CASSONI, IN AMERICA: AN INVESTIGATION
OF THREE MAJOR THEMES

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This study is an investigation of the subject matter of eighty Italian cassone paintings of the fifteenth century now located in the United States and answers a four-part question: (1) What were the major themes pictured on cassoni panels during the Quattrocento? (2) Were the themes of cassoni in Quattrocento Italy predominantly of a religious or secular nature? (3) If secular subject matter was dominant in cassone painting, was this a reflection of the newly founded tastes of aristocratic, wealthy and middle classes? (4) Did cassoni mirror the way these classes viewed themselves and the place occupied by women in society?

The investigation revealed that all extant cassoni have derivative and recurring themes and that cassoni located in the United States are representative of those themes and fall into three categories: (1) contemporary events, such as festivals, pageants and marriage celebrations; (2) the role of women in early Renaissance society, with regard to their virtues of modesty, humbleness, meekness and subjugation to men; (3) heroic and glorious deeds of great men of antiquity, including their battles and triumphs. Contemporary events are pictured on eleven of the panels; the role of women is depicted on nineteen panels; and heroic and glorious deeds are portrayed
on fifty of the panels. An appendix lists the artist, title, year in which the work was produced, and the present location of each panel in the United States, constituting a major portion of this study and providing a valuable tool for future researchers in this field.

The reports reveal that the majority of cassoni have light-hearted themes, suitable for the occasion of marriage, stressing joyous festal days, marital bliss, parental happiness, manly courage and feminine purity. Themes are basically secular in nature, and cassoni using themes from the Old Testament have been sublimated to the point where religious implications are virtually eliminated. The whole of cassoni painting in the Quattrocento reflects the tastes of the aristocratic, wealthy and middle classes of the period who chose the subject matter and the style of painting. The subject matter of cassone panels was derived from mythology, allegory, ancient and contemporary literature, and contemporary events. The emphasis on Greek and Roman philosophy, the popularity of the cult of Humanism, and the interest in contemporary literature created literate patrons for the artists during a period of social and economic change in Italy. Cassoni served as vehicles by which these newly affluent classes displayed the way they saw life around them with respect to contemporary events as well as how they felt about certain concepts such as the submissive role of women and the superiority of men in society.
CASSONI IN AMERICA: AN INVESTIGATION
OF THREE MAJOR THEMES

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Origin of the Study

While visiting museums in Italy in 1968 and 1970, a unique item was observed. Cassoni, large, wooden dowry chests featured a number of curious and recurring themes on their front panels (Figure 1). Scenes of pageantry and battles occurred most often while religious subjects seldom appeared. Curiosity about these panels with seemingly purely secular narrative themes led to further investigation of the subject matter.

The low rectangular cassone, popular in Italy from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries, was the most important article of furniture in the home. Besides serving the useful function of a storage chest, its front, sides and top offered opportunity for decorative embellishment. The designs for cassoni became a lucrative business with artists such as Sandro Boticelli, Jacopo del Sellaio, Paolo Uccello and Benozzo Gozzoli who also executed the paintings on the wooden panels.

One of the results of the phenomenon known as the Renaissance was the divergence from traditional choices of subject matter in the arts to more personal preferences.
Fig. 1—Francesco di Giorgio. *The Legend of Tuccia*, Sienese, ca. 1470.
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Virginia.
Social and economic changes in Italy brought about a secularization of society hitherto unknown in Europe. An affluent middle class arose with new philosophical ideas as well as educated tastes and preferences in the arts. Their recently acquired wealth gave them the means with which to purchase any new comfort or luxury they desired. The arts received high priority. It was prestigious to commission a popular artist to create a work containing symbols of personal significance. Because the object was of a private nature, the subject matter was often dictated by the future owner. Themes became increasingly secular.

Statement of the Problem

This study investigates cassone panels in museums and private collections in the United States and attempts to answer the following questions: (1) What were the major themes of cassone paintings during the Quattrocento? (2) Were the themes pictured on cassoni in Quattrocento Italy predominantly of a religious or secular nature? (3) If secular subject matter was dominant in cassone painting, was this a reflection of newly founded tastes acquired by aristocratic, wealthy and middle classes of the period? (4) Were these cassoni in any way mirrors expressing the way these classes viewed themselves and the place women occupied in society?
Scope of the Study

The study was limited to cassone panels in the United States upon consideration of the following:

1. After consulting the comprehensive work entitled Cassoni by Paul Schubring, it was concluded that the themes of the majority of Italian cassoni were repetitive and derivative, and personal research in selected museums in Europe and the United States revealed that American collections contained cassoni representative of those themes.¹

2. Eighty cassone panels were located in the United States after an extensive investigation.² Information was compiled from museum catalogs, bulletins and inventory cards, exhibition and sales catalogs, and personal correspondence with forty-three museums. The most recent publications were used to insure accuracy in placing the panels in their present locations. By investigating references in periodicals and following the clues and suggestions of numerous museum directors and art dealers, many cassoni were traced to their present owners. This investigation indicates that the eighty cassoni which were located during the course of the study encompass the total number in the United States.

¹Paul Schubring, Cassoni (Leipzig, 1915).

²A list of these eighty panels is provided in the Appendix.
3. Visits to museums for the personal observation of twenty-four of the panels, and the study of photographs of all eighty cassoni have been considered primary sources. The time involved in compiling similar data from foreign museums and private collections would have been prohibitive in a study at this level.

Definition of Terms

Terms used in the thesis but not explained in the text are defined as follows:

Dexter—The right portion of a cassone panel.
Duomo—Main church or cathedral of every Italian city.
Lettuccio—The painted and carved headboard of a fifteenth-century Italian bed.
Palio—A large cloth banner carried in religious processions.
Pastiglia—Stucco decorations carved in imitation of wood, often used as borders for cassone paintings.
Predella panels—Small narrative scenes on the base of an altar, usually visible only at close range.
Putto (plural: putti)—Small nude winged boys frequently used in Renaissance art, also called cherubs.
Sinister—The left portion of a cassone panel.
Spalliere (plural: spallieri)—Framed panel paintings usually of larger dimensions than cassoni.
Tripartite panel—A panel divided into three parts, often by pastiglia, on which separate scenes of one story or different stories were painted.

Wainscoting—Paintings on panels which were set into the walls of a room and framed with decorative molding.

Survey of the Literature

The earliest records that mention cassoni were contracts between the artist and his patron and the workshop records kept by artists. Many original documents were thoroughly researched by art historians beginning at the turn of this century. Paul Schubring included the workshop records of two Florentine artists, Marco del Buono and Apollonio di Giovanni, in his 1915 work entitled Cassoni. Vasari's Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects (1550), mentioned that the production of cassoni was the special talent of certain artists and that the popularity of the chests extended into the sixteenth century. Vasari related, "Not only in the Medici Palace and in all the old Medician houses, but in the principal houses in Florence one finds such chests even yet."

Paul Schubring listed nine hundred works which he believed to be cassoni. Since 1915 the studies of numerous scholars have revealed many errors regarding dating and

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attributions, as well as the inclusion of panels which are no longer considered to be cassoni. For example, Ernest H. Gombrich in his 1966 discussion of Norm and Form pointed out a number of Schubring's incorrect statements.

Few sources can be found that treat cassoni at length. Wilhelm von Bode discussed the history of cassoni in Italian Renaissance Furniture (1921). Additional information concerning cassoni appeared in Italian, Spanish and Portuguese Furniture (1927) by Harold Eberlein. Augusto Pedrini presented a clear description of the origin of cassoni in his work, Italian Furniture, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries (1949).

In his major study, The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting (1929), Raimond van Marle disclosed the importance of the cassoni in Italian art. Frank Jewett Mather, in The History of Italian Painting (1923), discussed cassoni within the context of domestic painting and as distinguishable from ecclesiastical or civic painting. A series of articles by Mather entitled "Cassone Fronts in American Collections," appeared in the Burlington Magazine (1907), and much of his information was incorporated by Schubring in his supplement to Cassoni in 1923. Frederick Antal examined economic, social and political history in relation to art movements of the Trecento and Quattrocento in Florentine Painting and Its Social Background (1947).
A limited number of monographs have been written on artists who were known primarily for their cassone paintings. Allen Stuart Weller published a study, Francesco di Giorgio (1943), which was recently augmented by Burton B. Fredericksen in Cassone Paintings of Francesco di Giorgio (1969). Neroccio de' Landi (1961), by Gertrude Coor, necessarily included much of the same information concerning Francesco di Giorgio since he and Neroccio worked as partners in a workshop. Wolfgang Stechow (Allen Memorial Museum Bulletin, 1944) and Ernest H. Gombrich (Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, 1955) have contributed articles separately on the work of Apollonio di Giovanni. A dissertation on this artist is currently in progress by Ellen Callman at New York University.
CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND MATERIAL

Public and Private Art

In the early decades of the Quattrocento in Italy it was the practice of guilds and wealthy middle-class families to commission frescoes and altarpieces in churches, guild-halls and civic buildings. Therefore, much of the art, and certainly the most important works, was for public places. Although Italian locales and contemporary costumes were depicted, the subject matter remained religious in nature. Occurring frequently were the themes of the Madonna with Saints, Madonna Enthroned, Coronation of the Virgin, Birth of the Virgin, the Annunciation and the Visitation. The predella panels on altarpieces were invariably of the Nativity, Flight into Egypt, and other New Testament scenes relating to the central theme of the altar. Practically the entire artistic productions of Gentile Fabriano, Masaccio, Fra Filippo Lippi, and Fra Angelico were religious.

