

*Italian Paintings at the
Yale University Art Gallery*

Laurence Kanter and Pia Palladino

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YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

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The publications program at the Gallery plays a vital role in the museum's mission to encourage appreciation and understanding of art. The Gallery's exhibition catalogues, *Bulletin*, and monographic titles serve a wide variety of audiences, from casual museum-goers to scholars. Launched in 2023, *Italian Paintings in the Yale University Art Gallery* is the museum's first born-digital publication. For more information on the Gallery's publishing program, contact Tiffany Sprague, Director of Publications and Editorial Services, at tiffany.sprague@yale.edu.

Publication made possible by Darcy F. and John Treacy Beyer, B.A. 1965, and Nina M. Griggs

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Cover image: Detail of Master of the Yale Dossal, *Virgin and Child Enthroned between Saints Leonard and Peter and Scenes from the Life of Saint Peter*, ca. 1265–70

Published by the
Yale University Art Gallery
P.O. Box 208271
New Haven, CT 06520-8271
artgallery.yale.edu/publications
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Volume 1: 1220–1420

The Florentine School

The Sienese School

Other Tuscan Schools

North Italian Schools

The Florentine School



Florentine School, ca. 1230, *The Crucifixion*, One of Three Panels from a Tabernacle Wing

Artist	Florentine School, ca. 1230
Title	<i>The Crucifixion</i> , One of Three Panels from a Tabernacle Wing
Date	ca. 1230
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	42.2 × 36.4 cm (16 5/8 × 14 3/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.1a

Provenance

Convent of San Francesco, San Miniato al Tedesco, Pisa(?);
James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

All three panels, of a vertical wood grain, have been cut to irregular rectangular shapes and thinned to depths ranging from 6 to 9 millimeters. The present panel, depicting the *Crucifixion*, ranges in height from 41.8 to 42.2 centimeters and in width from 36.1 to 36.4 centimeters. All three were cradled in the nineteenth century and re-craddled and waxed in 1915 by Hammond Smith. Regilding on the three panels was removed by Andrew Petryn in 1952–54 (the *Crucifixion* and *The Deposition* and 1956–58 (the *Lamentation*).



Fig. 1. *The Crucifixion*, ca. 1954

The paint surface of the three panels survives in varying states, the best preserved being that of the *Crucifixion* (fig. 1), which is remarkable for a painting of the thirteenth century. Damage in this panel is largely confined to a 2-centimeter-wide strip across the top of the composition, minor flaking losses along the edge of the blue Cross where it overlaps the gold ground, and minor isolated losses from abrasion. The vertical split through the center of the panel, which is continuous across all three scenes, has here provoked negligible paint loss, as have two knots in the wood of the panel support: one to the right of the Virgin's hands and one to the right of Christ's feet.

For more information, see the condition reports for the *The Deposition* and the *Lamentation*.

Discussion



Fig. 2. Florentine School, *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, ca. 1230. Tempera and gold on panel, 126 × 72.5 cm (49 5/8 × 28 1/2 in.). Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, inv. no. 433

These three panels—depicting the Crucifixion, the Deposition, and the Lamentation—are among the earliest Italian paintings in any American collection. They were originally arranged vertically, one above the other, and formed the right wing of a large tabernacle triptych. In 1949 Edward Garrison recognized that a panel of the Virgin and Child Enthroned formerly in the convent of San Francesco at San Miniato al Tedesco, now in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence (fig. 2), was the central element of the dismembered structure.¹ The association among the four panels, though questioned by Charles Seymour, Jr.,² was accepted by most subsequent authors and is confirmed by the close stylistic correspondences among the figures as well as by the presence of hinge marks on both sides of the Accademia *Virgin*. The dating of the entire complex, and the artistic milieu in which it was produced, however, have remained the subject of debate since Osvald Sirén first discussed the Yale fragments in 1915 and attributed them to the Lucchese painter Bonaventura Berlinghieri.³

Sirén's attribution to Bonaventura Berlinghieri was first disputed by Richard Offner, who detected in the Yale scenes an individual style "too far removed from that of Berlinghieri to allow the closeness of association . . . too far removed, in fact, even to hold it within the district of their painter's special activity, Lucca."⁴ Offner contrasted the coarseness of execution and the "squarer and more emphatic" style of these works—which he characterized as Florentine—with the more polished, austere manner of Bonaventura's signed and dated 1235 *Saint Francis* altarpiece at the church of San Francesco in Pescia—a work populated by thin, elongated figures whose measured gestures reflect none of the exaggerated emotional responses of the Yale *Lamentation*. At the same time, the author detected a relationship, mostly iconographic, among the Yale panels and works by the Lucchese follower of Bonaventura now known as the Master of the Oblate Cross, suggesting that our painter, while certainly not Lucchese, may have been influenced by Bonaventura's models. While emphasizing the Florentine "workmanship" of the Yale panels, Offner nevertheless concluded that the artist lacked any "qualities so differentiated as to reveal his origins unequivocally," and thus labeled the scenes as products of a "Tuscan Master" active around 1250.



Fig. 3. School of Bonaventura Berlinghieri, *Diptych: Virgin and Child with Saints; The Crucifixion and Scenes from the Passion*, ca. 1255. Tempera and gold on panel, 103 × 122 cm (40 1/2 × 48 in.). Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. nos. 1890 nn. 8575–76

Offner's observations were reiterated by Seymour, but most scholars have continued to emphasize the perceived Lucchese components of the Yale scenes, advancing attributions to the Berlinghieri "school" or "circle," albeit with considerable differences in dating. Evelyn Sandberg-Valalà, who drew attention to the more conservative, Byzantine aspects of the composition in the *Deposition* and *Lamentation*, associated them with an earlier phase in the Berlinghieri workshop, before the Pescia altarpiece.⁵ According to Sandberg-Valalà, their style more nearly approximated the manner of the older master Berlinghiero, as reflected in the signed Cross at the Museo Nazionale di Villa Guinigi, Lucca—a work placed by some scholars as early as the second decade of the thirteenth century.⁶ A significantly later chronology for the Yale panels—and the accompanying *Accademia Virgin and Child*—was proposed by Garrison, who assigned the partially reconstructed tabernacle to a provincial Lucchese follower of Berlinghiero, who was "influenced by Bonaventura Berlinghiero, Guido da Siena, and the Florentines" and active between 1270 and 1275.⁷ Angelo Tartuferi subsequently attributed the tabernacle to the circle of the Master of the Oblate Cross, with a date between 1250 and 1260.⁸ The author noted the iconographic relationship between the Yale *Crucifixion* and a diptych from the monastery of Santa Chiara in Lucca, now in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (fig. 3)—a work first attributed to the Oblate Master by Garrison. Miklós Boskovits, on the other hand, echoed Sandberg-Valalà's conclusions and advanced a much earlier chronology for the panels, "in the middle of the 1220s or shortly thereafter," preceding Bonaventura's Pescia

altarpiece.⁹ In Boskovits's opinion, the anonymous painter was an artist in the Berlinghieri circle working from a prototype by Berlinghiero but reducing the more plastic vocabulary of that master to a "total two-dimensionality."¹⁰ Although accepted by Carl Brandon Strehlke, such a precocious dating was questioned by Anne Derbes and Rebecca W. Corrie, who reiterated Tartuferi's association of the Yale scenes with the work of the Master of the Oblate Cross.¹¹ Corrie's arguments were based less on stylistic comparisons than on the iconographic relationship between the Yale *Deposition* and the corresponding scene in the Uffizi diptych, which shows the same figural arrangement and unusual Y-shaped cross. The relationship to the Uffizi diptych was also highlighted by Sara Bonini, who attributed the *Accademia Virgin and Child* and the accompanying Yale panels to an anonymous Lucchese painter active in the Berlinghieri workshop between 1240 and 1250.¹²

A comparison of the *Accademia Virgin*—a work universally attributed by early scholarship to the Florentine school—with the *Virgin and Child* in the Uffizi diptych highlights the stylistic and qualitative distinctions that separate these works from each other, notwithstanding their shared iconographic elements. Whereas the Uffizi *Virgin* is indebted to the vocabulary of Bonaventura Berlinghiero—leading some authors to attribute it to the master himself—the *Accademia Virgin* partakes of an altogether more conservative culture, reflected not only in the flat, schematic composition and rigidity of the figures but also in its close adherence to Byzantine formulas, like the half-length mourning angels in the corners and the type of the Christ Child, who is shown not as an infant but as a regal, miniature adult. In her analysis of the *Accademia Virgin*—conducted independently of the Yale panels—Luisa Marcucci convincingly rejected any association with the Berlinghieri workshop and singled out these archaisms as evidence of the painter's debt to the early Florentine school and the Bigallo Master.¹³ For Marcucci, the image was representative of that particular provincial and "rustic" strain in Florentine painting that began with the Bigallo Master and culminated with the production of the Magdalen Master.¹⁴ At the same time, while emphasizing the derivations from the culture of the Bigallo Master—later also acknowledged but deemed irrelevant by Tartuferi—Marcucci followed Garrison in proposing a more advanced date for the *Virgin*, in the 1270s, based on its perceived dependence on the example of Coppo di Marcovaldo (documented 1260–76) and on a much-discussed *Virgin and Child* formerly in the Lenbach collection, Munich, now in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum,

Cologne.¹⁵ The iconographic links between the Cologne *Virgin* and the Accademia panel, however, are confined primarily to the crown on the head of both Virgins and the unusual, almost identical pattern that decorates their white veils. Otherwise, the Cologne painting is indebted to an altogether different prototype of the Virgin Hodegetria, in which the right hand of the Virgin is raised to indicate the Christ Child rather than supporting him. Stylistically, moreover, the Cologne panel reflects a distinctly more sophisticated approach, more clearly indebted to the Berlinghieri school.¹⁶



Fig. 4. Florentine School, *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, second quarter 13th century. Tempera and gold on panel, 97 × 64.5 cm (38 1/4 × 25 3/8 in.). Museo Civico, Pescia

A more relevant iconographic comparison for the Accademia painting is the *Virgin and Child* from the church of San Jacopo a Cozzile, in the province of Pistoia, now in the Museo Civico, Pescia (fig. 4), which has been alternately viewed as Florentine or Lucchese. This image, although painted by a different hand, is an almost exact version of the Accademia panel, except for the black veil of the Virgin and the absence of the two crowns,

suggesting a common derivation from the same, possibly Byzantine model. Marcucci dated this work after the Cologne *Virgin*, but more recent authors have correctly highlighted its adherence to the same conservative trends in early Florentine painting that underlie the execution of the Yale and Accademia panels. Boskovits, who placed the Cozzile *Virgin* in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, viewed it in parallel to the oeuvre of the Bigallo Master, as an example of a painter “even more resistant to influences foreign to the local figurative traditions.”¹⁷



Fig. 5. Bigallo Master, *Saint Zenobius Dossal*, ca. 1220–30. Tempera and gold on panel, 109 × 274 cm (42 7/8 × 107 in.). Museo dell’Opera del Duomo, Florence, inv. no. 9152

The affinities between the Yale panels and the work of the Bigallo Master—in particular as reflected in a comparison with the *Saint Zenobius* dossal in the Museo dell’Opera del Duomo, Florence (fig. 5), which is datable on circumstantial grounds between 1220 and 1230—provide a chronological framework for the execution of the dismembered tabernacle.¹⁸ Accordingly, the Yale paintings may be placed among the earliest-surviving commissions for a Franciscan establishment. Although it is not certain that the church of San Francesco in San Miniato al Tedesco, whose existence is first documented in 1276, was its intended destination, iconographic evidence seems to support a Franciscan provenance.¹⁹ As noted by scholars, the Y-shaped cross, which relates to Tree of Life imagery and Franciscan spirituality, appears most often in paintings produced for Franciscan communities in both Tuscany and Umbria.²⁰ In light of the dating of the present example, the often-cited claim that the motif is not found in Italian art before the middle of the thirteenth century should be reconsidered. —PP

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Jarves 1860, 42; Sturgis 1868, 18; Brown 1871, 11, no. 1; Sirén 1915, 273–77, fig. 2; Sirén 1916a, 3–6; Sirén 1922, 84–86, 89; van Marle 1923, 322–24, 327; Offner 1927a, 2, 9–11; Salmi 1929, 267; Sandberg-Vavalà 1929, 558–59, 714; Venturi 1931, pl. 4; Venturi 1933, pl. 5; “Picture Book Number One” 1946, fig. 1; Garrison 1949, 114, 239, nos. 79, 291, 679; Steegmuller 1951, 293; *Rediscovered Italian Paintings* 1952, 6, 12–13; Marcucci 1958, 21, 37–39; Seymour 1970,

18–22, no. 6; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 599; Angiola 1980, 82–84; Derbes 1980, 217–18, 225, 228, 233, 236, 257n56, 266n117, fig. 127; Marques 1987, 70, 241n113, 281; Tartuferi 1990, 17, 23n56, 79–80, figs. 48a–c, 49; Kenney 1992, 131; Boskovits 1993a, 74–76n147, 75, fig. 45; Derbes 1996, 190n52; Rebecca W. Corrie, in Evans and Wixom 1997, 488–89, no. 322; Sara Bonini, in Boskovits and Tartuferi 2003, 234–35, fig. 116; Derbes and Neff 2004, 605nn90, 93

NOTES

1. Garrison 1949, 114, 239, nos. 291, 679. According to Marcucci 1958, the *Accademia Virgin* was transferred from the convent of San Francesco on August 14, 1873, and is first recorded in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, in 1886. It entered the Accademia in 1919.
2. Seymour 1970, 18–22, no. 6.
3. Sirén 1915, 273–77.
4. Offner 1927a, 2, 9–11.
5. Sandberg-Vavalà 1929, 558–59, 714.
6. Sandberg-Vavalà 1929, 540, did not suggest a precise dating for the Lucca Cross but considered it to be the earliest in a series of works produced in the Berlinghieri workshop between 1220 and 1235. Garrison 1949, 187n476, on the other hand, dated the cross between 1210 and 1220.
7. Garrison 1949, 239, no. 679.
8. Tartuferi 1990, 17.
9. Boskovits 1993a, 74.
10. Boskovits 1993a, 76.
11. Carl Brandon Strehlke, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery; Derbes 1996, 190n52; and Rebecca W. Corrie, in Evans and Wixom 1997, 488–89.
12. Sara Bonini, in Boskovits and Tartuferi 2003, 232–35.
13. Marcucci 1958, 21, 37–39.
14. For more on the Magdalen Master, see the entry on the Gallery's *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Leonard and Peter and Scenes from the Life of Saint Peter*.
15. Inv. no. 319. See Oertel 1953, 10–42; and Garrison 1956, 303–12.
16. The attribution of the Cologne *Virgin*, whose early provenance is unknown, has traditionally shifted between the Florentine and Lucchese schools, with various dates between the 1250s and 1260s. Boskovits 1993a, 74n146, followed Oertel 1953 and convincingly attributed it to the same artist responsible for a “Berlinghieresque” cross in the Palazzo Barberini, Rome.
17. Boskovits 1993a, 94–95. Boskovits subsequently amended his opinion and attributed the panel to a “Berlinghieresque” painter; see Boskovits 2007, 144n15.
18. For the dating of the *Saint Zenobius* dossal, see Boskovits 1993a, 90–91.
19. The present church of San Francesco was not erected until around 1276, but there is some architectural evidence that it may have replaced an earlier, more modest structure, built sometime before 1260. A sixteenth-century engraving records the former presence in the church of a panel, now lost, showing Saint Francis and stories of his life and bearing the date 1228. Like the *Accademia Virgin*, however, this work may have been moved there from a different location. See, most recently, Salvetrini 2019, 23–25.
20. Rebecca W. Corrie, in Evans and Wixom 1997, 489 (with previous bibliography).



Florentine School, ca. 1230, *The Deposition*, One of Three Panels from a Tabernacle Wing

Artist	Florentine School, ca. 1230
Title	<i>The Deposition</i> , One of Three Panels from a Tabernacle Wing
Date	ca. 1230
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	43.8 × 36.4 cm (17 1/4 × 14 3/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.1b

For more on this painting, see Florentine School, *The Crucifixion*.

Condition

For general information on all three panels, see the condition report for the *The Crucifixion*.

The panel depicting the *Deposition* ranges in height from 43.0 to 43.8 centimeters and in width from 36.2 to 36.4 centimeters. Its paint surface (fig. 1) is only marginally less well preserved than the *Crucifixion*. The vertical split through the center of the panel is slightly more prominent here and has caused some flaking of paint through the figure of Joseph of Arimathea and in Christ's left shoulder. Other significant areas of loss are confined to the legs of Saint John the Evangelist near the lower-right edge of the composition, the Virgin's draperies at the level of the crook of her right arm, the folds of the loincloth above Christ's right calf, and the faces of the Magdalen and the Holy Woman, whose head is visible between the Magdalen and the Virgin. Only the last two of these have more than a minor impact on the legibility of the composition. Losses from general abrasion follow the cupped edges of the craquelure, especially in the gold ground and in areas of blue paint. The violet colors of the loincloth and of the Virgin's dress are particularly thin,

whereas the reds and earth tones elsewhere are well preserved. The white of the ladder is intact at the bottom where it overlaps the painted foreground and building but is almost entirely missing above the third rung, where it overlaps the gold. The figure of the Magdalen has been defaced by numerous old scratches, all of which have been repaired.



Fig. 2. *The Deposition*, ca. 1954



Florentine School, ca. 1230, *The Lamentation*, One of Three Panels from a Tabernacle Wing

Artist	Florentine School, ca. 1230
Title	<i>The Lamentation</i> , One of Three Panels from a Tabernacle Wing
Date	ca. 1230
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	37.1 × 36.1 cm (14 5/8 × 14 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.1c

For more on this painting, see Florentine School, *The Crucifixion*.

Condition

For general information on all three panels, see the condition report for the *The Crucifixion*.

The panel depicting the *Lamentation* ranges in height from 36.9 to 37.1 centimeters and in width from 35.8 to 36.1 centimeters. The least structurally sound of the group, its cradle was partially removed along the right half of the picture in 1956 by Andrew Petryn. That half of the panel was thinned further and an auxiliary support added, resulting in a pronounced convex warp to the right side. The auxiliary support was removed by Christy Cunningham in a cleaning of 1986. The paint surface of the *Lamentation* (fig. 1), is the most damaged of the three panels. It was considered too fragile to clean or exhibit in 1952 but was then reconsidered in 1956, at which time it was addressed more aggressively than the others. The center split has resulted in extensive paint loss, and movement along this split prompted another campaign of intervention in 1986. This campaign adopted a solution of visible (trateggio) inpainting to fill losses, contrasting to the invisible inpainting adopted in treating the other panels. Losses in the *Lamentation* are larger and more

numerous than in the other two scenes, affecting both lower corners of the panel; the top-left margin; the tower at the left, through the cornice and left edge of its upper story and the right edge of its upper story through the halo of Joseph of Arimathea; Joseph's right shoulder and arm; and a large area beneath Saint John the Evangelist's right sleeve, extending through Christ's calves to the bottom of the panel. The right side of the panel is more abraded than the left, with a near total loss of gilding, particularly in the haloes. The greatest damage from abrasion occurs through the torso and head of Christ and the head of the Virgin.



Fig. 3. *The Lamentation*, 1957



Master of the Yale Dossal, *Virgin and Child Enthroned
between Saints Leonard and Peter and Scenes from the Life of
Saint Peter*

Artist	Master of the Yale Dossal, Florence, active second half 13th century
Title	<i>Virgin and Child Enthroned between Saints Leonard and Peter and Scenes from the Life of Saint Peter</i>
Date	ca. 1265–70
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 106.0 × 160.0 cm (41 3/4 × 63 in.); picture surface: 98.3 × 152.5 cm (38 3/4 × 60 1/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.3

Inscriptions

to the left of the halo of Saint Leonard, S[AN]C[TU]S LEONAR[DUS]; to the right of the halo of Saint Peter, S[AN]C[TU]S PETRUS; above the Virgin, M[ATE]R TH[EO]N; above the Calling of Saints Peter and Andrew, [. . .] CHRISTUS CLAMAVIT(?) PETRUM ET ANDREAM; above the Fall of Simon Magus, MIRACULUM BEATI PETRI [. . .]; above Saint Peter Freed from Prison, SICUT ANGELUS LIBERAVIT PETRUM CARCERE; above Christ Giving the Keys of the Church to Saint Peter, [illegible]; above Saint Peter Healing the Paralytic, MIRACULUM BEATI PETRI SICUT SANAVIT [. . .]; above the Martyrdoms of Saints Peter and Paul, PASSIO BEATI PETRI ET PAULI

Provenance

James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The panel support is comprised of two planks of fir (abete), oriented horizontally, secured along their join (at

approximately the level of the Christ Child's knees) by three dowel pegs. The support has been thinned to a depth of 1.5 centimeters, possibly when the painting was cradled in 1929, but may have been approximately 3 centimeters in depth originally, judging by the half-exposed dowel channels. There are no indications of nails securing original battens anywhere in the panel. The engaged frame, 4.3 centimeters wide and 1 centimeter deep, is original along the top, right, and bottom edges. A large split runs the full length of each plank—at the level of the saints' and Virgin's hands in the upper plank and just above their ankles in the lower—interrupting the continuity of the paint surface but not resulting in conspicuous loss of pigment.

When it entered the Gallery's collection, the dossal had been liberally repainted and its frame provided with a completely new decorative surface (fig. 1). The repaints were removed by Andrew Petryn in a cleaning of 1954, leaving losses unretouched that exposed underpaint, gesso, linen, or wood (fig. 2). Losses were scattered throughout the panel; major losses were particularly obtrusive in the gold ground, which was partially

preserved only in the areas of Saint Peter's halo and the three narrative scenes on the right side of the panel; the back of the Virgin's throne and the hands of the censuring angels above it; and across the full length of the lower plank below its split. The engaged frame was addressed in a second restoration by Andrew Petryn in 1972, when fragments of surviving original decoration on the top and right moldings were exposed, and the bottom and left moldings were left untreated. The cradle was removed by Gianni Marussich in 1999, who replaced it with two battens to reinforce the planarity of the painting support.

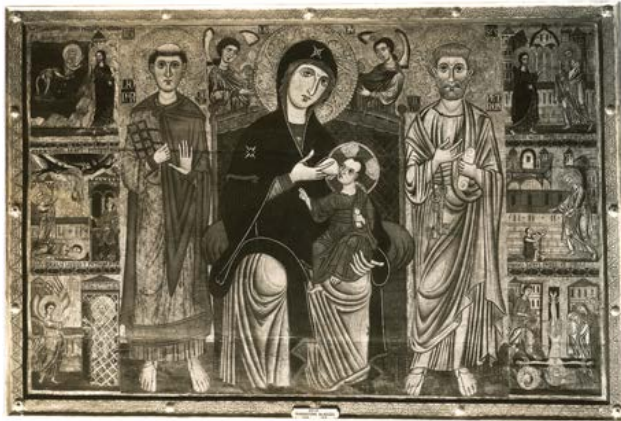


Fig. 1. *Virgin and Child Enthroned between Saints Leonard and Peter and Scenes from the Life of Saint Peter*, ca. 1915



Fig. 2. *Virgin and Child Enthroned between Saints Leonard and Peter and Scenes from the Life of Saint Peter*, ca. 1972

A restoration of 2000–2001 by Irma Passeri filled the losses in the panel but completed, in *tratteggio*, only those that are entirely contained within a field of a single color or whose continuity across different colors could be accurately reconstructed. Profiles bridging areas of which only one could be determined with certainty, such as the back of the Virgin's throne where it meets the hands of the angel on the right and the Virgin's halo, were not

completed, to avoid optically accentuating the losses around them. These instead were toned back to a neutral color, consistent with the areas of missing gold throughout the panel. The frame moldings were completed with their missing *pastiglia* appliqués—a floral boss in the center flanked by round bosses, one above and below on the lateral moldings and two to either side on the top and bottom moldings—following the indications of surviving original fragments. A new molding was carved for the left edge to match that on the right. The surfaces of the left and bottom moldings—no original preparatory or final layers survive on the bottom molding—were not reconstructed. Both were completed in the neutral tones matching those of the missing elements of the main pictorial surface, again to avoid lending the impression of a positive shape to adjacent losses.

Discussion

This panel is among the earliest surviving examples of thirteenth-century Tuscan dossals derived from Byzantine models, with a central image of the Virgin and Child flanked by narrative episodes from the lives of Christ or of the saints. Dominating the center of the composition is a large representation of the enthroned *Virgin Galaktotrophousa* (“She who nourishes with milk”)—also known as the *Madonna Lactans*—showing the Virgin nursing the Christ Child. The image, which has been interpreted by scholars in terms of the Eucharistic significance of Mary's milk as the food of salvation and immortality, appears to have originated in early Byzantine or Coptic Egypt.¹ It is later found on eleventh-century Byzantine seals and in the pages of Byzantine illuminated manuscripts, as well as in Roman mosaics, metalwork, and frescoes, but it is rare in Italian panel painting before the fourteenth century. The Yale *Virgin* is one of a handful of extant representations on panel datable between the second and last quarters of the duecento, and the only one contained within a dossal format. Although no prior Tuscan examples of this particular version of the theme are known,² it does find a precedent in devotional panels from Rome and the Lazio region, where the type may have been popularized by the twelfth-century mosaic of the enthroned *Madonna Lactans* on the facade of Santa Maria in Trastevere. Among the most relevant comparisons for the Yale dossal are the so-called *Madonna della Catena* in the church of San Silvestro al Quirinale in Rome, dated to the second quarter of the thirteenth century, and a slightly later version known as the *Madonna della Cantina* in the Museo Diocesano, Gaeta.³ In both of these works, as in the Yale

dossal, the nursing Child is shown holding a scroll in His left hand while blessing with the other, reflecting the conflation of the *lactans* motif with a more common type of *Virgin Hodegetria*.

Directly flanking the enthroned Virgin in the Yale dossal are the full-length figures of Saint Leonard of Noblac, on the left, and Saint Peter, on the right, both identified by inscriptions above their shoulders. Saint Leonard, depicted as a young deacon wearing a scarlet chlamys over a brown dalmatic, holds a book in one hand and blesses with the other. Saint Peter is shown carrying the keys of the Church—originally rendered in gold leaf (now mostly abraded)—looped around his right wrist and raising his right hand in a gesture of blessing while clutching a scroll in his left hand. Standing behind the throne are two angels carrying incense burners (the censer on the right is no longer visible). The central composition is framed on both sides by six narrative quadrants illustrating salient episodes from the life of Saint Peter, in an abbreviated version of the Petrine cycle that finds no equivalent in any Italian altarpiece or devotional panel before the fourteenth century. The scenes, drawn from both biblical and apocryphal sources but not arranged in any proper narrative sequence, are accompanied by a descriptive Latin title elucidating their content. From the top on the left are the Calling of Saints Peter and Andrew (Mark 1:16–17), the Fall of Simon Magus (Pseudo-Marcellus, *Passion of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul*, 56), and Saint Peter Freed from Prison (Acts 12:6–8). On the right are Christ Handing the Keys of the Church to Saint Peter (Matthew 16:17–19), Saint Peter Healing the Cripple (Acts 3:1–8), and the Martyrdom of Saints Peter and Paul (Pseudo-Marcellus, *Passion of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul*, 58).



Fig. 3. Meliore, *Virgin and Child Enthroned between Saints Peter and Paul and Scenes from Their Legend*, ca. 1265–70. Tempera and gold on panel, 95.3 × 154.9 cm (37 1/2 × 61 in.). San Leolino at Panzano, Greve in Chianti

Significantly, the iconography of the Fall of Simon Magus and of the Martyrdom of Saints Peter and Paul departs from that of earlier or near-contemporary Tuscan representations of Saint Peter’s life on panel, as exemplified by the dossals by Meliore in the church of San Leolino at Panzano (fig. 3) or by Guido di Graziano in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena.⁴ As first pointed out by Gloria Kury Keach, the inclusion of the martyrdom of Saint Paul alongside that of Saint Peter points to a possible dependence on models derived from the lost Petrine cycles in the ancient basilica of Saint Peter in Rome, a church that was the prototype for the decoration of all new foundations dedicated to the saint throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁵ Central to Roman Petrine iconography was the emphasis on the spiritual brotherhood between Peter and Paul and their joint mission and martyrdom in Rome, as recounted in apocryphal sources such as the *Passion of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul*.⁶ Written around the fifth or sixth century, this text focuses on the meeting of the two apostles in Rome and their confrontation with Nero and the sorcerer Simon Magus. According to the story, the magician, who had boasted that he could fly, jumped from a tower and was held aloft by demons until the prayers of Peter and Paul caused him to crash to his death, leading Nero to order the execution of the apostles in retaliation. A representation of the Fall of Simon Magus followed by the martyrdoms of the two apostles was included in the lost mosaic decoration of the eighth-century oratory of Pope John VII in Old Saint Peter’s, whose original appearance is recorded by the seventeenth-century drawings of Giacomo Grimaldi. The scenes also follow each other in some tenth- and eleventh-century liturgical manuscripts as well as in the earliest-known Petrine cycles in Tuscany in the Upper Church of Assisi (ca. 1290) and in San Piero in Grado, Pisa (ca. 1300). Common to Roman-derived representations of the Fall of Simon Magus is a close adherence to the apocryphal narrative, which established the supremacy of Peter as the executor of God’s will: “Turning to Peter, Paul said, ‘It is up to me to entreat God on bended knees, and it is up to you to act . . . because you were chosen first by the Lord’” (*Passion*, 52).⁷ In these versions, as in the Yale panel, Paul is shown kneeling in prayer next to Peter, whose authority is established by his standing position and commanding gesture as he instructs the devils to let go of the magician.

The Yale dossal was first inserted by Osvald Sirén into a group of images that he initially attributed to a follower of Margaritone d’Arezzo, responsible also for the dossal in the Galleria dell’Accademia, Florence, depicting Mary Magdalen and scenes from her life.⁸ Richard Offner, who

established the Florentine context of the master's style, subsequently related the Yale panel to a portable triptych in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 4),⁹ and a much-damaged *Virgin and Child* in the Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts (fig. 5), a work later recognized by Edward Garrison as the central element of a triptych that also included two wings presently in the Museo Civico Amedeo Lia, La Spezia (fig. 6).¹⁰ According to Offner, these pictures represented the earliest phase in the career of the so-called Magdalen Master, predating the Accademia panel after which he is named. Offner's opinion was reiterated by Gertrude Coor-Achenbach in the most comprehensive discussion of the artist's development and chronology to date.¹¹ Coor-Achenbach placed the Yale panel at the head of a group of works—including the Harvard *Virgin and Child* and the Metropolitan Museum triptych, although the latter was regarded as a workshop product—which purportedly defined a first, "Florentine-Romanesque" phase in the Magdalen Master's development.



Fig. 4. Master of the Yale Dossal, *Virgin and Child Enthroned between Saints Peter and Paul and Scenes from the Life of Christ*, ca. 1265–70. Tempera and gold on panel, 40.6 × 56.3 cm (16 × 22 1/8 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of George Blumenthal, 1941, inv. no. 41.100.8



Fig. 5. Master of the Yale Dossal, *Virgin and Child with Two Angels*, ca. 1265–70. Tempera and gold on panel, 24.5 × 19.2 cm (9 5/8 × 7 1/2 in.). Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass., Gift of Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., inv. no. 1919.567



Fig. 6. Master of the Yale Dossal, *Scenes from the Life of Christ and the Stigmatization of Saint Francis*, ca. 1265–70. Tempera and gold on panel, each 60 × 19 cm (23 5/8 × 7 1/2 in.). Museo Civico Amedeo Lia, La Spezia, inv. nos. 162–63

The observations of Offner and Coor-Achenbach have been unanimously embraced by modern scholarship, which lists the Yale dossal among the canonical early works of the Magdalen Master. Still open to debate, however, is the definition of this painter's artistic personality and the extent to which the not-entirely homogeneous body of works gathered under his name represents the efforts of a single hand. Whereas scholars such as Angelo Tartuferi have upheld the view of the artist as a unique personality at the head of one of the largest and most successful workshops in Florence in the second half of the thirteenth century, others, following Luisa Marcucci,¹² have used the title "Magdalen Master" as a term of convenience to indicate a common style or *compagnia* of painters working in close association. The absence of any dated paintings among those traditionally assigned to the Magdalen Master, furthermore, has resulted in a variety of opinions regarding the parameters of his activity. Offner viewed the artist's work as essentially aligned with developments in Florentine painting of the third quarter of the duecento and compared the structure of the Yale panel to those of the Vico l'Abate and Panzano dossals, now attributed, respectively, to Coppo di Marcovaldo and Meliore. Coor-Achenbach, following George Martin Richter,¹³ significantly extended the length of the artist's activity to encompass four decades, between 1260 and 1300, and divided his corpus into three perceived stages of evolution, from the "Florentine-Romanesque" phase of the Yale dossal to the "Coppesque-Byzantine" period of the

Poppi altarpiece and the “Cimabuesque-Gothic” period of the Accademia’s *Magdalen* dossal. Giulia Sinibaldi subsequently defined the master’s style more specifically in terms of a union of elements derived from the Bigallo Master, the “Master of Vico l’Abate” (now Coppo), and the Florence Baptistery mosaics, while at the same time noting the affinities—already emphasized by Richter—with the work of Meliore.¹⁴ Garrison scaled back the master’s activity to a period between around 1265 and 1290 and dated the Yale dossal to about 1270, shortly after the Harvard *Virgin and Child* (ca. 1268–70) and the Metropolitan Museum triptych (ca. 1265). A date around 1270 for the Yale dossal was accepted by Charles Seymour, Jr., and Keach, who emphasized, however, the distinction between these works and others under the master’s name and reiterated the notion of a *compagnia* of different artists operating between around 1250 and 1290. Tartuferi, who regards the Magdalen Master as a single personality, accepted the narrower chronological limits to the artist’s career proposed by Garrison and still associated the Yale, Harvard, and Metropolitan paintings with the “Florentine-Romanesque” phase proposed by Coor-Achenbach—in the seventh decade of the thirteenth century—adducing an eclectic and not-always relevant mix of influences on these works.¹⁵ Gaudenz Freuler,¹⁶ followed by Daniela Parenti,¹⁷ redirected attention to the personality of Meliore and dated both the Yale dossal and the Metropolitan Museum triptych to around 1270, based on perceived stylistic affinities with Meliore’s signed and dated 1271 altarpiece in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (fig. 7).



Fig. 7. Meliore, *Blessing Redeemer with Saint Peter, the Virgin Mary, Saint John the Evangelist, and Saint Paul*, 1271. Tempera and gold on panel, 85 × 210 cm (33 1/2 × 82 5/8 in.). Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 9153

The notion that the works currently gathered under the Magdalen Master’s name might be the product of different personalities is confirmed by the noticeable disparities in quality of execution, as well as in figural types, between the Yale panel and the dossal in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, which shares the same

compositional structure as the Yale painting and is traditionally regarded as the artist’s masterpiece.¹⁸ The Paris dossal was placed by Coor-Achenbach in the same early period of the master’s activity as the Yale panel, while subsequent scholars have placed it as much as a decade or more later,¹⁹ possibly in an effort to account for its noticeably greater sophistication and advanced spatial and formal concerns. These elements, however, appear less the result of a progressive evolution in style than the manifestation of an altogether more accomplished artist working from the same models.

There is little doubt that the Yale panel and the works most closely related to it are the products of a separate and unique personality. The distinctive idiom of this artist is recognizable in the figural types with regular oval heads, round “goggle eyes,”²⁰ and pronounced noses that also characterize the Harvard and Lia fragments as well as the Metropolitan Museum triptych, despite their differences in scale. A further link among these works, whose homogeneity in concept and execution was already pointed out by Offner, is the identical tooling pattern in the haloes of the subsidiary figures, as revealed by a comparison of the narrative scenes in the Yale dossal with those in the other panels. The perceived similarities of these works to the group of images most closely related to the Magdalen panel are only superficial and do not extend beyond the sharing of compositional formulas and an artisanal quality that is common to the more conservative strain in Florentine painting of the seventh and eighth decades of the thirteenth century, descended from the *retardataire* culture of the Bigallo Master.

As intuited by previous authors, the closest reference point for the proper assessment of the personality of the artist responsible for the Yale dossal and the works associated with it is the production of Meliore. The influence of the latter is reflected in the often-cited compositional relationship of the Yale panel to the Panzano dossal and in the stylistic affinities, already noted by Freuler and Parenti, among the Yale panel, the Metropolitan Museum triptych, and Meliore’s signed altarpiece in the Uffizi. Possibly even stronger comparisons may be found in the mosaics attributed to Meliore or his circle in the southwest segment of the dome of the Baptistery in Florence, usually dated to the second half of the 1260s;²¹ and in a little-known fresco cycle in the Ospedale della Misericordia in Prato. The latter was viewed by Parenti as a precedent for the Yale panel and catalogued by Boskovits as the effort of an artist strongly influenced by Meliore and more or less contemporary to the Panzano dossal.²² The similarities to

these works seem to confirm that the anonymous author of the Yale dossal and of the images related to it, here christened “Master of the Yale Dossal,” should be sought in Meliore’s circle rather than in that of the Magdalen Master.

Based on the presence of Saint Leonard in the position of honor at the Virgin’s right, Seymour first suggested that the Yale dossal may have been commissioned for the ancient parish church of San Leonardo in Arcetri, built around the eleventh century in the hills outside the Porta San Giorgio in Florence. Although accepted by Luciano Bellosi,²³ the possibility of such a provenance has largely been ignored by other scholars, who have pointed to the painting’s emphasis on Saint Peter and his legend. Documentary evidence dating back to the middle of the fourteenth century, however, indicates that, by that date—although presumably beginning much earlier—San Leonardo in Arcetri was a dependency of the now-vanished Florentine basilica of San Pier Scheraggio, whose prior and canons were responsible for the election of its rectors.²⁴ Consecrated in 1068, San Pier Scheraggio was one of the oldest and most important churches in Florence, the place where the *gonfalonieri* and priors were elected before the construction of the town hall and the site of orations by Dante and Boccaccio.²⁵ The suggestion that a work such as the Yale dossal—if not this very painting—may have provided the visual inspiration for Dante’s poetic references to the image of the *Madonna Lactans*²⁶ acquires added import given the relationship between San Leonardo and San Pier Scheraggio. It is not out of the question that the canons of San Pier Scheraggio played a role in determining the Petrine iconography of the Yale dossal, whose location on the high altar would have provided a striking visual parallel for the liturgical texts recited on the feasts of Saint Peter.²⁷ —PP

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Jarves 1860, 42–43, no. 13; Jarves 1861, pl. A (engraving), fig. 2; Sturgis 1868, 25–26, no. 12; Brown 1871, 13, no. 12; Rankin 1905, 7, no. 12; Sirén 1916a, 11–13; Sirén 1922, 272–75; van Marle 1923, 336n1, 351–53, 355, fig. 189; Offner 1927a, 2, 11–13, fig. 4E; Richter 1930, 230n13, 235; “Handbook” 1931, 25; Sandberg-Vavalà 1934, 55, no. 162, pl. 25B; *Arts of the Middle Ages* 1940, 16–17, no. 47, pl. 7; Swarzenski 1940, 2, 7; Giulia Sinibaldi, in Sinibaldi and Brunetti 1943, 221, 229, 231; “Picture Book Number One” 1946, fig. 2; Comstock 1946, 47; Coor-Achenbach 1947, 120n12, 126n38; Garrison 1949, 142, no. 366; Steegmuller 1951, 293; Kaftal 1952, col. 627, no. 186, fig. 723; Seymour 1970, 9–11, no. 1; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 599; Gloria Kury Keach, in Seymour et al. 1972, 9–10, no. 1, fig. 1a; Ritchie and Neilson 1972, no. 1; Tartuferi 1986b, 276; Castelnovo 1986, 2:607; Marques 1987, 288; Boskovits 1987, 284n2;

Tartuferi 1990, 43, 92, fig. 142; Freuler 1991, 26; Kenney 1992, 131; Parenti 1992, 54; Mazzaro 1996, 98, 111, pl. 2; Bellosi 1998, 4; Dean 2001, 13, 16–17, no. 1; Garland 2003, 64, fig. 3.9, pl. 4; Finch 2004, 69–70, 71n27, fig. 5; Daniela Parenti, in Tartuferi and Scalini 2004, 100; Smith 2005, 333, fig. 5; Angelo Tartuferi, in Chiodo and Padovani 2014, 3:179, 182

NOTES

1. Since Mary, as a virgin, would have been incapable of producing milk, the image was meant to highlight the divine nature of Christ as he received nourishment from God through her. The author is grateful for the summary of the literature on the Virgin *Galaktotrophousa* provided by Kimberly Staking in her seminar paper for the University of Maryland; see Staking 1996. The type’s origins have been much debated by scholars. See Bolman 2004, 1173–84; and, more recently, Higgins 2012, 71–90.
2. The only other Tuscan duecento example, a Pisan dossal fragment in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, is later in date and presents a variant of the iconography, with a three-quarter-length Virgin and the Child clutching her finger and breast; see Garrison 1949, 232, no. 647.
3. For these works, see Leone 2012, 50–52, no. 1.5; and Marchionibus 2018, 213–24.
4. Inv. no. 15.
5. Gloria Kury Keach, in Seymour et al. 1972, 9–10, no. 1. See also Kessler 1989, 45–64. For the evolution of the iconography of Petrine cycles, see Bisconti and Manacorda 1998.
6. Eastman 2015, 221–69.
7. Viscontini 2001, 457–83, esp. 472–74.
8. Inv. no. 1890 n. 8466. See Sirén 1916a, 11–13; and Sirén 1922, 272–75.
9. Offner 1927a, 2, 11–13.
10. See Garrison 1949, 142, no. 366; and Zeri and De Marchi 1997, 204–5, nos. 87–88.
11. Coor-Achenbach 1947, 119–27, 129.
12. Marcucci 1958, 49–56.
13. Richter 1930, 235.
14. Giulia Sinibaldi, in Sinibaldi and Brunetti 1943, 231.
15. Tartuferi’s allusion to the Master of Crucifix 432, named after a cross in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, seems chronologically far-reaching, and that to the Rovezzano Master appears misplaced from a stylistic point of view. Miklós Boskovits, who only accepted one other panel beside the Rovezzano *Virgin* as a work by the same hand, distinguished the *retardataire* qualities of this painter from those of the Bigallo Master, noting that “the

manner of this author appears actually more archaic than archaizing, and it is difficult to find a place for him within the general panorama of Florentine Duecento painting"; Boskovits 1993a, 33.

