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Gabriel at a grated window. Carlo Crivelli's London *Annunciation* of 1486

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Abstract

Although Carlo Crivelli's *Annunciation* of 1468 (now in the National Gallery, London) has been thoroughly studied within the iconographical tradition of Annunciation imagery in Italian art, it presents a few peculiarities. First, there is the presence of a third figure next to the Virgin and the angel. He has convincingly been identified as bishop Saint Emidio, but the iconographical tradition preceding Crivelli's painting has been overlooked up to now. Second, there is the conspicuous arrangement that places the Archangel Gabriel outside the Virgin's room, separated from it by a stone wall and a grated window; this, too, has not yet been sufficiently treated in art-historical literature. Finally, the placement of the figures *in* the painting is in sharp contrast to that of the beholder *before* it. The latter turns out to occupy a privileged position over those inside the painting. Using the anthropological methodology of "liminality", this contribution aims to offer new insights into Crivelli's painting.

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L'*Annunciazione* di Carlo Crivelli del 1468, ora nella National Gallery di Londra, pur essendo stata studiata a fondo nell'ambito della tradizione iconografica del tema nell'arte italiana, presenta alcune peculiarità. In primo luogo, vi è la presenza nella composizione di una terza figura accanto alla Vergine e all'angelo. Sebbene sia identificato in modo convincente come il vescovo sant'Emidio, la tradizione iconografica precedente, però, è finora stata trascurata. In secondo luogo, la vistosa disposizione dell'arcangelo Gabriele all'esterno della stanza della Vergine, separata da un muro e da una finestra dotata di grata, non è stata ancora sufficientemente trattata nella letteratura. Infine, c'è il netto contrasto tra la posizione delle figure collocate *nel* dipinto e lo spettatore *davanti* allo stesso. Quest'ultimo risulta occupare una posizione privilegiata rispetto a chi si trova all'interno del quadro. Utilizzando la metodologia antropologica di *liminality*, il presente articolo intende offrire alcuni nuovi spunti di riflessione sull'opera di Crivelli.

The historical facts are well known. Carlo Crivelli's *Annunciation*, now in the National Gallery in London, was commissioned by the Franciscan Observant Order for their convent of Santissima Annunziata in the city of Ascoli Piceno. The painter signed the work «OPVS.CARO / LI.CRIVELLI. / VENETI» at the bottom of the centrally placed pilaster, and added the year 1486 to the pilaster on the right (fig. 1)[1]. The work was most likely commissioned in remembrance of Pope Sixtus IV (reg. 1471-1484) granting Ascoli Piceno, situated within the boundaries of the Papal States since 1445, a degree of independence from papal rule on 25 March 1482, the feast day of the Annunciation, which is, appropriately, the subject of the painting. The inscription «LIBERTAS / ECCLESIASTICA» («Liberty under the Church»), placed prominently in Roman capitals on the threshold at the bottom of the painting, refers to this act[2].

Although the painting has been thoroughly studied within the iconographical tradition of Annunciation imagery in Italian art, its iconography presents a few interesting peculiarities that have not yet all been fully investigated. For one thing, there is the striking presence of a third figure next to the Virgin and the angel. Although he has been identified in Crivelli's painting and interpreted, the preceding iconographical tradition has been overlooked up to now. Second, the conspicuous arrangement of the angel, and in this case also his companion, not only placed outside the Virgin's room but also explicitly separated from it by a stone wall and a window with an iron lattice, asks for a more complete investigation than has been offered in art-historical literature. And, finally, related to the question of the angel's exclusion, there is the sharp contrast between the placement of the supernatural beings *in* the painting and the beholder *before* it. After all, it seems that the latter occupies a privileged position over all the bystanders inside the painting. This contribution, then, aims to offer new insights

[1] Lightbown 2004, pp. 333-344; Flint 2014; S.J. Campbell, in Campbell 2015, pp. 196-201, cat. 21.

[2] For a summary of the historical circumstances, see Lightbown 2004, pp. 323-331.

into these elements, which make Crivelli's painting stand out from the mass of depictions of the Annunciation in fifteenth-century European art.

