

# TRINITY FINE ART

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**Master of the Wildenstein Solomon** (Protasio Crivelli?)  
(active in Lombardy, late 15<sup>th</sup> – early 16<sup>th</sup> century)

*Saint Ursula and her Maiden Companions*  
*Christ in Judgment Surrounded by Saints*

Two re-sized illuminated initials, tempera and gold on parchment  
150 x 158 mm and 144 x 141 mm respectively

## Provenance

With Stefano Bardini (?), Florence

## Bibliography

E. Fahry, *L'archivio storico fotografico di Stefano Bardini. Dipinti, disegni, miniature, stampe*. Firenze 2000, cat. no. 706, p. 63 (*Saint Ursula and her Maiden Companions*)

B. Alai, *Le miniature italiane del Kupferstichkabinett di Berlino*, Firenze 2019, p. 295 (*Saint Ursula and her Maiden Companions*).

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These two illuminated initials, along with a third, were acquired as one lot, all framed identically. As there are photographs of the cutting depicting *Saint Ursula and her Maiden Companions* and the third, an *Adoration of the Magi*, in the photographic archive of Stefano Bardini, it is likely that they belonged to the Florentine antiquarian, who did, however, keep images of works he did not own. The other initial, *Christ in Judgment Surrounded by Saints*, was previously unpublished, but as it is identical to the others in every aspect, it must have the same provenance, even if undocumented by photos.

In the Bardini photograph, the two miniatures seem to be placed, maybe just for the time of the shot, on a sheet of paper fixed by pins to a wooden support. The small painted extensions visible in the image have since disappeared: friezes along the upper margin and the left curve of the *Saint Ursula and her Maiden Companions*, as well as leaves in the right margin of the *Adoration of the Magi*. It is difficult to tell whether these were original decorations cut off to regularise the size of the cuttings, or whether they were later additions, painted before the cuttings went on the market and subsequently removed.

The initial which frames the depiction of *St Ursula and her Maiden Companions*, cannot be identified with absolute certainty. It could be the ‘G’ of *Gaudeamus omnes* in the response of the feast of the 11,000 maiden companions of Ursula, celebrated on 21<sup>st</sup> October.

The unpublished initial, of only slightly smaller dimensions than the others, shows *Christ in Judgment* in an almond-shape framed by cherubs and seraphs, between the Virgin Mary, St John the Baptist and a choir of angels chanting with cartouches reading ‘ECCE XPS’ and ‘GAUDEA(MUS)’. The attributes of the other figures allow us to identify, from top to bottom, Saints Andrew, Peter and Paul, Anthony Abbot, Francis, Adam, David, Stefano, Mary Magdalene, Agnes, Catherine and Peter Martyr.

On the left side, two animals typical of Christian iconography are shown. At the top there is a half cut-off peacock, a symbol of the resurrection as early as in paleo-Christian art due to the ancient belief that its tailfeathers regenerated every spring and that its flesh was incorruptible, as evidenced by Saint Augustine – *Quis enim nisi Deus creator omnium dedit carni pavonis mortui ne putesceret?* – and by a sermon by Saint Anthony of Padua – *In generali resurrectione [...] pavo ille (corpus nostrum) qui mortalitatis penna abjecit, immortalitatis recipient.*<sup>1</sup> The second animal is a fawn. Based on Psalm 42, *Quemadmodum desiderat cervus*

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**Fig. 1** – Master of the Wildenstein Solomon, *King Solomon*, Paris, Musée Marmottan-Monet, Wildenstein Collection (cat. 17)

*ad fontes aquarum, ita desiderat anima mea ad te, Deus* ('as the deer longs for the source of water, so my soul longs for you, God'), this alludes to the faithful who aspire to communion with God and to the purifying water of baptism.<sup>2</sup> The initial could be an 'I', introducing a feast dedicated to Saint Peter, to which the surviving fragments of text on the reverse refer: *edificabo ec[clesia mea]/m*.

The 'E' of the *Adoration of the Magi* is from 'Ecce advenit dominator dominus', introit of the mass of Epiphany, 6<sup>th</sup> January. The fragment must therefore come from a gradual from the Proper of the Day. A similar initial, but without the horizontal shaft, can be found in an illuminated gradual in Florence from c. 1460-5.<sup>3</sup> Originally, it would have been on the verso of the sheet, as on the other side of the parchment, there are words from the preceding mass, the *vigilia Epiphaniae*, which was therefore on the front.<sup>4</sup>

When studying Bardini's photographic archive, Everett Fahy dated *Saint Ursula and her Maiden Companions* as well as the *Adoration of the Magi* to around 1500, and he rightly attributed them to the Lombard miniaturist to whom we also owe the three initials from the Wildenstein collection at the Musée Marmottan-Monet in Paris,<sup>5</sup> where the critical history of the master, which we will briefly recount, begins.

