

## **Part II**

# **BUYERS**



## Chapter 9

# ILLUMINATIONS FROM NORTHERN AND CENTRAL ITALY IN THE COLLECTION OF THE DEALER VITTORIO FORTI

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THE DEALER VITTORIO FORTI has stayed out of the spotlight until very recently. His name was rarely mentioned, and always briefly, as the business partner of the famous bibliophile and dealer Tammaro De Marinis,<sup>1</sup> with whom he started working in the book trade in the early twentieth century. Federico Botana has recently shed new light on this shadowy figure when he discovered and published a small group of letters written by Forti to De Marinis at the beginning of the twentieth century from Istanbul, where De Marinis was conducting rather dubious dealings to procure manuscripts to sell to John Pierpont Morgan.<sup>2</sup>

In this article I will introduce a group of reproductions of eighty fragments, presumably documenting a stage in Forti's collection of illuminations dating approximately from the end of the Second World War. This hitherto unknown material helps to further investigate a little-known dealer—apparently specializing in illuminated leaves and cuttings—and allows us to build a clearer picture of the dissemination of detached illuminations from Italy to the United States after the war, filling in gaps in the provenance history of many significant fragments.

I first came across Forti's collection over twenty years ago, while researching illuminated manuscripts from the Abruzzi, when I noticed a detached leaf with the

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**1** Franca Petrucci Nardelli, "Tammaro De Marinis," in *Collezionismo, restauro e antiquariato librario: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi (Spoleto, June 14–17, 2000)*, ed. Maria Cristina Misiti (Milan: Bonnard, 2003), 78–79.

**2** Federico Botana, "Tammaro De Marinis, Vittorio Forti, and the Acquisition of Islamic Manuscripts for J. P. Morgan in Constantinople in 1913," *Manuscript Studies* 7 (2022): 237–69. On De Marinis, also see the forthcoming proceedings of the conference "Multa renascentur." *Tammaro De Marinis studioso, bibliofilo, antiquario, collezionista* (Venice, October 14–15, 2019); Gaia Grizzi is preparing a doctoral dissertation on De Marinis at the École des chartes.

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Figure 9.1. Rome, ICCD, Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, n. inv. D7783, Coronation of the Virgin (su concessione del Ministero della Cultura - ICCD. Divieto di riproduzione).

Coronation of the Virgin, mentioned as part of the Forti collection, in Rome, in the 1956 edition of Mario Salmi's book on Italian illumination.<sup>3</sup> Years later, I unexpectedly discovered a folder containing thirty-three black and white photographs of eighty fragments, comprising images of cuttings and detached leaves, mounted on cardboard and labelled as formerly in the Forti collection in Rome.<sup>4</sup> The leaf with the Coronation of the Virgin (now Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1953.24) appeared among the photos (Figure 9.1), as did a second leaf, with the Nativity, detached from the same manuscript (now Princeton, University Art Museum, y1958-17). At the time, I was mainly interested in the history of the manuscript from which the two leaves had been detached, an Antiphony, illuminated for the Acquaviva family by the Beffi Master in the early fifteenth century and dismembered before the mid-twentieth century.<sup>5</sup> It was after an invitation to collaborate with the CULTIVATE MSS Project, that I started researching Forti's collection, or rather his dealer's stock, comprehensively.

## A Fragmentary Biography

In her 2003 essay on Tammaro De Marinis, Franca Petrucci Nardelli wrote that *avvocato* Vittorio Forti started his career as the business partner of De Marinis, at the beginning of the twentieth century. The two shared an antiquarian bookshop in Florence, first based in Via Strozzi 2, then in Via Pellicceria 10 (close to Forti's home in the same street), and finally in Via de' Vecchietti 3/5. They parted in 1914, before

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**3** The first edition was published in 1954: Mario Salmi, *La miniatura italiana* (Milan: Banca Nazionale del Lavoro, 1954). It was enlarged and republished as: Mario Salmi, *La miniatura italiana*, 2nd edn. (Milan: Electa, 1956). The image of the Coronation is fig. 51, with the caption: "Roma, Collezione Forti."

**4** Rome, ICCD, Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale (GFN), nos inv. D7776-88; D10264-75; E86450-66. Each photo comprises one or more illuminations. In addition to these, the folder contained three reproductions of paintings also in Forti's collection (D10272; D10273; D10275). The photos are no longer filed under the heading "Ex-Collezione Forti, Rome," where I found them over fifteen years ago, but have been rearranged according to the three donations by the art historian Federico Zeri to the GFN, one in 1967 (D7776-88) and two in 1972 (D10264-75; E86450-66). The black and white negatives were printed and labelled after reaching Rome. I would like to thank Elena Berardi and Simona Turco for their help with the photos. The third lot (E86450-66) is already digitized and available online: <https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/>, accessed May 12, 2023. I hope that the first two will shortly be online and that it will also be possible to digitize the labelled photos on their cardboard frames.

**5** For a reconstruction of the Acquaviva Antiphony from its surviving leaves and fragments, see Francesca Manzari, *Il Messale Orsini per la chiesa di San Francesco a Guardiagrele: Un libro liturgico tra pittura e miniatura dell'Italia centro-meridionale* (Pescara: Zip, 2007), 115-18; Francesca Manzari, "Entry 38," in *Illuminare l'Abruzzo: Codici miniati tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, ed. Gaetano Curzi et al. (Pescara: Carsa, 2012), 233-39; Francesca Manzari, "Entries 69a-b," in *Le miniature della Fondazione Giorgio Cini: Pagine, ritagli, manoscritti*, ed. Massimo Medica and Federica Toniolo (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2016), 241-45.

De Marinis established a new shop in Piazza Strozzi 5.<sup>6</sup> Forti then moved to Rome, where he was active as a dealer, at least from the early 1920s.<sup>7</sup>

Investigating Forti's biography, I discovered that he was born in Florence, on August 4, 1881, to Raffaele Forti and Ada Herzer,<sup>8</sup> and that in 1941 he lived in Rome, in Via Panama 102/104, where he probably worked both as a lawyer and as a dealer;<sup>9</sup> until his death, estimated to have taken place in 1980.<sup>10</sup> Forti came from a Jewish family. His mother—Ada Herzer, born in Ancona to Samuele Herzer and Rosa Zaban, on July 18, 1869—is mentioned in papers from the *Questura* in Rome concerning Vittorio's younger brother Bruno, an engineer, born on November 18, 1895. Bruno was under police control from February 10, 1939, and surviving reports also mention Vittorio, referring to further documents, which are yet to be found.<sup>11</sup> Ada's properties in Milan were seized during the war,<sup>12</sup> and she and her son Bruno were arrested in Rome, dur-

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**6** Petrucci Nardelli, "Tammaro De Marinis," 78–79. The 1916 *Annuario Toscano*, however, lists De Marinis in Piazza Strozzi, and Forti in the shop in Via Vecchietti; *Annuario Toscano: Guida amministrativa, commerciale e professionale della Regione* (Florence: Ariani, 1916), 180–81.

**7** The acquisition register of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana describes a fifteenth-century manuscript with the works of Cicero, recording that it was bought from "libraio V. Forti di Roma" for 3250 Lire (Florence, BML, *Inventario dei codici laurenziani* "Acquisti e Doni," no. d'ingresso 11954). Thanks to Federico Botana these acquisitions can be dated to the 1920s.

**8** Forti's date of birth is mentioned in the lists of the officials in the Italian army in the First World War: in January 1918 he is cited, among the "Ufficiali di Complemento-Tenenti di Artiglieria," as "Forti Vittorio, di Raffaele, born 4.8.81:" *Annuario ufficiale delle forze armate del Regno d'Italia. I. Regio esercito, II.2, Ufficiali di complemento* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1938), 206. His father Raffaele came from a family of textile dealers with a shop on Piazza della Signoria (on the corner with Via Calamaruzza) 1884–1892, and then in Palazzo Lavison, 1906–1920 (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Camera di Commercio I. A. A. di Firenze, Tribunale civile e correzionale di Firenze, poi Tribunale civile e penale di Firenze, Registro delle Società, *Inventario Società nn. 1–3600, 1883–1923*, ed. Isabella Raffaeli, nos. 89, 466, 1260).

**9** In 1941, in an announcement referring to his designation as the administrator of a company dealing with real estate (A. V. I. A. S), Forti is described as born in Florence, the son of Raffaele, and residing in Rome, in Via Panama 102: *Foglio Annunzi legali della provincia di Roma* 79 (1941), 1801.