1. *The third man*

Carlo Crivelli's depiction of the archangel Gabriel announcing the upcoming birth of Christ to the Virgin Mary, based on a passage in the gospel of Luke[3], contains elements that were repeated countless times in Christian iconography: the Virgin kneeling at a lectern within her Nazareth home, the angel kneeling and raising his right hand in a gesture of greeting while holding a white lily in his left; a ray of heavenly light, emanating from the figure of God the Father or, as in this case, from a ring of clouds in the sky, shining down towards Mary and bearing the Holy Spirit in the form of a white dove[4]. However, Crivelli added a quite unusual amount of narrative and decorative detail to the scene. The lavish and conspicuous architectural setting, for instance, as well as the many bystanders to the left and in the background of the composition and an astonishing number of painstakingly observed objects – ranging from pieces of fruit and vegetables to oriental carpets and birds and their cages – have been described and interpreted, most fully by Ronald Lightbown in his Crivelli monograph of 2004, as reflections of fifteenth-century Ascoli Piceno as it actually existed and as references to concepts of symbolic significance[5].

A few other striking elements are to be found in Crivelli's painting. Among them is the kneeling, fair-haired youth in Gabriel's immediate proximity, dressed in bishop's attire; in his hands is a scale model of a walled city recognizable as Ascoli Piceno. This young man has convincingly been identified as Saint Emigdyus (or Emidius; in Italian but also anglophone Crivelli literature the saint is usually referred to by his Italian name, Emidio). Apparently born into a pagan family in Trier in around 273 CE, he converted to Christianity, went to Rome, and was soon made bishop of Ascoli Piceno, where he died a martyr's death during the first decade of the fourth century. Emidio's cult seems at first not to have spread very widely but, as the city's first bishop, he was consistently venerated as Ascoli's patron saint[6]. His presence in the paint-

[3] *Luke*, 1:26-35.

[4] For the iconography of the Annunciation in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, see Robb 1936; and recently Gründler *et al.* 2022. For specifically Italian examples from that time period, see, e.g., Arasse 1999.

[5] Lightbown 2004, pp. 333-344.

[6] The devotion for Emidio, in several cities in the Marches, as a protector in times of earthquakes seems to have developed only from the early eighteenth century onwards. See, e.g., Negri Arnoldi 1987; Fabiani 2015, Galli 2000.

ing, then, can be explained in light of the historical circumstances surrounding the work's origin, as he is obviously imploring Gabriel to intercede in the salvation of the city.

However unusual it may be to find a similar "third figure", mortal or saint, playing a part in an Annunciation scene, it is not unique to Crivelli's London *Annunciation*, and it must be acknowledged that discussions of the painting have overlooked the fact that there are other instances. Restricting ourselves to the Italian fifteenth century, there is an *Annunciation* panel by the Umbrian painter Benedetto Bonfigli (now in Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, 1455-1460, fig. 2) in which Saint Luke the Evangelist, from whose gospel the narrative derives, with scroll, book, and his usual attribute the winged ox, is seated prominently on the floor between the angel and the Virgin[7].

A second interesting instance is a panel in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome. It was commissioned by the Brotherhood of Santissima Annunziata in 1499 from Antoniazzo Romano as the altarpiece for their chapel in that church (fig. 3). The panel, signed by the painter in 1500, depicts the scene of the Annunciation with the archangel at the left and, directly above him, a cloud with the half-figure of God the Father, who is sending the dove towards the kneeling Virgin at the right. The third figure is not a saint but rather a posthumous portrait of the Spanish cardinal Juan de Torquemada (1388-1468). The prelate, a member of the Dominican order, was buried in the Dominican church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Between the archangel and the Virgin, the kneeling Torquemada, dressed in the habit of his order, is accompanied by three likewise kneeling girls in white robes. These four figures are proportionally much smaller than the biblical protagonists but nevertheless physically relate to them: the cardinal is apparently presenting the girls to the Virgin, who hands the one closest to her a small white bag, a second such bag standing ready by her side. The scene refers to the activities of the brotherhood, which had been founded in 1460 by Torquemada to help marriageable orphaned girls by providing them a dowry, offered every year on the day of the Annunciation[8].

