

# Signorelli's *Madonna and Child*: A Gift to His Daughter

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LUCA SIGNORELLI'S *Madonna and Child* in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 1) is an exquisite picture, eloquently and intelligently appreciated by Roger Fry in 1910:

[Signorelli's] *Madonna* is a great and profoundly original creation. At first sight one is inclined to complain that the elaborately decorated gold background, an imitation apparently of a gilded leather hanging, is too assertive, that the rich golden flesh tones are not sufficiently relieved; but as the eye gets accustomed to the unusual treatment one not only gains intense satisfaction from the marvellous drawing of the gold decoration, with its *intreccia* of aggressive *putti* and scroll-work, but one realizes that the figures of the *Madonna and Child* maintain their due predominance by the unparalleled amplitude and simplicity of their forms. The simplification here is such as only a few of the greatest draughtsmen have ever attained to. It is as surprising as Piero della Francesca's, and yet the line seems to imply the control of a more tumultuous, nervous force. The color, too, with its suggestion of archaic and Byzantine originals, is one of the most daring and successful experiments in Italian art.<sup>1</sup>

The painting measures 51.4 by 47.6 centimeters and was first recorded in the Tommasi collection in Cortona in 1857.<sup>2</sup> It had been sold to Robert Benson by 1893 and passed (via Duveen) to Jules Bache in 1928. The Metropolitan Museum acquired the picture in 1949, as part of the Bache Collection, and it is frequently referred to as the *Bache Madonna*. The painting has been accepted as an autograph work by Luca Signorelli (ca. 1450–1523) in most modern scholarship and is generally dated about 1505–10.<sup>3</sup>

One can read biographies of fifteenth-century artists without ever learning whether they married or had children. In the case of the *Bache Madonna*, however, Signorelli's private life sheds light on his picture. An overlooked, but not unknown, document in the State Archives in Florence effectively establishes that the *Bache Madonna* was given by Luca Signorelli to his daughter Gabriella in April 1507.<sup>4</sup> This provides a

charming provenance, a confirmation of the date, and some explanation of the appearance of the picture. It is also one of the rare occasions in the history of Italian Renaissance art in which a domestic picture can be related to a contemporary document.

Luca Signorelli was born in Cortona about 1450 and died there in October 1523.<sup>5</sup> He married Galizia Carnesecchi soon after 1470 (when Galizia was described as still unmarried),<sup>6</sup> and she predeceased him in September 1506.<sup>7</sup> Four of the couple's children lived into adulthood: Antonio, Tommaso, Felicia, and Gabriella.

The eldest, Antonio, appeared before the Priors in Cortona in 1490 to explain his father's absence elsewhere (almost certainly in Volterra).<sup>8</sup> He became an assistant to his father, and in 1494 he apparently collected a payment for Signorelli in Città di Castello.<sup>9</sup> In February 1497 Antonio witnessed a document in his father's workshop in Cortona,<sup>10</sup> but his only documented activity as a painter was a pair of candelabra, which had been commissioned from Luca in 1495.<sup>11</sup> Kanter has cautiously advanced that Antonio's hand might be found in the *Assumption of the Virgin* in the Metropolitan Museum (acc. no. 29.164), and in the earliest frescoes at Monteoliveto Maggiore, painted about 1498–99.<sup>12</sup> But before Antonio could develop into an independent artist he died, almost certainly of the plague.<sup>13</sup> He was still alive on July 2, 1502, but was dead by July 23, when Signorelli, acting as his heir, returned some land which had been part of the dowry that Antonio's wife had brought to the Signorelli estates.<sup>14</sup> Signorelli's second son, Tommaso, was not a painter, but was named as the artist's heir from 1502 onward (following the death of his elder brother). He duly inherited his father's property in 1523 and died in 1529.<sup>15</sup>

Signorelli also had two daughters, both of whom married and had children. The elder, Felicia, married Luca Boscia in October 1500 with a dowry of 220 florins.<sup>16</sup> She had a daughter, Bernardina, but died before Signorelli drew up his first surviving will, in August 1502.<sup>17</sup> If, as seems likely, she died in the same bout of plague that claimed Antonio Signorelli, we can probably infer that Luca's will, which he made on





