

QUEEN
OF SHEBA

EDITED BY ST JOHN SIMPSON

TREASURES
FROM ANCIENT
YEMEN



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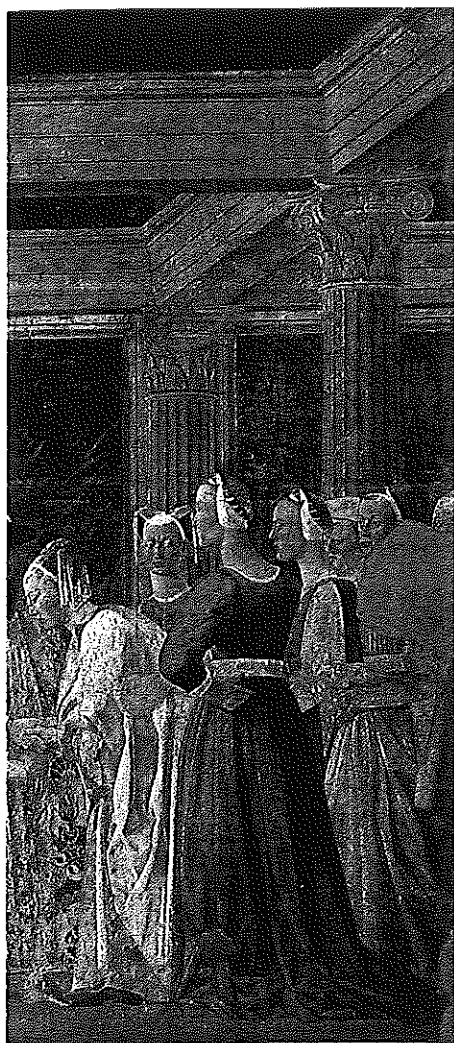
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Legends of the Queen of Sheba

FABRIZIO A. PENNACCHIETTI



FIG. 6 *The Queen of Sheba before King Solomon*, oil on panel; sketch by Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) made in preparation for a ceiling painting in the Jesuit church in his native city of Antwerp. (Courtauld Institute Gallery (Prince's Gate Collection), London)

The Queen of Sheba is the only female character in the the Old Testament who has the privilege of being mentioned in the sacred writings of all three of the revealed religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Nevertheless, in the Bible (1 Kings 10:1–13 and 2 Chronicles 9:1–12), Gospels (Matthew 12:42 and Luke 11:31) and Qur'an (27:16–44), the queen is anonymous and there are no documentary clues to support her existence as a real historical person (fig. 6).¹

The first textual reference to the Queen of Sheba (1 Kings 10:1–13) links the fabulous figure of a woman with the equally fine figure of a man; on the one hand, the alluring female sovereign of a wealthy Arab kingdom; on the other, Solomon, the king to whom sacred history attributes the building of the first Temple of

the Most High in Jerusalem, and who in the collective imagination stands for the peak of the political glory of the people of Israel. Generally speaking, in the Old Testament the passage mentioned has special importance because it is the first written testimony of the esteem which Yemen enjoyed and the admiration it stirred from ancient times in Palestine. With caravans which travelled along what might be called the 'incense road', the enterprising South Arabian kingdoms were able to supply the markets of the eastern Mediterranean with spices, gold and precious stones (1 Kings 10:2); moreover, on Phoenician ships they procured valuable woods from Africa (1 Kings 10:11). The Biblical episode of the meeting between Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, although marginal and secondary in the general economy of sacred history, nevertheless inspired the Fathers of the Church to edifying reflections and pious prognostications because it packed a powerful, evocative and symbolic punch. In Solomon they saw the prophetic anticipation of Jesus Christ; in the queen the symbol of the Church of pagan extraction.

The impact of this episode on European figurative art between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries was considerable. After the invention of the printing press, artists reinterpreted Biblical episodes, drawing directly on the sacred source and rejecting the mediation of popular tradition cultivated in the Middle Ages. The events of sacred history were revived as themes of a splendid profane art, losing in the process much of their primitive religious power. The favourite moment for depiction is the presentation of gifts by the queen within the magnificent framework of Solomon's palace (fig. 7).

Within the impressive setting of the palace the artist often gives prominence to the moment when the queen puts riddles to Solomon, to test his wisdom and knowledge. In this particular kind of depiction the verbal exchange, courteous and solemn, between the