One other example, and perhaps more relevant in the context of Crivelli's painting, is a panel painting made in around 1445 by an artist from the circle of the Florentine painter Filippo Lippi, now in the Museo di Palazzo Pretorio

[7] Garibaldi 2015, cat. 153, pp. 416-418.

[8] The signature, centrally placed on the lower edge of the composition, reads: «DIE XX MARTII MCCCCC ANTONIATIVS ROMANVS PINXIT». See Noehles-Doerk 1973, cat. 65, pp. 212-213; Paolucci 1992, cat. 44, pp. 146-151; A. Cavallaro, in Cavallaro, Petrocchi 2013, cat. 39, pp. 150-151. A marble relief by a fifteenth-century Roman sculptor (now in London, Victoria and Albert Museum) depicting the Annunciation with two kneeling girls and the Virgin offering a money bag, presents an interesting parallel to Antoniazzo's composition (*Ibidem*, fig. 39a).

in Prato, which depicts the *Annunciation with a saint* (fig. 4)[9]. On the basis of his red cloak, the sword, and the martyr's palm in his hands, this figure has been identified as Saint Julian the Hospitaller[10]. Because of the presence of this early Christian, probably fourth-century saint, reputed to have founded various hospitals, is has traditionally been believed that Lippi's painting was made for such an institution in Prato. However, we should note that Julian the Hospitaller is also the patron saint of the city of Macerata in the Marches, the region where much of Crivelli's activity occurred. It was in Macerata that Julian's left arm was reported to have been discovered in 1442, which significantly revived the devotion for the saint. Without going as far as suggesting that the Prato panel was indeed originally meant for a commissioner in Macerata, there is a possibility that, one way or the other, Crivelli came to know its composition.

Whatever the case may be, it is remarkable that in both the painting from Lippi's circle and the work by Antoniazzo Romano, the Virgin directs her attention not towards the archangel but rather towards the cloud with the hand of God visible at top left, and the kneeling girls, respectively. In Crivelli's *Annunciation* as well, the Virgin, strikingly, seems not to be very aware of the angel's presence. At the same time, equally important is a difference between all instances mentioned above on the one hand, and Crivelli's painting on the other: in the former, and unlike in the London painting, both the angel and the extra figure(s) find themselves in the immediate vicinity of the Virgin.

2. *The grated window*

The relationship, or rather the lack thereof, between the Virgin Mary, who kneels in her chamber, and the archangel Gabriel, who remains separated from her in a most unusual fashion, is a second, perhaps even more unusual aspect of Crivelli's depiction, which has never been studied extensively, neither in an iconographic or functional nor in a theological context. After all, together with Saint Emidio, the angel kneels in the street outside the palace and can address the Virgin only through a window, which not only has a potted plant on the sill but is also equipped with a strong iron lattice. The separating wall extends to the painting's foreground, thus implying that the only way the angel can reach the Virgin's room would be for him to leave the painted space and enter the room by way of the spectator's realm.

[9] M.P. Manini, in De Marchi, Gnoni Mavarelli 2013, cat. 4.12, pp. 172-173 (with two variants of the same composition: a panel in Avignon, Musée du Petit Palais, and a mural in Prato, Museo di pittura murale in San Domenico, respectively).

[10] For the iconography of the saint, see De Somer 1988; Boberg 1990.

Of the twenty pages dedicated to this particular painting in his Crivelli monograph, Lightbown devotes a mere six lines to the motif of the window and the archangel Gabriel, who addresses «the Virgin through the grated window at a respectful distance, to avoid violating the maiden modesty of her chamber»[11]. He furthermore states that this «courtly conception» is found «in other fifteenth-century images of the scene» but mentions only Crivelli's own *Annunciation*, rendered on two small, hexagonally formed panels (now in Frankfurt, Städel Museum) that once adorned the upper part of Crivelli's so-called *Camerino altarpiece* of 1482 (figg. 5a-5b)[12]. Indeed, in one of these panels, the angel is depicted against the background of a fairly simple fifteenth-century architectural structure, while in the other the Virgin kneels inside her bedchamber. As in the London painting, she is separated from the angel by a wall and a grated window with a flowerpot on the sill; the rays of divine light enter the room through the window. Unusually, in this case the angel does not.