16. Freuler 1991, 26.
17. Daniela Parenti, in Tartuferi and Scalini 2004, 100.
18. Inv. PE 76.
19. Daniela Parenti, in Tartuferi and Scalini 2004, 98-99, no. 9.
20. Offner 1927a, 12.
21. Miklós Boskovits, who most recently assigned some of the figures in the mosaics to Meliore himself, compared them to the Panzano dossal and Meliore's *Virgin and Child* in the Museo di Arte Sacra, Certaldo, with a date "around or shortly before 1270"; Boskovits 2007, 153, 156-57, pls. XXI-XXII (with previous bibliography). Based on the condition of the mosaics in the second tier and overall result of previous restorations, Anna Maria Giusti preferred to classify these images as belonging more generally to the stylistic milieu of Meliore; see Giusti 1994, 309, 521-22. The relationship of the Yale dossal to the Baptistery mosaics was already noted by Gloria Kury Keach, in Seymour et al. 1972, 10.
22. Parenti 1992, 54; and Boskovits 1993a, 136, pls. LXIII (1-6).
23. Bellosi 1998, 4.
24. Moreni 1794, 21. For a complete history of the church, see Botteri Landucci and Dorini 1996.
25. Richa 1755, 1-32. Tradition states that Dante and others spoke from the famous Romanesque pulpit transferred from San Pier Scheraggio to San Leonardo in Arcetri in 1782, after the suppression of San Piero.
26. Mazzaro 1996, 98.
27. For the relationship between Petrine iconography and readings for the feasts of Saint Peter, see Viscontini 2001, 478-80.



Follower of Meliore (Master of the Yale Dossal?), *Triptych: Virgin and Child with Saints Dominic and Francis; The Crucifixion with the Penitent Magadalen; Saints Michael the Archangel, Peter Martyr, and Catherine of Alexandria*

Artist	Follower of Meliore (Master of the Yale Dossal?), Florence, active second half 13th century
Title	<i>Triptych: Virgin and Child with Saints Dominic and Francis; The Crucifixion with the Penitent Magadalen; Saints Michael the Archangel, Peter Martyr, and Catherine of Alexandria</i>
Date	ca. 1270
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	center panel: 22.7 × 18.0 cm (9 × 7 1/8 in.); left panel: 21.0 × 9.0 cm (8 1/4 × 3 5/8 in.); right panel: 21.0 × 8.8 cm (8 1/4 × 3 1/2 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.4

Inscriptions

on center panel, to the left of the Virgin's head, M[ATE]R;
on center panel, to the right of the Virgin's head, TH[EO]N

Provenance

James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The center panel is carved with its two tiers of moldings from a single piece of poplar with a vertical grain, 2.7 centimeters thick at the spandrels and 1.7 centimeters thick at the lining arch. It is covered with linen and gesso on the front, sides, and back. The back may have been painted fictive porphyry, but only scattered traces of pigment remain on the burnished gesso (fig. 1). The center of the back has been worn through the layers of gesso and linen to expose the wood support, and numerous scattered losses in the gesso and in the wood have been

filled with putty during the painting's most recent restoration, in 1998. A modern bottom molding, 1.3 centimeters wide, has been added to the front of the panel. The wings are both 9 millimeters thick. Hinge scars on their reverses have been filled with putty, as have losses at the top and two bottom corners of the left wing. As described below, the paint surface has been much restored over several historical and recent campaigns; local repairs to the gilding in the center panel and left wing may date to the early nineteenth century. The faces of all the figures, with the possible exception of Saint Michael in the right wing, have been liberally reinforced; the Virgin's blue draperies in the center panel and the dark "ground" planes in the wings are much restored, as are the white and black forms of Saint Dominic's habit. The Virgin's rose-colored dress and her hand and most of the figure of Saint Michael appear to be original.

Discussion



Fig. 1. Reverse of the center panel

The number and frequency of bibliographic citations dedicated to this small triptych are indicative of the great rarity of two classes of object to which it belongs: Florentine paintings of the thirteenth century and completely preserved triptychs from the same period. Notwithstanding the enormous popularity of the triptych form in Italy in the fourteenth century, Kurt Weitzmann stressed that it was not a type of liturgical or devotional object native to Italy, where worshippers were unaccustomed to traveling with their objects of veneration.¹ He pointed instead to the frequency with which the form is encountered in Byzantine culture beginning in the twelfth century, and he cited one particular example, in the monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai, that offers a close prototype or parallel for the structure of the Yale triptych. The triptych at Mount Sinai, attributed by Weitzmann to a French Crusader artist, shows a Crucifixion on its center panel, in an arch-topped picture field that is recessed within the panel surface.² In the elevated spandrels of the frame are two mourning angels who would have remained visible when the wings, portraying standing figures of Moses and Aaron, were closed over the Crucifixion.



Fig. 2. Reverse of the left and right panels

In the Yale version, the central image is similarly painted within a recessed, arch-topped pictorial field, but in this case, the representation is of the half-length Virgin and Child with a Greek inscription, “M[ATE]R TH[EO]N” (Mother of God), flanked by diminutive figures of Saints Dominic and Francis. As in the Mount Sinai painting, the spandrels above the main composition are filled with mourning angels. Instead of a full-length saint, however, the left wing is occupied by a Crucifixion, with the tiny figure of Mary Magdalen kneeling in adoration at the foot of the Cross. In the upper half of the right wing is the figure of the archangel Saint Michael with spread wings and a globe in his left hand, an image much favored in Byzantine icons; he is dressed in Byzantine imperial garb and crushes a dragon underfoot with his long spear. Standing below him are a Dominican saint with a martyr’s palm—presumably Saint Peter Martyr, who was canonized in 1253—and Saint Catherine of Alexandria. Following a Byzantine type, she is shown as a crowned princess holding a small cross in her right hand.³ Painted on the gessoed exterior of each wing are two simple crosses set against red backgrounds (fig. 2), a motif commonly found on Mount Sinai icons.⁴ It may be presumed that, as in the example cited above, the center panel of the triptych originally had a projecting base that would have acted as a shelf for the wings when closed and would have allowed it to stand unsupported when

open. The present lower molding of the “frame” around the Virgin and Child of the Yale triptych is, in fact, modern and may well cover damaged extensions of the Virgin’s dress as well as the feet of Saints Dominic and Francis.

Early writers referring to the Yale triptych were dismissive of its quality, describing it as a “bad imitation of the Byzantine manner”⁵ or a “rather poor specimen . . . evidently executed by a man of very limited technical ability.”⁶ Richard Offner expressed greater appreciation for its rarity, calling it “a unique example in such a small scale of a well-preserved Florentine house-tabernacle of this period.”⁷ Although he labeled it simply as “Florentine, ca. 1270,” he followed Oswald Sirén in considering it a product of the same atelier responsible for the dossal with the *Virgin and Child Enthroned between Saints Leonard and Peter* and *Scenes from the Life of Saint Peter* in the Yale University Art Gallery, which he attributed to the Magdalen Master. George Richter rejected a direct association with the Magdalen Master or his workshop and inserted the Yale triptych into a group of works that, while echoing “certain notes” of the master’s style, were more closely related to Coppo di Marcovaldo.⁸ Except for Charles Seymour, Jr., who reiterated the attribution to the Magdalen Master, and Joanna Cannon, who preferred the more generic label of “Tuscan (perhaps Pisan),” most recent authors have opted for Offner’s “Florentine” label and dating.⁹ In an effort to narrow the stylistic field of reference, Angelo Tartuferi highlighted points of contact with the more archaic, “Pisanizing culture” of the so-called Master of Santa Maria Primerana, a personality whose identity has since been questioned by Miklós Boskovits.¹⁰

Most attempts to provide a proper assessment of the Yale triptych have failed to consider its current state of preservation and the significant alterations to its original appearance resulting from multiple campaigns of restoration. As revealed by old photographs (figs. 3–4), losses and retouches have considerably affected the appearance of several of the figures, while that of Mary Magdalen has been completely reconstructed. The heavy reinforcement of the outlines of all of the heads and draperies, moreover, has contributed to the impression of a greater coarseness of execution than is perhaps warranted by the original. Those parts of the composition that allow for clear interpretation confirm the association proposed by earlier scholars between this triptych and the Yale dossal, here attributed to a follower of Meliore christened the Master of the Yale Dossal.



Fig. 3. Triptych: *Virgin and Child with Saints Dominic and Francis*; *The Crucifixion with the Penitent Magdalen*; *Saints Michael the Archangel, Peter Martyr, and Catherine of Alexandria*, after 1915



Fig. 4. Triptych: *Virgin and Child with Saints Dominic and Francis*; *The Crucifixion with the Penitent Magdalen*; *Saints Michael the Archangel, Peter Martyr, and Catherine of Alexandria*, after 1960

The closest analogies for the triptych are to be found in two works on a smaller scale that have traditionally been grouped with the Yale dossal: the portable triptych with the Virgin and Child and scenes from the life of Christ in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 5), and the dismembered triptych originally comprising a much-damaged Virgin and Child in the Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts (fig. 6), as well as two wings with narrative scenes in the Museo Civico Amedeo Lia, La Spezia (fig. 7).¹¹ Both the Metropolitan Museum and Harvard/Museo Lia triptychs share technical details with the present work, such as the same punch marks and incised patterns in the haloes of all of the subsidiary figures, as well as compositional features and a similarly broad approach to the rendering of architectural elements. Included in the Lia wings, as in the Yale triptych, is the image of the penitent Magdalen at the foot of the Cross, a motif that is still rare in Tuscan painting at this date. Particularly relevant, however, is the close

formal relationship between many of the figures in the Yale triptych and those in the narrative wings in New York and La Spezia, which are characterized by the same unmistakable physiognomic types, with large foreheads, tightly furrowed brows, wide-open, beady eyes, and pronounced fleshy noses. The head of the Yale Saint Michael—one of the best-preserved figures in this work—is virtually interchangeable, for example, with that of the seraph in the Stigmatization of Saint Francis, in the Lia right wing. Further analogies may be drawn between the bearded faces in three-quarter profile of the Yale Saints Dominic and Peter Martyr and the Lia Saint Francis, or between the standing Virgin in the Yale Crucifixion and the nearly identical copies of the same figure in New York and La Spezia, alike in proportions, demeanor, and dress. Such tight correspondences reflect a common vision, which, like the Yale dossal, is essentially derived from the production of Meliore in the seventh decade of the thirteenth century, when the artist was most receptive to the influence of Coppo di Marcovaldo.



Fig. 5. Master of the Yale Dossal, *Virgin and Child Enthroned between Saints Peter and Paul and Scenes from the Life of Christ*, ca. 1265–70. Tempera and gold on panel, 40.6 × 56.3 cm (16 × 22 1/8 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of George Blumenthal, 1941, inv. no. 41.100.8



Fig. 6. Master of the Yale Dossal, *Virgin and Child with Two Angels*, ca. 1265–70. Tempera and gold on panel, 24.5 × 19.2 cm (9 5/8 × 7 1/2 in.). Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass., Gift of Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., inv. no. 1919.567



Fig. 7. Master of the Yale Dossal, *Scenes from the Life of Christ and the Stigmatization of Saint Francis*, ca. 1265–70. Tempera and gold on panel, each 60 × 19 cm (23 5/8 × 7 1/2 in.). Museo Civico Amedeo Lia, La Spezia, inv. nos. 162–63

Aside from the less pronounced curvature of Christ's body in the Yale Crucifixion—more in tune with Coppo's San Gimignano Cross than with his Pistoia Cross—the most significant difference between the Yale triptych and the above works lies in the representation of the Virgin in the center panel. The overtly byzantinizing features and elongated proportions of this figure set it apart from the rounder, more compact versions that uniformly characterize the Yale dossal and the Metropolitan and Harvard panels. It is difficult to ascertain the extent to which these distinctions denote a different hand or are simply the result of the Yale triptych's dependence on a different iconographic formula and more conscious imitation of Byzantine sources. The image can be inserted into the group of Byzantine-derived representations of the Virgin holding the bare-legged Christ Child—an allusion to the Crucifixion—that became especially popular in Siena in the wake of Coppo's 1261 *Madonna del Bordone*.¹² Among the most notable examples is the half-length version of the subject in Guido da Siena's 1270 dossal in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena,¹³ which reflects a similar prototype and provides a useful chronological framework for the dating of the present work.

Nothing is known about the early provenance of the Yale triptych prior to it entering the collection of James Jackson Jarves. Evidence of a former ownership may once have been provided by a coat of arms—of an individual or institution—that was probably included on the gessoed back of the center panel, in the area where the painted

surface has been deliberately scraped down to the level of the wood underneath. Based on the presence of Saint Dominic in the position of honor on the Virgin's right and the inclusion of Saint Peter Martyr in the right wing, Seymour hypothesized that a Dominican friar may have commissioned the triptych for his private devotions or travels. Cannon proposed that the addition of the smaller figure of Saint Francis, squeezed in almost as an afterthought between the Virgin and the frame, indicated the triptych was executed at a "moment of solidarity" between the two mendicant orders or that its owner was a layperson under the sway of both orders.¹⁴ The presence of the Magdalen at the foot of the Cross, which underscores the penitential character of the image, may also point to an association with one of the lay communities of penitents and *disciplinati* that emerged in the wake of both Dominican and Franciscan preaching.¹⁵ The motif has traditionally been viewed in terms of Franciscan piety, with the figure of the Magdalen as a replacement for that of Saint Francis before the Cross. The preaching of penance, however, was just as central to the Dominican order, which by 1297 had unofficially claimed Mary Magdalen—the "paradigmatic penitential saint"—as its patroness.¹⁶ The central role played by the Dominicans, as much as the Franciscans, in mediating artistic exchanges between Italy and the Byzantine East would account for the intimate knowledge of Byzantine sources that is reflected in both the structural and compositional similarities of the Yale triptych to Crusader icons.¹⁷ —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 42, no. 11; Sturgis 1868, 19, no. 3; Brown 1871, 11, no. 3; Sirén 1916a, 15, no. 4; van Marle 1923, 336n1, 355–58, fig. 192; Offner 1927a, 2, 13–14, fig. 5; Richter 1930, 230n13; Sandberg-Vavalà 1934, 37, no. 83; *Arts of the Middle Ages* 1940, 17, no. 48; Kaftal 1948, 22–25, no. 2, figs. II(1), II(2); Garrison 1949, 125, no. 330; Steegmuller 1951, 293; Kaftal 1952, col. 312, fig. b; Stubblebine 1964, 85; Seymour 1970, 11–13, no. 2; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 217; Ritchie and Neilson 1972, no. 1; Cannon 1980, 175, 181n47, 204, 209, 256, 269, 326; Weitzmann 1984, 153, pl. 58, fig. 12; Tartuferi 1986b, 274, 282n28; Tartuferi 1990, 38, 52n4, fig. 107; Kenney 1992, 131; Cook 1999, 135–36, fig. 108; Schmidt 2005, 32–33, fig. 14, 67n55; Cannon 2013, 208–12, 383n36, fig. 188

NOTES

1. Weitzmann 1984, 152–53.
2. Weitzmann 1984, pl. 58, no. 11.
3. For a comparable image, see the thirteenth-century dossal *Saint Catherine of Alexandria and Scenes from Her Life* in the Museo Civico, Pisa (inv. no. 3), which was probably copied from a Mount Sinai icon; Weitzmann 1984, 154, figs. 13–14.
4. Schmidt 2005, 45 (with previous bibliography).
5. Sturgis 1868, 19, no. 3.
6. Sirén 1916a, 15, no. 4.
7. Offner 1927a, 2.
8. Richter 1930, 230n13.
9. Seymour 1970, 11–13, no. 2; and Cannon 2013, 208.
10. Tartuferi 1990, 38; and Boskovits 1993a, 105–8. Boskovits preferred to recognize in the Santa Maria Primerana grouping the late career of the more prolific Master of Crucifix 434 (named after a painted cross in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence).
11. The Lia panels, still relatively unknown to scholars, are illustrated in Zeri and De Marchi 1997, 204–5, nos. 87–88, where they are catalogued with some reservation as works of the Magdalen Master.
12. Corrie 1996, 43–65.
13. Inv. no. 7.
14. Cannon 2013, 208–9. Cannon 1980, 209, points out that the representation of the two saints together is not unusual in the period preceding the Council of Lyon of 1274, when the two orders were united in their fight for official recognition. In the half century following the council, Francis is almost never included in Dominican paintings.
15. Jansen 1995, 4–5n13. For Dominican penitential communities in thirteenth-century Florence, beginning with those closely affiliated with Santa Maria Novella, see Benvenuti Papi 1990, 17–41, 593–634. Among the earliest female communities associated with the Dominicans were those of Sant'Agnes di Borgo San Lorenzo in Mugello, supposedly founded by Peter Martyr, and San Iacopo in Pian di Ripoli, comprised of matrons and widows from some of the most prominent Florentine families. The monastery in Pian di Ripoli had begun as a settlement of Dominican brothers, who handed it over to a small community of *pinzochere della penitenza* in 1229. The community became so successful that in 1292 the site in Pian di Ripoli had to be abandoned because of overcrowding. The nuns resettled inside Florence, split between the new monasteries of San Jacopo di Ripoli and San Domenico in Cafaggio. See del Migliore 1684, 231–35; and Richa 1756, 293–311.
16. Jansen 1995, 2n3.
17. On Dominican missionary activity in the Holy Land and elsewhere, see Derbes and Neff 2004, 449–61 (with previous bibliography).



Master of Varlungo, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels*

Artist	Master of Varlungo, Florence, active last quarter 13th century
Title	<i>Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels</i>
Date	ca. 1285–90
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall, including modern engaged frame: 81.0 × 43.3 cm (31 7/8 × 17 in.); original panel: 76.7 × 40.5 cm (30 1/4 × 15 7/8 in.); picture surface: 73.6 × 36.3 cm (29 × 14 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.202

Provenance

Art market, Florence; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, by 1927

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, retains its original thickness, varying between 2.3 and 2.8 centimeters, except where it has been planed to a bevel along its outer edges to match the thickness of the modern engaged frame with which it is surrounded. It has been cut irregularly on all sides but more so along the bottom edge, which may have been cropped within the original painted surface. A triangular insert, roughly 4 centimeters tall and 6 centimeters wide, replaces original, damaged wood at the peak of the gable. Approximately 3 centimeters at the top of the picture surface is visible as new gilding on this insert; the rest of the insert is covered by the engaged frame.



Fig. 1. *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels*, after 1968

Three short segments of the frame are original—on the left edge at the height of the cushion on the Virgin's throne and on the left and right edges of the gable (fig. 1). These segments were incorporated into a complete modern molding, including a projecting, capping molding that runs the full outer perimeter of the frame and

probably has no relation to the original profile. The entire frame, including the original segments, was regessoed and regilt during a restoration in 1998–99. This restoration also regilt losses in the background, especially between the head of the Virgin and the angel on the left, and repainted large, complete losses in the Virgin's face and scattered throughout her blue draperies, especially in the area below her right knee. The rest of the paint surface is abraded and has been liberally retouched—above all, in the pink of the Virgin's dress and in the architectural forms of her footstool.

Discussion

This unusually small-scale rendering of the Virgin in Majesty was identified as an important work by the Master of Varlungo by Edward Garrison in 1949.¹ It had previously borne an attribution to the Lucchese painter Deodato Orlandi² as well as more generic references to the Florentine school³ or the Tuscan school.⁴ Only Charles Seymour, Jr., appears to have questioned Garrison's claims for its significance in the evolution of Florentine painting between the mature style of Cimabue and the early works of Giotto by advancing an attribution to the Pisan Master of San Martino.⁵



Fig. 2. Master of Varlungo, *Virgin and Child with Angels*, ca. 1285–95. Tempera and gold on panel, 115 × 50 cm (45 1/4 × 19 5/8 in.). San Pietro in Varlungo, Florence

Appraisals of the significance of the Master of Varlungo—an artist who was first isolated by Evelyn Sandberg-Valalà in 1934 and whose career was more fully outlined and characterized by Giulia Sinibaldi, Giulia Brunetti, and Roberto Longhi over the following decade⁶—have vacillated widely in recent scholarship, but the place of the Griggs *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels* within his oeuvre has never been doubted. Longhi considered the artist one of Cimabue's greatest and most advanced pupils, while Sinibaldi and Brunetti, who named him after a fragmentary *Virgin and Child* in the church of San Pietro in Varlungo, Florence (fig. 2), emphasized the more archaic aspects of his style, linking him to the tradition of the Magdalen Master during the last quarter of the thirteenth century.⁷ Giovanni Previtali expanded on Longhi's encomium, describing the Master

of Varlungo as the only thoroughly modern artist in Florence in the last two decades of the thirteenth century—the one Florentine painter who had so completely absorbed the lessons of Cimabue’s innovative style that he could be considered a true precedent to Giotto rather than an early consequence of Giotto’s impact.⁸

For Previtali, the eight works then known by the Master of Varlungo displayed a wide range of quality and iconography, presupposing a development over time. No subsequent writers, however, have agreed on the criteria for establishing a linear progression among these paintings. Previtali, for example, considered the Griggs *Virgin and Child* as necessarily one of the Master’s earliest works, not as fully Cimabuesque as a related but more animated composition in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,⁹ which must itself have been painted relatively early in the sequence of works by the artist. He bolstered that assessment by observing that in the Griggs painting, the angels’ hands disappear behind the Virgin’s throne rather than resting on its back in a more spatially demonstrative manner, and the draperies cast over their shoulders are not knotted in the front, as they are in the Master’s later paintings, such as the *Virgins* at the churches of Santa Maria, Stia, or San Pietro, Romena (now in the Cappella del Crocifisso in the Propositura, Arezzo). No later writer repeated these observations. Anna Maria Maetzke considered the Griggs painting a pallid reflection of the Stia and Romena *Virgins*, assuming therefore that it must postdate them.¹⁰ Angelo Tartuferi concurred with Previtali in placing the Griggs *Virgin and Child* earlier but differed from him in rejecting altogether the influence of Cimabue, seeing the painting as a derivation from the example of the Magdalen Master and probably datable around 1285.¹¹ Tartuferi also differed from other writers in considering three of the works in the Master of Varlungo’s catalogue—the Metropolitan Museum *Virgin and Child*, a *Saint Michael* dossal formerly in the Fiammingo collection, Rome, and a dossal from the James Jackson Jarves Collection also at the Yale University Art Gallery (see *Virgin and Child with Saints James, John the Baptist, Peter, and Francis*)—as imbued to a far greater extent than any of the others with the plasticity and compositional conceits of Giotto’s earliest works. To him, this indicated a different artistic personality rather than the logical evolution of a single pictorial imagination. Tartuferi designated this splinter group the “Pseudo-Master of Varlungo,” a name of art-historical convenience that has not been adopted by later scholars. Daniela Parenti rejected the suggestion that two different painters might be involved in the Varlungo group, suggesting that

the three paintings isolated by Tartuferi represent the last phase of the artist’s maturation.¹² She placed the Griggs panel at a midpoint in the Master’s career, more naturalistic than the name-piece in Florence but less Giottesque than the *Virgins* from Stia or Romena. Luciano Bellosi considered the Griggs and Varlungo paintings the most Cimabuesque of all the artist’s works, without, however, drawing definite chronological implications from that fact.¹³ Similarly, Miklós Boskovits noted the unusual gabled form of the back of the Virgin’s throne in the Griggs panel but hesitated to ascribe it chronological significance.¹⁴

Some of the disagreement within this range of proposals is clearly attributable to the varying states of conservation and restoration in which the Griggs panel has been known to European scholars as well as the small percentage of them who have had an opportunity to study it in person rather than in photograph only. The strongly Cimabuesque cast of the Virgin’s features is a creation of the last campaign of restoration on the panel, for example, which covered a large loss in the upper half of the Virgin’s face. The outer raised molding of the engaged frame was added in relatively modern times, imitating a format more common in the trecento than in the duecento. The clumsy execution of the feathers of the angel’s wing on the left is not an indication of an earlier stage of the artist’s development but a vestige of an early twentieth- or late nineteenth-century repainting. Details such as these offer conflicting clues to the relative dating of the painting and must be discounted entirely, but they are not easy to detect in photographs of the work. The painting’s strong but severely limited palette, the simplified lozenge decoration of the cloth of honor draped over the back of the Virgin’s throne, and the distinctive application of white highlighting atop the azurite blue of the Virgin’s robe—rather than blended with it—imply a derivation of technique and style from the practice of the Magdalen Master and suggest a relatively early date for the panel, almost certainly within the penultimate decade of the thirteenth century. Iconographic details like the flowers loosely held in the Christ Child’s left hand in place of a parchment scroll, the simple geometric decoration of the wooden throne, or the spatially confusing disposition of the Virgin’s feet are typical of several different paintings by the Master of Varlungo and must be considered deliberate archaisms on his part rather than indicators of chronology. On balance, it is necessary to agree with those scholars who see the Griggs panel as appearing near the beginning of the Master of Varlungo’s career, even though assigning a specific range of dates to that beginning is largely inferential and ultimately

dependent on subjective assessments of the artist's greater or lesser originality relative to the work of his contemporaries.

Parenti, who ably summarized the vacillations of opinion and interpretation inspired by the career of the Master of Varlungo, pointed out that no documentary indications have yet been discovered that could help identify him as a known personality. Reconsidering Tartuferi's attempts to isolate three paintings as the work of another artist and Parenti's rejoinder that these must instead represent the late style of the Master himself may offer a clue, however. While two of the three works in question—the Metropolitan Museum *Virgin* and the ex-Fiammingo dossal—do appear, as Parenti contends, to be late works by the Master of Varlungo, the aforementioned Jarves dossal at Yale can now be attributed to a painter of a younger generation, Lippo di Benivieni. Lippo is documented as the son of a painter, who has sometimes been identified as Benivieni Chiarini, and as the brother or, more likely, nephew of another painter, Dino di Benivieni.¹⁵ It is conceivable that one of these might be identical with the Master of Varlungo, if, as seems likely, the evident morphological similarities that exist between the Yale dossal and the Metropolitan and ex-Fiammingo panels may be ascribed to the possibility of Lippo's collaboration in the execution of the two latter works. — LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Venturi 1931, pl. 11; Venturi 1933, pl. 12; Frankfurter 1937, 29; Sizer 1945, 2; Comstock 1946, 45, 47, no. 1; Garrison 1949, 82, no. 192; Previtali 1967, 28, 30, fig. 28; Seymour 1970, 15–17, no. 4; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Anna Maria Maetzke, in Boccia et al. 1974, 36; Bologna 1978, 130; Boskovits 1984, 16n15; Marques

1987, 214, 287, fig. 273; Tartuferi 1987, 51–52, 58–59n23; Tartuferi 1990, 64, 111, no. 229, fig. 229; Previtali 1993, 36, 38, 40, 138n47, fig. 29; Bellosi 1998, 267; Daniela Parenti, in Tartuferi and Scalini 2004, 118

NOTES

1. Garrison 1949, 82, no. 192.
2. Richard Offner, verbal opinion, 1927, recorded in the curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
3. Venturi 1931, pl. 11; and Venturi 1933, pl. 12.
4. Sizer 1945, 2; and Comstock 1946, 45, 47, no. 1.
5. Seymour 1970, 15–17, no. 4.
6. Sandberg-Vavalà 1934, 34; Sinibaldi and Brunetti 1943, 299; and Longhi 1948, 19, 48.
7. For more on the Magdalen Master, see Master of the Yale Dossal, *Virgin and Child Enthroned between Saints Leonard and Peter and Scenes from the Life of Saint Peter*.
8. Previtali 1967, 28, 30, fig. 28.
9. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 49.39, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437023>.
10. Anna Maria Maetzke, in Boccia et al. 1974, 36.
11. Tartuferi 1987, 51–52, 58–59n23; and Tartuferi 1990, 64, 111, no. 229.
12. Daniela Parenti, in Tartuferi and Scalini 2004, 118.
13. Bellosi 1998, 267.
14. Boskovits 1984, 16n15.
15. Boskovits 1984, 26nn72–73.



Lippo di Benivieni, *Virgin and Child with Saints James, John the Baptist, Peter, and Francis*

Artist	Lippo di Benivieni, Florence, documented 1296–1316
Title	<i>Virgin and Child with Saints James, John the Baptist, Peter, and Francis</i>
Date	ca. 1290–1300
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	55.6 × 173.7 cm (21 7/8 × 68 3/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.5

Inscriptions

above Saint James, S[anctus] IACHOB[us]; above Saint John the Baptist, S[anctus] IOHA[n]ES; above Saint Peter, S[anctus] PETRU[s]; above Saint Francis, S[anctus] Fra[n]CISC[us]

Provenance

James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The panel support, ranging from 2 to 2.2 centimeters in thickness, has a horizontal wood grain. It has been waxed and cradled but apparently not thinned. A join, now open, between the pediment and main panel runs across the central image at the level of the Virgin's forehead. The pediment is truncated at the top. Horizontal splits at either end of the support, extending 37 centimeters in at left and 27 centimeters in at right, have resulted in minor paint loss, as have three nails along the central vertical axis of the composition, where a batten was once affixed to the reverse. The gold ground is heavily abraded but the paint, aside from minor scattered losses, is well preserved. The losses primarily affect the figure of Saint James at left. The Virgin and Child, the cloth of honor

behind them, and Saints Peter and Francis are particularly well preserved.

The engaged frame moldings are original but are missing a capping molding along the pediment. An earlier restoration had added moldings, 4 centimeters wide, to the surface at the left and right ends of the panel to close the circuit of the original moldings. Removal of these additions in the 1950s revealed unusually well-preserved original gilding beneath, as well as painted black borders approximately 2.2 centimeters wide, which are decorated with painted white rhombuses. As the width of these borders is approximately the same as that of the flat surface of the original moldings, there is a presumption that they may be complete. There is no visible evidence of modern cutting at the sides of the panel, other than damage to the upper and lower moldings to enable the lateral additions to be slotted into them. It is not clear, therefore, whether the dorsal originally terminated in buttresses or slender moldings applied as capping strips along the outer edges.

Discussion

Following the usual garden-variety attributions to which nearly all late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century paintings were subjected, this dorsal depicting the Virgin

and Child with Saints James, John the Baptist, Peter, and Francis—always esteemed for its quality and for its rarity as a complete, unaltered structure—was first associated by Roberto Longhi and Edward Garrison with the anonymous Cimabuesque artist known as the Master of Varlungo.¹ It has invariably appeared under this name in art-historical publications of the past seventy years, with two notable exceptions. Charles Seymour, Jr., preferred to catalogue it generically as “Tuscan school,” describing its artist as “more likely to have worked in Pisa than in Lucca or Florence.”² He referred to similarities with the work of Deodato Orlandi, to whom the painting had once been assigned.³ Orlandi was also thought to have been the author of a retable with Saint Michael and four standing saints once in the Fiammingo collection, Rome, that had subsequently, like the Yale dossal, been reattributed to the Master of Varlungo. Angelo Tartuferi acknowledged the close association of the ex-Fiammingo and Yale dossals but argued that neither was likely to be the work of the Master of Varlungo.⁴ Tartuferi maintained that in no other paintings did the Master of Varlungo, a follower of the Magdalen Master much influenced by Cimabue, reveal so intimate and conscientious an awareness of the earliest innovations of the young Giotto in Florence, prior to the latter’s departure to work in Assisi. Unable to reconcile this intellectual shift of allegiances with the natural stylistic maturation of a single personality, Tartuferi coined an epithet of convenience, the “Pseudo-Master of Varlungo,” to describe the Yale and ex-Fiammingo paintings, along with a related work in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.⁵ Daniela Parenti rejected this distinction within the group of works associated with the Master of Varlungo, which she viewed as of sufficiently high quality to justify the wide range of stylistic development that had troubled Tartuferi.⁶



Fig. 1. Lippo di Benivieni, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1295. Tempera and gold on panel. Private collection, Bologna

While it is possible to agree with Parenti that the Master of Varlungo group reveals an essential homogeneity of imagery and technique, notwithstanding its evident development of style, it is necessary to acknowledge that Tartuferi was correct in dissociating the Yale dossal from the other paintings by that Master. The artist’s command of the three-dimensional representation of forms in the present painting—in the articulation of anatomy, the twisting positions of bodies in space, and the blending of highlights into, rather than on top of, local colors—bears a more telling relation to trecento than duecento practice and has no point of contact within the Master of Varlungo group. His use of a pastel color range is radically different from the severely limited palette of other works by the Master of Varlungo (including Yale’s *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels*), and his successful evocation of emotional tension is all but unparalleled in thirteenth-century Florence outside the works of Cimabue and Giotto. Only one other painting is so exactly like the Yale dossal in all these respects, and is sufficiently close to it in Morellian detail as well, that it can be unequivocally recognized as by the same hand: a small *Virgin and Child* in a private collection in Bologna (fig. 1), first published by Carlo Volpe as an early work by the Florentine artist Lippo di Benivieni.⁷ The Christ Child in that painting is clad, unconventionally, in a lilac tunic that is the same

surprising color as the Baptist's cloak in the Yale dossal and that reappears so conspicuously in other works by Lippo di Benivieni, such as the *Lamentation* in the Museo Civico, Pistoia. Parallels for the simple oval structure of the Virgin's head or the solid, almost blocklike construction of the Christ Child and His lively, animated pose are found in other paintings from the first half of Lippo's career, such as the triptych from the Contini Bonacossi Collection at the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, or the center panels from the Alessandri and Bartolini Salimbeni polyptychs, both signed works.⁸ Even the intensely knit brow of the Baptist in the Yale dossal may be recognized as a germinal form of the expressive saints so characteristic of Lippo di Benivieni's eccentric, mature production.

Lippo di Benivieni has been described by Miklós Boskovits as “undoubtedly one of the major personalities of Florentine Trecento painting. He represents its most refined and poetic aspect, but also one of its highest achievements in the expression of human feeling and in the observation of naturalistic detail.”⁹ The earliest document referring to him is dated 1296, when he accepted the letters of indenture for a pupil in his shop and may therefore be presumed to have previously been active for some time. Initial reconstructions of his oeuvre by Richard Offner and Carlo Volpe concentrated on paintings clearly executed within the first two decades of the fourteenth century. Even the small Bologna *Virgin and Child* was dated by Volpe no earlier than ca. 1300, in recognition of its primacy within a logical chronological sequence of Lippo's work but lacking any positive internal evidence to associate it with duecento Florentine style.¹⁰ Boskovits pushed its dating back into the last decade of the thirteenth century, alongside a series of small narrative panels with scenes of the Passion, bringing the known works by the painter and their significance more closely in line with the scant available documentary information about his life.¹¹ Recovery of the Yale dossal as a still-earlier work, probably painted close to 1290, anchors those documents in a compelling visual record. The other end of Lippo's career has yet to be clarified in the same way. While the last certain documentary mention of his name occurs in 1316, there is some evidence that he may still have been active in 1327 or later. At that point in his career, he seems to have been prepared to absorb the influence of painters like the young Bernardo Daddi and two artists in the latter's immediate orbit: the Master of San Martino alla Palma and the so-called Maestro Daddesco. A large triptych in the Alana Collection (fig. 2),¹² Newark, Delaware, published alternatively as the work of Bernardo Daddi or

the Master of San Martino alla Palma, is instead to be attributed to Lippo di Benivieni as probably his latest surviving painting, shortly postdating the exceptional *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* in the Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts.¹³ Thus revealed, the full sweep of his career affords Lippo di Benivieni a stature hardly less significant than that of his slightly older Florentine contemporary, the Master of Saint Cecilia.¹⁴ —LK



Fig. 2. Lippo di Benivieni, *The Crucifixion; Virgin and Child Enthroned with Angels; The Stigmatization of Saint Francis; Saints Peter and Bartholomew*, ca. 1320–25. Tempera and gold on panel, 71.8 × 76.7 cm (28 1/4 × 30 1/4 in.). Alana Collection, Newark, Del., inv. no. 2011.11

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 43, no. 14; Jarves 1861, pl. C, fig. 9; Sturgis 1868, 27, no. 13; Brown 1871, 13, no. 13; Rankin 1895, 139, no. 13; Rankin 1905, 7, no. 13; Sirén 1908b, 126, pl. 2 (top); Sirén 1915, 279–80, fig. 3; Sirén 1916a, 17–18; van Marle 1923, 306–7; Offner 1927a, 2, no. 5; Venturi 1931, pl. 11; Venturi 1933, pl. 14; Longhi 1948; Garrison 1949, 161, no. 421; Meiss 1951, 47; Seymour 1970, 16–18, no. 5; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 599; Gloria Kury Keach and Ronnie Zakon, in Seymour et al. 1972, 10–11, no. 2, figs. 2a–c; Marques 1987, 286–87; Tartuferi 1987, 51, 59n24, fig. 61b; Tartuferi 1990, 64, 113, no. 233, fig. 233; Previtali 1993, 40, 138n47; Tartuferi and Scalini 2004, 63, fig. 23; Parenti and Ragazzini 2014, 86

NOTES

1. Longhi 1948; and Garrison 1949, 161, no. 421. For more on this artist, see Master of Varlungo, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels*.
2. Seymour 1970, 16, 18.

3. Sirén 1916a, 17–18; van Marle 1923, 306–7; Venturi 1931, pl. 11; and Venturi 1933, pl. 14.
4. Tartuferi 1987, 51, 59n24; Tartuferi 1990, 64, 113, no. 233; and Tartuferi and Scalini 2004, 63, fig. 23.
5. Inv. no. 49.39, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437023>.
6. Daniela Parenti, in Parenti and Ragazzini 2014, 86.
7. Volpe 1972, 9–11; and Boskovits 1984, 169, pl. 42.
8. For the Contini-Bonacossi triptych, see the *Virgin and Child between a Pope and a Bishop* at the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, Contini Bonacossi n. 31, <https://www.uffizi.it/en/artworks/lippo-di-benivieni-madonna-with-child>.
9. Boskovits 1984, 34.
10. Volpe 1972, 9–11.
11. Boskovits 1984, 169, pl. 42.
12. Boskovits 2001, 557–59.
13. Inv. no. 1917.195.A, <https://hvr.dartmouth.edu/232271>.
14. On the Master of Saint Cecilia, see Master of Saint Cecilia, *Virgin and Child*.



Master of Saint Cecilia, *Virgin and Child*

Artist	Master of Saint Cecilia, Florence, active ca. 1285–ca. 1330
Title	<i>Virgin and Child</i>
Date	ca. 1330
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 79.1 × 52.5 cm (31 1/8 × 20 3/4 in.); picture surface: 73.0 × 37.0 cm (28 3/4 × 14 5/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.204

Provenance

Elia Volpi (1858–1938), Florence, by 1922; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1924

Condition

The panel, of a vertical grain, has been truncated across the top and thinned to a depth of 1.5 centimeters; all members of a cradle formerly applied to its reverse were removed in a treatment at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, in 2003. A split approximately 5 centimeters from the left edge runs the full height of the panel, and two partial splits occur 19.5 centimeters from the right edge of the panel, rising from the bottom to the level of the Christ Child's knees and along the center of the panel from the top to the area of the Virgin's chin. The picture surface is irregularly shaved along all its edges, leaving a wide border of exposed gesso, linen, and bare wood. A layer of parchment superimposed on the linen and beneath the gesso layer has also been exposed along all sides. In its present state, the picture surface measures approximately 73 by 37 centimeters but may be estimated originally to have been at least 1.5 centimeters wider, based on the continuous pattern of punched and engraved decoration partially interrupted along its border.

Except for the draperies of both figures, the paint surface and gilding have been harshly abraded. The gold is preserved only where the gilder's sheets overlapped, leaving a double thickness of leaf; the underlying bolus is otherwise visible throughout the gilded background. The hands of both figures and the Christ Child's feet have been reduced to vague outlines of form with islands of flesh tone interrupted by green underpainting. Shadows modeling the two heads are lost, with the greatest damage apparent at the Child's temples and right cheek. A bird(?) that the Child held in His left hand has been effaced, as has the Virgin's white veil, leaving underdrawing plainly visible in both areas. The green lining of the Virgin's mantle where it is turned back across her breast has decayed to a formless brown. The blue tones and all the modeling of folds in the Virgin's and Child's blue robes are exceptionally well preserved, having been covered by several layers of overpaint discovered and removed by Yvonne Szafran in the cleaning of 2003.