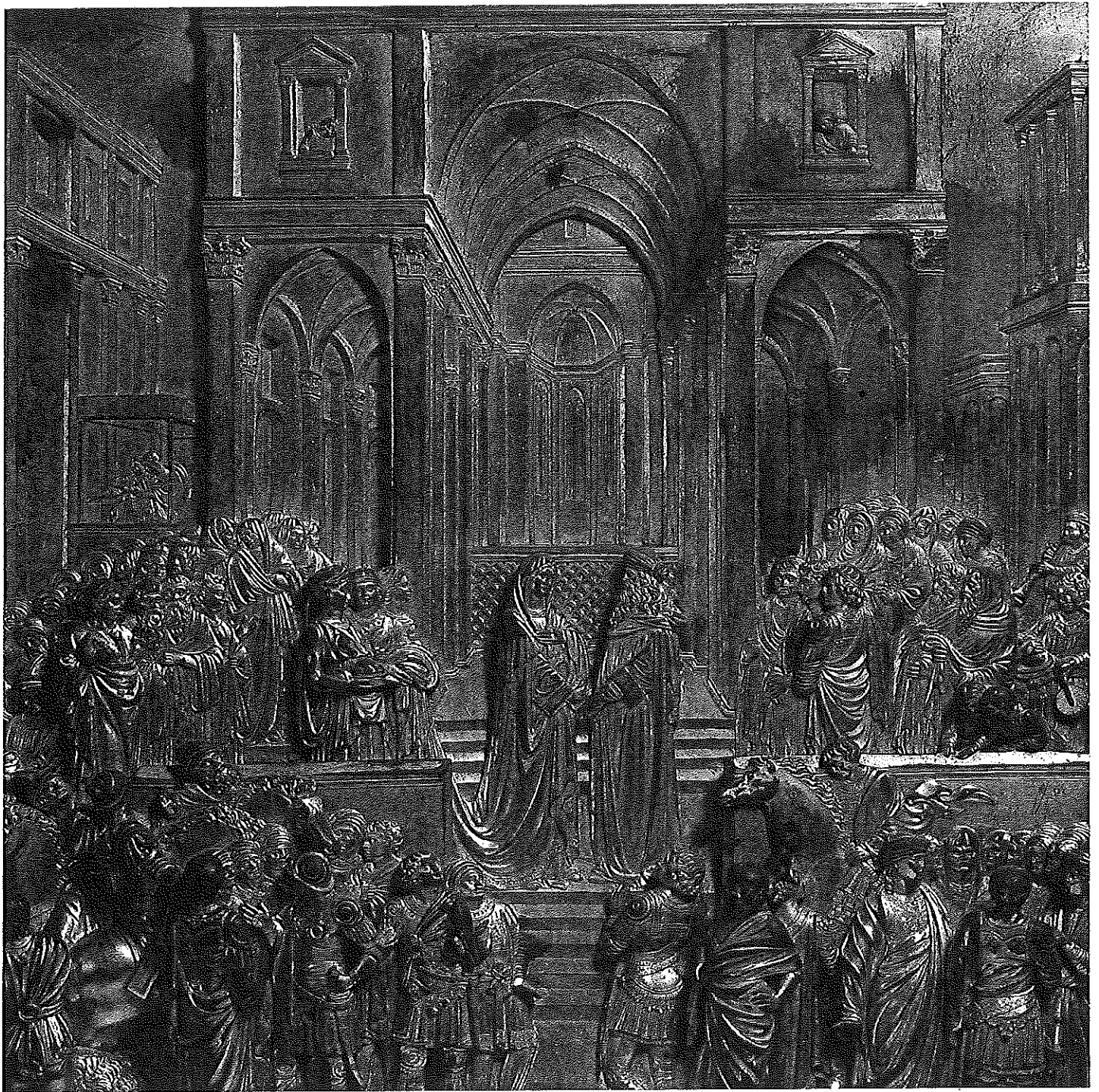


FIG. 7 *King Solomon Receiving the Queen of Sheba*, bas-relief, gilt bronze, 1425–52; detail from the doors known as the ‘Gates of Paradise’ by Lorenzo Ghiberti (1378–1455), the Baptistery of the Duomo, Florence. (*The Scala Group*)

two sovereigns seems to be accompanied by set gestures of the speakers’ hands, almost as if the position of the individual fingers was intended to transmit a special numerical meaning in relation to the single riddles to be solved (fig. 8). This calm gesturing is observed and commented on with astonished glances by the queen’s ladies-in-waiting, who are sometimes portrayed repeating the same sign as is being made by the king or by their own sovereign. This probably shows the technique of counting on fingers used in the Middle Ages before the introduction of Arabic numer-

als. The English language has preserved the memory of this technique in the word ‘digit’ (from the Latin *digitus*, ‘finger’) for ‘figure’ and by means of idioms such as ‘to have something at one’s finger tips’. The subject is captured on two oil paintings by Tintoretto (1518–94) and by Nicholas Knupfer (1603–55/60).²