In art-historical literature there has been a good deal of speculation linking Crivelli's *Annunciation* to a certain formal or compositional tradition or typology in works by painters active in Northern and Central Italy[13]. For our purposes it seems important to note that, in these and other well-known instances of images of the archangel being more or less separated from the Virgin's chamber by architectural boundaries, there is still some kind of doorway or other opening between the two figures – or at least the suggestion of such an open connection. One eminent example is a painting often mentioned in relation to Crivelli's *Annunciation*, an altarpiece of ca. 1455 now in the Pinacoteca of the Musei Civici di Camerino, attributed to Giovanni Angelo d'Antonio (fig. 6)[14]. In its general characteristics, such as the architectural setting and the perspectival construction of the composition, it certainly bears a resemblance to Crivelli's London painting. However, as regards the spatial relationship between the figures, the two works differ, for in Giovanni Angelo's painting the Virgin kneels at a prie-dieu or small table, a part of which can be seen through the arch of her house. The angel kneels outside, but through an opening in the wall he and Mary see each other fully.

The same is true of another composition paralleling Crivelli's: Gentile Bellini's *Annunciation* of ca. 1475, now in Madrid (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, fig. 7), in which the angel once again remains outside the Virgin's room. At the same time, however, both the architectural logic and the incidence of light

[11] Lightbown 2004, p. 338.

[12] Ivi, p. 284; S.J. Campbell, in Campbell 2015, pp. 183-187, cats. 17-18.

[13] See S.J. Campbell, in Campbell 2015, pp. 200-201, cat. 21 (the names of Jacopo Bellini, Antonio Vivarini, Michael Pacher, Giovanni Angelo da Camerino are mentioned, and special reference is made to Filippo Lippi's murals in Spoleto).

[14] B. Mastrocola, in Rivola 2007, cat. 8, pp. 86-89.

that characterize the classicizing structure (with its arches and half columns) imply an opening between the two figures[15]. And likewise, a few years earlier, in 1467-1469, Filippo Lippi depicted the Annunciation as part of his murals in Spoleto Cathedral. Gabriel is outside, and the rays of light emanating from God the Father, placed top left, enter the Virgin's dwellings through a small opening above – a bit like Crivelli's solution in the London painting, which consisted of the ray of light entering the palazzo through a small yellow bordered opening in the decorated frieze. In Lippi's composition there is a door below, which directly connects Mary with the archangel[16].

A noteworthy and perhaps exceptional instance is a depiction dating from about the same time period but originating in an entirely different geographical and cultural context. A depiction of the *Annunciation* now in Rotterdam's Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen was executed by the Northern Netherlandish painter known as the Master of the Virgo inter Virgines, active in the 1480s and 1490s in or around Delft in the Netherlands (fig. 8)[17]. Here Gabriel has entered a building, apparently through an open door, and has reached the Virgin's room, but neither the background nor the floor level of both spaces, separated by a pillar with gothic tracing, convincingly link up. It remains unclear what is behind the pillar and what thus is between the two figures: an open archway, a closed wall, a window? Although Crivelli could not have had personal knowledge of this particular panel, the Netherlandish painter's composition may reflect a certain interest, in fifteenth-century European painting, in depictions of the Annunciation that at least suggest some physical separation between angel and Virgin.

Closer to Crivelli, and therefore of particular interest here, is a small panel now in New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, executed by a Northern or Central Italian, quite possibly Marchigian, painter during the first half of the fifteenth century (fig. 9). Its original context and function now unknown, the panel shows the Annunciation in the setting of a late medieval palazzo, with the Virgin sitting inside, her arms crossed humbly over her chest, and God the Father emanating divine light from the upper register on the left. Gabriel, remarkably depicted in an almost upside-down position, appears before the window of the palace.

Perhaps its poor condition and its being held in storage may account for the painting being a bit forgotten after publications by Federico Zeri in 1986 and Katharine Baetjer in 1980 and 1995[18]. About half a century before, the panel,

[15] Borobia 2009, p. 77.

[16] Holmes 1999, pp. 164, 182; S.J. Campbell, in Campbell 2015, pp. 196, 200.

[17] Giltaj 2000, p. 121.