**10** I am indebted to Federico Botana for Forti's presumed date of death in 1980, as he pointed out that Forti is mentioned as having lived until 99 years of age in an article by René Zandbergen, [www.voynich.nu/extra/trivia.html#tr06](http://www.voynich.nu/extra/trivia.html#tr06), accessed May 12, 2023. The same address is in the heading of a letter from Forti to H. P. Kraus, dated August 5, 1975 (PML, curatorial files for M.496), mentioned in this article; see Botana, "Tammaro De Marinis," 264n110.

**11** Rome, Archivio di Stato, *Questura, Ebrei, FOR*, vol. 25, fasc. 1. Bruno and Vittorio collaborated in the company "La Penetrazione," in charge of working on pavements in Milan, founded in 1928 and still active in 1938; *Annuario industriale di Roma e del Lazio* (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1938), 305; *Guida degli amministratori e dei sindaci delle società anonime delle casse di risparmio degli Enti parastatali ed assimilati* (Rome: Tipografia Laboremus, 1929), 283.

**12** Milan, Intesa Sanpaolo, Historical Archives, Ente Gestione e Liquidazione Immobiliare (E. Ge. L. I.), Fascicolo 22926 F, Herzer Forti, Ada.

ing the raid of October 16, 1943, and deported to Auschwitz, where they both died.<sup>13</sup> Nothing further is known about Vittorio during the 1930s and 1940s. Although much remains to be discovered about his life and his collection of illuminations, from which he sold leaves and cuttings to libraries and museums, especially in the United States, a particular stage in it is documented by the black and white photographic prints now in the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale (GFN), in Rome.

### The Reproductions of a Stage in Forti's Collection

Mounted on cardboard frames and labelled "ex-Collezione Forti, Roma," the thirty-three black and white photos represent eighty items, cuttings, and leaves, detached from approximately thirty-four medieval and Renaissance manuscripts, mainly of Italian origin (see appendix). The negative plates were a gift to the Italian national photo library from the art historian Federico Zeri. The negatives were printed when they reached the GFN, in three lots, between 1967 and 1972. The labels were then added, stating "ex-Collezione Forti, Roma," the school and date of the reproduced illuminations and also the GFN inventory number of each negative.<sup>14</sup> It is very likely that, at that point, the illuminations in Forti's collection had already been dispersed and that this information was added thanks to indications from Zeri himself, to whom the attributions noted on the labels can presumably be assigned. Forti probably consulted Zeri about his illuminations and then left the negatives with the art historian, who later sent them to the GFN, as he used to do with material that he was not interested in keeping in his famous photo archive, once stored in his villa in Mentana.<sup>15</sup>

It is difficult to determine exactly when the photos of Forti's fragments were taken and if this took place in a single campaign or in different stages. Even more mysterious is when and how Forti acquired the reproduced illuminations. They seem to pertain to the dealer's stock between the very late 1940s, when some of them went missing from a public collection, and the very early 1950s, when many of the photographed items reappeared in the United States (see appendix).

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**13** Bruno died on January 31, 1944; <http://digital-library.cdec.it/cdec-web/persone/detail/person-2807/forti-bruno.html>, accessed May 12, 2023.

**14** The labels, partly typewritten and partly handwritten when I first consulted them over fifteen years ago, have since been replaced with typewritten ones.

**15** The Fondazione Zeri, Bologna, preserves copies of the photos, but only those of the paintings have been digitized and are available online. The prints in Bologna were made when the negative films were sent to Rome and "ex-Collezione Forti" has been added on some of them in Zeri's handwriting, while on others it has been written by a different hand. I thank Francesca Mambelli for checking this for me.

## The Itineraries of Forti's Fragments in Italy and across the Ocean

Some of the fragments come from manuscripts which were dismembered in the early twentieth century, as sister leaves are present in collections assembled in the 1920s, such as Ulrico Hoepli's, which was catalogued by Pietro Toesca in 1930.<sup>16</sup> An example is two leaves illuminated by the Beffi Master (D7783–84), detached from a manuscript known only through its dispersed leaves and cuttings, two of which were in the Hoepli collection.<sup>17</sup> The Cleveland leaf was already in the United States in 1952, having been bought directly from Forti.<sup>18</sup> The Forti provenance of the Nativity in Princeton is only documented through the presence of the photo among the others, as this information is not registered by the Museum, to which the leaf was given in 1958 by Alastair B. Martin. It was already in the United States in 1955, however, as it appeared in one of the catalogues of the New York dealer H. P. Kraus.<sup>19</sup> Kraus also sold another leaf from the same manuscript, the Adoration of the Child (formerly at Stamford, Connecticut, in the collection of the Xerox Corporation),<sup>20</sup> but this one is not reproduced among Forti's photos. Another two fragments from the same manuscript are now in the Fondazione Cini in Venice (Inv. 22115–16), to which they came from the Hoepli collection,<sup>21</sup> and one was in the Lehman collection in New York (formerly The Metropolitan Museum, Lehman MS 61, now dispersed).<sup>22</sup> Yet another fragment, with a historiated letter, by the same illuminator and possibly from the same manuscript, now at the National Gallery in Washington (B-14-961), was in the Rosenwald collection in New York, deriving from Erwin Rosenthal's collection,<sup>23</sup> while various other cuttings with illuminated letters by this artist are probably from the same manuscript.<sup>24</sup> It is not clear if any of these passed through Forti's hands before or after the surviving black and white photos were taken, but many of his fragments have companions elsewhere, among others in the former Hoepli, Lehman, and Rosenwald collections. For example, various hitherto untraced items, including three fragments by Neri da Rimini (E86450–51, E86454), and two cut-

**16** Pietro Toesca, *Monumenti e studi per la storia della miniatura italiana: La collezione di Ulrico Hoepli* (Milan: Hoepli, 1930).

**17** Manzari, "Entry 38," 233–35.

**18** According to the Museum's website, the leaf was bought from Forti from the J. H. Wade Fund in 1952; [www.clevelandart.org/art/1953.24](http://www.clevelandart.org/art/1953.24), accessed May 12, 2023.

**19** See appendix no. 9.

**20** Manzari, *Messale Orsini*, 116. The leaf was at Stamford, CT, in 2006, when I was preparing this publication. The illuminations owned by the Xerox Corporation have since been dispersed or moved (communication by Peter Kidd).

**21** Toesca, *Monumenti e studi*, 122–23; Manzari, *Messale Orsini*, 115–17; Manzari, "Entry 38," 233–35; Manzari, "Entries 69a–b," 241–45.

**22** Pia Palladino, *Treasures of a Lost Art: Italian Manuscript Painting of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum, 2003), 60–62; Manzari, *Messale Orsini*, 117; Manzari, "Entry 38," 234; Manzari, "Entries 69a–b," 241–45.

**23** Manzari, "Entry 38," 234–35; Manzari, "Entries 69a–b," 243–45.

**24** For an updated list see Manzari, "Entries 69a–b," 243–44. I have recently come across more cuttings by the Beffi Master, thanks to Peter Kidd, and hope to review them in a forthcoming article.



Figure 9.2. Rome, ICCD, Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, n. inv. E86457, Noah's Ark; Deacon with a cross; Apostle (su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – ICCD. Divieto di riproduzione).

tings photographed together (E86457), representing Noah's Ark by Niccolò di Giacomo and a prophet by a collaborator of the Murano Master (Figure 9.2), have sister leaves in the Cini—formerly Hoepli—and Lehman collections (see appendix). It is possible that Forti bought these fragments from the same sources as Hoepli did in the 1920s, or even from Hoepli himself.

At least five groups of fragments photographed in Forti's collection appeared in Kraus's catalogues at some point,<sup>25</sup> but it is not certain that the New York dealer bought this material directly from Forti, or that the two dealers were acquainted in the 1950s.<sup>26</sup> There might have been an intermediary between them, and either Hoepli—in whose collection many sister leaves appear—or Leo Samuel Olschki, father-in-law of Erwin Rosenthal and active in Florence, Vittorio's home town, may have played this role.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> See appendix nos. 4–6, 9, 12, 14, 22. The Stamford Adoration of the Child was also sold by Kraus, but it is not among the Forti photos.

<sup>26</sup> They were certainly on friendly terms in the mid-1970s, as it appears from a letter written from Forti to Kraus on August 5, 1975 (PML, curatorial files for M.496).

<sup>27</sup> For these bookdealers, see Luca Montagner, *L'antiquariato Hoepli: Una prima ricognizione tra i documenti e i cataloghi* (Milan: EDUCatt, 2017). New information may come from Federico Botana's research on Olschki's activity as a dealer.