The three Wildenstein initials depict *King Solomon* (fig. 1), *Saint Maurice and the Theban Legion* (fig. 2) and *Saint Michael Slaying the Devil* (fig. 3). In 1970, Bernard Berenson's proposed attribution to Eusebio Ferrari having been rejected, Mirella Levi



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**Fig. 2** – Master of the Solomon Wildenstein, *Saint Maurice and the Theban Legion*, Paris, Musée Marmottan-Monet, Wildenstein Collection (cat. 18)



**Fig. 3** – Master of the Wildenstein Solomon, *Saint Michael Slaying the Devil*, Paris, Musée Marmottan-Monet, Wildenstein Collection (cat. 19)



d'Ancona established the traits of the miniaturist's style, in which there were echoes of Ambrogio Bergognone, Bernardino dei Conti and Bernardino Luini.<sup>6</sup> She also highlighted a Ferrarese component to the artist's work, drawing him closer to the miniaturist Matteo da Milano, then known for his activity in service of Ercole d'Este (light was shed on his Milanese period just twenty years later).

Levi d'Ancona provided two arguments useful for establishing both the chronology and the provenance of the fragments. The blue vest with lilies of France worn by Solomon pushes the original codex to be dated to one of the two periods of French dominance in Lombardy, identified as that following the conquest of Louis XII (1499-1512). The iconography of the two cuttings also suggests that the fragments came from the Benedictine monastery San Maurizio Maggiore in Milan which, dedicated to the saint of the Theban legion, had an altar consecrated to the Archangel Michael.

Levi d'Ancona started building the corpus of the miniaturist's work, adding to the three Wildenstein cuttings seven fragments which, with the exception of the first, are to this day considered autograph: *King David*, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, n. 1800<sup>7</sup>; *The Assumption of the Virgin*, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. Marley Cutting It. 19 (fig. 9, cat. 2); *Ezekiel's Vision*, London, British Library, Add. Ms. 18197d (fig. 4, cat. 2); *Saint Helena*, London, British Library, Add. Ms. 18197g (fig. 5, cat. 7), *Funeral* (or *Lamentation* (?)), London, British Library, Add. Ms. 18197i (fig. 6, cat. 8); *David, Elijah, Elisha*, formerly New York, private



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**Fig. 4** – Master of the Wildenstein Solomon, *The Vision of Ezekiel*, London, British Library (cat. 6)



**Fig. 5** – Master of the Wildenstein Solomon, *Saint Helena*, London, British Library (cat. 7)

collection (cat. 15); *Saint John the Baptist*, Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, inv. 22111 (fig. 8, cat. 20).

The scholar's hypotheses regarding the identification of the artist have had very little traction. She suggested: the Milanese Taddeo de Scoriatis, a miniaturist documented in Rome during the papacy of Leo X, based on the assumption that the master of the initials also worked outside of Lombardy<sup>8</sup>; the Cremonese painter Alessandro Pampurino, put forth in the conviction that our artist's brilliant palette was drawn from that of Gerolamo da Cremona, a miniaturist who was later revealed to have trained in Venice<sup>9</sup>; the 'Johannes' who signed the *King David* then in the collection of Mortimer Brandt, which Levi d'Ancona herself judged to be of lesser quality.<sup>10</sup>

In 1978, Giordana Mariani Canova added six fragments to the corpus begun by Levi d'Ancona<sup>11</sup>: *Saint Cecilia and Other Female Saints*, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Cutting 4145 (fig. 10, cat. 9); *Saint Helena*, formerly New York, Robert Lehman Collection, ms. A.6 (cat. 16); *Saint Stephen*, London, Wallace Collection, M 330 (cat. 10); three initials from the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin, nos 631, 634 and 660, later removed from the list by other scholars.<sup>12</sup> Mariani Canova confirmed a Ferrarese influence in the master's work, overlying the Lombard base, and likened him to the Master of the Arcimboldi Missal, suggesting that he could in fact be the same artist during a later phase of his career. Six further works were subsequently added to the corpus of the master: Ulrike Bauer-Eberhardt, highlighting links with Ambrogio Bergognone, attributed a *Saint Stephen* (Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, inv. 19796 (cat. 14)) and a *Prophet* from a private collection (formerly

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**Fig. 6** – Master of the Wildenstein Solomon, *Lamentation* (?), London, British Library (cat. 8)



**Fig. 7** – Master of the Wildenstein Solomon, *Assumption of Saint Mary Magdalene*, Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts (cat. 4)