Discussion

The Virgin is shown half length, turned in three-quarter profile to her left (the viewer's right), supporting the Christ Child in the crook of her left arm. She wears a red dress, visible at her throat and sleeve, beneath a blue mantle with green lining. The Christ Child is wrapped in a

heavy blue garment over a transparent tunic. He rests His right arm on the Virgin's shoulder. He holds His empty left hand in His lap, but underdrawing visible in that area may suggest He was at one point intended to be shown holding a book or bird.

The attributional history of this painting is confusing but tends to vacillate within the orbit of three names associated with the early influence of Giotto on his Florentine contemporaries. In a letter to Maitland Griggs dated December 12, 1924, Raimond van Marle described the painting as more Giottesque than Cavallinesque, presumably in response to an unrecorded earlier association of the painting with Pietro Cavallini and the Roman school. He specifically related it to the work of the Master of Saint Cecilia, comparing it to the altarpiece in the Biblioteca Comunale, Pescia,¹ painted by that early colleague of Giotto. In a lecture delivered the following year, on January 19, 1925, shortly after Griggs acquired the painting, Richard Offner also affirmed its Florentine origin but pointed out its many Roman or romanizing characteristics, including the types of the Virgin's head and the Child's face, and the purse of both figures' lips. He concluded that it was painted by a follower of the Saint Cecilia Master with affinities to the Master of the Horne Triptych. Offner had occasion to revise this opinion, however, for when he first published the painting five years later he assigned it to Pacino di Bonaguida, with the observation that the "weight and solidity of the forms . . . are evolved beyond [Pacino's] hitherto identified larger panels. . . . [They] indicate a tendency towards increased plasticity, and mark a distinct phase of the master."² In his detailed comments on the painting, Offner noted that "the cleaning the picture has undergone, over-emphasizes the shadows a little," perhaps by way of explaining its divergence from Pacino's standard production.

Offner's comments in 1930 were based on the restored state of the painting that is recorded in the photograph by Mortimer Offner published in the first edition of the *Corpus* (fig. 1). At that time, the gold ground of the panel had apparently been released and the lightly abraded flesh tones liberally reinforced, lending them a sharper, more linear appearance than they actually have. Offner must quickly have become aware that the appearance of the painting was misleading. It was lent by Griggs to the 1937 *Mostra Giottesca* in Florence not as a work by Pacino di Bonaguida but as by the Master of the Horne Triptych, presumably with Offner's blessing. Offner unequivocally retracted his attribution to Pacino in 1956, owning that it had been a mistake (a rare admission for him) and reverting to his initial grouping of the painting with

works by the Master of the Horne Triptych.³ He bolstered this reclassification with several physical observations, including the difference in height from which the two diagonals of the panel's gable spring—an anomaly found in other works by the Horne Triptych Master—and the general similarity in shape, size, and the pattern of the engraved border decoration to that in two other panels he ascribed to the Horne Master, lateral panels from a polyptych showing half-length saints that he discovered in the chapter house of the monastery of San Jacopo in Acquaviva, Livorno.⁴ The latter panels, though damaged, are so closely related to the Griggs *Virgin and Child* that Offner did not hesitate to suggest that they might be reconstructed as parts of a single altarpiece.

A further complication in the same vein was introduced by Miklós Boskovits when he advanced the suggestion that the entire corpus of works attributed to the Master of the Horne Triptych should be recognized as a phase of the career of Pacino di Bonaguida.⁵ Boskovits later withdrew that proposal but noted that the "early Pacino at times comes so close to the Horne group that Offner himself had difficulty in deciding under which of the two to class the Griggs Madonna."⁶ For Boskovits, the attribution to Pacino for the Griggs panel, which he published in its post-1970 cleaned state (fig. 2), had been correct. The Master of the Horne Triptych, he claimed, may have been associated with Pacino at some point after 1303, but he was a more Giottesque artist and is probably to be recognized as the late career of the Saint Cecilia Master. He nevertheless tentatively accepted the grouping of the Griggs and Livorno panels as possibly fragments of a single altarpiece.

Recently, Yvonne Szafran and Christine Sciacca advanced the even more compelling suggestion that a previously unpublished half-length *Saint Sylvester* in the convent of Santa Maria Novella in Florence (fig. 3) might instead be a companion panel to the Griggs *Virgin and Child*, based on the correspondence in the patterns of their border decoration.⁷ They accepted Boskovits's attribution to Pacino for both the Griggs panel and the *Saint Sylvester*, noting that Mojmir Frinta had identified a punch tool appearing in the latter as belonging to Pacino. While it is true that Frinta classed the *Saint Sylvester* as a work by Pacino, he also identified the same punch tool in several paintings by the Saint Cecilia Master.⁸

It is clear from the sheer number of surviving paintings attributed to Pacino di Bonaguida that his career must have been long and that he must have operated a large and highly productive workshop. Consequently, a fairly



Fig. 3. Master of Saint Cecilia, *Saint Sylvester*, ca. 1330. Tempera and gold on panel, overall, including frame: 102.2 × 61 cm (40 1/4 × 24 in.). Museo e chiostri monumentali di Santa Maria Novella, Florence, Fondo edifici di culto, Ministero dell'interno

wide range in quality and, to a certain extent, style is to be expected among his accepted paintings and illuminations. At no point, however, does he exhibit the capacity for or even the interest in rendering mass and volume as persuasively as is evident in the Griggs *Virgin and Child* or the *Saint Sylvester* (see fig. 3) from Santa Maria Novella. The strong contrasts in light and shade that enliven the folds of the draperies in the Griggs panel—all well preserved in their original form and not the result of reinforcement through restoration—are not encountered elsewhere in Pacino's work but are typical of the Master of the Horne Triptych. The loose-fitting bulk of the Child's blue garment, the gentle turns of the hem in the Virgin's mantle, even the size and foreshortening of her hands or those of Saint Sylvester betray an artist far more interested than was Pacino in the innovative figural language of Giotto. Boskovits was certainly correct to withdraw his suggestion that the Horne Master might be Pacino. His subsequent proposal, on the other hand, that the Horne Master and the Master of Saint Cecilia might be identified with each other gains credence by comparing

the eccentric patterns created by the drapery folds in the Griggs panel, especially those in the Christ Child's garment, with the similar, if crisper, effects in earlier paintings by the Saint Cecilia Master. The Griggs *Virgin and Child* sits much more comfortably within the later trajectory of the career of the Saint Cecilia Master—it is even possible that it should be regarded as his last surviving effort—than it does within any phase of the career of Pacino di Bonaguida.

Determining when, chronologically, that last effort might have occurred is entirely a matter of conjecture. There is general consensus that the earliest works so far identified by the Saint Cecilia Master, including the majestic Contini Bonacossi *Virgin and Child* now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles,⁹ or the three scenes from the legend of Saint Francis that he added to Giotto's fresco series in the Upper Church at the basilica of San Francesco at Assisi, must have been painted in the late 1280s or perhaps early 1290s. Boskovits suggested that many of the paintings in the Master of the Horne Triptych group could be datable into the 1310s.¹⁰ Monica Bietti Favi published an intriguing argument for identifying the Saint Cecilia Master with the historical personality of Gaddo Gaddi, father of Taddeo Gaddi.¹¹ The argument hinges on a liberal interpretation of circumstantial evidence and so cannot be regarded as conclusive; indeed, it has not been widely embraced, but it is a tempting hypothesis that in the present state of our knowledge should not be entirely discounted and, as Boskovits later argued at greater length, has a plausible likelihood of being correct.¹² Gaddo di Zanobi Gaddi matriculated in the *Arte dei Medici e Speciali* in 1312 and is documented to have been still active as a painter in 1328 and still alive in 1333. If he was indeed responsible for all the paintings now attributed to the Saint Cecilia Master and the Master of the Horne Triptych, it would not be at all unreasonable to imagine a date for the Griggs *Virgin and Child* after 1320, possibly close to 1330. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Offner 1930a, 221, 225–26, add. pl. 5; Venturi 1931, pl. 29; *Mostra giottesca* 1937, 49, no. 133; Sinibaldi and Brunetti 1943, 415, no. 129; Shorr 1954, 142, 145; Offner 1956a, xi, xiii n17; Seymour 1970, 55, 57, no. 38; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Gloria Kury Keach, in Seymour et al. 1972, 37, no. 26; Boskovits 1975b, 11; Fremantle 1975, 28; Fahy 1978, 376; Boskovits 1984, 49n168, 50n172; Boskovits 1986a, 232; Boskovits 1987, 17, 151–54, 159; Christine Sciacca and Yvonne Szafran, in Sciacca 2012, 386–90

NOTES

1. Inv. no. 10.
2. Offner 1930a, 221.
3. Offner 1956a, xiii n17.
4. Offner 1956a, pl. 35.
5. Boskovits 1975b, 11.
6. Boskovits 1984, 49n168.
7. Christine Sciacca and Yvonne Szafran, in Sciacca 2012, 386–90.
8. Frinta 1998, 145. The Griggs *Virgin and Child* is not included in Frinta's list. Following its radical cleaning in 1970, it is no longer possible to identify with certainty the punch used to ornament the haloes and borders in this panel, though it is plausible to assume that it corresponds to the punch used on the *Saint Sylvester*. Judging from photographs, no punch tools appear to have been employed on the Livorno panels.
9. Inv. no. 2000.35, <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/108G2D>.
10. Boskovits 1984, 17.
11. Bietti Favi 1983, 49–52.
12. Boskovits 2003, 57–70.



Jacopo del Casentino, *The Coronation of the Virgin*

Artist	Jacopo del Casentino, Florence, active ca. 1320–ca. 1349
Title	<i>The Coronation of the Virgin</i>
Date	ca. 1320–25
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 32.6 × 24.4 cm (12 7/8 × 9 5/8 in.); picture surface, including spiral colonettes: 28.2 × 21.0 cm (11 1/8 × 8 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896, through the Associates in Fine Arts
Inv. No.	1939.557

Provenance

Rev. John Fuller Russell (1814–1884), Eagle House, Enfield, England, by 1854–85; sale, Christie's, London, April 18, 1885, lot 108 (as Taddeo Gaddi); Henry Wagner (1840–1926), London; sale, Christie's, London, January 16, 1925, lot 58 (as Bernardo Daddi); Galerie Mori, Paris; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1925

Condition



Fig. 1. Reverse of the panel

The panel support, of a vertical grain, is approximately 2 centimeters thick and exhibits a pronounced convex warp; chisel and gouge marks on the reverse (fig. 1) suggest that the thickness may be original. The reverse of the panel is beveled along all four edges. While this is unusual for fourteenth-century panels, there is no firm

evidence that the beveling is the result of a later intervention. A small rectangular plug in the upper-right corner of the reverse is a modern repair. All the raised frame moldings are carved in one with the support rather than applied to it, an archaic carpentry technique more common in the thirteenth than in the fourteenth century. The moldings have all been liberally releafed over original bolus and gilding, though much original gold is still in evidence along the uppermost outer-frame molding and the top third of the lateral moldings above the spring of the interior arch; gilding on the left molding, for example, is nearly intact in this area. The new gold has been articulated with an incised craquelure. The two roundels contained within the spandrels outside the arch are modern inserts, as are the spiral colonettes supporting the arch: the capitals and bases are original and are carved out of the wood of the support, but the colonettes are nailed in place (with modern wire nails) and cover original paint surface.



Fig. 2. *The Coronation of the Virgin*, before restoration in 2015

Notwithstanding earlier published reports to the contrary, the paint surface is generally in a beautiful state of preservation, though it is interrupted by relatively large, discrete flaking losses in the center of the composition

and by scattered local abrasions, especially among the haloes of the angels on either side of the throne. The lacunae (fig. 2) affect the trapezoidal area between the torsos of Christ and the Virgin, much of the area of the Virgin's dress below her knees, the left edge of the cloth of honor, and two areas in the foreground: one at the foot of the viol-playing angel at lower right and one on the riser of the throne. These were enlarged and deepened in the course of a harsh cleaning by Andrew Petryn in 1967 and have been filled and inpainted in the most recent conservation treatment by Irma Passeri in 2015–16. A circular loss at the top of the throne above the head of Christ seems to have been provoked by early removal and repair of a knot in the panel support; it, too, has now been filled and inpainted. The engraved dragon or bird designs filling the spandrels within the cusping of the arch and outside the arch are exceptionally well preserved, but the blue and red paint highlighting them appears to be a later addition.

Discussion

When the eminent German historian Gustav Waagen saw this panel in the collection of Rev. John Fuller Russell in 1854, he remarked upon its damaged state, commenting that only in the “fifteen [*sic*] angels” it depicts could one fully appreciate “the fine character of the master.”¹ He identified this master as the Sienese painter Taddeo di Bartolo, possibly in recognition of the clarity and brilliance of his palette but perhaps as a slip of the pen, for only three years later, in 1857, Fuller Russell lent the panel to the *Art Treasures of Great Britain* exhibition in Manchester, England, with an attribution to Taddeo Gaddi, and it is difficult to imagine who, in the brief intervening period, might have corrected Waagen's attribution. The painting retained its attribution to Taddeo Gaddi at the 1877 exhibition of the Royal Academy, London, at the sale of Fuller Russell's estate in 1885, and again when it was lent by Henry Wagner to the 1903–4 exhibition *Early Italian Art* at Burlington House, London. By the time it appeared at the sale of Wagner's collection in London in January 1925, however, the attribution had been changed to Bernardo Daddi and was quickly corrected, in 1927, by Richard Offner to Jacopo del Casentino.² Raimond van Marle's opinion that the panel might be by the Master of the Saint George Codex was formulated before he had read Offner's arguments and was almost immediately withdrawn.³

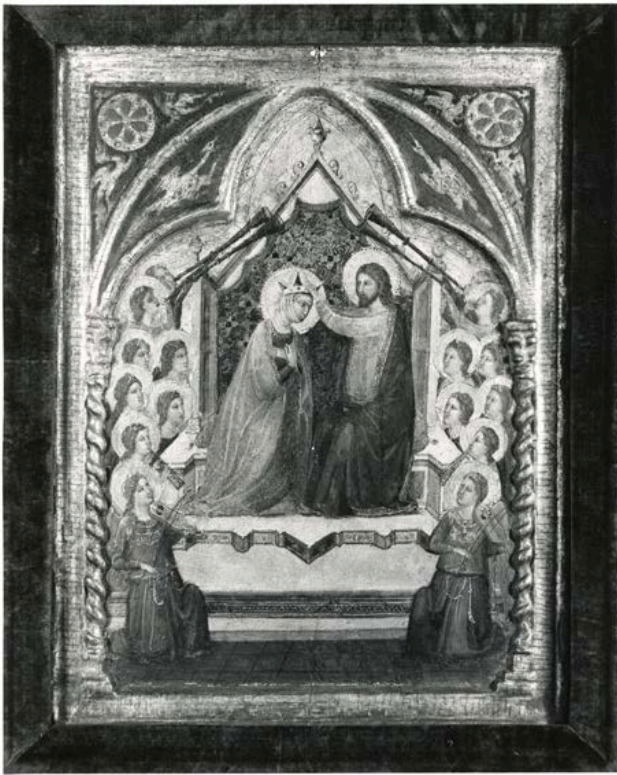


Fig. 3. *The Coronation of the Virgin*, before 1930

Subsequent references to the panel have, with only two significant exceptions, been concerned with debating an ascription either directly to Jacopo del Casentino or to his workshop or following. This vacillation was inspired in the first instance by Offner's summary remarks of 1927, at which time he knew the panel only from a photograph that to him revealed "restoration of what would seem a rather weak original. The types commit it to Jacopo's late period."⁴ This restored state is recorded in the photograph he published in the 1930 volume of the *Corpus* (fig. 3), where he classified the painting as "shop of Jacopo del Casentino."⁵ Forty years later, Charles Seymour, Jr., retained this classification with an expression of doubt, explaining that "because of its poor state the panel is difficult to attribute . . . it is possibly by a miniaturist. After cleaning, even the shop of Jacopo del Casentino seems remote. Probably a provincial artist is involved here."⁶ Erling Skaug, responding to the appearance of a totally unfamiliar punch mark along the upper-left margin of the gold ground, concurred with Seymour in omitting the panel from his discussion of Jacopo del Casentino's attributions and chronology.⁷

Offner may perhaps be excused for his dismissive estimation of the *Griggs Coronation*, as in the regilt and heavily repainted state in which he knew the painting, its

quality was stiffened and caricatured. Furthermore, since he believed its figure types corresponded to Jacopo del Casentino's late style, its apparently diminished quality could only logically be explained by relegating it to the status of an imitative workshop production. As Miklós Boskovits observed, cleaning of the panel in 1967, though drastic, revealed it to be an autograph work by Jacopo del Casentino.⁸ It is difficult to account for Seymour's exaggerated contempt of the panel's cleaned state. His focus on the extent of losses in the center of the composition ignored the fact that nearly the entirety of the paint surface, other than the discrete areas of total loss, is unusually well preserved, and that these passages without exception are of a remarkably elevated delicacy and sensitivity. Furthermore, while Seymour was aggressive in pursuing the removal of repaints on this panel, he was apparently unaware of the extent of modern gilding on its frame and surface or of the fact that the spiral colonettes, the inserted disks in the outer spandrels, and the colored reveals in the decoration of both the inner and outer spandrels are modern additions.

While the quality of the *Griggs Coronation* certainly justifies its classification as a wholly autograph work by Jacopo del Casentino, it also precludes the possibility of associating it with the artist's late style, as Offner proposed. The nearly square proportions and compressed, planar composition of the panel may be compared to the signed *Cagnola Triptych* by Jacopo now in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (fig. 4), considered one of the artist's earliest surviving works. An early date is further implied by the archaic structure of its carpentry, with its frame moldings carved in one with the panel support rather than applied to it as independently engaged members, and by the dragon or bird motifs stippled into the inner and outer spandrels of the panel's frame moldings: these reappear, though on a considerably larger scale, in only one other work by Jacopo, the pentaptych now divided between the Musée Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, and the Alana Collection, Newark, Delaware, correctly dated by Boskovits before 1330.⁹ A related, more complex, and certainly later version of the *Coronation*, now in the Kunstmuseum Bern, Switzerland (fig. 5), reveals the characteristics of Jacopo's mature style. The figure types in that painting are thinner and more stiffly columnar, more restrained and solemn than those in the *Griggs Coronation*, while the vertically elongated format of its composition, the updated architecture of its throne, and the denser arrangement of saints and angels crowded around it clearly reflect the principles of design made fashionable in Florence by Bernardo Daddi and Puccio di



Fig. 4. Jacopo del Casentino, *Cagnola Triptych*, ca. 1325. Tempera and gold on panel, 39.2 × 42.2 cm (15 3/8 × 16 5/8 in.). Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 9258

Simone in the early 1340s.¹⁰ As in the Griggs panel, the haloes and borders of the gold ground in the Bern *Coronation* are articulated by inscribed decoration rather than motif punches, so neither work can be inserted into the relatively precise chronology of that aspect of the artist's development chronicled by Skaug. It may be claimed, however, that the engraved pattern of a cusped arcade decorating the margins of the picture field in the Bern work imitates a later decorative fashion than does the simple geometric border of the Griggs panel, which follows thirteenth- rather than fourteenth-century models.



Fig. 5. Jacopo del Casentino, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, ca. 1345. Tempera and gold on panel, 86 × 35 cm (33 7/8 × 13 3/4 in.). Kunstmuseum Bern, Switzerland, inv. no. 872

The precise timing of Jacopo del Casentino's early career remains much in doubt, but it has been difficult for scholars to propose credible arguments for dating any paintings by him before ca. 1320.¹¹ It is during the third decade of the century that his works most closely resemble those of two of his contemporaries with whom he has in the past been confused, Pacino di Bonaguida and the Master of the Dominican Effigies, and it is possible that these three artists actively collaborated at that time.¹² The conventional explanation for these areas of apparent stylistic overlap has been to assume that the Master of the Dominican Effigies may have been a

follower of Jacopo del Casentino, but it is far more likely that these two painters were near contemporaries and that both may have been followers of Pacino di Bonaguida or of a contemporary of Pacino's to whom all three painters were clearly indebted: the Master of Saint Cecilia.¹³ If the identification of that artist with Taddeo Gaddi's father, Gaddo Gaddi, is correct, it may be interesting to speculate whether Giorgio Vasari's assertion that Jacopo del Casentino was trained in the Gaddi workshop, though dismissed by modern scholarship, may have been based on relatively reliable (if slightly garbled) tradition.



Detail of *The Coronation of the Virgin* in raking light, showing the punch strike that appears along the border of the first arc of the trefoil in the frame at the left of the panel

Of further interest to the question of Jacopo del Casentino's possible training in the workshop of either Gaddo or Taddeo Gaddi may be the identification of the punch strike that appears five times along the border of the first arc of the trefoil in the frame at the left of the *Griggs Coronation*. The tool was struck so lightly that its impressions are visible only in raking light (fig. 6) and do not interrupt the crackle pattern in the gold created by the stylus ruling of the border pattern. The incomplete impressions were described by Skaug as an "eight-part asterisk . . . unlike Jacopo's secure punches," but they do approximate the impressions of another tool catalogued by Skaug that was used exclusively by Taddeo Gaddi in his earliest paintings.¹⁴ That Jacopo used this tool so tentatively and discontinued its application after a single arc of the border implies an indecisive or experimental approach that may be yet another indication of an early date for the painting. Similarly tentative are the facts that only one halo among the sixteen angels is decorated with a dotted rim and even this is not dotted along its full perimeter, and that the "perspective" tiling of the

foreground continues beneath the first riser of the dais of the throne, revealing an uncertainty in the planning of the composition from the outset.

It remains to be determined whether the claim that the composition of the Griggs *Coronation* depends upon that of Giotto's Baroncelli Chapel altarpiece at Santa Croce in Florence necessarily implies a *terminus post quem* for dating the former, as the Baroncelli altarpiece is generally assumed to have been conceived and executed (whether by Giotto himself or by Taddeo Gaddi working in Giotto's studio) sometime after Giotto's return to Florence from Naples in 1333 or 1334.¹⁵ It is a convention among historians of early Italian art to mark as the beginning of an iconographic progression the best-known or most accomplished example within the trend, but there exists no documentary or even empirical evidence to support such a convention. It may be evident that a painting like Bernardo Daddi's *Coronation of the Virgin* now in the National Gallery, London, makes overt and respectful reference to Giotto's Baroncelli altarpiece;¹⁶ it does not follow that all examples of the subject must be traced back to the same source. Duccio had in fact popularized a closely related version of the Coronation of the Virgin in his stained-glass window on the facade of the cathedral of Siena as early as the 1280s. Accepting an early date for the Griggs *Coronation*, however, does not necessarily entail positing a direct link between Jacopo del Casentino and Sienese prototypes. The diffusion of the motif throughout Tuscany and central Italy at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries must have been broader and more immediate than can be demonstrated through the rare surviving examples known today. At the same time, it may not be a coincidence that numerous scholars have remarked on Sienese sources for the compositional motifs of several *Virgin and Child* paintings by Jacopo. Furthermore, close parallels for the unusual projections at the foot of the throne in the Griggs *Coronation* are to be found among earlier Ducciesque rather than Florentine paintings, and Skaug has observed of Jacopo that he is alone among Florentine painters in the first half of the trecento in having been influenced by the Sienese style of cluster punchwork.¹⁷

The original purpose or function of the Griggs *Coronation* is unclear. The contention that it might have been the "upper part of a tabernacle centre"—presumably meaning one of two scenes on the center panel of a tabernacle triptych—cannot be sustained.¹⁸ Not only are the outer-frame moldings entirely original (though regilt), but they are also, as has been said, carved in one with the panel support. The panel, therefore, has not been reduced

in size nor altered in shape. There is no evidence of hinges ever having been applied at either side. The excellent state of preservation of the paint surface would argue against the panel's having been used as a pax, which its size and proportions might otherwise suggest. It is possible that it may have been designed to be inserted into a larger frame or structure, such as a marble tabernacle or precious-metal reliquary. Such an eventuality could explain the large paint losses being restricted to the center of the panel, along the line of greatest stress where the warpage of the panel would have been constrained by its inflexible surround, and it may also explain the beveled reverse of the panel, if indeed this is original. It is also unclear what function might have been served by the circular inserts in the outer spandrels of the frame.¹⁹ These could have been filled by cabochons or *verre églomisé* roundels, or by relics sealed behind glass; surviving physical evidence is inconclusive. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Waagen 1854, 2:462; *Exhibition of Art Treasures of the United Kingdom* 1859; *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters* 1877, 28, no. 156; *Exhibition of Early Italian Art* 1893, 10, no. 52; Offner 1927b, 33; Offner 1930a, 93, 170, pl. 72; van Marle 1931b, 17; Berenson 1932a, 272; Ameisenowa 1939, 120; Offner 1947, 247–48; Offner 1957, 105n2, 151; Berenson 1963, 1:102; Seymour 1970, 46–47, no. 28; Gosebruch 1971, 247; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Boskovits 1987, 10, 387, 522–23; Pergam 2011, 140, 141, 188n13, 219, 312; Skaug 1994, 1:122n230

NOTES

1. Waagen 1854, 2:462.
2. Offner 1927b, 33.
3. van Marle 1931b, 17.
4. Offner 1927b, 33.
5. Offner 1930a, pl. 72.
6. Seymour 1970, 47.
7. Skaug 1994, 1:122n230.
8. Boskovits 1987, 10.
9. Boskovits 1984, 58. For the Brussels panel, see inv. no. 794; for the Alana, see inv. no. 2001.04a–d.
10. See Fehlmann and Freuler 2001, 52–57, where this painting is implausibly dated 1325–30.
11. A proposal by Emanuele Zappasodi to associate the five panels formerly ascribed to the Master of the Spinola Annunciation

with the earliest career of Jacopo del Casentino, presumably between 1310 and 1320, has met with some but not universal approval; see Zappasodi 2010.

12. A case in point that deserves much closer study in this regard is the illuminated *Laudario* of the Compagnia di Sant'Egidio (now at the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, inv. no. B.R. 19), twelve of whose miniatures are attributed by Offner and Boskovits to the Master of the Dominican Effigies, but several of which have persistently, and perhaps correctly, been associated with Jacopo del Casentino instead; see Boskovits 1987, 326–33. While Boskovits 1987, 10, ignoring then-recent scholarship, dismisses these attributions as negligent, it is not clear that they are wholly unfounded.
13. For more on this artist, see Master of Saint Cecilia, *Virgin and Child*.
14. Skaug 1994, 2: no. 326. A photograph of this punch impression included in Frinta 1998, 166, no. Dda12, taken from Gaddi's *Virgin* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg (inv. no. 202), is even closer to the impressions on the Griggs *Coronation* due to the angle at which the tool was held during the strike; one side of the impression is incomplete. For further discussion of confusion between Taddeo Gaddi's and Jacopo del Casentino's earliest punch tools, see Skaug 1994, 1:94, 122.
15. For the association of the Yale *Coronation* with the Baroncelli Chapel altarpiece, see Ameisenowa 1939, 120.
16. Inv. no. NG6599, <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/bernardo-daddi-the-coronation-of-the-virgin>.
17. Skaug 1994, 1:125–26.
18. Offner 1957, 105n2.
19. The two punch tools appearing among the inscribed decoration on these roundels—a circle and a five-petaled rosette—are catalogued by Frinta in a number of early twentieth-century restorations, most of which appeared on the art market in Florence; see Frinta 1998, 443, no. Ka19dN. Two of them, the present painting and another in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., inv. no. 1937.1.2a–c, by Grifo di Tancredi, were purchased in Paris in 1925 and 1919, respectively, and may ultimately lead to identification of the restorer's studio in which the work was done.



Jacopo del Casentino, *Virgin and Child*

Artist	Jacopo del Casentino, Florence, active ca. 1320–ca. 1349
Title	<i>Virgin and Child</i>
Date	ca. 1345
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 73.6 × 44.5 cm (29 × 17 1/2 in.); picture surface: 69.1 × 39.8 cm (27 1/4 × 15 5/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.209

Provenance

Dan Fellows Platt (1873–1937), Englewood, N.J., by 1911;
Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, by 1925

Condition

The panel support, which retains its original thickness, was cut sometime prior to 1911 to a truncated gable and arched bottom and then incorporated into a larger surround to simulate the size and shape of the center panel of a polyptych. These additions were partially exposed during a cleaning in 1965–67, which confusingly preserved part of the framing pilaster and new spandrels on the left side, thereby commemorating the commercial falsification of the painting without clarifying any of its original qualities. The painted and gilt surfaces have been severely abraded, especially the flesh tones and the rose of the Virgin's mantle, broad passages of which have been reduced to their gesso preparation. A square patch of paint in the area of the Virgin's right eye stands proud of the surface: this patch covers a plug from the central of three batten nails aligned at this height, arguing that the panel was in fact originally conceived as the center of a polyptych. Two vertical splits in the panel further interrupt the continuity of the paint surface, one extending down from the top edge of the panel, passing

between the Virgin's cowl and the Christ Child's cheek and ending at the level of the Child's shoulder, the other reaching up from the bottom of the panel through the Virgin's right elbow. Complete paint losses along the bottom edge of the panel have exposed alternating areas of linen and bare wood.

Discussion



Fig. 1. *Virgin and Child*, before 1925

This once-noble painting had been so heavily overpainted at the time it entered Maitland Griggs's collection (fig. 1) that Richard Offner was able to comment only that it was "not in a condition to permit a secure judgment regarding authorship further than to say that it was certainly painted in the shop of Jacopo del Casentino . . . the design and the mass have a dignity due doubtless to the master himself."¹ This dignity was all but annihilated by the unconscionable severity of the cleaning to which it was subjected between 1965 and 1967, reducing the picture to its present state. It was at that time discovered to be a fragment, described by Charles Seymour, Jr., as "cut into an irregular shape and encased in modern wood and a modern frame."² The frame may well be "modern," but the wood of which it is made and in which the fragmentary original panel is encased is old, and the shape of the fragment is not irregular. Its curved bottom and gabled top recall the shapes to which four laterals of an altarpiece by the Master of the Capella Medici Polyptych were reduced in order to be incorporated as pinnacles in a composite altarpiece now situated on the high altar at Santa Croce in Florence.³ Perhaps the present painting was similarly repurposed at some point in its history and then rebuilt into a more conventional form to satisfy the demands of the art market at the end of the nineteenth century or in the first decade of the twentieth century, before entering the collection of Dan Fellows Platt. It can only be speculated whether the added

wood now encasing the panel was derived from the carpentry framework of either the painting's original structure or of its hypothetical second incarnation.

Offner and Seymour, in their brief comments about the painting, implied a date for it early in Jacopo del Casentino's career, a position that cannot be maintained today. Erling Skaug has shown unequivocally that the punch tools employed in decorating the haloes and the system of their arrangement indicate a date at the extreme end of Jacopo's career, not earlier than 1342 and possibly as late as his putative death in 1349.⁴ Closely related in style and gravitas are the four half-length saints in the Van Gelder collection at Uccle, near Brussels,⁵ a related half-length *Saint Thomas Aquinas* in the Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon, France,⁶ and the *Virgin and Child* in Santi Stefano e Caterina in Pozzolatico, near Impruneta.⁷ As the Van Gelder saints have been cut slightly to their present shapes and dimensions (90 × 39 cm each), it is difficult to judge whether they might once have been associated with either the Griggs or Pozzolatico panels in a single altarpiece, though considerations of style and quality alone would make either possibility credible. The Avignon *Saint Thomas Aquinas* cannot have been associated with the Pozzolatico panel due to the differences in their arched formats. Though the simple ogival shape of the *Saint Thomas Aquinas* also does not conform to the trilobe profile of the Griggs panel, it is nevertheless not impossible that they might once have come from the same structure. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Perkins 1911, 1, no. 1; Offner 1927b, 31; Offner 1930a, 93, 181–82, pl. 77; Berenson 1932a, 272; Berenson 1936, 234; Shorr 1954, 128, 129, 133; Berenson 1963, 1:102; Seymour 1970, 45–46, no. 27; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 101, 600; Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 49, no. 42, figs. 42a–b; Boskovits 1987, 10n4, 387, 539–541, pl. 237; Skaug 1994, 1:122

NOTES

1. Offner 1927b, 31.
2. Seymour 1970, 46.
3. Boskovits 1987, 362–67.
4. Skaug 1994, 1:122.
5. Boskovits 1987, 528–29.
6. Inv. no. 20164; Laclotte and Moench 2005, 116, no. 112.
7. Boskovits 1987, 482–83.



Bernardo Daddi, *Vision of Saint Dominic*

Artist	Bernardo Daddi, Florence, active 1312/20–1348
Title	<i>Vision of Saint Dominic</i>
Date	1338(?) or 1343(?)
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	38.3 × 34.2 cm (15 1/8 × 13 1/2 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.6

Provenance

James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The panel support, of a horizontal grain, has been thinned to a depth varying between 7 and 10 millimeters and exhibits a pronounced convex warp. A split running the full width of the panel on a slight diagonal rises from the bottom of the spring of the arch at left to the top of the spring of the arch at right, resulting in a near-complete loss of pigment where it crosses through the head of Saint Dominic. In 1915 Hammond Smith noted that this head had suffered flaking losses, but these were revealed in photographs to have been minor (fig. 1). He recradled the panel at that time and repainted the head of Saint Dominic (fig. 2). His restorations and cradle were removed by Andrew Petryn in 1957, and the split was glued together. In this cleaning, the gold ground was abraded to its bolus and gesso underlayers, the head of Saint Dominic was obliterated, and the beards of Saints Peter and Paul were removed. The two latter figures are otherwise reasonably well preserved, except for the trailing end of Saint Peter's pink robe, as are the black and white of Saint Dominic's habit, including his left cuff and right hand where they pass over the split in the panel. Also removed in the 1957 cleaning was the sword that had

been painted over a staff proffered by Saint Paul to Saint Dominic. Only the engraved profile of the staff remains today. The hands of all three saints retain much of their expressive character.



Fig. 1. *Vision of Saint Dominic*, before 1915



Fig. 2. *Vision of Saint Dominic*, 1915

Discussion

Associated by James Jackson Jarves and by early commentators on his collection with the name of Giotto's foremost pupil, Taddeo Gaddi, the *Vision of Saint Dominic* was first recognized by Osvald Sirén as the work of Bernardo Daddi, part of the earliest reconstructions of that artist's personality.¹ This attribution has not been doubted or questioned since, and the painting has indeed come to be accepted—as its lengthy bibliography attests—as one of the iconic images of early trecento painting in Florence. Roberto Longhi, who held Daddi in far lower esteem than did any of his non-Italian contemporaries, went so far as to label it the apogee of Daddi's career (“[L'artista] non era mai salito più in alto [in qualità]”).² The only debate the panel has elicited has revolved around its iconography, its condition, and the identification of the complex from which it came.

According to the *Golden Legend*, around the time that Saint Dominic petitioned Pope Innocent III for approval for his Order of Preachers (ultimately granted by Pope Honorius III in 1216), “while he was praying in the church of Saint Peter for the expansion of his Order, Peter and Paul, the glorious princes of the apostles, appeared to him. Peter gave him a staff, and Paul a book, and they said: ‘Go forth and preach, for God has chosen you for this ministry.’”³ In the Yale panel, Bernardo Daddi has eliminated all reference to the interior of Old Saint Peter's in Rome, where Dominic was vouchsafed this vision, to convey more powerfully the substance of the miraculous apparition isolated against an uninterrupted gold ground in an indistinct space and imprecise time. In the state in which this panel was known to all scholars before 1957, however, Saint Peter handed a sword rather than a staff to Saint Dominic (see figs. 1–2). In the 1860 catalogue of his collection, Jarves admitted that “some authorities say it was a *staff*, not a sword, that was given. But Gaddi's [*sic*] sword is more in keeping with the founder of the Inquisition.”⁴ For Russel Sturgis, Jr., and Sirén, the sword and the book were “the weapons by which [Dominic] was to conquer the world.”⁵ Raimond van Marle noted that “the *Golden Legend* really mentions a book and a stick,”⁶ and because of this, Richard Offner opined that “we must assume that through a misunderstanding the staff was altered into the sword by some restorer.”⁷ The accuracy of this contention was made evident when Charles Seymour, Jr., published a cleaned-state photograph of the painting in 1970, although he made no reference to the alteration in his brief catalogue entry and instead repeated, mistakenly, that the *Golden Legend* speaks of the gift of a sword as a symbol of the Dominicans' role in

suppressing heresy.⁸ Miklós Boskovits published before- and after-cleaning photographs of the panel as successive plates in his revised edition of Offner's 1930 *Corpus* volume dedicated to Bernardo Daddi,⁹ and since then, not surprisingly, the painting has largely disappeared from general discussions of the art of Florence in the trecento.

Before the Yale *Vision of Saint Dominic* was firmly associated with Bernardo Daddi, Bernard Berenson recognized a companion panel to it in a scene of Saint Dominic rescuing a ship at sea formerly in the Raczynski collection in Berlin, now in the Muzeum Narodowe in Poznań (fig. 3).¹⁰ Unaware of the connection between these two panels, Sirén called attention to a painting in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, showing Saint Peter Martyr preaching (fig. 4), that, he believed, must also have formed, with the Yale panel, “part of a predella under a picture with the two above-mentioned Dominican saints (St. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr) probably together with one or more other saints.”¹¹ Sirén further proposed that, “although we cannot yet know how the whole picture was composed (because the principal parts are lacking), it does not seem too daring to make the supposition that it was identical with a picture which, according to a notice in the ‘Sepoluario del Rosselli,’ Vol. ii, p. 739, once hung in Sta. Maria Novella in Florence, and bore the following inscription: ‘Pro animabus parentum fratris Guidonis Salvi et pro anima domine Diane de Casinis Anno MCCCXXXVIII. Bernardus me pinxit’” (For the souls of the family of fra Guido Salvi and for the soul of Lady Diana Casini, Bernardo painted me in the year 1338).¹² This tentative proposal has been accepted, *prima facie*, by all subsequent writers. The appearance of a fourth panel from the same predella, now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin and showing Saint Thomas Aquinas rewarded for resisting temptation (fig. 5), tended to confirm this assumption since the painting described in the *Sepoluario* is said to have been “una tavola antichissima entroci tre Santi dell'Ordine di S. Domenico,” thus, supposedly, Saints Dominic, Peter Martyr, and Thomas Aquinas.¹³

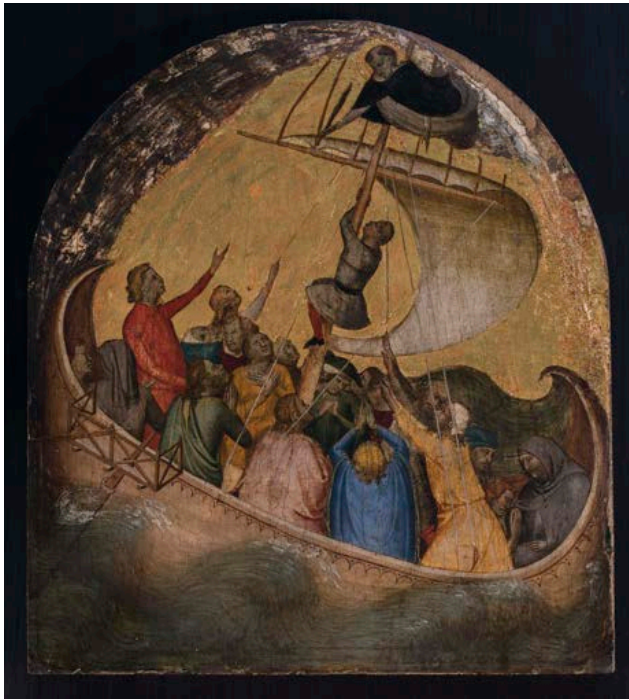


Fig. 3. Bernardo Daddi, *Saint Dominic Rescuing a Ship at Sea*, 1338(?). Tempera and gold on panel, 37 × 33 cm (14 5/8 × 13 in.). Muzeum Narodowe, Poznań, Poland, inv. no. 11



Fig. 5. Bernardo Daddi, *The Temptation of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, 1338(?). Tempera and gold on panel, 38 × 33.5 cm (15 × 13 1/4 in.). Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 1094



Fig. 4. Bernardo Daddi, *Saint Peter Martyr Preaching*, 1338(?). Tempera and gold on panel, 37 × 34 cm (14 5/8 × 13 3/8 in.). Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris, Legs Emile Peyre, 1905, inv. no. PE 77

While the association of the four panels now at Yale, Poznań, Paris, and Berlin with a single predella is incontestable, their connection to the Salvi altarpiece of 1338 in Santa Maria Novella is in fact only a plausible hypothesis, notwithstanding its uncritical repetition and acceptance as established fact in every publication following Sirén's initial proposal. It can scarcely be doubted that the altarpiece to which this predella was once attached was painted for an important Dominican church and, given the originality of the iconography in each of the four scenes, it is not unreasonable to assume that this church was Santa Maria Novella. However, Daddi painted at least two, probably three, but perhaps as many as five altarpieces for Santa Maria Novella, and there is no certainty which, if any of these, might have been that described by Rosselli for Fra Guido Salvi and Diana Casini. A polyptych depicting the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Peter, John the Evangelist, John the Baptist, and Matthew, signed by the artist and dated 1344 (and therefore unlikely to be the Salvi/Casini polyptych), now stands on the altar in the Spanish Chapel in Santa Maria Novella.¹⁴ A large altarpiece of the Coronation of the Virgin that includes effigies of the three principal Dominican saints among the court of Heaven was removed from Santa Maria Novella in 1810 and is now in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence (fig. 6).¹⁵



Fig. 6. Bernardo Daddi, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, ca. 1340–45. Tempera and gold on panel, 188.6 × 270 cm (6 ft. 2 1/4 in. × 8 ft. 10 3/8 in.). Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, 1890, inv. no. 1890 n. 3449



Fig. 7. Bernardo Daddi, *Saint Dominic*, ca. 1340. Tempera and gold on panel, 70.4 × 37.7 cm (27 3/4 × 14 7/8 in.). Private collection, London

The only known independent representation of Saint Dominic by Bernardo Daddi, a panel formerly in the Charles Loeser collection (fig. 7), was reconstructed by Offner as one lateral of an altarpiece that included at its center the *Virgin and Child* in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.¹⁶ Neither panel has a known early provenance, but it is certainly conceivable that they came from Santa Maria Novella. Boskovits reconstructed another polyptych by Bernardo Daddi—which includes figures of Saints Peter, John the Evangelist, John the Baptist, and Zenobius—with a hypothetical provenance from a chapel owned by the Minerbetti family in Santa Maria Novella.¹⁷ If the altarpiece described by Rosselli was not one of these four, it is at least theoretically

possible that a fifth altarpiece by Daddi was painted for that church.