THE BIBLICAL ACCOUNT

There are three possible interpretations of the famous Old Testament story of the arrival of the Queen of Sheba at Solomon’s court. The first is that it may reflect

a historical event, to be linked with the movement of men, ideas and merchandise made possible down the centuries by the 'incense road' already mentioned. However, it has been shown that in Solomon's time, traditionally dated to the tenth century BC, commerce in incense and spices from southern Arabia had not yet begun and seems to date not earlier than the eighth

of Arabia, where it is lapped by a great ocean. It is well known that Yemen, in the different forms the word takes in Semitic languages, means 'south', or more precisely the southern part of the Arabian peninsula. More specifically Yemen means the right hand; i.e. the hand which, for someone facing towards the rising sun, indicates the southern aspect of a place. Moreover, the right side is traditionally linked to the concepts of 'fortunate', 'propitious' and 'fitting', thus explaining the expressions *Arabia Eudaemon* and *Arabia Felix* ('felicitous, happy Arabia') which the Greeks and Romans used to designate southern Arabia. Yemen as a metaphor for the extreme limit of the world is clearly present in the two Gospel passages (Matthew 12:42 and Luke 11:31) and in the passage from the Qur'an (27:16–44) where the Queen of Sheba is spoken of. Both Luke and Matthew record that 'she came from the ends of the earth', offering the queen as an admirable example of determination in the search for salvation and for spiritual perfection. She had faced the dangers and discomforts of an arduous journey in order to hear the wisdom of Solomon. In the passage from the Qur'an the vast distance separating Yemen from Jerusalem is alluded to through the mysterious figure of the messenger hoopoe. Like the miraculous wind which answers Solomon's command (Qur'an 21:81; 34:12; 38:36), the hoopoe – which appears to be the talking manifestation of this wind – crosses Arabia in a flash from end to end.

A third and final possibility is that 1 Kings 10:1–13 may be a version of an ancient popular legend connected with the building of the first temple in Jerusalem which was theologically and ideologically expurgated in an attempt to suppress all memory of it. As 1 Kings 6:7 shows ('The building of the Temple was done with quarry-dressed stone; no sound of hammer or pick or any iron tool was to be heard in the Temple while it was being built'), the precept of the 'Law of the Covenant' (Exodus 20:25) according to which the altar could not be built of stone hewn with a metal blade, was interpreted so broadly as to cover the entire structure of the temple. The curious, unforeseeable detail of the Biblical text in which the building of a sacred edifice of great splendour and magnificence was to be carried out in complete silence and without using metal tools evidently fired the imagination of generations of believers. How did Solomon contrive to acquire the squared stones necessary for building without iron tools? We may reasonably suppose that this legitimate query gave rise to legends from Biblical times onwards but that these were committed to writing no earlier than the eleventh century AD, so that they seemed to be senseless medieval fancies.

One suggested explanation is that the Lord charged



FIG. 8 *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*; champlevé-enamelled gold, 1181; detail from the altarpiece of Nicholas of Verdun, Klosterneuburg Monastery, Austria. (Photo: AKG/ Erich Lessing)

century BC. Hence the historical existence of the Queen of Sheba is neither philologically nor archaeologically verifiable and such an uncritical use of the Old Testament as a historical source is no longer acceptable.³

An alternative hypothesis is that 1 Kings 10:1–13 may be a literary expedient to give further glory to the wisdom of Solomon and the prosperity of his reign, in addition to what had already been said in 1 Kings 5:1–14 (fig. 9). The ultimate purpose of the episode would be to stress the spread of Solomon's fame to the ends of the earth, and specifically to the farthest shores

the archangel Michael with the delivery to Solomon of a special seal in the form of a ring, which permitted him to employ as many devils as he wished for the construction of the temple according to the precept of the 'Law of the Covenant'. The association of the temple with devils and King Solomon's familiarity with beings from the occult world, expert builders though they might be, cannot have appealed to the writers of the Bible, and to the Jewish religious authorities in general. And since, as tradition relates, the Queen of Sheba personally saw the temple being built, and necessarily had dealings with the builder devils, it follows logically that the legend concerning her should be subject to severe censorship. In point of fact, the ancient legend regarding the Queen of Sheba, in the written form which emerged in the Middle Ages, was considered to be a late, bizarre popular invention.

Nevertheless, the legendary material which took form in the Middle Ages is beginning at last to be regarded as reliable, as a result of the patient gathering and shrewd combination of numerous clues, scattered across both historical works and canonical or apocryphal religious texts, as well as those in the form of tales told by Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem in the fourth century AD. The material in question was compiled by Jewish, Christian and Muslim writers such as the anonymous author of the *Targūm Shenī* on the Book of Esther, the early commentators on the Qur'ān, and men of Latin letters in the twelfth century AD, such as Peter Comestor and John Belet, or those in the thirteenth century AD, such as Jacopo da Varazze, the author of the *Legenda Aurea* or Golden Legend.

MUSLIM AND JEWISH TRADITIONS

The document whose dating and authoritative nature throws the greatest light on the origin and subsequent

evolution of the legend of the Queen of Sheba is the passage from the Qur'ān (27:16–44).⁵ This tale is at first glance baffling, when compared to the corresponding Biblical text, 1 Kings 10:1–13, yet it provides a valuable key to the possible reconstruction of the primitive content of the legend.