Sir Hugh Walpole, cat. 5) to him.<sup>13</sup> Anna De Floriani added the *Assumption of Saint Mary Magdalene* from Lille (Palais des Beaux-Arts, inv. Pl. 708 (fig. 7, cat. 4).<sup>14</sup> Everhett Fahy assigned two of the three initials catalogued here (cat. 11 & 12) to him.<sup>15</sup> In 2011, a *Prophet* from the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, MS McClean 201.16c (cat. 3), was added to the series by Beatrice Alai,<sup>16</sup> who has now pointed out another piece: an initial with *God the Father Blessing a Church*, attributed to the circle of the Master of Anna Sforza c. 1490-1500 (cat. 1).<sup>17</sup> Finally, similarities between the three Wildenstein miniatures and an enamel medallion in the Bargello depicting *Christ at the Column* have also been noted, suggesting that the master also worked in the field of painted enamel according to the customs of the time.<sup>18</sup>

The miniaturist's corpus is therefore made up of twenty re-sized initials (see catalogue), which multiple signs show to come from separate volumes, perhaps from different liturgical series. Let us limit ourselves to two examples. Two cuttings which depict the same saint, *Lorenzo*, differ in the design of the letter. The 'S' of one fragment is of the archaic type, with a two-dimensional body covered with white lead motifs (cat. 14). The other 'E', however, has three-dimensional motifs similar to ours (cat. 10). The hypothesis that the fragments belong to different series is supported by the dimensions of the Munich initial, which is smaller than the others. Even the stylistic characteristics are not always the same. The initial with *Saint Cecilia* (cat. 9) and that with the *Prophet* (cat. 3), of similar size, show softened typologies and muted contrasts in the *chiaroscuro*, different to the harsher lines and troubled moulding of the majority of the initials here noted, of greater size. A more thorough analysis of these aspects is

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**Fig. 8** – Master of the Wildenstein Solomon, *Saint John the Baptist*, Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini (cat. 20)



**Fig. 9** – Master of the Wildenstein Solomon, *Assumption of the Virgin*, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum (cat. 2)

needed, but for now it is useful to highlight that the master's first cuttings appeared on the market in 1838, when the three Wildenstein initials are documented in the Ottley collection.

Before concluding the review of this critical analysis of who, along with Anna De Floriani, we would call the Master of the Wildenstein Solomon,<sup>19</sup> two additional points should be made. The first gives credit to an intuition of Pietro Toesca, who believed the Cini *Saint John the Baptist* (fig. 8) was “inspired by some prints from beyond the mountains”, as confirmed by the identification of the source, an engraving of the same subject by Martin Schongauer.<sup>20</sup> In the place where this source was made evident, an account was given of an hypothesis transmitted orally by Teresa d’Urso, who noted a strong stylistic relationship between the Wildenstein miniatures and the altarpiece at the Museo di Capodimonte in Naples signed in 1498 by the Milanese Protasio Crivelli. As a Protasio Crivelli was attested in Milan in 1487 as an apprentice miniaturist under Marco d’Oggiono, the possibilities of identifying the Master of the Wildenstein Solomon opened up. Despite the perplexities expressed,<sup>21</sup> the hypothesis seems valid to this author, but a precise check which considers the documented existence of two artists of the same name in Milan, as well as the differing proposals regarding the painter’s Lombard activities, should be carried out.<sup>22</sup>

As we have seen, up until this point, the critical analysis of the miniaturist has oscillated between the names of the Master of the Arcimboldi Missal and the Master of Anna Sforza, miniaturists who emerged, through studies carried out thirty-odd years ago, from the masses of book masters in Sforzescan Milan at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.



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The Master of the Arcimboldi Missal is the principal author of the miniatures in the codex which the Archbishop Guidantonio Arcimboldi presented to the Cathedral around 26<sup>th</sup> May 1495, the day of Ludovico Sforza's investiture as the Duke of Milan (Milan, Biblioteca e Archivio del Capitolo Metropolitano, ms. II.D.I.13), in which the early career of Matteo da Milano, well known for his work outside the region from c. 1500 onwards, can be plausibly recognised.<sup>23</sup> The more modest Master of Anna Sforza, who takes his name from the Missal brought by the sister of Il Moro to Alfonso d'Este as a dowry (Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, ms. Lat. 438 = α.T.4.11), is still anonymous.<sup>24</sup> Of very different statures, only similar in appearance, the two miniaturists do have in common a taste for antiquarian evocations derived from the Prevedari Print, an ornamental repertoire which transformed initials into jewels adorned with pearls and precious stones, a palette of saturated colours and metallic iridescence. But Matteo da Milano's figures, not unlike those of Carlo Braccresco, are minute and sensitive, they have affable or pathetic expressions, vaguely northern physiognomies, with curious prognathism, and a rich *chiaroscuro* modulation. Less refined, the Master of Anna Sforza faced obstacles in spatial rendering and anatomical articulation, a reduced palette and a technique which made surfaces grainy.

