

Saint Sebastian

School of Pietro Perugino, ca. 1500

Oil and egg tempera on wood panel, transferred to cradled Masonite panel

29⁷/₈ × 20³/₄ in. (75.9 × 52.7 cm)

Princeton University Art Museum, Princeton, New Jersey

(K-1557)



FIG. 1. *Saint Sebastian*, before cleaning and restoration.



FIG. 2. *Saint Sebastian* (fig. 1), after cleaning and restoration.

School of Pietro Perugino, *Saint Sebastian*

Annette Rupprecht & Sheri Francis Shaneyfelt

THE KRESS COLLECTION *Saint Sebastian* (figs. 1 and 2) is clearly executed in the manner of Pietro di Cristoforo Vannucci (Città della Pieve ca. 1450–Fontignano 1523), called Pietro Perugino, since for many years he lived and worked in the city of Perugia.¹ The painting has a distinguished provenance. According to an inscription formerly on the verso it was commissioned by the Oddi family of Perugia:

QUESTO S. SEBASTIANO È STATO DA RAFFAELLO SANZIO DA URBINO
DIPINTO PER I SIGNORI CONTI DEGLI ODDI PERUGIA. I.A.D.S.P.

By 1847 it was in the Edward Solly Collection, London, then bought at Christie's, London, by Lord Northwick, Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire; in 1873 it was sold through Sir J. Charles Robinson and entered the Cook Collection, Richmond, Surrey from which it was acquired after 1945 by the Florentine dealer and collector Count Alessandro Contini-Bonacossi who sold it to Samuel H. Kress in 1948.

In 1994 the *Saint Sebastian* was requested for loan by the Grand Rapids Art Museum for its upcoming exhibition *Pietro Perugino: Master of the Italian Renaissance*² and the work was sent to the Conservation Center of the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University for examination and treatment. Although basically in good condition, the painting had minor flaking requiring consolidation, and the varnish was thick and significantly discolored. While the treatment itself proved straightforward, the technical examination of the painting

prior to its treatment and research at the Kress Archive into its restoration history revealed information that has reopened the discussion of the painting's authorship.

At the time of its acquisition from the Contini-Bonacossi Collection in 1948, this painting was still on its original support, a wood panel with vertically oriented grain that subsequently had been cradled.³ According to Mario Modestini, exposure to excessive humidity during the summer had caused the paint to lift and it was necessary to transfer the paint layer because the glue binder had denatured, causing the gesso preparation to disintegrate to powder.⁴ It was transferred from wood panel to a plain, closed-weave canvas⁵ and marouflaged onto a single piece of Masonite, approximately $\frac{1}{8}$ in. larger than the image in all four directions. The Masonite was then veneered and cradled.

The transfer procedure provided a rare opportunity to view and document the reverse of the paint layer; it clearly revealed an underdrawing of lines incised into the original gesso ground laying out the initial contours of the figure. Photographs recording the incised lines were taken during the treatment. Although the original negatives and photographic prints were missing, we were able to make use of photocopies in the Kress Archives, including an overall image and a detail of the face. Since then, eight of the original negatives have been located in the Department of Image Collections at the National Gallery of Art (fig. 3).⁶ The presence of such incisions indicates that the Sebastian figure was perhaps derived from another image of the saint, possibly from a work by the master Pietro Perugino himself, or from a picture originating in his workshop. Indeed, the use of cartoons in the repetition of particular figures and even entire compositions by Perugino and his numerous collaborators is well accepted by scholars of the Perugino School.⁷

When a diagram of the incisions was reversed and superimposed onto the painted image of the Kress *Saint Sebastian*, it was apparent that the saint's hips had been considerably shifted to the right between the drawing stage and the final