It was assumed by Sirén, in making his initial proposal, that the Salvi altarpiece was a conventional Gothic polyptych that included three Dominican saints among its lateral panels, an assumption that provided a suitable basis for amalgamating to it the two predella panels known to him. The ex-Loeser *Saint Dominic* (see fig. 7) could lend itself to such a reconstruction, though it is slightly wider than might be expected if one of the predella panels were to have fit neatly beneath it.¹⁸ Offner, in his reconstruction of the Salvi altarpiece, projected a triptych containing only the three Dominican saints—Dominic at center flanked by Peter Martyr and Thomas Aquinas—proceeding from the assumption that two scenes from the legend of Saint Dominic presupposed a center panel portraying that saint twice as wide as the lateral panels portraying the other two, which would each have surmounted only a single scene.¹⁹ For Boskovits, Rosselli's wording in the *Sepoltuario* could only be reconciled with a single, unified panel, and the vertical, arched shape of the predella scenes seemed to him appropriate to such a structure.²⁰ Returning to and embellishing Sirén's proposal, Carl Strehlke has pointed out that the individual scenes by Daddi in the predella to the San Pancrazio altarpiece, now in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence,²¹ are close to the present panels in size and format, yet that altarpiece is a conventional polyptych. He has suggested that two scenes now missing, plausibly drawn from the life of Christ or the Virgin, may have stood beneath a central Virgin and Child while the four known predella panels could then have been distributed beneath lateral panels portraying Saints Peter Martyr (Paris), Dominic (Poznań), Peter or Paul (Yale), and Thomas Aquinas (Berlin).²²



Fig. 8. Bernardo Daddi, *The Miraculous Healing of Napoleone Orsini by Saint Dominic*, 1338(?). Tempera and gold on panel, 39 × 35 cm (15 3/8 × 13 3/4 in.). Location unknown

The most widely accepted of these proposals seem to be the strict interpretations of Rosselli advanced by Offner and Boskovits: that no figures other than the three Dominican saints were portrayed in the Salvi altarpiece, whether it was a single panel or a triptych. Offner's reconstruction of a triptych is definitively to be rejected, however, by the recent discovery of a fifth panel from the predella showing the Miraculous Healing of Napoleone Orsini by Saint Dominic (fig. 8).²³ Three scenes from the legend of Saint Dominic clustered beneath a center panel would create an unprecedented differential of proportion to lateral panels each standing above a single predella scene with Saints Thomas Aquinas and Peter Martyr. It is equally difficult to envision the reconstruction of a single, continuous panel as proposed by Boskovits, given the complete absence of any later works of art replicating this exceptional format: the altarpiece would have represented a distinguished and significant early example of Dominican "portraiture" in the most prominent of all Dominican centers in Florence and should be expected to have engendered respectful imitations. Furthermore, the existence of additional scenes not yet recovered may be implied not only by the recent appearance of the *Miraculous Healing of Napoleone Orsini* but also by the unusual selection of episodes now known from the lives of each of the saints. Only the Vision of Saint Dominic and Miracle of Napoleone Orsini would become standard

iconography in pictorial cycles of that saint's life, and when they appear in such cycles, it is invariably among the earliest events in a more extensive narrative of his legend. Two distinct possibilities for identifying the Salvi altarpiece, therefore, remain. Either it took the form of a conventional polyptych that included the Yale predella panel and its companion scenes, whether or not it or some fragment of it may be identifiable among the surviving large-scale works of Bernardo Daddi, or the Salvi altarpiece did not include the Yale and related predella panels and there survives no other physical evidence for reconstructing its form.

In the case of the first of these possibilities, there are only two candidates that might be identifiable as remnants of the Salvi altarpiece: the *Coronation of the Virgin* (see fig. 6) now in the Accademia in Florence and the ex-Loeser *Saint Dominic* (see fig. 7), both of which have either a known or plausible provenance from Santa Maria Novella. As has been noted, the Accademia *Coronation* contains images of the three Dominican saints, conforming to Rosselli's description of the Salvi altarpiece, and it is large enough (188.6 × 270 cm) to have accommodated the five known predella panels, the missing columns and framing arches that once separated them, and up to two hypothetical further scenes. It is, however, almost certainly datable between 1343 and 1345 and therefore could be identical with the Salvi altarpiece only if Rosselli misread the date in the inscription, mistaking an X (MCCCXXXIII) for a V (MCCCXXXVIII).²⁴ While this is possible, it is unreasonable to advance as a working hypothesis without further evidence pointing in that direction. The ex-Loeser *Saint Dominic* has also been dated by Erling Skaug close to 1342 on sphragiologial grounds,²⁵ but there is no objective standard available to demonstrate this argument as there are no surviving, firmly dated works by Daddi between 1338 and 1343. Skaug argued conclusively for a *terminus post quem* of 1338 for the ex-Loeser panel, but finer judgments beyond that must be acknowledged as tentative. Yet, while it is at least logically possible that the ex-Loeser *Saint Dominic* was part of the Salvi altarpiece, no physical evidence positively links it to the predella, and so no association of the latter with the date 1338 can be claimed to be more than a circumstantial possibility. Further delimiting the likely date of the predella on stylistic grounds has not been possible, given the abraded state of all the known panels. They are conventionally assumed to be datable to 1338 based on the belief that they were part of the Salvi altarpiece, but that is a supposition that cannot be conclusively demonstrated.

One final problematic consideration relating to Rosselli's description of the Salvi altarpiece deserves further inquiry. Rosselli records the altarpiece as hanging on the west wall of a cloister at Santa Maria Novella but claims to have been informed by the friars that it was originally installed in the choir of the church ("Dicono i Frati che era in Chiesa intorno al coro . . . che ne fu levato intorno all'anno 1570").²⁶ If the painting hung on the rood screen in Santa Maria Novella and bore a date and Bernardo Daddi's signature, it begs the question of Vasari's omitting to mention it and of his mistaken belief that Bernardo da Firenze was a follower of Spinello Aretino at the end of the fourteenth century.²⁷ If, on the other hand, the altarpiece had already been removed from the rood screen before the date of Vasari's reconstruction of the altars in the church, it may not be idle speculation to wonder whether the "storiette piccole" mentioned by Vasari in the chapel of the Coronation of the Virgin on the rood screen in Santa Maria Novella, attributed by him to Fra Angelico, might instead be the five Dominican scenes by Bernardo Daddi, separated from their original context due to their enduring iconographic value to the community.²⁸ While impossible to verify, such a hypothesis could also explain the survival of the predella scenes independent of the altarpiece to which they were originally attached. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 44; Jarves 1861, pl. C, fig. 11; Sturgis 1868, 34; Rankin 1895, 141; Rankin 1905, 8; Sirén 1908c, 188–89, 193, pl. 1, fig. 1; Van Vechten Brown and Rankin 1914, 65n3; Sirén 1916a, 22–23; Sirén 1916b, 208–9; Sirén 1917, 1:180, 271; 2: pl. 161; van Marle 1924b, 370, 373–75; Offner 1927a, 3, 16; Comstock 1928a, 71–73; Salmi 1929, 268; Borenius 1930, 154; Offner 1930b, 9, 36–39; Royal Academy of Arts 1930, 38–39; Balniel and Clark 1931, 13; Hautecoeur 1931, 157; Venturi 1931, pl. 36; Berenson 1932a, 167; *Catalogue of "A Century of Progress"* 1933, 14, no. 84; Venturi 1933, pl. 45; *Mostra giottesca* 1937, 56, no. 60; *Arts of the Middle Ages* 1940, 19–20, no. 55; Cibulka 1940–41, 352–54; Sinibaldi and Brunetti 1943, 501; Comstock 1946, 46, 47; Offner 1947, 59, 65, 66n3, 67n9; Antal 1948, 183; Gronau 1949, 295; Paatz and Paatz 1940–54, 748, 838nn490–91; Bialostocki and Walicki 1955, 455; Offner 1958, 4, 202; Longhi 1959, 7–8; Kalinowski 1961, 42; Berenson 1963, 1:56, 2: fig. 172; Marcucci 1965a, 36; White 1966, 264; Dal Poggetto 1967, 33; Seymour 1970, 24–27, no. 9; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 62, 599; Preiser 1973, 324–25; Gardner 1979, 114; Boskovits 1988b, 27–28, 254; Boskovits 1989, 71, 188, 196–200, 385; Pope-Hennessy 1991, 302–3; Skaug 1994, 1:101; Tartuferi 2000, 53; Boskovits 2001, 173, 178; Cannon 2013, 326

NOTES

1. Sirén 1908c, 188–89, 193, pl. 1, fig. 1.

2. Longhi 1959, 7.
3. de Voragine 1993, 2:47.
4. Jarves 1860, 44.
5. Sturgis 1868, 34; and, for the quote, Sirén 1916b, 208.
6. van Marle 1924b, 370n3.
7. Offner 1947, 59, 65, 66n3, 67n9.
8. Seymour 1970, 24–27, no. 9.
9. Boskovits 1989, 197–98.
10. Cited in Rankin 1905, 8.
11. Sirén 1908c, 193.
12. Sirén 1908c, 193. The citation from the *Sepoltuario Rosselli* was first published by Gaetano Milanese, in Vasari 1878–85, 1:673n2.
13. The Gemäldegalerie panel, thought to represent a miracle of Saint Dominic, was first associated with the others by van Marle 1924b, 373–75. The correct subject was identified by Richard Offner, cited in the 1931 catalogue of the Gemäldegalerie, and a full reconstruction of the predella was published by Offner in 1947; see Boskovits 1989, 185–205, pl. 8.
14. Boskovits 2001, 210–20, pl. 17.
15. Boskovits 2001, 255–72, pl. 22; and Paatz and Paatz 1940–54, 745, 748, 836–37n467.
16. Boskovits 2001, 183–92, pls. 13–14. For the *Virgin and Child*, see Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, inv. no. P15w26, <https://www.gardnermuseum.org/experience/collection/10933>.
17. Boskovits 2001, 237–54, 273–76, pls. 21, 23.
18. The ex-Loeser panel (see fig. 7) is 37.7 centimeters wide, which is more than adequate for a single predella panel (the four known predella panels average 35 centimeters in width), but the Gardner panel is only 55.6 centimeters wide, insufficient for two panels to have stood beneath it. If the ex-Loeser and Gardner panels formed part of a pentaptych, the combined width of the five panels can be estimated as approximately 208 centimeters, which would have been an appropriate width for six predella panels (about 210 centimeters). It is not, however, completely certain that the Gardner and ex-Loeser panels originally stood together in the same altarpiece, *pace* Offner. The Gardner *Virgin* bears traces of batten nails at the level of the spring of its framing arch; no impressions of batten nails are apparent anywhere on the surface of the ex-Loeser *Saint Dominic*, which has been transferred to a new wood support but retains a beautifully preserved paint surface.
19. Offner 1947, 65–69; and Boskovits 1989, 200–205.
20. Boskovits 1988b, 27–28.

21. Inv. no. 8345.
22. Carl Strehlke, verbal communication with the author.
23. Sale, Artcurial, Paris, March 23, 2022, lot 30.
24. For the dating of this altarpiece, see Skaug 1994, 1:104, 111–14; 2: no. 5.3; and Tartuferi 2000, 55–58. Both authors favor a dating after the 1344 altarpiece from the Capella degli Spagnuoli in Santa Maria Novella.
25. Skaug 1994, 1:102, 111–14; 2: no. 5.3. Skaug situates this painting in the middle of his “sequence D” (i.e., after 1337) but before the dated altarpiece of 1344 from the Capella degli Spagnuoli.
26. Cited in Boskovits 1989, 188.
27. Vasari 1878–85, 1:673.
28. Vasari 1878–85, 2:507.



Workshop of Bernardo Daddi, *Virgin and Child*

Artist	Workshop of Bernardo Daddi, Florence, active 1312/20–died 1348
Title	<i>Virgin and Child</i>
Date	ca. 1345–48
Medium	Tempera, distemper, and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 91.5 × 46.5 cm (36 1/8 × 18 3/8 in.); picture surface: 78.6 × 37.4 cm (31 × 14 3/4 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.208

Provenance

Alfredo Barsanti (1877–1946), Rome;¹ Cesare Canessa (1863–1922) and Ercole Canessa (1867–1929), New York and Paris; sale, American Art Association, New York, January 25–26, 1924, lot 153; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1924

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical grain, retains its original thickness of 3.1 centimeters and is composed of three planks of wood: a central plank 37.4 centimeters wide with two 4.5-centimeters-wide extensions on either side. The framing elements are all original, if unusual in their construction, and affixed to the support by heavy nails driven in back to front. The main framing surround is 2.0 centimeters wide and projects 4.3 centimeters from the surface of the support. The back panel extends 2.5 centimeters beyond the frame at either side and is gilt to its outer edges. This area outside the frame was reserved for an engaged colonette on either side, now missing, though the base of the colonette on the left side is preserved. The gilding behind the colonettes ends at the height of their capitals, level with the spring of the arch in the frame molding. The former presence of the capitals is indicated by nail holes where they were attached to the

panel support. By implication, the capitals must, in turn, have supported a superstructure that is now missing: the present top edge of the panel, like its reverse, is painted red, which is old but not original. Also missing is a freestanding arcade of (probably) cusped moldings lining the inner edge of the arch at the top of the frame: a slot into which such arcades were typically glued is original. The predella, measuring 10.6 by 50.3 centimeters, is a soft wood (spruce or pine?) plank, of a horizontal grain and 2.4 centimeters thick, with a central pastiglia and gilt decorative panel measuring 5.4 by 30.2 centimeters. The molded frame surround for this decorative panel is missing, as is any painted device that might once have appeared in its central medallion. The warp of the panel support has resulted in gaps as wide as 1.5 centimeters between it and the predella at either end, but the original gesso barb where the predella once abutted the paint surface is intact.

The gilding and paint surfaces of the panel are beautifully preserved except for some abrasion to the gold on the right side of the composition and exceptionally clumsy restoration of the Christ Child's face and right arm. The blue of the Virgin's robe may have been executed in a distemper or glue-based medium; it retains an unusual vibrancy of color and thick, matte texture, with scattered patches of old discolored varnish. Numerous candle burns

along the bottom edge of the predella cannot be associated with any damages to the paint surface but possibly indicate that the panel was hung relatively high in its original context or at some later point in its history. Eleven regularly spaced nail holes following the profile of the frame approximately 4 centimeters in from its inner face are later and cannot be explained by conventional carpentry practice. The alternating red-and-blue decoration of the dentil ornament on the frame is perfectly preserved.

Discussion

This image, in its original engaged frame, was most likely an independent devotional panel rather than a fragment of a larger structure. Remarkable for its elaborately decorated surfaces, it was acquired by Maitland Griggs in 1924, as “School of Bernardo Daddi.”² In a report to Griggs at the time of the Canessa sale, Richard Offner apparently assigned the painting to a “remote follower” of Bernardo Daddi,³ although he revised this assessment the following year, in a lecture given at the Griggs residence on January 19, 1925.⁴ On this occasion, Offner discussed the *Virgin and Child* in more appreciative terms, as the work of the same unidentified “pupil” of Bernardo Daddi who was responsible, in his view, for the signed and dated 1344 polyptych in Santa Maria Novella, as well as for the standing *Saint Catherine* in the cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore and the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Galleria dell’Accademia, Florence (fig. 1). Noting the “very nice state of preservation” of the Yale *Virgin and Child*, Offner reportedly highlighted its salient characteristics in the following terms: “There is a nice feeling of the panel and stucco and gold—a sense of the material which is unusual. Notice the flesh and veil, the tooling in the dress, the charming work in the brocade on which the Virgin stands. All this, together with the look of the eyes, the construction of the head, point to a pupil of Bernardo Daddi—and almost conclusively to the Master of the St. Catherine which is against the façade of the cathedral in Florence, the Coronation in the Academy and an altarpiece in the Cloister of S.M. Novella.”



Fig. 2. Nardo di Cione, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1350. Tempera and gold on panel, 97.7 × 43.5 cm (32 1/2 × 17 1/8 in.). Minneapolis Institute of Art, Bequest of Miss Tessie Jones in Memory of Herschel V. Jones, inv. no. 68.41.7

Offner’s position, however, seems to have changed again over the course of the following decades. In the 1947 volume of the *Corpus*, dedicated to Daddi and his circle, the Yale panel was referred to only in passing as a “Daddesque” product and was omitted from the large body of works that the author had by then gathered around the personality of the anonymous pupil cited above, rechristened “Assistant of Daddi.”⁵ Offner returned to the Yale *Virgin*, however, in the 1958 volume of the *Corpus*, where he catalogued the panel more fully as



Fig. 1. Bernardo Daddi, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, 1340–45. Tempera and gold on panel, 188.6 × 270 cm (6 ft. 2 1/4 in. × 8 ft. 10 3/8 in.). Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 3449

“Following of Daddi” and amended his original conclusions: “If the cast and expression of the Virgin’s head and the action betray the spell of the Daddi circle,” he wrote, referring again to analogies with the 1344 Santa Maria Novella polyptych, “the small proportions of the Child and the punched ornament lead us inevitably to a period in which his immediate influence had already begun to wane. It is here replaced in part by that of Nardo and Andrea di Cione, and chiefly by that of the former.”⁶ Offner then went on to compare the Yale panel to Nardo di Cione’s versions of the standing Madonna in the Minneapolis Institute of Art (fig. 2) and in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.,⁷ drawing stylistic as well as technical analogies with those works. While not advancing a precise chronology for the Yale picture, Offner suggested that it was later than a much-ruined image of the standing Virgin and Child by Taddeo Gaddi in the Galleria dell’Accademia, Florence, which he dated around 1345 and considered the earliest representation of the subject in Florentine painting.⁸

Barring an attribution to Spinello Aretino proposed by Bernard Berenson in 1932 (and later retracted),⁹ subsequent scholarship has essentially followed Offner’s changing views about the Yale *Virgin*, albeit not always reaching the same conclusions. Charles Seymour, Jr., who cited Offner’s judgment at the time of the Canessa sale, assigned the painting to a “remote follower” of Bernardo Daddi around 1350,¹⁰ while Federico Zeri listed it simply as “follower” of Bernardo Daddi.¹¹ Erling Skaug, on the other hand, included the panel in a small group of images by different hands yet sharing many of the same punch marks, which he viewed as products of a “Post-1363 Collaboration,” a large joint enterprise comprising all the best painters in Florence, including Andrea, Nardo and Jacopo di Cione, and Giovanni da Milano.¹² Carl Strehlke returned instead to an earlier chronology and preferred to label the panel as “Workshop of Bernardo Daddi, ca. 1340s.”¹³ A date in the 1340s was also suggested by Miklós Boskovits, although he carried Offner’s observations about the perceived Nardesque influences one step further, attributing the Yale *Virgin* to the earliest activity of Nardo di Cione himself.¹⁴ For Boskovits, the present

work represented further evidence of the important role played by Bernardo Daddi in the artistic formation of a younger generation of leading personalities in Florentine painting between around 1340 and 1350.

The uncertainties and disparate opinions regarding the authorship of the Yale panel reflect the full complexity of the issues that still affect the evaluation of Daddi's personality and more specifically those works produced by the artist at the end of his career. Efforts to disengage the Yale *Virgin* from Daddi's workshop or immediate following remain unconvincing. The correspondences between the present image and Nardo's Madonnas in Minneapolis and Washington do not extend beyond a shared iconographic model. As pointed out by Skaug in reference to Offner's observations about the similar tooling of these works, the general design of the haloes is "the most commonplace and unspecific type in the Trecento," and the purportedly related punch marks are actually a six-petaled rosette in Nardo's paintings and a five-petaled rosette in the present work.¹⁵ Skaug's own arguments regarding the chronological implications of the punching in the Yale picture, however, are equally inconclusive.¹⁶ Stylistic considerations alone suggest that the Cioneseque elements in the Yale picture have been overemphasized. A comparison with Nardo's *Virgin* in Minneapolis, dated by Boskovits to the same moment as the Yale picture,¹⁷ reveals two altogether distinct artistic sensibilities: the one characterized by a severe, majestic formality and the other by a more gentle, playful intimacy, as well as looser execution.



Fig. 3. Workshop of Bernardo Daddi, *Saint Mary Magdalen*, ca. 1340–45. Tempera and gold on panel, 79.5 × 31.5 cm (31 1/4 × 12 3/8 in.). Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, inv. nos. 1890 nos. 443, 6140a–d

Notwithstanding some unusual components in the framing and construction of the panel, Offner's initial response to the Yale *Virgin* still seems the most accurate. The relationship between this image and those paintings attributed by him to the so-called Assistant of Daddi—since recognized as products of the artist's late

workshop—is borne out by comparison with works such as the *Crucifixion* polyptych in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence. Most recently dated between 1340 and 1345, this complex is generally viewed as a collaborative effort between Daddi, whose intervention has been confined to the *Crucifixion*, and his shop, responsible for the execution of the standing saints in the lateral panels.¹⁸ The figure of Mary Magdalen, in particular (fig. 3), shows compelling analogies to the Yale *Virgin* in both physiognomic type and facial expression. Additional but more generic correspondences are also discernible, as originally intuited by Offner, in the Accademia *Coronation of the Virgin* (see fig. 1), presently dated to the same moment as the *Crucifixion* altarpiece and often viewed as involving the participation of assistants.¹⁹ The slack drawing technique of the Yale panel and the at times cursory handling of individual features bring especially to mind the execution of some of the heads of the attendant saints in the *Coronation*. These comparisons do not necessarily imply an identity of hand, but they do suggest a possible connection between the anonymous author of the present image and the workshop of Bernardo Daddi, in the final years of the master's activity prior to his death in 1348. —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

American Art Galleries 1924, lot 153; Berenson 1932a, 549; Frankfurter 1937, 30; Offner 1947, 180; Offner 1958, 115–17, pl. 31; Klesse 1967, 461, no. 481; Seymour 1970, 28, no. 11; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Boskovits 1989, 84; Skaug 1994, 1:191–92, 2: no. 6.13; Boskovits 2001, 11n13, 392; Boskovits 2016, 314

NOTES

1. Richard Offner states that "Mr. Maitland F. Griggs surmised the panel was at an earlier time in Sig. Barsanti's possession in Rome"; see Offner 1958, 116.
2. *Catalogue of the Ercole Canessa Collection* 1924, lot 153.
3. Seymour 1970, 28, no. 11.
4. Frick Art Reference Library, New York.
5. Offner 1947, 180.
6. Offner 1958, 115–17, pl. 31.
7. Inv. no. 1939.1.261, <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.204932.html>.
8. Inv. no. 1890 n. 3144.
9. Berenson 1932a, 549.
10. Seymour 1970, 28, no. 11.
11. Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600.
12. Skaug 1994, 1:191–92, 2: no. 6.13.
13. Carl Strehlke, unpublished checklist of Italian paintings at Yale, 1998–2000, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
14. Boskovits 2001, 11n13, 392; and Boskovits 2016, 314.
15. Skaug 1994, 1:192n40.
16. Erling Skaug grouped the Yale *Virgin and Child* with five unrelated paintings that have in common only their use of a set of punch tools apparently brought to Florence from Siena around 1363, probably by Giovanni da Milano; see Skaug 1994, 1:192. These punches are all documented in Siene paintings by various artists—among them Bartolomeo Bulgarini, Niccolò di Ser Sozzo, and Luca di Tommè—who seem to have pooled resources in the wake of the plague of 1348–50. None of the punches are found in Siene paintings predating 1348. Although Skaug dismissed the possibility of dating the Yale *Virgin* in the 1340s, assuming that its punch tooling cannot predate 1363, the possibility must be entertained that the single punch it employs was, in fact, brought to Siena from Florence around 1348. The likelihood of such an eventuality is suggested by the case history of punch no. 338 in Skaug's repertory. This particular stamp was included by the author among the large set brought to Florence from Siena by Giovanni da Milano after 1363; see Skaug 1994, 2: no. 6.11. However, it is also recorded in numerous Florentine paintings of the first half of the century, beginning with Giotto, and then in a single work by Pietro Lorenzetti, before reappearing in Florence later in the century; see Skaug 1994, 2: no. 7.5.
17. Boskovits 2016, 314.
18. Angelo Tartuferi, in Boskovits and Tartuferi 2003, 79–83, no. 12. Boskovits's identification of Daddi's collaborator in this work with Puccio di Simone, accepted by Tartuferi, is not persuasive.
19. Tartuferi, in Boskovits and Tartuferi 2003, 53–60, no. 5.



Andrea di Cione, called Orcagna, *Virgin and Child*

Artist	Andrea di Cione, called Orcagna, Florence, active by 1343–died 1368
Title	<i>Virgin and Child</i>
Date	1342(?)
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel, transferred to canvas and mounted on panel
Dimensions	55.7 × 46.2 cm (21 7/8 × 18 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Mrs. Hannah D. Rabinowitz
Inv. No.	1965.124

For more on this painting, see Nardo di Cione, *Saint John the Evangelist*.

Provenance

Probably Santa Maria degli Angeli, Florence, to 1808; Booth Tarkington (1869–1946), Indianapolis, Indiana, 1907¹; Silberstein & Co., New York, after 1936 and before 1945; Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz (1887–1957), Sands Point, Long Island, N.Y., by 1945

Condition

The painting was transferred from panel to canvas at an unknown date and subsequently mounted on a modern, soft wood (pine?) support, 1.4 centimeters thick, with a vertical grain. Two horizontal battens are inset in the support on the reverse, possibly to give it an appearance of greater age. The paint surface and gilding have been badly burned by solvents. Total losses of pigment and gesso, exposing the relining canvas, are prominent in the Virgin's blue draperies, across the Christ Child's arm and shoulder, to the right of the Virgin's halo, and along the gilt margin of the panel, especially where it was cut into an arched shape in the upper half of the composition. The

flesh tones have been severely abraded. Fragments of the lavender robes and punched haloes of two flying angels are still apparent at the upper right and left, and the black outline of a crown that they place on the Virgin's head is intact. Horizontal breaks in the gold and paint surface, presumably indicating seams or splits in the original panel support, occur at 22.5 and 38.5 centimeters from the bottom edge of the panel. The painting, already extensively damaged, was harshly cleaned in 1965, revealing the extent of earlier damages and, in some cases, exaggerating them by cutting away the exposed canvas or excavating exposed gesso.

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Berenson 1936, 143; Venturi 1945, 5; Offner and Steinweg 1967, 27n4; Seymour 1970, 28–29, no. 12; Boskovits 1975b, 312; Boskovits 1984, 72, 359, 360n1, pl. 185; Boskovits 1989, 84; Skaug 1994, 1:101, 110; Passeri 2008, 5–7; Laurence Kanter, in Kanter and Marciari 2010, 10–11, fig. 1; Gordon 2022, 190–91, 220n7

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1. Venturi 1945; see also Woodress 1954, 138ff.



Andrea di Cione, called Orcagna, *Saint Romuald*

Artist	Andrea di Cione, called Orcagna, Florence, active by 1343–died 1368
Title	<i>Saint Romuald</i>
Date	1342(?)
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	53.4 × 43.1 cm (21 × 17 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Richard L. Feigen
Inv. No.	2020.75.3

For more on this painting, see Nardo di Cione, *Saint John the Evangelist*.

Provenance

Probably Santa Maria degli Angeli, Florence, until 1808; Wildenstein and Co., by January 1952 until at least September 1953¹; private collection; sale, Sotheby's, London, December 8, 1971, lot 57; Alice Loew-Ber (née Gottlieb, 1889–1979), Epsom, London, and by descent to her granddaughters; sale, Sotheby's, London, December 7, 2005, lot 33; Richard L. Feigen (1930–2021), New York, 2005

Condition

The panel has been cut on all four sides but retains its original thickness of 3 centimeters and exhibits a slight convex warp. It is comprised of three horizontal planks with joins approximately 20 centimeters from the bottom and 16 centimeters from the top; the joins have opened in the front, resulting in modest paint loss along their length at the level of the saint's upper lip and just above the top corner of his book. A 2-centimeter-wide strip of gesso and repaint covers scattered losses along the left and top edges, and smaller irregular losses are scattered along the right and bottom edges. Two nails driven into the panel

approximately on center, originally attaching a vertical batten to the back, have resulted in paint losses 21.5 centimeters from the bottom edge of the panel and 10.5 centimeters from the top edge, at the level of the saint's left eye. The gold background has been overpainted in oils to represent dark green foliage, but bolus and remnants of original gilding are preserved beneath this layer. Punch tool impressions are still apparent through the repainted background at the upper-left corner. The gilding of the halo is largely intact, and the paint surface is exceptionally well preserved aside from abrasions to the saint's forehead and temple, in the area of his right cheek, and at the bottom of his beard. The painting was cleaned and restored by Irma Passeri in 2008–10.

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Boskovits 1984, 360, pl. 186a; Boskovits 1989, 81; Skaug 1994, 1:101n112, 110; Passeri 2008, 5–7; Laurence Kanter, in Kanter and Marciari 2010, 7–11, no. 3b; Gordon 2022, 190–91, 220n7

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1. According to annotations on the reverse of two photographs in the Fototeca Berenson at Villa I Tatti, Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Florence.



Nardo di Cione, *Saint John the Evangelist*

Artist	Nardo di Cione, Florence, documented 1343/46–died 1365/66
Title	<i>Saint John the Evangelist</i>
Date	1342(?)
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	53.8 × 43.2 cm (21 1/4 × 17 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Richard L. Feigen
Inv. No.	2020.75.4

Provenance

Probably Santa Maria degli Angeli, Florence, until 1808; Wildenstein and Co., by January 1952 until at least September 1953¹; private collection; sale, Sotheby's, London, December 8, 1971, lot 57; Alice Loew-Ber (née Gottlieb, 1889–1979), Epsom, London; by descent to her granddaughters; sale, Sotheby's, London, December 7, 2005, lot 33; Richard L. Feigen (1930–2021), New York, 2005

Condition

The panel has been cut on all four sides but retains its original thickness, varying from 3 to 3.4 centimeters, and exhibits a slight convex warp. It is comprised of three horizontal planks with joints approximately 21.5 centimeters from the bottom and 15.5 centimeters from the top; the joints have opened in the front, resulting in modest paint loss along their length, at the level of the bridge of the saint's nose and just above the top corner of his book. A 3-centimeter-wide strip of gesso and repaint covers scattered losses along the right and top edges, and smaller irregular losses are scattered along the left edge. The bottom edge is irregularly damaged, and a large part of the saint's left hand has been repainted. Two nails driven into the panel approximately on center, originally attaching a vertical batten on the back, have resulted in

paint losses approximately 16 centimeters from the bottom of the panel and 12.5 centimeters from the top, just above the saint's left eye. The gilding and paint surface are otherwise well preserved, with only minor flaking losses scattered along the raised edges of craquelure and abrasion in the saint's rose-colored outer robe. The painting was cleaned and restored by Irma Passeri in 2008–10.

Discussion

The severely damaged *Virgin and Child* was first published in 1936 by Bernard Berenson, who ascribed it to Bernardo Daddi, the artist it most resembled in its then heavily repainted state (fig. 1).² More than thirty years later, Klara Steinweg noted that “because of its deplorable condition Dr. [Richard] Offner had written the following comment on the back of the photograph[:] *in large part counterfeit*.”³ Steinweg herself considered the panel—following its “very careful restoration recently carried out under the instructions of Mr. Sherwood A. Fehm, Jr.”—an autograph replica by Giovanni del Biondo of a related panel formerly in the Richard M. Hurd collection, New York (fig. 2).⁴ Charles Seymour, Jr., in his 1970 catalogue of Italian paintings at Yale, retained Berenson's designation “attributed to Bernardo Daddi.”⁵ Although he acknowledged the relationship between the Yale and Hurd paintings, Seymour rejected Steinweg's hypothesis

(if he was even aware of it, as Steinweg is not mentioned in the summary bibliography accompanying the catalogue entry) that they were both the work of Giovanni del Biondo. He maintained instead that the existence of a “later undated copy formerly in the Hurd collection, New York, testifies to the relative completeness of our panel as well as to its importance for its period.” The Yale panel is manifestly incomplete, as is indicated by the truncated haloes of two angels supporting a crown above the Virgin’s head, cropped along the arched top profile of the panel. A more accurate impression of the original appearance of the composition is provided by a second replica painted by Giovanni del Biondo, formerly in the Branch collection, Florence (fig. 3).⁶ Giovanni del Biondo—or another, even more Orcagnesque painter—produced yet a third replica of the composition, extended to portray the Virgin in full length and enthroned, as the center panel of an altarpiece triptych in the church of Sant’Andrea at Montespertoli in the Val d’Elsa (fig. 4),⁷ in this case without the angels supporting a crown above the Virgin’s head.



Fig. 3. Giovanni del Biondo, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1370. Tempera and gold on panel, 102.3 × 49.7 cm (40 1/4 × 19 5/8 in.). Location unknown



Fig. 4. Orcagnesque Master (Giovanni del Biondo?), *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints* (detail), ca. 1370–80. Tempera and gold on panel. Sant’Andrea at Montespertoli



Fig. 1. *Virgin and Child*, before 1936



Fig. 2. Giovanni del Biondo, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1370. Tempera and gold on panel, 57.8 × 37.5 cm (22 3/4 × 14 3/4 in.). Location unknown

Miklós Boskovits, in his synthetic study of late trecento painting in Florence, repeated Steinweg’s attribution to Giovanni del Biondo for both the Hurd and Yale paintings.⁸ In 1984, however, he reconsidered his attribution of the Yale *Virgin and Child*, returning to Berenson’s original designation for it as the work of Bernardo Daddi.⁹ At that time, he also published two half-length saints—*Saint Romuald* and the present *Saint John the Evangelist*—as probable lateral panels of an altarpiece of which the Yale *Virgin and Child* formed the center. This proposal was endorsed by Erling Skaug on the basis of a conformity of punch tooling across the three panels.¹⁰ It was confirmed by the present author with the observation that splits in the horizontal grain of the wood supports in the lateral panels align with damages to the paint surface of the *Virgin and Child* that must have been caused by similar splits in its original support.¹¹ In discussing the two half-length saints—which were at that time identified as Benedict and John the Evangelist—the present author argued, from the evidence of punch tooling appearing along the margin of the gold ground only on the left side of each panel, that at least two additional lateral panels and possibly five triangular gable panels might yet be missing from the reconstruction of this altarpiece. The first of these suppositions must be correct: two other lateral panels, one standing immediately to the left of the *Virgin and Child*, separating it from the *Saint Romuald*, and one at the extreme right of

the complex, alongside *Saint John the Evangelist*, are undoubtedly missing. That any of these panels might have been surmounted by triangular gables is, however, a matter of conjecture. The punched decoration of the left margins of the lateral saints continues along the top edge of the panels, implying (although not demonstrating) the existence of a frame molding running along the top, whereas early gabled altarpieces constructed of horizontally grained panels do not generally incorporate such moldings.¹²

When the *Saint Romuald* (then called Benedict) and *Saint John the Evangelist* were exhibited at Yale as parts of the Richard L. Feigen collection, in 2010, the present author argued at some length that, although they are clearly parts of a single altarpiece complex, they were painted by two different artists. The two figures are slightly different from each other in scale and very different in conception and execution. Detail in the *Saint Romuald*, such as in the folds of his habit and hairs of his beard, is more finely rendered than in the *Saint John*, and the range of hue and halftones used to model Saint Romuald's ostensibly single-colored (white) draperies is far richer than the simple, barely modulated palette of Saint John's blue tunic and red robe. The projection in space of the book held by Saint Romuald is more aggressive than that of Saint John: the lines defining the three visible corners in the first converge toward a notional vanishing point, whereas the three corners of the second are roughly parallel to each other. The head and hands of Saint Romuald are realized with a more angular bone structure and the skin pulled tauter than in those of Saint John. These differences, furthermore, parallel very different styles of underdrawing visible on the two panels. *Saint Romuald* (fig. 5) employs a broad, sweeping, fluid, and forceful line applied with a brush, while *Saint John* (fig. 6) is composed with a thin, delicate, and tentative line probably drawn with a quill pen.



Fig. 5. Infrared photograph of *Saint Romuald*



Fig. 6. Infrared photograph of *Saint John the Evangelist*

Cataloguing the punch motifs decorating the gold grounds of the three panels now at Yale, Skaug enumerated four impressions that occur regularly, and exclusively, in Bernardo Daddi's works datable between 1334/35 and 1337/38. Impressions from a fifth punch tool that seems to have been inherited (or purchased?) from Giotto's studio after the latter's death in January 1337 led Skaug to accept that date as a *terminus post quem* for this altarpiece. Two of the punches are also found in a controversial altarpiece at San Giorgio a Ruballa near Florence, dated 1336, which the present author cited as the closest stylistic parallel for the Yale *Saint Romuald* among the broader category of works usually accepted as by Bernardo Daddi.¹³ Although sometimes discussed as a youthful work by Maso di Banco operating within Bernardo Daddi's workshop or, alternatively, as evidence of the influence exercised by Maso on even such established masters as Bernardo Daddi, the San Giorgio a Ruballa altarpiece has been persuasively attributed to Andrea di Cione as his earliest identifiable work while apprenticed to Bernardo Daddi.¹⁴ In 2010 the present author advanced an attribution to Andrea di Cione for the Yale (then Feigen) *Saint Romuald* as well and tentatively proposed that Orcagna might also have been responsible for the Yale *Virgin and Child*, as "the emotional interaction between the [two figures] in it is more dramatic than that usually encountered in Bernardo Daddi's many versions of this theme."¹⁵ Assuming that the evidence of punch tooling placed these three panels squarely in Bernardo Daddi's studio, he adduced the contrast between the *Saint Romuald* and the *Saint John the Evangelist* as evidence that the latter was the work of Bernardo Daddi, from whom the altarpiece would have been commissioned sometime around 1337. In practice, the broad, muscular conception and compromised foreshortenings of the *Saint John the Evangelist* bear as little relation to Bernardo Daddi's meticulous, refined technique as does the nervous

intensity and rapid, almost liquid modeling of the *Saint Romuald*. Beyond the evidence of its punch tooling, there is no a priori reason to assume that the Yale altarpiece was commissioned from Bernardo Daddi. Since Skaug has demonstrated that all the tools used in these panels disappear from Daddi's production after 1338, it is at least feasible that the painting was designed and executed later in a different studio, presumably the studio of a "graduate" from Daddi's workshop.¹⁶ There is strong reason to believe that this studio was operated by Andrea di Cione, who, it must be reaffirmed, was responsible for painting the Yale *Virgin and Child* and the *Saint Romuald*.



Fig. 7. Nardo di Cione, *Virgin and Child*, 1340–45. Tempera and gold on panel, 75 × 48.3 cm (29 1/2 × 19 in.). Milwaukee Art Museum, Purchase, Myron and Elizabeth P. Laskin Fund, Marjorie Tiefenthaler Bequest, Friends of Art, and Fine Arts Society; and funds from Helen Peter Love, Chapman Foundation, Mr. and Mrs. James K. Heller, Joseph Johnson Charitable Trust, the A. D. Robertson Family, Mr. and Mrs. Donald S. Buzard, the Frederick F. Hansen Family, Dr. and Mrs. Richard Fritz, and June Burke Hansen; with additional support from Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader, Dr. Warren Gilson, Mrs. Edward T. Tal, Mr. and Mrs. Richard B. Flagg, Mr. and Mrs. William D. Vogel, Mrs. William D. Kyle, Sr., L. B. Smith, Mrs. Malcolm K. Whyte, Bequest of Catherine Jean Quirk, Mrs. Charles E. Sorenson, Mr. William Stiefel, and Mrs. Adelaide Ott Hayes, by exchange

As difficult as it has been to establish consensus over the development or even the identity of Andrea di Cione as a

painter—largely due to the collaborative nature of so much of his work—it has been even more difficult to expand the outlines of Nardo di Cione's career beyond those first proposed by Offner in 1924.¹⁷ Paintings conventionally attributed to Nardo are all clustered either in a "documentable" (through the evidence of a change in punch tooling) late career, which covered only the years from 1363 to 1365, or a middle period nominally stretching from 1352 to 1362—that is, an arbitrary five years on either side of 1357, the date loosely associated with the frescoes in the Strozzi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella, Florence. Scholars all agree that Nardo's career began in the 1340s since he registered in the painters' guild sometime between 1346 and 1348 and by 1349 was recognized as one of the leading masters active in Florence.¹⁸ Few attempts to identify paintings by him that might date from this decade have been advanced; of these, Boskovits's suggestion that the standing *Virgin and Child* in Minneapolis¹⁹ and the frescoes from the Giochi Bastari Chapel at the Badia Fiorentina predate midcentury deserves the most serious consideration.²⁰ To these should be added the Whitley *Madonna* in Milwaukee (fig. 7), which was almost certainly painted earlier than the Minneapolis *Virgin and Child*, and now the Yale *Saint John the Evangelist*. The figure type of the *Saint John*, with its distinctively broad bone structure and oversize almond-shaped eye, is consistent with Nardo's throughout his career and recurs even in such late works as the three standing saints in the National Gallery, London.²¹ So, too, are the inflexible joints of Saint John's hands or the idiosyncratic "foreshortening" of his forearms, with elbows held close to the figure's body. The close relationship between the Christ Child in the Whitley *Madonna* and the Yale *Saint John the Evangelist* should establish a standard for identifying other, hitherto unrecognized early works by Nardo.