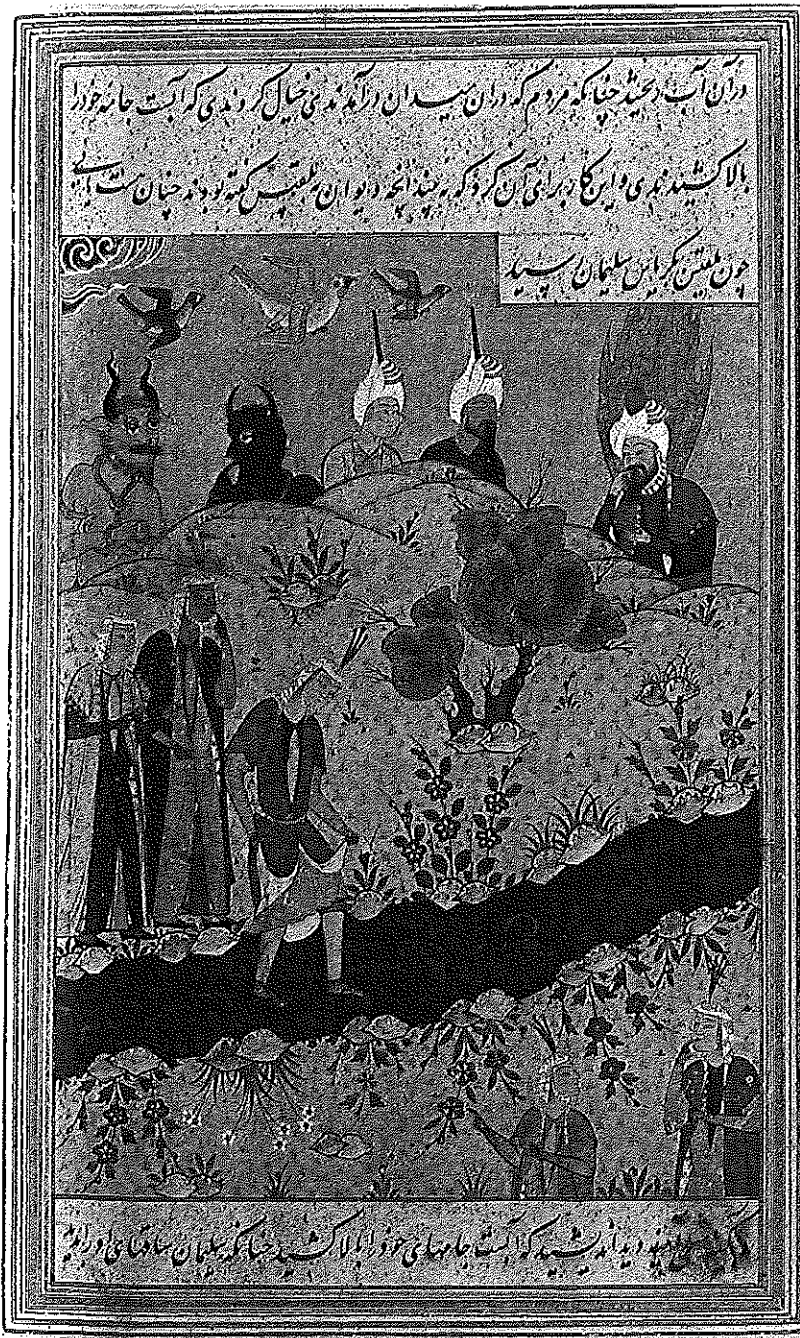
It should first be noted that in the time of Muḥammad, the Prophet of Islam, the legend must already have been firmly rooted in the collective imagination of the Arab peoples, although most of them were still pagans. In any case many settlers in the Arabian peninsula, especially in Yemen, were Israelites, and in the northern fringes of the desert, in Syria and Mesopotamia, various nomadic tribes had embraced Christianity. Hence the Qur'ān has no need to expatiate on details, but simply describes the essence of the situation with flashes of allusion, bringing it to life in the hearers' minds. Far more space is dedicated in the same passage to eulogies and declarations of submission to the One God. From the first commentaries on the Qur'ān and from Jewish tradition, the plot may be reconstructed as follows.

Solomon, who loved banquets and feasts, one day presented an extraordinary spectacle to the kings of the Orient: a parade of devils, spirits and animals from heaven and earth. The only creature missing was the hoopoe, which arrived late, explaining by way of excuse that it had just discovered at the end of the earth a very wealthy country governed by a woman. The bird promised to bring her to Solomon's feet in chains, if the king wished. Solomon was delighted and gave the hoopoe a letter ordering the queen to come and pay him homage; otherwise the birds, spirits and demons would conquer her country at his command. In reply the queen sent a letter and costly gifts, and set out at once on the journey. When after seven years' travelling she reached Jerusalem, Solomon welcomed her in a pavilion with a glass floor (according to the Qur'ān) or at the royal baths (according to Jewish sources). This unusual welcome disconcerted the queen, who mistook the floor for an expanse of water; as she crossed the threshold she raised the hem of her dress just enough to prevent it from getting wet (fig. 10).

