Ciardi, 176.

100. Lanzi, 270, note 3.

101. Ciardi, 177.

102. Lanzi, 270, note 4.

103. Ciardi, 247.

104. Ciardi, 237, 34-36:

*And all the other souls that bleed and mourn  
along this ditch were sowers of scandal and schism:  
as they tore others apart, so they are torn.*

105. Adorno, 11.

106. Cosmo suggests that the Chapel's iconography is derived from the apocalyptic writings of Giacomino da Verona, author in the second half of the thirteenth century of two small poems in which are described the penalties of the Inferno and the rewards of Paradise: *De Babilonia Civitate Infernali* and *De Jerusalem Celesti*. Mostarda (as well as other critics) believe that we must discard these works as a source of inspiration of the Terni cycle as there is no mention of Purgatory, the descent into Limbo, and any of the other elements that would correspond to the scenes on the left wall. In addition she notes that the author's depiction of Paradise and the Inferno have very little in common with the appearance of Bartolomeo's elect or those consigned to the tortures of the Inferno. See Umberto Cosmo, "Della cosiddetta Cappella Dantesca in Terni," *Giornale Dantesco* III, IV (1894-1895): 174-178.

107. Bruno Toscano, "The History of Art and the Forms of Religious Life," in *History of Italian Art*, vol. 2, ed. Giulio Einaudi (Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 1994).

108. See Alberto Ghinato, O.F.M., "Apostolato religioso e sociale di San Giacomo della Marca in Terni," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 49 (1956): 106-142, 352-390.

109. Mostarda, 59.

110. *Ibid.*

111. *Ibid.*, Mostarda uses an example of this inconsistency the idea that in *Il Purgatorio* the slothful are forced to run the entire length of their plateau for the duration of their penance. In Bartolomeo's fresco she notes that the slothful are "immersi nell'acqua per meta, (perhaps she has confused the slothful with the lustful in this instance) e in generale, alla varietà delle, pene immaginate dal Sommo Poeta, sembrano qui prevalere solo quelle del fuoco e dell'acqua, che ricordano piuttosto l'al di là della fantasia popolare del medioevo che non il Purgatorio dantesco." She also notes similar inconsistencies in the opposite wall, that of the Inferno. Here she finds that, "il regno di

Satana ha suggerito anch'esso molte risposdenze col Poema, a cominciare della stessa struttura con una divisione in settori per i diversi peccatori. Anche qui si potrebbe condurre un confronto puntuale, brano per brano, fra gli affreschi e le terzine dantesche, che porterebbe a concludere con queste considerazioni: se una prima impressione può essere quella di trovarsi, specie per le pareti laterali, di fronte all'illustrazione dei regni danteschi, almeno nelle linee generali dell'impostazione e nelle strutture fondamentali, a una lettura più attenta viene poi a mancare una totale fedeltà al Poema, creandosi confusioni nelle corrispondenze tra pene e peccatori, e a voler per forza mantenere l'interpretazione dantesca rimangono anche fratture e incongruenze che non convincono." Ibid, 60-61.

<sup>112.</sup> Ibid., 62. "Il motivo è che in questi ultimi vi si << racconta >> non l'al di là nel suo aspetto fissato in eterno, ma il Giudizio Universale nel suo svolgersi. Le scene devono perciò essere lette in modo unitario e continuo, dalla parete sinistra a quella destra, secondo un movimento rotatorio, suggeritore dello sconvolgimento delle cose, che resterà frequente, successivamente, nelle raffigurazioni di Giudizio."

<sup>113.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114.</sup> Luke 21: 27 KJV (King James Version).

<sup>115.</sup> I Thess. 5: 16 KJV (King James Version).

<sup>116.</sup> Mostarda, 62. "gesti disperati."

<sup>117.</sup> Ibid., "Questa scena vuole quindi rappresentare non il Purgatorio, ma più genericamente una condizione di attesa del giudizio, un momento in cui le anime, non ancora introdotte nella dimensione di eternità, rimangono partecipi della realtà umana del peccato."

<sup>118.</sup> Ibid., "l'indicazione di una colpa, entro le quali le figure si trovano ora immerse nell'acqua, ora in mezzo a falde di fuoco. L'iconografia tradizionale dei castighi infernali è utilizzata qui per raffigurare i peccati stessi, come condizioni di disagio."

<sup>119.</sup> In the Cesena cycle the idea of the Saint as intercessor is best illustrated by the story of the *Death of the Knight of Celano*.

<sup>120.</sup> Mostarda, 63.

<sup>121.</sup> Alberto Ghinato, O.F.M., "Apostolato religioso e sociale di San Giacomo Della Marca in Terni," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 49 (1956): 106-142, 352-390.

<sup>122.</sup> *Archivio Comunale di Terni*, Riformanze, vol. 499, Cancelliere Battista Michaelangeli di Città di Castello, f. 120r, 1445 octobris 25, in Ghinato, 387.

<sup>123.</sup> Mostarda, 64.

- <sup>124.</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>125.</sup> The text is conserved in the Codex V H 270 of the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, and was published in its entirety by P.R. Lior, *Studi Francescani* 58 (1961): 32-61., in Mostarda, 67, note 13.
- <sup>126.</sup> Luke 21: 27 KJV (King James Version). Giacomo's original Latin words read: *Videbunt Filium Hominis venientem in nube cum potestate magna et maiestate.*, in Mostarda, 64.
- <sup>127.</sup> Mostarda 65., Giacomo's phrase reads: *erit preparatio troni iudicis in aera et aliorum perfectorum virorum.*
- <sup>128.</sup> Matt. 19: 28 KJV (King James Version).
- <sup>129.</sup> I Thess. 4: 16-17 KJV (King James Version).
- <sup>130.</sup> Mostarda, 64., *Et tunc omnes venient ab oriente aliqui cum, aliqui cum tristitia.*
- <sup>131.</sup> Ibid., *omnes mortui de sepulcris venient et omnes latitantes in cavernis.*
- <sup>132.</sup> Ibid., *Et tunc omnis oculus videbit iudicem omnipotentem cum maiestate et potestate magna.*
- <sup>133.</sup> Matt. 24: 30 KJV (King James Version).
- <sup>134.</sup> Mostarda, 65., *O domine, michte nos ad aliquem locum amenum ... At ipse: in ignem maledicti... At illi decent: ...da nobis ad minus piissimum dominum,... At ille: dyabolus, cuius servi estis, erit dominus vester. At illi: o Domine, da nobis societatem amenam. Et ille: et angeli eius.*
- <sup>135.</sup> Codex V H 270 of the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, published in its entirety by P.R. Lior, *Studi Francescani* 58 (1961): 32-61., in Mostarda, 67, note 14.
- <sup>136.</sup> Mostarda, 65-66., "Nella descrizione che il frate dà dell'inferno, la varietà delle pene suscitate dalla sua fantasia è già tale da non dover necessariamente supporre nelle nostre pitture la presenza dell'inventiva dantesca, o meglio, se questa si avverte in qualche misura negli affreschi, vi arriva proprio filtrata dalla predicazione di S. Giacomo, che si serviva molto di Dante e delle sue immagini per le proprie orazioni. Né questo sorprende se si pensa che nel XV sec. La Divina Commedia è usata in ambiti popolari come opera didascalica per divulgare le verità della fede tra i semplici. E il carattere didascalico e ammonitore degli affreschi di Terni non si può negare."
- <sup>137.</sup> Federico Zeri, "Renaissance and Pseudo-Renaissance," in *History of Italian Art*, vol. 2, ed. Giulio Einaudi (Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 1994), 354.

- <sup>138.</sup> Zeri, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso," 41.
- <sup>139.</sup> *Archivio di Stato di Ancona, Notarile.*, 178, Chiarozzo Sparipalli. Vol. (1420-39), pp. 51, 52, 57., in Mario Sensi, "Documenti per Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Paragone* 28 (1977): 133. See Chapter 2, notes 10-13.
- <sup>140.</sup> The contract is dated 31 March 1434 (Appendix III); the second 13 October 1439 (Appendix IV).
- <sup>141.</sup> Adorno, 14., "Più importante perché, se è vero che Bartolomeo, pittore gotico-tardo, chiude un'epoca, è anche vero che egli è l'anello necessario a spiegarci la continuità della pittura umbra."
- <sup>142.</sup> F. Mason Perkins, "La pittura all'esposizione d'arte antica di Perugia," *Rassegna d'arte* (1907): 93-94.
- <sup>143.</sup> This association was first proposed by Jonathan Reiss. See Jonathan Reiss, *The Renaissance Antichrist: Luca Signorelli's Orvieto Frescoes*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).
- <sup>144.</sup> Signorelli was not the first artist hired after Fra Angelico to complete the commission in Orvieto. Two surviving contracts indicate that Benozzo Gozzoli and Perugino also, on separate occasions, attempted but failed to complete the commission.
- <sup>145.</sup> Reiss, 48.
- <sup>146.</sup> Zeri, 57., "un creatore di "marziani,, battezzati e di Galassie metafisiche."
- <sup>147.</sup> Frederick Hartt, *History of Italian Renaissance Art : Painting, Sculpture, Architecture*, (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1994), 478.
- <sup>148.</sup> Unlike Bartolomeo's depiction of Purgatory, Signorelli's is clearly modeled on Dante's *Purgatorio*.
- <sup>149.</sup> Reiss, 49.
- <sup>150.</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.
- <sup>151.</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>152.</sup> Michele Faloci-Pulignani, "Bartolomeo di Tommaso, pittore Umbro del XV secolo," *Rassegna d'arte Umbra* 3, no. 3, (July 1921): 80.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

## **NOTE TO USERS**

**Copyrighted materials in this document have not been filmed at the request of the author. They are available for consultation at the author's university library.**

**345 - 436**

**This reproduction is the best copy available.**

**UMI<sup>®</sup>**

## Appendix I

Ihesus Christus Amen.

Ad laude et gloria de lo omnipotente altissimo et eterno dio, de la, soa Benedetta et gloriosissima Madre Madonna Sancta Maria: de li soi beetissimi apostoli Moser sancto Piero e meser sancto Paulo: del glorioso martire et confessore meser sancto Feliciano capo, guida, protectore e difensore di questa magnifica citá di Foligno e di tutta la corte celestial. Mediante le optime et sanctissime predicetione et adoperetione de lo Reuerendo uenerabile et religiosissimo padre meser *frate Iacomo de la Marchia* religiosissimo et sanctissimo predicetore et annuncietore de la sacra scriptura a di l ordine de li freti minori; Con licentia et consentimento et adhortetione de lo Reuerendissimo in christo padre et signor Monseignor lo Cardinale de Fermo dignissimo legeto di questa, prouincia; Secundo anchora, li ordinamenti e reformatiõne facte nel consilio de li nouanta.

Li infrascripti Magnifici Signori Priori del populo di questa magnifica citá, di Foligno, cioè Pieromarino di Iohan di Petro; Crisimben di Thomas, ser Antonio Spigeti, honofrio d antonio, fulignutij prior nouello, Marino di Domenico Ciamfer de Moro prior di Montagna, Nicolo Nochi de Marchusetellis prior del piano con altri deci infrasscritti cittadini ad queste cose per li dicti magnifici Signori priori deputeti et elletti per possanza et arbitrio a loro concessa nel ditto consiglio de li nouanta, cioè, Sinibaldo di Iohan de Pagliarino, maestro Iohan de Scopio medico, meser Salustio per meser Iohan Moscetello so padre, Maestro Honofrio do maestro Petro medico, Grisante de maestro Iheronimo, Petro de Francesco de Ciolo, maestro Nicolo medico, meser Guido de Bicijs, Raynaldo di Lucha, Auerardo di ser Pietro, per mantinimento del stato di sancta Chiesa, de lo Sanctissimo in Christo padre a signore nostro signore papa Eugenio Quarto, et honore et triumpho d essi e de lo Reuerendissimo in Christo padre et seguor Monseignor lo camerlengo, de lo Reuerendissimo in Christo padre et signor Monseignor lo legeto antedicto, et ad exaltetione acrisemento et bona uentura di questa magnifica, Comunitá con so distretto a contado e di tutti li boni Cittadini et Contadini d essa seruitori di sancta Chiesa et amici et beniuoli del presente pacifico stato: Et a cio ogni homo ettenda con diligentia al pacifico et bon uiuere, et che l odij ranchori et maliuolencie s alchune ne sono siano totaliter extirpete et gitete a terra, e che lo inimicho de la humana netura mediante lo adiutorio de lo omnipotente nostro Dio non habi a seminare discordie, ne zizanie per le quale lo stato di nostro Signore e di sancta chiesa ne lo ben uiuer di questa, citá per l auenire hauesse ne potesse hauer alcuno manchamento, et a cio li boni habiano loco e stato a li pessimi et maluagi siano mandeti in ultimo exterminio con loro a soi seguaci, e ciascuno secundo li soi meriti habiano le debite remuneracione, cioe che li boni siano exalteti, et repremieti del ben fare a di soa uolunta: ad li cetiui a traditori si alcuno per sugestione diabolica s etrouera per l auenire, si facia tal demostracione con effetto che in perpetuo questa magnifica citá con so districto et contado stia a deuocion di sancta chiesa, a del Sanctissimo nostro Signor a de li altri summi pontifici canoniche intransium a di soi Reuerentissimi legeti Ambasietori et Commissarij.