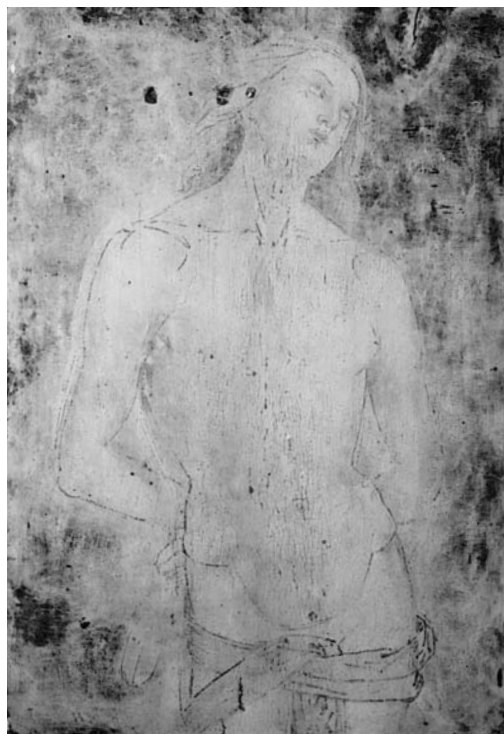


FIG. 3. *Saint Sebastian* (fig. 1), photograph of the reverse of the painting during the 1950 transfer, digitally enhanced to accentuate the incised lines.



FIG. 4. *Saint Sebastian* (fig. 1), diagram of incised lines (fig. 3), reversed and superimposed onto the painting.

painting (fig. 4). In addition, the original incised drawing indicated a loincloth with folds, similar to Perugino's full-length *Saint Sebastian* in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, of circa 1490 (fig. 5), and the closely related figure of the saint in his *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints John the Baptist and Sebastian*, in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, of 1493 (fig. 6).⁸ In the Kress painting, a smooth violet ribbon has replaced the original draped loincloth seen in Perugino's pictures. Furthermore, the fingertips of the Kress figure's proper right hand had been incised and, like the Saint Sebastians in Perugino's works, the fingertips were rendered in the painted composition. The Louvre representation of the saint closely resembles the Kress *Saint Sebastian*, particularly in the construction and posture of the figure, the upward tilt of



FIG. 5. *Saint Sebastian*, Pietro Perugino, ca. 1490, oil on wood, 69 ¹/₄ × 45 ⁵/₈ in. (176 × 116 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.



FIG. 6. *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints John the Baptist and Sebastian*, Pietro Perugino, 1493, oil and egg tempera on panel, 70 ¹/₈ × 64 ⁵/₈ in. (178 × 164 cm). Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Italy.

the head, and the pious heavenward gaze. The striking similarity between the Sebastians in the Louvre and Uffizi compositions suggests that the figures may have been derived from the same cartoon. Furthermore, these two figures are certainly ancestors to the Kress *Saint Sebastian*, which should be dated just a few years later, to about 1500.

Striking similarities were also found when the overlay of incised lines in the Kress image was superimposed onto a photograph of the full-length Saint Sebastian depicted in *Saint Sebastian with Two Archers*, a painting formerly in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin (figs. 7 and 8).⁹ The incised image of the Kress panel was found to be virtually identical to the painted image of the Berlin picture. The only slight difference is that the fingertips of Saint Sebastian's proper right hand are not rendered in the Berlin painting. Both Saint Sebastians have smooth ribbons across their loins and are pierced by a single arrow in their proper right, lower groin. Although the arrows enter in slightly different positions and at different angles, the shafts are similar.



FIG. 7. *Saint Sebastian with Two Archers*, Master of the Greenville Tondo (formerly attributed incorrectly to Giannicola di Paolo), formerly Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin, Germany; present location unknown.