A decade later, the Master of the Wildenstein Solomon appears indebted to both of his predecessors, of whom he may have been a follower or collaborator. From Matteo da Milano he derives his physiognomy, for example the face of *Christ in Judgment*, noble and sharp, hollow bellow the purpled cheekbones, swollen lips, and above all the fixed and cold gaze, reminiscent of Bramantino's *Christ Resurrected* now in Madrid.<sup>25</sup> With a particularly pleasant arrangement of features, physiognomy characterises the Wildenstein *Solomon* and, behind the Germanic model, the Cini *Saint John the Baptist*. The sharp forms also come from Matteo da Milano – the pointed hands – and the expressive harshness, which has led to the evocation of Ferrarese influences, reached our artist, I believe, through Matteo da Milano.

Other aspects also recall the Master of Anna Sforza, such as the proportional or anatomical awkwardness, the asymmetry of the faces, for example in the middle-aged king in the *Adoration of the Kings* and in the numerous three-quarter profiles in the *Christ in Judgment*. The enamel palette, rich in golden highlights, is reminiscent of the Master of Anna Sforza too,

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**Fig. 10** – Master of the Wildenstein Solomon, *Saint Cecilia and other Saints*, London, Victoria and Albert Museum (cat. 9)

as is the pointillistic technique, seen in the hair of Mary Magdalene and in the beard of Adam in the *Christ in Judgment*.

With regards to his two predecessors, the leonardesque component, notably the faces of Saint Ursula and her companions as well as the profile of the young mage, is new. The swollen lips, the fleshy face framed by the reddish mop of hair, and above all the dense *chiaroscuro* on the milky complexion recall certain successes of leonardesque portraiture and that of the Master of the Pala Sforzesca, to which many of the deformities on the faces of the saints gathered in the *Christ in Judgment* refer.<sup>26</sup>

The present initials and the *Adoration of the Magi* are similar to other cuttings with which they may share a provenance: the *Assumption of the Virgin*, preface to the mass for Assumption, could belong to the gradual of the *Adoration of the Magi*, almost exactly the same in size (cat. 2). There is a strong resemblance between the profile of the kneeling king and that of the apostle in red next to Saint Peter, as between the irregularities of the gaunt faces with deep eye sockets casting side-long glances. The motifs painted on the gold leaf in the corners of the initial are alike. Other cuttings similar to ours are the *Mary Magdalene* (fig. 7, cat. 4) and the six initials in London and Paris (figs 4-6, cat. 6-8, figs. 1-3, cat. 17-19), defined by an affected plasticity, an insistent *ductus*, expressive gravity and chromatic density.

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**Fig. 11** – Master of the Wildenstein  
Solomon, *Prophet*, Cambridge,  
Fitzwilliam Museum (cat. 3)

Unfortunately, nothing new has come to light regarding the provenance of the cuttings. Saint Ursula's *fleur-de-lys*-decorated vest confirms Levi d'Ancona's hypothesis that the books from which the initials were taken were of French or Francophile commission. But nothing confirms that the volumes belonged to the benedictines of Saint Maurice. The veneration of the saint did occur elsewhere in Lombardy in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the monastery does not seem to have had particular fortune with the French. In this respect, the Augustinian monastery of Saint Martha would have

more chances as a plausible candidate for the recipient of French-commissioned chorals, also because one of the altars of the external

church was dedicated to Saint Michael, but no information has come down to us, as far as I know, about its liturgical equipment, so the issue remains, for now, open.<sup>27</sup>

Even if they do not belong to the same series, the twenty initials by the Master of the Wildenstein Solomon are from his mature phase, after 1500. I believe, however, that his corpus should be amplified by three codices, already reunited by Cristina Quattrini around a collaborator of the Master of Anna Sforza: the second part of a late-Gothic Hours, c.1490-5 (Como, Musei Civici)<sup>28</sup>; a Gradual from Santa Maria Assunta in Santa Maria Maggiore in the Val Viguzzo, 1495-1500 (Novara, Archivio Storico diocesano, ms. G2)<sup>29</sup>; the gospel offered to Sant'Ambrogio before 1507, the year of the death of the commissioner, by the canon Pietro Casola (Milan, Biblioteca del Capitolo Metropolitano del Duomo, ms. II.E.1.20).<sup>30</sup>

Pier Luigi Mulas



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## Catalogue<sup>31</sup>

1)

*God the Father Blessing a Church*, initial T (?)

145 x 147 mm; on the reverse [Alle]uya. Ps. Deus / [...] a. Susce[...].

Basel, Galleria Jörn Günther.

Provenance: Alfred and Felice Scharf; Christie's, London, 12 July 2023, lot 23.



2)

*Assumption of the Virgin*, initial G

153 x 153 mm (*Gaudeamus omnes in Domino*, mass for the Feast of the Assumption, 15 August); on the reverse *reuertere Su[namitis. reu]ertere reuerte[re]*.

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. Marlay Cutting It. 19.

Provenance: Rev. Montague Taylor, 1962, Christie's, London, 19-21 May 1897, lot 137; Charles Brinsley Marlay (1831-1912) bequest.<sup>32</sup>



3)

*Prophet*, initial D

80 x 88 mm.

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 201.16c.