This momentary confusion on the part of the queen allowed Solomon to admire her legs, but also to realise that they were much too hairy. Disappointed, he provoked her with a far from courteous remark: 'Madam, your beauty is feminine, but the hair on your legs is masculine. Well, hairy legs are fine for a man but revolting on a woman'. The queen's pride was hurt, and she reacted by putting a long series of riddles to Solomon, only to discover to her astonishment that he was cleverer than she, for he solved them without

FIG. 9 *Cassone* depicting Solomon and the Queen of Sheba; wood, painted and gilded, c. 1450, Sienna. The erotic ambiguity of this meeting and offering of gifts made it a popular subject on dowry chests such as this.⁴ (*The Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. 7852-1862*)





Queen of Sheba in his *Jewish Antiquities* (VIII, 2). This Greek name, too, is unrecorded elsewhere, but it might represent a reinterpretation of respectively *NQWLH and *NQWLYS. This is how one can reconstruct the rendering in Hebrew or Aramaic script of one of the nicknames the Greeks gave to Empusa, the female demon mentioned in Aristophanes' comedy *The Frogs* and famous for having the legs of a donkey. This nickname was Onokole or Onokolis, 'the donkey-legged woman'. In the light of this hypothesis the Arabic name Bilqis would be neither more nor less than a reinterpretation of *NQWLYS in a written form of Arabic which as yet lacked diacritics:

[Onokolis] *NQWLYS [Nikaulis] > *BQWLYS > *BQLYS > BLQYS [Bilqis]

One may wonder what this terrifying female demon had to do with the Queen of Sheba and Solomon, yet the *Testament of Solomon*, a Judaeo-Christian work dated between the first and third centuries AD, mentions this very Empusa in connection with our two distinguished personages. The name given to her in the *Testament* is not, it is true, either Empusa or Onokole/Onokolis, but 'Onoskelis'; but this is of very little account since this nickname too means 'donkey-legged woman'.

The same Judaeo-Christian text tells us that Onoskelis took an active part in the construction of the temple of Jerusalem by producing hempen ropes. We also know that Onoskelis had a very close relationship with Solomon. In fact when Solomon asked her which angel had the power to 'withhold' her, she answered that it was the king's own guardian angel. In Palestinian amulets of the Roman era Onokolis/Onoskelis is portrayed as a supine female devil pierced with a spear by Solomon himself depicted as a knight. This is actually the prototype of the iconography of St George and the dragon.

Thanks to Qur'anic exegetes we may solve the riddle of the singular relationship linking Onokolis with the Queen of Sheba: they have taken up the rumour which relates that the demons subjugated by Solomon believed that the lovely woman entering Jerusalem with her impressive train was not a human being, but a rival female devil. Fearing that the king might become infatuated with her and make her a present of the magic seal, thus making her forever mistress of their fate, they made him believe that under her clothes the queen was concealing the hooves of a donkey. In these circumstances it is understandable that the king should have prepared one of his most brilliant tricks to check the veracity of this suggestion: the illusion of the stretch of water in his baths or in the crystal floor of his palace.

Although Solomon had satisfied himself that the

FIG. 10 'Bilqis, seeing the fishes below the glass pavement, instinctively raises her skirts'; Sultan Husayn Mirza, *The Assembly of Lovers*, 1552. This Persian manuscript illustration was acquired by Sir Gore Ouseley. (Bodleian Library, Oxford; MS Ouseley Add24 Folio 1270)

difficulty. And so she praised and worshipped the One God, and after receiving all she most desired from Solomon she took her leave.

The whole narrative structure of the Islamic and Jewish versions of the legend of the Queen of Sheba turns in effect on the trick Solomon arranges to admire the queen's legs. There is one detail in the popular Islamic tradition which helps to explain this embarrassing fact: the queen, unnamed in the Qur'an, is universally known in the Muslim world by the name of Bilqis. This name, which to date has defied all attempts at etymological explanation, is seen in a new light if compared with Nikaule or Nikaulis, as the first-century AD author Josephus Flavius calls the

FIG. 11 Illustration from *Chronique du regne de Menelik II* by Guebre Selassie, Paris, 1930. *First row:* the Queen of Sheba sets off from Ethiopia to Jerusalem. *Second row:* a banquet at Solomon's court with the queen looking down. *Third row:* the king seizes the queen as she grasps a vase of water, breaking her vow that she would not take anything that belonged to him, and they sleep together. (*The British Library, London*)

queen was not a devil, but on the contrary a woman with the most beautiful legs, the malicious rumour nevertheless spread that she was excessively hairy and she was even unkindly labelled with the epithet of 'the donkey-legged woman' (Onokolis > Bilqīs), which properly belonged to the female devil for whom she had been mistaken.