During the Quattrocento it became increasingly popular to include the portraits of the donors among the growing number of figures in church art. The Madonna of Humility, Adoration of the Shepherds, Procession of the Magi, and lives of holy hermits became favorite subjects, as did scenes
offering the artist opportunities for representing landscapes and the nude figure. Italian landscape painting developed in the backgrounds of numerous pictures of this period. The Adoration of the Magi (1435), by Domenico Veneziano, in the Dahlem Museum in Berlin, pictures a receding, realistic landscape but retains Gothic imagery in the mountains. Piero della Francesca's backgrounds for Battista Sforza and Federigo de Montefeltro (1465), in the Uffizi Gallery, are Italian atmospheric landscapes. Scenes from the Old Testament, such as the Sacrifice of Isaac, were used more often than before because they gave the artist more narrative freedom and opportunity for portraying the nude figure. Masaccio's near-nude figures in the frescoes painted in 1427 in the Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence, and Domenico Veneziano's St. John the Baptist in the Desert (1445), in the National Gallery in Washington, illustrate the nude figure infiltrating religious subject matter.

Pure portraiture evolved partially from the donor's portraits in religious paintings in the early decades of the Quattrocento; however, portraits in the home remained rare at

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4The development of the nude and landscape did not occur necessarily in the same work, as Veneziano's St. John illustrates. The nude reflects the artist's interest in rediscovered Roman sculpture while the landscape is executed according to the Gothic tradition.
this time. Surviving portraits of this period are largely those of wealthy middle-class merchants. In order that all could see their social position it is possible that members of these wealthy families preferred their own portraits to be in the murals or paintings in public places rather than in their own homes. This practice was still prevalent in 1490, when Domenico Ghirlandaio included many notable ladies of Florentine society in the frescoes of the Cappella Maggiore in Santa Maria Novella. Hartt believes some of the figures are portraits in Masaccio's frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel, although they are not as easily identifiable as those in Santa Maria Novella.

The non-religious themes of many chests were among the first examples of secular painting to enter the home.

Battisti stated:

> During the first part of the Quattrocento profane art is unknown. We must wait for the introduction by Botticelli of mythological themes or, slightly earlier, the illustrated fables by Pesellino and other decorators of cassoni (marriage chests).

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7. Antal, p. 298.

In the cassone panels, artists were less restricted in subject matter than in other art forms of the times (such as frescoes commissioned for public buildings) because the cassone was of a personal and private nature. The paintings were not intended to be devotional objects. Like predella panels, the long, narrow shape of the cassone was suited for episodic narrative—a traditional method of unraveling the many episodes of a story in one continuous panel. In contrast with predella panels, which were limited to the religious theme of the altarpiece, the cassoni had no such restrictions.

**Purpose of Cassoni**

By the middle of the Quattrocento, the presentation of cassoni to betrothed couples was prevalent among wealthy Italian families. Usually painted in pairs, the chests were given as wedding presents. Cassoni di nozze, marriage chests, were used to hold the young woman's dowry or trousseau. They evolved from iron-bound wooden trunks used for travel into opulent, ornately carved furniture during the fifteenth century. The workshop record of Apollonio di Giovanni and Marco del Buono, published by Schubring as part of his study, listed over one hundred and seventy cassoni produced between 1446 and 1463 for wealthy Florentine families.

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sentimental value, the chest was of great social significance in the life of the Italian. Bode stated, "In the fifteenth century . . . the wedding chests were decidedly the most valued and the most sumptuous pieces in the palace, particularly in Tuscany."  

The cassone, sometimes doubling as a bench and table, lent itself better to elaborate and varied treatment than did any of the other basic articles of household furniture. Chairs and tables offered no flat surfaces suitable for attaching panels but the fronts of the chests could easily be decorated with painted panels. Cassoni came to be produced in fairly standard sizes, approximately six feet in length and three feet in height. Their front panels measured about sixty inches by twenty inches. The borders and hinged lids were usually carved and gilded. Their ornamentation became so luxurious that they became subject to the Florentine sumptuary laws, a fifteenth-century code regulating the public display of wealth in dress and celebrations. Various episodes of a story were included on the front and end panels with the coats of arms of the families prominently displayed. Inside the lid, reclining nude figures were often sketchily painted—a nude female in the bride's cassone and a partially clothed male in the cassone

11Bode, p. 8.
of the bridegroom. One rare example of a female nude on a cassone lid may be seen in the Yale University Art Gallery (Figure 2).

Cofanai and Painters

The workshops which produced cassoni were called cofanai, meaning coffer or cassoni makers. Many of these shops were located in Florence on the Piazza S. Giovanni between the Bigallo and the Bishop's Palace, within sight of the Duomo. Assigning cassone paintings to a particular artist is a difficult problem. The panels were rarely signed because they were studio productions, and many hands were involved in their execution. Some shops which specialized in the chests probably used assembly line techniques. While painters may have designed the whole work, the fabrication of the chest was left to the furniture makers.

Identified among famous cassone painters are Dello Delli, Marco del Buono, Apollonio di Giovanni, Francesco de Stefano (Pesellino), Sandro Botticelli, Filippino Lippi, Paolo Uccello and Luca Signorelli. Cassone panels were also painted by Jacopo del Sellaio, Piero de Cosimo, and Rossello de Jacopo

12Nicola, p. 168.

13The work of Neroccio de' Landi and Francesco di Giorgio display great similarities and the two artists are known to have worked as partners in a cofanae.

14Nicola, p. 169.
Fig. 2--Anonymous Florentine. Reclining Nude Female Figure, inside of a cassone lid, school of Florence, ca. 1465. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.
Franchi. Unknown painters have been given labels such as: The Painter of the Adimari-Ricasoli Chest, Uccello Type, Style of Benozzo Gozzoli, Neri di Bicci Type, Circle of Domenico Veneziano, Anghiari Master, Paris Master, and the Virgil Master.

Style of Cassone Painting

Cassone artists on the whole were not in the vanguard of Renaissance art although individual artists who painted cassoni, such as Botticelli and Uccello, made distinctive contributions. Cassone painters can be considered representative of the "backward" International Gothic Style only if one thinks of the Renaissance as being a parallel progression of all the arts or as being a sudden cessation of one style and a total acceptance of a new style. In this thesis many examples of other paintings of the period which influenced the cassone artists are discussed. Gombrich observed:

It is true that borrowings occur, but by and large it is remarkable how independent their idiom remains from what we consider the mainstream of Florentine art. It is as if ... the International Style, as exemplified by Gentile da Fabriano, had been allowed to develop, undisturbed, into the next century.15

The brittle style of cassone painters, with its studied consciousness of stage props and Gothic conventions, remained

popular with a sizable portion of society in the Quattrocento. The cofanae of Marco del Buono and Apollonio di Giovanni supplied pairs of cassoni for up to twenty-three weddings a year, amounting to a production schedule of one chest each week. The choice of Benozzo Gozzoli by the Medici family to decorate their palace chapel in 1459 reflects their preference for a traditional style in their home. The Procession of the Magi, painted by Gozzoli for the chapel, is executed in the International Gothic Style, already considered "old-fashioned" by the middle of the fifteenth century.\(^{16}\)

The narrative treatment which was the hallmark of cassone painters was still used as late as 1482 by Sandro Botticelli in his fresco, The Temptations of Christ, in the Sistine Chapel. When the city fathers of Florence commissioned Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo to represent scenes of the city's past in two frescoes in the Hall of the Great Council, the first subject chosen, The Battle of Anghiari, had already been commemorated by a cassone painter.\(^{17}\) Gould compared the episodic narrative planned by Leonardo with that of the Anghiari Master.\(^{18}\) Because of his interest in

\(^{16}\)On the basis of stylistic characteristics in this fresco, many cassone paintings have been attributed to Gozzoli although no signed examples exist.

\(^{17}\)Victory of the Florentines Over the Milanese at Anghiari by the Anghiari Master, 1440, Collection of Sir Hugh Lane, London.

depicting the nude form in violent action, Michelangelo chose as a theme the Battle of Cascina, a surprise attack upon a group of Florentine soldiers bathing in the Arno.

Cassone painting is overlooked and neglected in the general histories of art and often only casually mentioned in histories of Italian art due to the fact that "grand" art movements of the period were much more influential. Mather considered this relatively ignored art form as being, "...too unpretentious to be dealt with at length in a general survey yet too charming in itself and too representative of the heyday of Florentine wealth to be wholly neglected." He stated that cassone painting featured variety, invention, refinement of story-telling and a vivacity of color to a greater degree than other contemporary art forms. According to him, "Those excesses of vivacity and extravagances of invention, those juvenile graces which were weaknesses in mural painting, were admirably in place in the decoration of chests." Rankin called cassone painting a narrow art but often extraordinarily beautiful. He believed the cassone painters surpassed classic and monumental painters in a panoramic and descriptive way because

20Ibid., p. 184.
their aim was lower. Poetically, he described the paintings as "... wildflowers of an artistic spring."²¹

CHAPTER III

THREE MAJOR THEMES OF CASSONI

This chapter contains a presentation of three major themes taken from eighty cassoni in thirty-five American collections. After consulting Schubring's comprehensive list of cassoni it was concluded that the themes pictured on cassoni in America represent the majority of subjects painted on wedding chest panels during the Quattrocento in Italy. Therefore, cassoni in American collections can, in a general sense, be considered a cross-section of all such panels extant in the world, and illustrate the following three basic themes: (1) Portrayal of contemporary events in Quattrocento Italy, such as actual marriage festivals, pageants, tournaments, and religious and royal celebrations; (2) Depictions of the roles played by women in early Renaissance society with regards to virtues of modesty, humbleness, meekness, purity, and their submission and subjugation to men; (3) Performance of heroic and glorious deeds by great men of antiquity, including their battles and triumphs.