Provenance: Franck McClean, bought 1904.<sup>33</sup>



4)

*Assumption of Saint Mary Magdalene*, initial G

147 x 159 mm (*Gaudeamus omnes in Domino*, mass for the Feast of Mary Magdalene, 22 July).

Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts, inv. Pl. 708.

Provenance: Houré, bought 1882.<sup>34</sup>



5)

*Prophet*

England, Sir Hugh Walpole (previously).<sup>35</sup>

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6)

*The Vision of Ezekiel*, initial V

85 x 95 mm (*Vidi Dominum sedentem*, antiphon from the *De Prophetis* Feast); on the reverse [*ea qua*]e sub ipso / [*errant rep*]lebant [*templum*].

London, British Library, Add. Ms. 18197d.

Provenance: William Young Ottley; Payne and Foss; Sotheby's, London, 27 June 1850, lot 1088.<sup>36</sup>



7)

*Saint Helena*, initial C (*Cum exaltaveritis filium*, antiphon for the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, 14 September); on the reverse [*a me ipso facio nihil sed si*]cut docuit / [*me pater haec*] lo[quor].

London, British Library, Add. Ms. 18197g.

Provenance: William Young Ottley; Payne and Foss; Sotheby's, London, 27 June 1850, lot 1088.



8)

*Lamentation* (?),<sup>37</sup> initial O (*Omni tempore benedic Deum* [?], antiphon for the Feast of Saint Tobias, second Sunday of September?); on the reverse [*Ne reminiscaris domine delicata mea vel parentum*] meoru(m) neq(ue) / [*vindicatum sum*]as de pecca[tis meis].

London, British Library, Add. Ms. 18197i.

Provenance: William Young Ottley; Payne and Foss; Sotheby's, London, 27 June 1850, lot 1088.



9)

*Saint Cecilia and Other Female Saints*, initial C

85 x 95 mm (*Cantantibus organis*, *Cecilia virgo in corde suo*, antiphon for the Feast of Saint Cecilia, 22 November); reverse glued to the support.

London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Cutting 4145.

Provenance: Art Museum, 5/6/1864.<sup>38</sup>



10)

*Saint Stephen*, initial E

82 x 82 mm (*Etenum sederunt principes*, introit for the mass of the Feast of Saint Stephen, 26 December); reverse glued to the support.

London, Wallace Collection, M 330.<sup>39</sup>



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11)

*Adoration of the Magi*, initial E

149 x 153 mm (*Ecce advenit dominator dominus*, introit for the mass of Epiphany, 6 January); on the reverse *off(e)r(torium) Deus / [enim firmavit. an. T]olle puerum*.

Private collection.

Provenance: Florence, Stefano Bardini (?).



12)

*Saint Ursula and her Maiden Companions*, initial V (?)

150 x 158 mm; on the reverse *Deus n(oste)r re[rugium ...] /Psallite deo*.  
London, Trinity Fine Art.

Provenance: Florence, Stefano Bardini (?).



13)

*Christ in Judgement*, initial I (?)

144 x 141 mm; on the reverse *edificabo ecc[clesiam mea]m ps Eructa*.

London, Trinity Fine Art.

Provenance: Florence, Stefano Bardini (?).



14)

*Saint Stephen*, initial S

79 x 77 mm (*Stephanus autem, plenus gratia et fortitudine, faciebat signa magna in populo*, antiphon for the mass of Saint Stephen, 26 December).

Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, inv. 19796.

Provenance: bought 1866.<sup>40</sup>



15)

*David, Elijah, Elisha*, initial D

144 x 150 mm.

New York, private collection.

Provenance: Sotheby's, London, 10 July 1967, lot 27.



16)

*Saint Helena with the Cross*, initial N

80 x 90 mm (*Nos autem gloriari*, Invention of the True Cross, 14 September).

New York, Robert Lehman, A.6 (formerly).

Provenance: Paris, Kalebdijan 1924.<sup>41</sup>





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17)

*King Solomon, initial A*

150 x 150 mm.

Paris, Musée Marmottan-Monet, Wildenstein Collection.

Provenance: William Young Ottley, 1838, n. 61; Georges Wildenstein, Paris, 1926.



18)

*Saint Maurice and the Theban Legion, initial N*

150 x 145 mm.

Paris, Musée Marmottan-Monet, Wildenstein Collection.

Provenance: William Young Ottley, 1838, n. 61; Georges Wildenstein, Paris, 1926.



19)

*Saint Michael Slaying the Devil, initial B*

145 x 150 mm (*Benedicite omnes angeli*, dedication to Saint Michael Archangel, 29 September).

Paris, Musée Marmottan-Monet, Wildenstein Collection.

Provenance: William Young Ottley, 1838, n. 61; Georges Wildenstein, Paris, 1926.



20).