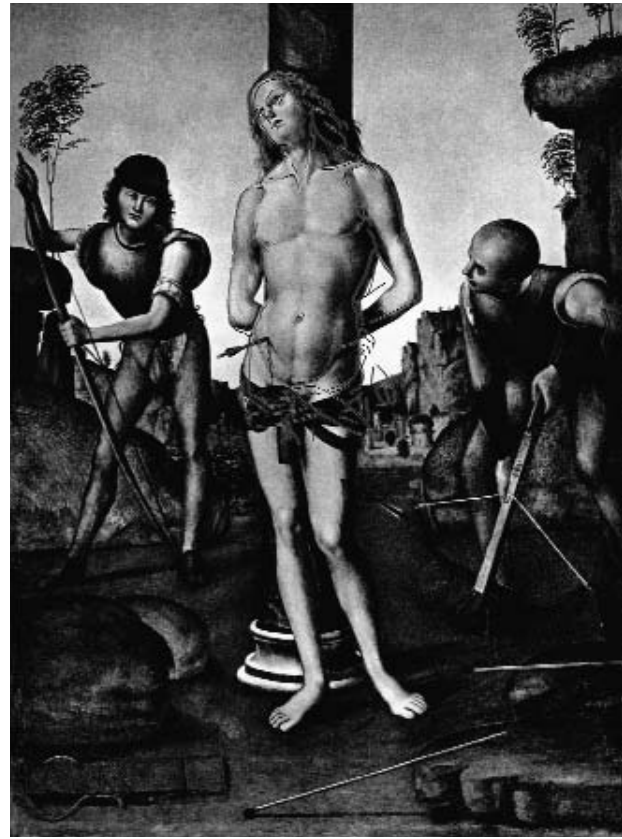


FIG. 8. *Saint Sebastian with Two Archers* (fig. 7), diagram of incised lines in *Saint Sebastian* (fig. 2), reversed and superimposed onto the painting.

The Kress *Saint Sebastian* and *Saint Sebastian with Two Archers* are clearly related not only to one another, but also to Perugino's two aforementioned paintings in the Louvre and Uffizi Gallery. These similar representations of Saint Sebastian indicate the common replication of images within the Perugino workshop and the consequent necessity of keen connoisseurship in the study of Perugino School paintings. A close stylistic examination of the Kress picture will provide not only a better understanding of its relationship to the manner of Perugino, but also its position within the Perugino School, and its possible authorship.

In our painting, a half-length Saint Sebastian stands before a column to which his hands are bound, against a black background which lends a dramatic air to the scene. The saint is naked but for the violet ribbon which serves as a loincloth,

while a single arrow pierces his groin, clearly identifying him as Sebastian. The particular sinuous, graceful stance of the figure, his tilted head and wistful upward gaze, in addition to the apparent lack of pain all recall the manner of Perugino. Indeed, Perugino's compositions are generally marked by a balanced, often symmetrical arrangement of figures and forms, crisp, clear illumination, pastoral landscapes, and an atmosphere of contemplative solemnity, without a display of overt emotion which would disrupt the tranquil stability of the scene.

The most striking aspect of the Kress *Saint Sebastian* is its dark background, a rich black, uncommon in Peruginesque painting, and perhaps a special request of the patron. Whatever its origin, this feature serves a distinct purpose, dramatizing the solitary figure of the saint, elevating it

to the status of an icon. Set off in this manner, Sebastian captivates the viewer's attention, invoking reverence and contemplation, appropriate for the devotional image of a Christian martyr, alluded to by his pierced groin, as well as his nearly naked body, which is presented to the viewer much like the dead Christ in images of the Pietà. Sebastian's body is revealed and meticulously described by the divine light streaming in from the left, and in return, this radiance is the recipient of his pious, tender gaze. Indeed, the dramatic contrast between the illuminated saint and the obscure darkness from which he emerges even foreshadows the theatrical tenebrism of the Baroque master Caravaggio.

Saint Sebastian was a popular subject during the Renaissance, not only in his role as a Christian martyr, for he was also invoked as a protector from plague, and was thus commonly depicted together with Saint Roch. Furthermore, Sebastian provided an opportunity for representing the standing male nude, which was a challenge of great interest to Renaissance artists, and in this regard, he was perhaps the equivalent of the Classical Apollo. Saint Sebastian was martyred under the Roman Emperor Diocletian in circa 300 A.D., and according to his legend, he had been sentenced to execution at the hands of archers, but survived the arrow wounds, and was then clubbed to death.¹⁰ In the Kress picture, Sebastian is pierced by a single arrow, and despite the blood that flows forth from the wound, he apparently suffers no pain. Not only is the lack of pain characteristic of the Peruginesque style, it perhaps also refers to the triumph of the righteous, here exemplified by Saint Sebastian, over the wicked, whose presence is implied by the executioner's arrow.¹¹