The existence of no fewer than three replicas of the Yale *Virgin and Child*, two by Giovanni del Biondo, does argue for "its importance for its period," as Seymour suggested,²² and has led to some speculation regarding the original provenance of the altarpiece of which it formed part. The white habit worn by the saint in the left lateral panel probably indicates that the altarpiece was a Camaldolese commission and led Dillian Gordon to propose changing his identification from Saint Benedict to Saint Romuald, founder of the Camaldolese reform movement.²³ Following on the assumption that the altarpiece was commissioned to Bernardo Daddi in 1337, the present author noted that two chapels in the sacristy of Santa Maria degli Angeli, the principal house of the Camaldolese order in Florence, were endowed by the

Spini family in 1336, one with a dedication to Saint Mary Magdalen and one with a dedication to Saint Lawrence.²⁴ Both of these would have contained altarpieces and either could have included the Yale panels if they were originally accompanied by two additional panels, one of which would have portrayed either the Magdalen or Saint Lawrence. Gordon prefers to identify another chapel in the sacristy at Santa Maria degli Angeli as the probable original site of the Yale altarpiece. Endowed in 1342 with a bequest of 60 florins by Giovanni di Lottieri Ghitti, the dedication of this chapel to Saint John the Evangelist would be appropriate on iconographic grounds for an association with the Yale altarpiece and now seems equally compelling on stylistic grounds. Also possible but entirely speculative would be a provenance from the Camaldolese monastery of San Giovanni Evangelista at Pratovecchio; no documentation exists for the commissioning of altarpieces there in the fourteenth century. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Boskovits 1984, 360, pl. 186a; Boskovits 1989, 81; Skaug 1994, 1:101n112, 110; Passeri 2008, 5–7; Laurence Kanter, in Kanter and Marciari 2010, 7–11, no. 3a; Gordon 2022, 190–91, 220n7

NOTES

1. According to annotations on the reverse of two photographs in the Fototeca Berenson at Villa I Tatti, the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Florence.
2. Berenson 1936, 143.
3. Klara Steinweg, in Offner and Steinweg 1969, 27.
4. Formerly Paolo Paolini, Rome; sale, American Art Galleries, New York, December 10–11, 1924, lot 98; Richard M. Hurd, New York; sale, Kende Galleries, New York, October 29, 1945, lot 26; exhibited at the National Arts Club, New York, 1929, and at Newhouse Galleries, New York, 1937.
5. Seymour 1970, 28–29, no. 12.
6. Formerly with Elia Volpi, Palazzo Davanzati, Florence; sale, American Art Association, New York, November 27, 1916, lot 1025, as Sano di Pietro; see Offner and Steinweg 1969, pl. 9.
7. Offner and Steinweg 1969, pl. 44.
8. Boskovits 1975b, 312.
9. Boskovits 1984, 72, 359, 360n1, pl. 185.
10. Skaug 1994, 1:101, 110.
11. Kanter and Marciari 2010, 10–11, fig. 1.
12. In Offner and Steinweg 1969, 27, Klara Steinweg alluded to a *Virgin and Child* by Giovanni del Biondo in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena (inv. no. 584), in which the composition is closed at the top with a small scene of the Crucifixion divided from the main figures by a course of punched decoration, as evidence that the Hurd (and Yale) paintings were probably treated in the same fashion, and she felt that this was confirmed by a similar configuration in the *Virgin and Child* formerly in the Branch collection (fig. 3). The latter, however, is problematic as evidence without access to the original. From the photograph published by Steinweg (Offner and Steinweg 1969, pl. 9), it appears that the upper and lower parts of this panel may be a marriage of fragments from two unrelated works of art: the *Crucifixion* appears to have been painted on a panel with a horizontal wood grain and possibly to have been enlarged to fit above the *Virgin and Child*, which instead was evidently painted on a panel with a vertical grain.
13. Kanter and Marciari 2010, 10–11.
14. Bartalini 1995, 16–35; and Parenti 2001, 325–32.
15. Kanter and Marciari 2010, 11.
16. This hypothesis has been vigorously denied by Erling Skaug in correspondence to the author, January–February 2020, where he insists that the panels cannot be dated later than 1338. It should be noted that another early work by Andrea di Cione, a *Coronation of the Virgin with Saints* in the Galleria Nazionale di Palazzo Corsini, Rome, also exclusively uses punches from Bernardo Daddi's workshop and deploys them in a manner similar to Daddi's own; for the Palazzo Corsini work, see Boskovits 1971, 239–51. In this case, Skaug dates the combination of punches and the pattern of their arrangement to 1343/44, which seems reasonable.
17. Offner 1924a, 99–112.
18. For a full rehearsal of the documents relating to Nardo di Cione, see Offner 1960.
19. Minneapolis Institute of Art, inv. no. 68.41.7.
20. Boskovits 2016, 314. Boskovits's suggestion that the *Virgin and Child* from the workshop of Bernardo Daddi at the Yale University Art Gallery might also be an early work by Nardo di Cione is based exclusively on iconographic considerations; see inv. no. 1943.208, <https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/44965>.
21. Inv. no. NG581, <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/nardo-di-cione-three-saints>.
22. Seymour 1970, 29.
23. Gordon 2022, 190–91.
24. Kanter and Marciari 2010, 11.



Nardo di Cione, *Saint Peter*

Artist	Nardo di Cione, Florence, documented 1343/46–died 1365/66
Title	<i>Saint Peter</i>
Date	ca. 1352–56
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 99.2 × 40.1 cm (39 × 15 3/4 in.); picture surface: 88.3 × 31.8 cm (34 3/4 × 12 1/2 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.13

For more on this painting, see Andrea di Cione (called Orcagna), *Saint John the Baptist*.



Andrea di Cione, called Orcagna, *Saint John the Baptist*

Artist	Andrea di Cione, called Orcagna, Florence, active by 1343–died 1368
Title	<i>Saint John the Baptist</i>
Date	ca. 1352–56
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 98.3 × 39.7 cm (38 3/4 × 15 3/8 in.); picture surface: 87.5 × 32.7 (34 1/2 × 12 7/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.14

Provenance

James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

Both panels—the *Saint John the Baptist* shown here and the *Saint Peter* catalogued before this entry—are of a vertical grain, are 2 centimeters thick, and have been neither thinned nor cradled, although both were beveled along the front of their lateral edges to accommodate the Gothic Revival frames applied to them in the nineteenth century. The modern frame elements and any original gesso or gilding that might have remained on original moldings were stripped from the *Saint Peter* panel in a radical cleaning of 1971–72, at which time two battens that had been slotted into its back in the nineteenth century were replaced with new oak battens.¹ The nineteenth-century frame was left intact on *Saint John the Baptist*; the battens on this panel had previously been removed, probably in a cleaning of 1915, when a 13.5-centimeter-wide wooden insert running the full height of the panel was inlaid in its reverse, just left (viewed from the back) of center, to reinforce a split in the support. Both panels have 2.2-centimeter-wide horizontal channels carved in their backs, approximately 12 centimeters and 93 centimeters (on center) from their

bottom edges. These were intended to receive iron strap hinges—the nails that affixed them are still preserved in the channels—which would have been recessed just below the painted surface of the reverses and gessoed and painted to continue the decorative patterns that they would otherwise have interrupted. Neither panel has been altered in width or cut at the bottom, but both have been trimmed along the profiles of their ogival arches.

Two large splits rising diagonally from the bottom edge of the *Saint Peter* have provoked no visible damage to the paint surface of the front and only minor flaking losses on the reverse. The paint surface of the reverse (fig. 1) is exceptionally well preserved, suffering minor flaking only along these splits and at the edges of the hinge channels, and abrasion only along the left (from the back) vertical edge and in the blue (probably smalt) field surrounding the white shield of arms. The paint surface of the front is also well preserved, although it was overcleaned in 1952 and again in 1972. Flaking is apparent only along the left edge of Saint Peter's yellow cloak and the edge of his blue tunic at the sleeve and shoulder where these painted areas overlap the gold ground. The painted reverse of *Saint John the Baptist* (fig. 2) has been extensively damaged from flaking losses and from the insertion of the vertical reinforcement, entirely obliterating the white shield of arms in its upper quadrant and leaving only

sufficient areas of the lower quadrant to recognize its decoration as fictive marble instead of fictive porphyry, as in the *Saint Peter*.



Fig. 1. Reverse of *Saint Peter*



Fig. 2. Reverse of *Saint John the Baptist*



Fig. 3. *Saint John the Baptist*, ca. 1952

The painted moldings surrounding these decorative fields simulate being lit from the left and above in both panels. The obverse of *Saint John the Baptist* has been more strongly abraded than *Saint Peter* and was probably painted more thinly in the first instance. Losses along the vertical center split, including large areas of total loss at the level of the Baptist's knees and at his waist (fig. 3) have been inpainted, as have scattered flaking losses in his hair and beard. The tips of the toes of the saint's right foot have been reinforced. The gold grounds of both panels are beautifully preserved.

Discussion

This panel, showing *Saint John the Baptist*, and the related *Saint Peter*, have been the subject of more scholarly agreement than perhaps any other paintings in the Jarves Collection. James Jackson Jarves attributed them to

Orcagna at a time when an exaggerated number of mid-trecento panels were labeled with that artist's name.² Nevertheless, all publications over the next sixty years accepted the identification without question, until Richard Offner included the panels in his groundbreaking 1924 study of the work of Orcagna's brother, Nardo di Cione.³ Since then, all references to the Yale panels have considered them canonical works by that artist. So compelling was Offner's characterization of Nardo's personality, both in the 1924 article, which focused on the Goldman tabernacle now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and in his later *Corpus* volume dedicated to the painter's full career, that no substantive dissension has appeared in subsequent scholarship.⁴ A small number of newly discovered works have been added to Nardo's oeuvre but none have been subtracted, while some considerable debate over the chronology of his development has led at best to minor adjustments to the artist's profile as it was envisioned by Offner. Of the Jarves paintings, Offner stated his belief that they were lateral panels from a disassembled altarpiece probably dating around the time of or shortly following the frescoes in the Strozzi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella, Florence, presumably close to 1357. Hans Gronau assigned them to the decade of the 1360s, at the end of Nardo's career, as did Angelo Tartuferi.⁵ Charles Seymour, Jr., concurred with Offner in dating them shortly after the Strozzi Chapel frescoes, in the late 1350s, and refuted a suggestion—the source of which he did not acknowledge—that they may have flanked the *Standing Virgin and Child* now in the Minneapolis Institute of Art.⁶ Erling Skaug, who attempted to reconcile the vacillating chronologies of Offner, Gronau, and Miklós Boskovits, was content to leave them in an indeterminate middle period in Nardo's career, unbracketed by specific dates.⁷

The single contrary opinion in this long line of agreement appeared in a paper delivered in Milan in 2004 (and published in 2009) by the present author, who noted that while it cannot be doubted that the Jarves *Saint Peter* and *Saint John the Baptist* originated from a single complex, they were not designed or painted by the same artist.⁸ *Saint Peter* is a massive, frontal figure. His shoulders, hands, and feet are arranged parallel to the picture plane, the tips of the toes aligned as if along a straightedge. The folds of his draperies are shallow, incisive cuts across the picture surface. *Saint John the Baptist* is long and gaunt and is turned decisively in three-quarter profile. The folds of his pink cape are deep and sculptural, excavating tangible volumes of space around his body. His right hand and both of his feet are not, as in the *Saint Peter*, geometric abstractions but are carefully articulated, with

indications of bone, tendon, and muscle, foreshortened to establish a fully sensible recession into depth. His left hand, even more extremely foreshortened, wraps convincingly around the shaft of the cross he carries— itself set on a spatially recessive diagonal—entirely unlike the symbolic, only vaguely naturalistic grip of *Saint Peter* upon his keys. Infrared reflectography (figs. 4–5), furthermore, confirms that the underdrawing beneath the figures is by two different draughtsmen. The firm, regular strokes outlining the drapery folds in the *Saint Peter*, supplemented by light, parallel hatching to indicate shadows, are executed with a quill and are followed closely in the final layers of paint. The drawing beneath the *Saint John the Baptist* is radically different, comprising a loose, swirling line drawn with a brush, searching out structural forms that are sometimes ignored or corrected in the final paint layers. The more rigid, efficient drawing style of the *Saint Peter* is identical to that documented beneath Nardo di Cione's *Three Saints* altarpiece in the National Gallery, London,⁹ and *Saint Peter's* figure type recurs in Nardo's Prague altarpiece, in the altarpiece laterals by him in Munich, and in the Goldman tabernacle in Washington.¹⁰ *Saint John the Baptist*, on the other hand, does not correspond in figure type to the same saint in the London or Prague altarpieces—which are both late works—and it must be presumed either not to be by Nardo di Cione or, if by him, to have been conceived at a radically different moment in his career. The panel may instead have been painted by Nardo's brother Andrea di Cione, known as Orcagna, an argument bolstered by comparison to figures in the Strozzi Chapel altarpiece of 1357 or, ironically, to the kneeling figure of *Saint Peter* in the Pentecost altarpiece from Santi Apostoli in Florence, both commonly recognized as works by Orcagna.



Fig. 4. Infrared photograph of *Saint Peter*



Fig. 5. Infrared photograph of *Saint John the Baptist*

The problem of collaboration within the joint workshop operated by the Cione brothers has not been adequately addressed in the literature concerning either artist, leading to Skaug's conclusion that "the widespread idea of a joint workshop between the di Cione brothers seems, on the whole, to crumble up on a closer look at the collected evidence."¹¹ Clearly, an extended group of other painters was also involved, including Nardo and Andrea's younger brother, Jacopo di Cione, and as-yet-unnamed artists, such as the Master of the Ashmolean Predella. These artists are assumed to have been working under Andrea's direction and are frequently credited with having intervened on paintings attributed to him; neither they nor Andrea has been identified as working on paintings attributed to Nardo, whose work is commonly regarded as monolithic in style. Nevertheless, the only parallels for the Jarves *Saint John the Baptist*—either in figure type or pictorial realization—are to be found entirely among paintings thought to be by Andrea di Cione. Their only echoes within Nardo's accepted oeuvre occur in the large altarpiece now in the Brooklyn Museum¹² and in the frescoes from the Giochi Bastari Chapel in the Badia, Florence. The Brooklyn altarpiece has long been perceived as anomalous among the core group of works thought to be by Nardo. It has been described as his most Orcagnesque painting, a comment perhaps responding to—although not articulating—the perception of a degree of collaboration in its execution. The Giochi Bastari

frescoes, equally anomalous among Nardo's works, have been explained by isolating them as possibly the artist's earliest efforts. Yet whether they are dated before or after midcentury (no external or circumstantial evidence provides an anchor for dating them to any specific decade), it is essential to recognize that no other painting commonly attributed to Nardo, other than the Jarves *Saint John the Baptist*, approximates their spatial organization and accomplishment or their uncompromising mastery of sculptural form. The most reasonable explanation for their appearance at any date is the supposition of extensive collaboration within the productive Cione studio.

The 2004 paper in which the Jarves *Saint John the Baptist* was ascribed to Orcagna's hand also rectified another misconception about it and the *Saint Peter* panel: they are not lateral panels from a dispersed altarpiece but shutters to an unusually large tabernacle triptych. The reverse of each panel (see figs. 2–3) retains physical evidence of the iron strap hinges that once affixed them to the central element of the triptych.



Fig. 6. Nardo di Cione, *Virgin Annunciate*, 1352–56. Tempera and gold on panel, 47 × 28 cm (18 1/2 × 11 in.). Stanford University, Libraries, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, San Francisco, Collection of T. Robert and Katherine States Burke, inv. no. M2223

Cropping of the painted patterns on the reverses also reveals that the panels were originally much larger and conformed to the standard shape of such shutters: their present ogival arches were filled out by spandrels surmounted by a demilunette at the top. Typically, such lunettes are filled with images of the Annunciatory Angel and the Virgin Annunciate. The latter, originally standing above the *Saint Peter* and *Saint John the Baptist*. Identical in thickness to the Jarves panels, the Burke *Virgin Annunciate* is painted on its reverse with a fictive marble pattern that continues the pattern truncated on the reverse of the *Saint Peter*. The Burke panel had once been attributed by Millard Meiss to

Giovanni del Biondo.¹³ In refuting that attribution, Offner called attention to “the intensely Nardesque head” of the Virgin, a perceptive comment that can now be amended as an attribution to Nardo himself.¹⁴



Fig. 7. Nardo di Cione, *The Crucifixion with Saints*, ca. 1352–56. Tempera and gold on panel, 145 × 71 cm (57 1/8 × 28 in.). Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 3515

The corresponding lunette of the Annunciatory Angel that once surmounted the Jarves *Saint John the Baptist* has not yet been recovered, but a proposal to identify the center panel of the tabernacle can now be advanced with some confidence. Of all the surviving works by or close in style to Nardo di Cione, the only one that closely resembles the Jarves *Saint Peter* in style and in the punched decoration

of its gold ground, as well as approximating it in size, is the *Crucifixion* now in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (fig. 7). The Uffizi *Crucifixion* incorporates within its picture field a predella of small, bust-length figures beneath a pastiglia arcade. The five saints portrayed there, significantly, do not include either John the Baptist or Peter, even though their usual companions, John the Evangelist and Paul, are present. Additionally, the upward glance of the Baptist in the left wing of the tabernacle would be logically explained by the elevated position of the crucified Christ in the Uffizi panel, whereas a conventional Virgin and Child Enthroned in the center panel would require the Baptist to be looking to the right at his own level. The engaged moldings surrounding the Uffizi *Crucifixion* are somewhat unusual for panels of this format. They do not retain evidence of the attachment of hinges, but they may have been intended to elide between the painted surface of the panel and a larger marble tabernacle frame into which it could have been inserted. It would then have been the marble surround to which the hinges on the Jarves panels would have been conjoined, possibly explaining as well the elaborate fictive-marble decoration on the backs of the Jarves panels as hypothetically completing the coloration of the marble tabernacle when the wings were closed.

The Jarves panels incorporate a coat of arms on their reverses (see figs. 1–2)—four red lozenges arranged in a cross on a white ground—that has not been successfully identified but that may relate to a confraternal or civic commission. If, as seems likely, the panels were conceived as pendants to the Uffizi *Crucifixion*, a clue to that provenance may be supplied by the presence of Saint Peter Martyr among the small-scale figures in the fictive predella in the center panel. Peter Martyr, a Dominican, is credited with founding in 1244 the *Societas Sanctissimae Viriginis* in Santa Maria Novella, a militant confraternity intended to promote the fight against heresy within the Florentine citizenry. This confraternity gave rise to three others, one of which, the *Societas Maior Sanctae Mariae*, subsequently known as the *Compagnia di Santa Maria del Bigallo*, splintered off only one year later. The Bigallo—whose twelve captains, or rectors, were consigned banners of a red cross (signifying the papacy) on a white field—was dedicated to administering hospitals in and around Florence, initially from a seat at San Quirico a Ruballa, near Bagno a Ripoli. The Florentine commune granted them a parcel of land within the city walls, at the corner of the present via Calzolari and Piazza Or San Michele, in 1352. They remained headquartered there until 1425, when Cosimo de' Medici, then treasurer of the *Compagnia del Bigallo*, effected their merger with the

Compagnia della Misericordia, and they transferred to the present Loggia del Bigallo on Piazza San Giovanni.¹⁵

If the Jarves and Uffizi (see fig. 7) panels originally formed a triptych and if that triptych were commissioned by the rectors of the *Compagnia del Bigallo*, the date 1352—when the *Compagnia* transferred to Florence and, presumably, began construction of a residence—might be taken as a terminus a quo for its commission. It has already been noted that the two closest stylistic parallels for the Jarves *Saint John the Baptist* are considered to be relatively early works: the *Giochi Bastari* frescoes are usually dated before midcentury, and the Brooklyn altarpiece has come to be accepted as probably identical with a painting said to have been signed by Nardo di Cione and dated 1356.¹⁶ Skaug's observation that the punch tools used to decorate the gold grounds in the Jarves *Saint Peter* and *Saint John the Baptist* (as well as in the Uffizi *Crucifixion*) indicate a date for them prior to 1363 is irrefutable, but he could not find any internal evidence within the decorative vocabulary of Nardo's relatively small oeuvre for finer distinctions of chronology. A date between ca. 1352 and 1356 is plausible, therefore, even if it is not ultimately demonstrable. An alternative proposal by Giovanni Giura, who accepts the reconstruction of the Uffizi/Jarves triptych but believes it can be identified with a tabernacle removed from Santa Maria Novella in 1810, does not contradict this chronology.¹⁷ —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 45–46, nos. 34–35; Jarves 1861, no. 13, pl. D; Sturgis 1868, 36–37; Brown 1871, 15, nos. 25–26; Rankin 1895, 141; Rankin 1905, 8, nos. 25–26; Sirén 1908a, 70, 89, fig. 30; Sirén 1908c, 193, pl. 2, no. 1; Berenson 1909, 162; Sirén 1914a, 270, fig. 3; Sirén 1916a, 39–40, no. 13, fig. 13; Sirén 1917, 1:222–24, 275, 2: fig. 190; Offner 1919, 150–51; van Marle 1924b, 468–69, fig. 264; Offner 1924a, 101–3, fig. 2; Offner 1927a, 97; Offner 1927b, 97; Salmi 1929, 268; Venturi 1931, pl. 45; Berenson 1932a, 384; Venturi 1933, pl. 55; Gronau 1937, 59, 85n146, fig. 50; Offner 1947, 149, 173; Seymour 1951, n.p.; Steegmuller 1951, 296; Toesca 1951, 638, no. 159; *Rediscovered Italian Paintings* 1952, 16–17; Offner 1960, 61–63; Berenson 1963, 1:152; Klesse 1967, 339, no. 277; Seymour 1970, 56–58, nos. 39a–b; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 146, 599; Elsbeth Selver, in Seymour et al. 1972, 14–15, no. 6, figs. 6a–d; Fremantle 1975, fig. 313; Boskovits 1975a, 244n211; Skaug 1994, 1:176, 2: no. 6.10; Frinta 1998, 227, 512; Tartuferi 2001, 66, 70, fig. 24; Boskovits 2001, 383; Kanter 2009, 54–59, figs. 10–14

NOTES

1. Elsbeth Selver, in Seymour et al. 1972, 14–15, no. 6, figs. 6a–c, illustrates the *Saint Peter* during the course of the 1971–72

treatment, with the frame elements not yet removed, the lower batten missing, and the upper batten not yet replaced.

2. Jarves 1860, 45–46, no. 26, fig. 26; and Jarves 1861, no. 13, pl. D.
3. Offner 1924a, 101–3, fig. 2.
4. Offner 1960, 61–63. For Nardo's Goldman tabernacle, see National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., inv. no. 1939.1.261.a–c, <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.204932.html>.
5. Gronau 1937, 59, 85n146, fig. 50; and Tartuferi 2001, 66, 70, fig. 24.
6. Inv. no. 68.41.7, <https://collections.artsmia.org/art/1679/standing-madonna-with-child-nardo-di-cione>; Seymour 1970, 56–58, nos. 39a–b.
7. Boskovits 1975b, 244n211; and Skaug 1994, 1:176, 2: no. 6.10.
8. Kanter 2009, 48–59.
9. Inv. no. NG581, <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/nardo-di-cione-three-saints>; Bomford et al. 1989, 126–39, esp. 132–34.
10. Narodni Galerie, Prague, inv. no. O.2376-2385; and Alte Pinakothek, Munich, inv. no. W.A.F.1027-1028. For the Goldman tabernacle, see note 4, above.
11. Skaug 1994, 1:179. Skaug presents an excellent review and analysis of contrasting opinions within the literature on the Cione brothers; see Skaug 1994, 1:172–75, 179–80.
12. Inv. no. 1995.2, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/4963>.
13. Meiss 1951, 168n4. The *Virgin Annunciate* was first recorded in the collection of W. B. Chamberlin, Hove, Essex; sale, Christie's, London, February 25, 1938, lot 21. It reappeared at a sale at the Galerie Charpentier, Paris, June 1, 1951, lot 8, and was subsequently owned by Schaeffer Galleries, New York. It was sold again at Sotheby's, New York, October 7, 1994, lot 17, and resurfaced on the art market in Florence, where it was purchased by its current owners. The decorative field on its reverse is painted as fictive marble, corresponding to the remains of the field on the reverse of the Jarves *Saint John the Baptist*. Presumably, the missing *Annunciatory Angel* had a fictive porphyry reverse corresponding to that on the Jarves *Saint Peter*.
14. Offner and Steinweg 1967, 91n3; see also Offner and Maginnis 1981, 36, fig. 65.
15. Saalman 1969; and Artusi and Patrino 1994, 237–41. It should be noted that work supposedly undertaken by Nardo di Cione for the Compagnia del Bigallo in October 1363, according to a document published by Offner (“il lavoro che si dee fare del dipignere la volta e le altre cose”), was actually a commission from the captains of the Compagnia della Misericordia, whose accounts were merged with those of the Bigallo in 1425; see Offner 1960, 4.
16. This proposal, first advanced by Millard Meiss, was initially accepted by scholars with appropriate hesitation but has come to assume the status of historical fact; see Meiss 1951, 15, and, for example, Boskovits 2016, 314. It should be noted that the contention is based on iconography and depends upon the attribution. It is a tautology to adduce it as justification for attributions or chronologies.
17. Giovanni Giura, email to the author, 2020, in preparation for a forthcoming catalogue of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century paintings at the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence.



AISE MARIA GRATIA PLENA DOMINUS TECO BIT

Nardo di Cione, *Virgin and Child*

Artist	Nardo di Cione, Florence, documented 1343/46–died 1365/66
Title	<i>Virgin and Child</i>
Date	ca. 1355
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	75.0 × 52.7 cm (29 1/2 × 20 3/4 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.214

Provenance

Art market, Paris; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943),
New York, by 1925

Condition



Fig. 1. *Virgin and Child*, before 1960

As can be seen in early photographs (fig. 1), the panel was heavily overpainted when it was purchased in Paris by Maitland Griggs. It was cleaned by Andrew Petryn in

1960–61 and is now in ruinous condition. The Virgin's face and left hand and the head and torso of the Christ Child are severely abraded, exposing a gray-green preparatory layer and vestiges of rose or white coloration from the original flesh tones. The Virgin's right hand and arm and the portion of her dress that would have been visible through the opening of her blue cloak at her chest have been scraped down to the gesso preparation, as have the legs of the Christ Child and the blue of the Virgin's cloak at her left shoulder. Gesso is also exposed along the exaggeratedly harsh cleaning of the open craquelure in the Virgin's face. A large section of the paint surface has been scraped down to the wooden support, removing the gesso preparation and linen underlayer, from a horizontal line beginning at the Virgin's knees extending nearly to her feet and in one section at the left extending to the lower edge of the panel. All of the paint left intact in the bottom half of the panel beneath this horizontal line is modern. The gold ground is modern leaf seemingly laid in over original bolus; the punch tooling, therefore, is also modern but may follow indications of the original patterns of punched decoration.

The panel support is 2.3 centimeters deep and shows no signs of having been thinned. It has been cut all around its perimeter, however, and no gesso barb is apparent at any edge. A vertical split in the center of the panel runs nearly two-thirds its length, from the top edge to a prominent knot right of center in the lower third. The wood grain around this knot is exaggeratedly irregular and is probably responsible, to some degree, for the paint loss in the lower part of the panel; there is no evidence of fire damage, as speculated by Charles Seymour, Jr.¹ Four nails aligned across the top of the panel approximately 52 to 54 centimeters from the bottom edge imply the removal of a horizontal batten at this height. Another nail 2.5 centimeters from the bottom edge at the left of the panel suggests that another batten may once have been installed across the bottom.

Discussion

Notwithstanding its heavily repainted condition, Richard Offner, in a lecture delivered at Maitland Griggs's home in 1925, had no difficulty in characterizing this painting as Orcagnesque, showing the influence of Nardo di Cione and Bernardo Daddi. Both artists were at that time recently recovered historical personalities, and Offner's opinion was, in hindsight, remarkably precocious. The few subsequent notices the painting has garnered cluster either around Berenson's association of it with Jacopo di Cione and his workshop² or Charles Seymour, Jr.'s

recognition of it as generically by a follower of Orcagna.³ So prudent an evasion of commitment to a precise attribution might seem warranted by the severely deteriorated condition of the painting, but several indices of style suggest instead that this is the ruin of a once-noble composition by Nardo di Cione, not simply a typical commercial product of an anonymous Cionesque or Orcagnesque artist. The unusual bulk of the Virgin, isolated against the gold ground and elegantly framed by the punched border of the panel (to the extent that this might reflect the original decoration); the lively turn of the Child away from her and her own attentive gaze in His direction; the delicate and slowly turning line of the cloak as it descends from the Virgin's head to her chest; and the soft and somewhat elongated features and shape of the Virgin's face are all reminiscent of Nardo's *Virgins*, above all in the center panel of the polyptych in the National Gallery, Prague,⁴ or the center panel of the Goldman triptych in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (fig. 2).⁵ The gilded crown on the Virgin's brow is another feature commonly encountered in figures of the Virgin by Nardo di Cione.

Circumstantial confirmation of this attribution may be the identification of one of the punch tools used to decorate the border of the gold ground and both figures' haloes, if these reliably replicate the original tooling of the panel: Erling Skaug's no. 104, which belonged to Nardo di Cione and appears in at least one of his early paintings, the *Saint Peter* also in the collection of the Yale University Art Gallery (see Nardo di Cione, *Saint Peter*).⁶ Mojmír Frinta catalogued this punch as his no. Fda10cN, though he measured it incorrectly.⁷

Evidence of the possible attachment of battens across the back of the panel raises the question of its original format and purpose. As these were nailed in from the front, they were clearly original and not later additions. Independent devotional panels of this scale were usually braced by their heavy engaged frames secured across the grain of the supporting panel; they did not, therefore, need battens for additional structural rigidity. It is possible that this panel once served as the center of a small triptych or pentaptych rather than as an independent tabernacle. If so, it can only be speculated whether the composition once portrayed the Virgin full length, as in the Jones *Virgin and Child* now in the Minneapolis Museum of Art,⁸ or seated in majesty as in the Prague polyptych. In either case, the nail presently situated at the bottom edge of the panel would probably have secured a center batten, and a third batten would have spanned the now-missing bottom edge of the panel or panels. Whether the Virgin was



Fig. 2. Nardo di Cione, *Virgin and Child with Saints Peter and John the Evangelist, and Man of Sorrows*, ca. 1360. Tempera and gold on panel, 76 × 66.4 cm (29 7/8 × 26 1/8 in.). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., inv. no. 1939.1.261.a-c

originally a full-length or half-length figure, as in the Goldman triptych in Washington (see fig. 2), it is all but certain that the repainting of the damaged image to represent a Madonna of Humility is a complete fabrication. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Berenson 1932a, 275; Berenson 1963, 105; Seymour 1970, 32–33, no. 16; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 101, 600; Frinta 1998, 48, 223, 384

NOTES

1. Seymour 1970, 32–33, no. 16.
2. Berenson 1932a, 275; and Berenson 1963, 1:105.
3. Seymour 1970, 32–33, no. 16.
4. Offner 1960, pl. 5a.
5. Inv. no. 1939.1.261; <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.204932.html>.
6. Skaug 1994, 2: no. 104.
7. Another punch catalogued in this painting by Mojmír S. Frinta, which he did not think modern, would instead support a dating to Nardo di Cione's late career, after 1365, but this punch does not actually appear anywhere on the surface of the painting; see Frinta 1998, no. Ad1f.
8. Inv. no. 68.41.7, <https://collections.artsmia.org/art/1679/standing-madonna-with-child-nardo-di-cione>.



Taddeo Gaddi, *Virgin and Child Enthroned*

Artist	Taddeo Gaddi, Florence, ca. 1300–1366
Title	<i>Virgin and Child Enthroned</i>
Date	ca. 1345–50
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall, including nineteenth-century restorations: 86.7 × 52.4 cm (34 1/8 × 20 5/8 in.); original panel: 71.0 × 52.4 cm (28 × 20 5/8 in.); picture surface, including nineteenth-century restorations: 83.5 × 51.0 cm (32 7/8 × 20 1/8 in.); original picture surface: 71.0 × 51.0 cm (28 × 20 1/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.205

Provenance

James Kerr-Lawson (1865–1939), Settignano and London, by 1906; art market, London, 1928; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1930

Condition

The panel support retains its original thickness of 3.6 centimeters but has been cut on all sides and reduced at the top to a trapezoidal form. Only the lower two cusps of the pastiglia arch on the left and three on the right are fully original, the others have been cut through and repaired; the top three lobes lining the arch and the upper halves of the two below them are entirely modern. Two modern battens have been applied across the back of the panel, and the wood surface there has been thickly coated with wax. Two deep, vertical splits in the panel—12 to 13 centimeters from the left edge and 7 centimeters from the right edge, as viewed from the back—run the full height of the original panel and have been impregnated with wax. Two nails from a (possibly original) batten are aligned approximately 47.5 centimeters from the bottom edge of the panel. One of these is visible on the front of

the panel, at the level of the Christ Child's breast, just beyond the tips of the fingers of the Virgin's right hand.

The painted and gilded surfaces are generally well preserved, with the notable exception of the Virgin's face, which is worn to its priming layer. The gilding and punching of the spandrels are modern, as is the gilding of the additions outside the trapezoidal profile of the original panel fragment. The thin projecting molding describing the framing arch is original to a point just above the capitals on either side and was silvered, now repaired. Much of the mordant gilding in the hems and cuffs is preserved, although interrupted in places. The blue of the Virgin's robe has been overpainted, as has the olive-green front of her throne, altering its profile to make it slightly wider and covering an entire second course of moldings at its base. The corners of the ground plane painted green are false, the color covering a pinkish tone, remnants of which are also visible scattered across the white (gessoed?) area notionally in front of the throne. The gray-green "shadow" painted beneath the Virgin is also modern—painted up to the curling hem of her robe but covering her feet—as is the darker-green riser of a step painted across the full width of the panel at its lower edge. The aggregate effect of these repaints is to

neutralize the ambitious three-dimensionality of the throne and, presumably, to mask damages at the bottom of the panel. It is not possible to estimate how much the panel has been cut at this edge, although judging from the exceptionally low springing height of the arch, it is possible that a considerable portion of the original composition at the bottom has been lost.

Discussion



Fig. 1. *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, before 1906



Fig. 2. Taddeo Gaddi, *The Annunciation*, ca. 1343–50. Tempera and gold on panel, 123 × 82 cm (48 3/8 × 32 1/4 in.). Museo Bandini, Fiesole, inv. no. 22

This panel, significantly altered by nineteenth-century restorations as well as by more recent cleanings, was first published by Osvald Sirén in 1906, when it was in the collection of the British-Canadian painter and dealer James Kerr-Lawson, in Settignano (Florence).¹ At the time, the painting was already in fragmentary condition, cut down on all sides and inserted into a modern rectangular frame (fig. 1). Sirén's attribution of the painting to Taddeo Gaddi was accepted by all subsequent scholars with the exception of Andrew Ladis, who included it among a large group of images he overzealously assigned to the artist's workshop.² Most authors have concurred in situating the Yale panel among Taddeo's autograph production in the last phase of his career—from around the middle of the fourteenth century to his death in 1366—although disagreeing on a more precise relative chronology for the works. Sirén considered the Yale *Virgin and Child Enthroned* contemporary to Taddeo's signed and dated 1355 *Virgin and Child* in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence³—a touchstone for the artist's late activity—while Raimond van Marle and Charles Seymour, Jr., deemed it a later effort, closer to 1360.⁴ An earlier

chronology was first proposed by Luisa Marcucci, who dated the Yale picture between 1350 and 1355.⁵ Pier Paolo Donati placed it at the end of a sequence of paintings executed between 1345 and 1353—more or less coinciding with the artist's intervention in the San Giovanni Fuorcivitas polyptych in Pistoia, completed in 1353.⁶ According to Donati, the Yale panel followed, in chronological order, Taddeo's *Annunciation* in the Museo Bandini, Fiesole (fig. 2); his polyptych depicting the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 3); and a triptych in the church of San Martino a Mensola, near Florence. The relationship between the Yale painting and works of the 1350s was also noted by Ladis, who followed Marcucci, however, in dating the Yale *Virgin* between 1350 and 1355, emphasizing above all its relationship to the San Giovanni Fuorcivitas polyptych. More recent scholarship has been divided between those who have reiterated Sirén's opinion and proposed a chronology in proximity to or after the 1355 *Virgin and Child* in the Uffizi⁷ and others who have dated the Yale picture to around 1350.⁸

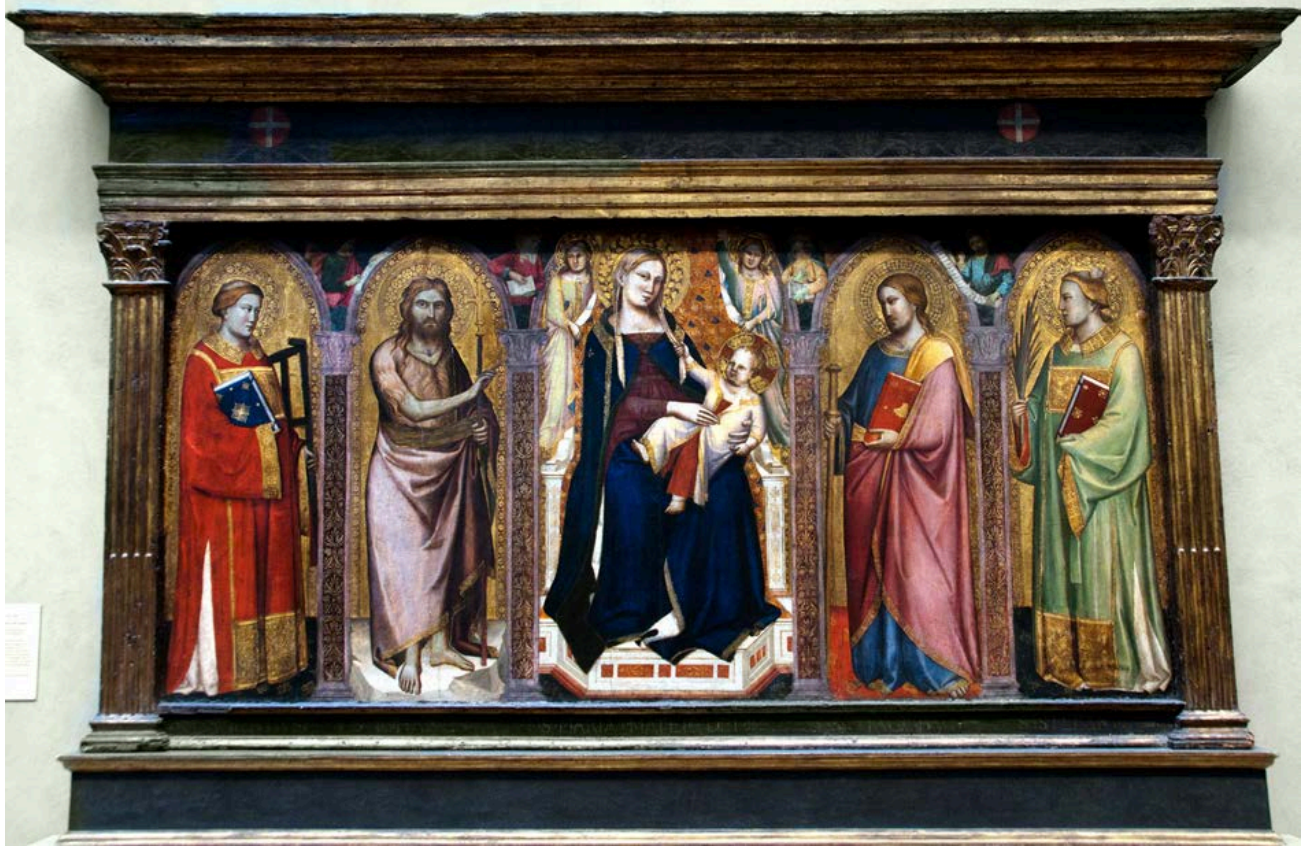


Fig. 3. Taddeo Gaddi, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints*, ca. 1340–45. Tempera and gold on panel, 109.9 × 228.9 cm (43 1/4 × 90 1/8 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 10.97



Fig. 4. Taddeo Gaddi, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1345–50. Tempera and gold on panel, 87 × 39 cm (34 1/4 × 15 3/8 in.). Location unknown

Notwithstanding comparisons to the San Giovanni Fuorcivitas and Uffizi *Virgins*, the closest analogies for the Yale panel, as first intuited by Donati, are to be found rather among those paintings situated firmly in the fifth decade of the fourteenth century. Common to these images are the ponderous figural types, along with the solid architectural details that distinguish the Yale *Virgin*—whose austere, simply built throne stands in marked contrast to the decorative, insubstantial structures in both the San Giovanni Fuorcivitas and Uffizi panels. Taddeo's *Annunciation* in the Museo Bandini (see fig. 2), originally included in a larger altarpiece commissioned sometime between 1343 and 1350 for the church of the Compagnia di Santa Maria della Croce al Tempio in Florence, provides a firm point of reference for the Yale panel.⁹ The two images are defined by the same ample proportions of the figures and vivid palette of

warm red, orange, and yellow tones set against blue and changeant green and include almost identical details in the rendering of the Virgin's plain dress. Beyond these stylistic correspondences, the two pictures also share unusual technical details, such as the distinctive flower-and-leaf pattern that is tooled into the haloes of both the Yale *Virgin* and the Museo Bandini archangel. Perhaps not coincidentally, this motif appears in only one other work by Taddeo—in the Virgin's halo in the Metropolitan Museum polyptych (see fig. 3), generally dated around 1340–45. The type of Christ Child in that painting is especially close to the one in the Yale picture. Among works on a comparable scale, however, the most intimately related to the present panel is the *Virgin and Child* formerly in the collection of Mariano Fortuny, Venice (fig. 4). Overlooked by most modern scholarship and known only through photographs, the ex-Fortuny *Virgin* was catalogued by Ladis as a product of Taddeo's shop from around 1345–50.¹⁰ The same chronological parameters, in proximity to both the Museo Bandini *Annunciation* and the Metropolitan polyptych, but preceding the San Giovanni Fuorcivitas altarpiece, apply to the Yale *Virgin*.