Et a cio questo pacifico stato habia a crescer et durare di ben in meglio. In questo felicissimo giorno et in questa beetissima hora in prosentia de lo Reuerendo padre et religiosissimo meser *frate Iacobo de la Marca*; del eximio doctore meser Troillo de

Verdilotis in loco de lo Reuerendissimo Monseignor lo legeto e di me Bernardo de Albricis da Como canceller di questa, magnifica comunita stipulanti et receuenti in uice et nome de la sacrosancta Romana chiesa, de lo Santissimo in christo padre et signore nostro signore papa Eugenio quarto, do li Reuerendissimi Monseignori li Cardenali antedicti e di questo magnifico Comune. Voyano et comandano li magnifici Signori priori antedicti per inspiretione diuina, per commissione a lor facta, a per consiglio de quili deci spectabili Cittadini di sopra nomineti per admonitione del prelibeto uenerabile et religiosissimo padre meser *frate Iacobo*, per consentimento et adhortetione de lo Reuerentissimo Monseignor lo Legeto antedicto come di sopra si contiene.

Che prima loro magnifici Signorl priori e di poi li Infrascripti Citadini del ordine del prioreto, de le Compagnie, et anchora li Consuli et sindici del contado li quali sono steti ellecti et descripti et admoniti, per unione exaltacione gloria et triumpho, e per lo pacifico e bon uiuer di questa magnifica Comunita, dauanti a tuto lo populo jurano a li sacri Dei euangeli con le mane tocando le scripture de lo sacretissimo mesale, di obseruare et fare obseruare in tutto a per tutto li infrascripti sanctissimi a benedetti Capituli et ordinamenti facti ordinati et disposti cosi sanctamente, a di non contrauenire ne pensare, rimosso amore, timore, prece, pregere, rauchore, odio, et ciaschuna altra humana gracia: preponendo dio nanti ali ochi soi, a tuta la corte celestial.

Considerando quanto bene: quanto utile: quanta fama: a qual eternal gloria seguitara al stato di sancta, Chiesa, e di questa magnifica Comunita, seruandosi questa sanctissima et benedetta unione cosi santamente ordineta e disposte, ricordandossi de la grande Citá de Ninive, la quale reducta a penitentia fo dal Altissimo nostro Dio, non solamente preserueta, ma magnificeta grandemente, et receptata in gracia, per che a penitentia a ben fare si redusse, per imitacione da la quale, incomenzaremo a legere quisti sanctissimi et benedetti statuti, ordinamenti et decreti. Lo nome de lo omnipotente nostro dio a lo so adiutorio in principio mezo et fine sempre con gran deuotione chiamando Amen.

Yhs Christus Amen.

#### Capituli statuti et ordinamenti de la sanctissima unione

1. Primo jurarono li magifici Signori Priori del Populo de la magnifica Citá di Foligno di sopra e di sotto nominati, a similiter l'altri de la sopradicta sanctissima et benedetta unione. Ad devocion e stato di sancta Chiesa, e del pacifico e ben uiuer di questa magnifica Citá. E che niuna persona de qualuncha condictione grado a prehemencia si sia, debba attentare ne fare contra lo presente bono e pacifico stato per ognia modo o via si contrafaciesse a pena de la testa e confiscacione de tutti li soi beni li quali beni siano per la mitade de la Camera apostolica e l'altra mitade di questo magnifico comune di Foligno.

2. Anora che niuna persona de qualuncha condictione si sia presumesse ne attempasse la morte o robagione di beni, cioe di casa d alcuno Citadino o Contadino, ne rechidesse alcuno a la dicta morte o robagione etiandio si non havesse effecto li sia pena la testa a publicatione de li soi beni con la diuisione et applicacione como e dicto de sopra.

3. Ancora che niuna persona de qualuncha stato e condictione si sia ardisca o uer presuma di far aduneta alcuna o conuenticulo d alcuna persona in niuno loco senza

special licenza de lo Reuerentissimo Monseignor lo Legeto di questa, prouincia, o soi Locumtenenti, e commissari, o uer de li magnifici Signor priori sotto la predicta pena: Saluo a reserueto per cagion de noze, ad altri conuitti o quando morisse alcuna persona o uero altri simili casi liciti boni usiteti et honesti.

4. Anchora che niuna persona de qualuncha stato prehemencia et conditione si sia ardisca ne presuma ne in parole ne in facti soleuare ne attentare di soleuare el populo ne alcuna altra persona do la Citá ne Conta di Foligno per la quale no seguisse la suleuacione del dicto populo sotto la pena predicta.

5. Echora euenendo lo caso che bisognasse d armare che ciaschuno de li infrascripti jurati de la unione debbia pender l arme e uenire armato al pallacio de li magnifici Signori priori al sono de la Campana grossa del Comune a soi tochi continui et a requisicione de li dicti magnifici Signori Priori a stare ad obediencia a fare quanto per li Signori priori li sara commesso. E chi contrafaciesse li magnifici priori in sema con lo Consiglio de li nouanta lo debbiano priuare de la dicta unione in forma et modo che piu non possa esser rimesso et uno altro in so locho sia remesso per lo decto concilio. Et che niuna persona sia tanta arditata ne presuma di prender l arme che non sia de la dicta iura senza expressa licencia de li magnifici Signori priori: Saluo si non fosse in compagnia de li dicti jurati li quali nihilominus non possano menar sego piu che uno compagno armato che non sia de la dicta iura, a la pena si imponesse per li magnifici Signori priori, con l'altri de la iura, contra quili contrafacesorono: Et questo non s intenda quill de la propria casa de li jureti de la unione li quali ex nunc li sia licito di andare in copagnia de li dicti de la iura armati o disarmati senza alcuna pena. E che li Sindaci et Consuli del Contado li quali sono in questa iura et unione bisognando d armare como ne dicto di sopra soli vengano armati al pallacio de li magnifici Signori priori, a ueruno altro debbia, prender l arme a pena de la testa.

6. Anchora che li infrascripti homini de la dicta Iura siano tenuti a dengase radunare doe uolte l ano al meno cioe ne la natiuita di nostro Segnor a de la Pentcoste, et tante altre uolte quanta uolte fosse di bisogno a richiesta et commandamenti de li magnifici Signori priori. La quale adunanza se facia nel pallacio de li dicti magnifici Signori priori. Et ne la quale si debbia fare uns municione. Che niuno ardisca no presuma di farsi grande a uer menar seguito sego, altramente sara punito como di sopra si contiene. E che ne la dicta adunanza si debbia hauer colloquio et ragionamento, si niuno sente alcuna persona che faci, ne tenti de fare alcuna cosa, la qual sia o possa esser contra lo stato di sancta Chiesa, et contra lo pacifico uiuer di questa Comunitá. E di hauer colloquio et ragionamento de tutti bisogni et necessita di tutta Is Comunitá accio se possa mantenere a deuocione de sancta Chiesa et in bono et pacifico stato. Et chi non comparissi ne li dicti tempi a richesta de li dicti magnifici Signori priori, non hauendo legittima cason cada pena in uno ducato per la prima uolta, la qual pena peruenga nel Comune. E da una uolta in su si doppia la dicta pena, et sia casso ipso facto de la dicta Iura et unione. Et uno altro sia ellecto in so locho.

7. Anchora: Si alcuno de la dicta Iura morisse o uero per infirmitá o per altro caso non fosse ydoneo a la dicta unione, o per tre annj si absentasse di questa magnifica Citá, li dicti magnifici Signori priori habiano possanza con consiglio de li nouanta de elligere uno altro in so locho accio che el numero de la dicta Iura non uenga a minuirse.

8. Ancora, che ciascuna persona che sentisse o sapesse alcuna cosa la quale podesse risultare in danno a pregiudicio di stato di nostro Signore e del pacifico uiuer di questa magnifica Comunità, o ueramente che fosse contra alcuno de la dicta Iura, cioe risultasse contra la dicta unione el debbia notificare a li Signori priori da li quali sara ben repremieto. Et chi contrafaciesse et non riuellassi cada ne la pena sopradicta de la testa a priuacion de soi beni.

9. Ancora, Che li magnifici Signori priori che sarano per li tempi sieno tenuti et debbiano occurrendo alcuno de li predicti casi contenti ne li sopradioti Capitulli, obseruare et fare obseruare et exequire con diligentia e far exequire tutte le sopradicte cose et pene contra qualuncha contrafaciesse a la pena de fiorini cinquicenti d oro per ciaschuno priore, applicandi a la Camera apostolica irremissibiliter. Le quale exequucione debbiano commettere et far fare al potestà e a li altri officiali de la città di Foligno. Li quali potestà et officiali se in le predicte cosa fossano negligenti cadano in quella medesima pena la quale hauesseno ad mandare ad exequucione.

Anno domini nostri Iesu Christi Millosimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo quinto die dominico sexto mensis Iunij hora circiter tertia, pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo patris et Domini Domini nostri domini Eugenij diuina prouidencia pape quarti, anno quinto decimo. Astante vniuerso fere populo et omni turba magnifice Ciuitatis Fulginia, in platea magna ueteri ante scalas Ecclesie beatissimi et gloriosi martiris sancti Feli ciani, de mandato magnificorum dominorum Priorum et me uocante Religiosissimo ae uenerando patre domino *frate Iacobo de Marchia* predicante in suo Aulogio seu pulpito assendi, et ibi lecto prius proemio alta et intelligibili uoce publicaui ac legi suprascripta omnia Capitula de uerbo ad uerbum prout superius contenta. Dehinc uocati et nominati fuerunt ibidem simili modo omnes et singuli descripti et anotati in ipsa vnione prout in sequentibus foleis continetur. Quorum maior pars deuotissime vnatim iurauit ad sancta Dei Euangelia sacris Missalis scripturis ambabus manibus tactis de obseruantis predictis omnibus singulis Capitulis supradictis. In manibus exhmij doctoris domini Troilli de Virdilotis legum doctoris et commissarii Reuerendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Legeti supradicti stipulantis et recipientis nomine et uice sacrosancte Romane Ecclesie Sanctissimi domini domini nostri et huius pacifici status Magnifice Ciuitatis Fulginei. Et hoc presentibus pro testibus Reuerendo in Christo patre et domino Antonio de Bolognini decretorum doctore Dei gratia Episcopo Fulginatensi: domino Nicolao Magistri Ioannis de Scopio decretorum. doctore priore dicte Ecclesie, domino Mariangelo Simonis, et domino Francisco Paois ambobus Canonicis dicte Ecclesie pro testibus.

Ego Bernardus de Albricis Cumanus publicus Imperiali auctoritate notarius ac in presenciarum Notarius Reformationum et Cancellarius predictae Magnifice Ciuitatis Fulginei de predictis rogatus fui et ideo in testimonium premissorum signum. mei tabellionetus apposui consuetum.

Yhs Xpus.

Infrascripti suut Ciues Fulginei electi et deputati pro sanctissima ac ueneranda unione de qua in precedenti prohemio fit mentio: pro statu sancte Romane Ecclesie Sanctissimi Domini Domini nostri Pape Eugenij et pro quiete ac utilitate status populi

dicte Ciuitatis: Que unio facta, fuit consiliis ac persuasionibus uenerabilis ac religiosissimi patris domini *fratris larobi de Marchia* predicatoris sanctissirri de ordine obseruantie fratrum minorum: consensu tamen et licencia Rouerendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Dominici titulo Sancte † in Iherusalem presbiteri Cardinalis Firmani in hac prouincia legeti dignissimi tempore prioratus magnificorum uirorum Pierimarini Iohannis Petri; Criscimbeni Thomasij: et Antonij Spigati, Honofrij Antonj Folignorj prioris nouelli, Marini Dominici Ciamfer de Morro et Nicolai Nochi de Marcusetellis prioris del plano priorum populi Ciuitatis Fulginei. Et primo ut infra: uidelicet.