Each theme presented will include general descriptions of representative panels; background material, if applicable; the source of the theme if known; and an iconographical description of the work.
Contemporary Events

Eleven of the eighty panels which were investigated pictured contemporary events. Four panels representative of those works will be used to illustrate the theme of contemporary events: The Race of the Palio, Tournament in the Piazza Santa Croce, Scenes at the Coronation of Frederick III in Rome, and The Betrothal and Wedding Dance.

The Race of the Palio

One of the finest extant cassone panels featuring a contemporary event is The Race of the Palio in the Cleveland Art Museum (Figure 3). This panel is a companion to a chest in the Bargello Museum in Florence entitled The Offering of the Palii. The cassoni were made in 1418 for the marriage of Tomasso di Giovanni de Berto Fini to Giacoma di Filippo Aldobrandini. Both families resided in the quarter of Santa Maria Novella, Florence, and the chests were found in the Hospital of Santa Maria Novella. The latest attribution is to Rossello di Jacopo Franci, a Florentine painter.

The Race of the Palio commemorated the Feast Day of St. John the Baptist, the patron saint of Florence. The day was, and still is, the largest celebration of the year for Florentines. Today, the holiday is marked by outdoor concerts, boat races on the Arno, and a display of fireworks. A soccer

22 The eleven panels are listed in the Appendix.
Fig. 3—Rossello di Jacopo Franchi. Race of the Palio in the Streets of Florence, School of Florence, ca. 1420. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio.
game is played in fifteenth-century costumes in a setting which recreates the scene on the cassone panel. Siena celebrated festivals rivaling those of Florence and continues the tradition today. Artists contributed much to the opulence of the event, designing the costumes for the men and their horses, finery worn by the ladies, banners and garlands for decorating private homes, as well as armor, shields and helmets for the horsemen.

The shape of the Cleveland panel is unusual for cassoni in that the corners of the composition were removed by the artist to provide space for the coats of arms of the families. Such heraldic designs often figure in the decoration of cassoni end panels. Coats of arms of the Fini are on the left side (sinister) consisting of a lion's head between three stars of eight points. The Aldobrandini arms appear on the right (dexter), a band between two lilies.

Concerning the race, Goro Dati, a sixteenth-century Italian historian, wrote:

> After the sound of three strokes of the great bell of the Palace of the Signoria, the racers, prepared to start, set out to run, and on the tower one sees by the devices of the boys who are there, who this one and that one are (their having come from all the confines of Italy, the finest Barbary racers in the world) and the one who is the first to reach the Palio wins it, which is carried on a triumphal car with four wheels adorned by four carved lions ... .24

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23 The end panels of the Trebizond cassone picture falcons clutching ribbons in their talons on which family names once appeared (Figure 16).

The *palio*, a large rectangular brocade banner, was carried stretched between two wooden poles. Ribbon and ermine tails trailed from their tops and gold lavishly ornamented the richly colored fabrics. The most lavish *palio* was awarded to the winner of the tournament. The *ceri*, *torri* and *carri* were constructions of wood and cardboard in various forms, ornamented with sculpture and paintings, either drawn or carried on men's shoulders. The various *ceri* and *palii* were carried with pomp and pageantry to the church where they remained until the festival of the following year. The offerings of the *palii* began on the vigil of the Feast Day of St. John the Baptist with the *ceri* made by the people of the city.

The Cleveland panel shows the horse race with a great number of animated horses and an excited throng of women and children. There is scarcely a vacant window in the background buildings. Elegantly dressed ladies lean from upstairs windows while excited spectators on the ground wave their arms as white, reddish-brown and black horses streak past them. Some horses have lost their riders and one horse is sprawled upon the ground. The rider on the far right of the panel spurs his horse and waves a whip overhead. Honored dignitaries are in a grandstand shaded by a blue and gold awning decorated with white lilies. In the background three young boys have climbed up to the wooden beams supporting the overhanging top floor of a house for a better view. Mather noted
that the artist had a keen eye for observing the movements of horses and their riders. Their actions are portrayed realistically as they gallop across the panel.  

**Tournament in the Piazza Santa Croce**

A delightful cassone panel in the Jarves Collection at the Yale University Art Gallery depicts a Tournament in the Piazza Croce in the 1460's (Figure 4). Much of the composition is given to the frenzied engagement of horsemen in mock battle. From the safety of a shoulder-high wooden fence, spectators stand on benches and three-legged stools. Little boys peer through knot holes, one even crouching beneath a bench for a vantage point through a crack between the boards. Windows of the houses in the background provide charming frames for aristocratic ladies dressed in elaborate gowns and headdresses. Heraldic banners are draped from the window sills. In the center of the panel red-robed merchants and their guests are shown on a platform. Iron holders and rings for attaching torches and flags protrude from each rusticated facade.

Armored knights were identifiable to their ladies on the balconies by means of names embroidered in bright colors on their bridles. Some names on the panel are still legible: Scipione, Francesco, Carlotto, Ser Nocco and Agnolo. The

Fig. 4--Apollonio di Giovanni. Tournament in the Piazza Santa Croce, Florentine, ca. 1460. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.
artist has captured the excitement of the event in the faces and postures of the figures. The aristocratic ladies are composed while the figures representing the general public in the foreground are emotionally involved in the action. The horses are portrayed with flared nostrils, wide eyes, bared teeth, twisted bodies and strained muscles.

**Fig. 5—**Apollonio di Giovanni. (Detail of Figure 4).

On the left side of the panel is the facade of the Church of Santa Croce. Above the door is a gilded statue of St. Louis of Toulouse which has caused controversy among several art historians (Figure 5).²⁶ It may represent

Donatello's statue of St. Louis which was moved in 1466 from the Church of Or San Michele to make room for Verocchio's sculptured group of Christ and St. Thomas. Janson believes that the niche above the door which is pictured on the cassone contained a painting of St. Louis and not Donatello's statue. Seymour has dated the cassone before 1465 and believes the name Francesco which appears on a horse bridle is Francesco Sforza who died in 1466.27

**Scenes at the Coronation of Emperor Frederick III in Rome**

A cassone with scenes of the Coronation of Emperor Frederick III in Rome in the Worcester Art Museum has been attributed to Benozzo Gozzoli (Figure 6). Such an opportunity to portray authentic pomp and ceremony was rare. The picture seems to be an eyewitness account of the crowning of the Hapsburg emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Perhaps the family which commissioned the chest was present for the occasion. The front panel incorporates three events of the Coronation Day: (1) the crowning of Frederick III by the humanist Pope Nicholas V; (2) the procession of the Pope, Emperor, bishops and cardinals on horseback through the streets of Rome; (3) the knighting of members of Frederick's entourage on the Bridge Sant'Angelo.28

27Ibid., p. 116.

28Stella Mary Pearce, "Cassoni di Frederick III," Commentari, III (March, 1957), 244.
Fig. 6--Anonymous Florentine. Scenes at the Coronation of Emperor Frederick III in Rome, XV Century. Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts.
Palaces, churches, the pyramid tomb of Caius Cestius, Castle Sant'Angelo and the city walls of Rome fill the background. On the horizon are the typical Roman pine trees shown against a cloudy sky. The artist has achieved an impression of crowds of people packed closely together to view the proceedings by placing the architectural background close to the picture plane. Elegantly dressed ladies and gentlemen and members of the Church hierarchy kneel on the left as the Pope crowns Frederick. The pope and Emperor lead the procession in the center of the panel. A row of cardinals follow, their brilliant red capes draping the horses on which they ride. One man prepares to mount his lavishly saddled horse on the right side of the panel.

The Betrothal and Wedding Dance

An outstanding example of a cassone depicting fifteenth century wedding customs is The Betrothal and Wedding Dance in the Ryerson Collection of the Art Institute of Chicago. In color and execution it equals the Adamari-Ricasoli Wedding Procession in the Accademia, Florence. Previously attributed to Benozzo Gozzoli and to the School of Pesellino, the Chicago panel is now generally accepted to be the work of Apollonio di Giovanni. As the title indicates, two scenes occupy one panel: the betrothal on the dexter side, and the dance and festivities on the sinister side. Transition from the landscape of the left side to the city street of the right is
handled rather abruptly with a tree dividing the scenes. Golden wedding gifts are displayed on white cloth-draped shelves pushed against the tree. A white horse is used on the left side in an effort to balance the white of the shelves but the composition remains clumsy.

Both scenes are filled with jewel-like colors of scarlet red, gold, russet brown, pink and yellow ocher. Dressed in gold and seated on a platform beneath a golden canopy, the groom and his bride are serenaded by musicians. One gentleman has removed his red hat and bows to a seated lady while guests dance in the street. Background buildings include a rose-colored arched temple and a pale orange palace with classic pediments above its windows.

The betrothal scene occurs in the countryside among tents of the type seen in many battle pictures. Two groups of people, apparently the families of the couple, are engaged in conversation. Plumed horsemen stand on either side of the groups. Two castles are situated on a dark brown barren hilltop, possibly representing the homes of the families. Details and textures are incised in the gilding of the canopy, tents, wedding gifts and clothing of the figures.