[18] Zeri, Gardner 1986, pp. 80-81 (as «Veronese, or less probably Lombard»); Baetjer 1980, vol. I, p. 97 (ill. vol. II, p. 149, cat. 32.100.96) (as «Italian (Veronese) painter»); Baetjer 1995, p. 119 (as «Italian (possibly Marchigian) painter»).

measuring 45,4×37, 8 cm (painted surface 38,7×35,6 cm), was mentioned by David Robb in his still indispensable study of depictions of the Annunciation in the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance, published in the «Art bulletin» in 1936, in which he drew attention to the angel's peculiar "diving" position. In 1947, William Heckscher singled out the panel as perhaps the earliest instance in Western European painting of the motif of God the Father being given a triangular halo around his head in reference to the Holy Trinity[19]. Significantly for our purposes, this composition contains a rather enigmatic bystander: a woman standing in the doorway of the Virgin's dwelling, and in a way the sort of "third figure" we find in Crivelli's painting. More importantly, in this composition the archangel Gabriel descends from heaven, only to be stopped by the lattice installed on the small window giving (or, in reality, *not* giving) access to the Virgin's room.

Apart from being a rare if not unique prefiguration in Italian early Renaissance painting of Carlo Crivelli's grated window, the composition presents another highly interesting iconographic element bestowing meaning on the motif. The deer- or roe-like animal depicted in the left-hand part of the painting may refer to a passage in the Old Testament Song of Songs that combines the animal with the grated window: «Similis est dilectus meus capreae, hinnuloque cervorum. En ipse stat post parietem nostrum, respiciens per fenestras, prospiciens per cancellos» («My beloved is like a gazelle or a young stag. Look! There he stands behind our wall, gazing through the windows, peering through the lattice»)[20]. In these verses, the female narrator sings the praises of her beloved, who in the Christian tradition is widely understood as a prefiguration of Jesus Christ.

If the painter or his commissioner intended to refer to this Biblical source, it is important to note that the depicted animal does not look like a gazelle, an animal not indigenous to Western Europe and hardly known there at the time. Thus the painter chose, instead of the gazelle, the alternative offered by the Biblical text itself, i.e. the far-better-known «young stag», to which indeed the animal in the New York panel bears resemblance[21].

3. *The angel excluded, the viewer included*

The last question to be answered is: what can explain the motif of the Archangel's exclusion in Crivelli's London *Annunciation*? As regards the grated

[19] Robb 1936, p. 487, note 35; Heckscher 1947, p. 179, note 127.

[20] *Song of Songs*, 2:9.

[21] Likewise, the «young stag» is presented as an alternative for the gazelle in *Song of Songs* 8:14.

window, this may be a freely interpreted reference to the form of the Virgin Mary's original house, surely a well-known part of the collective imagination in the Marche at the time, for the *Santa Casa* venerated since the late thirteenth century in Loreto was situated just about ninety kilometers north of Ascoli Piceno. The Holy House, believed to have been transported by angels from Nazareth to Italy's Adriatic coast, is a simple stone structure on a rectangular ground plan, with openings placed in both long sides, and one small square window in the western short wall. The window has a lattice of diagonally placed iron bars. Depictions of the house in the context of the Annunciation often show one or more grated windows, and in one highly interesting fifteenth-century instance, barred openings can be seen in the background of a *Madonna and Child*, namely the so-called *Madonna of the pears* by Paolo di Ciacio of about 1460, a panel now in the Museo Civico di Altomonte in Cosenza[22].

It is, however, hard to believe that any devout fifteenth-century Christian, accustomed to the age-old oral and visual tradition of the annunciatory archangel appearing in the immediate vicinity of the Virgin, would imagine the heavenly messenger being stopped by physical boundaries. There is also no reason to believe that the supernatural being could be held at bay by walls or bars. The influential tract *Meditationes vitae Christi* of ca. 1300, for instance, stresses how the angel came down from heaven and, within the span of a minute, stood before Mary in human form[23]. And the Bible itself, albeit in a different context, offers a clear example of an angel traversing iron bars. After all, the deliverance of Saint Peter from King Herod's prison, an episode recounted in the Acts of the Apostles[24], stresses that «an angel of the Lord» miraculously entered Peter's cell and suddenly stood next to him. Even Saint Peter did not immediately grasp the angel's astonishing ability to pass through solid boundaries, for he «did not know that what was being done by the angel was real, but thought he was seeing a vision»[25]. Certain depictions of the episode, like a panel by Jacopo di Cione that once was part of the predella of an altarpiece in the now lost church of San Pier Maggiore in Florence (1370-1371, now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art)[26], and the famous mural by Raphael in the Stanza d'Eliodoro in the Vatican Palace (1514), explicitly interpose the prison bars between the viewer and the protagonists of the scene. If, then, either Carlo Crivelli or the anonymous painter of the New York panel mentioned above, or their respective patrons, would have desired to stress the movements of the