*De Terzerio svperiori.*

Bertus Busirilli  
 Ioannes Vagnoli alias campegnola  
 d. Antonius Sconciafesta  
 Nicolaus Ser Ioannis  
 Martinus Puctiari funarius  
 Nicolaus Thome Petrucciis  
 Boncangnius Uia  
 Ambrosinus Ser Cagnij  
 Gregorius Ser Cagni alias boccio  
 10. Raynaldus Luce  
   Marcus domni Nicole  
   Petrus Cicchi renzoli  
   Gaspar Verchanantis  
   Criscambenus Thomasij  
   d. Guido de Bicijs  
   Michael Angelus de dio ti salui  
   Cicchus Scaramucie  
   Iohanpetrucius ricchi.  
   Mag. Angelus Marascalcus  
 20. Bartolorneus Bartolomei Dormani  
   Raynaldus Conradi Galassi  
   Andreas Boncagnij  
   Petrus Sabastiani  
   Gentilis Ser Cicchi  
   Mag. Iohanes Simoli  
   Lucas Adrouanini  
   Ser Sebastianus Ser Francisci  
   Iacobus Massorillo  
   Bartolomens Lucarelli  
 30. Thomas Bartoli vasarius  
   Ser Lucas Lilli  
   Franciscus de la Fide  
   Marchus Pucciti  
   Mag. Lucas aurifex  
   Nicolaus Brunacij  
   Nicolaus Cicharelli  
   Filippus Lucarelli  
   Filippus Francisci  
   Mag. Ioannes Cicchi

40. Baptista Petrutij  
 Metheus Laurencius Laurencii  
 d. Iohannes d. Antonij  
 Iohannes Christoforus cicchori rachameter  
 Sinibaldus Iobannis  
 Iacobus Mazei  
 Ser Nicolaus de la tacha  
 Mag. Andreas mag. Gorij  
 Viteliscus Ceterini  
 Angelus Faretelli
50. Marinangelus vilanucij  
 Johannes Christofori funarius  
 Galasius Petrucij .  
 Nicolaus Luce galassi  
 d. Viuianus Luce  
 Mag. Petrus Benedicti medicus  
 Antonius Petri alias Bagarot

*De Terzerio Medio*

- Bartolouieus Petri Gerardi  
 Johannes Antonius mag. Antonii marascalcus  
 Iacobus Benedictis marascalcus
60. Ulixes Iohannis Stephani  
 Iohanfelix Florij  
 Mag. Petrus de la Casola  
 Averardus Ser Petri  
 Liberetor Iacobi Mariani  
 Nicolaus Busurilli  
 Mag. Nicolaus Medicus  
 Franciscus Petri Lini  
 Honofrius Barnabouis  
 Johannes Angeli Ser nutti
70. Nicolaus Angeli Stephani  
 Iohanthomasius Malpensa  
 Perthomas Lazari  
 Barbarus xpiani  
 Marinangelus Petribelli  
 Marinangelus Nocheri  
 Honofrius magistri Iohannis  
 Thomas Petri Sanctori  
 Nicolaus Ser Jacobi  
 Nicolaus Vagnozori
80. Astorellus Raynaldi  
 Dominicus Perilli  
 D. Johannes Moscetelli  
 Diotealeui Cole  
 Permetheus Saluori  
 Antonius Iohannis de Mezopreito  
 Iohanfilippus Petrucij  
 Liberetor de Corono  
 Michael Nicolai Piche  
 Permarinus Iohannis Petri

90. Iohanthomas mazoni  
 Beadictus Archangeli gentilucij  
 Mag. Honofrius Medicus  
 Iacobus Zacharie  
 Petrus Paulus Feliciani  
 Benincasa Gialdelli  
 Iacobus Ser Benintesij  
 Nicolaus Marcellesii  
 Iohan christoforus Ser Iohannis  
 Iohan christoforus paulilli
100. Petrus Franciscu Pauli Cicharelli  
 Felix Ser Nicholai  
 Iohanantonijs Comes Turris  
 Bartholomeus Iohannis Colis  
 Franciscus Luce Cirocchi  
 Permarinus Petripauli  
 Liberetor de Borsano  
 Iohannes de Borsano  
 Iacobus Gentelucij  
 Metheus Angelus Siluestri Bolognini
110. Iohannes Methiucij  
 Nicolaus Antonius de Cerreto  
 Benedictus Nardi  
 Franciscus Iacobi Pauli  
 Iohantelix Leonardi  
 Benedictus Nardi  
 Franciscus Pauli Iacobi

*De Terzerio Inferiori*

- Marinus Iohannes de Gualdo  
 Ser Christophorus Ser Gili
120. Grisantius magistri Iheronini  
 Methias Methioli  
 Ser Benintesius Ser Iacobi  
 Petrus Francisci Cioli  
 Andreas Raynerij.  
 Iacobus Raynerij  
 Antonius Morselli  
 Cincius Gentilis  
 Nicolaus ser Iohannis Angelilli  
 Iacobus Prioris
130. Petrus Prioeres  
 Mag. Iohannes Appogia  
 Iacobus Petri Appogie  
 d. Nicolaus de Biciis  
 Angelus Iacobi Sticie  
 Iohannes Petri Paulilli  
 Lucarellus Marini  
 Thomas Mactioli  
 Petrus Serantonji  
 Ceterinus Ciarelle
140. Venantius ber Petripauli  
 Liberetor Ciani

- Nicolaus Martini  
 Mag. Iohannes Andrea de Rasiglia  
 Ilacobus Belle  
 Simon Giofelliti  
 Ser Petrus Paulus Ser Iohannis  
 Marione Gnochi alias guerzo  
 Nicolaus Nutilli  
 Filippus Cutugni  
 150. Grossus Funarius  
 Perthomas magistri Antonj  
 Franciscus Iohannis Marci  
 Rolfus Ciani  
 Antonius Methei de farlevolte  
 Marinus Scotta  
 Honofrius de Beccafumo  
 Antonius Nicolai de lozzo  
 Methias Mogneti  
 Antonius Iohannis Vagliozori  
 160. Ser Antonius Spigeti  
 Berrardus Morici  
 Iacobus Petri de Malsangue  
 Antonius Nicolai Morici  
 Angelus de Luciana  
 Petrus Iacobi Sticie

*Societates Fulginei et primo de la Badia*

- D. Agabitus Bartolomei Luce  
 Panucio di Nallo dal Segio  
 Anselmo di Tadiolo  
 Ser Gaspar de Gregorio  
 170. Bartolomeo di Ser Francesco  
 Petropauolo de Petro Tiziolo  
 Antonio de Nicolo de Giacho  
 Nicolo Bello  
 Iacomo alias Zeo  
 Ser Ciano di Renzolo  
 Piero di Vagni  
 Mag. Angelino Cimetore  
 Marinangelo di Ser Marino  
 Ciello di Loffo  
 180. Manello di Iohannj  
 Pieroiohan di Ser Thomas  
 Pagliarino di Iohannj  
 Liberetor di Langilo di Pucito  
 Paolo di Francesco  
 Archangelo di Ser Iohannj  
 Honofrio di Ser Andrea  
 Nicolo del Mazuto  
 Senza amici  
 Leonardo del Angerillo  
 190. Siluestro di Petro Tiziolo

*De La †*

- Pieroiohan di Iohannj de torre  
 Liberetor di Methiolo  
 Iohanni del Getto  
 Thomas di Barzolo  
 Piero di Lucarello  
 Michel di Feliciano  
 Nicolo de Nanzo e lo fretello  
 Bartolomeo di Dominico di Saluoro  
 Nicola di Francisco  
 200. Nicola de la Medegetta  
 Antonio di Ciambrino  
 Ser Iannj di Ser Iohannj  
 Sancto di Benedetto  
 Lucha di Petruccio  
 Filippo de Brunacio  
 Gaspar di Iacomo  
 Petropaulo di Nicoló  
 Iohan di Rusticon  
 Nicolo di Petruccio bambacaro  
 210. Lo Rosso Macellaro  
 Betista d'Antonio  
 Bartolomeo di Melleto  
 Liberetor di Magia  
 Pero Mazaforto  
 Methia de Pellegrino  
 Lucharello di Lucha de Raynaldo  
 Ser Bonconte di Ser Feliciano  
 Nicoló di Barbarino  
 Marino di Berto  
 220. Marinangelo di Marchuccioro  
 Petro Paulo di Francesco  
 Ser Betista da Ser Andrea  
 Filippo di Ser Andrea  
 Agustino di Sorozo  
 Antonio di Ronaiono  
 Nicoló di Botorono  
 Paulo di Gilio  
 Perangelo di Bartolo  
 Andrea del Bogio  
 230. Fiorano di Paulo  
 Vico de Nicoló  
 Bartolomeo alias scoccia  
 Betista di Nuccio  
 Ser Iohan de Ciuitela  
 Mag. Saluucio Muretor  
 Ser Thomas Dominici Foschi  
 Gaspar di Lorenzo di Petro Nutilli

*De la Menacoda*

Nicolo di Marcho  
 Iohanni de Nicolucia

*De le Puelle*

240. Ser Antonio di Iheronimo  
 Benedetto del Angelo di Gualtero  
 Masuccio di Pace  
 Petro di Ventura  
 Pieroiohanni di Tonto

*Do la Mora*

- Langiro di Sacho  
 Iohan Banbacar  
 Iohan d Antonio  
 Andrea di Petro di mezaastro  
 Iacomo de Penicora  
 250. Ceterino di Petro di Mostarda  
 Andrea di Nicoló macellaro  
 Benedetto di Iohanni di Petro  
 Angelucio muretor  
 Betista di Piero de Lino  
 Methis de Cicharello  
 Mariano di Iacomo speciale  
 Ser Sebastiano di Ser Nicoló  
 Iohan Francesco del Cancellier  
 Nicoló di Martino funaro  
 260. Antonio di Petro speciale  
 Ser Francesco di Ser Iohanni  
 Bartolomeo di Thomas Pentore  
 Nicolo d Angolo di Biesolo  
 Raynaldo d Agroli norcino  
 Mag. Gaspar di Iacomo  
 Leonardo di Pietro calzolaio  
 Anselmo di Spago

*De li Franceschi*

- Alexandra di Simone  
 Petro di Boccio trombetta  
 270. Petropaulo Spadaio  
 Santucio del copaio  
 Antonio del Bucio  
 Christofano di Canone  
 Barnaba di maestro Iohanni Fabro  
 Liberetor di Cola acchacha  
 Pasquccio di Puccio funaio  
 Dominico di Pucciario  
 D. Iulio di meser Guaspar  
 Iheronimo di Christiano  
 280. D. Tadeo de Cerretto.

*De li Spauagli*

Honofrio di meser Etto  
 Alexandra di Iohanni di Tachori  
 Oliuero di Bartolomeo di Ludouico  
 Archangelo di Ranalduccio

*De li Amaniti*

Antonio di Pirangelo Bechafumo  
 Conrado di Cola di Besanti  
 Andrea di Pietro di Scotta  
 Benedetto di Nardo  
 Stephano di Iannj di Seruio  
 290. Petro di Salui Puccioli  
 Bartolomeo di meser Cipriano  
 Costanzo di Cola di Besanti  
 Lagnolillo Doliua  
 Giagioa di Cola di Besanti  
 Paulo di Capodaqua  
 Petro di Salui de Dionisio  
 Ser Iacomo di Capodaqua

*Del Borgo*

Nicola di Paulo di Sancto  
 Ser Angelino di Ser Paulo

*De li Fildinghi*

300. D. Honofrio di meser Iohanni  
 Langiro di Stomaretto  
 Thomas di Nicola di Pucciora  
 Iacomo di Gaspar del Pozo  
 Petropauolo de Renzolo de Monaldo  
 Thomas de Grillo  
 Benedetto de Raynero  
 Andrea de Brancotillo  
 Liberetor di Petro di Panaio  
 Antonio di Frascetello

*De la Spada*

310. Pieroiohanni di Ser Methéo  
 Nicola di Giano di Giuccio  
 Francisco di Methiolo  
 Petropauolo di Finuzo  
 Lo Rosso de Zeppa  
 Ser Christofano di Marino di Casuccio  
 Petropauolo del Rosso do Pucciato  
 Nicola de Iubileo  
 Francisco di Francia

Iacomo di Johanni di Iolo

320. Iapochillo di . . . . .

Benincasa d Andrea  
Fauio di Ceterino

*De li Cipischi*

Pieroiohanni di Ciano di Tartaya  
Nicola de Marino de Casio  
Gregorio de Filippo  
Thomas Molaio  
Nicola di Paulo Gnochi  
Galas di Iacomo de Poltroao  
Gregorio de lo Secho

*La Piazza vegia*

330. Methia di Peppo

Lacto di maestranonio barbero  
Marino di Squaione  
Methiolo di Paulo di Mariano  
Ludouico Piliciaro  
Leonardo di Methia  
Ser Aliozaro di Scarameyono

*La Contrastanga*

Berardo Vasaro  
Petro di Gabriello  
Vidale di Petruccio fornaio

340. Ser Andrea Capoccia

Paulo di meser Antonio  
Nicolo de Diotisalui de Petroni  
Felice di Bartolomeo dl Scotta  
Liberetor de Lorenza  
Longerillo di Thomas  
Francisco di Ser Nicola  
Marcho da Padoa  
Marcho di Trauso  
Liberetor di Maestro Angelo

350. Raynaldo del Rossetto

Francisco di Metheo pilliciaro  
Iacomo di Figetello  
Michel Angelo di Mastro Paulo  
Betista di Iohanni di Santoro  
Ser Ciccho di Renzo  
Iacomo dl Nicola di Bolognino  
Langero di Christoforo alias Stroppa  
Methiolo di Nicoló  
Panciano di Metheo.