*Saint John the Baptist, initial N*

136 x 165 mm (*Ne timeas Zacharias exaudita est oratio tua*, introit for the Vigil Mass for the Feast of the Birth of Saint John the Baptist, 23 June, AMS 117); on the reverse [*coram Do*]min[o et vinum ... con]ver[tet ad Dominum].

Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, inv. 22111.

Provenance: collection of John Murray, Florence, 1926; collection of Ulrico Hoepli, until 1939; Vittorio Cini, Venice, 1939-62, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice, 1962.<sup>42</sup>



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<sup>1</sup> H. Leclercq, 'Paon', in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq (eds), XIII/1, Paris 1937, coll. 1075-95, for the citation from Saint Anthony. L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, I, Paris 1955, pp. 83-4. F. Ravera, 'Il simbolismo del pavone e I suoi sviluppi in epoca tardogotica', *Arte Cristiana*, LXXVII, 735, 1989, pp. 427-50.

<sup>2</sup> Réau 1955, see note 3, p. 82. *Animali simbolici. Alle origini del bestiario Cristiano*, M.P. Ciccacese (ed.), Bologna 2002, I, pp. 313-34.

<sup>3</sup> A. Labriola, in *Le miniature della Fondazione Giorgio Cini. Pagine, ritagli, manoscritti*, M. Medica and F. Toniolo (eds), with the collaboration of A. Martoni, Venice 2016, cat. 43b, pp. 186-8.

<sup>4</sup> The same text can be read on p. 46 of the gradual ms. 18 in the Bibliothèque cantonale jurassienne in Porrentruy: <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bcj/0018/046> (accessed 26-08-24).

<sup>5</sup> Fahy 2000, see bibliography. The attribution is accepted in Alai 2019, see bibliography.

<sup>6</sup> M. Levy d'Ancona, *The Wildenstein Collection of Illuminations. The Lombard School*, Florence 1970, cat. 25-7, pp. 107-11, pl. XXV-XXVII.

<sup>7</sup> Attribution rejected by U. Bauer-Eberhardt, *Die italienischen Miniaturen des 13. 16. Jahrhunderts. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, München*, Munich 1984, p. 58, note 1; by C. Quattrini, 'Miniatori a Milano al passeggio fra Quattrocento e Cinquecento: il «Maestro di Anna Sforza»', in *Libri & Documenti*, XXIV, 1, 1998, pp. 1-13, p. 5 (Master of Anna Sforza); and by Alai 2019, see bibliography, cat. 84, pp. 293-5.

<sup>8</sup> E. Müntz, *La bibliothèque du Vatican au XVIe siècle. Notes et documents*, Paris 1886, p. 59, note 1.

<sup>9</sup> A miniature by Pampurino is reproduced by S. Manfredini, in *Cremona. Una cattedrale, una città. La cattedrale di Cremona al centro della vita culturale, politica ed economica dal Medio Evo all'Età Moderna*, exh. cat. (Cremona, November 2007 – January 2008), Cinisello Balsamo 2007, cat. 61, pp. 177-9. On the artist, see M. Gregori, 'Un nuovo protagonista: Alessandro Pampurino', in *Pittura a Cremona dal Romanico al Settecento*, M. Gregori (ed.), Milan 1990, pp. 19-22. Cf. also A. Nardi, 'Il Soffitto di Alessandro Pampurino alla Torre del Gallo', in *Stefano Bardini «estrattista». Affreschi staccato nell'Italia Unita fra antiquariato, collezionismo e musei*, L. Cianiabilla and C. Giometti (eds), Bologna 2019, pp. 129-40.

<sup>10</sup> The miniature, in no way attributable to the Master of the Wildenstein Solomon, is reproduced by H. Bober, in *Miniatures from Illuminated Manuscripts. The Mortimer Brandt Collection*, exh. cat. (Memphis, April – May 1966), Memphis 1996, pp. 36-7, pl. XXXIV.

<sup>11</sup> G. Mariani Canova, *Miniature dell'Italia settentrionale nella Fondazione Giorgio Cini*, Vicenza 1978, cat. 107, pp. 58-9.

<sup>12</sup> Bauer-Eberhardt 1984, cit. note 7, p. 59, note 6. Quattrini 1998, cit. note 7, p. 5 (Master of Anna Sforza); C. Quattrini, 'I miniatori del libro d'Ore dei Musei Civici di Como', in *Il Libro d'ore dei Musei Civici di Como: le miniature*, Como 2002, p. 64 (id.); C. Quattrini, 'Maestro del Messale Arcimboldi', in *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori italiani: secoli IX-XVI*, M. Bollati (ed.), Milano 2004, pp. 619-20 (some confusion in the signature indication); Alai 2019, see bibliography, cat. 84, pp. 293-5 (Master of Anna Sforza).

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<sup>13</sup> Bauer-Eberhardt 1984, cit. note 7, cat. 22, pp. 58-9.