Many of the fragments in Forti's collection, however, were sold to museums and libraries in the United States by Forti himself, as shown by the available provenance data (see appendix). A great many of them are in Cleveland, in the Cleveland Museum of Art, all with accession numbers dating between 1953 and 1955, like the Annunciation (E86455/B) from a Florentine late fifteenth-century Medici Book of Hours (CMA, 1953.280). A fifteenth-century Lombard cutting with Christ in Glory among the Saints (E86453/A) was bought in 1953 (CMA, 1953.282), while another Florentine cutting with the Resurrection (E86456), assigned to Francesco d'Antonio del Chierico, was acquired in 1955 (CMA, 1955.76). The Forti provenance of the last two items is not recorded by the Museum but can be deduced by the presence of their reproductions among the photos. Remarkably, a group of nine cuttings (D7782), from a north-Italian thirteenth-century Bible, were not a sale, but were a gift from Forti, in 1954. A larger group of twenty-four cuttings, probably from the same manuscript, also among the photos of the dealer's collection (D7779–D7881), is now in the McCarthy Collection, again bought through Kraus, but in 1981.<sup>28</sup>

### The Illicit Provenance of a Group of Venetian Cuttings and Leaves

Yet another Forti leaf, from a Venetian manuscript (D7787), was bought from Kraus in 1955 by the Houghton Library (formerly Typ. 405).<sup>29</sup> It was recognized by Giordana Mariani Canova as the first leaf from the *Mariiegola della Scuola di Sant'Anna di Castello*, detached from a manuscript still in the State Archives in Venice (ASVe).<sup>30</sup> It was returned in 1975 and tipped back into the manuscript (ASVe, Scuole Piccole e suffragi, b.24, *olim* Sala Margherita LXXVI.8, fol. 3).<sup>31</sup>

During her survey of Venetian manuscripts in the Boston and Harvard area in the 1970s, Mariani Canova also identified the fragmentary manuscript with the *Mariiegola della Madonna della Valverde* from 1392 (*olim* ASVe, Sala Margherita, LXXVI.23), then in the Boston Public Library (formerly f.Med. 203),<sup>32</sup> but without its opening

**28** These cuttings were photographed in three groups (D7779–81). Forti had twenty-five fragments, so one, with Judith and Holofernes, reproduced in the first group, is now missing. The fragments, catalogued by Gaudenz Freuler, appear among the *addenda* in Peter Kidd, *The McCarthy Collection*, 3 vols. (London: Ad Illisum, 2021), 3:364–65.

**29** Lyle Humphrey, *La miniatura per le confraternite e le arti veneziane: Mariiegole dal 1260 al 1460* (Verona: Cierre, 2015), 230–32, cat. 16.

**30** I am greatly indebted to Paola Benussi and Andrea Pelizza. I hope to further investigate this material with their collaboration and with Federica Toniolo, whom I would like to thank for her help, together with Giordana Mariani Canova, Alessandro Martoni, and Helena Szépe.

**31** The leaf had been described in Bartolomeo Cecchetti, *Sala diplomatica Regina Margherita* (Venice: Naratovich, 1880), 123–24, cat. 12. On the recovery see Rodney G. Dennis, "How to Determine that One Is not a Legitimate Owner," *Harvard Review* 2 (1992): 114–17.

**32** Giordana Mariani Canova, "Manoscritti miniati veneti nelle biblioteche di Cambridge e Boston (Mass.)," *Arte Veneta* 29 (1975): 97–104. Mariani Canova wrote about the theft from the ASVe in: Giordana Mariani Canova, *Miniature dell'Italia settentrionale nella Fondazione Giorgio Cini* (Venice: Neri Pozza, 1978), 67–68.

leaf.<sup>33</sup> This portion of the dismembered manuscript had been acquired in 1960 from the New York dealer Philip Duschnes and it was returned to the ASVe in 2017 (now reg. B1).<sup>34</sup> The opening leaf from this manuscript (D7785) is still missing. Frequently mentioned and reproduced since the mid-nineteenth century,<sup>35</sup> this illuminated page was cited in connection with Forti in 1999 by Filippo Todini, who claimed to have seen it in Forti's collection in Rome, obviously sometime before the dealer's death in 1980.<sup>36</sup>

These Venetian leaves and manuscripts were part of a large theft from the ASVe,<sup>37</sup> carried out during the years following the Second World War but discovered only in 1949. The illuminated manuscripts from which the leaves were taken had been on show since 1879 in a special display, set up in glass cases in the *Sala diplomatica Regina Margherita*, in the ancient library of the Frari Convent, which houses the Archive.<sup>38</sup> The illuminations from these Statutes and *Mariegole*, some still reproduced in publications by the ASVe in 1940,<sup>39</sup>

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**33** On this manuscript, dismembered and sold after the theft see Lyle Humphrey, "The Lost 1392 *Mariegola* of the Scuola di Santa Maria della Misericordia o della Valverde, Rediscovered," in *Miniatura: Lo sguardo e la parola: Studi in onore di Giordana Mariani Canova*, ed. Federica Toniolo and Gennaro Toscano (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2012), 163–69; Humphrey, *Miniatura*, 282–92, cat. 25. The fragment formerly in Boston, with the bookplate of the collector Michael Zagayski, is available online, see appendix no. 10.

**34** See appendix no. 10.

**35** Cesare Foucard, "Della pittura sui manoscritti di Venezia," *Atti della Imp. R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Venezia* 10 (1857): 27–147 at 58, 72n37; Edward Cheney, "Remarks on the Illuminated Official Manuscripts of the Venetian Republic," *Philobiblon Society Miscellanies* 11 (1867–1868): 14–17; Cecchetti, *Sala diplomatica*, 124–25, no. 15; Rodolfo Pallucchini, *La pittura veneziana del Trecento* (Venice: Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1964), 219, fig. 692 (here already cited as formerly in the ASVe); Humphrey, "The Lost 1392 *Mariegola*," 163–64.

**36** Filippo Todini, "La 'Mariegola' della Scuola Grande della Misericordia di Venezia e il problema di Lorenzo Veneziano miniatore," in *Una collezione di miniature italiane: Dal Duecento al Cinquecento*. Part III, ed. Filippo Todini (Milan: Studio Nella Longari, 1999), 5, 8n2. Humphrey, citing Todini, refers to Forti as "the Roman art dealer Vittorio Forti, active from the 1950s until his death in 1974"; Humphrey, "The Lost 1392 *Mariegola*," 163; Humphrey, *Miniatura*, 292.

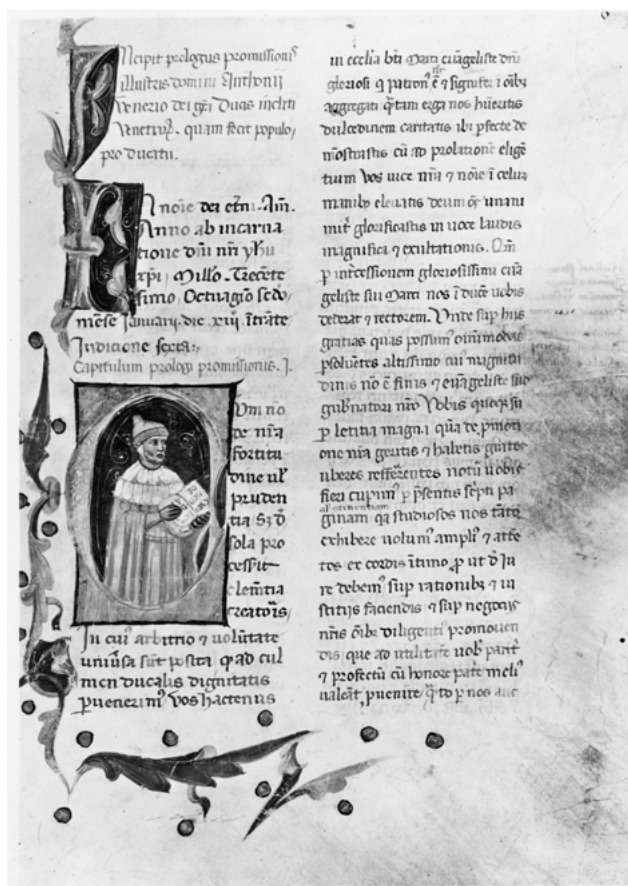
**37** A list of the recorded stolen leaves was published online by Lisa Fagin Davis in her blog "Manuscript Roadtrip: Be on the Lookout!": <https://manuscriptroadtrip.wordpress.com/2017/04/21/manuscript-road-trip-be-on-the-lookout/>, accessed May 12, 2023. Two other items have since been returned (nos 4 and 30 in Davis's list, see appendix below).