Anno domini nostri Iesu Christi millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo quarto die dominico sesto mensis Iunii: hora tertia etc. In presencia fermo uniuersi populi ciuitatis Fulginei, me Cancellario Communis infrascripto nominante, vnauim Bartolomeo Quaiola tubeta Communis predicti alta uoce uocante Omnes fare descripti et nominati in Vnione et iura predicta: exceptis nonnullis et paucis admodum qui propter eorum absentiam ab hac Ciuitate, uel propter suam infirmitatem tam solemnem actui et tante sanctissime solemnitati non interfuerunt, et exceptis Sindicis et Consulibus huius Comitatus qui licet admoniti faissent de tali vnione fienda, tamen propter breuitatem temporis forsan interesse minimo potuerunt, quibus data nihilominus est facultas jurandi imposterum de tali vnione sanctissima seruenda, Reliqui omnes predictae vnionis deuotissime iurauerunt ad sacra Dei euangelia manibus tactis sacris scripturis Missalis, in manibus Eximij Legum doctoris Domini Troili de Virdilactis Reverendissimi Domini Domini Legeti antedicti Commissarij, ac nomine et vice Sancte Romano Ecclesie et Sanctissimi Domini Nostri ut supra recipientis: de obseruandis predictis omnibus et singulis Capitulis et in eis contentis sub penis in eis et quolibet eorum nominatis.

Acta fuerunt hee Fulginei. In platea, magna ueteri aute scallas Lapideas Ecclesie beetissimi et gloriosissimi martiris Sancti Felicianis presentibus Reverendo in Christo patre domino Antonio de Bolognini decretorum doctore Episcopo Fulginatensi, domino Nicolao Magistri Iohannis de Scopio decretorum doctore Priore dicte Ecclesie, domino Marinangelo Simonis et domino Francisco Pacis ambobus Canonicis dicte Ecclesie et quampluribus aliis personis pro testibus ad premissa uocatis et adhibitis, et etiam presente religiosissimo ac uenerabili *frate Iacobo Marchiano* predicto omnibus iuretis et in vnione predicta nominatis in nomine Ihesu suam benedictionem condonante.

Supradicto anno et die lune septimo mensis Iunii. Vicus de Fulgineo tubetor retulit mihi Cancellario infrascripto se hodie vna cum Bartolomeo Quaiola et Paulo da Montefalcone tubicinis dictorum dominorum Priorum et eorum parte et mandato preconizasse per omnia loca publica et consueta huius ciuitatis Fulginei et alta et intelligibili uoce legisse et diulgasse de uerbo ad uerbum predicta omnia et singula Capitula et in illis contenta.

Ego Bernardus de Albricis Cumanus publicus Imperiali auctoritate notarius, ac impresentiarum notarius Reformationum et Cancellarius predictae Magnificae Communitatis Fulginei de premissis omnibus et singulis rogatus fui et ideo predicta omnia manu mea scripsi et in ipsorum fidem et testimonium signum mei tabellionatus apposui consuetum.

Spectabilibus uiris amicis nostri carissimis  
Prioribus Ciuitatis Fulginei.

D. titulo Sancte ꝑ in Iherusalem presbiter Cardinalis Firmanus apostolice sedis legetus.

Spectabiles uiri amici nostri carissimi. Reddite sunt nobis littere uestre vna cum capitulis Iuris jurandi prestiti per Ciues illius Ciuitatis pro statu Sanctissimi D. N. et sancte matris Ecclesie que omnia nobis grata admodum et iocunda fuerunt: tum pro statu prefeti Sanctissimi D. N. tum pro quiete et salute uestra. Quambrem ut prostulastis Capitula ipsa signauimus manu propria et libenti quidem animo, eaque

signata et sigillata ad uos remittimus, hortantes uos ipsos ad huius tam laudabilis propositi perseuerantiam, quod uos facturos speramus. Ex Perasio IX Iunij 1445.

1. (Nulla scrisse il Legato alla fine di questo primo capitolo).
2. Placet prout juris fuerit. *D. Sancte †.*
3. Placet. *D. Cardinalis Sancte †.*
4. Placet *D. Cardinalis Sancte †.*
5. Placet quod si Legatus uel alias Locum tenens uel officialis Sanctissimi Domini Nostrum Ciuitate fuerit, teneantur ire ad ipsum Legatum uel Locumtenentem uel officialem huius et etiam ad Priores de licentia predictorum. Quantum ad poenam placet ut supra.  
*D Cardinalis Sande †.*
6. Placet, tamen de licentia Legati aut aliorum ut supra si presens aliquis fuerit. *D Cardinalis Sante †.*
7. Placet petita licentia a Legeto uel alio ut supra dicitur. *D. Cardinalis Sancte †.*
8. Placet, quod primo nottificet Legeto uel alteri item ut supra, deinde secundum illius consilium et uoluntetem faciet. Quantum autem ad penam placet prout juris fuerit. *D. Cardinalis Sande †.*
9. Placet prout Legeto uel alteri uel supra uidebitur. *D. Cardinalis Sancte † Firmanus Legatus.*

Detum Perusie die IX Iunii MCCCCXLIV.

Benedictus de Turre

## Appendix II

*Archivio di Stato di Foligno, Notarile.*, 93, Tommaso di Angelo di Pietro (1430-41), pp. 171v-172., 1433 febbraio 9, in Sensi, 135-136., “actum in magiori sala domorum episcopatus civitatis Fulginei presentibus Bartolomeo et Raynaldo Luce Varini, Francisco Petri et Silvestro Petri Titiole de Fulgineo, testibus”

“Spectabilis vir Iannes ser Berardi de Fulgineo et sotietate Fildingorum, sponte per se et suos heredes et in posterum subcessores, iure scriptus episcopatus civitatis Fulginei et cum presentia, consensu et voluntate rev. in Christo patris et d. d. Iacobi Dei gratia episcopi fulginatis, dedit, vendidit Bartolomeo Tome Pucciarelli, pictori de Fulgineo et sotietate Crucis et domine Briside eius matri, ibidem presentibus, ementibus, stipulantibus et recipientibus pro se ipsis et eorum heredibus et subcessoribus et vice et nomine Tome viri dicte domine Briside et patris dicti Bartolomei, absentis et mihi Tome notario infrascripto, ut publice persone stipulanti et recidienti vice et nomine dicti Tome et eius heredum et subcessorum et cui, seu quibus ius eorum dare vel concedere voluerint unum pugillum, quatuor uncias et quatuor punctos certarum domorum episcopatus, perdicta posita in civitate Fulginei, in sotietate More, juxta stratam, viam que vocatur la piagia der muccio, ipsum venditorem pro alodio ex parte posteriori, res heredum Leonardi Ioannis Sanctori de Fulgineo pro episcopatu et alia latera, vel si qua alia aut plura sunt dicte rei vendite veriora latera vel confines. Item iure proprio et imperpetuum et pro bono directo et legali allodio dictus Iohanes vendidit, dedit, tradidit, cessit et pleno iure concessit supranominatis Bartolomeo et domine Briside et mihi Tome dictis nominibus stipulantibus et recipientibus residuum domorum predictarum positum in sotietate predicta, iuxta dictam domum scriptam superius lateratam, dictam viam que vocatur la piagia, viam, a parte posteriori domos ser Sobbastiani ser Nicolai de Fulgineo pro episcopatu et alia latera Et hoc pro pretio et nomine pretii in totum centum triginta florenorum ad XL boloneos pro floreno, nictorum dicto venditori ab omni solutione gabelle et scripturis, de quibus CXXX florenis idem venditor sponte, ut supra, fecit dictis emptoribus, dictis nominibus stipulantibus et recipientibus, finem quietationem, liberationem et pactum inrevocabile de ulterius aliquid non petendo vel agendo modo infrascripto. Hoc ideo fecit quia sibi bene placuit et quia ipse Iannes fuit confessus et contentus dictum pretium habuisse et recepisse et detinere, habere et recipere modo inscripto, videlicet: confessus habuisse et recepisse florenos LXIII computatis XXIII florenis quos idem Bartolomeus habere tenetur a capitulo ecclesie s. Salvatoris de Fulgineo, prout patet manu mei Tome notarii infrascripti, quos sibi consignavit, dedit et tradidit cum iure, rebus et condicionibus dictum capitulum et cum pactis terminis et conditionibus insertus in instramento scripto manu mei Tome notarii, pro quibus habet obligatum unum petium terre laborative dicte ecclesie, positum et lateratum in dicto instramento manu mei, et pro quibus XXIII florenis consignaverunt dicti emptori ius quod dictus Bartolomeus habet in dicto petio terre et contra capitulum predictum. Item fuit confessus et contentus habuisse et recepisse a dictis emptoribus, dictis nominibus dantibus et solventibus, florenos XL in pecunia numerata qui asseruerunt esse de pecuniis dotalibus dicte domine Briside. Residuum vero usque in dictam summam CXXX florenorum dicti emptores dictis nominibus promixerunt et convenerunt emptori predicto, stipulanti et recipienti ut supra, dare et solvere et numerare ad ipsius Iannis terminum et petitionem. Renuptians.”

## Appendix III

Fano, March 31st, 1434: A contract with the painter Bartolomeo di Tommaso with one Donna Gaudiana the widow of the wealthy pharmacist Mattiolo di Matteo for the execution of frescoes on the façade of the Hospital of San Giuliano in Fano and a subordinate work to be completed in the apse of the Church of San Giuliano; an edifice that, according to Gringioni, was also donated by the same Mattiolo. *Archivio di Stato di Fano, Notarile E*, Damiano di Antonio di Domenicuccio (1411-1453), pp. 13v-14, 1434 marzo 31, in Carlo Grigioni, "Un' opera ignota del Maestro di Nicolò di Liberatore," *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte Italiana* 13 (1910): 3-6.

In civitate Fani, in domo habitationis infrascripte domine Gaudiane presentibus Petro Antonio Iohannis Francisci de Bartotiis de Fano, Bartolomeo Baptiste, magistro Mateo Nuti de Fano, magistro Antonio Christofori de Perusio habitatore Fani et Dominighino Peri de Faventia habitatore Fani, testibus ad hec vocatis et rogatis.