The Kress *Saint Sebastian* was clearly executed by a Peruginesque painter, and has been attributed to several artists in this circle, including Raphael Santi (1483–1520), Giannicola di Paolo (ca. 1460/65–1544), Eusebio da San Giorgio (doc. 1480–1540), and the Master of the Greenville Tondo. Perugino directed sizeable workshops in both Florence and Perugia during his prolific

career, for according to archival records, his Florentine *bottega* was in operation for more than twenty years, from 1487 to 1511, while that in Perugia is documented from 1501 to 1513.¹² The early attribution of this painting to Raphael was based primarily upon the aforementioned inscription formerly located on the verso of the work:

QUESTO S. BASTIANO È STATO DA RAFFAELLO
SANZIO DA URBINO DIPINTO PER I SIGNORI
CONTI DEGLI ODDI PERUGIA. I.A.D.S.P.

which indicates Raphael as its author, and the noble Oddi family of Perugia as its original owners.¹³ This inscription is dated to either the seventeenth or eighteenth century by the majority of sources, including Tancred Borenius, Herbert Cook, W.E. Suida, and Fern Rusk Shapley, whereas Roberto Longhi dated the inscription to the sixteenth century, i.e., closer to the painting's time of execution. The last five letters of the inscription, "I.A.D.S.P." are as yet undeciphered.¹⁴ The attribution to Raphael, Perugino's most famous pupil, was maintained while the work was in the Solly and Northwick collections (until 1873), and was then resurrected by Cook in 1913. Likewise, both Longhi and Suida considered it an early work by Raphael while in the studio of Perugino. The attribution to Giannicola di Paolo was proposed by Borenius in 1913, and followed by Umberto Gnoli in 1918, and Raimond van Marle in 1933.¹⁵ However, ascribing the painting to either Raphael or Giannicola di Paolo has since lost favor in the literature.

Eusebio da San Giorgio was suggested by Bernard Berenson as the possible author of the Kress *Saint Sebastian*, and such a proposition merits further consideration.¹⁶ Eusebio was a frequent assistant to both Perugino and the Perugian painter Bernardino Pinturicchio (ca. 1456/60–1513) and collaborated with these masters in the execution of several important commissions. A number of scholars attribute the *Tezi* altarpiece of 1500, in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia, to the combined efforts of Perugino and Eusebio (fig. 9).¹⁷ It depicts the *Madonna and Child with Saints Nicholas of Tolentino, Bernardino of Siena, Jerome*



FIG. 9. *The Madonna and Child with Saints Nicholas of Tolentino, Bernardino of Siena, Jerome and Sebastian, "The Tezi Altarpiece,"* Pietro Perugino with Eusebio da San Giorgio, 1500, oil and egg tempera on panel, 69⁷/₈ × 52³/₄ in. (177.5 × 134 cm). Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia.

and Sebastian, and the figure of Saint Sebastian in this work is similar in many respects to the Kress Sebastian, as seen in the construction of the upper torso, the handling and tautness of the flesh, the position of the head and upward gaze, and especially the treatment of the features and facial expression.

In addition to stylistic considerations, there is further evidence that points to Eusebio da San Giorgio as the author of the Kress painting. Conservation of the picture revealed remnants of a simple mordant-gilt halo as well as a decorative pattern on the violet ribbon loincloth, including a partially effaced perpendicular gold-leaf inscription which can be interpreted as either "SAGIO" or "SACIO." Unfortunately, the third gilt letter remained illegible even with ultraviolet light

examination. If this inscription was originally "SĀGIO," with a stroke mark above the "ā" signifying an abbreviation, then this would indicate "SAN GIORGIO," and thus the name of the painter Eusebio da San Giorgio.¹⁸ Indeed, it is possible that the inscription on the loincloth is Eusebio's signature, however, due to its abraded condition, this is not a certainty. It is important to note that an attribution to the Perugian painter Eusebio coincides with the Perugian provenance of the painting, as was indicated in the previously mentioned lost inscription.