[22] With thanks to Giovanni Valagussa for drawing my attention to this panel.
[23] Ragusa, Green 1961, p. 16.
[24] *Acts of the Apostles*, 12: 7-8.
[25] *Ibidem* 12: 9.
[26] Offner 1965, pp. 31-38 (reconstruction of the altarpiece), pp. 53-55 (the panel in Philadelphia).

angel in defiance of any and all physical boundaries, why would they have him stop *before* the latticed window of the Virgin's house?

The answer must be that in such a configuration the viewer is granted a privileged position over some of the figures depicted. After all, the onlooker, through a miraculously opened-up architecture in front of the setting, is granted a full view of Mary in her private room. In itself, this is far from exceptional in depictions of the Annunciation in paintings or manuscript illuminations of the late Middle Ages or the Renaissance. Unusual in these cases, however, is the clear juxtaposition of this unhindered view on the one hand, with, on the other, the archangel (and in Crivelli's painting also Saint Emidio) being locked out, denied any visual contact with the Virgin. Crivelli's *Annunciation*, thus, can be approached from the theoretical viewpoint of the anthropological concept of liminality as it has recently been developed and employed in art-historical literature[27]. Fundamentally, this concept is concerned with the interrelationship between various spaces and its consequences, for instance the opening between two rooms in the form of a door, a portal, a window. In Crivelli's *Annunciation*, there is a window – but it is barred; the open portal is placed at the threshold between the painted realm and the real space of the spectator.

In depictions of the Annunciation, not limited to the Italian early Renaissance, several possibilities might involve the onlooker in the depiction. In the famous triptych by the Southern Netherlandish Master of Flémalle of ca. 1425 (now in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, fig. 10), for instance, the angel is inside the Virgin's chamber, while a man and a woman kneeling on the left side panel seem to follow the angel but remain outside, and can only peep through the half-open door. Giovanni Angelo d'Antonio's already mentioned Camerino *Annunciation* (fig. 6) also includes two mortals, depicted proportionally small. Placed just behind Gabriel's back, they kneel and are not separated from him and the announcement scene by a door or any other obstacle. In Crivelli's *Annunciation*, it seems as if the beholder finally has overtaken Gabriel, for the scene has been turned ninety degrees, so to speak. Within its original place, probably a relatively small chapel in the Ascoli convent of the Annunziata[28], the painting seems to have been meant primarily for the intimate devotional use of a limited public. Appropriate for this context and function, the devout spectator is granted an advantage over the angel (and the saint) depicted, for this viewer, unlike the painted figures, is able to look directly into the Virgin's chamber.

[27] See, e.g., Ruthergen 2016; Jacobs 2018; Doležalovà, Foletti 2019.

[28] The convent's church was not yet completed in 1486, which is why Crivelli's panel was probably placed in a smaller chapel: Lightbown 2004, p. 323.

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Appendix

Fig. 1. Carlo Crivelli, *Annunciation with Saint Emidio*, London, National Gallery

Fig. 2. Benedetto Bonfigli, *Annunciation with Saint Luke*, Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria

Fig. 3. Antoniazzo Romano, *Annunciation with cardinal Juan de Torquemada and three Virgins*, Rome, Santa Maria sopra Minerva

Fig. 4. Filippo Lippi (circle of), *Annunciation with Saint Julian the Hospitaller*, Prato, Museo di Palazzo Pretorio

Fig. 5a. Carlo Crivelli, *The angel of the Annunciation*, Frankfurt am Main, Städel Museum