Figure 1. Luca Signorelli (Italian, ca. 1450–1523). *Madonna and Child*, ca. 1505–7. Oil and gold on wood, 51.4 x 47.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 (49.7.13). See also front cover

August 1, 1502, was a response to this family tragedy (both at the level of the morbid thoughts that were probably provoked by the death of his children and to vary the terms of his will in order to install Tommaso Signorelli as his universal heir).<sup>18</sup>

Signorelli's second daughter, Gabriella, married Mariotto di Antonio Mazza (also from Cortona) sometime before August 1502, and the couple had three

daughters. There are a few scattered references to Gabriella. The first is oblique. In December 1492, Signorelli bought new dresses for his daughters from a Cortonese tailor, Pavolino di Mariotto, and one of these was probably for Gabriella.<sup>19</sup> She was mentioned in his will of 1502, and when Signorelli renewed his will in October 1504, Gabriella was bequeathed a mourning dress worth 7 florins (the same value, inci-









Figure 3. Luca Signorelli.  
*Four Standing Figures*  
(fragment of the Matélica  
altarpiece), 1504–5. Oil  
and gold on wood, 71 x  
88.4 cm. Private collection,  
England (photo: National  
Gallery, London)

half-length image of the Virgin Mary with her son in her lap with an elaborate gold background" (unum quadrettum cum media imagine Virginis Marie cum puero in ulnis cum campo auri elaborato). There is little doubt that this picture was the *Bache Madonna*. Although the document does not state that Signorelli was the author of this picture, the implication seems reasonable, and this painting is Signorelli's only known gold-backed Madonna. The *Bache Madonna* is also surprisingly small, given the forceful impact of the figures. The extraordinary gilded background points to a specific moment in the artist's career: the first decade of the sixteenth century. Although it has been dated as early as the 1480s (Van Marle) or the 1490s (Dussler),<sup>26</sup> most commentators (Salmi, Scarpellini, Zeri, and Kanter) have associated the *Bache Madonna* with the decorative tendency seen in the Cortona *Lamentation*, the Matélica altarpiece, and the Arcevia polyptych and have plausibly dated the picture about 1505–7.<sup>27</sup> The Matélica altarpiece is securely dated 1504–5, and there is a clear connection between the *Bache Madonna* and the severe profile and the glazed putti painted on a gold background in the draperies of one fragment from this altarpiece, the *Four Standing Figures* in an English private collection (Figure 3; foreground left).<sup>28</sup> There are also connections with the *Virgin and Child* of the Arcevia polyptych

of 1507 (Figure 4). The decorative motifs of the Virgin's draperies in this picture can again be compared with the *Bache Madonna*, and the Virgin and child are closely comparable, although I would argue that this group at Arcevia develops out of the solution for the *Bache Madonna* (and not vice versa).

The unique gold background and the stylistic dating both support the conclusion that the *Bache Madonna* was Signorelli's gift to his daughter, and the provenance of the picture may support this view (and certainly does not undermine it). We do not know how the picture entered the Tommasi collection, where it was first recorded in 1857, but there is no evidence that the family ever acquired fifteenth- or sixteenth-century pictures outside Cortona. By the mid-nineteenth century the family owned several pictures by Signorelli, and all of them appear to have been painted for Cortonese families or churches.<sup>29</sup> While these examples suggest that the Tommasi actively acquired pictures that were available in Cortona, the *Bache Madonna* might have entered the collection in another way. Felicia Signorelli married Luca Boscia in 1500.<sup>30</sup> The Boscia line merged with the Tommasi in the early seventeenth century (with subsequent generations of the family tracing themselves to both lines).<sup>31</sup> The *Bache Madonna* might have entered the Tommasi collection if, for instance, Felicia's



daughter, Bernardina, had inherited the picture when Gabriella's daughters died without issue. This is, however, pure speculation.