**Summary of Contemporary Events**

The four contemporary events discussed above, a horse race, tournament, coronation and wedding, are representative of eleven of the eighty cassoni which were investigated.
Public festivities on the occasion of an aristocratic wedding or feast day of a saint offered the population of a Renaissance city the opportunity to escape the confines of their fortified houses. Elaborate festivals financed by the wealthy middle class and designed by artists featured processions and allegorical tableaux representing the Virtues and the Arts. The subjects of these tableaux in turn became subjects for cassoni. Interest in ancient Rome excited the imagination of artists and often contemporary events were "Romanized," heightening their importance. An event in antiquity might also parallel a contemporary incident which the artist or patron wished to commemorate. An example is The Assassination of Julius Caesar located at the University of Kansas in Lawrence. The theme was probably chosen as a parallel to the Pazzi conspiracy, the name formerly given to the panel, in which Giuliano de' Medici was murdered. The murder of a man whom the patron might have known would hardly be suitable as a subject for a wedding present, but the incident portrayed in Roman trappings would be acceptable.

Just as events were transferred in time, popular stories were transported to Italian locales. The setting of an Assyrian legend, The Story of Stratonice, was changed to a Sienese courtyard. In a panel in the Huntington Gallery and Library, San Marino, California, the story is presented in the manner of a contemporary Sienese wedding ceremony. It is
of interest because it is one of the few tripartite panels in the United States. Instead of the continuous narrative technique, each scene is divided and framed by pastiglia.

Cassone painters excelled in picturing contemporary events, and the whole life of the time, both public and private, becomes a visual record on the panels. Such intimate views of these everyday activities were not always recorded by contemporary writers.29 Events of broader importance were pictured by the artists perhaps because they were of personal significance to the patron. The Triumphal Procession of Pazzino dei Pazzi in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and Scenes at the Coronation of Emperor Frederick III in Rome were contemporary events recorded by the cassone painters.

The Role of Women

The role played by women in early Renaissance society was pictured on nineteen of the eighty cassone panels which were studied.30 Nine panels have been selected as representative of those works to illustrate this theme: The Meeting of Soloman and Sheba; Susanna and the Elders (a pair of panels); Cleopatra's Arrival at the Court of Marc Antony; The Triumphs of Petrarch (a pair of panels); Allegory of Love; The Rape of the Sabine Women and The Rape of Helen.

29Nicola, p. 170.

30Other panels in this category are listed in the Appendix.
The Meeting of Solomon and Sheba

A recurring theme used on marriage chests was the meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Drawing from two Biblical sources, I Kings and II Chronicles, the story presented the opportunity for picturing royal pomp and pageantry. In the Yale University Art Gallery is a cassone featuring the Meeting of Solomon and Sheba. The Kress Collection in the Birmingham Art Museum, Alabama, possesses a panel of the Journey of the Queen of Sheba, possibly the companion of the Yale picture.

In the Yale panel (Figure 7), the Queen's procession is seen on the upper left as it enters the city's gates. As on many cassoni, the architecture is Florentine. The tower of the Palazzo Vecchio is clearly visible near the gate. Horses and riders are crowded to the edge of a paved marble street before Solomon's palace. The interior of the palace recalls the Pazzi Chapel by Brunelleschi. Above the graceful arches on either side, swags of fabric are held by putti. Solomon and Sheba greet each other with outstretched arms. The ladies and gentlemen of the court are among the most lavishly detailed figures pictured on cassoni. They are not merely wooden figures added to fill the scene. Their arms and hands

Lorenzo Ghiberti included the Meeting of Solomon and Sheba in his second set of bronze doors executed between 1425 and 1452 for the Baptistry in Florence.
are skillfully drawn in animated gestures while their bodies are twisted and heads are turned as the ladies engage in excited conversation.

The Queen's entourage is costumed in contemporary Florentine dress while Solomon's court is dressed in marvelously "invented" exotic clothing. Each hat and turban is different, constructed with cone shapes, flaps and curls of fabric. One figure appears in Egyptian-inspired dress next to a stylishly attired Florentine who stands with his weight on one leg, a thumb tucked into his jeweled belt. Faces display thoughtful expressions, such as the man who touches his forefinger to his lips as if in deep thought and a dwarf who approaches the royal couple with reverence. Interesting details may be observed in the figure with his back turned to the viewer so that his long braided hair is visible. A dog in the foreground appears to wear a muzzle.

The color scheme is unusual, recalling Domenico Veneziano's St. Lucy Altarpiece in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence. Greenish black is used for the sky while the figures are painted with pink and vermillion shades. Draperies, costumes, garlands and the wings of the putti are gilded.

Susanna and the Elders

Susanna and the Elders and The Elders Judged by Daniel are titles given to two panels with unusual iconography in the Art Institute of Chicago. These panels illustrate the
theme of woman's dependence upon man. Their narrative is
told in a series of separate scenes corresponding to the
principal events in the Book of the Judgment of Daniel, or
the History of Susanna, as it is sometimes called in the
Apocrypha. The subject rarely occurs in Italian painting
before the sixteenth century.  

The left portion of the first panel pictures Susanna,
taken by surprise while bathing in her garden. Two elderly
Babylonian judges, wearing turbans and flowing beards, have
crept into the garden threatening to denounce her as an
adultress should she not yield to them. She stands in a
statuesque pose, modestly covering her nudity. Three slave
girls costumed in flowing gowns rush to her defense. Lat-
ticed fences enclose formal gardens and the towers of a city
on a seashore appear blue-gray beyond the walls. A lavender
wall pierced by arches separates the garden scene from that
in which Susanna is brought before the elders. The same
characters appear in both scenes. Susanna is clad in heavy
robes and is guarded by soldiers as the elders charge her with
adultery and sentence her to death. Four men on the right,
representing the populace of Babylon, beat their breasts in
remorse, clasp their hands in prayer and hide their faces in
shame. A delicately painted landscape extends to the horizon
behind them.

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Everett Fahy, "The Master of Apollo and Daphne,"
Three episodes are featured in the companion panel: Daniel rescuing Susanna, the Judgment of Daniel, and the Execution of the Elders. On the left, the youthful prophet intervenes as Susanna is being led to execution. In the center, a large figure of Daniel stands where the elders had passed sentence and insists that they be separated and forced to testify individually. Susanna's innocence is established by their conflicting testimony. In the background they are tied to a stake and stoned. The soft and subtle colors used on the panel may have been influenced by the fresco technique in which all pigments were lightened by the wet plaster.

The panels have been attributed to Ghirlandaio's atelier by Schubring and to Jacopo del Sellaio by Berenson. Some believe the artist was a pupil of Ghirlandaio. Apollonio di Giovanni has recently inherited their authorship.\(^3\)

**Meeting of Cleopatra and Marc Antony**

A pair of chests by Neroccio de' Landi, in the North Carolina Museum of Art at Raleigh, combine the love story of Cleopatra and Marc Antony with the Battle of Actium (Figures 8 and 9). Cleopatra's Meeting with Marc Antony is divided into two scenes: a fortified stone castle on the sea, and Cleopatra's approaching barge. The subject matter and lavish use of gold for the garments and armor of the courtiers and...

\(^{3}\)Ibid., p. 7.
Fig. 8—Neroccio de' Landi. Meeting of Cleopatra and Marc Antony, Sienese, ca. 1475. North Carolina Museum of Fine Arts, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Fig. 9—Neroccio de' Landi. Battle of Actium, Sienese, ca. 1475. North Carolina Museum of Fine Arts, Raleigh, North Carolina.
soldiers indicate the cassoni were intended for a wealthy family with educated tastes.  

Plutarch's *Lives*, which included the famous lovers, was popular in humanist circles and it is possible that the artist used the book for inspiration.

Cleopatra is shown seated on a carved throne placed high up on the deck of her ship. Her head is tilted in a demure attitude and flowers decorate her shoulder-length golden hair. In her hand is a golden scepter. Female figures with similarly treated expressions and clothing are assembled on the deck. Beneath the clear blue water the hull of the ship can be seen as a chubby blond putto guides the rudder.

The companion panel in the same museum illustrates Antony's defeat at the Battle of Actium and is one of the few pictures of this period depicting naval warfare. The scene could be a reflection of the patron's interests in the sea, or in exploration or merely in ancient history. It could be possible that the family derived its wealth from sea trade.

Cassoni were often paired in this manner: a scene of romantic interest, such as Cleopatra's meeting with Marc Antony, was painted on one chest while on the companion piece

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34 Gertrude Coor, *Neroccio de' Landi* (Princeton, 1961), p. 120.

35 Xerxes' *Invasion of Greece*, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, includes small landing craft but not warships.

36 Ship motives figure prominently in the facade decoration of Santa Maria Novella and the Palazzo Rucellai in Florence.
a scene of action was pictured, such as the naval battle at Actium. It is possible that a picture with a romantic or sentimental story was intended for the female and the scenes of valor and bravery were meant for the male. This could explain the prevalence of so many unidentified battle scenes on cassoni. The subject chosen for the bridegroom's cassone could have been only superficially related to the subject pictured on the bride's cassone and once the chests were separated, identification of pairs became impossible.

The Triumphs by Petrarch

The Triumphs of Love, Chastity and Death and The Triumphs of Fame, Time and Eternity, two cassone panels in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston illustrate Petrarch's work, The Triumphs. Written in Italian between 1352 and 1354, the six books form a continuous narrative. Not only was moral allegory a favorite subject but Petrarch's own love story is woven through the tale, thereby enhancing its popularity with Renaissance society. The panels probably were commissioned for the marriage of Lorenzo's father, Piero de' Medici, "The Gouty," with Lucrezia Tornabuoni in 1448, and are attributed to Pesellino. The painting on the panels has been greatly restored due to the deterioration of the wood.