No other fragments from the same complex as the Yale panel have hitherto been identified. It is possible that a half-length figure of the Blessing Redeemer originally filled the missing pinnacle above the Virgin and Child, as in the ex-Fortuny *Virgin* (see fig. 4) and the slightly later triptych in San Martino a Mensola. The triptych, which shows a Virgin and Child in the center panel flanked by standing saints, may provide a clue to the original structure of the Yale altarpiece. —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Sirén 1906, 151; Sirén 1908a, 88; Wehrmann 1910, 16; Khvoshinsky and Salmi 1914, 17; Sirén 1917, 1:269; Kreplin 1920, 13:32; Offner 1921a, 117, fig. 2; van Marle 1924b, 342; Sirén 1926, 185; Berenson 1932a, 215; Venturi 1933, pl. 50; Berenson 1936, 185; *Mostra giottesca* 1937, 53, no. 148, pl. 87; Giulia Brunetti, in Sinibaldi and Brunetti 1943, 448–49, no. 140, figs. 140a–b; Comstock 1946, 47; Berenson 1963, 1:71; Marcucci 1965a, 2:523; Donati 1966, 28; Seymour 1970, 42–43, no. 25; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 77; Fremantle 1975, 76, fig. 142; Offner and Maginnis 1981, 69; Ladis 1982, 151, 222, 229, no. 56; Lamb 1983, 24; Neri Lusanna 1995; Labriola 1998; Branca 2008, 16

NOTES

1. Sirén 1906, 151. James Kerr-Lawson and his wife, Catherine, first arrived in Settignano in 1894 and spent the next forty years dividing their time between there and London. Among their

- neighbors in Settignano was Bernard Berenson, who took the financially strapped Kerr-Lawson under his wing and introduced him to the art-dealers' market. From the late 1890s to the end of his life, Kerr-Lawson spent much of his time as a private dealer and expert in Old Masters, while also working as a painter and lithographer. Most of the works he dealt in, however, can neither be identified nor located. For the most comprehensive account of his life and activity, see Lamb 1983, 9–29, esp. 19–20, 24–26.
2. Ladis 1982, 151, 222, 229, no. 56.
 3. Inv. no. 3 dep.
 4. Sirén 1926, 185; van Marle 1924b, 159; and Seymour 1970, 42–43, no. 25.
 5. Marcucci 1965a, 2:523.
 6. Donati 1966, 28.
 7. Neri Lusanna 1995; and Labriola 1998.
 8. Branca 2008, 16, argues for a date before Taddeo's *Virgin and Child* for the church of Santa Felicità, Florence (ca. 1354).
 9. The insignia of the Compagnia di Santa Maria della Croce al Tempio in Florence, founded in 1343, are found in the upper corners of the *Annunciation* in the Museo Bandini. It has been reasonably argued that this panel was the central element of a larger complex that also included a *Saint Anthony Abbot* in private collection and a *Saint Julian* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 1997.117.1, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/438020>. See, most recently, Angelo Tartuferi, in Tartuferi 2008, 120–23, no. 14 (with previous bibliography).
 10. Ladis 1982, 221, no. 50. The ex-Fortuny *Virgin* was first published as a work of Taddeo by Bernard Berenson in the 1936 Italian edition of his lists, where it was cited as being in the Fortuny collection; see Berenson 1936, 185. According to a note in the Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna, inv. no. 1705, it was reportedly in a private collection in Verona by 1960.



Workshop of Niccolò di Tommaso, *The Last Supper*

Artist	Workshop of Niccolò di Tommaso, Florence, documented 1346–76
Title	<i>The Last Supper</i>
Date	ca. 1350–60
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall 27.2 × 53.6 × 14.0 cm (10 3/4 × 21 1/8 × 5 1/2 in.); picture surface: 22.2 × 52.0 cm (8 3/4 × 20 1/2 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Richard Carley Hunt, LL.B. 1908
Inv. No.	1937.200b

Provenance

Richard Morris Hunt (1828–1895), New York; Richard Howland Hunt (1862–1931), New York; Richard Carley Hunt (1886–1954), New York

Condition



Fig. 1. *The Last Supper*, showing the sloping sides

The wood structure of this tabernacle base, though much worn, is intact but for the loss of a molding running along the front and sides at the bottom. The frieze above this

missing molding is silver gilt and also very worn, surviving mostly as exposed gesso and tarnished bolus. The frieze on the front is decorated with simple dot punches, while the frieze on the returns introduces a six-petaled rosette punch. The thinner molding above this frieze is largely preserved, though with its silvered surface impaired. The painted surface of the curved superstructure of the base varies in width from 52 centimeters at the bottom to 38.2 centimeters at the top. The gilding and paint of this surface are both well preserved, apart from deep scratches through the face of Christ and through the head of the third apostle from left behind the table. Scattered local losses elsewhere within the painted image are inconsequential, and abrasion is minimal, although some lighter pigments used in the draperies have faded sufficiently to permit underdrawing to be clearly visible through them. The sloping sides of this superstructure are silver gilt (fig. 1), with stamped borders and a painted vegetal motif that may or may not be original. The top edge of the panel is also silver gilt, though this is unlikely to be original. Two sets of dowel holes are drilled into this edge. One set, aligned approximately along the midline of the base, is 13.5 centimeters apart on center and is probably original. The other, slightly further back, is 22.5 centimeters apart and is probably later; gilding on the top edge of the base may

have occurred when it was repurposed with these later holes. A cavity at the back edge of the base may have been intended to accommodate a backing board as part of the original structure. The second set of dowel holes half overlaps this cavity, suggesting that the backing board may have been cut through flush with the top edge of the base. The remnant still affixed within the cavity would then have been present when the second set of holes was drilled and was presumably removed when the base was freed from whatever the second set of holes was intended to support.

Discussion

The Last Supper is commonly represented in fourteenth-century illuminated manuscripts but encountered with surprising infrequency in trecento panel painting. In this image, the apostles are disposed around a long trestle table set parallel to the picture plane, with Christ seated on an intarsia-inlaid bench at the head of the table at left. Next to Him and seated behind the table, Saint John the Evangelist bends over to lay his head in Christ's lap. Seven other apostles are seated to the right of the Evangelist behind the table, all of them looking across and down toward Saint John, as is the single apostle seated at the foot of the table at right. Three apostles are seated in front of the table on three-legged stools, all of whom are shown in profile. At right, an apostle dressed in blue looks to the right toward his companion seated at the foot of the table. To his left, an apostle dressed in yellow looks to the left toward Christ. To that apostle's left, Judas Iscariot, in light blue and identifiable by his lack of a halo, also looks toward Christ. The table is laid with a white cloth and set with plates, glasses, and knives, although with no particular care to place these directly in front of any of the figures.



Fig. 2. Sienese School, *Frame for a Portable Reliquary Icon*, 1347. Gilded wood, modeled gesso, *verre églomisé*, glass cabochons, and relics, 66.7 × 51.3 × 25.3 cm (26 1/4 × 20 3/16 × 10 in.). Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Ruth Blumka in memory of Leopold Blumka, 1978.26

The composition fills an unusual curved surface, the belled foot of which reveals its original purpose as the base of a tabernacle. The painted surface has a richly tooled gold ground, while the vertical front edge is silver gilt and punched. Two dowel holes drilled in the top edge of the structure once secured the tabernacle to which it was attached, which may additionally have been supported by a backing board extending down the full height of the Yale panel. The presence of this backing board may imply that the tabernacle was of greater-than-usual weight or comprised precious materials, such as would have been the case with a reliquary or *verre églomisé* plaque. Such curved and painted tabernacle bases are more frequently encountered in Siena, where they remained popular into the fifteenth century, than in Florence. A similarly shaped reliquary tabernacle painted by the Sienese artist Francesco di Vannuccio is preserved in the collection of the Monte dei Paschi di Siena, while a larger and more elaborate double-sided example dated 1347 is in the Cleveland Museum of Art (fig. 2). The latter retains, in addition to the base, the frame with reliquary cavities that it supported but lacks the painted or decorated center the frame once enclosed. The narrative subject of the Yale base may imply that it once supported

a sacrament tabernacle or ostensorium, although no exact parallel examples are known that remain intact.

When it was presented to the Yale University Art Gallery in 1937, the *Last Supper* was attached to a panel of the Crucifixion obviously much later than it and now attributed to Bicci di Lorenzo (see Bicci di Lorenzo, *The Crucifixion with Saints and the Penitent Magdalen*) The base was, at that time, labeled simply as by an unknown Florentine artist, but there has been no dissension among the few scholars to have considered the work since it was first published by Richard Offner in 1956 with an attribution to Niccolò di Tommaso.¹ The repeated facial types of the apostles recall Niccolò's frescoes in the Convento del Tau in Pistoia and fully justify Offner's attribution, but the painting lacks the artist's usual concision of rendering and evinces none of his considerable sophistication in suggesting spatial relationships among the figures or in their setting. It is possible that this broader, more casual handling may be explained by workshop intervention or the ancillary function of the painting as the base of a frame: the decoration of some of the predellas attached to tabernacle triptychs by Niccolò are similarly vague in style, although without exception, they are smaller and less detailed than the Yale *Last Supper*. It is also possible that it is an indication of persistent confusion between Niccolò's

works and those of his almost-exact contemporary Andrea Bonaiuti (documented 1343–79), especially during a period in their early careers probably covering the decade of the 1350s. Erling Skaug emphasized the probability of extended contact, possibly collaboration, between Niccolò di Tommaso and Andrea Bonaiuti sometime prior to 1365, based on the appearance of a single punch tool—number 90 in his charts—in numerous paintings by both artists, a tool evidently used by no one else in trecento Florence.² Skaug also identified a second tool shared by the two painters—a six-petaled rosette, number 452 in his charts—which occurs in one painting by Andrea Bonaiuti and in two by Niccolò di Tommaso, one of which is the Yale *Last Supper*.³ —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Hamilton 1938, 51–53; Offner 1956b, 191; Seymour 1970, 64, 66, no. 44; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Boskovits 1975b, 203n108; Offner and Maginnis 1981, 90; Skaug 1994, 1:165

NOTES

1. Offner 1956b, 191.
2. Skaug 1994, 1:167; 2: no. 90.
3. Skaug 1994, 1:165; 2: no. 452.



Niccolò di Tommaso, *Saint James*

Artist	Niccolò di Tommaso, Florence, documented 1346–76
Title	<i>Saint James</i>
Date	ca. 1360
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	54.1 × 34.5 cm (21 1/4 × 13 5/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.235

Provenance

With Henry Harris, London, by 1920; with Durlacher Brothers, New York; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, by 1925

Condition

The panel support has been thinned to 5 millimeters, completed with a 3-millimeter-wide strip of new wood across the top, and cradled. The gold ground, bolus, and original gesso outside the silhouette of the figure and its halo have been scraped away, and the extensive worm tunneling in the exposed panel has been coarsely filled with rose-toned putty. Putty has also been applied as a silhouette around the painted surface, and the exposed wood outside this silhouette has been covered with a brownish-gray canvas. The paint surface of the figure itself and the gilding of the halo are exceptionally well preserved, apart from moderate abrasions in the blue robe and putty-filled losses along a vertical split running through the saint's right arm.

Discussion

One of Christ's twelve apostles, Saint James the Greater, brother of Saint John the Evangelist, is identifiable by the book he holds in his left hand and the pilgrim staff in his

right. He wears a rose-colored tunic and a blue robe with a lining painted in a pattern of curls executed in a light-green glaze(?), oxidized to a dark brown, suspended in a now-transparent medium, possibly intended to simulate a damask or silk. The panel has been squared off at the top and cut to its present size probably from a full-length format, as is suggested by the cropping of the straps of James's pilgrim's purse, wrapped around his staff. The work has lost its original gold ground, other than in the saint's halo. When the painting entered Maitland Griggs's collection, the background had been overpainted black.¹ This was removed during cleaning in 1960, and the bizarre decision was made to substitute a linen background, cut out around the figure and glued to the panel surface, as David Arnheim explained, "in harmony with the medieval practice of placing a linen facing between the panel and the gesso coating. The neutral color and texture of the present background has enhanced the quality of the 14th century figure."² Linen interlayers in fourteenth-century panel paintings were never intended to be visible and, if exposed, would never have projected in higher relief than the painted surfaces alongside them, as in the present case. The only real effect of introducing this alien color and texture to the picture surround is to give the false impression that the painting has been transferred from panel to canvas and severely damaged, neither of which is true.

Exhibited in 1920 as a work by Giovanni da Milano, the Griggs *Saint James* was recognized by Richard Offner as a typical work by Niccolò di Tommaso and published by him in 1925 as especially close to the artist's frescoes in the Convento del Tau, Pistoia.³ Offner's poetic description of the painting evocatively captured the essence of Niccolò's qualities as an artist: "The type and bearing of the figure are of an inveterate aristocracy. There is a slow, vertical swing in the movement that suggests a stalking gait, which conforms to the dreamy absorption of the head." To this should be added the remarkable originality of technique with which the artist decorated the lining of Saint James's cloak and the accomplished draftsmanship, indicated by the confident red strokes outlining the figure's hands and ears or directing the mordant-gilt decoration of the hems of his garments. Offner justified his ascription to Niccolò by enumerating points of exact correspondence with figures in the Tau frescoes. Curiously, although Raimond van Marle, who mistakenly identified the figure as Christ rather than Saint James, accepted Offner's attribution of the Griggs panel to Niccolò di Tommaso, he rejected the reason for doing so by refusing to accept the Tau frescoes as works by Niccolò.⁴ No other scholar has questioned Offner's attribution, either of the Tau frescoes or of the Griggs *Saint James*. Erling Skaug introduced sphragiological evidence to argue for dating the Griggs painting prior to 1365.⁵ No companion panels or other fragments of the altarpiece from which the *Saint James* was removed have been identified.

Saint James the Greater was patron of the city of Pistoia, the site of much of Niccolò di Tommaso's activity in the later part of his career. Niccolò's frescoes at the Antonine convent (Convento del Tau), once thought to be early works, are now recognized to have been in progress as late as 1372.⁶ In that same year, he received payments for repairing an altarpiece in the cathedral of Pistoia and for painting the high altarpiece of San Giovanni Fuorcivitas, replacing a work made scarcely two decades earlier by Taddeo Gaddi.⁷ In publishing the documents for this last commission, Andrew Ladis advanced the hypothesis that a painting formerly with Albrighi in Florence, an altarpiece lateral featuring figures of Saints Anthony Abbot and James, might be a surviving fragment of the San Giovanni Fuorcivitas altarpiece. Skaug more persuasively argued that the Albrighi painting may be part of a Roman commission for a chapel consecrated in 1373 in the house in Piazza Farnese where Saint Bridget of Sweden died.⁸ The evidence of the Albrighi painting,

whether it can be dated 1372 or 1373–75, and the signed Saint Anthony Abbot altarpiece, dated 1371, in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, suggest however that Niccolò's work on the Tau frescoes must have been begun well before these dates and extended over a considerable period of time. The hard and compact geometries of the late panel paintings, apparent also in the designs of two altarpieces for which he was responsible in Florence in 1372—commissioned for the Zecca and for San Pier Maggiore, both painted in partnership with Jacopo di Cione⁹—have little in common with the open, looping forms that dominate the Tau frescoes. These instead, as Offner recognized, are all but interchangeable with the soft modeling and low-relief volumes of the Griggs *Saint James*, which can be shown to predate 1365.¹⁰ The eventual recovery of other panels that might have come from the same dismembered work could possibly confirm or even specify a Pistoiese provenance for the *Saint James* and broaden our understanding of the artist's long-standing relationship with that city. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Fry 1920, 15; Offner 1924b, 31; van Marle 1925, 5:478; Offner 1927b, 113; Berenson 1932a, 272; Offner 1956b, 191; Berenson 1963, 1:162; Seymour 1970, 63–65, no. 43; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; David Arnheim, in Seymour et al. 1972, 48; Boskovits 1975b, 203n108; Offner and Maginnis 1981, 90; Skaug 1994, 1:165

NOTES

1. Offner 1924b, 27, fig. 4.
2. David Arnheim, in Seymour et al. 1972, 48.
3. Offner 1924b, 31.
4. van Marle 1925, 5:478.
5. Skaug 1994, 1:165.
6. Gai 1970, 75–94.
7. Ladis 1989, 2–16.
8. Skaug 2004a, 289–321.
9. See Ladis 1989, 6. Most scholars identify the "Niccolao" or "Niccolao" mentioned in documents for these paintings as Niccolò di Pietro Gerini. Ladis prefers an identification with Niccolò di Tommaso on anagraphic grounds, and this identification is indisputably correct on stylistic grounds as well.
10. Skaug 1994, 1:165.



Niccolò di Tommaso, *Saint Bridget's Vision of the Nativity*

Artist	Niccolò di Tommaso, Florence, documented 1346–76
Title	<i>Saint Bridget's Vision of the Nativity</i>
Date	ca. 1373–75
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	36.8 × 39.1 cm (14 1/2 × 15 3/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.236

Inscriptions

in the Virgin's halo, AVE MARIA GRATIA; in Saint Joseph's halo, SANCTUS IOSEP; against the ground above the Christ Child, presumably following what was once a banderole, [. . .] VS DEVS MEVS [DOMINUS?] FILLI [. . .]

Provenance

Arthur Acton (1873–1953), Florence; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, by 1926

Condition

The panel support, which retains its original thickness of 3.4 centimeters, has evidently been trimmed along the right and top edges but may preserve nearly its original extent at the left and bottom edges. The gilding and paint surface have been severely abraded, even obliterated in broad areas, while total losses of color and gesso along the left edge and to the right of Saint Joseph's head have exposed the linen underlayer. The absence of linen beneath total losses at the top left and right corners may indicate that these areas were once covered by frame moldings and therefore that the panel was once surmounted by a gable, but evidence for such a reconstruction is inconclusive. No evidence of missing hinges is apparent at either the left or right edge.

Discussion

The composition, to the extent that it can still be discerned in the painting's present state, follows closely the description by Saint Bridget of Sweden (1302–1373) of her miraculous vision of the Nativity, which occurred on March 13, 1372, while she was in Bethlehem on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The Virgin, dressed only in a white chemise, kneels at the left in the mouth of a cave or grotto, her discarded red robe and blue mantle lying on the ground beneath her and her shoes placed neatly behind her at the left. Her hands are joined in prayer, and her head is bowed as she adores the newborn Christ Child lying naked on the ground before her. Both the Virgin and the Child are surrounded by mandorlas of light. Beneath the Child is a large square of white cloth with its edge turned up, and between Him and His mother is a smaller rolled cloth. These were described by Saint Bridget as having been brought by the Virgin and placed by her on the ground, in anticipation of dressing her baby. Saint Joseph, in a pink or, more likely, violet robe, stands in a dark recess at the right, his hands crossed before his breast in humility. Further to the right, the diminutive figure of Saint Bridget, in a black habit and white veil, kneels outside the mouth of the cave, her pilgrim's staff croppped at the edge of the panel and a rayed nimbus around her head. The ox and ass traditionally present in

scenes of the Nativity kneel in the center of the picture field, presumably tied to a now-obliterated manger. A chorus of seven angels hovering at the top of the cave opening forms an arch above the heads of the holy figures. They, too, join their hands in prayer as they sing the praises of the Virgin and Christ Child. Outside the cave at the upper right is a fragmentary scene of the Annunciation to the Shepherds. The balancing scene at the upper left is illegible. Several inscriptions are still partially legible on the panel.

Three closely related illustrations of the mystical vision of Saint Bridget survive that are conventionally attributed to Niccolò di Tommaso: the present panel, the center panel of a gabled triptych in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and a rectangular panel in the Pinacoteca Vaticana. These differ only slightly from one another. The composition of the Philadelphia version (fig. 1) is markedly more vertical than the other two. In it, two seraphs and two cherubs hover at the mouth of the cave, a chorus of angels fills the gold ground outside of the cave, and God the Father blesses the scene from above. Inscriptions on it are more numerous and more descriptive than on the Yale panel, and certain details follow the narrative of Saint Bridget's vision more closely. The ox and ass, for example, are shown behind the Virgin's back, as specifically described by Saint Bridget, and the candle left by Saint Joseph—the light of which was eclipsed by the “ineffable light and splendor” radiating from the Christ Child—is mounted on the back wall of the cave.



Fig. 2. Workshop or follower of Niccolò di Tommaso, *Saint Bridget's Vision of the Nativity*, ca. 1375. Tempera and gold on panel, 43.5 × 53.8 cm (17 1/8 × 21 1/8 in.). Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome, inv. no. MV.40137.0.0

All these details, except the candle, are present in the version in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (fig. 2), which takes advantage of its more horizontal format to add a vignette



Fig. 1. Niccolò di Tommaso, *Saint Bridget's Vision of the Nativity*, ca. 1373–75. Tempera and gold on panel, 63.5 × 77.5 cm (25 × 30 1/2 in.). Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, inv. no. JC cat. 120

of the Annunciation to the Shepherds over the brow of the hill at the right. The Yale panel retains (or originates?) the vignette of the Annunciation to the Shepherds outside the cave: the hands of the annunciatory angel are cropped at the top edge of the panel, implying the loss of a considerable area of paint surface there. Presumably, God the Father was also originally included above the scene, as was, in all likelihood, a more extensive choir of angels. The seraphim and cherubim attending the vision in Philadelphia and the Vatican are replaced here by seven angels, and the ox and ass are moved to the center of the composition—the ox portrayed in very sophisticated foreshortening with the vertebrae of its spine prominently outlined along its back. Saint Joseph's candle, if it was ever present, is no longer to be found, but the saint himself is more accurately segregated from the scene by a low wall of rock dividing him from the Virgin and Child: Bridget described him as having gone outside, “so that he might not be present at the birth.” Portrayed in this manner, he seems to follow Bridget's description of him entering after the Virgin pronounced her benediction, “Be welcome my God, my Lord and my Son.”

It must be assumed that all three of these paintings postdate Saint Bridget's return to Naples from the Holy Land in February 1373, and it is logical to adduce the

probable date of Niccolò di Tommaso's death, 1376, as a *terminus ante quem*, although Millard Meiss suggested dating them between 1375 and 1385.¹ Erling Skaug introduced further evidence to reduce by one year the probable period of their execution, to 1373–75.² All three panels break from the standard decorative practice of Niccolò di Tommaso's work through the conspicuous absence of any of the punch tools that the artist shared with a number of his Florentine contemporaries. In the Yale panel, Niccolò employed a rotella—an extremely rare practice among panel painters—with six parallel rows of simple pointed teeth, most clearly visible in the wings of the angels hovering above the mouth of the cave. Skaug reasonably presumed that these discrepancies imply that the panels were executed not in Florence but in Naples (or hypothetically in Rome), before Niccolò's return to Tuscany in late 1375. Although he did not accept Skaug's conclusions in full, Carl Strehlke agreed that the Philadelphia triptych may have been painted in Naples, arguing further that it may have been commissioned by one of Bridget's patrons, Nicola Orsini, and that it could have been the prime version of the composition.³ The Vatican panel is notably coarser than the painting in Philadelphia, reducing all of the carefully observed spatial relationships in the latter to a flat, schematic arrangement and introducing crude exaggerations of proportion and technique in rendering the figures as well as an implausibly decorative night sky diapered with stars instead of a gold ground. It is likely that this painting is the work of a Neapolitan, or possibly Roman, artist, either in Niccolò di Tommaso's studio or copying or interpreting an image by him.



Fig. 3. Niccolò di Tommaso, *Saints Anthony Abbot and John the Baptist*, ca. 1375. Tempera and gold on panel, 43.1 × 25.8 cm (17 × 10 1/8 in.). Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome, inv. no. MV.40219.0.0



Fig. 4. Niccolò di Tommaso, *Saints Julian and Lucy*, ca. 1375. Tempera and gold on panel, 42.8 × 25.4 cm (16 7/8 × 10 in.). Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome, inv. no. MV.40212.0.0

The Yale panel is—or was—painted at a level of quality and inventive originality at least equal to that of the Philadelphia panel, although the minor iconographic changes it introduces suggests that it is unlikely to have preceded the latter in ideation. It is not clear what function it might originally have been intended to serve or what its precise format might have been. It has been reduced in height and modestly in width, but it cannot be ascertained whether it was once gabled or was always rectangular. Skaug proposed, tentatively, that two panels in the Pinacoteca Vaticana representing Saints Anthony Abbot and John the Baptist (fig. 3) and Saints Julian and Lucy (fig. 4), sometimes thought to have been the wings of a triptych with the Vatican *Vision of Saint Bridget* at its center, might instead have been associated with the Yale panel.⁴ This proposal was based on a loose correspondence of dimensions and on the common use

within all three of the unusual rotella punch. The Yale panel, however, is exceptionally thick for the center panel of a portable triptych and shows no visible evidence of the removal of hinges at either side. Hinges might have been driven into now-missing frame moldings surrounding the image, but for no hinge scars to be in evidence on the reverse of the panel such moldings would have to have been large enough to alter the panel's proportions significantly, making association with the Vatican wings even less likely.

It may be assumed that numerous images of Saint Bridget were created during the process of her canonization. In the postscript to a letter from Bridget's confessor and the prime mover of her beatification and canonization, Alfonso Pecha di Jaén, Bridget's daughter Karin Ulfsdottir stated that many images of her mother were to be found in Italian churches and that the pope even kept one in his bedchamber.⁵ In addition to more conventional hagiographic imagery, this passage might also have been meant to refer to scenes of the mystical vision of the Nativity such as this one, where a "portrait" of the kneeling Bridget is included at the right. Whatever the interpretation of Karin Ulfsdottir's postscript, the majority of the paintings she mentions must have been relatively small, as they were sent to influential patrons in various European centers. So few survive, however, that no conclusions about them as a group, who made them, when, or where, can be advanced with confidence. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Meiss 1951, 149–50n73; Offner 1956b, 191; Berenson 1963, 1:162; Seymour 1970, 66, no. 45; Frederickson and Zeri 1972, 600; Boskovits 1975b, 203n108; Offner and Maginnis 1981, 90; Boskovits 1987, 110n13; Volbach 1987, 26; Skaug 2001, 202; Skaug 2004a, 290, 290n2, 304, 304n34, 305, 308, 311, 311n45, 312–13, figs. 3, 6, 18; Strehlke 2004, 345

NOTES

1. Meiss 1951, 149–50n73.
2. Skaug 2001, 202; and Skaug 2004a.
3. Strehlke 2004, 345.
4. Skaug 2001, 202.
5. Nordenfalk 1961, 1:379–81.



Matteo di Pacino, *The Nativity and the Resurrection of Christ*

Artist	Matteo di Pacino, Florence, active by 1358–ca. 1374
Title	<i>The Nativity and the Resurrection of Christ</i>
Date	ca. 1360 or 1371–73(?)
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall (original panel only): 23.4 × 78.2 cm (9 1/4 × 30 3/4 in.); picture surface: 20.9 × 70.4 cm (8 1/4 × 27 3/4 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.17

Provenance

James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The panel, of a horizontal wood grain and evincing scarcely any warpage, preserves its original thickness of 3.8 centimeters. A prominent knot at the upper right has not provoked any movement or damage in the corresponding area of the paint surface. The engaged moldings along the two top edges of the pedimental shape are largely original; although repaired in spots, they preserve traces of their original gilded surface. The panel and these two moldings have been encased in a larger series of engaged moldings nailed and glued to them, including carved crockets along the upper edge, a stepped molding along the bottom edge to match the original moldings at the top, and a tabernacle-style base carved out of old, worm-eaten wood. These additional moldings, probably dating to the nineteenth century, were gilded, and the frieze in the base painted blue, but the gold and color in the left half of the structure were stripped back to the wood during a cleaning of 1963–67. The paint surface is in exceptionally good condition, except for scraping of the color in the aforementioned restoration campaign that has resulted in numerous small local losses scattered

throughout. These are densest in the gray areas of the landscape and around the contours of the figures where they overlap the landscape.

Discussion

The painting represents an unusual combination of two unrelated subjects: the Nativity and the Resurrection of Christ. At the left, the manger that served as a crib for the Christ Child is set on the ground in a rocky landscape before a stone building with a projecting thatched awning. The Virgin is seated on the ground further to the left, supporting her Child that He might be seen by two shepherds who kneel in adoration at the right and by the ox and ass behind the crib. Saint Joseph fills the lower-left corner of the picture field; like the Virgin, he is seated on the ground but with his head resting on his hand, apparently asleep. At the top center of the triangular field, the Resurrected Christ floats majestically against the gold ground, holding a staff and banner with a red cross against a white field. His empty tomb is nestled among the rocks below Him and to the right. Four sleeping soldiers sprawl on the ground in front of the tomb. A castle—unrelated to the narrative of either the Nativity or Resurrection—occupies a distant hilltop in the landscape behind Christ to the left.

The painting was listed as a work by Giotto in inventories of the James Jackson Jarves Collection and in the earliest publications concerning that collection at Yale but was correctly reclassified by Osvald Sirén as having emerged from the circle of painters gravitating around Orcagna in the third and final quarters of the fourteenth century.¹ Sirén specifically assigned it to Orcagna's youngest brother, Jacopo di Cione, a contention rejected by Richard Offner, who, however, proposed no alternative attribution other than to "some obscure Florentine eclectic of the end of the fourteenth century."² Offner's dismissive appraisal seems to have dogged the painting throughout its subsequent publication history. It has been called Mariotto di Nardo,³ style of Jacopo di Cione,⁴ and school of Agnolo Gaddi.⁵ All of these designations would place its execution in or near the last decade of the fourteenth century, as would a more serious attempt by Miklós Boskovits to find a name for its author: Cenni di Francesco di ser Cenni.⁶ It may be assumed that Boskovits's proposal was based on generic similarities of figure types, especially those of the Virgin and Saint Joseph in the Nativity scene at the left of the Yale panel, but if so, these are superficial points of comparison. Cenni di Francesco, whose presently accepted oeuvre in large measure results from Boskovits's reconstruction, is invariably a more nervous and angular painter than is the artist of the Yale panel, employing more attenuated and slightly stiffer figural proportions. Comparison to a predella panel by Cenni di Francesco in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, representing the Nativity and Adoration of the Magi,⁷ reveals both similarities and significant differences in composition, spatial structure, and architectural and figural motifs to the Yale panel. The more compact, rounded figures in the Yale panel, with their outsize yet doll-like features, instead conform exactly to those in paintings commonly thought to be early works by Matteo di Pacino, the painter formerly known by the designation Master of the Rinuccini Chapel. They are all but interchangeable—as are the punch patterns lining the margins of the gold ground—with those in four hexagonal panels divided among museums in Berlin (figs. 1–2) and Altenburg⁸ and a private collection in New York; these works were also, correctly, recognized as works by Matteo di Pacino by Boskovits.⁹



Fig. 1. Matteo di Pacino, *Angels*, ca. 1360. Tempera and gold on panel, picture surface: 33.8 × 18.9 cm (13 1/4 × 7 1/2 in.). Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, inv. no. 1525



Fig. 2. Matteo di Pacino, *Saints John the Baptist, Dominic, and Thomas Aquinas*, ca. 1360. Tempera and gold on panel, picture surface: 33.2 × 19.4 cm (13 1/8 × 7 5/8 in.). Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, inv. no. 1526

The pedimental shape of the Yale painting, which has not been altered except by encasement within a nineteenth-century frame to lend it the semblance of an independent work of art, has led to the supposition that it functioned as the pinnacle of a small altarpiece or of a large devotional panel. Altarpiece pinnacles in this period, however, were nearly always more steeply gabled and were generally painted on supports that were either continuous with the panels of the register beneath them, in which case the wood grain would be vertical, or with the engaged frame moldings attached to the lower panels, in which case, more often than not, the wood grain would be diagonal, running parallel to one of the upper edges of the gable. The thickness of the present panel and the condition of its reverse, undamaged by worm channels, argue against its having been part of any frame member engaged to another panel, while its horizontal wood grain suggests that it was not originally part of any conventional altarpiece or devotional work. It is worth considering instead the hypothetical possibility that it could be a surviving fragment from a project on which Matteo di Pacino was engaged from 1371 to 1373, painting beds in the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova in Florence commissioned by Cavalcante dei Cavalcanti.¹⁰ Few such objects survive from the period, so physical comparison to documented examples is impossible. Sixteenth-century *testate di bara* (head- and footboards from litters) provide the closest parallel, but these offer little more than a confirmation of the possibility, not the likelihood, of such an identification.

Recent studies of documents relating to Matteo di Pacino have determined that the artist probably died in or shortly after 1374, not in the 1390s as was formerly believed.¹¹ As the first notice reporting his name dates from 1358, it is possible that his full artistic career may have extended over less than two decades. His engaging but relatively static and unambitious style shows few signs of striking development that would permit works to be dated close to or far from his one signed and dated painting, an altarpiece of the Coronation of the Virgin belonging to the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem in Rome.¹² Although the works to which the Yale “pinnacle” relates most closely—the panels in Berlin, Altenburg, and New York—have been dated close to 1360, there is no reason they might not actually be better understood as works of a decade later. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 46, no. 39; Sturgis 1868, 39, no. 32; Brown 1871, 16, no. 32; Rankin 1895, 142; Rankin 1905, 9; Sirén 1914b, 330; Sirén 1916a, 44, 45, no. 17; Offner 1927a, 18; Berenson 1932a, 332; Steegmüller 1951, 296; Berenson 1963, 1:132; Seymour 1970, 49, no. 32; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 76, 599; Boskovits 1975b, 290; Offner and Maginnis 1981, 17–18

NOTES

1. Sirén 1914b, 330; and Sirén 1916a, 44, 45, no. 17.
2. Offner 1927a, 18.
3. Berenson 1932a, 332; and Berenson 1963, 1:132.
4. Seymour 1970, 49, no. 32.
5. Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 76, 599.
6. Boskovits 1975b, 290.
7. Inv. no. 1291, <https://philamuseum.org/collection/object/103588>; Strehlke 2004, 92–95.
8. Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, Germany, inv. no. 17.
9. Boskovits 1975b, 202n107.
10. Documents of payment dated August 16, October 4, and October 16, 1371; April 6, October 21, October 30, and December 11, 1372; and January 18, 1373, are transcribed in Chiodo 2011, 394–95.
11. Lenza 2005, 27–42; and Chiodo 2011, 335–90.
12. Chiodo 2011, pl. 64.



Pietro Nelli, *Mourning Virgin*, Fragment of a Crucifix

Artist	Pietro Nelli, Florence, documented 1374–died 1419
Title	<i>Mourning Virgin</i> , Fragment of a Crucifix
Date	ca. 1360–70
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	38.2 × 32.7 cm (15 × 12 7/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.212

Provenance

Art market, Perugia; Dan Fellows Platt (1873–1937), Englewood, N.J., 1911; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1923

Condition

The panel, of a horizontal grain, has been thinned to a depth of 6 millimeters and cradled. Engaged moldings at the upper left and right have been removed, leaving slightly excavated, arched channels along the edge of the gilded area and exposed wood outside of these. The upper-right corner has been cut and repaired with a wedge-shaped insert measuring approximately 9 by 2 centimeters. The left and right edges of the composition have been cut by an indeterminate amount, probably more on the left than on the right judging by the asymmetry of the upper molding channels. A vague indication of a barb along the lower edge may indicate that the composition is nearly complete along the bottom, although it is difficult to determine with certainty whether it was planned from the beginning to be a straight horizontal border or to mirror the reverse arches of the top edge. The paint surface and the gold ground have been harshly abraded throughout. Damage is especially evident in the Virgin's red dress and through numerous layers of repaint in her blue cloak. A split in the

panel running on a slight diagonal, 14 centimeters from the top edge at the left and 17 centimeters at the right, has resulted in less paint loss than has the harsh cleaning of the surface. A knot in the panel support is visible through the paint layers in the area of the Virgin's right forearm. Three mordant-gilt stars on her shoulders and hood may not be original.

Discussion

The severely abraded condition of this panel makes positive identification of its authorship difficult. It has been ignored or treated glancingly in much of the otherwise extensive literature concerned with early Italian paintings at Yale. It came into the possession of Maitland Griggs accompanied by a manuscript opinion from F. Mason Perkins—presumably formulated for its previous owner, Dan Fellows Platt, much of whose collection was purchased through or with the advice of Perkins—associating it with the style of Bernardo Daddi and identifying it as the left terminal of a painted crucifix. In verbal communication in 1927, Richard Offner said of it only that it was Florentine and probably painted ca. 1360. Charles Seymour, Jr., pushed its dating forward to ca. 1375 but did not clarify its stylistic character beyond agreeing that it was Florentine.¹ Seymour did propose that it may have been a fragment of a Pietà or Lamentation group rather than the terminal of a painted cross. Burton Fredericksen and Federico Zeri inventoried the painting merely as Florentine, fourteenth century.² Erling Skaug catalogued it among the works of Lorenzo di Niccolò, based on the presence of one punch mark (his no. 568) regularly used by that artist but also appearing in the work of at least five other painters.³ Carl Strehlke, in a manuscript checklist of Italian paintings at Yale compiled between 1998 and 2000, assigned it to a follower of Agnolo Gaddi and dated it to the 1380s.

One overlooked index of authorship still faintly visible on this panel is the use of a particular punch tool in the decoration of the Virgin's halo. The halo comprises two concentric rings of simple dot strikes paired with rings of small asterisk punches, the frieze between them filled with an engraved lozenge motif again delineated by running lines of small asterisk strikes. Within each lozenge, however, is a floret-shaped punch that, in its present eroded state, was misidentified by Skaug as no. 568 in his catalogue of Florentine punch tools of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries but which must instead be the closely similar no. 567.⁴ Skaug traces the initial appearance of this punch in works by Bernardo Daddi emerging from that artist's studio in the final years of his career, around 1348, and its subsequent migration to the studio of Daddi's pupil Puccio di Simone, who used it extensively on paintings datable to the 1350s and early 1360s. A Daddesque component, already recognized nearly a century ago, is clearly visible in what remains of the Yale painting but not one strong enough to merit an attribution directly to that master. Puccio di Simone, a gifted but short-lived painter, is easily recognizable by his

highly idiosyncratic figure style, which is also unrelated to the present work. It appears, however, that at or around the time of Puccio's death in 1362, this punch tool was inherited by the Florentine painter Pietro Nelli, an artist whose pictorial output is still not fully defined but who does show strong points of contact with the Yale *Mourning Virgin*.

Pietro Nelli's name first appears in documents in 1374. He enrolled in the *Arte dei Medici e Speciali* only in 1382, but his collaboration with Niccolò di Pietro Gerini in painting the high altarpiece for the collegiate church of Santa Maria at Impruneta in 1375 implies that his artistic career began considerably earlier. Both Luciano Bellosi and Miklós Boskovits, who were responsible for the initial reconstructions of his oeuvre, speculate that he must have begun painting close to 1360, a supposition borne out by the circumstances of the transfer of punch tools to Nelli from Puccio di Simone.⁵ Accordingly, Nelli's early work is defined as those paintings revealing the persistence of influence from Bernardo Daddi, whereas his later career is presumed to have been markedly influenced by the example of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini. Skaug presented evidence supporting this schematization: that Nelli's early works are also distinguished by the use of a subset of Daddi's punches coupled with the use of small ring and asterisk punches, precisely the combination of tools present in the Yale *Mourning Virgin*. These largely disappear from his mature production. There is thus a strong presumption that the larger complex of which the Yale painting is a fragment is likely to have been painted sometime in the decade of the 1360s.