<sup>14</sup> A. de Floriani, 'Michele da Genova, miniature: le tappe di uno sviluppo', in *Sisto IV e Giulio II mecenati e promotori di cultura*, S. Bottari, A. Dagnino and G. Rotondi Terminiello (eds), acts of the international convention of study, Savona 1985, pp. 353-61.

<sup>15</sup> Fahy 2000, see bibliography.

<sup>16</sup> Alai 2019, see bibliography.

<sup>17</sup> <https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-6437900> (accessed 31-08-24), from the collection of Alfred and Felicie Scharf, sold 12 July 2023; now <https://guenther-rarebooks.com/artworks/9844-heavenly-architect-large-initial-t-showing-the-blessing-c.-1590-1500/> (accessed 25-08-24). Thanks to Beatrice Alai for indicating this.

<sup>18</sup> *Smalti e gioielli dal XV al XIX secolo*, Y. Hackenbroch (ed.), exh. cat. (Florence 1986), Florence 1986, pp. 32-4, fig. 7. Quattrini 1998, cit. note 7, p. 4 attributed the enamel to the Master of Anna Sforza. On the topic, see P. Venturelli, *Esmailée à la façon de Milan. Smalti nel Ducato di Milano da Bernabò Visconti a Ludovico il Moro*, Venice 2008, pp. 133-55.

<sup>19</sup> De Floriani 1965, cit. note 14, pp. 353-61, fig. 18. Quattrini 1998, cit. note 7, describes him as "a miniaturist close to the 'Master of Anna Sforza'" or "a miniaturist improperly called the Master of the Arcimboldi Missal" (Quattrini 2002, cit. note 12, p.64, fig. 23). In 2004, I wrote it was Protasio Crivelli *tout court* (see following footnote).

<sup>20</sup> *Miniature italiane della Fondazione Giorgio Cini dal Medioevo al Rinascimento*, fact sheet by P. Toesca, presentation by Giuseppe Fiocco, Venice 1968, cat. 52, p. 34. For the source: P.L. Mulas, 'Il libro d'ore di Gian Giacomo Trivulzio e alcune considerazioni sui manoscritti miniate appartenuti al Magno', in *Artes*, 7, 1999, pp. 55-6, note 16. See also P.L. Mulas, 'Protasio Crivelli', in *Dizionario biografico*, 2004, cit. note 12, pp. 187-8 (at the beginning of the fact sheet, 'omonimo' instead of 'anonimo').

<sup>21</sup> A. Stanco, 'Una tavola inedita ed alcune precisazioni sull'attività del pittore Milanese Protasio Crivelli', in *Napoli nobilissima*, III, 2012, pp. 217-8, notes 8-9.

<sup>22</sup> For the namesakes Protasio Crivelli, cf. Venturelli 2008, cit. note 18, pp. 144-5. For a short summary, with bibliography, see C. Quattrini, in *Le miniature*, 2016, cit. note 1, cat. 180, pp. 450-2, inclined to refuse the identification of the miniaturist as the Crivelli active in Naples.

<sup>23</sup> M.P. Lodigiani, 'Per Matteo da Milano', in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXIX (1991), 745, pp. 287-300; J.J.G. Alexander, 'Matteo da Milano, Illuminator, in *Pantheon*, L (1992), pp. 32-45. Quattrini 2004, cit. note 12. Updated bibliography in L. Mascheretti, 'Il Maestro B.F. e gli altri: l'officina dei de Predis', in *I manoscritti della Biblioteca del Capitolo Metropolitano di Milano. Studi e ricerche*, M. Bollati (ed.), Rome 2023, pp. 173-210.

<sup>24</sup> Quattrini 1998, cit. note 7, C. Quattrini, 'Master of Anna Sforza', in *Dizionario Biografico*, 2004, cit. note 12, pp. 676-7.

<sup>25</sup> M. Natale, in *Bramante. L'arte nuova del Rinascimento Lombardo*, exh. cat. (Lugano, September 2014 – January 2015), M. Natale (ed.), Lugano, Milan 2014, cat. 7. Pp. 106-11.

<sup>26</sup> For a summary on the painter, M.C. Passoni, in *Leonardo e la Madonna Litta*, exh. cat. (Milan, November 2019 – February 2020), P.C. Marani and A. Di Lorenzo (eds), Milan 2019, cat. 13, pp. 120-1 and A. Mazzotta, 'Alcuni Indizi per l'identificazione del «Maestro dell'apala sforzesca»', in *Prospettiva*, 181/182 (January-April 2021), pp. 78-85, with the same identification.

<sup>27</sup> M.T. Binaghi, 'L'immagine sacra in Luini e il circolo di Santa Marta', in *Sacro e profano nella pittura di Bernardino Luini*, exh. cat. (Luino, August – October 1975), P. Chiara, G.A. Dell'Acqua, G. Mulazzani, M.T. Binaghi and L. Tognoli (eds), Cinisello Balsamo 1975, pp.