On balance, the unique gilded background, the scale, the date, and the provenance of the *Bache Madonna* all point to its identity with the picture that Signorelli gave to his daughter in 1507. It would, in that case, have been familiar to Signorelli's nephew and artistic heir, Francesco Signorelli (ca. 1490/95–1553).<sup>32</sup> This may help to explain the genesis of another picture which is sometimes attributed to Luca Signorelli but has more recently been assigned to Francesco: the *Virgin and Child* in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool (Figure 5).<sup>33</sup> This picture is very badly abraded and was extensively overpainted in the past.<sup>34</sup> Although the Liverpool picture is slightly larger than the *Bache Madonna* (it measures 59.1 by 50.1 cm), the two pictures appear to have been executed on the basis of the same cartoon, and Kanter has suggested that the Liverpool version was probably painted by Francesco Signorelli, possibly before

Luca's death and under his supervision (ca. 1515?).<sup>35</sup> The fact that the colors of the Virgin's draperies are identical in both versions also suggests familiarity with the *Bache Madonna*.

Signorelli's painting in the Metropolitan Museum is exceptionally well preserved, although it is slightly abraded and has a few localized repaints. It is a beguiling image and there are few comparable works by other artists. The most unusual elements in the picture are the decorative motifs and the putti (both winged and wingless) of the gold background. These putti are painted in thin red, blue, and green glazes on gold leaf and reflect Signorelli's decorative interest in the first decade of the sixteenth century. Fry suggested that the background is meant to recall a "gilded leather hanging," a type of decoration known to have existed during the Renaissance (e.g., in the Palazzo Medici, Florence).<sup>36</sup> Alternatively this background can be compared to intricate bookbindings or to the *quadratura* of fifteenth-century illuminated manuscripts, but the scale is unusual and this explanation of



Figure 4. Luca Signorelli. *Virgin and Child* (detail of the central panel of the Arcevia polyptych), 1507. Oil and gold on wood. Collegiata di San Medardo, Arcevia, Italy (photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome)

Figure 5. Francesco Signorelli (Italian, ca. 1490/95–1553). *Virgin and Child*. Oil on wood, 59.1 x 50.1 cm. Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, England, 2810 (photo: Walker Art Gallery)





the picture's appearance is not very satisfactory.<sup>37</sup> Another possibility, which was suggested to me by Keith Christiansen, is that this background recalls a window made out of stained-glass roundels. The way in which these roundels are apparently joined to one another by small loops recalls window construction, and if Signorelli's house had windows of this type there is no reason why he could not have decorated the panes of glass with glazes.<sup>38</sup>

Another unusual feature of the picture is the two coins, or medals, with their wreathed portraits of Roman emperors. The medal in the top left corner shows Domitian (r. 81–96) and is inscribed: S·P·Q·R DOMICIANVS II IM / S / C (The Senate and the People of Rome. Domitian Emperor in the Second Year of His Reign, by Decree of the Senate). The medal in the top right corner shows Caracalla (r. 211–17) and is inscribed: S·P·Q·R CHA·CHALI·IM·AN·III M·III / I / C (The Senate and the People of Rome. Caracalla Emperor in the Third Year and the Fourth Month of His Reign, by Decree of the Emperor). These medals are, however, Renaissance fantasy rather than copies after the antique, and their inscriptions are similarly made up.<sup>39</sup> The proportions of the heads to the fields is also unrelated to ancient Roman coins, and they are no more than generically *all'antica*.

In addition to his sensitivity to the nature of the background, to the role of color and of line, and to the primacy of the *Bache Madonna* over the Liverpool version, Roger Fry was also keenly aware of the simplicity of the Virgin Mary in this picture. She is more plainly dressed than most of Signorelli's other Madonnas—and she has not been given a halo. She is the Mother of God and may have been painted, with loving care, at a moment when Signorelli had lost his wife and the mother of his children.<sup>40</sup> If so, this gift to his surviving daughter was particularly poignant, and the *Bache Madonna*'s charm may have found a partial explanation.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This paper is dedicated to the memory of Guido Tommasi-Aliotti (1926–1996), who was the passionate guardian of his family archive and founder of the Associazione fra i Proprietari di Archivi di Carattere Domestico in Cortona. He facilitated my researches into the provenance of the *Bache Madonna*, which was owned by the Tommasi family in the nineteenth century; I am also indebted for her assistance to his widow, Grazia Tommasi-Aliotti. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Metropolitan Museum

in February 1999, and I am very grateful to Keith Christiansen for inviting me to speak and for welcoming me to New York. My transcription of the document of April 1507 was kindly corrected by Caroline Elam.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