The Kress *Saint Sebastian* has also been recently attributed to the Master of the Greenville Tondo, an unidentified Perugino follower named for the *Madonna and Child with Angels* in the Bob Jones University Collection in Greenville, South Carolina, a Peruginesque work usually dated to circa 1500 (fig. 10).¹⁹ This painting depicts the Madonna and Child seated, as if enthroned, upon a stepped platform, and flanked at the left and right by two splendidly clothed angels.²⁰ The rightmost angel bears a striking likeness to the Kress Sebastian, as the faces and features of the two figures are very similar, and were possibly executed in the same workshop. Furthermore, the particular golden color of this angel's hair, and the manner in which the long hair of both of the angels falls to the sides of their faces is much like that of Sebastian.²¹ As mentioned previously, the Kress Sebastian closely resembles the image of the saint in the lost *Saint Sebastian with Two Archers*, formerly in Berlin, and recently attributed to the Master of the Greenville Tondo.²² The figure of Saint Sebastian in this picture is remarkably similar to the Kress saint in appearance, including the contour and posture of the body, the location of the arrow in the lower proper right groin, and the treatment of the face and features. Thus, the two figures are quite possibly related, and they may have been created in the same workshop using the same cartoon.

The problems posed by the *Saint Sebastian* in the Kress Collection at the Princeton University Art Museum truly illustrate the complexity of connoisseurship associated with the Perugino School.



FIG. 10. *The Madonna and Child with Angels*, Master of the Greenville Tondo, ca. 1500, oil on panel, Bob Jones University, Greenville, SC.

As indicated above, Pietro Perugino operated large workshops in both Florence and Perugia where numerous artists were trained to faithfully reproduce the style of the master. The frequency with which cartoons and model drawings were used and re-used in the creation of standardized figures and compositions within this school is well known and documented, and this, together with the abundance of Peruginesque paintings throughout the world, complicates matters further. This particular difficulty in connoisseurship has been recognized for centuries, for even Giorgio Vasari, in his *Vita* of Raphael from 1568, commented upon the striking similarity of this young artist's work with that of his master:

It is a very notable thing that Raffaello, studying the manner of Pietro, imitated it in every respect so closely, that his copies could not be distinguished from his master's originals, and it was not possible to see any clear difference between his works and Pietro's.²³

Indeed, there are definite likenesses between the Kress *Saint Sebastian* and the style of Eusebio da San Giorgio, in addition to significant comparisons

with the *Madonna and Child with Angels* and the *Saint Sebastian with Two Archers*, both attributed to the Master of the Greenville Tondo. However, based on the existing evidence, the most appropriate attribution of the Kress picture is to the School of Perugino, possibly Eusebio da San Giorgio, due to the presence of the inscription on the loincloth, which may specifically indicate this painter. In sum, the Kress *Saint Sebastian* is a highly characteristic painting from the Italian Renaissance, as it represents a very efficient and productive workshop system.

Annette Rupprecht is a private paintings conservator in New York City. She was previously appointed the first Samuel H. Kress Fellow at the New York University Conservation Center after having worked with Herbert Lank in London. She holds a Fellowship Diploma in Conservation from the Hamilton Kerr Institute in Cambridge and an M.A. in Paintings Conservation from the Cooperstown Program.

Sheri Francis Shaneyfelt holds a B.S. in Biology from Centre College, an M.A. in Art History from Vanderbilt University, and a Ph.D. in Art History from Indiana University at Bloomington, with a specialty in Italian Renaissance and Baroque Art. Her primary field of research is the art of Pietro Perugino and his school, and she is a professor of Art History at the Umbra Institute in Perugia, Italy.

NOTES

1. For the most comprehensive treatment of the life and works of Pietro Perugino refer to Scarpellini (1991), and Canuti (1931). See additionally Bombe (1914); Gnoli (1923a, b, and c); Camesasca (1959); Castellaneta and Camesasca (1969); Becherer et al. (1997); Garibaldi (1999); Garibaldi and Mancini (2004).
2. Exhibition curated by Joseph A. Becherer, November 1997–February 1998, catalogue cited above in note 1.
3. The grain of the wood panel is visible in the X-radiograph composite made at NYU. There is an invoice in the Kress Archive from J. Newcombe for altering this painting's sixteenth-century frame to accommodate a cradle.
4. According to the Samuel H. Kress Art Collection Data, Condition and Restoration Record for this painting: "1950—Flaking pigment in many areas necessitated transferring to new support. M. Modestini removed cradle and wood panel and calcium preparation from back of painting. Applied new preparation to back of picture and attached painting to calcium and glue mixture over