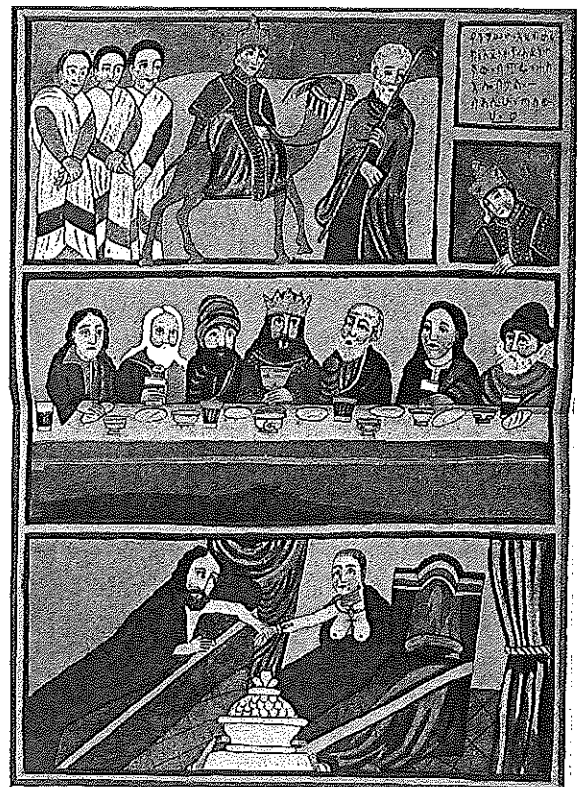
In Islamic art the first portrayals of the Queen of Sheba are Persian, from the Timurid period (1387–1468). She is often shown standing to the right of Solomon, who is seated on a throne supported by djinns and lions. Above the queen's head hovers the hoopoe, while behind her in obedient posture stand huge, monstrous devils.⁶

FROM 'LA REINE PÉDAUQUE' TO ETHIOPIAN QUEEN MOTHER

It was a natural development of the coupling in the popular imagination of the Queen of Sheba with Onokolis that the queen should have been described as having legs which were not only excessively hairy, but 'borrowed' from various members of the animal kingdom: donkey, goat or goose. The last of these attributions is the origin of the so-called 'reine Pédauque' (Queen Splayfoot) of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century paintings in central European countries, in which the Queen of Sheba is shown with the webbed feet of a goose as she crosses the stream separating her from Solomon.⁷

The Queen of Sheba has a goat's leg in a Coptic tale, in which the encounter with Solomon is ingeniously, and with absolute originality, inserted in the narrative cycle known as the *Story of the Wood of the Cross* which can be summarised as follows. When it was planned to build the temple in Jerusalem Solomon ordered the stone-breakers to use a huge tree trunk which had been miraculously brought from the Garden of Eden itself. It was sufficient simply to touch the rocky mass with the trunk and it obligingly fell into squares of the required size. Meanwhile, Solomon had been told that the Queen of Sheba had one monstrous leg like the hoof of a goat. So the king had the whole esplanade of the temple flooded, and after putting his throne in a dry spot he waited for the queen to dismount and walk barefoot across the sacred esplanade. Thus the queen was unable to conceal her goatish leg but, as she waded through the water, she was touched by the mysterious tree trunk, which had floated up to the surface. This touch produced a miracle: the goat's hoof was turned into a human leg, as lovely as the other. When the esplanade was drained, the miraculous trunk was placed in the temple.

This Christian version from Egypt is typologically anterior to the well-known Ethiopian variant of the



legend of the Queen of Sheba which forms the nucleus and the opening of the 'Glory of the Kings' (*Käbra Nagäst*), an early fourteenth-century work which Ethiopians today regard as the fundamental cornerstone of their national identity. Here the tale has been stripped of all that is wonderful and fantastic, even to the riddles; its favourite theme instead is the seduction of the Queen of Sheba by Solomon (fig. 11). On her journey home she is delivered of a child named Menelik, destined to be the founder of the Solomonic dynasty; the last representative of this dynasty was Emperor Haile Selassie (1892–1975). This story continues to have very wide popular appeal within Ethiopia, exemplified by paintings and even coffee packaging, which find a place in the tourist market (see cat. 12).

THE STORY OF THE WOOD OF THE CROSS

The original development of the legend of the Queen of Sheba in Western Christendom, and its insertion as an integral part of the *Story of the Wood of the Cross*, can be correctly understood only if we bear in mind that as early as the first century AD, if not earlier, some people in Palestine called the queen by the personal name of Saba, the Greek rendering of the Hebrew Sheba (see Psalm 72:10). This is documented on the one hand by the apocryphal *Testament of Solomon*, where she is called 'Saba the queen of the South', and on the other, albeit indirectly, by the Gospels of Matthew (12:42) and Luke (11:31), which refer to her

simply as 'Queen of the South'. It is probable that in Jesus's native region she was called Saba. Clearly, when the place name Saba was transformed into a personal name, the traditional denomination of her kingdom would be replaced by the more generic term 'the South', or Yemen.