##### ASCC

Archivio Storico Comunale, Cortona

##### ASF, NA

Archivio di Stato, Florence, Notarile Antecosimiano

##### Mancini 1903

Girolamo Mancini. *Vita di Luca Signorelli*. Florence: Carnesecchi, 1903.

##### Zeri and Gardner 1980

Federico Zeri and Elizabeth Gardner. *Italian Paintings, a Catalogue of the Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Sienese and Central Italian Schools*. New York: MMA, 1980.

#### APPENDIX

Archivio di Stato, Florence, Notarile Antecosimiano 11417 (formerly L 51), Noferi Laparelli, 1501–7, fol. 271v (10.4.1507). Unpublished (referred to by Girolamo Mancini, *Vita di Luca Signorelli* [Florence: Carnesecchi, 1903], p. 148). New transcription by Tom Henry and Caroline Elam.

##### Aprilis

[note in margin] Donatio facta domine Gabrielle filie magistri Luce

In dei nomine amen. Anno domini 1507 Indictione X<sup>ma</sup> papa Julio ii residente. Die vero X mensis aprilis dicti anni. Actum in apotecha ecclesie sancte Margharite sita in Cortona in terzerio S. Vincenti iuxta rem Nicoli Christofori Gulielmi de dicta civitate, plateam, viam comunis et alios etc. Presentibus ibidem Guidone Antoni Thorelli et Baptista Ser Jacobi Petri Mazzette omnibus de Cortona testibus etc.

Egregius et excellens vir et Pictor magister Lucas Egidii de Signorellis civis Cortonensis ex certa eius scientia etc. omni meliori modo etc. per se et suos heredes et successores causa et titulo donationis facte inter vivos dedit tradidit et donavit domine Gabriele filie dicti magistri Luce et uxori ad presens Mariotti Antoni Mazze et mihi notario infrascripto pro dicta domina Gabriella stipulanti et recipienti ac pro suis heredibus et successoribus unam imaginem Virginis Marie inte-



gre cum duabus figuris a latere in uno quadro. Item dicto titulo donavit eidem brachia octo panni viridis ciopi urbeveta. Item eodem titulo unam camurram pavonazii obscuri veterem, unum foderum domine Galitie. Item unum quadrettum cum media imagine Virginis Marie cum puero in ulnis cum campo auri elaborato. Item eodem titulo florenos duos auri larghi vel circa pro ea solutione et pagamento quod apparet in libris quondam Bernardini Mariotti de Thomasiis que omnia et singula suprascripta dictus magister Lucas per se et suos etc. promisit dicte domine et mihi notario pro ea ac suis heredibus et successoribus recipienti per se vel alium aliqua ingratitude casu repetere exigere vel cum ea venire sub pena dupli valoris etc. Sed ea mere pure libere e simpliciter donativo titulo inter vivos donavit etc.

April

[note in margin] Gift made to Mistress Gabriella daughter of master Luca

In the name of God amen. Year of our Lord 1507, Tenth Indiction, Pope Julius II residing. On the tenth day of April of the year stated. Enacted in the workshop of the church of Saint Margaret situated in Cortona in the *terzerio* of St. Vincent next to the property of Niccolo Cristoforo Gulielmo of the said city, the square, the common road and other [boundaries], etc. In the presence at the same place of Guido Antonio Thorelli and Battista di Ser Jacopo Pietro Mazzette all from Cortona, witnesses.