The Triumphs of Love, Chastity and Death (Figure 10), pictures Cupid riding on a triumphal cart surrounded by willing victims. Chastity has bound him on her cart, which is drawn by two white unicorns, symbolical of purity. Death is shown advancing upon a hearse drawn by a yoke of black oxen, slow moving symbols of the inevitable. Corpses are beneath the wheels and leafless trees are in her wake. The couple on the left may represent Petrarch and Laura or the pair of lovers whose wedding was being commemorated.

The Triumphs of Fame, Time and Eternity disclose Petrarch's love for Laura and her coldness towards him (Figure 11). Laura finally succumbs to Love's arrows but is overtaken by Death at the temple of Chastity. The figure of Fame appears in the sky with heroes, heroines, and men of art and science from the ancient world and from Petrarch's Italy. The poet is reminded that even Fame is subject to Time and only by putting his trust in God can he be reunited with Laura in heaven.

Interesting comparisons may be made of the figures on these two panels with figures in other paintings of the same period. Close parallels to the figures can be seen in The Seven Liberal Arts and The Seven Virtues, two cassoni of unidentified origin in the Art Museum in Birmingham, Alabama. The two beautifully painted male figures of slaves before the cart of Fame in the Boston panel show a strong Masaccio
Fig. 10—Pesellino. Triumph of Love, Chastity and Death, Florentine, ca. 1448.
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, Massachusetts.
Fig. 11--Pesellino. Triumph of Fame, Time and Eternity, Florentine, ca. 1448. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, Massachusetts.
influence. They may also be compared to the five nude figures climbing on a wall in the background of The Adoration of the Magi, by Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo Lippi in the National Gallery in Washington. Similarities may also be noted between the cassone figures and the female servants, whose costumes were "Romanized" by Domenico Ghirlandaio in his fresco of the Birth of the Virgin in the Church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence.

Allegory of Love

The artists' imaginations were given free and unrestricted reign in picturing Love. They painted Allegories of Love and Gardens of Love, peopled with graceful gods, goddesses, putti and mythological creatures in idyllic bliss among flowers, trees and fountains. The panel, Allegory of Love, in the Yale University Art Gallery, is one such picture (Figure 12). It depicts a courtly round dance in a flowery meadow. The lover and his mistress are simultaneously struck by arrows from a blind Cupid. Two amusing musicians are seen high up in a tree providing appropriate background music. On the right, Cupid has lost his blindfold and presides over a garden with two pairs of famous lovers---Apollo and Daphne, and Mars and Venus. Seymour states that Diana enters the garden and spirits away a lover in her chariot, but he does not identify the embracing couple which is half-hidden behind
the rocks. The companion panel is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Massachusetts. The Art Museum in Madison, Wisconsin, owns a similar panel, A Scene in a Court of Love.

Clark observed in Civilisation that the whole idea of courtly love is inexplicable and was unknown to antiquity. The dream-like romances which became popular in Renaissance Italy grew out of tales of wandering poets and troubadours of Provence, France. The idea of chivalry would have been absurd to the Romans. While the cult of ideal love was popular in song and literature, it appears frivolous when one faces the cold fact that Renaissance marriages were entirely a matter of property, a business transaction between two prosperous families. It is possible that representations of pure and chaste love on cassoni transferred the medieval sentiments of the cult of the Virgin into secular terms. Clark stated, "It is sometimes difficult to tell if a Medieval or Renaissance love lyric is addressed to the poet's mistress or to the Virgin Mary."

Rape of the Sabine Women

A panel depicting the concluding episode of the Sabine legend, The Reconciliation of the Romans and the Sabines by 

40 Ibid., p. 65.
Jacopo del Sellaio, is in the John G. Johnson Collection in Philadelphia. The choice of The Rape of the Sabine Women as a cassone subject was possibly due to the unexpected happy ending of the story. The Sabine women were abducted by men of Rome who were in need of wives. After submitting to their captors, the women became contented wives and mothers. Their love for their families became evident when their revenge-seeking fathers and brothers arrived one year later. The panel illustrates the reconciliation brought about by the women who bravely offered their new-born babies to the combatants. Dante’s *Divine Comedy* mentioned the offering of the infants as an emblem of peace and Schubring believed that the popularity of Dante inspired the Sabine theme on cassoni.\(^1\)

Figures are grouped in a frieze-like arrangement across the lower half of the panel. The leaders of the Romans and the Sabines appear on horseback on either side of the composition. In the center a group of women present their children to the men. The lances and banners which are held by the warriors extend to the top border of the picture. Horsemen are shown leaving the city of Rome in the background.

**The Rape of Helen**

The Rape of Helen was a common cassone subject. Artists emphasized the romance of Helen and Paris, depicted the

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\(^1\)Schubring, 314. He further theorized that a feud between the Montecchi and Capuletti families could have been "Romanized" into the Sabine legend. Shakespeare borrowed from the legend to create the Montagues and Capulets in *Romeo and Juliet*. 
Judgment of Paris, and often used the stories as a point of departure for picturing numerous episodes of the Trojan War. A panel in the Wheelwright Collection in Boston combines the Judgment of Paris with incidents of the Rape of Helen.42

The left side of the panel is devoted to the three goddesses, Hera, Athena and Aphrodite. Paris must choose the most beautiful of the three. Two of them have offered gifts of power and leadership but he chooses Aphrodite who promised him the fairest woman in the world, Helen.43 Two of the goddesses are shown in sheer garments painted in brownish tones while Aphrodite appears nude. Helen is pictured in a blue floral dress near a tree in the center of the panel. On the right, astride an incorrectly drawn horse, Paris abducts Helen. The artist has portrayed her fright by the exaggeration of her facial features and by painting her blond hair as if it was flying in the wind. In the background Paris and Helen arrive on horseback before a hilltop castle which represents Troy.

Narrow panels on either side of the main narrative display coats of arms. On the left, Helen leans on a shield bearing arms of the Urgurgieri family while on the opposite side Paris holds the arms of the Bartolini-Salimbeni family.44

44 Fredericksen, p. 33.
A panel with a similar composition and treatment of the same subject is in the Art Museum of Allentown, Pennsylvania.

**Summary of the Role of Women**

The nine panels discussed above emphasize the role of women in early Renaissance society with regards to the virtues of humbleness, meekness, purity, modesty and their submission and subjugation to men, and are representative of nineteen of the eighty cassoni included in this investigation. The panels of Solomon and Sheba, and Susanna and Daniel stress the humbleness of women rather than romantic love stories. Susanna also possessed the ideal virtues of purity, modesty and meekness. Tragic overtones provide drama in the love story of Helen and Paris, emphasizing the importance of a woman in changing the course of history. The Sabine women displayed bravery in place of meekness after their initial subjugation, but their act was one of protecting their home and not their lives. The moral seems to be that after marriage, the woman's loyalty was first to husband and children, and that parents and relatives were of secondary importance.

Ancient and contemporary literature and mythology influenced the subject matter of many cassoni. Subjects came from Petrarch's poems and adventurous stories by Dante and Boccaccio. Popular heroines were the meek and patient Griselda from Boccaccio's *Decameron*, and Daphne and Diana, both
mythological characters who placed the protection of their purity above their lives. Cleopatra, another heroine of ancient literature, provided exploits suitable for cassoni.

Contemporary pageantry featured tableaux of Roman triumphs and allegories of courage and purity. Love, Chastity, Time, Death, Fame and Eternity were embodied in the presentations. The subjects were favorites not because of their grave moral importance but because of the popularity of Petrarch. The Triumph of Chastity often followed a formula composition. Chastity, a demure maiden, was enthroned on a four-wheeled, flower-draped cart drawn by unicorns and other animals. Cupid was usually perched on the cart. A bevy of fresh and innocent girls portraying the muses, graces and assorted virtues followed in her train. The landscape featured fanciful trees and flowers. The panels by Pesellino in the Gardner Museum illustrate the popularity of these pageants and allegorical love stories during the Renaissance.

Heroic and Glorious Deeds

Fifty of the eighty panels which were researched pictured heroic and glorious deeds of men of the past, including their battles and triumphs. Nine panels representative of

45 Fredericksen, p. 18. A panel by Francesco di Giorgio, entitled The Triumph of Chastity, is in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California.

46 Other panels in this category are listed in the Appendix.
these fifty will be used to illustrate this theme. Battle scenes are depicted on the majority of cassoni in this category and because of their repetitious compositions only four have been included in this discussion. The panels will be discussed in the following order: Two Unidentified Battle Scenes; Battle at the Gates of Rome; Conquest of Trebizond; Adventures of Aeneas (two panels); Jason and the Argonauts (two panels); and Adventures of Ulysses.

Two Unidentified Battle Scenes

The first of two unidentified battle scenes, a Battle Scene by the Anghiari Master, now located at Princeton University, pictures an unknown skirmish in which many episodes are combined in a flowing composition (Figure 13). On the left of the panel, ships full of soldiers enter the harbor of a walled city with many watch towers. Camps are shown on either side, their tents made of gold brocade fabric. Foot soldiers are engaged in hand-to-hand combat in a stream where a group of nude soldiers are swimming. Soldiers on horseback hack at each other with swords in the far right corner of the panel. Onto the field of combat rush two fifteenth century "medics," one with a large pot and the other carrying a leather valise, perhaps full of medical supplies. In the background a knight pauses to let his horse drink from a
stream. Two soldiers grapple with an ax and a sword as captives are led away behind a hill of scrubby trees. A group of women huddled in tents may be the Sabines although literature does not identify them. Stiff figures and awkward positions throughout the composition reveal the artist's inability in handling foreshortening.