Magister Bartolomeus Tomasii de Fulgineo habitator Ancone, pictor, promixit et convenit solempniter sine aliqua exceptione iuris vel facti se obligando domine Gaudiane filie quondam Jacobi Peri Berthe et uxori quondam Matioli Mathei de Fano, pingere sibi capellam seu retribunam ecclesie sancti Iuliani de Fano hedificate per bonam memoriam quondam Mathioli predicti, omnibus illis picturis, figuris et ystoriis de quibus premonitus et previsus erit a rev. in Christo patre et d. d. fratre Iohanne de Serravalle episcopo Fanense et a rev. in sacra pagina magistro fratre Iohanne de Monteboddio lectore s. Francisci de Fano, de finis et ellectis coloribus, videlicet: acurro ultramarino et auro fino, ad iudicium et declarationem cuiuslibet valentis pictoris et in arte picturie pertissimi. Cum hoc pacto, quod primo et antequam incipiat ad pingendum dictam capellam et retribunam teneatur et debeat idem magister Bartolomeus dictis finis coloribus, azurro ultramarino et auro fino, pingere istoriam sancti Iuliani confessoris in facte anteriori muri hospitalis s. Iuliani. Quo opere prefate ystorie facto, si idem opus erit pulcrum et solempne et placebit prefatis d. episcopo fanensi, lectori predicto et dicte domine Gaudiane, nec non Iohanni Francisco et Bartolomeo Antonii de Fano, civibus bene expertis et intelligentibus, dictus magister Bartolomeus subsequenter procedat in laborerio suo ad pingendum dictam capellam seu retribunam cum columpnis, girlanda et aliis suis circumstantiis et adiacentibus interius extra, secundum quod conclusum et racionnatum extitit inter ipsum magistrum Bartolomeum ex una parte et prefatos rev. p. d. episcopum, lectorem, dominam Gaudianam, Iohannem Franciscum et Bartolomeum supradictos, de dictis finis coloribus, azurro ultramarino et auro fino, picturis et ystoriis illis de quibus previsus erit, ut supra dictum est, et cum compassibus suis, de dictis finis coloribus omnibus suis sumptibus, laboribus et expensis et coloribus et auro predictis, exceptis calce et armatura, que calx ex armatura spectet et pertineat ad dictam dominam Gaudianam. Et promixit et convenit dictus magister Bartolomeus dictam picturam s. Iuliani confessoris post transactum mensem aprilis proxime futuri statim incipere et subsequenter prosequere et continuato tempore, ulla temporis intermissione finire. Qua istoria picta et completa, si opus dicte picture et istorie erit pulcrum et solempne atque commendabile, iudicio peritorum in arte ipsa et secundum dictum predictorum rev. p. d. episcopi, lectoris s. Francisci, Iohannis Francisci et Bartolomei Antonii, promixit idem magister Bartolomeus immediate et subsequenter procedere ad opus pingendi dictam

retribunam sub ea forma et similitudine quibus picta erit dicta ystoria s. Iuliani confessoris predicti et etiam de meliori forma et pictura quibus poterit et sciverit, bona fede, continuando bene, diligenter et fideliter dictum opus sine sui vel alterius operis interpositione usque quo dictum laborerium et pictur dicte retribune totum pictum fuerit et completum. Salvo et reservato quod si Magnificus dominus Fulginei miceret pro dicto magistro Bartolomeo, temporare dicti laborerii, possit ipse magister Bartolomeus ad ipsum Magnificum dominum ire et morari, in eundo, stando et redundo solum per XV dies et non ultra et etiam pro minori spatio, si possibile erit, operando et sollicitando eius reditum cum illo Magnifico domino quanto frequentius fieri poterit. Et hoc pro pretion et nomine pretii ducentorum sexaginta ducatorum inter aurum et monetam, videlicet: centum in auro et residui in moneta ad rationem quadraginta bononiorum pro quolibet ducato. Quod pretium dicta domina Gaudiana solempniter promixit ipsi magistro Bartolomeo solvere et dare eidem hoc modo videlicet: usque in quinquaginta vel sexaginta et usque in centum ducat. Auri si erit necesse antequam ipse magister Bartolomeus incipiat dictum opus pingendi retribunam predictam dare, solvere et numerare eidem ut possit emere et se fulcire coloribus predictis, dummodo ipse magister Bartolomeus idoneam prestat fideiussionem de civibus Fani de observando promissa per eum, ut supra. Residuum vero dicti pretii promixit dictam dominam Gaudianam dare, solvere et numerare dicto magistro Bartolomeo facto et expleto per eum opere suo predicto. Quo opere completo si ipsum opus erit solempne et commendabile per peritos et intelligentes homines in arte predicta, volendo atque intendendo dictam dominam prosequi ad ulteriora in faciendo pingere residuum ecclesie a. Iuliani predicti, illis ystoriis et figuris que dicuntur per prefatos reverendum p. d. episcopum fanensem et lectorem s. Francisci, in quibus totaliter remixit vices suas et liberum arbitrium enarrandi picturas, figuras et ystorias sanctorum, teneatur dicta domina Gaudiana ex pacto et sic promixit et convenit facere pingere dictam ecclesiam totam per manus dicti magistri Bartolomei si ipse magister Bartolomeus volet et vacare poterit secundum quod insimul concordantes erunt. Et acceptando, teneatur ipse magister Bartolomeus similiter prosequi et continuato tempore vacare in dicto laborerio quousque perfectum erit, continuando opus suum bene, fideliter et legaliter ea forma qua perfecta erit dicta retribunam et de meliori si poterit, omnibus suis sumptibus, coloribus, videlicet: azurro ultramarino, auro fino, laboribus et expensis suis, ut supra dictum est, exceptis dumtaxat calce et armatura. Et non possit dictus magister Bartolomeus pro suo labore et mercede petere nec habere neque ascendere ad maiorem pretium et quantitatem mille ducatorum de tota pictura totius dicte ecclesie s. Iuliani, computatis in dicta summa mille ducatorum, dictis ducatis ducentis sexaginta solvendis sibi pro pictura dicte retribune. Et si contingeret ac sequeretur quod ystoria s. Iuliani confessoris pingenda per dicyum magistrum Bartolomeum ante opus picture retribune predictae in figuris seu coloribus et forma non placeret dictis rev. p. d. episcopo lectori et d. Gaudiane predictae et propterea nollet ipsa domina Gaudiana quod ipse magister Bartolomeus ad ulteriora procederet teneatur ipsa domina Gaudiana providere dicto magistro Bartolomeo de pictura dicte ystorie pro mercede sua secundum quod declarabitur et dicetur per Iohannem Franciscum de Bartotiis et Bartolomeum Antonii cives Fani. Que omnia et singula promixerunt vicissim, sub pena dupli."

## Appendix IV

Cesena, October 13th, 1439: A contract between the brothers of the Convent of San Francesco in Cesena and Bartolomeo de Tommaso of Foligno for the execution of an altarpiece. It is established between both parties that the maximum time allowed for completion of the altarpiece will no greater that two years from the day of the commission. The price is fixed at four hundred Venetian ducati and will be paid in four installments. Cesena, Archivio Storico Comunale, Congr. Rel. sopresse, vol. 678., in Anna Zanolì, "Un altare di Bartolomeo di Tommaso a Cesena," *Paragone arte*, 23 (1969): 63-76. Fragments of a badly damaged second document dated December 11th, 1441 (in Latin) are referred to by Zanolì but are not included in the article.

Al nome de Dio, amen. Questi sonno i pacti facti tra fra' Zuhanne da Cesena, de l'ordeno dei fra' minuri, per se et in nome degli altri fradi et conventuali de l'ordeno predicto da Cesena, da una parte et maestro Bartolomeo quondam Tomassi de Foligno depintore, habitadore de Ancona, da l'altra parte sopra el depingere et mettere a oro una taula overo ancona facta de ligname per lo altare de la capella grande dei dicti fradi.

In prima dibba el dicto maestro Bartolomeo depingere la dicta taula et quella ornare et mettere a oro fino, in quella parte dove è bisogno per modo sia bella et bene ornata secondo che se rechede, a tutte sue proprie spexe de maisterio, de culuri fini et de oro et de ogni altra cosa necessaria per lo depingere et mettere a oro la dicta taula per modo sia bella et stabelita.

Item dibba el dicto maestro Bartolomeo havere spatio et termine a depingere et fornire la dicta taula dui anni cornmenzando dal di che principiarà a depingere la dicta taula.

Item sia tenuto el dicto maestro Bartolomeo venire a commecare a depingere la dicta taula a ogni petitione de' dicti fra' Zuhanne et fradi predicti venendo per quatro mexi da poi glie serà facto notitia per lo dicto fra' Zuhanne o fradi predicti che dibba venire [e non sia detto termine a suo piaxere], i quali quatro mixi comencino, dal decto serà notificato al dicto maestro Bartolomeo.

Item che el dicto maestro Bartolomeo durante el tempo del lavorare del lavorare de la dicta taula non possa né dibba fare alcuno altro lavoro sencia expressa licentia del dicto fra' Zuhanne et fradi predicti ma dibba continuamente epso maestro Bartolomeo cum dui gargiunli overo lavorenti suffitienti stare fermi a lavorare et fornire la dicta taula et acadendo che el dicto mastro Bartolomeo fesse altro [lavoro] cum licentia dei dicti fradi durante quel tale altro lavoro non dibba havere le spexe dei dicti fradi.

Et da l'altra parte el dicto fra' Zuhanne per pagamento del dicto lavoro dibba dare et pagare al dicto maestro Bartolomeo ducati quatrocento de oro venetiani pagando ai termini infrascripti cioè al principio del laorro ducati cento; ducati cento facto che seràuno quarto del lavoro; ducati cento facto la meta del lavoro et el resto fornito serà el lavoro.

Item debba dare et assignare in luogo del fra' minuri predicti al dicto maestro Bartolomeo una stantia abele et ydonea per lo dicto maestro Bartolomeo et dui lavorenti sì per sua habitatione commo etiam per possere stare a fare el dicto lavoro in quella in la quale etiam glie dibba dare uno lecto hidoneo et fornirlo per epso maestro Bartolomeo et dicti lavorenti de le cose se rechede per lo dormire de la nocte.

Item dibba el dicto fra Zuhanne in la dicta stantia durante al tempo del lavoro de la dicta taula fare le spexe al dicto maestro Bartolomeo et a dicti dui lavorenti de pane et de vino et de quello companadigo se fara per la vita dei dicti fradi de di in di secondo se farà per glie dicti fradi cum questo che at tempo che se digiuna per glie dicti fradi non sia obligati i dicti fradi la sera dare al dicto maestro Bartolomeo et sui lavorenti predicti per la dicta spexa altro che pane et vino et etiam che al tempo de quaresme che se fa per glie dicti fradi dibba el dicto maestro Bartolomeo et sui lavorenti stare contenti a quella spexa de companatico se farà in quelli tempi per glie dicti fradi et cum questo che el dicto maestro Bartolomeo a le ore debite dibba mandare a la cucina dei dicti fradi per la dicta sua spexa uno suo messo al quale i dicti fradi dibba dare et assignare pane vino et companadigo se uxorà per glie dicti fradi, neccessario per lo dicto maestro Bartolomeo et i dicti dui lavorenti.

Item a ciò che i dicti fradi siano ben chiari che el dicto maestro Bartolomeo farà la dicta taula bella et ornata commo se rechede, dibba el dicto maestro Bartolomeo quando serà venuto per cominciare la dicta taula prima fare a tutte sue proprie spexe doe [tre] mostre delta dicta taula in presentia del dicto fra Zuhanne cioè una cle una de le figure relevate che sonno in la dicta taula; l'altra de penello che vene in glie compassi de la dicta taula [et una ystorieta da piede di la dicta taula; ] et facto che serà le dicte doe [tre] mostre quelle debba vedere el dicto fra Zuhanne insieme cum to guardiano de' fradi che serà Piero di Lionardo da Fano, Apolonio da Mantova, e miser Francesco degli Abati e mastro Menico di Andrea sindaco del loco et sopra quelle havere bon consiglio et piaxendo al detto fra Zuhanne et a l'altri sopradecti le dicte mostre adbia effecto i pacti predicti et dibba el dicto mastro Bartolomeo seguitare poi el dicto lavoro cum gli pacti et modi predicti cum questo che durante al tempo de le dicte mostre dibba el dicto maestro Bartolomeo havere dai dicti fradi la stantia et spexe at modo predicto et non piaxendo al dicto fra' Zuhanne le dicte mostre, i dicti pacti de sovra facti et fermadi tra le dicto parte siano... annullati per modo che zaschuna de le parte sia in sua liberta.

Hoc insuper acto quod perfecta dicta tabula, si defectu dicti magistri Bartolomei et sui operis devastaretur infra tres annos teneatur illam in parte in qua esset devastata refficere suis expensis, casu vero quo dicta tabula devastaretur non ex defectu operis dicti magistri Bartolomei seu ex alio defectu turc ad expensas fratrum damnum (reficendum).

Et i dicti pacti sonno facti et stimati de l'anno etc. ... in facendo et dicendo et stando frater et fratres ... facta ... partibus et ... dicti loci et conventus.

Frater Lorsius de Ferrara custos  
frater Georgius de Imola  
frater Franciscus de Fighino vicarius  
frater Andreas de ... Cechi Dandini  
frater Andreas de Monte Turturonio  
frater Antonius Johannis de Sancto Arcangelo  
frater Baptista de Saxo ferrato bachalarius  
frater Stefanus de Lando  
frater Ludovicus de Ravenna  
frater Stefanus de Burgundia  
frater Nicolaus de Burgundia  
frater Ghirardus de Burgundia  
frater Martinus de Ungaria  
frater Paulus de Sicilia  
frater Andreas de Roma  
frater Michael de Puppis  
frater Johannis de Cesena  
frater Laurentius de Sancto (Johanne in) Perceseto  
frater Ieronimus Amatoris de Cesena

1439, indictione secunda die XIII octobris in sacristia magna presentibus Nicolao de Martinotiis de Fano, magistro Simone de Carcellis et magistro (Antonio) Sanctis et Antonio quondam Bartolomei de Fir(mo).