Fig. 5b. Carlo Crivelli, *The Virgin Annunciate*, Frankfurt am Main, Städel Museum

Fig. 6. Giovanni Angelo d'Antonio, *Annunciation*, Camerino, Musei Civici, Pinacoteca

Fig. 7. Gentile Bellini, *Annunciation*, Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza (© Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid)

Fig. 8. Master of the Virgo inter Virgines, *Annunciation*, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen. Collection Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam. Acquired with the collection of D.G. van Beuningen / Fotografia: Studio Tromp

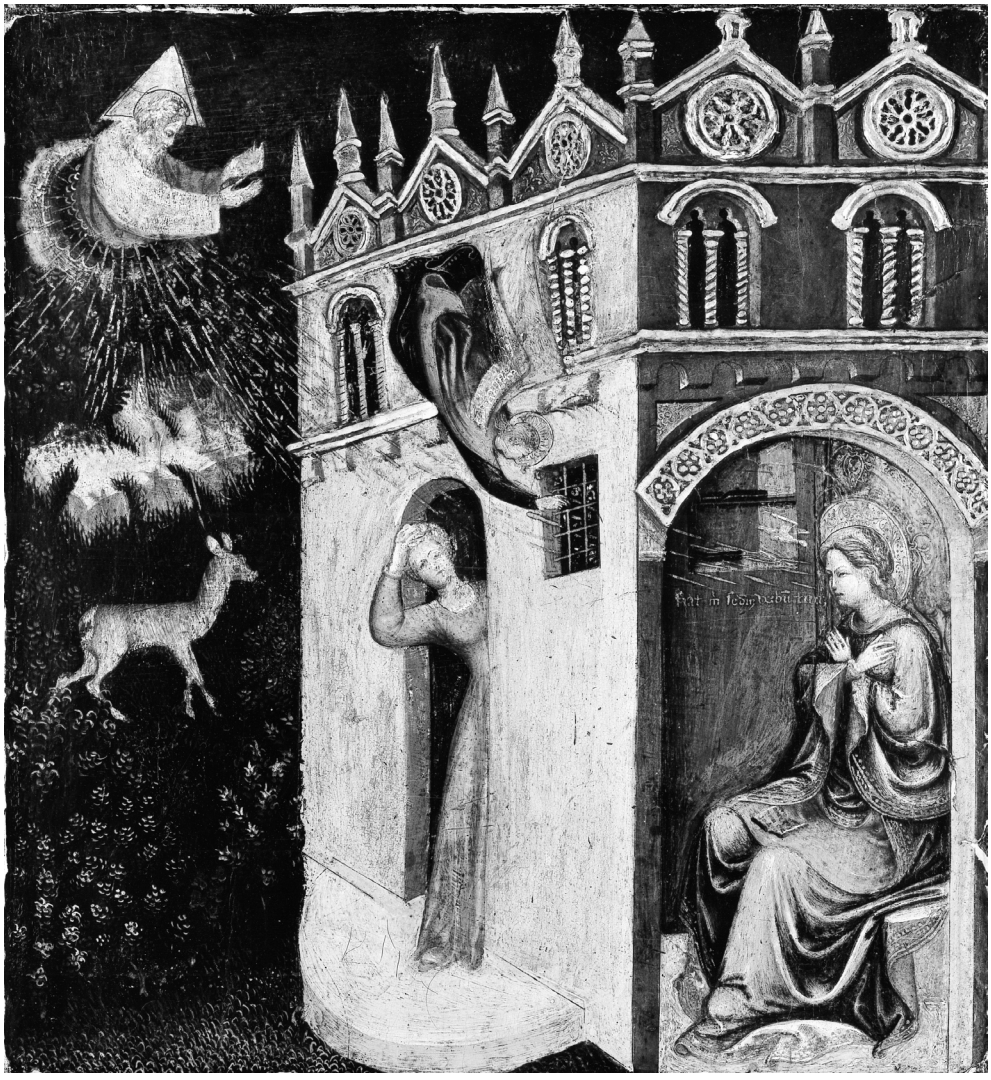

Fig. 9. North-Italian painter, *Annunciation*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Fig. 10. Master of Flémalle, *Mérode Altarpiece*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

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