The second of two panels entitled Battle Scene (Figure 14), in the Cincinnati Art Museum, differs drastically from the Princeton picture (Figure 13). The Cincinnati panel illustrates a clash of mounted knights on an open plain. A few rugged rocks in the background are the only attempts to establish a landscape setting. Attention is focused on the combatants close to the picture plane while light and dark values are spaced rather mechanically throughout the composition. In the center, horses and riders are trampled in furious battle, with Uccellesque headdresses of white plumes fluttering above the slaughter. The three horses on the left, with all forelegs raised in the air, appear to have escaped from a carousel. A more spirited animal on the right, attired in beautiful embroidered fabric, strongly resembles Simone Martini's Guidoriccio da Fogliano in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena. The artist has concentrated on one climatic event, deleting all details which he felt were unnecessary. The absence of recognizable landmarks or heraldic trappings has made identification of the exact event impossible.
Fig. 14—Apollonio di Giovanni (with Marco del Buono). **Battle Scene**, Florentine, ca. 1460. Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Battle at the Gates of Rome

The Battle at the Gates of Rome in the Yale University collection was painted in 1470 by the Anghiari Master (Figure 15). Two scenes are divided on the panel by the gates and walls of Rome, reminiscent of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's division of Siena and the surrounding countryside in the fresco The Effects of Good and Bad Government. A rarely depicted incident, the weighing of the sword, taken from Livy's Story of Camillus, is shown using Quattrocento scales. Soldiers are pictured assembling in the city and marching through the gates. On the right portion, the city of Rome is shown in the distance. A long procession of men on horseback winds through the rocky landscape. Gold trappings of the men and horses are enriched with white plumes and fluttering pennants. Sleek hounds are shown in relaxed poses in the city section of the panel and in running positions in the countryside portion. The artist establishes pleasing color and value contrasts with the closely packed figures throughout the composition. The panel has suffered damage and much of the tempera has been repainted.

Conquest of Trebizond

The Conquest of Trebizond, a wedding chest in the Metropolitan Museum in New York was painted in 1462 for a member

Seymour, p. 116.
Fig. 15—Anghiari Master. Battle at the Gates of Rome, Florentine, ca. 1470. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.
of the Strozzi family of Florence (Figure 16). The subject was quite contemporary—the Turkish destruction of the city of Trebizond on the Black Sea occurred in 1461. Coats of arms of the Strozzi family, birds with out-stretched wings and ribbons in their talons, are pictured on the end panels. The artist's rendering of costumes and weapons appears authentic possibly due to Italian contact with the Near East through commerce. The figures on the panel are perhaps derived from Persian miniature paintings. Many figures are clothed in gold, with indentations and "tooling" providing textured details. A knowledge of perspective is demonstrated in the buildings of the background which are seen from severe angles. Several cities perch on rocky islands, among them Constantinople, surrounded by ships with lowered sails on turquoise blue water. On the right, the city of Trebizond is shown behind the action of the battle. Both Constantinople and Trebizond resemble Italian walled cities. All of the cities are labeled but only the word Constantinople is now legible. The cathedral in the city has been replaced by the artist's curious interpretation of a mosque, its minarets resembling medieval towers of Italy.

48 Some Florentine bankers, such as the Rucellai family, had branch offices in Constantinople. The city had fallen to the Turks in 1453.

Fig. 16—Anonymous Florentine.  **Conquest of Trebizond**, ca. 1462.  Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.
The artist has shown the battle at its height as turbaned orientals on horseback flash their curved sabers in the air. Men are engaged in combat with swords, spears and axes while archers with elaborately curved bows seem to be at a disadvantage in such close quarters. Foot soldiers clad in strange bell-shaped garments gingerly step over fallen bodies amid the rearing, wooden-like horses which are lavishly outfitted with golden bridles and blankets. In the distance, a mounted regiment of soldiers gallop around a hill to join the battle while the Sultan enters the scene on the right of the panel. Two white horses pull his triumphal golden chariot in front of a group of tents. The landscape is conceived in curving abstract shapes and creates a striking background for the porcelain-like figures. Earth tones and dark greens provide strong contrast for the brilliant colors of the figures and the tiny white flowers in the foreground areas. The scale of the figures is maintained evenly throughout the composition.

Adventures of Aeneas

The Adventures of Aeneas, the hero of Virgil's Aeneid, provide the themes for a pair of cassoni panels in the Jarves Collection of the Yale University Art Gallery (Figures 17 and 18). The Shipwreck of Aeneas is a beautifully composed panorama of sea and landscape. Its companion, Aeneas at Carthage, includes views of ancient Carthage and Rome.
Juno, labeled "Giunone," appears in the upper left corner of the shipwreck scene as she spies on the fleet of Aeneas. She descends and conspires with Aeolus, who sits as a hermit of the Thebaid in a rocky Gothic cave, to set loose the winds against Aeneas. The elements of wind and rain are personified with puffed cheeks, flying hair, and arms which thrash the sea with water spouts. The center of the panel provides a spectacle of the shattered fleet. Sails and rigging are ripped by the wind, masts are snapped off, and men are tossed overboard. Ropes and ladders are twisted with frenzied motion by the wind.

A large figure of Neptune on a golden chariot drawn by two dolphins calms the storm. The artist's efforts at suggesting atmosphere with a rainbow, sun, moon, wind and waves seems more surrealistic than realistic. The low sun behind a grove of cypress trees shows early Florentine landscape beginnings. At the right, the storm over, Aeneas and Achates come ashore with their companions. They meet Venus who is disguised as a huntress and they recognize her as a goddess by her gait as she suddenly darts away. Although the scale of the composition fluctuates greatly (the hermit and Neptune figures are as large as the ships) the narrative scheme holds together well.

50 Rankin, p. 131. He describes the landscape as "... medievally horrid . . . ."
The hexagon-shaped temple of Juno is placed in the center of the companion panel, *Aeneas at Carthage* (Figure 18). Queen Dido, Aeneas and Achates are among the beautifully costumed figures crowded into the open-sided temple. Above their heads, a frieze shows the triumph of Achilles and the Wooden Horse outside the gates of Troy. To the left, Aeneas and his companions are stag hunting with curved bows in a forest while one man carries a deer slung over his shoulders. On the lower right, a group of ladies and gentlemen listen to Aeneas' son, Ascanius, read from a book. A composite view of Rome occupies the upper corner, including the Colosseum, Trajan's Column, Castel Sant'Angelo, Ara Coeli, the medieval Capitol, and the Pantheon, which includes an inscription on its facade. The stream is assumed to be the Tiber River. The animals in the background are the legendary white sow and her farrow of nine, unmindful that she will be sacrificed as an augury for the founding of Lavinium. Of particular interest are the machines and tools used in the construction trade of the Quattrocento in Italy, pictured in the lower portion of the panel.

As pictured on these panels, the hero survived all the dangers and the wrath of Juno due to the protection of Venus, the goddess of love. Perhaps it was the wish of the young couple for whom the coffers were painted to always be under the protection of Venus.
Another cassone, *The Meeting of Dido and Aeneas at Carthage*, is in the Portland Art Museum in Portland, Oregon, and utilizes the same legend. It is possible that a second cassone had additional scenes of the love affair of Dido and Aeneas, including Dido's suicide; however, if it does exist its location is unknown. The Portland cassone, attributed to Francesco di Giorgio, is unusual in that the narrative "reads" from right to left.51

**Jason and the Argonauts**

Major episodes from the legend of *Jason and the Argonauts* are pictured on two beautiful panels in the Metropolitan Museum in New York and attributed to a follower of Pesellino. The technique of episodic narrative is demonstrated in the twelve separate scenes on the two panels, *Jason's Quest for the Golden Fleece* and *The Hunt of the Calydonian Boar* (Figures 19 and 20). The compositions include figures in landscape, seascape, and interior and exterior scenes with architectural settings.

The narrative of *Jason's Quest for the Golden Fleece* begins with Jason and his men arriving in Colchis. He presents himself to King Aeetes, from whom he hopes to obtain the Golden Fleece. The King and his attendants are shown on a horse-drawn car. At the extreme right, Jason kneels before the King.

51 Fredericksen, p. 35. Another cassone by the same artist, *The Story of Tuccia*, also reads from the right to left (Figure 1).
Fig. 19--Pesellino (attributed to). Jason's Quest for the Golden Fleece.

Fiorentine, ca. 1450. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.
Fig. 20—Pesellino (attributed to), The Hunt of the Calydonian Boar, Florentine, ca. 1450. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.
on the upper level of a palace. Jason mounts his horse at
the foot of the stairs and then leaves the palace by the
drawbridge in such haste that he loses his cap. The Grove
of Ares is seen in the upper center, its circular wall topped
with towers. Hanging from the central tree is the Golden
Fleece and beneath it Jason slays the knights who grew from
the dragon's teeth. At the upper left are Diana and her
hounds—a piece of Medea's sorcery—and the Argonauts are
shown with Medea on the seashore. Some characters who are
uninvolved in the action are most interesting: a fat dwarf
with a goat in the palace; a young man who nonchalantly ad-
justs his leggings; and a woman who moves so hurriedly that
her flying skirts reveal lace-trimmed petticoats.