Master Luca di Egidio Signorelli, outstanding and excellent man and painter, citizen of Cortona in his sure knowledge, etc., and in every way for the better on behalf of himself and his heirs and successors after he had made a gift of cause and title in his lifetime, gave handed over and granted to Mistress Gabriella the daughter of the aforementioned master Luca and wife for the present of Mariotto Antonio Mazza. And to me the notary named here, requesting and receiving on behalf of the aforementioned Mistress Gabriella and on behalf of her heirs and successors an image of the Virgin Mary, full-length with two figures to the side in a painting. Also by the aforementioned title he has then given eight *braccia* of green cloth from Orvieto. Also in the same title an old dark purple *camurra*, [and] a coverlet belonging to Mistress Galitia. Also a small picture with a half-length image of the Virgin Mary with her son in her lap with an elaborate gold background. Also in the same title two large golden florins as payment and satisfaction of [the debt?] that appears in the accounts of Bernardino Mariotto di Tommaso. Which all together and singly here noted the aforesaid master Luca promised on behalf of himself and his family. And he promised to

the aforesaid mistress and to me as notary through these statements and for his heirs and successors . . . [continues with two lines of legal formula]

## NOTES

1. Roger Fry, "The Umbrian Exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club," *Burlington Magazine* 16 (1909-10), pp. 267-74, esp. pp. 268-73. For Fry's particular interest in Signorelli, see Caroline Elam, "Roger Fry and Early Italian Painting" in Chris Green, ed., *Art Made Modern: Roger Fry's Vision of Art*, exh. cat., Courtauld Gallery, London (London: Merrell Holberton, 1999-2000), pp. 87-106, esp. pp. 102-3.
2. It was seen in Cortona by Otto Mündler, September 8, 1857: "Caval<sup>re</sup> Luigi (or Luca?) Tommasi has several pictures by Signorelli. . . . A Virgin and Child by the same artist, is more delicate, and preferable; yet extremely dirty, 1 f. 6¼ in. w. 1 f. 8¼ in h." (Carol Togneri Dowd, ed., "The Travel Diaries of Otto Mündler 1855-1858," *Walpole Society* 51 [1985], p. 165). The picture was also described by Charles Eastlake, "Notebook" (in the archive of the National Gallery, London), 1857, vol. 1, fol. 51r-v. It cannot be confidently identified in the "Inventario e stima di tutti i quadri che esistono nel palazzo dei nobili Signori Luigi e Girolamo Tommasi fatta del Prof. Niccola Monti" (20.3.1858), MS in the Tommasi-Aliotti archive, Cortona. But it was recorded as in the Girolamo Tommasi collection by Robert Vischer, *Luca Signorelli und die italienische Renaissance, eine kunsthistorische Monographie* (Leipzig: Veit, 1879), p. 260.
3. Zeri and Gardner 1980, pp. 91-92, with previous bibliography.
4. The document was referred to, but not published, by Mancini 1903, p. 148. The connection with the *Bache Madonna* has not previously been proposed (except in my Ph.D. diss., "The Career of Luca Signorelli in the 1490s," London University, 1996, p. 222).
5. Signorelli's date of birth is unknown. For his death, see Nicola Fruscoloni, "Quattro documenti inediti per la vita di Luca Signorelli," *Annuario dell'Accademia Etrusca di Cortona* 21 (1984), pp. 175-89, esp. p. 188.
6. Mancini 1903, p. 18.
7. Mancini 1903, p. 19 (and ASF, NA 11413 [formerly L 49], Girolamo Laparelli, 1505-7, fols. 279r-283r).
8. ASCC, Lib. Q. 4, fol. 20r (27.12.1490); paraphrased by Girolamo Mancini, *Notizie sulla Chiesa del Calcinaio* (Cortona: Bimbi, 1868), p. 88. For Signorelli in Volterra, see Tom Henry, "New documents for Signorelli's 'Annunciation' at Volterra," *Burlington Magazine* 140 (1998), pp. 474-78.
9. Archivio Comunale, Città di Castello, "Antico libro de' creditori della comune," 1494, fol. 7 (published by Giacomo Mancini, *Istruzione storico-pittorica per visitare le Chiese e i Palazzi di Città di Castello* [Perugia: Baduel, 1832], vol. 2, pp. 68, 69): "1494 Maestro Luca da Cortona depentore deve dare a di I. de febraro Ducati 6. d'oro larghi, li quali ha auto suo figliolo."
10. ASF, NA 17811 (formerly R 128), Lodovico Ricci, 1494-97, fol. 171r-v (10.2.1497). Unpublished.
11. ASCC, Lib. Z. 7, "Libro di entrate e uscite della Compagnia laicale del SS. Salvatore, 1490-1536," fols. 31v-32r (17.6.1495); published by Fruscoloni, "Quattro documenti inediti per la vita di Luca Signorelli," pp. 175-77: "Antonio, suo figliolo, dia