Spese fattesi per l'indorare l'ancona dell'altare grande per prezzo ducati 400 de venecia e le spexe.

## Appendix V

Norcia, April 29th, 1442: A contract with the painters Bartolomeo di Tommaso of Foligno and Nicola di Ulisse da Siena, in association with the masters Luca di Lorenzo "de Alamania," Andrea di Giovanni da Leccio and Giambono di Corrado da Ragusa, with the head prior of the Augustinian convent, Brother Geronimo di Angelo and others for the execution of decorations for the choir and rostrum of the Church of Saint Agostino in Norcia. *Archivio Notarile di Norcia*, Atti de ser Pietro Paolo di Antonio, vol. c, (1441-1443), pp. 58-58v., in Romano Cordella, "Un Sodalizio tra Bartolomeo Di Tommaso, Nicola Da Siena, Andrea Delitio," *Paragone*, 38, no. 451 (1987):111-113.

In nomine Domini, amen. Anno Domini millesimo quatragesimo secundo, indictione quinta, tempore santissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri, domini Eugenii divina providentia pape quarti et mensis aprilis die vigesima nona. Universis et singulis hoc presens instrumentum publicum inspecturis pateat evidenter quod cum hoc sit quod hactenus magister Bartholomeus Tomassii de Fulgineo et magister Nicolaus Ulissis de Senis habitator terre Nursie promiserunt fratri Geronimo Angeli tunc priori capituli et conventus loci Sancti Austini de Nursia et domino Iohannicole Nicolai Nardi, Benedicto Iacobi, Cole Tadeutii, Vanni Accursii, Cole Simonis et Basilio Basili de Nursia santensibus dicti loci, capituli et conventus, depignere tribunam sive capellam magnam dicte ecclesie Sancti Austini cum pactis, modis, conditionibus, pretio et salario inter eos conventus prout et sicut de predictis constat publico instrumento scripto manu ser Leonardi Nicolai Nardi de Nursia et ipsi asseruerunt, et postmodum dicti magister Bartholomeus et magister Nicolaus remiserunt ad partem dicte cappelle et ad ipsum pignendam et ad sotietatem predictam magistrum Lucam Laurentii de Alamania, magistrum Andream Iohannis de Leccio et magistrum Iohannembonum Corradi de Rauscio ut dicte partes asseruerunt, qui magister Andreas, Iohannesbonus et magister Lucas simul cum dictus magistro Bartholomeo et magistro Nicolao depignerunt, et quia aliquando contigit quod dictus magister Bartholomeus et magister Nicolaus assentantur a terra Nursie et eius districtu et cum dicti magister Lucas et magister Andreas non appareant in dicto instrumento obligati non possunt debitum eorum laboris petere absque dicto magistro Bartholomeo, qua propter volentes predictis quantum possibile est oviare, dicti magister Bartholomeus, magister Nicolaus, magister Andreas et magister Lucas eorum bona et spontanea voluntate et non per errorem ad tale pactum et concordiam devenerunt, videlicet quod dicti magister Lucas et magister Andreas promiserunt et convenerunt supradictis magistro Bartholomeo et magistro Nicolao presentibus, stipulantibus et recipientibus et supradictis santensibus, Basilo tantum assente, presentibus, stipulantibus et recipientibus, velle teneri et obligari et obligatos esse et eo genere obligationis abstrigni et abstricti esse pro parte ipsorum prout et sicut et eo genere quo dicti magister Bartholomeus et magister Nicolaus obligati sunt supradictis priori et santensibus et ea facere pro ipsorum parte et virili prout et sicut dicti magister Bartholomeus et magister Nicolaus tenentur facere; et ultra quod in casu quo contingerit aliquem ex supradictis magistro Bartholomeo, magistro Luca, magistro Andrea et magistro Iohannebono assentari vel recedere a terra Nursie et eius districtu quod ceteri remanentes teneantur partem dicti assentati perficere et ad finem perducere; ac etiam

voluerunt et pactum inter eos convenerunt et habuerunt et voluerunt quod dicti santenses possint solvere unicuique ipsorum pro rata sua secundum quod depinserit in dicta capella sive tribuna et predicti magistri Lucas et Andreas possint et eis liceat et licitum sit petere a dictis santensibus salarium secundum quod laboraverint in dicta tribuna et dicti santenses eis teneantur solvere secundum quod continetur in dicto istrumento dicti Leonardi hoc etiam expresso in presenti istrumento in coherentia ipsius et ante et post, quod per predicta pacta dicti magistri Bartholomeus et Nicolaus et eorum fideiussores non intelliantur liberatos neque liberentur sed dictum istrumentum in sua remaneat roboris firmitatem. Renumpiantes dicte partes dictis nominibus exceptioni dictorum pactorum et omnium supradictorum non factorum et non factorum etc. Rogantes me notarium infrascriptum ut de predictis omnibus publicum debeam conficere istrumentum ad fidem et testimonium predictorum dicte partes dictis omnibus iuraverunt ad santa Dey evagnelia etc.

Actum Nursie ante apothecam heredum Antonii Montanii de Nursia positam in Nursia in guaita Sancti Benedicti iuxta plateam magnam comunis Nursie, viam comunis, dictos heredes, Paulum Archangeli de Spoleto pro uxore et alia latera, presente Galeocto Rosati domini Sinibaldi de Nursia notario subrogato et presentibus Andrellino Andree Andree et Nofrio Bartholomei Iacobutii de Nursia testibus liceratis ad predicta habitis, vocatis et rogatis.

Et ego Galiocetus Rosati de Nursia publicus imperiali autoritate notarius supradictis omnibus et singulis preens fui et rogatus de subscriptione etc.

Et io Antrelinu d' Andrea da Norscia fui presente alle sopradicte cose.

Et io Nofridu de Bartolomeo de Giacobuciu fui presente alle sopradicte cose.

## CHECKLIST OF WORKS

No. 1

San Salvatore Triptych.

1432.

Pinacoteca Comunale, Foligno.

Madonna and Child enthroned with six Angels and Rinaldo Trinci as donor; Saint John the Baptist; the Blessed Pietro Crisci; two pinnacles with Saints Bartholomew and Ursula. Four predella panels: Way to Calvary (Musée du Petit Palais, Avignone, Inventory Number 81.) ; Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane ; Betrayal of Christ (Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome, Inventory Numbers, 266,267.) ; Entombment and Lamentation (Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia). Triptych is approximately 38.5 x 43.7 inches, (98 by 111 cm.). ; Way to Calvary, 9 ½ x 17 ¾ inches, (24.1 x 45 cm.). ; Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane, 8 ¾ x 19 ¾ inches, (22.2 x 50.1 cm.). ; Betrayal of Christ, 9 ⅛ x 20 7/8 inches, (23.5 x 53.02 cm.).

Bibliography:

Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, (1932), 33, 50.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Italian Pictures*, (1968), 33.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Italian Painters*, 43.

Cristofari, *Bollettino d'arte*, 5, 1911, 93-105.

Crowe-Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in Italy*, 5:227.

Faloci-Pulignani, *Arte e storia*, 1887, 3-4.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Rassegna d'arte Umbra*, 3, no. 3, July 1921, 65-80.

Perkins, *Rassegna d'arte*, 1907, 93-94.

Sensi, *Paragone*, 43, no. 505-507, March-May 1992, 87-88.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Bollettino storico della città di Foligno*, 20-21, 1999, 795-798.

Todini, *La pittura Umbra*, 1:27.

Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, 8:370.

Venturi, *Storia dell'arte Italiana*, 7:529-530.

Zeri, *Bolletino d'arte* 46, 1961, 41-48.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 6:775.

No. 2

Saint Jerome in Penitence.

ca. 1437.

Formerly in the De Clemente Collection, Rome. Currently in an undisclosed private collection.

Predella panel from an unidentified altarpiece. Saint Jerome before a crucifix with lion, scorpions, and snakes.

Bibliography:

Zeri, *Bolletino d'arte*, 46, 1961, 46.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 6:776.

No. 3

Resurrection of Christ.

ca. 1425-1435.

Formerly Collection of Léon Salavin, Paris. Currently in the Louvre Museum, Paris., Inventory Number, 1973-24.

Predella panel from an unidentified altarpiece. Resurrection of Christ. 8.6 x 11.4 inches, (22 x 29 cm.).

Bibliography:

Todini, *La pittura Umbra*, 1:28.

Zanoli, *Paragone arte*, 23, 1969, 68.

No. 4

Madonna of Pergola (Brera Madonna, Madonna of the Sun).

ca. 1425-1435.

Brera Gallery, Milan., Inventory Number, 193.

Center panel of polyptych from San Giacomo at Pergola. Madonna and Child Enthroned with Angels. Inventory Number, 193. 16.5 x 47.6 inches, (42 x 121 cm).

**Bibliography:**

Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, 33.

Todini, *La pittura Umbra*, 1:27.

Zanoli, *Paragone arte*, 23, 1969, 71.

Zeri, *Bolletino d'arte*, 46, 1961, 48., 64 note 11.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*. 6:776.

No. 5

Betrayal of Christ.

ca. 1437.

Formerly Collection of Martin Le Roy, Paris. Currently in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York., Inventory Number, 58.87.1.

Predella panel from an unidentified altarpiece. Betrayal (Capture) of Christ. 8 ¾ x 17 inches (22.2 x 43.2 cm.).

**Bibliography:**

Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, (1932), 50.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Italian Pictures*, (1968), 33.

Gardner & Zeri, *Italian Paintings*, 8-9.

Sensi, *Paragone*, 28, 1977, 123 note 9.

Todini, *La pittura Umbra*, 1:28.

Zanoli, *Paragone*, 20, 1969, 64, 72 note 2.

Zeri, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 47.

No. 6

Lamentation and Entombment.

ca. 1437.

Formerly Collection of Martin Le Roy, Paris. Currently in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York., Inventory Number, 58.87.2.

Predella panel from an unidentified altarpiece. Lamentation and Entombment. 8 ¾ x 17 ⅛ inches (22.2 x 43.5 cm.).

**Bibliography:**

Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, (1932), 50.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Italian Pictures*, (1968), 33.

Gardner & Zeri, *Italian Paintings*, 8-9.

Sensi, *Paragone*, 28, 1977, 123 note 9.

Todini, *La pittura Umbra*, 1:28.

Zanoli, *Paragone*, 20, 1969, 64, 72 note 2.

Zeri, *Bolletino d'arte* 46, 1961, 47.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 6:776.

No. 7

Frescoes paralleling the lives of Christ and Saint Francis.

ca. 1434-1440.

San Francesco, Cesena.

Frescoes (terraverde): Last Supper (lower right lunette), Stigmatization of Saint Francis (upper right lunette), Charitas/Saint Francis before the Sultan (middle right lunette), Death of the Knight of Celano (middle right lunette), and Resurrection of Trajan (middle right lunette).

**Bibliography:**

Maroni, *Studi romagnoli* 47, 1996, 481-488.

Pasini, *I Malatesti e l'arte*, 46.

Renzi, *Romagna arte e storia* 17, 1997, 75-84.

No. 8

Saint Francis Renouncing His Possessions.

ca. 1439-1441.

Formerly in the Sterbini Collection, Rome. Later acquired by the Collection of Count Vittorio Cini, Venice., Inventory Number, 103. Currently in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino.

Predella panel from an unidentified altarpiece. Saint Francis renouncing his possessions (heritage). Companion to predella panel in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

Bibliography:

Longhi, *La critica d'arte*, XVIII-XIX, 1940, 186 note 23.

Zanoli, *Paragone arte*, 23, 1969, 68.

Zeri, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 6:776.

No. 9

Funeral and Canonization of Saint Francis.

ca. 1439-1441.

Formerly in the Woodyat Collection, Rome. Currently in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore., Inventory Number, 37-456.

Predella panel from an unidentified altarpiece. Funeral and canonization of Saint Francis. Companion to predella panel in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino. 11 ¾ x 19 ¾ inches, (29.8 x 50.1 cm.).

Bibliography:

Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, (1932), 29.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Italian Pictures*, (1968), 33.

Zanoli, *Paragone arte*, 23, 1969, 68-69.