**38** This permanent exhibition, comprising illuminated manuscripts, bindings, documents, drawings, maps, autographs, and prints, was closed in 1970. It had been dismantled and reinstalled several times during the war, but the disappearance of many manuscripts and leaves was discovered only in 1949; Humphrey, *La miniature per le confraternite*, 45–46n126. The exhibited works were described in 1880 in Cecchetti, *Sala diplomatica* (fifty-nine items in the section "Codici e documenti con miniature," at 123–40), and they are mentioned in many publications from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

**39** The full-page illumination of the Statutes of the confraternity of San Liberale at Treviso and the opening leaf of the *Mariegola della Madonna di Valverde* from 1343 were reproduced in 1940; see Andrea Da Mosto, *L'archivio di Stato di Venezia: Indice generale, storico, descrittivo ed analitico*, 2 vols. (Rome: Biblioteca d'Arte, 1940), 2:pls. X–XI.

were probably stolen sometime between 1946 and 1949.<sup>40</sup>

At least eleven fragments from this theft appear among the photos in Forti's collection,<sup>41</sup> having reached it not long afterwards, as can be assumed by the supposed date of the photos. Another one of them (D7788) is the opening of the *Promissione del doge Antonio Venier (olim Sala Margherita LXXVI.12)*, also returned, and now with the original manuscript (ASVe, Collegio, Promissioni ducali, reg. 3, fol. 7r) (Figure 9.3).<sup>42</sup> Among those that have been recovered, in 2007, is the leaf with the Virgin and Child and a kneeling member of the confraternity (E86461) from the *Mariegola della Scuola dell'Annunziata ai Servi* (ASVe, Scuole piccole e suffragi, b.81, *olim Sala Margherita LXXVI.30*), described in detail by Bartolomeo Cecchetti in 1880.<sup>43</sup> A leaf with the portrait of a *Consigliere ducale* (E86452/B) was returned in 2019: it was one of the leaves detached from the *Promissione del doge Andrea Dandolo e Capitolare dei Consiglieri ducali*



**40** Humphrey, "The Lost 1392 Mariegola," 164.

**41** D7776–77, D7785, D7787–88, D10266, E86452/A–B, E86461, E86466. I think that E86458/B can be added to these, as argued below. At least another six, among leaves and cuttings, are also of Venetian origin and might comprise fragments not yet identified as coming from the ASVe: E86457/C, E86462–64/A–C. See appendix.

**42** Helena K. Szépe, *Venice Illuminated: Power and Painting in Renaissance Manuscripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 78, fig. 3.1. The leaf was described in Cecchetti, *Sala diplomatica*, 121, no. 6.

**43** The leaf was acquired by the Archives in 2007 (communication by Benussi and Pelizza). See Cecchetti, *Sala diplomatica*, 127.21; *Enluminures | Illuminations: Moyen Age Renaissance Middle Ages* (Chicago: Les Enluminures, 2001), 88–89 (here attributed to Leonardo Bellini). Another Forti fragment, a historiated letter with a Prophet at the *incipit Kyrie eleyson* (E86460), is also reproduced in the same catalogue, 76–77.



Figure 9.3. Rome, ICCD, Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, n. inv. D7788, Doge Antonio Venier (su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – ICCD. Divieto di riproduzione) left; and Venice, ASVe, *Collegio, Promissioni ducali*, reg. 3, fol. 7r (su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – ASVe. Divieto di riproduzione) right.

(ASVe, *Collegio, Promissioni*, reg. 2, *olim* Sala Margherita LXXVI.4, fol. 62r), illuminated in 1343, from which two leaves are still missing (fols. 6r, 39r).<sup>44</sup> Another photo, pasted on the same cardboard mount (E86452/A), represents a detail of the leaf with the prophet Daniel by Martino da Modena, detached from the 1471 *Mariiegola dei Merciai* (ASVe, Scuole piccole e suffragi, b.312). This was acquired by Georges Wildenstein before 1963 and it is still exhibited in the Musée Marmottan in Paris (Wildenstein Collection, M.6061).<sup>45</sup>

Three other leaves are still missing (D7776; D7777; E86466), but they are unequivocally recognizable among those described and

reproduced in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: the opening leaf from the *Capitolare degli ufficiali straordinari sopra Ragioni* (ASVe, Cinque Savi alla mercanzia, 1 serie, b 22 bis, *olim* Sala Margherita LXXVI.24), described in detail in 1880 and partly reproduced;<sup>46</sup> the opening leaf of the *Madonna di Valverde Mariiegola* from 1343 (ASVe,

<sup>44</sup> Described in Cecchetti, *Sala diplomatica*, 126.18. The leaf, sold twice in London (see appendix no. 20) was returned by Christie's to the ASVe in 2019 with the intervention of the Carabinieri del Nucleo Tutela del Patrimonio Culturale. On this recovery see Anna Melograni, "Il foglio del 'Capitolare Consiliarum' rubato dall'Archivio di Stato di Venezia di recente recuperato e la Promissione del doge Andrea Dandolo," *Bollettino d'Arte* 103 (July–December 2018): 213–16.

<sup>45</sup> See appendix no. 19.

<sup>46</sup> The opening is described in Cecchetti, *Sala diplomatica*, 121–22.7. The detail of the illumination in the lower margin was reproduced with an engraving by Foucard in 1857 (Foucard, "Della pittura," pl. 3) and with a photograph by Agostino Pertusi, "*Quaedam regalia insignia: Ricerche sulle insegne del potere ducale a Venezia durante il Medioevo*," *Studi Veneziani* 7 (1965): 3–124, pl. XXII.

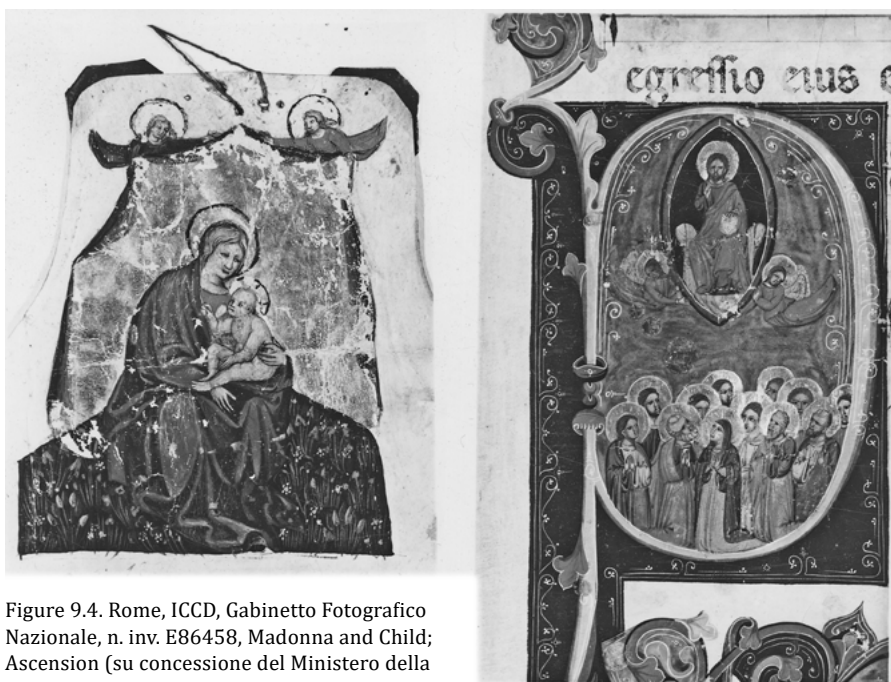


Figure 9.4. Rome, ICCD, Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, n. inv. E86458, Madonna and Child; Ascension (su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – ICCD. Divieto di riproduzione).

reg. A1 ter, *olim* Sala Margherita LXXVI.3), also described in 1880 and reproduced in 1940;<sup>47</sup> and the full-page illumination with St. Liberale as a knight, from the *Mariegola della Scuola di San Liberale di Treviso* (ASVe, Scuole piccole e suffragi, b.396bis, *olim* Sala Margherita LXXVI.7), reproduced in 1940.<sup>48</sup>

One further fragment, a historiated initial P, with the Ascension (E86458/B), can plausibly be connected to a liturgical series on show in the Sala Margherita (ASVe, Reg. 114–17). The stylistic similarities of this letter with the historiated initial with the Three Marys at the Tomb (Figures 9.4–9.5), from the Easter Office in the early fourteenth-century Antiphonary from San Marco (formerly ASVe, Reg. 116, fol. 46r), reproduced in 1940,<sup>49</sup> are so accurate that the letter with the Ascension must come from the leaf with this Office in the same manuscript, recorded as missing (Reg. 116, fol. 83r).<sup>50</sup>

**47** Cecchetti, *Sala diplomatica*, 124.14; Da Mosto, *L'archivio*, 2:pl. XI; Humphrey, “The Lost 1392 *Mariegola*,” 164–65, nn. 15, 22; Humphrey, *Miniatura*, 184–90, cat. 9.