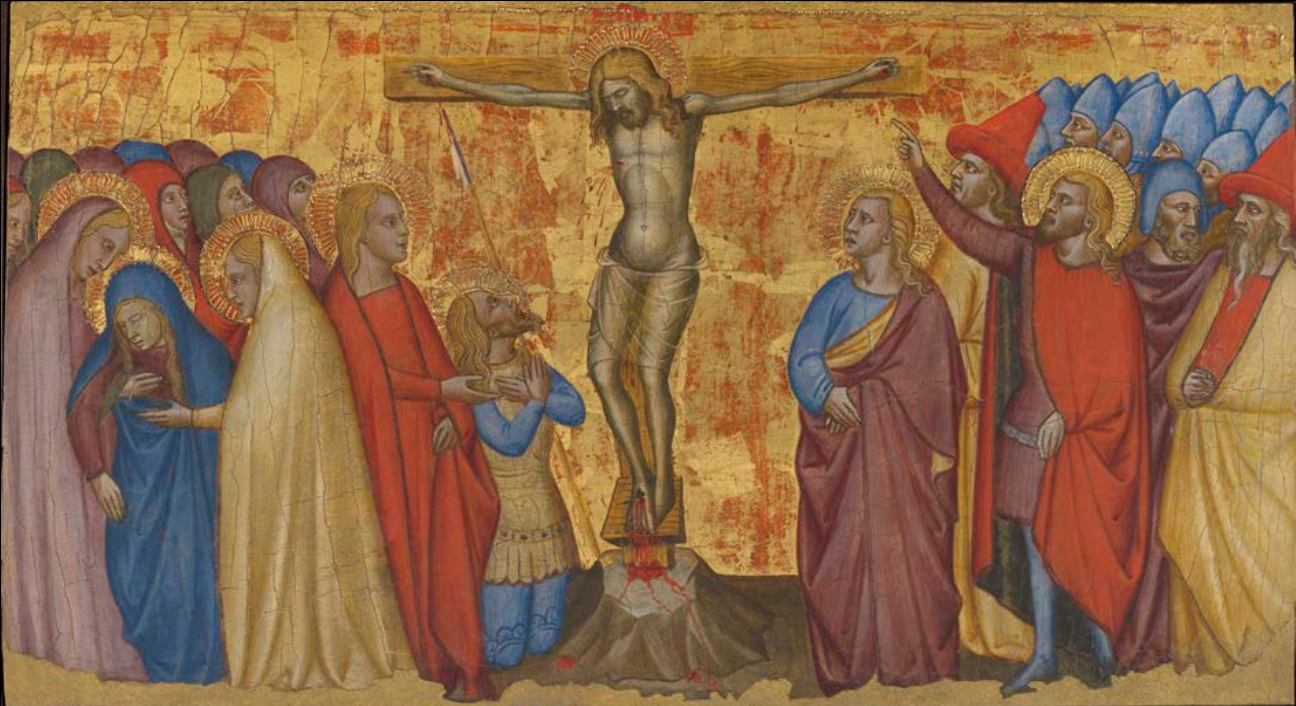
Two painted crosses survive for which Pietro Nelli may be said to have been responsible. One of these, in the Cappella Castellani in the church of Santa Croce in Florence, is dated 1380 and was executed in collaboration with Niccolò di Pietro Gerini. The lateral terminals of this cross are intact. The other cross, in the church of San Pietro a Ripoli at Bagno a Ripoli, is preserved in a more compromised state. It has been cut along the profile of the Christ figure to a *sagomato* format; its terminals are missing; and irregular damages along all its edges make it impossible to reconstruct its full, original shape.⁶ This painting has been dated to the 1380s by Boskovits,⁷ but it is also possible to argue for an earlier date. No other fragments that might have originated with the Yale *Mourning Virgin* are known. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Seymour 1970, 33, no. 17; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Skaug 1994, 1:276

NOTES

1. Seymour 1970, 33, no. 17.
2. Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600.
3. Skaug 1994, 1:276.
4. Skaug 1994, 2: no. 567. This punch is catalogued by Mojmir S. Frinta (Frinta 1998, 499) as no. La59b, which he conflated with Skaug's no. 566.
5. Bellosi 1973, 179–94; and Boskovits 1975b, 60–61.
6. Photographs of the obverse and reverse reproduced in Lisner 1970, pls. 1–2, clearly indicate the construction of a conventional painted crucifix.
7. Boskovits 1975b, 418, pl. 101.



Florentine School(?), ca. 1360–70, *The Crucifixion*

Artist	Florentine School(?), ca. 1360–70
Title	<i>The Crucifixion</i>
Date	ca. 1360–70
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	29.2 × 53.1 cm (11 1/2 × 20 7/8 in.)
Credit Line	Edwin Austin Abbey Memorial Collection
Inv. No.	1937.342

Provenance

Edwin Austin Abbey (1852–1911), London; Estate of Edwin Austin Abbey, by 1931

Condition

The panel, of a horizontal grain, has been thinned to a depth varying between 1.9 and 2.1 centimeters; it is uncradled and exhibits a modest convex warp. The gilding and paint surfaces have been lightly abraded but are reasonably well preserved. Continuous losses along the top and bottom edges, revealed during cleaning in 1963, were filled and painted a mottled “neutral” color in an undocumented restoration sometime before 1999. Slightly discolored local retouching from this restoration can be seen in the purple draperies of the Holy Woman at the far left, in the Magdalen’s head and neck, in Saint John the Evangelist’s jaw, and throughout the landscape setting.

Discussion

This small *Crucifixion* was probably the central element of an unidentified predella. Standing to the immediate left of the Cross is Mary Magdalen, identified by her brilliant red robes. She appears to be gesturing toward the figure of the converted centurion Saint Longinus, kneeling in penitence at the foot of the Cross. At the extreme left is the

swooning Virgin supported by Mary Cleophas and Mary Salome. Behind them is a group of female spectators. Standing on the right side of the Cross are Saint John the Evangelist and the imperial soldier who acknowledged Christ’s divinity (Matthew 27:54), gesturing toward the Cross. Behind them are various bystanders, including two Jewish priests, identified by their large conical hats. The heads of numerous helmeted soldiers are painted in the background.

The panel, unknown to early scholarship, was first published by Charles Seymour, Jr., as a product of the Florentine school, with a date around 1385.¹ In a 1986 letter to the Yale University Art Gallery, Filippo Todini first communicated his opinion that the panel was a Pisan work, by Francesco di Neri da Volterra (documented 1338–77), and associated it with a predella fragment showing the martyrdom of an unidentified saint in the Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, Germany (fig. 1).² The attribution, later published by Todini,³ was not taken up by Carl Strehlke, who instead assigned the panel to an anonymous Florentine artist of the late 1300s in his unpublished checklist of the Italian paintings at Yale. Sonia Chiodo, on the other hand, developed Todini’s argument and discerned a stylistic relationship between the Yale and Altenburg panels and a *Bishop Saint* by Francesco di Neri in the Alana Collection, Newark, Delaware, and tentatively proposed that they might have



Fig. 1. Attributed to Francesco di Neri da Volterra, *The Martyrdom of a Saint*, ca. 1360–65. Tempera and gold on panel, 28 × 41 cm (11 × 16 1/8 in.). Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, Germany, inv. no. 147

been included in the same complex.⁴ According to Chiodo, these works, datable to around 1365–70, reflected a new stage in Francesco di Neri's career more directly influenced by Florentine models and, in particular, the sober monumentality and incisive drawing technique of Andrea di Cione. In the most recent study of Francesco di Neri, Federica Siddi⁵ embraced Chiodo's "working hypothesis" and added to the reconstruction a predella scene with the *Vision of Saint Augustine*, formerly in the Drey collection, Munich (current location unknown)—a work otherwise attributed to the Master of San Lucchese⁶ or the Master of the Misericordia.⁷

Todini's 1996 attribution of the Yale panel to Francesco di Neri rested primarily on perceived links between this work and the *Crucifixion* on the double-sided processional banner in the Palazzo Blu, Pisa, now widely accepted as one of the artist's last important Pisan commissions (fig. 2).⁸ Detailed comparisons with that image, however, reveal the intervention of a distinct personality in the present instance, markedly less oriented toward Pisan models. Notwithstanding certain iconographic parallels

and similar palette choices, the short, sturdily built figures with large features and stiff gestures that characterize the Yale *Crucifixion* appear incompatible with the gracefully poised characters with tightly drawn, small, pinched features that populate the Pisa *Crucifixion*, inherently indebted to Francesco Traini's example. The Lindenau-Museum predella, purportedly from the same complex as the Yale panel, is more nearly related and also shares some of the more exotic types among the bystanders. The uniformly finished quality, pronounced chiaroscuro, and enamel-like surface of the Lindenau picture—which have in the past invited comparison with North Italian models—provide a stark contrast, however, to the almost cursory handling of the Yale *Crucifixion*.⁹ There is a crudeness in the rendering of physiognomic details in the present work, a hastiness in the uneven application of patches of shadow, and an unfinished component that make any association between these two panels dubious at best.¹⁰

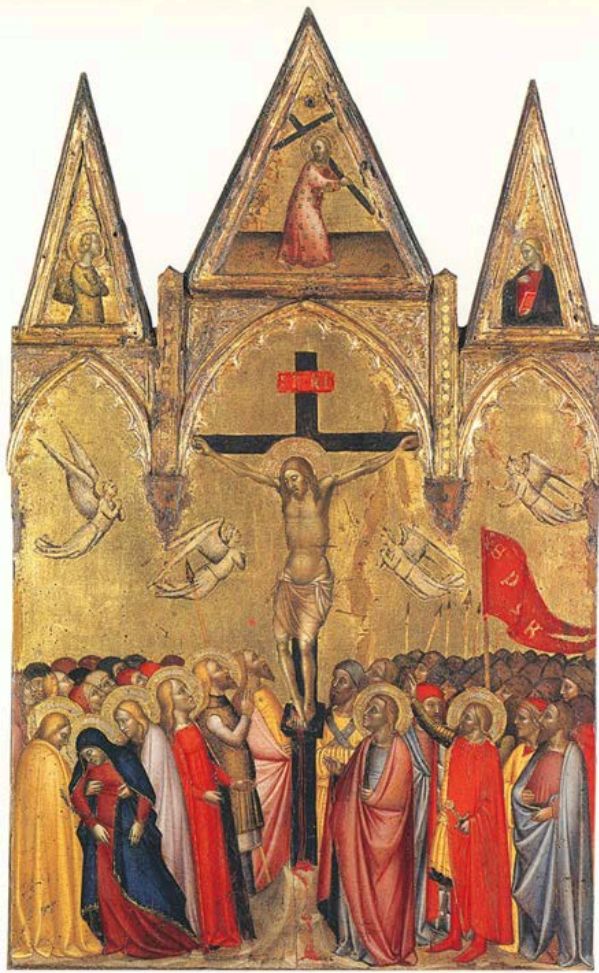


Fig. 2. Francesco di Neri da Volterra, *The Crucifixion*, ca. 1370. Tempera and gold on panel, 91 × 54 cm (35 7/8 × 21 1/4 in.). Palazzo Blu, Pisa

Rather than as a Pisan product influenced by Orcagnesque models, the Yale *Crucifixion* is perhaps better understood as a translation into vernacular terms of the lessons of Orcagna by a provincial but most likely Florentine painter or workshop. The anonymous artist's

debt to Orcagnesque models, as well as to the example of Taddeo Gaddi, whose prototypes are most clearly reflected in the proportions of the figures and in the image of Saint John the Evangelist, suggest a chronology in the 1360s or slightly later. The focus on Mary Magdalen and the unusual penitential pose of Saint Longinus might point to a confraternal commission. —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Seymour 1970, 32, no. 15; Filippo Todini, in *Gold Backs* 1996, 61, fig. 1; Sonia Chiodo, in Boskovits 2009a, 70; Siddi 2013, 18

NOTES

1. Seymour 1970, 32, no. 15.
2. Filippo Todoni, March 18, 1986, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
3. Filippo Todini, in *Gold Backs* 1996, 61, fig. 1.
4. Sonia Chiodo, in Boskovits 2009a, 70.
5. Siddi 2013, 19.
6. Boskovits 1975b, 200n87.
7. Offner and Maginnis 1981, 13.
8. See, most recently, Pisani 2011, 23–29.
9. For the attributional history of the Lindenau-Museum panel, see Stefan Weppelman, in Boskovits and Tripps 2008, 224–25, no. 43. Weppelman does not identify any other pieces from the same structure.
10. Contrary to Chiodo's observation (in Boskovits 2009a, 72n18) that the haloes in the Altenburg and Yale painting "are absolutely identical," the Yale panel is distinguished by the presence of another ring of small round punches on the inside of the halo.



O CRUX AVE SPES UNICA

Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, Magdalen,
St John the Baptist, St John the Evangelist
Follower of JACOPO DI GIOSE
Lombard, 14th century, Museo di San Marco, Venice

Jacopo di Cione, *Holy Trinity with the Virgin and Saints Mary Magdalen, John the Baptist, and John the Evangelist*

Artist	Jacopo di Cione, Florence, documented 1365–died 1398/1400
Title	<i>Holy Trinity with the Virgin and Saints Mary Magdalen, John the Baptist, and John the Evangelist</i>
Date	ca. 1370–75
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 104.7 × 50.5 cm (41 1/4 × 19 7/8 in.); picture surface: 79.5 × 46.0 cm (31 1/4 × 18 1/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.18

Provenance

James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The panel support retains its original thickness of ca. 2.5 centimeters. A gesso coating on the back that may be original has been overpainted brown and is impregnated with wax. The frame moldings above the spring of the arch are original, except for a 2.5-centimeter extension at the apex. The acanthus decoration around the arch has been regilt, and the background blue has been repainted. The bottom leaves of the acanthus have been remodeled where they were truncated at the sides, and the top-center leaves have been replaced by a modern fleur-de-lis form. The lateral and base moldings of the frame appear to be modern. The outer edges of the panel have been trimmed, irregularly but only slightly along the profile of the arch, more dramatically at the sides where the composition is cropped by the added frame moldings. It is possible that 2 centimeters or more are missing at the left and right. The bottom of the panel does not appear to have been cut: the predella in its present form is modern but occupies an area that must originally have been

reserved for that purpose. The paint surface is severely abraded, resulting in evenly scattered flaking losses throughout. These are most extensive in the head and chest of the Baptist and in the draperies of God the Father on the left side of the composition. The gold ground is abraded but original.

Discussion

This painting is an early example of an image that would become increasingly popular in Florentine art over the final decades of the fourteenth century and throughout the fifteenth century. It envisions the theological abstraction of the Holy Trinity as a representation of God the Father, crowned and seated in majesty, supporting a vision of Christ on the Cross before Him with a dove, the emblem of the Holy Spirit, flying between the two figures. In the present panel, the Crucifix is anchored in a summary indication of the hill of Golgotha, with the mourning Virgin and Saint Mary Magdalen seated at either side in the notional foreground. Behind them, shown as if seated further back in space than God the Father, are Saint John the Baptist on the left and Saint John the Evangelist on the right. While the Virgin and the Evangelist are standard attendants in devotional

representations of the Crucifixion, and the Virgin and the Baptist are commonly paired in images of the Deesis or Last Judgment, the Magdalen is very rarely portrayed with the prominence accorded to her in this instance. She frequently appears in scenes of the Crucifixion but most often in a full narrative context, embracing the foot of the Cross, with Roman soldiers, Pharisees, and mourning holy figures around her. Her inclusion here in the place usually reserved for Saint John the Evangelist may refer directly or indirectly to the original patron of the painting. Any more concrete evidence for the identity of such a patron was lost when the lateral members of the panel's original frame, possibly including coats of arms in pilaster bases alongside the predella, were cut away.

Aside from a generic ascription by James Jackson Jarves to Puccio Capanna, a Giottesque master then known by literary reputation but not by works of art, this painting has always been associated with the name of Jacopo di Cione or with an artist in his immediate circle.¹ Osvald Sirén at first considered it by an artist related to Niccolò di Pietro Gerini collaborating with Jacopo di Cione,² later recognizing it as exclusively Cionesque in style.³ He was followed in this assessment by Richard Offner (as circle of Jacopo di Cione),⁴ Millard Meiss (as Cionesque),⁵ Charles Seymour, Jr. (as a late follower of Jacopo di Cione),⁶ and Federico Zeri (as school or shop of Jacopo di Cione).⁷ Bernard Berenson revived the idea of a collaboration between Jacopo di Cione and Niccolò di Pietro Gerini,⁸ while Miklós Boskovits accepted an attribution directly to Jacopo di Cione as a late work, probably of the 1390s.⁹ In Hayden Maginnis's posthumous publication of Offner's lists of Florentine fourteenth-century painters, the Yale panel was included as by a so-called Master of the Academy Crucifixion, an artist close to Jacopo di Cione, many of whose works had been reassigned directly to Jacopo by Boskovits.¹⁰

Attributions to Jacopo di Cione, ranging from the severely limited group initially accepted by Offner to the broadly inclusive group proposed by Boskovits, are all conditioned upon the fact that documents associating his name with surviving works without exception specify collaborations with other artists. Most frequently named among the latter has been Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, hence a probable explanation for Berenson's insistence on viewing the Yale panel as a collaboration between Gerini and Jacopo di

Cione. However, while Jacopo di Cione did collaborate with Niccolò di Pietro Gerini in the 1380s, the widely accepted presumption that Gerini might be the "Niccolao dipintore" mentioned alongside Jacopo in documents of 1370–71 relating to the San Pier Maggiore altarpiece is not supported by visual evidence. It appears instead that Jacopo's collaborator on that altarpiece—the main panels of which are now in the National Gallery, London¹¹—may have been Niccolò di Tommaso. Isolating his contribution as the designer of the complex and possibly as executant of some of the saints and scenes at the left of the complete structure leaves a painter who closely resembles in every significant detail the artist of the Yale *Trinity*, probably working at approximately the same date in the early 1370s. The same painter was correctly identified by curators and conservators at the National Gallery as responsible for significant passages in the Camaldolese altarpiece of the Crucifixion, also in their collection.¹² That collaborative work, executed alongside the Master of the Ashmolean Predella, must be slightly earlier than the San Pier Maggiore altarpiece and may even contain evidence of planning or drawing by Jacopo di Cione's elder brother, Andrea di Cione, called Orcagna, before his death in 1368.

Erling Skaug adduced the evidence of a punch tool (his no. 501) used in decorating the halo of God the Father in the Yale *Trinity* as an argument for dating the painting after 1375.¹³ This punch appears originally to have been owned by Nardo di Cione and subsequently to have passed into the ownership of Giovanni del Biondo, in a number of whose paintings it is recorded.¹⁴ It was used occasionally by Giovanni del Biondo before Nardo's death in 1366 and again with some regularity after 1375 but only rarely during the decade between those dates, when Giovanni del Biondo by preference shared the gilding and punching of his panels with a *compagnia* of other artists. The logic, however, of assuming that Jacopo di Cione had access to this tool only after 1375 seems to follow an a priori acceptance of the late date proposed by Boskovits, not the internal logic of punch-tool sharing, which might instead be better supported by a date between 1366 and 1375. The second half of that decade range better accommodates stylistic comparison to other approximately datable works by Jacopo di Cione. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 44, no. 20; Sturgis 1868, 37, no. 27; Brown 1871, 15, no. 27; Rankin 1895, 141; Rankin 1905, 8, no. 27; Sirén 1914b, 336; Sirén 1916a, 45–46, no. 18, fig. 18; Offner 1927a, 17–18; Berenson 1932a, 274; Meiss 1951, 34n83; Berenson 1963, 1:105; Seymour 1970, 48, no. 30; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 101, 599; Boskovits 1975b, 327; Offner and Maginnis 1981, 29; Skaug 1994, 1:195, 2: no. 6.14

NOTES

1. Jarves 1860, 44, no. 20; Brown 1871, 15, no. 27; Sturgis 1868, 37, no. 27; Rankin 1895, 141; and Rankin 1905, 8, no. 27.
2. Sirén 1914b, 336.
3. Sirén 1916a, 45–46, no. 18, fig. 18.
4. Offner 1927a, 17–18.
5. Meiss 1951, 34n83.
6. Seymour 1970, 48, no. 30.
7. Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 101, 599.
8. Berenson 1932a, 274; and Berenson 1963, 1:105.
9. Boskovits 1975b, 327.
10. Offner and Maginnis 1981, 29.
11. Inv. nos. NG569.1–.3 and NG570–78, <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/jacopo-di-cione-and-workshop-the-coronation-of-the-virgin-central-main-tier-panel#painting-group-info>. For discussion of the San Pier Maggiore altarpiece, see Bomford et al. 1989, 156–89.
12. Inv. no. NG1468, <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/jacopo-di-cione-the-crucifixion>; Bomford et al. 1989, 140–55.
13. Skaug 1994, 1:195.
14. This tool is catalogued by Mojmír Frinta in Frinta 1998, 510, as no. La94, without reference to its appearance in the Yale *Trinity*. Frinta's list of works using this punch, which is incorrectly measured as 9 millimeters in diameter (the correct measurement is 10 millimeters), is conflated with that of one or more other tools, including his no. La104a.



Attributed to Giovanni del Biondo, *Scene from the Legend of Saint John Gualbert*

Artist	Attributed to Giovanni del Biondo, Florence, documented 1356–99
Title	<i>Scene from the Legend of Saint John Gualbert</i>
Date	ca. 1390
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall, excluding later additions: 33.5 × 61.4 cm (13 3/4 × 24 1/4 in.); picture surface: 30.2 × 51.6 cm (11 7/8 × 20 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	University purchase from James Jackson Jarves Collection
Inv. No.	1871.30

Provenance

James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The panel support, of a horizontal wood grain, has been thinned to 1.6 centimeters but has not been cradled. A 1.5-centimeter strip of wood has been added to the right edge of the panel and a 3-centimeter strip has been added along the bottom. Later frame moldings, 2.8 centimeters wide at the left and right sides and 3 centimeters wide at the top and bottom, have been applied to the front and are now stripped of gilding and gesso to reveal the wood surface. These are old—they are applied with cut nails and exhibit some worm damage—but not original. A nail in the panel 5.5 centimeters from the top edge and 20 centimeters from the left edge may have secured a vertical batten or attached the panel to a box structure. The right edge of the panel (where it abuts the added strip) is distressed and may be original; two long, cut nails attaching the capping strip at this edge are old. The left edge has been cut and is not covered by a capping strip. Fragments of wood with a vertical grain glued to the back may indicate that the panel was cut from its original context for reuse in a different one, possibly occasioning

the addition of the present engaged moldings on all four sides.

All the gilding on the panel, except the horse's raised hoof, is new and presumably dates from the time that the frame moldings were applied to the surface. The punch tooling is all modern or possibly reinforced over vague impressions of original tooling that might have been preserved in the gesso beneath. The paint surface is severely abraded, and all the pigments have been leached by solvents. Larger gouging losses are scattered throughout John Gualbert's vermilion cape, the ear flaps of his helmet, his retainer's helmet, and the face of his kneeling enemy. Ironically, the saint's knife and belt, the armor and weapons of the kneeling knight, and much of the linear definition of the architectural details is decently preserved, while broader, flat areas of color in the left half of the painting (especially around the doorway) and along the floor of the church have been extensively interrupted. The two center biforms in the architectural background have been redrawn with a fine line. Engraved lines above the altar table at right suggest that an altarpiece or backing may once have been painted there, but no remnant of such a structure survives. The black horse is reinforced and the profile of its neck enlarged by

at least 1 centimeter covering the new gold. Its vermillion trappings are fairly well preserved but were once enlivened with mordant gilt decoration that survives only in small fragments.

The panel was cleaned and restored in 1915 by Hammond Smith, who noted the total loss of the two helmets and the face of the kneeling figure, all of which he repainted. A second cleaning by Andrew Petryn in 1963–68 stripped the gilding from the frame moldings and left the painting in the state in which it is presently encountered.

Discussion

Saint John Gualbert (Giovanni Gualberto, died July 12, 1073, canonized 1193) was the founder the Vallombrosan order, a branch of the Benedictine reform movement that attracted an extensive and influential following throughout Tuscany, including four prestigious communities in Florence: at San Pancrazio, Santa Trinita, San Miniato al Monte, and San Salvi. Born into a noble Florentine family at the end of the tenth century, Giovanni Gualberto embarked on an eremitic life against his family's wishes, following the episode of his spiritual conversion as it is portrayed in two conflated scenes on this panel. Riding into Florence with a group of friends, Giovanni was urged by them to vengeance when they encountered a knight who had killed his brother. The knight begged forgiveness on his knees, his arms crossed before him, and Giovanni forgave and embraced him. Later, entering the church of San Miniato al Monte, a crucifix over the altar miraculously nodded to Giovanni and spoke to him in recognition of his act of charity. In the Yale painting, Giovanni is dressed in red, with a red cap and cape both lined with ermine, a dagger at his belt. He presents his enemy, dressed in blue and kneeling before the altar in San Miniato, his sword, shield, dagger, and helmet strewn on the ground at his feet. Both figures beseech the crucifix over the altar, which leans noticeably toward them. At left, a retainer leads Giovanni's horse past the door of the church, he, too, regarding the miraculous crucifix with rapt attention.



Fig. 1. Giovanni del Biondo, *The Conversion of Saint John Gualbert* (detail from the San Giovanni Gualberto altarpiece), ca. 1365–75. Tempera and gold on panel. Santa Croce, Florence



Fig. 2. Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, *The Conversion of Saint John Gualbert*, ca. 1390–1400. Tempera and gold on panel, 146.7 × 72.4 cm (57 3/4 × 28 1/2 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gwynne Andrews Fund, 1958, inv. no. 58.135

The general outlines of this composition correspond to two well-known fourteenth-century versions of the subject. The first of these occurs at the top left of an altarpiece triptych by Giovanni del Biondo now in the Bardi di Vernio Chapel in Santa Croce, Florence (fig. 1), but that was apparently painted for the church of San Giovanni Evangelista fuori Porta Faenza, a Florentine monastery of Vallombrosan nuns.¹ Larger and more nearly square in format than the compressed horizontality of the Yale scene, this version incorporates a more coherent sense of space and much greater detail in its architectural setting, including rendering the cross

with the conventional carpentry of a trecento painted crucifix. In the Yale scene, by contrast, the cross seems to float above the altar more like a mystical vision than a physical encounter, although this may be a mistaken impression caused by the painting's deteriorated condition: engraved lines above the altar table and below the crucifix may indicate that a dossal was once included there, atop which the crucifix rested. Details of the saint's attire are more specific in the Yale panel than in the Santa Croce altarpiece, although his pose is less energetic. His retainer leading a horse is also portrayed with finer detail in his dress, as well as in the horse's harness, and he seems to be an active participant or witness of the miracle, whereas in the altarpiece, he is little more than a genre figure. The second version of the subject, a vertical panel, probably a small altarpiece, by Niccolò di Pietro Gerini in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 2), follows closely the model of the scene in the San Giovanni Evangelista altarpiece, onto which it grafts details in common with the Yale panel. These include the red dress of Saint John Gualbert, his stately demeanor, and the greater involvement of the retainer in the scene.

The probable relationship of the Yale panel to either or both of these images is confused by its severely compromised condition, on the one hand, and by the natural constrictions of its format, on the other. Its horizontal proportions are typical of predella panels, and the condition of its wood support strongly suggests that it may originally have stood on the far-right end of a more extensive narrative predella beneath an altarpiece polyptych. In such a context, given that this scene is drawn from the beginning of John Gualbert's life, it is likely that the other panels of the predella portrayed events in the lives of different saints. The apparently early date at which the panel was enlarged, reframed, and regilt might argue that it was removed from this hypothetical predella and revised for use possibly as a single scene incorporated among the lower framing elements of a large votive image. That no image of Saint John Gualbert of this type and plausibly related to the Yale panel survives is of little consequence if this alteration took place after the fourteenth century.²

The severe abrasion and even more severe "restoration" to which the Yale panel has been subjected continues to prevent confident recognition of its authorship. Catalogued by James Jackson Jarves as by Jacopo del Casentino, its spatial organization led Osvald Sirén to assign it an early fifteenth-century date rather than early fourteenth century.³ Sirén accordingly proposed an

attribution for it to Giovanni dal Ponte, an artist who had until then been confused anagraphically with Jacopo del Casentino. The panel is recorded in passing under the name of Giovanni dal Ponte by Adolfo Venturi, Raimond van Marle, and Lionello Venturi,⁴ whereas Bernard Berenson and Burton Frederickson and Federico Zeri recognized that it was in fact a late fourteenth- rather than early fifteenth-century painting, attributing it to Agnolo Gaddi or a follower.⁵ Miklós Boskovits assigned it to Niccolò Gerini and advanced its dating to ca. 1375–80, but comparison to Gerini's narrative paintings of this or any other period in his career does not bear out that attribution.⁶ Erling Skaug claimed that the distinctive punch decoration of the gold ground in the Yale panel points unmistakably to the workshop of Giovanni del Biondo.⁷ He did not realize, and no available cataloguing at the Yale University Art Gallery made clear, that this gilding and punch tooling are modern. Nevertheless, it may not be coincidental that all three punches appearing in the panel are relatively close variants of tools used by Giovanni del Biondo, differing modestly in size but not in design and provoking no damage to the drying gesso and bolus typical of original punch strikes.⁸

While Skaug did not propose a fixed chronology for Giovanni del Biondo's work in general or for the Yale panel in particular, he accepted Boskovits's estimation of its probable date (though not its attribution) at the beginning of the last quarter of the fourteenth century. If the Yale painting is by Giovanni del Biondo, Skaug's research would suggest that it could only have been executed before ca. 1363/65 or after ca. 1375, whereas the altarpiece from San Giovanni Evangelista fuori Porta Faenza (see fig. 1) could only have been painted during the decade between about 1365 and 1375. Niccolò Gerini's altarpiece in the Metropolitan Museum (see fig. 2) was almost certainly painted closer to the end of the fourteenth century. It could be argued that the Yale panel, the only one of the three not to show the miraculous Crucifix in the form of a painted thirteenth-century Cross, predates the other two, but it is far more likely that the greater resemblance of costume and spatial setting to the late work by Niccolò Gerini suggests a date closer to the end of Giovanni del Biondo's career, ca. 1390. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 44, no. 26; Sturgis 1868, 38–39, no. 30; Brown 1871, 16, no. 30; Rankin 1895, 142, no. 30; Rankin 1905, 9, no. 30; Sirén 1909a, 325, pl. 1, no. 3; Venturi 1901–40, 7, pt. 1: 27; Sirén 1916a, 77–78, no. 30, fig. 30; van Marle 1927, 86; Venturi 1931, pl. 144; Berenson 1932a, 214; Venturi 1933, pl. 137; Steegmuller 1951, 295; Berenson 1963, 68; Seymour 1970, 137–38, no. 95; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 76, 599; Boskovits 1975b, 411; Cole 1977, 72; Skaug 1994, 1:202–3.

NOTES

1. Offner and Steinweg 1967, 11–16, pl. 1.
2. Several comparable works by Giovanni del Biondo are known, including a *Saint Jerome* in the Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, Germany, inv. no. 22; a *Saint Paul* in the collection of Stockholm University, inv. no. 220; a *Saint John the Evangelist* in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 444; and, most relevant to the present case, a *Saint Zenobius* that retains its predella in the cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence. Neither the *Saint Jerome* (Offner and Steinweg 1967, pl. 13) nor the *Saint Paul* (Offner and Steinweg 1967, pl. 12) retain their original frames or predellas. For the *Saint John the Evangelist*, see Daniela Parenti, in Boskovits and Parenti 2010, 50–55. The predella of this painting, added to it by Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, is painted on a panel with a horizontal grain, as is the predella of a similar painting showing Saint Martin by Lorenzo di Bicci (Offner and Steinweg 1967, 69–73). For the *Saint Zenobius* by Giovanni del Biondo, see Offner and Steinweg 1969, pl. 22. A fourteenth-century image of Saint John Gualbert of this format is preserved in the presbytery of San Miniato al Monte; see Padoa Rizzo 2002, 56–57. Possibly datable to 1354, it includes a predella with three rudimentary scenes: the murder of John Gualbert's brother; John Gualbert forgiving his brother's assassin; and the miraculous encounter with the crucifix. The style of this painting is not immediately recognizable, and the compositions of the predella scenes seem to have had no discernable influence on either Giovanni del Biondo or Niccolò di Pietro Gerini.
3. Sirén 1909a, 325, pl. 1, no. 3.
4. Venturi 1901–40, 7:27; van Marle 1927, 86; Venturi 1931, pl. 144; and Venturi 1933, pl. 137.
5. Berenson 1932a, 214; Berenson 1963, 1:68; and Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 76, 599.
6. Boskovits 1975b, 411.
7. Skaug 1994, 1:202–3.
8. Frinta 1998, 57, no. Ada4a; 230, no. Fda36; 482, no. L40a.



Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, *The Adoration of the Magi*, One of Three Fragments from a Folding Triptych

Artist	Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, Florence, documented 1369–1415
Title	<i>The Adoration of the Magi</i> , One of Three Fragments from a Folding Triptych
Date	ca. 1380
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	83.3 × 25.7 cm (32 3/4 × 10 1/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.15a

Provenance

James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The *Adoration of the Magi* is painted on a panel with a vertical grain, thinned to a depth of 1.4 centimeters but not cradled. A channel 3 centimeters wide at the bottom of the panel on the reverse has been thinned to half this depth, as if to receive a strap hinge, but there is no evidence of nails in that area and no evidence of other types of hinges at either side. The panel has been cut on all four sides, although an engraved line along the left margin may indicate the original extent of the painted scene on that side. The paint surface is relatively well preserved but has been lightly abraded overall. The gilding, except in the haloes of the Holy Family, has been almost entirely lost. When the panel entered the James Jackson Jarves collection (fig. 1), the upper portion had been newly (i.e., in the nineteenth century) gilt to the full, rounded profile of the panel. This was removed by Andrew Petryn in 1968, leaving only a small island of bolus with traces of original gilding around the figures of the angel and the Child at the top. The rest was scraped down: at the right, to a polished gesso layer outlining the profile of an ogival arch and, at the left, to exposed linen

and wood (fig. 2). In a cleaning and restoration of 1998, Elisabeth Mention covered the exposed gesso and completed the ogival arch with a painted bolus color. Flaking losses that had been revealed in the 1968 restoration, chiefly around the perimeter of the scene, were inpainted or, along the right edge of the composition, gilded, although reasons for gilding that side are unclear. The faces of the retainers at the bottom, except for the figure furthest to the left, have been restored, as have the faces of the two standing Magi and the Christ Child. Small losses in the draperies of Saint Joseph have been repaired and complete areas of loss approximately 6 centimeters long at the spring of the arch on both sides have been filled with freely invented painted details. The modeling on the head and neck of the camel at the lower right is also an invention of the 1998 restoration.

Discussion



Fig. 1. *The Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1900



Fig. 2. *The Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1968

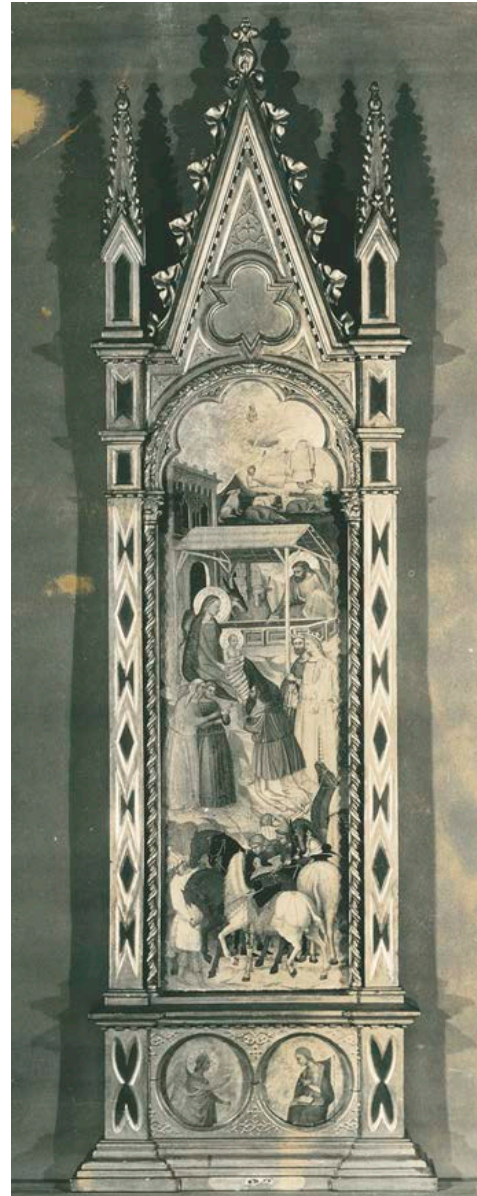


Fig. 3. *The Adoration of the Magi, Virgin Annunciate, and Annunciatory Angel*, ca. 1900

This *Adoration of the Magi*, along with a roundel showing the *Virgin Annunciate* and another with an *Annunciatory Angel*, are fragments of the same unidentified complex. When they were in the Jarves collection, they were displayed in a nineteenth-century frame, with the roundels of the *Annunciation* placed below the *Adoration of the Magi* as elements of a predella (fig. 3). The size and proportions of the *Adoration*, however, suggest that it was originally the left wing of a folding triptych and that the small roundels probably occupied the spandrels of the central panel or the gables of the lateral ones. The original appearance of the *Annunciatory Angel* and the *Virgin*

Annunciate is difficult to ascertain in their present state, but the drawing of the figures and identical tooling and punching in the haloes confirm their association with the *Adoration of the Magi*.



Fig. 4. Taddeo Gaddi, *The Annunciation to the Magi*, ca. 1328–30. Fresco. Santa Croce, Florence

Notwithstanding its abraded condition—and elimination of most of the gilt surfaces—the *Adoration* still manages to retain the original charming effect produced by the sheer variety of anecdotal details and figural types, which the artist has succeeded in compressing into the limited, narrow format. The composition combines elements of the Nativity and Adoration of the Magi and is organized vertically on different levels of the rocky landscape, which acts as both a backdrop and an anchor for the spatial arrangement. In the lowest zone, at the base of the panel, is a lively group of elegantly saddled horses and brightly clad attendants, one of whom struggles to restrain a frightened camel. In the middle ground is the main event, dominated by the large shed of the Nativity projecting from the facade of a Gothic building. Careful attention has been devoted to the architectural

components of these two structures, as well as to the rendering of realistic details, such as the knotted cord threaded through holes in the wood by which the ass and ox are tethered to the manger. Disposed on different planes under the roof of the shed are the Virgin and Child, seated on a rocky outcrop, and Joseph, crouched alongside the animals behind the manger. Kneeling on a steep incline below the Virgin is one of the Magi, who kisses the Child's feet in adoration. On the same plane as the Magi are two female attendants, presumably midwives, curiously examining the contents of the king's gift. In the uppermost section of the composition, on the mountain's summit, is the Annunciation to the Shepherds. Both figures are bathed in the brilliant aura of the angel; one of them is on his knees, shielding his eyes from the light, while the other, in a reclined position, has just been awakened from his sleep. Directly above the angel, centered under the panel's pointed arch, is a diminutive Christ Child emerging from a cloud instead of the more typical representation of God the Father. The motif, relatively rare in fourteenth-century panel painting, is usually associated with images of the Annunciation to the Virgin and, more often than not, appears in a Franciscan context.¹ The nearest equivalent for the present example is Taddeo Gaddi's fresco in the Baroncelli Chapel in Santa Croce, Florence (fig. 4), which shows a small Christ Child bathed in golden light appearing to the Magi, as described in the *Golden Legend* accounts of both the Nativity and Epiphany: "Then there are the luminous corporeal creatures, such as the supercelestial: these too revealed the Nativity. For on that very day, according to what the ancients relate and Chrysostom affirms, the magi were praying on a mountaintop and a star appeared above them. This star had the shape of a most beautiful boy over whose head a cross shone brilliantly."²

The *Adoration of the Magi*, which entered Yale's collection with an attribution to Simone Martini, was identified as a product of the Florentine school by William Rankin, who classified it somewhat cryptically as "Spinellesque Style of Early Bicci Class," noting that it reflected the influence of "Sienese decorative and technical ideals" upon Florentine painting.³ Osvald Sirén, who highlighted the painting's "remarkably fine" execution and naturalistically observed details, first advanced the name of Orcagna, proposing a date in close proximity to the Strozzi Altarpiece, between 1350 and 1360.⁴ While acknowledging the Orcagnesque quality of the figures, Raimond van Marle subsequently inserted the panel among a group of works he ascribed to an anonymous collaborator of Andrea di Cione, christened "compagno dell'Orcagna"—otherwise identified as Nardo di Cione.⁵ In his 1927 catalogue of

Yale's collection, Richard Offner gave a much less enthusiastic assessment of the painting, stating that it bore "only the slenderest relation" to either Orcagna or Nardo di Cione but was more likely the effort of an anonymous imitator; he labeled the image generically as "Florentine Painter (End of the Fourteenth-Century)."⁶ In subsequent references to the *Adoration*, however, Offner also referred to the panel as "Cionesque"⁷ or filed it under "Yale Orcagnesque Master,"⁸ without identifying any other works by the same hand. Bernard Berenson initially placed the *Adoration* in his category of "Florentine Giottesque Painters after 1350,"⁹ later broadened to "Unidentified Florentines, ca. 1350–1420,"¹⁰ in both instances qualifying its style as "between Jacopo di Cione and Antonio Veneziano." The narrative and spatial solutions of the Yale *Adoration* did not go unnoticed by Luigi Coletti, however, who cited the panel in his discussion of the Maso-Giottino problem, tentatively advancing a comparison with the *Crucifixion* in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, currently attributed to Giotto's Neapolitan workshop.¹¹



Fig. 5. Cenni di Francesco, *Saint Catherine Disputing and Two Donors*, ca. 1380. Tempera and gold on panel, 57.8 × 46.4 cm (22 3/4 × 18 1/4 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Jean Fowles, in memory of her first husband, R. Langton Douglas, 1981, inv. no. 1982.35.1

In 1968, in a fundamental article dedicated to the then still-obscure personality of Cenni di Francesco, Miklós Boskovits first inserted the Yale *Adoration* into the artist's

oeuvre, placing its execution around 1390, a chronology that he later revised to 1380–85.¹² Boskovits's study was overlooked by Charles Seymour, Jr., who catalogued the panel generically as Florentine school with a date between 1395 and 1400.¹³ However, the attribution to Cenni di Francesco is convincing and has been otherwise embraced by modern scholarship. Among the works most closely related to the *Adoration* are those images formerly grouped around the *Saint Catherine Disputing and Two Donors* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 5), which is usually dated around 1380.¹⁴ Once regarded as efforts of an anonymous Orcagnesque painter named "Master of the Kahn Saint Catherine" (after the early owner of the Metropolitan Museum panel), these works are now generally acknowledged as products of Cenni's earlier career, when he was still under the strong influence of Giovanni del Biondo. Typical of the artist's approach at this moment are the rigidly posed, solid physiognomic types, with the long necks and small heads that also distinguish the Yale picture. The beautifully preserved panel of Saint Catherine, in particular, presents an almost identical decorative vocabulary and provides a hint of the coloristic brilliance and precious handling of ornamental features that must originally have characterized the *Adoration*.