Zeri, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 6:776.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Bolletino d'arte*, 46, 1961, 49.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery*, 151-154.

No. 10

Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata.

ca. 1439-1441.

Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, South Hadley, Massachusetts., Inventory Number, 1965.52.P.PI

Panel from an unidentified polyptych; possibly a companion piece to the Funeral and Canonization of Saint Francis in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore and Saint Francis Renouncing His Possessions, in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino. 32.2 x 17.2 inches (81.9 x 43.8 cm.).

Bibliography:

Todini, *La pittura Umbra*, 1:28.

No. 11

Road to Emmaus and Pentecost.

ca. 1440.

Formerly in the Robertson Collection, London. Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis.

Wings of a small triptych. Christ on the road to Emmaus with disciples and the Pentecost. Each panel 19 x 7 inches, (48.2 x 17.8 cm.).

Bibliography:

Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, (1968), 33.

Todini, *La pittura Umbra*, 27.

Zeri, *Bolletino d'arte* 46, 1961, 51.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 6:776.

No. 12

Annunciation to the Shepherds ; Saint Benedict ; Trinity.

ca. 1445.

San Francesco, Cascia.

Frescoes: Annunciation to the Shepherds, 61 x 84.6 inches, (155 x 215 cm.). ; Trinity, 37.4 x 84.6 inches, (95 x 215 cm.). ; Saint Benedict, 31.5 x 66.9 inches, (80 x 170 cm.).

**Bibliography:**

Todini, *La pittura Umbra*, 1:249., (as Nicola da Siena).

Toscano, *Commentari*, 15, 1964, 37-51.

No. 13

Rospigliosi Triptych.

ca. 1445.

Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome.

Coronation of the Virgin; Annunciation to the Shepherds and Nativity; Adoration of the Magi; Angel and Virgin of Annunciation in roundels above; insignia of Bernardino da Siena in sunburst roundel above.

**Bibliography:**

Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, (1932), 33, 50.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Italian Pictures*, (1968), 33.

Bittarelli, *Bollettino storico della citta di Foligno*, 16, 1992, 337, note 1.

La Lafenestre and Ricthemberger, *Rome, le Vatican, les églises*, 11 (as Gentile da Fabriano).

Longhi, *Pinacotheca* 1, 1928, 79.

Longhi and Ronchi, *Vita artistica* 1, 1926, 109-114.

Carlo Pietrangeli, *Bollettino storico della citta di Foligno* 17, 1993, 301, note 3.

Todini, *La pittura Umbra*, 1:28.

Venturi, *Storia dell'arte Italiana*, 7:182 and note 1 (as School of Salimbeni).

Zeri, *Bolletino d'arte*, 46, 1961, 51-52.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*. 6:776.

No. 14

San Caterina Fresco.

1449.

Pinacoteca Comunale, Foligno.

Detached Fresco from San Caterina, Foligno. Martyrdom of Saint Barbara with Franciscan donors; Madonna of Loreto with Franciscan donor; Preaching Franciscan (Bernardino da Siena, Giacomo della Marca, Saint Anthony of Padua?) with Franciscan donor. Signed and Dated: "SANTA BARBARA A'FACTA FARE LU CONVENTU DE SANCTA CHATERINA PER LORO DIVOTIONE. – MCCCCXXXVIII – BARTOLOMEUS THOME HOC OPUS FECIT."

#### Bibliography:

Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, (1932), 33, 50.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Italian Pictures*, (1968), 33.

Cristofari, *Bollettino d'arte*, 5, 1911, 93.

Crowe-Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in Italy*, (1866), 3:122.

\_\_\_\_\_. *A History of Painting in Italy*, (1914), 5:228, and note 2.

Faloci-Pulignani, *Rassegna d'arte Umbra*, 3, no. 3, July 1921, 65-80.

Sensi, *Bolletino storico della citta di Foligno*, 19, 1995, 208.

Todini, *La pittura Umbra*, 1:28.

Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, 8:372-373.

Zeri, *Bolletino d'arte* 46, 1961, 44 and 64 note 7.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 6:775-776.

No. 15

Crucifixion Adored by an Augustinian.

ca. 1449.

San Nicoló, Foligno.

Fresco: Augustinian kneeling before a Crucifixion surrounded by angels.

Bibliography:

Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, (1968), 33.

Sensi, *Bolletino storico della città di Foligno*, 14, 1990, 514-515.

Todini, *La pittura Umbra*, 1:27.

Zeri, *Bolletino d'arte*, 46, 1961, 47.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*. 6:776.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Bolletino d'arte*, 48, 1963, 38-39.

No. 16

Madonna and Child with John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, and Saints Christopher and Dominic.

ca. 1449-1451.

Formerly Collection of Count Vittorio Cini, Venice., Inventory Number, 7005. Currently in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino.

Enthroned Madonna and Child with five Angels; Saints John the Baptist and Mary Magdalene and Angel; Saints Christopher and Dominic and Angel. 55.1 x 64.9 inches, (140 x 165 cm.).

Bibliography:

Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, (1932), 33, 50.

Todini, *La pittura Umbra*, 1:28.

Zeri, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*. 6:776.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Bolletino d'arte*, 48, 1963, 38-39.

No. 17

Christ between the Virgin and Saint John.

ca. 1451.

Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore., Inventory Number, 37.712.

Predella panel from an unidentified altarpiece. 8<sup>9/16</sup> x 30<sup>1/8</sup> inches, (21.8 X 77 cm.).

Bibliography:

Zeri, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 6:776.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Bolletino d'arte*, 46, 1961, 47.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery*, 154.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Bolletino d'arte*, 48, 1963, 38.

No. 18

Cappella Paradisi.

ca. 1449-1451.

San Francesco, Cappella Paradisi, Terni.

**Frescoes: Center Wall: Christ the Judge in mandorla with Virgin, Saint John the Baptist, Archangels, Angels, Evangelists and Prophets; Middle Register: Saint Peter before the golden gate of Heaven with Saint Paul and Apostles; Lower Register: The Elect, Saint Francis, Saint Clare, Bishops, other Franciscans, and Donors; Paradisi Crests; Left Wall: Liberation of Souls from Purgatory/Souls taken to Judgment; Christ's Descent into Limbo/Second Coming of Christ; Lower register: the Punishments of Purgatory/Resurrection of the Dead; Saint Margaret of Cortona; Right Wall: Souls Consigned to Hell; Lower Register: Satan and Punishments of Hell; Archivolt: Six Busts of Prophets Jeremiah, Daniel, Malachi, Isaiah, Jonah, and Obadiah; Inner Wall of Archway: Enoch and Elijah.**

Bibliography:

Adorno, *Antichita a viva*, 17, November/December, 1978, 3-18.

Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, (1932), 50.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Italian Pictures*, (1968), 33.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Italian Painters*, 43.

Cicinelli, *Italia nostra*, 236, 1985, 38-41.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Arte sacra in Umbria e dipinti restaurati nei secoli XIII-XX*, 25-46.

Cosmo, *Giornale Dantesco*, 3, 1894, 174-178.

Lanzi, *Miscellanea Francescana*, 9, 1902, 8-10.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Bolletino della deputazione di storia patria del l'Umbria*, 14, 1908, 261-279.

Longhi and Ronchi, *Vita artistica*, 1, 1926, 109-114.

Mostarda, *Esercizi*, 4, 1981, 54-67.

Todini, *La pittura Umbra*, 1:28.

Toscano, *Commentari*, 15, 1964, 37-51.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Paragone*, 28, 1977, 80-85.

\_\_\_\_\_. *History of Italian Art*, vol. 2, 260-274.

Zeri, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 6:776.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Bolletino d'arte*, 46, 1961, 54-57.

\_\_\_\_\_. *History of Italian Art*, vol. 2, , 326-372.

## DAMAGED WORKS AND WORKS OF QUESTIONABLE ATTRIBUTION

### Damaged Works:

Bevagna, Porta Perugina: Fragments of a fresco of the Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saint Michael the Archangel and Saints.

Bibliography: Todini, *La pittura Umbra*, 1:27.

Foligno: Pinacoteca Comunale: Fresco of Saint Michael the Archangel.

Bibliography: Todini, *La pittura Umbra*, 1:27.

Foligno, Choir of San Bartolomeo di Marano: Fragments of a fresco of Saint John the Evangelist, Saint Bernardino da Siena, and Saints.

Bibliography: Todini, *La pittura Umbra*, 1:27.

Foligno: San Domenico (with Andrea Delitio): Detached fragment of a fresco of the Madonna of Loreto.

Bibliography: Cordella, *Paragone*, 38, no. #451, 1987, 89-122. ; Todini, *La pittura Umbra*, 1989), 1:27.

Foligno, San Salvatore: Detached Fresco (present location unknown) Flight into Egypt.

Bibliography: Todini, *La pittura Umbra*, 1:27.

### Works of Questionable Attribution:

Foligno: Pinacoteca Comunale: Detached fresco of the Way to Calvary.

Bibliography: Caleca, *Bollettino storico della città di Foligno*, 1, 1969, 69-82.

Omaha (Nebraska): Joslyn Art Museum, Inventory Number, 58.87.1: Predella panel from an unidentified altarpiece, Ecstasy of the Magdalene, 7 ½ x 7 ½ inches. Currently attributed to an unknown Sieneese artist. Previously attributed to Bartolomeo di Tommaso (Fredericksen/Zeri consensus), Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio (Berenson), Giovanni di Paolo or Paolo di Giovanni Fei (attributor unknown).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, Laurie Schneider & Pernis, Maria Grazia. 1996. *Federico da Montefeltro & Sigmundo Malatesta: The Eagle and the Elephant*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Adorno, Piero. 1978. "Gli affreschi della Cappella Paradisi nella chiesa di San Francesco a Terni," *Antichita a Viva*, 17 (November/December): 3-18.
- Baxandall, Michael. 1971. *Giotto and the Orators, Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition, 1350-1450*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Benazzi, Giordana & Cristoferi, Francesca. 1990. "Alcune opere d'arte nella citta di Foligno: Notizie dopo il restauro," *Bollettino storico della citta di Foligno*, 14: 508-532.
- Berenson, Bernard. 1932. *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: A List of the Principal Artists and Their Works with an Index of Places, Central Italian and Northern Italian Schools*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Berenson, Bernard. 1968. *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: A List of the Principal Artists and Their Works with an Index of Places, Central Italian and Northern Italian Schools*. London: Phaidon.
- Bittarelli, Angelo Antonio. 1992. "Il Trittico Rospigliosi di Bartolomeo di Tommaso proviene da Camerino?" *Bollettino storico della citta di Foligno*, 16: 337-341.
- Bratu, Anca. 1993. "Fin des temps et temps du Purgatoire dans quelques Jugements Derniers de la fin du moyen age," in *Fin des temps et temps de la fin dans l'univers médiéval*. Centre Universitaire d'Etudes et de Recherches Médiévales d'Aix, Aix-en-Provence: Bureau du C.U.E.R. M.A.
- Burckhardt, Jacob. 1944. *The Civilization of the Renaissance*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Caleca, Antonio. 1969. "Contributi al catalogo dell'opera di Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Bollettino storico della citta di Foligno*, 1: 69-82.
- Cicinelli, Aldo. 1985. "Gli affreschi della Cappella Paradisi," *Italia nostra*, 236: 38-41.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1987. "Appunti per uno studio della chiesa di San Francesco e degli affreschi attribuiti a Bartolomeo di Tommaso (Sec. XV), nella Cappella Paradisi, in Terni," *Arte sacra in Umbria e dipinti restaurati nei secoli XIII-XX*. Todi: Ediart.
- Cordella, Romano. 1987. "Un Sodalizio tra Bartolomeo di Tommaso, Nicola da Siena, Andrea Delitio," *Paragone*, 38 (#451), 89-122.