**48** Da Mosto, *L'archivio*, 2:pl. X.

**49** For the opening of the Easter Office from ASVe, Reg. 116, fol. 46r: Da Mosto, *L'archivio*, 2:pl. XII.

**50** This very unlucky series of volumes (formerly ASVe, Reg. 114–18) was severely plundered in the 1940s, as shown by the descriptions published in the 1990s (see below). The third volume (formerly ASVe, Reg. 116) contained an illuminated opening for the Easter Office (fol. 46r) and one for the Ascension (fol. 83r). Unfortunately, the whole series disappeared in 1996. Some of



Figure 9.5. Venice, formerly ASVe, Reg. 116, fol. 46r, Resurrection. Andrea Da Mosto, *L'archivio di Stato di Venezia: Indice generale, storico, descrittivo ed analitico*, 2 vols. (Rome: Biblioteca d'Arte, 1940), 2:pl. X. Public domain.

the decorated initials have since reappeared on the market: two historiated letters from Reg. 114 surfaced in the Ligabue collection (Susy Marcon, *Frammenti d'arte: Miniature della collezione Ligabue* (Trebaseleghe: Il Punto, 2009), 26–35) and were returned to the ASVe in 2010, while a third from the same volume went unsold in 1996 (Sotheby's June 18, 1996, lot 18). For an updated reconstruction of the series: Susy Marcon, "L'arte veneziana durante il dogato di Giovanni Soranzo (1312–1328): l'antifonario Marciano," in *Il codice miniato in Europa: Libri per la chiesa, per la città, per la corte*, ed. Giordana Mariani Canova and Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2014), 257–75. On the liturgical series, before its disappearance in 1996; Giordana Mariani Canova, "La miniatura nei libri liturgici marciani," in *Musica e liturgia a San Marco: Testi e melodie per la liturgia delle ore dal XII al XVII secolo*, ed. Giulio Cattin, 3 vols. (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 1990), 1:176–79; Susy Marcon, "I codici della liturgia di San Marco," in *Musica e liturgia a San Marco*, ed. Cattin, 1:242–48; *I libri di San Marco: I manoscritti liturgici della basilica marciana*, ed. Susy Marcon (Venice: Il Cardo, 1995), 121–26.

The facial details, foliage, and even the white lead motifs decorating the interior rim of the letter, are all so close to the letter visible in the reproduced leaf, that I am quite certain of the identification of this as the eleventh fragment in Forti's photo collection coming from the theft in the *Sala Margherita*.<sup>51</sup>

Apart from the leaf from the 1392 *Mariegola di Valverde*, seen by Todini, none of these fragments had been related to Forti before, and again the connection is proved by the photo collection. Other leaves reproduced in Forti's collection are certainly of Venetian origin, and further research may lead to more identifications.<sup>52</sup> The large number of illuminations from the eastern regions in north and central Italy—especially the Veneto, but also Friuli, Emilia, and Abruzzi—among the photographed items suggests that these were the areas from which Forti, or his providers, sourced his material, and hopefully it will be possible to shed further light on these issues in the future.



### One Last Problematic Item: A Fake among the Fragments?

An interesting instance, among Forti's photos, is the reproduction of a leaf (D7778) from one of the liturgical books for San Marco in Venice (Figure 9.6). This Missal, stored in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana since 1801 (Venice, BNM, Cod. Marc. Lat. III, 111 (=2116)), is part of a famous liturgical set commissioned by Doge Andrea Dandolo in the mid-1340s, comprising a Gospel Lectionary (BNM, Cod. Marc. Lat. I, 100 (=2089)) and one with the

<sup>51</sup> D7777–78, D7785, D7787–88, D10266, E86452/A–B, E86458/B, E86461, E8666. They represent an eighth of the total photos.

<sup>52</sup> At least seventeen of the eighty fragments are of Venetian origin. See appendix.



Figure 9.6. Rome, ICCD, Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, n. inv. D7778, Procession towards St. Mark's Basilica (su concessione del Ministero della Cultura - ICCD. Divieto di riproduzione) left; and Venice, BNM, Cod. Marc. Lat. III, 111 (=2116), Procession towards St. Mark's Basilica (su concessione del Ministero della Cultura - Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Divieto di riproduzione) right.

Epistles (BNM, Cod. Marc. Lat. I, 101 (=2260)).<sup>53</sup> Unlike the Gospel Lectionary, however, which was cut up before reaching the library (fragments are now in Berlin, London, Montreal, and elsewhere),<sup>54</sup> the San Marco Missal was never damaged, and it has no missing leaves. Indeed, the leaf in question is still safely in the manuscript and was never detached from it.<sup>55</sup>

This raises many questions: why is its photo in Forti's collection and why does it have the appearance of a detached

leaf? Is it possible that one leaf in his collection was a copy? In the late nineteenth century, after the publication of the volumes *Basilica di San Marco* by the Venetian publisher Ferdinando Ongania, illustrated by various portfolios containing chromolithographs, there was a fashion in Venice for reproducing works of art from San Marco.<sup>56</sup> This min-

<sup>53</sup> Mariani Canova, "Miniatura," 184–87; Marcon, "I codici," 253–57; *Libri di San Marco*, 130–31.

<sup>54</sup> For example, see Beatrice Alai, *Le miniature italiane del Kupferstichkabinett di Berlino* (Florence: Polistampa, 2019); Helena K. Szépe, "Fragmented and Forgotten: Italian Manuscripts in Arts, Design, and Natural History Museums: The Collectors L. Celotti and J. A. Ramboux, and Newly Discovered Miniatures by The Master of the Antiphonal Q of San Giorgio, the Master of Cardinal Antoniotto Pallavicini, and the Disassembled Italian Hours Master," *Rivista di storia della miniatura* 26 (2022): 154–76.

<sup>55</sup> I would like to thank Susy Marcon for ascertaining this for me. The manuscript has recently been restored.

<sup>56</sup> I am indebted to Susy Marcon for this information. See Camillo Boito ed., *La Basilica di San Marco in Venezia, illustrata nella storia e nell'arte da scrittori veneziani*, 24 vols. (Venice: Ongania,

ature, representing a procession in front of the Basilica itself, is one of the most significant scenes in the manuscript, but had the illuminated leaf been made as a copy, it is difficult to imagine that the poor condition of the leaf would have been reproduced.

Some details, like the heavily damaged parchment sheet and the partial detachments in the gold leaf bezants, make the hypothesis of a work deliberately produced as a fake plausible. Nevertheless, the possibility of a facsimile, made with the intention of obtaining an antique-like effect, cannot be ruled out. In whichever case, the copying of the page was carried out by tracing the script and the decoration, possibly from a photograph, as the forms of the decoration and the distribution of the letters on the lines of the writing area are precisely replicated. The letters, nonetheless, are more rigid and angular and sometimes clearly differ from the original. The faces, especially those of the angels in the roundels in the left margin and those of the bishop and clerics, are entirely different, making it impossible to consider Forti's image a photographic reproduction of the original leaf.<sup>57</sup> The label of the photo does not state that this was a copy, so even if the illuminated parchment leaf had been produced as a copy and not deliberately faked, by the time it reached Forti's collection, this had either been forgotten, or was concealed.

This dubious object casts further shadows on the already suspicious dealings carried out by Forti. Although his biography still largely remains to be reconstructed, it is certain that, though inclined to remain in the shade in comparison with contemporary dealers like Hoepli, Olschki, and De Marinis, Forti too was in contact with some of the foremost Italian art-historians of his time. Salmi and Todini both mentioned his collection, and Zeri acquired the negative plates of the photos of the fragments, certainly before the end of the 1960s, either when he was asked for attributions for the illuminations,<sup>58</sup> or after Forti had sold the whole collection.<sup>59</sup>

## A Broader Perspective

Not all the material which passed through Forti's hands as a dealer in the 1950s and 1960s appears among the surviving photos. Other illuminations can be traced to sales carried out by Forti in those years, including a bifolium with a Resurrection by the Neapolitan artist Cristoforo Orimina, again bought by the CMA in 1954 (CMA, 1954.145),<sup>60</sup>

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1880–1893).

**57** I shall discuss this possible fake in greater detail in a forthcoming article.

**58** This is indirectly confirmed by a short entry on the Coronation in Cleveland published in 1963, where the attribution to the Boffi Master is ascribed to Federico Zeri: *Pages from Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the early XVIth centuries*, ed. William Mathewson Milliken (Berkeley: University of California, 1963), 22, cat. 30.