- Masonite. Leveled missing areas with preparation mixture and inpainted with dry colors and egg tempera medium. French varnish isolator. Damar varnish coating.”
5. Visible in the X-radiograph composite made at NYU.
 6. In 2005, Elizabeth Walmsley, Painting Conservator at the National Gallery of Art, located the negatives taken during the 1950 transfer procedure in the Kress Collection Archive, Department of Image Collections, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. The Archive includes early treatment photos of many non-NGA Kress paintings.
 7. For sources, refer to Hiller von Gaertringen (1997), pp. 223–30; Hiller von Gaertringen (1998), pp. 53–69; Hiller von Gaertringen (1999).
 8. The Louvre *Saint Sebastian* is discussed by Scarpellini (1991), pp. 86–7, cat. no. 53; the work is on a panel, 176 × 116 cm. For further information on the Uffizi painting, refer to Scarpellini (1991), p. 86, cat. no. 51; the picture is likewise on a panel, 178 × 164 cm, and is signed and dated by the artist. The Uffizi Sebastian was lauded by Vasari in his 1568 *Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors and Architects* as “a St. Sebastian worthy of the highest praise;” see Vasari (1568), Vol. 1, p. 593. There are indeed numerous representations of Saint Sebastian in the works of Perugino and his followers; for sources, refer to note 1 above.
 9. This painting, also known as the *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*, was formerly attributed erroneously to Giannicola di Paolo and most recently to the Master of the Greenville Tondo. The work was sold through Julius Böhler, Munich, June 1937, no. 669, plate 54, and in the sale catalogue its measurements are given as 146 × 106 cm. The painting had previously been in the Somzée Collection, Brussels (sold in 1904, no. 384) and subsequently in the Sedelmeyer Collection, Paris. The present location of this work is unknown, and it is assumed that it was lost in the 1945 fire in Berlin. William E. Suida noted this particular comparison in the K-1557: Figure 241 entry of *Paintings and Sculpture from the Kress Collection*, 1956.
 10. For further discussion of Saint Sebastian, refer to De Voragine (ca. 1260, trans. by Ryan 1993), Vol. 1, pp. 97–101; Farmer (1992), p. 429; Hall (1979), pp. 276–7.
 11. This is referred to more explicitly in an inscription found at the base of Perugino’s aforementioned Louvre *Saint Sebastian*, “SAGITTAE TUAE INFIXE SUNT MICH I,” which translates as “Your arrows have been thrust into me.” This phrase derives from Psalm 37:14–15 (King James Version): “The wicked have drawn out the sword, and have bent their bow, to cast down the poor and needy, and to slay such as be of upright conversation. Their sword shall enter into their own heart, and their bows shall be broken.”
 12. For further information and documentation concerning Perugino’s workshops in Florence and Perugia, refer to Coonin (1999), pp. 100–104; Scarpellini (1991), pp. 37, 55, 64–6; Canuti (1931 [1983]), Vol. II, pp. 302–5, doc. nos. 540–48.
 13. The Oddi were also important patrons of Raphael, as they commissioned his *Coronation of the Virgin*, in the Vatican Museums, for their chapel in San Francesco al Prato, Perugia, in 1503. For further information, refer to Oberhuber (1977); Jones and Penny (1983), pp. 14–16.
 14. Refer to Borenus (1913), p. 67, no. 58; Suida (1950), p. 8, no. 4; Shapley (1968), pp. 100–101; Becherer et al. (1997), p. 240; Shaneyfelt (2000), Vol. 2, p. 560. For the Raphael attributions, see Borenus (1913), Vol. 1, p. 67, no. 58; and *Catalogue of Pictures at Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey: Collection of Sir Herbert Cook* (1932), p. 72, no. 58; R. Longhi, ms. opinion of 1948, Kress Archives; Suida (1950), p. 8, no. 4.