The second panel, The Hunt of the Calydonian Boar,
pictures several incidents preceeding the hunt in landscape
and architectural settings. Horses and figures are skill-
fully drawn and the perspective and scale of the figures are
believable. The violent action of the hunt is shown as the
dogs corner the ferocious wild beast and Jason and his men
close in for the kill. High on a rocky hill in the back-
ground a personable centaur engages in conversation with
three men. While pawing the ground with one hoof, he looks
thoughtfully toward the sky, with one hand on his hip and
the other pointing to his heart.
Adventures of Ulysses

The *Odyssey* was not overlooked by Quattrocento cassone artists. It provided essentially the same type of heroic deeds as the *Iliad* and *Aeneid*. A panel featuring the *Adventures of Ulysses* is in the Art Institute of Chicago (Figure 21). It depicts the escape of Ulysses and his men from the giant Polyphemus, the legend of the Siren who turned men into swine, and his homecoming to Ithaca after years of wandering. The narrative moves swiftly in and out of open-front buildings, to rocky islands, ships and triumphal cars.
and finally to a joyous banquet scene in a street at his homecoming. Painted with a predominantly blue palatte, touches of bright crimson and gold highlight the figures. The skill and technical ability of the artist are demonstrated by the many different elements of the story being combined in a cohesive composition. Several episodes of the Odyssey and the conclusion of the story are depicted on the panel. A companion chest probably included other chapters of the legend since it was the practice to create cassoni in pairs.

**Summary of Heroic and Glorious Deeds**

Heroic and glorious deeds, battles, and triumphs of historical and mythological men comprise the largest group of cassoni themes investigated—fifty of the eighty cassoni which were studied fall into this category. The large number of battle scenes could attest to the unsettled times of Northern Italy during the fifteenth century when cities fought, cities and sometimes families feuded with other families. The fact that many battle scenes cannot be identified with a specific historical event indicates that in many cases the depiction of a particular battle was not intended. Such a scene was an allusion to the bravery and valor of the bridegroom and his family. The man was expected to be courageous and strong just as the woman was supposed to possess the feminine graces.
Battle scenes generally tend to be more monotonous and repetitive than other subject matter pictured on cassoni. Mythological heroes of this same category possessed ideal traits combined with superhuman endurance in their fantastic adventures and involved love affairs. The episodic narrative technique and the long rectangular shape of cassoni allowed the artist to picture many different incidents of a battle or legend.

Biblical and Miraculous Subjects

Of the eighty panels investigated, only eight had themes dealing with Biblical events or miraculous performances by saints: The Meeting of Solomon and Sheba, The Journey of the Queen of Sheba, Scenes from the Life of Moses, The Submersion of Pharaoh, Susanna and the Elders, The Elders Judged by Daniel, The Story of Tobias, and Miracles of St. Zenobius.

While the journey of the Queen of Sheba to meet Solomon is told in the Old Testament, the choice of such a subject on cassoni was because of its emphasis on the female seeking wisdom and guidance from the superior male rather than on a religious observance. The great queen humbled herself before Solomon just as a young bride accepted her husband as ruler of his house. Therefore, this panel has been included with other panels depicting the role of women.
The theme of the Susanna and Daniel panels comes from the Apocrypha. The innocent Susanna, meek and helpless, was rescued by the wisdom and cunning of Daniel. A romantic story with a happy ending in which good triumphs over evil, it was a fitting subject for a young bride who was placing her future welfare in the hands of her husband. These two panels have been placed with those dealing with the role of women.

Scenes from the Life of Moses, in the Berea College Collection, Berea, Kentucky, and The Submersion of Pharaoh, at Buckness University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, are inspired by the Old Testament. However, they are not handled as the same subjects might have been depicted on altarpieces. The panels furnished the artist with an opportunity to illustrate exotic costumes and architecture in much the same manner as the Conquest of Trebizond (Figure 16). Scenes from the Life of Moses concentrates on gentle scenes such as the finding of Moses by the Pharaoh's daughter. The Submersion of Pharaoh is a battle scene, typical of the majority of cassoni. These panels have been placed in the category of heroic and glorious deeds.

The Story of Tobias was a favorite subject for altar-pieces commissioned by merchantile families of the Quattrocento. Perhaps such a family commissioned this cassone

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52Hartt, p. 327. An example is Perugino's altarpiece of 1499, Virgin Adoring the Child, St. Michael, and Tobias and the Archangel Raphael, in the National Gallery, London.
picturing Tobias and the Angel in the Nelson Gallery in Kansas City. It is possible they felt that the help which the Archangels gave to Tobias suited the Florentine ideal of family togetherness. Tobit's marriage to Sara and his devotion to Tobias, his father, as well as the happy conclusion, made the theme appropriate to the cassone. The story illustrated the trials of a man's life and the panel has been included with heroic and glorious deeds.

The Miracles of St. Zenobius in the Metropolitan Museum was painted by Sandro Botticelli around 1500 when he was passing through a spiritual crisis brought on by the execution of Savonarola. Although the colors are bright and translucent, the mood of the panel is tense. The subject was an early Bishop of Florence, later a patron saint, who had restored a child to life after the child had fallen from a window while watching the Bishop's procession. The agony of the child is vividly portrayed in a manner which is unusual for cassone painting. Perhaps the religious fervor caused by Savonarola and its aftermath influenced the patron who commissioned the panel. Two other panels of unequal size picturing different episodes of the St. Zenobius legend are in the Dresden Gallery and the National Gallery in London, and raise questions as to the three being cassone panels. Menz suggests that perhaps they are spallieri. Accordingly, Wichman feels there is no

evidence that spallieri were commissioned on the occasion of a wedding. If Menz's theory is correct, it would explain the unlikely choice of St. Zenobius as a subject for a bridal cassone. In this study, the panel has been placed with heroic deeds.

Although the subject of the panel reproduced in Figure 1 of this thesis appears to be religious at first glance, Fredericksen has denied it as relating to the life of St. Scholastica, a title previously given to it. He identified the panel as The Legend of Tuccia. The nun-like clothing represents Chastity, and the other similarly dressed figures are the Vestal Virgins grouped around a classical temple. The story reads from the right of the composition to the left. Because the theme stresses the virtue of chastity, the panel has been included with others depicting the role of women.

Borenius discovered one Venetian cassone with a picture of the Annunciation on the inner lid which he called "... a rarity among rarities ... ." He dated this unusual find as being made about 1480 and believed the lid to be painted by a different hand from the front of the chest which did not have a religious theme.

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55 Fredericksen, p. 39.

56 Tancred Borenius, Some Italian Cassone Pictures, [n. d.] (a pamphlet found in the Metropolitan Museum Library, catalog number 174.B64).
CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

Eighty cassone panels in thirty-five American collections, encompassing the total number of cassoni located in the United States during the period of this investigation, have been researched. Chapter I introduces the origin of the study and states a four-part problem: (1) What were the major themes pictured on cassoni panels during the Quattrocento? (2) Were the themes of cassoni in Quattrocento Italy predominantly of a religious or secular nature? (3) If secular subject matter was dominant in cassone painting, was this a reflection of newly founded tastes of aristocratic, wealthy and middle classes? (4) Were cassoni mirrors expressing the way these classes viewed themselves and the place occupied by women in society?

Appearing in Chapter II is a presentation of background material which explains the nature of public and private art in Italy, the purpose for which the cassone was created, the cofanai and painters, and the style of Quattrocento cassone painting.

Chapter III discusses the three major themes of cassone panels found in America. The investigation revealed that the
subjects fall under the following headings: (1) contemporary events, such as marriages, pageants and tournaments; (2) the role of women in early Renaissance society, with regards to their virtues of humbleness, meekness, modesty and their subjugation to men; (3) heroic and glorious deeds of men of antiquity, mythological and allegorical figures, including their battles and triumphs.

Contemporary events are pictured on eleven of the eighty panels which were studied. Their subject matter sometimes evolved from pageants and tableaux featuring embodiments of the Virtues, Arts and Love, in imitation of ancient Roman festivals. Processions, tournaments and horse races provide genre scenes of fifteenth-century Italians at leisure. Tales from Ovid and Petrarch illustrate the artist's use of contemporary literature as subject matter. Public festivals and pageants also reflected the popularity of ancient stories and mythology, and the romantic costumes of the period were adapted by ladies of aristocratic society.

Nineteen of the eighty cassoni included in this investigation deal with the virtues and submissiveness of women as primary subjects. There are three examples of the love story of Helen of Troy, emphasizing the great importance of a woman in an historical event. The panels of Solomon and Sheba, and Susanna and Daniel both stress the humbleness and meekness of women. The Sabine Women were initially submissive to their
captors but displayed bravery in place of meekness when their homes and children were threatened. In a general sense, the picture of the Sabine Women could also be classified as a triumph because the happy conclusion to the tale was a triumph for the women.

The current interest in ancient literature and mythology inspired the use of such subjects as Helen of Troy and the Sabine Women on cassoni. The stories of Daphne and Diana, in which they protect their virtue, were popular cassone subjects. Other figures in Greek and Roman mythology and ancient history were also prevalent, especially famous lovers such as Cleopatra and Marc Antony. Some families gloried in the fantasy that they were direct descendents of the marvelous heroes and heroines of the ancient stories. The quest for the antique in art and learning was part of the mystique of the Renaissance man. Subjects of cassoni were sometimes "Romanized" by the use of legends, mythology and history.

Great and glorious deeds of historical and mythological figures comprise the subject matter of the largest group investigated. Fifty of the eighty cassoni have been placed in this category. The large number of battle scenes depicted on cassoni could attest to the unsettled times of Northern Italy during the fifteenth century when cities fought cities and sometimes families feuded with families. The fact that many battle scenes cannot be identified with a specific historical
event indicates that the depiction of a particular battle was sometimes not intended. It is possible that a scene of bravery and valor was an allusion to those manly traits expected of the bridegroom and his family. The ideal male was courageous and strong just as the ideal woman possessed exceptional feminine charms and graces. Mythological heroes and gods were endowed with ideal traits and superhuman endurance in their never-ending adventures and complicated love affairs. Triumphs and homecomings were pictured as joyous celebrations in which the friends and family of the hero participated, imparting an intimate touch which might have been of personal significance to the patron.