**59** This is more convincing, both because, as Peter Kidd pointed out to me, Forti would not have needed the negatives after the sale, and because all the photos were clearly marked as formerly in the Forti collection, obviously following indications by Zeri. It is to be hoped that new information on the relationship between the two will surface when Zeri's archive becomes accessible.

**60** See Francesca Manzari, "Un nuovo foglio miniato della bottega Orimina, un Graduale smembrato e la figura di un anonimo miniatore napoletano del Trecento," in *Storie di artisti: Storie di libri*.

and the only known southern-Italian illumination sold by Forti. Also in Cleveland is a cutting with the Annunciation (CMA, 1986.151), bought in 1967 by Norman Zaworski, and later gifted by him to the Museum, where it is described as from Avignon, although it can be associated with Lombardy on stylistic grounds. This is the latest date I have come across, as all other sales date from the 1950s. Although his main interest seems to have been in detached leaves and cuttings, Forti also sold panels and whole manuscripts, like a remarkable Florentine Book of Hours (Boston, Public Library (BPL), q.Med. 200), acquired from him by the BPL in 1959.<sup>61</sup>

A survey of all manuscripts and illuminations sold by Vittorio Forti still needs to be carried out and the reasons for their absence from this group of photos needs to be understood. This essay is just an introduction to this hitherto unknown photographic material, documenting a vast collection, or perhaps just the stock, assembled and sold by Forti in the years after the Second World War.

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*L'editore che inseguiva la Bellezza: Scritti in onore di Franco Cosimo Panini* (Rome: Donzelli, 2008), 293–312.

**61** On January 20, 1959. On this manuscript's long and interesting provenance history (it had been bought by Heinrich Eisemann at the Cockerell sale in 1956), studied by Bill Stoneman and Lisa Fagin Davis, I refer to: Francesca Manzari, "Entry 230," in *Beyond Words: Illuminated Manuscripts from Boston Collections*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger et al. (Boston: McMullen Museum of Art, 2016), 285–86.

## APPENDIX

### 1. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. D7776 (Donazione Zeri 1967)

Leaf, opening with figure initial with a monk brandishing a sword; illumination with three officials in the lower margin. Venice, XIV<sup>1</sup>.

Excised from: *Capitolare degli ufficiali straordinari sopra Ragioni (Officiali supra litore)*.

Original location: ASVe, *Cinque Savi alla mercanzia*, 1 serie, b 22 bis, *olim Sala Margherita* LXXVI.24, fol. 3v. This leaf was the second illuminated opening in the manuscript, as shown by the offset on the remaining fol. 4r. The main opening, once fol. 1v, is also missing. The manuscript remains at the ASVe.

Davis List no. 24 (<https://manuscriptroadtrip.wordpress.com/2017/04/21/manuscript-road-trip-be-on-the-lookout/>, accessed September 9, 2023).

Bibliography: Foucard, "Della pittura," pl. III; Cecchetti, *Sala diplomatica*, 121–22, no. 7; Pertusi, "*Quaedam regalia*," pl. XXII.

### 2. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. D7777 (Donazione Zeri 1967)

Leaf, opening with illumination with the Madonna of Mercy among the members of a confraternity, in upper margin; figure initial with Christ blessing, over a bending figure. Venice, ca. 1343.

Excised from: *Mariegola della Scuola di Santa Maria di Valverde*.

Original location: ASVe, *Scuola grande della Misericordia*, reg. A1 ter, *olim Sala Margherita* LXXVI.3, fol. 1r. Only the opening leaf was stolen, as shown by the offset on the blank leaf alongside fol. 2r. The manuscript remains at the ASVe.

Bibliography: Cecchetti, *Sala diplomatica*, 124, no. 14; Da Mosto, *L'Archivio*, 2:pl. XI; Humphrey, *Miniatura*, cat. 9.

### 3. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. D7778 (Donazione Zeri 1967)

Leaf, opening with illumination with a Procession in front of San Marco and decorated borders. Venice, XIV<sup>1</sup>. Master of the San Marco Missal

Copy or falsification from the Missal of San Marco (Venice, BNM, Cod. Marc. Lat. III, 111 (=2116), fol. 165v). The original leaf was never detached and is still in original location.

Bibliography: on the manuscript, see Mariani Canova, "Miniatura nei libri liturgici," cat. 14, pl. XLIII.

### 4. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. D7779 (Donazione Zeri 1967)

9 cuttings comprising the rectangular frames of the historiated letters. Emilia Romagna?, XIII ex.

Excised from: Bible.

Present location: McCarthy Collection, BM 1832. Minus one cutting representing Judith and Holofernes.

First reappeared: 1981.

Provenance: sold by H. P. Kraus, New York, 1981; Christie's, June 26, 1991, lot 38; Georg Friedrich Zeileis collection, no. 1832; Sam Fogg, 2005.

Sale catalogues: H. P. Kraus, *Illuminated Manuscripts from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Centuries, Catalogue 159* (New York: Kraus, 1981), no. 26; *Illuminated Manuscripts, Valuable Printed Books ... 26 June 1991* (London: Christie's, 1991), lot 38; Friedrich Georg Zeileis, *Più ridon le carte: Buchmalerei aus Mittelalter und Renaissance*, rev. Aufl. (Gallspach: Zeilis, 2004), 30–33.

Bibliography: Freuler, in Kidd, *McCarthy Collection*, 3:364–65.

### **5. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. D7780 (Donazione Zeri 1967)**

8 cuttings (circular cuttings, as the letter forms and frames have been cut away). Emilia Romagna?, XIII ex.

Excised from: Bible.

Present location: McCarthy Collection, BM 1832.

First reappeared: 1981.

Provenance: as no. 4 above.

Sale catalogues and bibliography: as no. 4 above.

### **6. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. D7781 (Donazione Zeri 1967)**

8 cuttings (circular cuttings, as the letter forms and frames have been cut away). Emilia Romagna?, XIII ex.

Excised from: Bible.

Present location: McCarthy Collection, BM 1832.

First reappeared: 1981.

Provenance: as no. 4 above.

Sale catalogues and bibliography: as no. 4 above.

### **7. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. D7782 (Donazione Zeri 1967)**

9 cuttings (comprising the rectangular frames of the historiated letters). Emilia Romagna?, XIII ex.

Excised from: Bible.

Present location: Cleveland, CMA, 1954.131.1–9.

First reappeared: 1954.

Provenance: gift by Vittorio Forti.

Bibliography: for possible companions, see Freuler, in Kidd, *McCarthy Collection*, 3:364–65.

Already connected to Vittorio Forti.

**8. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. D7783 (Donazione Zeri 1967)**

Leaf, opening with illumination with the Coronation of the Virgin and decorated borders. Abruzzi, XIV ex.-XV in. Beffi Master.

Excised from: Acquaviva Antiphony.

Present location: Cleveland, CMA, 1953.24.

First reappeared: 1952.

Provenance: acquired from the J. H. Wade Fund, 1953.24.

Bibliography: Salmi, *La miniatura italiana*, 2nd edn., fig. 51; *Pages from Medieval*, ed.

Milliken, 22, cat. 30; Manzari, *Il Messale Orsini*, 117–18; Manzari, “Entry 38,” 235;

Manzari, “Entries 69–b,” 243.

Already connected to Vittorio Forti.

**9. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. D7784 (Donazione Zeri 1967).**

Leaf, opening with illumination with the Nativity, decorated letter with coat-of-arms and decorated borders. Abruzzi, XIV ex.-XV in. Beffi Master.

Excised from: Acquaviva Antiphony.

Present location: Princeton, University Art Museum, y1958-17.

First reappeared: 1955.

Provenance: sold by Kraus, New York, 1955; in 1958 gift to University Art Museum by Alastair B. Martin (class 1938).

Sale catalogue: H. P. Kraus, *Catalogue 75* (New York: Kraus, 1955), no. 72.

Bibliography: Manzari, *Messale Orsini*, 116; Manzari, “Entry 38,” 233; Manzari, “Entries 69–b,” 243.

Connected with Forti after the discovery of the photo collection (Manzari, *Messale Orsini*).

**10. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. D7785 (Donazione Zeri 1967)**

Leaf, opening with historiated initial with the Madonna of Mercy among the members of a confraternity, rich decorated borders with figures in roundels and the Flagellant brothers adoring the Christ tied to the column. Venice, 1392 (dated in upper margin).

Excised from: *Mariogola della Scuola di Santa Maria di Valverde* from 1392.

Original location: ASVe, *Scuola grande di Santa Maria della Misericordia*, reg. B1, *olim Sala Margherita* LXXVI.23.