It is a natural consequence of the introduction of the name of Saba that, in Christian circles of classical Graeco-Latin culture, an association should have been established through assonance between the new personal name and Sabbe or Sambethe, the so-called *Sibylla Hebraea*, who was supposed to have foretold the coming of Jesus Christ. Thus in Christian versions the step was taken towards the assumption by the Queen of Sheba of the prophetic role typical of a sibyl, that is to say an inspired pagan woman who foretells the crucial moments of Christ's life on earth. In the Byzantine tradition, but not exclusively, the Queen of Sheba is actually renamed 'Sibyl'.⁸

As was only to be expected, this new function of the queen's led to the abandonment of all the fabulous aspects of the primitive legend, including the riddles used to test the wisdom of Solomon. Here and there in

from the first centuries of the Christian era. In the vast range of events narrated in the *Story of the Wood of the Cross* Solomon's meeting with the Queen of Sheba is re-established as a self-contained episode, the best description of which is that of Jacopo da Varazze, in the thirteenth-century *Legenda Aurea*. Briefly, the story as he tells it is this.

When the Queen of Sheba arrived in Jerusalem, she hastened to Solomon's palace. On the way she had to cross a stretch of water, from bank to bank of which a cedar trunk had been laid as an improvised bridge: this huge tree would otherwise have found no other employment. It had been cut down shortly before by order of King Solomon, and for all the carpenter's care in cutting it to the right length it was always either too long or too short for his purpose. This was the tree Seth had planted on the grave of his father Adam.

When she found herself before this uncooperative length of wood the queen was moved by an impulse to kneel down and worship it. An inner voice told her that on that very tree the saviour of the world would hang. After wading across the water she told the king

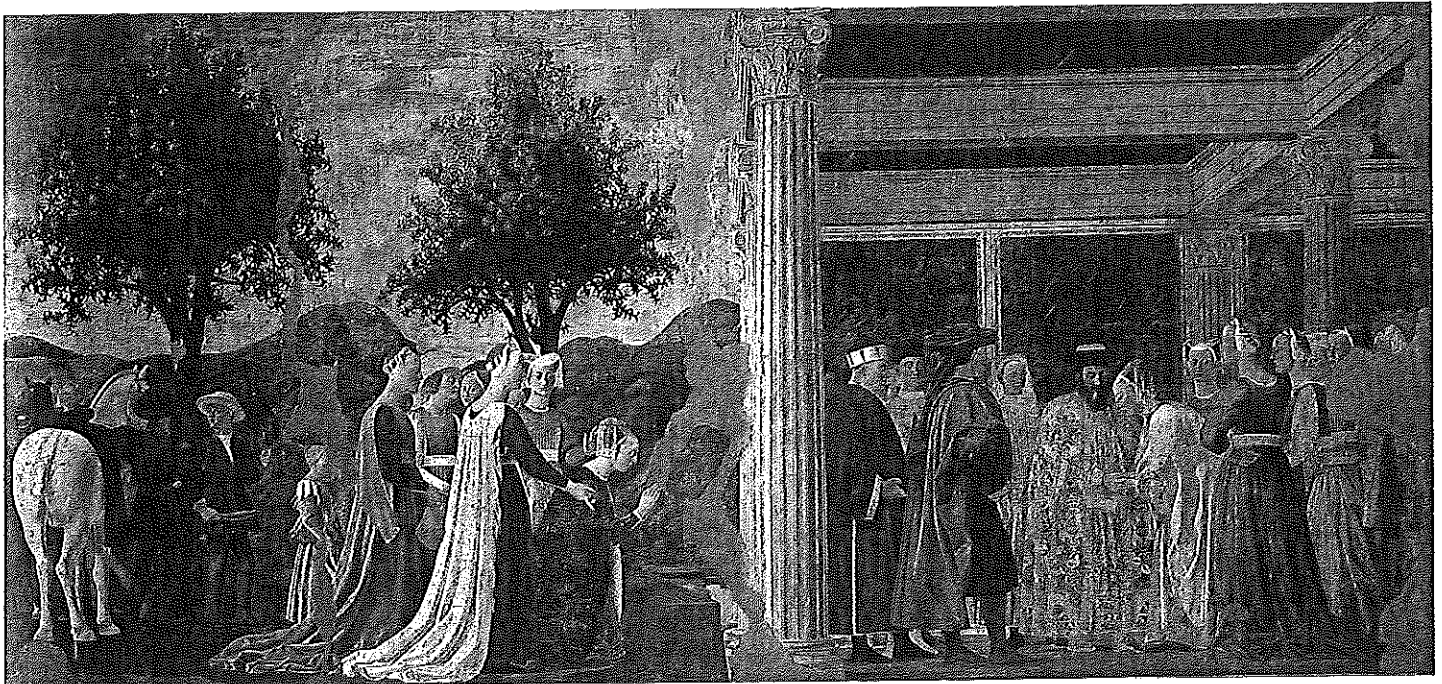


FIG. 12. *The Reception of the Queen of Sheba by King Solomon* from the *Legend of the True Cross* cycle, c. 1452-7; fresco by Piero della Francesca, San Francesco, Arezzo, Italy. (Bridgeman Art Library)

the West too, however, as the figure of the 'reine Pédauque' shows, specific references emerged to the hidden monstrosities of her body, and to her supposed contacts with devils.