- avere adi dicto lire una et soldi quindici tanti sono per dipintura de uno paio de candellieri, quali depinse per la Compagnia a biaccha inbrunita; monta lire 1, soldi 15, denari."
12. Laurence Kanter, "Signorelli, Siena and the Griselda Master," paper given at a conference, "Signorelli, Raphael, and the 'Other' Artists in the Stanze of Julius II," at the Courtauld Institute of Art, London, November 1998.
  13. Luca Signorelli was extracted to serve as a Prior on June 23, 1502, but was excused "habebat familiam morbo epidemie oppressam"; ASCC, Lib. Q. 5, fol. 97r (23.6.1502); Mancini, *Notizie sulla Chiesa del Calcinaiolo*, p. 89. Antonio was still alive at this date, and this probably refers to Luca's daughter Felicia.
  14. See Mancini 1903, pp. 137-38, and ASF, NA 20989 (formerly V 142), Cristoforo Venuti, 1497-1516, fols. 61v-62r (23.7.1502).
  15. Mancini 1903, pp. 241-42.
  16. ASF, NA 15272 (formerly N 178), Paolo Ferrantini, 1499-1502, fols. 133v-135r (14.10.1500); referred to by Mancini 1903, p. 130.
  17. Felicia was apparently still alive in June 1501, see ASF, NA 15272 (formerly N 178), Paolo Ferrantini, 1499-1502, fol. 134v (19.6.1501); referred to by Mancini 1903, p. 130.
  18. ASF, NA 5596 (formerly C 623), Pietro Coppi, 1497-1504, fols. 57v-59r (1.8.1502); referred to by Mancini 1903, p. 139. Signorelli's wills are the principal source of information about the artist and his family.
  19. ASCC, Lib. G. 1, "Libro dei Ricordi di Pavolino di Mariotto Sarto, 1491-1518," fol. 12r (1.12.1492): "Maestro Lucha denpentore di dare adi predetto di sopra per fattura di tre giubarele del filole monta L 20 S 26." Unpublished.
  20. ASF, NA 11417 (formerly L 51), Noferi Laparelli, 1501-7, fols. 141r-146r (31.10.1504); referred to by Mancini 1903, p. 144: "... unam Cioppam sive vestem lugubrem panni monacchini valoris et comunis exstimationis florenorum septe auri boni et iusti ponderis comunis cortone." For the tondo, see Laurence Kanter and David Franklin, "Some Passion Scenes by Luca Signorelli after 1500," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 35 (1991), pp. 171-91.
  21. ASF, NA 1173 (formerly B 161), Niccolò Baldelli, 1507-24 (1523.2), fols. 10r-14r (13.10.1523); referred to by Vischer, *Luca Signorelli*, pp. 365-66.
  22. ASF, NA 11413 (formerly L 49), Girolamo Laparelli, 1505-7, fols. 279r-283r (7.9.1506); referred to by Mancini 1903, p. 19.
  23. This act is published in full here in the Appendix.
  24. "unam imaginem Virginis Marie integre cum duabus figuris a latere in uno quadro"; see Appendix.
  25. See Luitpold Dussler, *Signorelli*, *Klassiker der Kunst* 34 (Berlin and Leipzig: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1927), pl. 152.
  26. Raimond van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, vol. 16 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1937), pp. 28, 32; and Dussler, *Signorelli*, pl. 56.
  27. Mario Salmi, *Luca Signorelli* (Novara: Istituto Geografico De Agostini, 1953), pp. 32, 61; Pietro Scarpellini, *Luca Signorelli* (Milan: Edizioni per il Club del Libro, 1964), pp. 59, 135; Zeri and Gardner 1980, pp. 91-92; and Laurence Kanter, *The Late Works of Luca Signorelli and His Followers 1498-1559*, Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1989 (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1991), pp. 139-41. Of course, the picture mentioned in the document could have been painted at any time before April 1507.
  28. See Kanter and Franklin, "Some Passion Scenes by Luca Signorelli after 1500," pp. 171-91; and Tom Henry, *Signorelli in British Collections*, exh. cat., National Gallery, London (London: National Gallery Publications, 1998-99), pp. 22-23.