Recovered: The manuscript was dismembered after the theft. Only parts of the manuscript were recovered: a fragmentary portion of the manuscript (formerly BPL, f.Med. 203) in 2017. A text leaf was sold by Christie's in 1994 (June 29, 1994, lot 8), while four illuminated leaves (formerly Toledo, Museum of Art, inv. 2001.13 A–D) were recovered in 2018 (information from Paola Benussi and Andrea Pelizza). These fragments are back in the ASVe, while the opening leaf is still missing.

Davis List no. 3.

[www.digitalcommonwealth.org/search/commonwealth:0v838921z](http://www.digitalcommonwealth.org/search/commonwealth:0v838921z) (digitization of fragment formerly BPL, f.Med. 203), accessed May 12, 2023.

First reappeared: 1999.

Provenance: see Humphrey, *Miniatura*, cat. 25.

Sale catalogue: *Illuminated Manuscripts, Illustrated Books ... 29 June 1994* (London: Christie's, 1994).

Bibliography: Cecchetti, *Sala diplomatica*, 124–25, no. 15; Pallucchini, *Pittura veneziana*, fig. 692; Todini, "La 'Mariegola,'" 5; Humphrey, *Miniatura*, cat. 25 (with bibliography and sale catalogues for the different parts of the manuscript).

Already connected to Vittorio Forti.

### **I 1. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. D7786 (Donazione Zeri 1967)**

5 leaves, full-page illuminations with: Madonna and Child among angels; Visitation; Annunciation to the Shepherds; Presentation in the Temple; Coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity. Flanders, XV<sup>2</sup>. Guillaume Vrelant?

Excised from: Book of Hours.

Present location: Cleveland, CMA, 1954.140.1–5.

First reappeared: 1954.

Provenance: acquired from the J. H. Wade Fund, 1954.140.1–5.

### **I 2. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. D7787 (Donazione Zeri 1967)**

Leaf, opening with historiated letter with St. Anne, the Virgin and the Child among lay devotees, full borders and St. Peter in medallion in the lower margin. Venice, ca. 1350–1360. Giustino di Gherardino da Forlì (attribution by Federica Toniolo).

Excised from: *Mariegola della Scuola di Santa Anna di Castello*.

Original location: ASVe, *Scuole piccole e suffragi*, b.24, olim *Sala Margherita LXXVI.8*.

Recovered: 1975. Only the opening leaf was stolen. Given back by Harvard, Houghton Library in 1975 (formerly MS Typ. 405).

Davis List no. 8.

Present location: ASVe, tipped back into original manuscript.

First reappeared: 1955.

Provenance: sold by H. P. Kraus, New York, 1955.

Bibliography: Cecchetti, *Sala diplomatica*, 123–24, no. 12; Humphrey, *Miniatura*, cat. 16.

**13. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. D7788 (Donazione Zeri 1967)**

Leaf, opening with historiated letter with Doge Antonio Venier. Venice, ca. 1382. Master of the Carresini Chronicle.

Excised from: *Promissione del Doge Antonio Venier*.

Original location: ASVe, *Collegio, Promissioni*, reg. 3, fol. 7r.

Recovered. Only the opening leaf was stolen.

Present location: ASVe, with the original manuscript.

Bibliography: Cecchetti, *Sala diplomatica*, 121, no. 6; Szépe, *Venice Illuminated*, 78, fig. 3.1.

**14. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. DI0264 (Donazione Zeri 1972/I)**

Leaf, opening with historiated letter with Judith holding a sword and the head of Holofernes. Florence, XV<sup>2</sup>. Francesco d'Antonio del Chierico.

Excised from: Antiphonary.

First reappeared: 1956.

Sale catalogues: H. P. Kraus, *The Eightieth Catalogue* (New York: Kraus, 1956), no. 13.

Bibliography: Annarosa Garzelli, *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento, 1440-1525* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1985), fig. 234.

**15. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. DI0265 (Donazione Zeri 1972/I)**

Leaf, opening with historiated letter with the Pentecost. Florence, XV<sup>2</sup>.

Excised from: Antiphonary.

**16. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. DI0266 (Donazione Zeri 1972/I)**

Leaf, full-page illumination with the Crucifixion, full borders with figures in medallions, St. Mark in lower margin. Venice, XV ex.-XVI in.

Excised from: *Mariogola della Scuola della Beata Vergine Annunziata di Santa Maria Mater Domini* (identification suggested by Paola Benussi and Andrea Pelizza, based on the descriptions after the theft).

Original location: ASVe, *Scuole uffrag e uffrage*, b.80, *olim Sala Margherita* LXXVI.26.

The manuscript remains at the ASVe. The offset on the paper flyleaf alongside fol. 1r is rectangular, allowing the suggested identification.

**17. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86450 (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Fragment, historiated letter V with standing Evangelist. Emilia Romagna, XIV in. Neri da Rimini (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/fotografie#k.text=E086450>, accessed May 12, 2023).

Excised from: Antiphonary?

Bibliography: for possible companions, see Freuler, *McCarthy Collection*, 1:132-35.

**18. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86451 (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Fragment, historiated letter V with the Coronation of the Virgin. Emilia Romagna, XIV in. Neri da Rimini (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/fotografie#k.text=E086451>, accessed May 12, 2023).

Excised from: Antiphony?

Bibliography: for possible companions, see Freuler, *McCarthy Collection*, 1:132–35.

**19. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86452/A (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Leaf, historiated letter C with Prophet Daniel. Venice, XV<sup>2</sup>. Martino da Modena (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/fotografie#k.text=E086452>, accessed May 12, 2023).

Excised from: *Mariegola dei Merciai*.

Original location: ASVe, *Scuole piccole e suffrage, Arti*, b.312, *olim Sala Margherita LXXVI.35*.

Only the opening leaf was stolen. The manuscript remains at the ASVe

Present location: Paris, Musée Marmottan, Wildenstein Coll., M.6061.

First reappeared: 1963.

Provenance: acquired before 1963 by Georges Wildenstein.

Bibliography: Foucard, "Della pittura," 60, 72; Cecchetti, *Sala diplomatica*, 127, cat. 22; Lyle Humphrey, "Su Martino da Modena a Venezia: la Mariegola dei merciai del 1471 e la committenza della comunità lucchese," *Arte Veneta* 68 (2011): 7–33 at 27n12.

**20. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86452/B (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Leaf, historiated letter I with a *Consigliere ducale*. Venice, XIV<sup>1</sup>. Master of the San Marco Epistulary (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/fotografie#k.text=E086452>, accessed May 12, 2023).

Excised from: *Promissione del Doge Andrea Dandolo e Capitolare dei Consiglieri ducali*.

Original location: ASVe, *Collegio, Promissioni*, reg. 2, *olim Sala Margherita LXXVI.4*, fol. 62r.

Recovered: February 2019.

The reproduced leaf (fol. 62r) was given back in 2019, while fols. 6r and 38–40, comprising illuminated initials, are still missing. The manuscript remains at the ASVe.

Davis List no. 4.

Present location: ASVe, with the original manuscript.

First reappeared: 1999.

Provenance: Maggs, 1999; Christie's, 1999; handed back by Christie's through Carabinieri TPC.

Sale catalogues: Maggs Bros. Ltd., *Illuminations, Catalogue 1283* (London: Maggs, 1999), cat. 3; *Valuable Illuminated Manuscripts, Printed Books and Autograph Letters, Wednesday 2 June 1999* (London: Christie's, 1999), lot 2.

Bibliography: Cecchetti, *Sala diplomatica*, 126, no. 18; Melograni, "Il Foglio."

**21. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86453/A (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Cutting, historiated letter with Christ among the Saints and angels (portion of). Lombardy, XV<sup>2</sup> (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/fotografie#k.text=E086453>, accessed May 12, 2023).

Present location: Cleveland, CMA, 1953.282.

First reappeared: 1953.

Provenance: acquired from the J. H. Wade Fund, 1953.282.

**22. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86453/B (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Cutting, historiated letter S with Pentecost. Austria, ca. 1420 (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/fotografie#k.text=E086453>, accessed May 12, 2023).

Excised from: Antiphonary.

Present location: PML, MS M.878.

First reappeared: 1956.

Provenance: sold by H. P. Kraus, New York, September 1956.

Bibliography: Gerhard Schmidt, *Malerei der Gotik: Fixpunkte und Ausblicke*, 2 vols. (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 2005), 1:22, 454, pl. 14.

**23. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86454 (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Fragment, historiated letter with Christ and Virgin enthroned. Emilia Romagna, XIV in. Neri da Rimini. (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/fotografie#k.text=E086454>, accessed May 12, 2023).

Excised from: Antiphonary?

Bibliography: for possible companions, see Freuler, *McCarthy Collection*, 1:132–35.