 15. The Kress *Saint Sebastian* was attributed to Giannicola di Paolo by Borenus (1913), Vol. 1, p. 67, no. 58, and by the same scholar in Crowe and Cavalcaselle (1914), pp. 458–9; Gnoli (1918), p. 37; Gnoli (1923c), p. 140; Van Marle (1933), p. 430. For further information on the Perugian artist Giannicola di Paolo, refer to Shaneyfelt (2000).
 16. Refer to Berenson (1932), p. 178; Berenson (1936), p. 154; see also Becherer et al. (1997), p. 243.
 17. Scholars assigning the *Tezi* altarpiece to Perugino and Eusebio include Berenson (1932), p. 178; Berenson (1968), Vol. I, p. 123; Scarpellini (1991), p. 102, cat. no. 110; Becherer et al. (1997), p. 243; Shaneyfelt (2000), Vol. II, p. 553. For further information on this altarpiece, see additionally Santi (1989), pp. 103–4, cat. no. 88; Garibaldi (1999), p. 132, cat. no. 57; Garibaldi and Mancini (2004), pp. 270–73.
 18. The inscription was recorded with an abbreviation mark above the “A” by Suida (1950), p. 8, no. 4, and Shapley (1968), p. 100. Thus, the “sA” of the inscription would indicate the word “San” or “Santo,” i.e., “Saint.” If “sA GIO” is the correct reading of this inscription, then it would indicate “SAN GIO,” which in its complete form is “SAN GIORGIO,” and thus the name of the painter Eusebio da San Giorgio. The authors would like to thank Maria Rita Silvestrelli of the Università per Stranieri di Perugia, and Alberto Maria Sartore of the Archivio di Stato, Perugia, for their assistance in deciphering this inscription.
 19. The Kress *Saint Sebastian* was attributed to the Master of the Greenville Tondo by Everett Fahy, in a letter of December 1966 in the Kress Archives; by Shapley (1968), pp. 100–101; and by Todini (1989), Vol. 1, p. 198. For information on the Master of the Greenville Tondo, refer to Todini (1989), Vol. 1, pp. 197–8; Pepper (1984), pp. 20, 317–18, cat. no. 14.1; Zeri (1976), p. 179, cat. no. 118 (a discussion of several paintings commonly attributed to the Greenville master, without specific indication of the artist); Shapley (1968), pp. 100–101; Bob Jones University (1962), p. 54, cat. no. 24. It is important to note that due to the large number of paintings assigned to this particular master (between thirty and forty), it is highly doubtful that one hand could have executed all these works, especially considering the discrepancies in style. The Greenville tondo has not been assigned to Eusebio da San Giorgio in the literature, nor does it appear to be by his hand; other than the aforementioned similarity with the Kress *Saint Sebastian*, the tondo is not stylistically characteristic of Eusebio.
 20. The *Madonna and Child* in the Greenville *Madonna and Child with Angels* was clearly derived from a commonly used Perugino prototype of the *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, and was adapted to fit this particular setting; thus, the noticeable absence of a throne seems rather awkward.
 21. There is also a similarity in the construction of the upper torso of both the rightmost angel in the Greenville tondo and Sebastian, and in the placement and position of the head upon the neck, indicating that these two figures may have originated from a common source, likely within a

- Peruginesque workshop. An additional Perugino School painting attributed to the Master of the Greenville Tondo in which a comparable angel can be observed, especially in the treatment of the face and features, is the *Madonna Adoring the Child with two Music-Making Angels in a Landscape*, in the Pinacoteca Estense, Modena; refer to Shapley (1968), pp. 100–101; Pepper (1984), p. 317; Todini (1989), Vol. I, p. 198; Vol. II, fig. 1333.
22. *Saint Sebastian with Two Archers* was attributed to the Master of the Greenville Tondo by Shapley (1968), p. 100; Pepper (1984), p. 317; and Todini (1989), Vol. II, p. 197.
23. Quoted from Giorgio Vasari (1568), trans. by Gaston du C. de Vere (1996), Vol. I, p. 711.

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