The second step taken in the Graeco-Latin Christian world was the grafting of the legend of the Queen of Sheba onto the narrative fabric of the *Story of the Wood of the Cross*, a cycle of legends which likewise refers back to apocryphal and parabiblical works

of this prophecy and Solomon had it removed to the most unexpected place: he had it buried at the bottom of the stream. Shortly before the Passion of Christ, the tree emerged unexpectedly from the bottom of this stream, which had meanwhile become the Sheep Pool. Seeing it floating there and thinking that it would make a suitable upright for a cross, the High Priest's servants pulled it out of the water and delivered it to their master.

This was the final stage in the development of the legend of the Queen of Sheba in Western Christendom. Later, as the medieval world merged into the Renaissance, it was given artistic interpretation by such important figures as Agnolo Gaddi (c. 1345–96) with the frescoes on the walls of the apse of Santa Croce in Florence (1394); his pupil and imitator, Cenni di Francesco Cenni (fl. 1410–15), with his frescoes in the Oratory of the Compagnia della Croce di Giorno adjoining the church of San Francis in Volterra (1410); and the most brilliant of them all, Piero della Francesca (1419/21–92), on the walls of the apse of the church of St Francis in Arezzo, painted in 1452–9 (fig. 12).

MEETING SOLOMON IN JERUSALEM:
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SHEEP POOL

In all the variations of the legend of the Queen of Sheba, with the exception of the Biblical texts (1 Kings 10:1–13, 2 Chronicles 9:1–12, Matthew 12:42 and Luke 11:31), there constantly recurs the theme of a real or supposed expanse of water between the queen and Solomon when they first come face to face. It is probable that archaeologists have identified the physical spot at which popular Jewish tradition – despite the censorship of religious authorities, reflected in the Biblical texts – imagines their encounter.

North of the esplanade of the Temple in Jerusalem, on the right as one emerges from the Crusaders' church of St Anne and opposite the imposing dam separating the two large basins of the so-called Sheep Pool or Probatica, lies an archaeological site which has been defined as a Jewish therapeutic sanctuary. Judging from the coins and ceramics found during the work, it was functioning from the time of the Maccabees. Today it consists of a vast, deep reservoir, flanked by basins hewn from underground rock for ritual bathing, with steps leading into them, and by underground rooms. These rooms belonged to the pagan phase (second–third centuries AD) of the sanctuary, when it was linked to the healing god Asclepius or Serapis, and were probably set

aside for the divinatory practice of incubation, allowing the patient to sleep in the sanctuary with a view to receiving, in dreams, revelations about their state of health. From Jerome we learn that the hydrotherapy centre was frequented by foolish women, driven by superstition or by their yearning for fertility. Finally the anonymous pilgrim from Bordeaux who visited Jerusalem in AD 333–4 tells us that on this site was the cave where Solomon had tormented the devils in order to subjugate them and to entrust to them the building of the temple.

Thus it may be deduced that Solomon, held by an enduring popular tradition to be capable of dominating the dark powers of evil, was recognised as patron of therapeutic and ritual religious practices. Because he was able to neutralise the malign powers of the devils, always considered the cause of the gravest illnesses, he was thought of as the healer *par excellence*, as Asclepius or Serapis was for the pagans.

With the establishment of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Jerusalem following the Edict of Milan (AD 313) and the building of the Holy Sepulchre by Constantine (d. 337), the practices linked to the cult of Solomon were no longer tolerated. By the time the pilgrim Etheria visited Jerusalem about the year 383 the therapeutic sanctuary had been closed, and King Solomon's ring, previously kept there, had been transferred to safekeeping inside the complex of the Holy Sepulchre. In the fifth century AD the entire area was occupied by the foundations of the Church of the Paralytic, since it was there that Christian tradition set the miracle performed by Jesus as narrated in John 5:1–18. This is the only passage in the Holy Scriptures which makes allusion to the existence in Jerusalem of a sanctuary where hydrotherapeutic treatment was offered.

There was however no place in all Jerusalem which was more suitable as the setting for the fabled encounter of the Queen of Sheba with Solomon than the so-called Sheep Pool and the accompanying Solomonian sanctuary. This had already been depicted by artists as celebrated as Piero della Francesca.