**24. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86455/A (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Cutting, illumination with the Massacre of the Innocents. Flanders, 1500–1520 (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/fotografie#k.text=E086455>, accessed May 12, 2023).

Excised from: Book of Hours.

First reappeared: 1963.

Provenance: Mortimer Brandt Coll. 1297-3; on sale in Catalogue 1963, no. 9; Les Eluminures, 1996.

Sale catalogues: Harry Bober, *The Mortimer Brandt Collection of Medieval Manuscript Illuminations* (New York: Institute of Fine Arts, 1963), no. 9; *Medieval and Renaissance Miniature Painting* (Akron-London: Bruce Ferrini and Sam Fogg, 1989), lot 11; Les Enluminures, *Catalogue 5* (Paris: Les Eluminures, 1996), 74, cat. 28.

**25. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86455/B (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Leaf, full-page illumination with the Annunciation and fully decorated borders with medallion with the Nativity in lower margin. Florence, XV<sup>2</sup>. Master of Riccardiana 231? (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/fotografie#k.text=E086455>, accessed May 12, 2023).

Excised from: Book of Hours for the Medici family.

Present location: Cleveland, CMA, 1953.280.

First reappeared: 1953.

Provenance: sold by Vittorio Forti; acquired from the J. H. Wade Fund, 1953.280.

Bibliography: Garzelli, *Miniatura fiorentina*, fig. 535.

Already connected to Vittorio Forti.

**26. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86455/C (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Cutting, illumination with Martyrdom of St. John evangelist. Flanders, 1500–1520 (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/fotografie#k.text=E086455>, accessed May 12, 2023).

Excised from: Book of Hours.

First reappeared: 1962.

Provenance: Maggs November 1962; Ferrini and Fogg 1989.

Sale catalogues: Maggs, *European Miniatures and Illuminations*, Bulletin 2 (November 1962), cat. 19.

Bibliography: Raymond Lister, *The Miniature Defined* (Cambridge: The Golden Head, 1963), III.

**27. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86456 (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Cutting, historiated letter R with Resurrection. Florence, XV<sup>2</sup> (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/fotografie#k.text=E086456>, accessed May 12, 2023).

Excised from: Antiphony?

Present location: Cleveland, CMA, 1955.76.

First reappeared: 1955.

Provenance: acquired from the J. H. Wade Fund, 1955.76.

**28. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86457/A (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Fragment, historiated letter D with Noah's Ark. Bologna, XIV<sup>2</sup>. Nicolò di Giacomo (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/fotografie#k.text=E086457>, accessed May 12, 2023).

Excised from: Antiphony?

Bibliography: for possible companions, see Freuler, *McCarthy Collection*, 1:121–27.

**29. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86457/B (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Cutting, historiated letter E with deacon carrying a cross. Venice or Bologna?, XIV in. (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/fotografie#k.text=E086457>, accessed May 12, 2023).

**30. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86457/C (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Cutting, historiated letter with bust of a Prophet. Venice, XIV<sup>2</sup>. Murano Master, Collaborator of (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/fotografie#k.text=E086457>, accessed May 12, 2023).

Bibliography: for possible companions, see Palladino, *Treasures of a Lost Art*, 125–26; Peter Kidd, *Medieval Manuscripts Provenance*, 22 August 2020: <https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/2020/08/another-hachette-lehman-yale-cutting.html#more>, accessed May 12, 2023.

**31. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86458/A (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Fragment, illumination with Madonna and Child seated before a drapery held by angels. Northern Italy?, XIV<sup>1</sup>. (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/fotografie#k.text=E086458>, accessed May 12, 2023).

**32. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86458/B (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Fragment, historiated letter P with the Ascension. Venice, XIV in. Masters of the San Marco Antiphony (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/fotografie#k.text=E086458>, accessed May 12, 2023).

Excised from: Antiphony.

Original location: ASVe, Reg. 116, fol. 83r (this identification is suggested in my text. This leaf does not appear to have been reproduced). The illumination possibly from same volume as the opening for Easter Office reproduced in Da Mosto, *L'Archivio*, 2:pl. XII (formerly Reg. 116. 46r).

Bibliography: For Reg. 116, see: Marcon, "L'Arte veneziana" (with earlier bibliography).

**33. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86459 (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

4 leaves, full-page illuminations from a Calendar: September/October/November/December. Paris?, ca. 1515–1520. Jean Pichore, workshop. (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/fotografie#k.text=E086459>, accessed May 12, 2023).

Excised from: Book of Hours.

Present location of parent manuscript: PML, M.286 (purchased in 1907 from Olschki).

First reappearance of 2 leaves: 1999.

Sale catalogues: Christie's, *Valuable Illuminated Manuscripts...2 June 1999*, lot 19 (December); *Valuable Manuscripts and Printed Books...2 June 2010* (London: Christie's, 2010), lot 202 (October).

**34. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86460/A (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Fragment, historiated D with Pentecost. Friuli, XIV in. (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/fotografie#k.text=E086460>, accessed May 12, 2023).

Excised from: Antiphonary?

First reappeared: 1972.

Sale catalogues: Sotheby's, December 11, 1972, lot 16A.

Bibliography: for possible companions, see Freuler, *McCarthy Collection*, 1:143–44.

**35. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86460/B (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Fragment, historiated Letter K with Prophet. Emilia or Verona?, XV<sup>1</sup>. (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/fotografie#k.text=E086460>, accessed May 12, 2023).

Excised from: Gradual?

First reappeared: 2001.

Provenance: Les Enluminures, 2001.

Sale catalogues: *Enluminures | Illuminations*, 76–77, cat. 31.

Bibliography: For possible companions, see: Gaudenz Freuler, *Italian Miniatures: From the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2013), 1:334–41, cat. 29.

**36. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86461 (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Leaf, opening with historiated Letter A with Madonna and Child with a member of the confraternity holding banner with a cross. Venice, XV<sup>2</sup>. Leonardo Bellini? (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/fotografie#k.text=E086461>, accessed May 12, 2023).

Excised from: *Mariegola della Scuola dell'Annunziata dei Servi*.

Original location: ASVE, *Scuole piccole e suffragi*, b.81, fol. 1r.

Recovered: 2007 (acquired by the ASVe). Only the opening leaf was stolen. The manuscript remains at the ASVe.

Davis List no. 30.

Present location: ASVe, with the original manuscript.

First reappeared: 2001.

Provenance: Les Enluminures, 2001.

Sale catalogue: *Enluminures | Illuminations*, 88–89, cat. 37.

Bibliography: Cecchetti, *Sala diplomatica*, 127, no. 21.

**37. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86462 (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Leaf, full-page illumination with the Sacred family and a member of Correr family. Venice, XVI<sup>2</sup>. Alessandro Merli? (attribution by Alessandro Martoni). (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/fotografie#k.text=E086462>, accessed May 12, 2023).

Excised from: Dogal Commission (Correr family).

**38. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86463 (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Leaf, full page illumination with Madonna and Child, St. Vincenzo Ferrer, St. Mark and a lay person (on the steps: AN AET SUE / XXV). Venice, XVI<sup>2</sup>. Walters Master? (attribution by Alessandro Martoni). (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/item/IT-ICCD-PHOTO-0065-001077>, accessed May 12, 2023).

Excised from: Dogal Commission.

**39. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86464 (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

3 cuttings, historiated letters: John the Baptist/ Prophet/ Visitation. Venice, 1480s–1490s. Collaborator of Benedetto Bordon. (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/fotografie#k.text=E086464>, accessed May 12, 2023).

**40. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86465 (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Fragment, historiated initial A with Christ adored by angels, and Saints holding instruments of the Passion in the lower part. Umbria, XIV in. (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/item/IT-ICCD-PHOTO-0065-001089>, accessed May 12, 2023).

Excised from: Antiphonary?

Bibliography: for possible companions, see Freuler, *McCarthy Collection*, 1:165–66.

**41. Rome, ICCD, GFN, n. inv. E86466 (Donazione Zeri 1972/II)**

Leaf, full-page illumination with San Liberale. Veneto, XIV<sup>1</sup>. (<https://fotografia.cultura.gov.it/iccd/item/IT-ICCD-PHOTO-0065-001095>, accessed May 12, 2023).

Excised from: *Mariegola della Scuola di San Liberale di Treviso*.

Original location: ASVe, *Scuole piccole e suffragi*, b.396 bis, *olim Sala Margherita* LXXVI.7, fol. 1r.

Only the illuminated leaf was stolen. The manuscript remains at the ASVe.

Bibliography: Cecchetti, *Sala diplomatica*, 124, no. 13; Da Mosto, *L'Archivio*, 2:pl. X.