The themes of eight of the panels were derived from Biblical sources and miraculous deeds of saints, and were basically secular due to the sublimation of their religious implications. The panels picturing Solomon and Sheba, and Susanna and Daniel stressed the virtues of women and have been placed with other panels illustrating the role of women. Moses was a suitable subject because he possessed the masculine qualities of bravery and leadership and performed great feats of courage. The two panels depicting incidents from his life and the destruction of the Pharaoh's army have been included with heroic and glorious deeds of men of antiquity. The legend of the restoration of a child's life by St. Zenobius may be included among great deeds of men of the past with the
reservation that the panel is possibly a spalliere and not a cassone. Subjects chosen from the Old Testament were not treated in the same manner on cassoni as they were on altar-pieces of the same period because it was not the intention of the cassone painter to create a deeply moving or devotional picture.

Conclusions

The following conclusions can be drawn regarding the subject matter of Quattrocento Italian cassone panels located in the United States:

1. Three major themes are pictured on cassoni in collections in the United States: (a) contemporary events, such as festivals, pageants and marriage celebrations; (b) the role of women in early Renaissance society, with regards to their virtues of modesty, humbleness, meekness, purity and subjugation to men; (c) heroic and glorious deeds of great men of antiquity, including their battles and triumphs. The subject matter was derived from mythology, allegory, ancient and contemporary literature, and contemporary events and was suitable for the occasion of marriage, stressing joyous festal days, marital bliss, parental happiness, manly courage and feminine purity.

2. Cassoni themes are basically secular in nature, and those using themes from the Old Testament have been sublimated
to a point of virtual elimination of religious implications. Cassoni featuring stories from the Old Testament fall into two of the major themes, the role of women and the heroic and glorious deeds of men of antiquity. None of the panels in the United States derived its subject matter from the New Testament.

3. The whole of cassone painting during the Quattrocento reflects the tastes of the aristocratic, wealthy and middle classes of the period. Patrons chose the subject matter of the paintings and demanded the "old-fashioned" International Gothic Style. Their interest in ancient and contemporary literature, Greek and Roman philosophy, and the cult of Humanism is displayed on the cassoni they commissioned.

4. Cassoni served as vehicles by which these classes exhibited the way they saw life around them with respect to contemporary events as well as how they felt about certain concepts such as the role of women in society. The golden-haired maidens pictured on cassoni embody all the ideal feminine graces and virtues expected by their husbands and society. Scenes of battle depict men as richly costumed personifications of bravery and chivalry, emphasizing the role of the superior male in Quattrocentro Italy.

Recommendations

The role of cassone painting in the secularization of art has been largely ignored and understated by the art
historians who write textbooks for students and by museums who share in the responsibility of educating those students. The following recommendations are made:

1. A complete revision of Schubring's study, Cassoni, should be undertaken by scholars in the Renaissance field.\(^{57}\)

2. The further research and documentation of cassone panels in American museums is needed.\(^{58}\)

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\(^{57}\)Ellen Callman, Finch College, New York City, is currently engaged in research of cassone panels attributed to Apollonio di Giovanni. An unpublished master's thesis entitled Two Spallieri by Jacopo del Sellaio by Douglas Wichman (Fresno State College, California, 1971) investigates a related area.

\(^{58}\)Inadequate funding and limited staff are often the reasons why museums can provide only incomplete information concerning their collections.
APPENDIX

CASSONI IN AMERICAN COLLECTIONS

Eighty cassoni panels were located in thirty-five museums and private collections in the United States. After a study of photographs of all the panels and visits to museums for personal observation of twenty-four cassoni, the panels were divided into three major themes. The information in the catalog below was gathered from museum catalogs, bulletins and inventory cards, exhibition and sales catalogs, periodicals, and personal correspondence with museums. Attributions currently accepted by the museums have been used.

Contemporary Events

Anonymous Florentine (previously attributed to Benozzo Gozzoli).


Apollonio di Giovanni.

Betrothal and Wedding Dance, Florentine, ca. 1465. The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Dello Delli.


Franchi, Rossello de Jacopo.

Race of the Palio in the Streets of Florence, School of Florence, ca. 1420. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio.

Scene in a Court of Love, ca. 1440. Madison Art Museum, Madison, Wisconsin.

Giovanni dal Ponte (Shop of).

Two Romantic Scenes with Putti, Florentine, ca. 1430. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.

Pesellino (and Studio).

Seven Liberal Arts; Seven Virtues, Florentine, ca. 1460. Birmingham Art Museum, Birmingham, Alabama.

Stratonice Master.

Story of Stratonice (a pair of panels), Sienese, XV Century. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.

Role of Women

Anonymous Italian (attributed to Andrea di Guisto).

Anonymous Italian.


Apollonio di Giovanni.

**Journey of the Queen of Sheba**, Florentine, ca. 1450.
Birmingham Art Museum, Birmingham, Alabama.

**Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba**, ca. 1450.
Yale University Art Museum, New Haven, Connecticut.

Bartolommeo di Giovanni.


Francesco di Giorgio.

**Story of Paris**, Sienese, XV Century. Wheelwright Collection, Boston, Massachusetts.


Giovanni dal Ponte (Shop of).


Girolomo (Rizzo) de Santacroce.

**Rape of Helen**, Florentine, first half of the XVI Century.
Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, Columbus, Ohio.
Liberale da Verona.


Master of Apollo and Daphne.

**The Elders Judged by Daniel; Susanna and the Elders**, Florentine, last quarter of the XV Century. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Neroccio de' Landi.


Pesellino.

**Triumph of Fame, Time and Eternity; Triumph of Love, Chastity and Death**, Florentine, ca. 1448. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, Massachusetts.

School of Florence.


Sellaio, Jacopo del.


Heroic and Glorious Deeds

Anghiari Master.

**Battle at the Gates of Rome**, Florentine, ca. 1470.

Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.

Battle Scene Between Romans and Gauls, ca. 1450. John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida.

Soldiers on Foot and Horse Storm a Walled Town, ca. 1450. John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida.

Triumph of Scipio, ca. 1450. John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida.

Anonymous Florentine.

Conquest of Trebizond, ca. 1462. Metropolitan Museum, New York City.

Diana and Actaeon (a pair of cassoni), first half of XV Century. Metropolitan Museum, New York City.

Priam and Hecuba, last half of XV Century. The Art Museum, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

Storming of Pisa, XV Century. Cleveland Art Museum, Cleveland, Ohio.

Anonymous Florentine (formerly attributed to Pesellino).

Scipio Africanus Defeating Hannibal; Triumph of Scipio Africanus, third quarter of XV Century. Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Anonymous Italian.

Assassination of Julius Caesar, XV Century. University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.
Incidents from the Story of Hero and Leander, late XV Century. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, Massachusetts.

Scenes from the Legend of the Judgment of Diana, ca. 1430. Walker Art Center, Brunswick, Maine.

Scenes from the Life of Moses, ca. 1500. Berea College, Berea, Kentucky.


Submersion of Pharaoh, ca. 1500. Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania.

Apollonio di Giovanni.


Apollonio di Giovanni (Shop of).

Aeneas at Carthage; Shipwreck of Aeneas, Florentine, ca. 1460. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.

Xerxes' Invasion of Greece, ca. 1463. Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.

Apollonio di Giovanni (with Marco del Buono).

Battle Scene, Florentine, ca. 1460. Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Bartolommeo di Giovanni.

Daphne Fleeing Apollo; Daphne Found Asleep by Apollo, North Italian, ca. 1500. The Kress Foundation, New York City.
Benvenuto di Giovanni (di Meo del Guasta).

Apollo and the Muses, Sienese, ca. 1500. Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan.

Biago de' Antonio de Firenze.

Triumph of Scipio Africanus, Florentine, XV Century.
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Botticelli, Sandro.

Miracles of St. Zenobius, Florentine, ca. 1500. Metropolitan Museum, New York City.

Falconetto Giovanni da Verona.

Departure for Battle, Pa¿uan or Veronese, late XV Century.
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, Massachusetts.

Francesco di Giorgio.


Giolfino, Niccolo.

Chiomara and the Centurian, North Italian, XV Century.
The Art Museum, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.
Giorgione (attributed to).

Infant Paris Abandoned on Mt. Ida, Venetian, XV Century.
The Art Museum, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

Giovanni Diddo (attributed to)


Montagna, Bartolommeo.


Neroccio de' Landi.


Parentino, Bernardo.

The Emperor Trajan Granting Justice, North Italian, late XV Century. Hearst State Park, San Simeon, California.

Pesellino (attributed to).

Jason's Quest for the Golden Fleece; The Hunt of the Calydonian Boar, Florentine, ca. 1450. Metropolitan Museum, New York City.

Piero di Cosimo.

Bringing Home the Booty; Primitive Man--The Hunt; Satyrs and Nymphs (a pair of panels), Florentine, ca. 1490. Metropolitan Museum, New York City.
School of Florence.

**Battle of Heraclius and Chosroes with Reclining Nude Female Figure** inside of lid, ca. 1465-1470. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.

**Story of Four Sons**, ca. 1430. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.


**Sellaio, Jacopo del.**

**Actaeon and the Hounds; Diana and Actaeon**, North Italian, ca. 1465. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.

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