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51-76; *Le chiese di Milano*, M.T. Fiorio (ed.), Milan 2006, pp. 428-31; C. Quattrini, 'Il cantiere di Santa Marta a Milano tra secondo e terzo decennio del Cinquecento', in *Le Duché de Milan et les commanditaires français (1499-1521)*, convention acts, F. Elsig and M. Natale (eds.), Geneva, 30-31 March 2012, Roma 2013, pp. 237-65.

<sup>28</sup> Quattrini 2002, cit. note 12, pp. 62-3 (the cards from a copy of Petrarch with the Romei coat of arms, from the 1490s, seem to me to be by another hand).

<sup>29</sup> L. Di Palma, *Miniatura del Quattrocento a Novara. Manoscritti e biblioteche*, Novara 2022, pp. 65-70.

<sup>30</sup> On the manuscripts of Casola, see Mascheretti 2023, cit. note 23, pp. 173-210.

<sup>31</sup> The initials are listed in alphabetical order by place of conservation. Where possible, the identification of the liturgical passage has for the first time been attempted. The technical information, if present, comes from the available fact sheets. I have excluded: four initials depicting prophets from a psalter kept in Berlin, of uncertain attribution between the Master of the Landriani Hours and the Master of Anna Sforza (Quattrini 1998, cit. note 7, p. 6; Quattrini 2002, cit. note 12, p. 64; Quattrini 2006, cit. note 12, p. 620; Alai 2019, see bibliography, as workshop of the Master of the Arcimboldi Missal, alias Matteo da Milano); three initials from Ambrosian antiphonaries thought to come from the same codex as the Wildenstein fragments, in a similar style to ours but not one that can be assimilated, must be excluded as the palaeographical characters of the letters and of the neumes differ to those that can now be seen on the Orsi fragments (M.P. Lodigiani, in *The Martello Collection. Further Paintings, Drawings and Miniatures 13<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century*, M. Boskovits (ed.), Florence 1993, cat. 23, pp. 98-101); two initials attributed to the circle of the Master of the Wildenstein Solomon (G. Freuler, in *Italian Miniatures from the Twelfth to the sixteenth Centuries*, 2 vols, Cinisello Balsamo 2013, II, sheet XIV, p. 916).

<sup>32</sup> *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Additional Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum acquired between 1895 and 1979 (excluding the McClean Collection)*, I, F. Wormald and Ph.M. Giles (eds), Cambridge 1982, p.113.

<sup>33</sup> *Catalogue of Western Book Illumination in the Fitzwilliam Museum and the Cambridge Colleges. Part Two, I, Italy and the Iberian Peninsula*, N. Morgan, S. Panayotova, S. Reynolds (eds), London, Turnhout 2011, cat. 159, p. 270.

<sup>34</sup> C. Hattori, in *Illuminations, Trésors enluminés en France. Jan Fabre – Chalcosoma*, exh. cat. (Lille, November 2013 – February 2014), Lille 2013, cat. 38, p. 225.

<sup>35</sup> Bauer-Eberhardt 1984, cit. note 7, cat. 22, pp. 58-9, references a photo in the Conway Library at the Courtauld Institute of London

<sup>36</sup> The three Add. Ms. 18197 belong to a lot of twelve Italian cuttings dating to the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, bought together in 1850, cf. *Catalogue of Additions to the manuscripts in the British Museum, in the Years MDCCCXLVIII-MDCCCLII*, Norwich 1965, p. 87. It has been suggested that the three fragments come from a Choral and are datable to 1491-1510: Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (IRHT-CNRS), 'London, British Library, Add. 18197d', in G. Baroffio and L. Albiero, *Iter liturgicum italicum*, 2016 (<https://liturgicum.irht.cnrs.fr/manuscrit/608742> [accessed 4-07-2024]). The initial of Add. Ms. 18197d has until now been identified as a 'C' or a 'D'.

<sup>37</sup> In general, referred to as a *Funeral*. Due to the Christological traits of the body and the halo of the supporting figure, a different identification has been proposed.

<sup>38</sup> Source: <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1012760/manuscript-cutting-manuscript-cutting-crivelli-protasio/> [accessed 4-07-2025].

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<sup>39</sup> J.J.G. Alexander, *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscript Cuttings: Wallace Collection*, London 1980, cat. 24, p. 43.

<sup>40</sup> For the identification of the liturgical context, see Bauer-Eberhardt 1984, cit. note 7, cat. 22, pp. 58-9.

<sup>41</sup> Reproduced in P. Palladio, *Treasures of a Lost Art: Italian Manuscript Painting of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, New Haven 2003, p. 141, fig. 36. The initial generally has been identified as an 'R', cf. S. De Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, with the assistance of W.J. Wilson, New York 1937, p. 1713, which attributes it to the Tuscan school, c. 1470.

<sup>42</sup> Identification of the liturgical context in C. Quattrini, in *Le miniature* 2016, cit. note 1, cat. 180, pp. 450-2.