- Cosmo, Umberto. 1894. "Della cosiddetta Cappella Dantesca," *Giornale Dantesco*, 3: 174-178.
- Cristofari, Giustino. 1911. "Appunti critici sulla scuola Folignate," *Bollettino d'arte*, 5: 93-105.
- Crowe, J.A. and Cavalcaselle, G.B. 1914. *A History of Painting in Italy*. London: John Murray.
- Cruttwell, Maud. 1972. *Luca Signorelli*. Michigan: Scholarly Press.
- De La Bedoyere, Michael. 1958. *The Meddlesome Friar and the Wayward Pope; The Story of the Conflict between Savonarola and Alexander VI*. New York: Hanover House.
- Edwards, Jonathan. 1977. *Apocalyptic Writings*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Ellul, Jacques. 1977. *Apocalypse: The Book of Revelation*. New York: Seabury Press.
- Erlanger, Rachel. 1988. *Unarmed Prophet*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Focillon, Henri. 1969. *The Year 1000*. New York: Ungar Publishing Company.
- Faloci-Pulignani, Michele. 1887. "Maestro Bartolomeo dipintore Umbro del secolo XV," *Arte e storia*, 3-4.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1889. "Per la storia di San Giacomo Della Marca," *Miscellanea Francescana*, 4 (May-June): 65-78.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1921. "Bartolomeo di Tommaso, pittore Umbro del XV secolo," *Rassegna d'arte Umbra*, 3 (July): 65-80.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1926. *Storia della Canonica di San Feliciano in Foligno*. Foligno.
- Farmer, David Hugh. 1992. *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ferguson, George. 1954. *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Galassi, Cristina & Lai, Piero & Sensi, Luigi. 2001. *Palazzo Trinci*. Foligno: Comune di Foligno, Assessorato alla Cultura.
- Gheon, Henri. 1939. *Saint Vincent Ferrer*. New York: Sheed and Ward.
- Ghinato, Alberto. O.F.M., 1956. "Apostolato religioso e sociale di S. Giacomo della Marca in Terni," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 49: 106-142, 352-390.

- Gianandrea, A. 1890. "Olivuccio di Ceccarello pittore Marchigiano del secolo XV," *Nuova rivista Misena* 3 (no. 12): 179-187.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1893. "Ancora del pittore Olivuccio di Ciccarello e di altri suoi contemporanei in Ancona," *Nuova rivista Misena*, 6 (no. 3): 35-39.
- Gobineau, Comte de. 1968. *The Golden Flower*. New York: Books for Libraries Press.
- Grabois, Aryeh. 1980. *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Medieval Civilization*. London: Octopus Books Limited.
- Grigioni, Carlo. 1910. "Un' opera ignota del Maestro di Nicolò di Liberatore," *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte Italiana*, 13: 1-7.
- Grubb, Nancy. 1997. *Revelation: Art of the Apocalypse*. New York: Abbeville Press.
- Guarino, Sergio. 1998. "La decorazione nei luoghi del potere: I Palazzi Capitolini e I Palazzi Vaticani," *Roma moderna e Contemporanea*, 6 (1-2 Jan-Aug): 127-134.
- Hollander, Robert trans., and Hollander, Jean., trans. 2000. *The Inferno*. New York: Doubleday.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2003. *Purgatorio*. New York: Doubleday.
- Jones, Philip James. 1974. *The Malatesta of Rimini and the Papal State: A Political History*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kaftal, George. 1965. *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting*. Florence: Sansoni.
- Konrad, Robert. 1964. *De Ortu et Tempore Antichristi: Antichrist-vorstellung und Geschichtsbild des Abtes Adso von Mont-en-Der*. Kallmunz: Lassleben.
- Lanzi, Luigi. 1902. "Note e ricordi sulla chiesa di San Francisco in Terni," *Miscellanea Franciscana*, 9: 8-10.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1908. "La Cappella Paradisi nella chiesa di San Francisco in Terni," *Bollettino della Deputazione di Storia Patria Del L'Umbria*, 14: 261-279.
- Le Goff, Jacques. 1984. *The Birth of Purgatory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lesnick, Donald R. 1989. *Preaching in Medieval Florence: the Social World of Franciscan and Dominican Spirituality*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Lewis, Suzanne. 1995. *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Longhi, Roberto and Ronchi, Andrea. 1926. "Primizie di Lorenzo da Viterbo," *Vita artistica*, 1: 109-114.
- Longhi, Roberto. 1927. "Una 'Coronazione Della Vergine' di Pietro di Domenico da Montepulciano," *Vita artistica*, 18-20.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1950. "La mostra del Trecento Bolognese," *Paragone*, 1: 5-44.
- McFarlane, Kenneth B. 1952. *John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of English Non-Conformity*. London: English Universities Press.
- Maginnis, Hayden B. J. 2001. *The World of the Early Sienese Painter*. University Park Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Magni, Giulio. 1901. *Storia dell'arte Italiana dalle origini al secolo XX*. Rome.
- Maroni, Giovanni. 1996. "Dante, San Francisco e Malatesta Novello: Interpretazione iconologica degli affreschi in terretta verde del Refettorio di San Francesco in Cesena," *Studi Romagnoli*, 47: 481-488.
- McBain, Richard P. 1997. *Lives of the Popes : The Pontiffs from Saint Peter to John Paul II*. New York: Harper Collins.
- McGinn, Bernard. 1985. *The Calabria Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought*. New York: McMillan.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1994. *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil*. San Francisco: Harper.
- Meer, Frederik van der. 1978. *L'Apocalypse dans l'art*. Paris: Chene.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1978. *Apocalypse: Visions from the Book of Revelation in Western Art*. New York: Alpine Fine Arts Collection.
- Meltzoff, Stanley. 1987. *Botticelli, Signorelli and Savonarola: Theologica Poetica and Painting from Boccaccio to Poliziano*. Florence: L. S. Olschki.
- M'Hardy, George. 1911. *Savonarola*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- Moorman, John R. 1968. *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Mormando, Franco. 1999. *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Mostarda, Paola. 1981. "Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Giacomo della Marca nella Cappella Paradisi a Terni," *Esercizi*, 4: 54-67.
- Müntz, Eugene. 1878. *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*. vol. 1, Paris: E. Thorin.
- Musei e Gallerie di Milano. 1992. *Pinacoteca di Brera: Scuole dell'Italia centrale e meridionale*. Milan: Electa.
- Nolan, Barbara. 1977. *The Gothic Visionary Perspective*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Oliphant, Margaret. 1892. *The Makers of Florence: Dante, Giotto, Savonarola and Their City*. London: Macmillan.
- Origo, Iris. 1962. *The World of San Bernardino*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.
- Paolucci, Antonio. 1990. *Luca Signorelli*. Florence: Scala.
- Partner, Peter. 1958. *The Papal State Under Martin V: The Administration and Government of the Temporal Power in the Early Fifteenth Century*. London: British School at Rome.
- Pasini, Pier Giorgio. 1983. *I Malatesti e l'arte*. Milan: Silvana.
- Paulist Press. 1979. *Apocalyptic Spirituality: Treatises and Letters of Lactantius, Adso of Montier-en-Der, Joachim of Fiore, the Franciscan Spirituals, Savonarola*. New York: Paulist Press.
- Perkins, F. 1907. "La Pittura all'esposizione d'arte antica di Perugia," *Rassegna d'arte*, 93-94.
- Pierotti, Romano. 1975. "Aspetti del mercato e della produzione a Perugia fra la fine del secolo XIV e la prima metà del XV: La bottega di Cuoiamè di Niccolò di Martino di Pietro," *Bollettino di storia patria per l'Umbria*, 1: Part 1, 79-185.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1976. "Aspetti del mercato e della produzione a Perugia fra la fine del secolo XIV e la prima metà del XV: La bottega di Cuoiamè di Niccolò di Martino di Pietro," *Bollettino di storia patria per l'Umbria*, 1: Part 2, 1-131.
- Pietrangeli, Carlo. 1993. "Ancora sul cosiddetto Trittico Rospigliosi," *Bollettino storico della città di Foligno*, 17: 301-302.
- Pope-Hennessy, John Wyndham. 1939. *Sassetta*. London: Chatto & Windus.
- Reiss, Jonathan. 1995. *Luca Signorelli: The San Brizio Chapel, Orvieto*. New York: George Braziller.

- \_\_\_\_\_. 1995. *The Renaissance Antichrist: Luca Signorelli's Orvieto Frescoes*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Renzi, Francesca. 1997. "Un'ipotesi di lettura iconografica per gli affreschi del Refettorio di San Francesco a Cesena," *Romagna arte e storia*, 17: 75-84.
- Ridolfi, Roberto. 1959. *The Life of Girolamo Savonarola*. New York: Knopf.
- Ricci, Amico. 1834. *Memorie storiche delle arti e degli artisti della Marca di Ancona*. Macerata: Mancini.
- Roeder, Ralph. 1958. *The Man of the Renaissance; Four Lawgivers: Savonarola, Machiavelli, Castiglione, Aretino*. New York: Meridian Books.
- Rossi, Adamo. 1878. *I pittori di Foligno nel secolo d'oro delle arti Italiane : Testimonianze autentiche*. Perugia: Boncompagni.
- Runciman, Steven. 1947. *The Medieval Manichee: A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ryan, William Granger, trans. 1993. *Jacobus de Voragine: The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Scudder, Vita Dutton. 1931. *The Franciscan Adventure : A Study of the First Hundred Years of the Order of Saint Francis of Assisi*. New York: E.P. Dutton and Company.
- Sensi, Mario. 1977. "Documenti per Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Paragone*, 28: 103-155.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1983. "Nuovi documenti per Niccolò di Liberatore detto l'Alunno," *Paragone*, #389: 91-92.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ed. 1990. "Bartolomeo di Tommaso: Crocifisso adorato da un Agostiniano," *Bollettino storico della città di Foligno*, 14: 514-515.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1992. "Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Girolamo di Matteo da Gualdo: Due note d'archivio," *Paragone*, 43: 79-91.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1995. "Martiro di Santa Barbara, Madonna di Loreto, Santo Francescano e Committenti," *Bollettino storico della città di Foligno*, 19: 207-212.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1999. "Rinaldo Trinci vescovo eletto di Foligno," *Bollettino storico della città di Foligno*, 20-21: 795-798.

- Steele, Robert, trans. 1903. *Speculum Perfectionis*, ed. G. Sabatier. London: British Society of Franciscan Studies.
- Thompson, Leonard L. 1990. *The Book of Revelation: Apocalypse and Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Todini, Filippo. 1989. *La pittura Umbra: dal Duecento al primo Cinquecento*. Milano: Longanesi.
- Toscano, Bruno. 1964. "Bartolomeo di Tommaso e Nicola da Siena," *Commentari*, 15: 37-51.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1977. "A proposito di Bartolomeo di Tommaso," *Paragone*, 28: 80-85.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1990. "Confini amministrativi e confini culturali," in *Atti del Convegno di Studi: dall'Albornoz all'et a dei Borgia: Questioni di cultura figurativa nell'Umbria meridionale*. Todi: Ediart.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1991. "Una nota su paesaggio dipinto e paesaggio reale," *Paragone*, 42 (November): 20-34.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1994. "The History of Art and the Forms of Religious Life," in *History of Italian Art*, vol. 2, ed. Giulio Einaudi. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press.
- Van Der Meer, Frederick. 1978. *Apocalypse: Visions from the Book of Revelation in Western Art*. New York: Alpine Fine Arts Collection.
- Van Marle, Raimond. 1970. *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*. New York: Hacker Art Books.
- Van Paassen, Pierre. 1960. *A Crown of Fire: The Life and Times of Girolamo Savonarola*. New York: Scribners.
- Venturi, Adolfo. 1911. *Storia dell'arte Italiana*. Milan: U. Hoepli.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1967. *La pittura del Quattrocento, Parte I*. Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint.
- Villari, Pasquale. 1909. *Life and Times of Girolamo Savonarola*. New York: Scribner.
- Vitalini-Sacconi, Giuseppe. 1968. *Pittura Marchigiana, La Scoula Camerinese*. Trieste: La Editoriale Libreria.
- Welch, Evelyn. 1997. *Art and Society in Italy, 1350-1500*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Weinstein, Donald. 1970. *Savonarola and Florence; Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Westfall, Carroll William. 1974. *In This Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V, and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome, 1447-55*. University Park Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Williams, John. 1994. *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*. London: Harvey Miller.
- Wright, Rosemary Muir. 1995. *Art and Antichrist in Medieval Europe*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Zampetti, Pietro. 1971. *Paintings from the Marches: Gentile to Raphael*. London: Phaidon.
- Zanoli, Anna. 1969. "Un altare di Bartolomeo di Tommaso a Cesena," *Paragone arte*, 23: 63-76.
- Zeri, Federico. 1961. "Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno," *Bollettino d'arte*, 46: 41-65.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1963. "Tre argomenti Umbri," *Bollettino d'arte*, 48: 29-45.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1964. "Bartolomeo di Tommaso," in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*. vol. 6, Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1976. *Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery*. Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1994. "Renaissance and Pseudo-Renaissance," in *History of Italian Art*, vol. 2, ed. Giulio Einaudi, Cambridge, MA: Polity Press.
- Zeri, Federico & Gardner, Elizabeth E. 1980. *Italian Paintings: A Catalogue of the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Sieneese and Central Italian Schools*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.