  29. E.g., the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (now Accademia Etrusca, Cortona), the *Virgin and Child with Saints Joseph and Onuphrius* (formerly in the Canepa collection, Rome), the *Incredulity of Saint Thomas and a Donor* (formerly in a private collection in Italy but destroyed by fire in 1995), and the *Virgin and Child with Saints Peter, Paul, Benedict, and Vincent* (now Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome). The *Nativity* now in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin, is also said to have come from the Tommasi collection, and pictures by Signorelli with a Tommasi provenance are also to be found in the Uffizi, the Fiocco collection in Padua, and in the Detroit Institute of Arts and the Philadelphia Museum of Art.
  30. For documentation of the Signorelli-Boscia marriage, see note 16 above. Luca Boscia's relationship with Signorelli is suggested by several additional references. In May 1497 Boscia acted as *fideiussore* when Signorelli served as a Prior (ASCC, Lib. Q. 4, fol. 319r). In February 1502 he acted as the artist's procurator (ASF, NA 5764 [formerly C 683], Bernardino Cortonesi, 1502, fol. 22v), and Signorelli was his *fideiussore* in May 1504 and again in November 1519 (ASCC, Lib. Q. 5, fol. 183r, and Q. 8, fol. 255v). Boscia was Signorelli's *fideiussore* again in May 1520 (ASCC, Lib. Q. 8, fol. 300v).
  31. I could not have made this connection without the assistance of the late Guido Tommasi-Aliotti. According to his "Schema genealogica della famiglia Boscia Tommasi" (Tommasi-Aliotti archive, Cortona), the connection between the families can be dated to the marriage in the early fifteenth century of Francesco di Battista Boscia and Giovanna di Giovanni Tommasi.
  32. Laurence Kanter, "Francesco Signorelli," *Arte Cristiana* 82 (1994), pp. 199-212.
  33. Fry saw the pictures together in 1910 and was the first to dismiss the Liverpool picture as "merely a school piece"; see Fry, "The Umbrian Exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club," p. 268.
  34. Ralph Fastnedge, "A Restored Work by Signorelli at Liverpool," *Burlington Magazine* 95 (1953), pp. 273-74.
  35. Kanter, "Francesco Signorelli," p. 206.
  36. Fry, "The Umbrian Exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club," pp. 268-73. For the gilded leather wall hangings of the Palazzo Medici, see John Shearman, "The Collections of the Younger Branch of the Medici," *Burlington Magazine* 117 (1975), pp. 12-27, esp. pp. 20, 25.
  37. See Anthony Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
  38. Signorelli also worked with stained-glass artists: see Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite* . . . , ed. Rosanna Bettarini and Paola Barocchi (Florence: Sansoni, 1966-87), vol. 3, p. 636; and Girolamo Mancini, *Guglielmo de Marcillat francese insuperato pittore di vetri* (Florence: Carnesecchi, 1909), pp. 29, 32 and passim.
  39. The free translations follow Zeri and Gardner 1980, p. 91.
  40. The style of the picture is arguably consistent with a narrower range of dates than that proposed above; the period could be shortened to between September 1506 and April 1507 (the dates, respectively, of the death of Signorelli's wife and of this gift to his daughter). If we knew more about the circumstances, a parallel might be found in Piero della Francesca's undertaking to paint the *Madonna del Parto* following the death of his mother, Romana di Pierino da Monterchi, in November 1459.