Compositionally, the Yale panel is intimately related to Cenni's dated 1383 fresco of the Adoration of the Magi in the church of San Donato in Polverosa, Florence (fig. 6). Notwithstanding the differences in scale, the works share the same piecemeal approach to the various elements of the narrative, similarly staged against a rocky backdrop. Some of the more unusual anecdotal details of the Yale image, like the two female attendants examining the Magi's gift, are also included in the fresco, as are other subsidiary figures, such as the identically posed attendant in a yellow cape with black and red stripes, struggling with the recalcitrant camel. The rounder proportions and generally more dynamic movement of the figures and draperies in the fresco, however, suggest a slightly more advanced date of execution. The miniaturist quality that has sometimes been highlighted in past discussions of the Yale *Adoration* seems consistent with Cenni's activity as a manuscript illuminator between the 1370s and 1380s.¹⁵ Closely related to the present work are the artist's illuminations in an antiphony in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, usually placed before the San Donato in Polverosa commission.¹⁶



Fig. 6. Cenni di Francesco, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1383. Fresco. San Donato in Polverosa, Florence

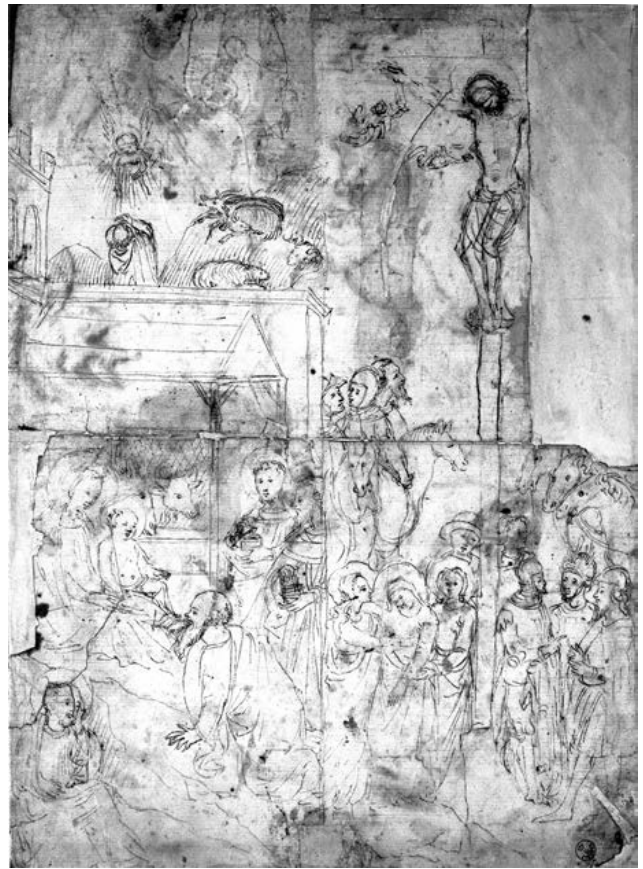


Fig. 7. Anonymous Florentine artist, *The Adoration of the Magi and Crucifixion*, ca. 1390. Pen and ink on paper. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampi degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 22E, recto

While it has not been possible to identify other elements from the same complex, a clue to the subject matter and appearance of the missing right wing of Cenni's triptych is contained in a little-known fourteenth-century sheet of drawings in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (fig. 7). The sheet was first cited as comparison for the *Adoration of the Magi* by Jarves, who noted that the drawing for the "upper portion" of the picture was preserved "among the designs of the old master in the Florentine Gallery."¹⁷ Jarves's reference, recorded in the next two catalogues of his collection¹⁸ but overlooked or dismissed by all subsequent scholarship, is especially relevant since the sheet in question, divided along its length into two equal sections, appears, in fact, to be a sketch of the two wings of a triptych.¹⁹ On the left side is a compressed version of the Yale composition, showing the Adoration and the Annunciation to the Shepherds in the same narrow, vertical format against a rocky backdrop. Missing from the drawing is the bottom section of the Yale image and subsidiary details, such as the two female attendants and the Christ Child in the clouds, but the two compositions are otherwise identical in most aspects. On the right half of the Uffizi sheet is a crowded representation of the

Crucifixion, suggesting that a similar composition also appeared in the right wing of Cenni's triptych, opposite the Yale *Adoration*. The scene, the vertical thrust of which provides a parallel to the *Adoration*, is organized around the impossibly tall Cross, which takes up the entire length of the paper, with the various figures and animals arranged on different levels in the narrow space on either side. At the base of the Cross are the swooning Virgin, supported by the Magdalen and John the Evangelist, and three soldiers arguing over Christ's clothing. Peeking out from behind the Cross is a curious figure wearing some sort of bowler hat. On a different plane, above the main characters, are six soldiers on horseback, symmetrically disposed into two sets of three each, on both sides of the Cross (the soldiers on the right are no longer visible due to a tear in the paper).

The Uffizi drawing, which like the Yale picture was ascribed by nineteenth-century scholars to Simone Martini, was identified by Luciano Bellosi as the product of an anonymous Florentine artist, possibly an illuminator, active toward the end of the fourteenth century.²⁰ The quick pen-and-ink sketches make it difficult to advance a more precise attribution, although the liveliness of the figures, as noted by Bellosi, does recall the illustrations in a codex of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, which have been recently dated around 1390.²¹ It is worth speculating whether Cenni's triptych might have provided the very model for the drawing or if both works were inspired by a well-known prototype, possibly located in one of the major Florentine churches. The size of the Yale *Adoration* points to a significant structure, commissioned for either a chapel or side altar. The presence of the motif of the Christ Child in the sky, rare in images of the *Adoration* and perhaps derived directly from Taddeo Gaddi's example in Santa Croce, could indicate a Franciscan commission. —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 46, no. 36; Sturgis 1868, 28–29, no. 15; Brown 1871, no. 15; Rankin 1895, 143; Rankin 1905, 8, no. 15; Sirén 1914a, 273–74, fig. 5; Sirén 1916a, 41–42, no. 15; Sirén 1917, 1:227–29, 2: pl. 193; Berenson 1932a, 238; van Marle 1924b, 514–16; Offner 1927a, 17, fig. 8; Coletti 1942, 470; Berenson 1963, 1:215; Boskovits 1968a, 279–89, 291n21, fig. 8; Seymour 1970, 35–36, nos. 20a–c; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 599; Boskovits 1975b, 290; Offner and Maginnis 1981, 15; Boskovits 2001, 466n1; Alice Turchi, in Boskovits and Parenti 2010, 28

NOTES

1. The iconographic motif has been traced to the *Lignum vitae* of Saint Bonaventure (1221–1274), and the notion that Christ entered the Virgin's womb fully formed. The earliest evidence of its appearance in Florentine painting is the medallion of the Annunciation in Pacino's *Tree of Life* in the Galleria dell'Accademia, inv. no. 1890 n. 8459, executed for the Clarissan nuns of Monticelli in the second decade of the fourteenth century—a work that follows Bonaventure's text to the letter; see Robb 1936, 523–26, and, more recently, Brunori 2016, 53–61.
2. de Voragine 1993, 1:40, 80.
3. Rankin 1905, 8, no. 15.
4. Sirén 1914a, 273–74, fig. 5; Sirén 1916a, 41–42, no. 15; and Sirén 1917, 1:227–29, 2: pl. 193.
5. van Marle 1924b, 514–16.
6. Offner 1927a, 17, fig. 8.
7. Boskovits 2001, 466n1.
8. Offner and Maginnis 1981, 15.
9. Berenson 1932a, 238.
10. Berenson 1963, 1:215.
11. Inv. no. RF 1999 11, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010067146>; Coletti 1942, 470.
12. Boskovits 1968a; and Boskovits 1975b, 290.
13. Seymour 1970, 35–36, no. 20a.
14. Laurence B. Kanter, in Kanter et al. 1994, 183–86, no. 19; and Keith Christiansen, "Saint Catherine Disputing and Two Donors," Metropolitan Museum of Art, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/435863>.
15. Boskovits 1968a, 279–89, 291n21.
16. Inv. no. W.153, <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/13576/antiphony-2/>. For the most recent detailed discussion of the Baltimore Antiphony, possibly executed for the church of San Pier Maggiore in Florence, see Chiodo 2011, 66–76, with previous bibliography. The division of hands among the illuminations in this volume remains the subject of some debate, mainly concerning the possible involvement of the Master of the Misericordia. Most authors, however, agree that Cenni was responsible for the illuminations on fols. 4v, 27v, and 39v. Following Boskovits, Chiodo dated the artist's intervention between 1375 and 1380, while others have proposed a slightly later chronology, around 1380 or a bit later; see Kanter, in Kanter et al. 1994, 178–83, no. 18.
17. Jarves 1860, 46, no. 36.
18. Sturgis 1868, 28–29, no. 15; and Brown 1871, no. 15.

19. Fiora Bellini, in Bellosi et al. 1978, 6–7, no. 3. Spread across the reverse of the sheet are various studies of dogs, birds, and the head of a griffin.
20. Luciano Bellosi, in Bellosi et al. 1978, xvi; and Bellini, in Bellosi et al. 1978, 6–7, no. 3.
21. Inv. no. Panciatichiano, 63; Martina Bordone, in Azzetta, Chiodo, and De Robertis 2021, 262–65, no. 42. Bordone identified two separate hands in the decoration of the volume and cautiously proposed that the more accomplished artist might be Gherardo Starnina, before his Spanish sojourn.



Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, *Annunciatory Angel* and *Virgin Annunciate*, Two of Three Fragments from a Folding Triptych

Artist	Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, Florence, documented 1369–1415
Title	<i>Annunciatory Angel</i> and <i>Virgin Annunciate</i> , Two of Three Fragments from a Folding Triptych
Date	ca. 1380
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	Diam. each 13.7 cm (5 3/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.15b–c

View the *Annunciatory Angel* and the *Virgin Annunciate* in the Yale University Art Gallery's online collection.

For more on these paintings, see Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, *The Adoration of the Magi*, One of Three Fragments from a Folding Triptych.

Condition

The *Annunciatory Angel* and the *Virgin Annunciate* are both painted on panels of a horizontal grain, 5 millimeters thick, excised from their original context as cross-shaped fragments and mounted onto later panel supports of a vertical grain, 8 millimeters thick. The *Angel* measures 13.5 by 13.6 centimeters overall, excluding a 3-millimeter-wide capping strip applied to the left edge of the panel and integrated with the paint surface. The *Virgin* measures 13.4 by 13.6 centimeters overall. The corners of the *Angel* were filled with plaster to complete a rectangular shape, and the entire spandrel area outside

the roundel was painted a gray-brown color to mask these fills. The *Virgin* had been treated in the same fashion, but a cleaning in 1968 removed the plaster fills at the corners. On the reverse of the auxiliary support of the *Angel* fragment is painted in black: 143.M; a similar inscription on the reverse of the *Virgin* reads: 157.M.

The gilding and paint surface of the *Angel* roundel is considerably more damaged than that of the *Virgin*. The flesh tones of the *Angel* have been nearly obliterated by abrasion, and the gold has been worn down to the bolus and gesso preparatory layers. The *Angel*'s rose-colored cloak is largely intact, its sensitive modeling in shadow unimpaired, and passages of the red, blue, and white glazing on the *Angel*'s wings are preserved. The gold ground of the *Virgin* roundel has been effaced, but the gold back of her throne is pristine. The figure is largely undamaged except for a total loss of pigment at the bottom right of the blue cloak.



Madonna Enthroned with St. John the Baptist, St. Nicholas, St. Andrew, and St. Andrew
Follower of NICCOLO DI PIETRO GERINI
1375

Master of the Misericordia(?), *Virgin and Child Enthroned
between Saints Nicholas, Margaret of Antioch(?), Dorothy, and
John the Baptist; The Crucifixion*

Artist	Master of the Misericordia(?), Florence, third quarter 14th century
Title	<i>Virgin and Child Enthroned between Saints Nicholas, Margaret of Antioch(?), Dorothy, and John the Baptist; The Crucifixion</i>
Date	ca. 1380–85
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall, including modern additions to frame: 122.9 × 60.3 cm (48 3/8 × 23 3/4 in.); original panel: 116.5 × 55.1 cm (45 7/8 × 21 3/4 in.); picture surface: 96.3 × 50.1 cm (37 7/8 × 19 3/4 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.16

Provenance

James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The panel support, which retains its original thickness of 3.0 centimeters, comprises two vertical planks with a seam running on a slight diagonal approximately 24 centimeters from the right edge of the tabernacle. The engaged frame, including the predella, is original but has been entirely regilt and extended by the addition of returns along the base and acanthus crockets along the upper profile of the ogival arch. Four colonettes are missing: one pair in front of and one pair along the inner edge of the lateral pilasters at either side of the frame. Painted in black with a thick brush on the reverse is: “DI/GM/1856.”

The paint surface has been lightly abraded throughout and, at present, is dulled by a deteriorated synthetic varnish. Scattered flaking losses interrupt the red draperies of the Virgin, Saint John the Baptist, Saint

Nicholas, and, in the scene in the gable, the mourning Saint John the Evangelist, while larger losses occur in the areas of the Virgin’s chin and throat, the Baptist’s right arm, and the Evangelist’s face and left hand. The pavement and the architecture of the throne, including its cloth of honor, are well preserved. The gold ground is worn throughout. The seam joining the two planks of the panel is not visible on the front and has provoked no paint losses. The inscription and decoration of the predella have been renewed and may or may not follow traces of a damaged original.

Discussion

This painting, conceived as an independent devotional image, shows the Virgin seated on a throne against a red cloth of honor, with the Christ Child standing on her lap. Her right hand points to the Child, who holds a bird—probably a goldfinch, symbol of the soul and of the Resurrection—in His right hand. Standing to the left of the Virgin’s throne are Saint Nicholas of Bari and a female saint wearing a crown and holding a cross in one hand

and a book and martyr's palm in the other; erroneously identified as Saint Reparata in the early catalogues of the Jarves Collection as well as by Charles Seymour, Jr., she is more likely Saint Margaret of Antioch.¹ To the right of the throne are Saints John the Baptist and Dorothy. In the gable above the main scene is a Crucifixion with the mourning Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist and two flying angels.

The panel was listed in the Jarves collection catalogues with an attribution to Giotto, until William Rankin first observed that it recalled the style of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini.² The proposition was indirectly taken up by Osvald Sirén, who initially suggested it might be an early work of Lorenzo di Niccolò, then thought to be Gerini's son.³ Sirén subsequently revised his opinion, however, in favor of Jacopo di Cione.⁴ In the only extensive discussion of the painting to date, Sirén highlighted the "rather high quality" of the image, citing its Orcagnesque qualities and spatial concerns and describing its brilliant palette—since lost in subsequent interventions—as "vivid blue, cinnabar, amethyst, yellow and green." The attribution to Jacopo di Cione, reiterated in Sirén's 1916 catalogue of the Jarves pictures at Yale, was later dismissed by Richard Offner.⁵ The latter devoted scarce attention to the painting, beyond stating that it was "by some follower" of Gerini, while also listing it in his files as "school of Gerini."⁶ For Bernard Berenson, the Yale panel belonged to the production of Mariotto di Nardo,⁷ while Seymour, echoing Sirén, tentatively ascribed it to the "shop of Jacopo di Cione," with a date around 1380.⁸ Federico Zeri, on the other hand, returned to Offner's opinion and referred to the Yale panel as "shop of Gerini,"⁹ while Miklós Boskovits included it in his expansive view of Gerini's oeuvre, placing it among the artist's mature efforts, between 1390 and 1395.¹⁰ Since then, the painting has been largely ignored by modern scholarship, although expert opinion has tended to concur with Boskovits in assigning the work to Gerini.¹¹ The only exception is a tentative attribution to Cenni di Francesco, advanced by the present author.¹²

As in other instances outlined in this catalogue, some of the difficulties encountered in the assessment of this painting are undoubtedly the result of its current condition, unceremoniously summed up by Everett Fahy in his review of Seymour's catalogue, where he referred to the impossibility of making any conclusions based on the "wretched quality and unimposing scale of the picture."¹³ To be sure, missing from the panel is not just the coloristic brilliance described by Sirén but also most of the subtleties of execution that once characterized it.

Despite its compromised state, a sense of the picture's original qualities can be garnered from the sensitive treatment of the features and modulated flesh tones of the Christ Child, still visible in those areas of the painted surface left untouched by past interventions. Such passages, and the general handling of this figure as well as that of the Virgin, are what make the attribution to Gerini problematic. The slender, Orcagnesque proportions of the oval-faced Virgin and the delicate form of the Christ Child are incompatible with the strongly built, hard-edged physiognomic types with square jaws, more closely dependent on Giotto's models, that generally define Gerini's output. If there is an analogy to Gerini's work, it is confined to the more subsidiary parts of the composition, such as the Crucifixion and the lateral saints (most noticeably Saint Dorothy), which recall the artist's manner around the time of the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the tabernacle of the Arte della Lana, in Florence.

Stylistically as well as compositionally, the Yale picture bears a strong resemblance to a small group of iconographically related devotional images of the Virgin and Child with attendant saints currently attributed to the Master of the Misericordia—a slightly older contemporary and sometimes collaborator of Gerini, who is thought by some scholars to have been possibly involved in a temporary association, akin to a *compagnia*, with Gerini in the 1370s and 1380s.¹⁴ Classified as representative of the Misericordia Master's more "serial" production in the final period of his activity, between 1380 and 1385, the works in question include a painting formerly in the collection of Rita Bellesi, Florence (fig. 1), a panel at Hampton Court, London (fig. 2), and a tabernacle fragment in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, conceived as a nearly identical version of the one at Hampton Court.¹⁵ The Hampton Court and Accademia panels, which share many of the compositional features of the Yale painting, provide a close analogy for the type of Virgin and Christ Child, while the lateral saints in the ex-Bellesi *Virgin*—a work once attributed to Gerini—are especially close to the corresponding figures at Yale. Making allowances for the present condition of the Yale panel and taking into account the qualitative differences among all of these images, it is worth considering whether the Yale picture might be included in the same grouping, among those works produced by the Master of the Misericordia around the period of his presumed partnership with Gerini.¹⁶



Fig. 1. Master of the Misericordia, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints*, ca. 1380–85. Tempera and gold on panel, 47.2 × 56 cm (18 5/8 × 22 in.). Location unknown



Fig. 2. Master of the Misericordia, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints*, ca. 1380–85. Tempera and gold on panel, 87.4 × 51.9 cm (34 3/8 × 20 3/8 in.). Hampton Court, London, Royal Collection, inv. no. RCIN 403954

Seymour's supposition that the Yale painting could have been executed for the duomo of Florence, based primarily on the author's acceptance of the mistaken identification of the figure of Saint Margaret as Saint Reparata, needs to be discounted. Given the repetitive quality of the saints included in such serial production and the absence of the coats of arms that are often included in the frame, it is all but impossible to suggest a precise provenance or patron. —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 46, no. 38; Sturgis 1868, 39, no. 31; Brown 1871, 16, no. 31; Rankin 1895, 141; Rankin 1905, 9, no. 31; Sirén 1908c, 193–94, pl. 3 (left); Sirén 1909b, 197; Sirén 1914b, 330, fig. 4; Sirén 1916a, 43–44, no. 16, fig. 16; Sirén 1917, 1:277; Offner 1927a, 17–18; Berenson 1932a, 332; Berenson 1963, 1:132; Seymour 1970, 47–48, no. 29; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 81, 599; Fahy 1974, 283; Boskovits 1975a, 411; Offner and Maginnis 1981, 76; Skaug 1994, 1:265, 2: no. 8.3 (603); Frinta 1998, 529, no. Lb28; Chiodo 2011, 82n236

NOTES

1. Seymour 1970, 47–48, no. 29. Saint Reparata, a patron saint of Florence, is usually depicted as a princess martyr wearing a crown and holding the martyr's palm, but her chief attribute is a white banner with a red cross. The cross held by the saint in the Yale painting, though a typical attribute of Margaret of Antioch, is not exclusive to her and is also included in some representations of Saints Agatha and Juliana (who also both

wear crowns), making a definitive identification impossible. See Kaftal 1986, 692, fig. 4.

2. Jarves 1860, 46, no. 38; Sturgis 1868, 39, no. 31; Brown 1871, 16, no. 31; and Rankin 1905, 9, no. 31.
3. Sirén 1908c, 193–94, pl. 3 (left).
4. Sirén 1914b, 330, fig. 4.
5. Sirén 1916a, 43–44, no. 16, fig. 16; and Offner 1927a, 17–18.
6. Offner and Maginnis 1981, 76.
7. Berenson 1932a, 332; and Berenson 1963, 1:132.
8. Seymour 1970, 47–48, no. 29, fig. 29.
9. Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 81, 599.
10. Boskovits 1975a, 411.
11. Everett Fahy, Luciano Bellosi, and Carl Strehlke, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery; and Chiodo 2011, 82n236.
12. Curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery, January 12, 2004.
13. Fahy 1974, 283.
14. The possibility of a *compagnia* between the two painters was first advanced by Miklós Boskovits based on his identification of both hands in the execution of a triptych in the church of Sant'Andrea a Montespertoli in Florence, datable on circumstantial and iconographic evidence to after 1378; see Boskovits 1975a, 102–3. Boskovits's hypothesis was accepted and elaborated upon by Sonia Chiodo in her study of the Master of the Misericordia, in which she identified a tabernacle in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, inv. no. 230, as another collaborative effort, executed between 1375 and 1380; see Chiodo 2011, 58–66.
15. Chiodo 2011, 81, 304–11, pls. 50–52. For a more in-depth discussion of the panel in the Accademia, inv. no. 1890 n. 9805, see also Chiodo, in Boskovits and Parenti 2010, 92–94, no. 16.
16. Technical considerations, the differences among the uniform tooling of these works, and the unusual freehand design in the haloes of the Yale saints—which recurs in the *Arte della Lana Coronation*—do not preclude the possibility that Gerini may have completed a work left unfinished by the Master of the Misericordia. The Yale panel is also distinguished by an unusual star-shaped punch in the decorative band that—as in the Hampton Court and Accademia versions—separates the main scene from the Crucifixion. This motif reportedly appears in only a handful of devotional works from the Cione workshop, as well as in the main panels of Jacopo di Cione's 1383 polyptych in the church of Santi Apostoli in Florence—which includes a predella scene by Gerini—and in Gerini's *Burial of the Virgin* in the Galleria Nazionale, Parma, inv. no. GN431, datable to ca.

1370–75. See Skaug 1994, 2: no. 8.3 (603); and Frinta 1998, 529, no. Lb28.



Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, *The Annunciation*

Artist	Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, Florence, documented 1368–1414
Title	<i>The Annunciation</i>
Date	ca. 1375–80
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	108.6 × 129.6 cm (42 3/4 × 51 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.21

Inscription

on Virgin's open book, MAG / NIFI / CAT / ANIM / A MEA / DOMI [NUM]

Provenance

James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, is composed of three or possibly four planks measuring, from left to right, 33.7, 51.6, 8.8, and 35.2 centimeters in width. The planks have been thinned to a depth of 2.1 centimeters and were cradled and waxed during a cleaning of 1929, making it difficult to determine whether the last two are separate planks or a single plank with a straight split. Traces of a barb appear at intervals along the gable and the upper-right “shoulder” of the panel, and possibly along the right edge. The composition has been trimmed at the left and bottom edges. Exposed wood along the right and upper margins indicates the original placement of engaged moldings, but an irregular loss of paint up to 2 centimeters wide along the bottom edge was probably provoked by a later framing system. The gold ground is well preserved, being only lightly abraded overall. The paint surface is also largely intact, although thinned by

modest abrasion throughout, more aggressively in the flesh tones, in the Virgin's blue robe and Christ's blue tunic, and through the shadows in the Angel's and Christ's rose-colored garments. There are minor flaking losses along the craquelure, especially in the Angel's face and wings and the Virgin's throne, and slightly larger losses of paint along the seams between the panels, along a split rising through the Angel's raised left knee, and around the perimeter of the composition. The painting was treated by Andrew Petryn in 1970–72.

Discussion

The panel, which entered the Yale collection with James Jackson Jarves's attribution to Pietro Cavallini, was first discussed by Osvald Sirén in 1916, when he described the figures as “entirely characteristic” of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini.¹ Sirén suggested a date in the 1370s based on a comparison with the artist's *Virgin and Child* in the center of the reconstructed high altarpiece for Santa Croce—a work once reported to have borne the date 1372, since dismissed by scholars. While Richard Offner acknowledged the relationship between the Yale *Annunciation* and Gerini's work, his opinion seems to have fluctuated over the course of his studies. In his 1921 article on the artist, he inserted the *Annunciation* among the works of “Gerini's immediate following,” executed between 1401 and 1404; but in the 1927 volume *Italian*

Primitives at Yale University, he cited it, in passing, as a work of Gerini.² In Hayden Maginnis's posthumous edition of Offner's files, on the other hand, the painting appears among the works ascribed to the "Later and remoter Gerineschi."³ Offner's hesitation was shared by Charles Seymour, Jr., who qualified the attribution to Gerini, with a date around 1375, by asserting that the painting was stylistically "closer to Orcagna or possibly even to very early Agnolo Gaddi," and left open the question of authorship until the picture, not restored since 1929 and much darkened, could undergo further treatment.⁴ All other authors, however, embraced Sirén's opinion. Raimond van Marle cited the Yale *Annunciation* within the context of Gerini's earliest activity, when he was most influenced by Taddeo Gaddi, and Bernard Berenson and Federico Zeri both listed the work under Gerini's name.⁵ Miklós Boskovits placed the *Annunciation* among the artist's early production, between 1375 and 1380.⁶ Since then, the image has largely been ignored by modern scholarship. In his unpublished checklist of Italian paintings at Yale, Carl Strehlke reiterated the attribution to Gerini and Boskovits's dating.

As pointed out in some of the earliest literature,⁷ the Yale panel is closely related in both composition and format to an *Annunciation* formerly in the Samuel H. Kress collection and now in the Museo de Arte de Ponce, Puerto Rico (fig. 1), the attribution of which has shifted from Agnolo Gaddi, with a date around 1370, to Jacopo di Cione, between 1375 and 1380. Although much altered by modern restorations—which have left only the figure of the Virgin relatively intact—the Ponce *Annunciation* is clearly a product of the Orcagna workshop and most likely provided the precedent for the Yale panel. Both works have the same unusual shape, other than the lobed extensions of the gable in the Ponce panel, and similar dimensions. Compositionally, the present image registers as a more prosaic, simplified version of the Ponce *Annunciation*, which includes a kneeling donor and substitutes the more typical figure of God the Father sending forth the dove of the Holy Spirit with that of the naked Christ Child—an unusual motif, related to Franciscan spirituality, that makes its first appearance in Florentine painting in the early decades of the fourteenth century.⁸ Directly derived from the Ponce *Annunciation*, however, are the proportions and gesture of the Yale Virgin; the angle of the architectural throne, albeit much simplified in structure; and the pose and dress of the kneeling Angel, who wears an identical white pallium with small crosses that swirls around his arm and body in a similar fashion to that in the Ponce painting.



Fig. 1. Jacopo di Cione, *The Annunciation with a Donor*, ca. 1375–80. Tempera and gold on panel, 131.5 × 132.1 cm (51 3/4 × 52 in.). Museo de Arte de Ponce, Puerto Rico, The Luis A. Ferré Foundation, Inc., Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York, inv. no. 62.0268

Notwithstanding the doubts expressed by Offner and Seymour, the closest point of reference for the Yale *Annunciation* is found in those works presently assigned to an early phase in Gerini's career, preceding the dated 1387 triptych in the National Gallery, London⁹—unanimously assigned to his hand—and the 1388 frescoes in the church of Santa Felicita, Florence, his first documented independent commission. The evaluation of the artist's development in this period, following the first appearance of his name in the Florentine painter's guild in 1368, is complicated by his repeated collaborations with other established workshops, including that of Jacopo di Cione in 1383; but the commonalities between the images that can be unhesitatingly assigned to his hand indicate a gradual evolution from a dependence on the models of Taddeo Gaddi, presumed to have been Gerini's teacher, toward a greater receptiveness to Orcagnesque models. Both these influences appear conflated in the Yale *Annunciation*, whose derivations from the Ponce *Annunciation* perhaps indicate a moment when the artist was in actual contact with the Cione workshop.

The massively square proportions of the Yale Angel closely approach the monumental figures of Gerini's *Burial of the Virgin* in the Galleria Nazionale, Parma, attributed by Offner to a follower of the painter but now recognized as among his earliest efforts and dated between 1370 and 1375 (fig. 2).¹⁰ Other elements, such as the strong chiaroscuro and more angular, narrower

features, recall the later *Deposition* in the church of San Carlo dei Lombardi, Florence, datable on circumstantial evidence around 1381–83 (fig. 3).¹¹ Comparisons may also be drawn with some of the images usually gathered around the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the tabernacle of the Arte della Lana, Florence—a work formerly viewed as the product of a distinct personality in Gerini’s workshop, christened by Berenson “Master of the Arte della Lana” but since regarded as marking a distinct moment in Niccolò’s activity around 1380. The structure of the throne, in particular, very nearly corresponds to that of the Arte della Lana *Coronation*, as well as that in the closely related *Trinity with Saints Francis and Mary Magdalen* in the Galleria dell’Accademia, Florence,¹² both of which are dated by modern scholarship between 1380 and 1385. The more static quality of the Yale *Annunciation* vis-à-vis the latter works, however, denotes a slightly earlier execution. Bearing in mind the limitations inherent in establishing a precise framework for the evolution of the painter’s style during the 1370s and early 1380s, these correspondences suggest that the chronological parameters proposed by Boskovits for the execution of the Yale *Annunciation*, between around 1375 and 1380—following in the footsteps of the Ponce *Annunciation*—are entirely plausible.



Fig. 2. Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, *The Burial of the Virgin*, ca. 1370–75. Tempera and gold on panel, 144 × 202 cm (56 3/4 × 79 1/2 in.). Galleria Nazionale, Parma, inv. no. 431



Fig. 3. Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, *The Deposition*, ca. 1381–83. Tempera and gold on panel, 39.5 × 28.6 cm (15 1/2 × 11 1/4 in.). San Carlo dei Lombardi, Florence

The shape and iconography of the Yale *Annunciation* suggest that, like the Ponce altarpiece, it was originally intended as an independent panel, possibly executed for a private chapel or confraternity in Florence or its surroundings. Perhaps significantly, Spinello Aretino adopted the details of the present composition for the *Annunciation* he painted in the pinnacles of his monumental altarpiece for the duomo of Pisa around 1395.¹³ That work, however, omits the words inscribed in Mary’s open book in favor of random scribbles. It is perhaps worthy of note that instead of the more typical prayers associated with the Feast of the Annunciation, the Yale Virgin’s book is open to the first lines of the Magnificat, or Cantic of Mary: *Magnificat anima mea dominum* (My soul doth magnify the Lord; Luke 1:46). The words are reportedly those spoken by Mary to Elizabeth at the Visitation, an episode that Bonaventure linked to the Annunciation in his *Lignum vitae*, advising the meditant to sing “this holy canticle” in celebration of the event.¹⁴ The specific reference to this text may point to a Franciscan context for this commission, akin to that which possibly determined the unusual iconography of the Ponce *Annunciation*. —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 43, no. 15; Sturgis 1868, 33, no. 19; Brown 1871, 14, no. 19; Rankin 1895, 141; Rankin 1905, 3, 8, no. 19; Sirén 1916a, 55–56,

no. 21, fig. 21; Offner 1921c, 239; van Marle 1924b, 314; Offner 1927a, 3; Berenson 1932a, 395; *Exhibition of Italian Paintings Lent by Kress* 1933, 11; *Preliminary Catalogue of Paintings and Sculpture* 1941, 70; Berenson 1963, 1:160; Klesse 1967, 205, no. 78; Seymour 1970, 59, no. 40, fig. 40; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 81, 599; Boskovits 1975b, 410; Offner and Maginnis 1981, 78

NOTES

1. Sirén 1916a, 55–56, no. 21, fig. 21.
2. Offner 1921c, 239; and Offner 1927a, 3.
3. Offner and Maginnis 1981, 78.
4. Seymour 1970, 59, no. 40, fig. 40.
5. van Marle 1924b, 314; Berenson 1932a, 395; Berenson 1963, 1:160; and Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 81, 599.
6. Boskovits 1975b, 410.
7. *Exhibition of Italian Paintings Lent by Kress* 1933, 11; and *Preliminary Catalogue of Paintings and Sculpture* 1941, 70.
8. There is no reason to presume, as has been suggested, that the Christ Child in the Ponce painting, although much retouched, is a modern invention over what was originally a figure of God the Father; see Roberts 2009, 590–91. The iconographic motif has been traced to Saint Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae* (1217–74) and the notion that Christ entered fully formed in the Virgin's womb. The earliest evidence of its appearance in Florentine painting is the medallion of the Annunciation in Pacino's *Tree of Life* in the Galleria dell'Accademia, inv. no. 1890 n. 8459, executed for the Clarissan nuns of Monticelli in the second decade of the fourteenth century—a work that follows Bonaventure's text to the letter. See Robb 1936, 523–26; and, more recently, Brunori 2016, 53–61. For a full discussion of the Accademia panel and its iconography, see Boskovits 1987, 82–121. A miniature Christ Child is also included in Andrea di Nerio's signed *Annunciation* in the Museo Diocesano di Arte Sacra, Arezzo, generally placed in the 1350s and possibly painted for the Compagnia della Santissima Annunziata in Arezzo, and in a late fourteenth-century *Annunciation* attributed to the Master of Sant'Ivo, formerly on the art market; see Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna, inv. no. 3357. The subject, however, is still relatively rare in Italian painting and became increasingly controversial in the fifteenth century, suggesting that the Ponce *Annunciation*, whose provenance is unknown, may have been painted for a prominent Franciscan establishment.
9. Inv. no. NG579.1–5, <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/niccolo-di-pietro-gerini-baptism-altarpiece>.
10. Offner 1921c, 239. On the Parma altarpiece, see, most recently, Lorenzo Sbaraglio, in De Marchi and Gnoni Mavarelli 2017, 166–67, no. 23.
11. The documents pertaining to the execution of the San Carlo dei Lombardi altarpiece, originally intended for the church of Orsanmichele, were first published by Zervas 2003, 33–64.
12. Inv. no. 1890 n. 3944; see Costanza Barloni, in Boskovits and Parenti 2010, 129–31, no. 24 (with previous bibliography).
13. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, inv. no. 550, <https://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/id/object/383>. Until very recently, the attribution of this work had shifted between Niccolò di Pietro Gerini and Spinello Aretino. Boskovits curiously listed the panels under both names, undoubtedly an oversight but also an indication of the confusion that has sometimes surrounded attributions to the two artists; see Boskovits 1975b, 404, 441. For a reconstruction of the altarpiece, which also included a *Virgin and Child* in the Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Mass., inv. no. 1905.1, <https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/230929?position=230929>, and two laterals in Pisa (Opera Primiziale, Palazzo Arcivescovile; and Museo Nazionale di San Matteo), see Weppelmann 2011, 241–47, no. 50 (with previous bibliography).
14. “If you could perceive the splendor and magnificence of this flame sent down from Heaven, the refreshing breeze that came down with it, the consolation it poured forth, if you could understand the loftiness of Mary's elevation, the glorification of humanity, the condescension of divine Majesty; if you could hear the Virgin singing her delight; if you could accompany her into the hill country and witness how the woman who had been barren embraced her and greeted her with words by which the tiny servant recognized his Lord, the herald announced the Judge, the voice proclaimed the Word—oh, surely then, together with the Blessed Virgin you would most sweetly sing this holy canticle: ‘*My soul magnifies the Lord . . .*’; surely, then, one with the infant prophet, you would joyfully and jubilantly adore the marvel of the virgin conception”; Bonaventure, *Lignum vitae* I.3, as cited by Karnes 2011, 132. As noted by Karnes, “Bonaventure here summarizes the major events of Luke 1:26–55, which describes the annunciation, Mary's visit to Elizabeth, and Mary's prayer, the Magnificat.”



Agnolo Gaddi or Lorenzo Monaco, *Saints Julian, James, and Michael*

Artist	Agnolo Gaddi, Florence, documented 1369–96, or Lorenzo Monaco, Florence, active by 1388–ca. 1424/25
Title	<i>Saints Julian, James, and Michael</i>
Date	ca. 1388
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	86.8 × 74.5 cm (34 1/8 × 29 3/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.20

Provenance

James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical grain, retains its original thickness of 2.7 centimeters although it has been beveled around all its edges on the back. It is composed of four planks measuring, from left to right, 25.5, 21, 12.5, and 15 centimeters in width. Discoloration of the wood indicates the placement of a batten, approximately 8 centimeters wide, affixed across the panel 30 centimeters from the present bottom edge. Four nails securing this batten remain: none are driven into the third plank, and one in the second plank was driven in so close to its right edge that it provoked a long split in the wood. The second plank contains two large knots in the wood. The third plank is reused from an earlier structure: two horizontal grooves 38 and 57 centimeters from the bottom edge, possibly for the attachment of a handle (two nails and fragments of wood remain in the lower groove), are cropped at its left edge. A large hand-cut nail is driven through the fourth board and into the third along the depth of the panel near the top, presumably to resecure the join between them.

When the panel arrived at Yale, its upper profile had been extended, and it had been provided with a new gold ground, including elaborately punched and lettered haloes for the saints (fig. 1). The extensions and nineteenth-century gilding were removed by Andrew Petryn in 1958, exposing the wood support behind the saints and the gesso underlayer in several large local losses in the lower draperies at the left and center (fig. 2). The latter were inpainted by Andrea Rothe in a treatment of 1998, when it was also decided to regild the background, including the addition of an artificial, engraved craquelure, but to imitate the effect of the haloes only by a scribed perimeter line. In contrast to this distracting and unsightly intervention, the paint surface is beautifully preserved outside the discreet areas of total loss near the bottom, exhibiting only modest abrasion throughout.



Fig. 1. *Saints Julian, James, and Michael*, ca. 1900



Fig. 2. *Saints Julian, James, and Michael*, after 1958

Discussion

Following initial generic attributions to Taddeo Gaddi¹ or, more vaguely and dismissively, to an unknown Giottesque painter,² the Yale *Saints Julian, James, and Michael* has been universally recognized as a work from the circle of Agnolo Gaddi. It was first labeled with the name Gherardo Starnina,³ when that artist was believed to have been a follower of Gaddi responsible for, among other things, the Castellani Chapel frescoes in Santa Croce and an altarpiece triptych in Berlin, the Gaddesque work most closely related in style to the Yale panel. Richard Offner more prudently and evasively called it simply a product of Agnolo Gaddi's workshop,⁴ while Bernard Berenson, Hans Gronau, Charles Seymour, Jr., Federico Zeri, and Miklós Boskovits accepted an attribution to Agnolo Gaddi without qualification.⁵ Bruce Cole and Andrew Ladis returned to Offner's model of identifying a small number of autograph creations by Agnolo Gaddi within a large orbit of workshop imitations; both Cole and Ladis included the Yale panel among the latter.⁶

Osvald Sirén, the first scholar to study the Yale panel in any detail, over a century ago, recognized it as the left wing—or a fragment of the left wing—of an altarpiece triptych,⁷ but only Gronau and Boskovits have advanced suggestions for identifying any other parts of its original complex. Gronau proposed a reconstruction based on a *Virgin and Child Enthroned* by Agnolo Gaddi (fig. 3) that had been discovered near Pisa, framed together with a predella panel believed also to be by Gaddi representing two miracles of Saint Michael the Archangel.⁸ Both panels passed into the Achillito Chiesa collection in Milan, where they were separated: the *Virgin and Child* is now in the Contini Bonacossi Collection at the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, and the predella is now in the collection of the Yale University Art Gallery.⁹ Gronau assumed these two

panels came from a single source—even though the predella would originally have stood beneath a lateral panel in its altarpiece, not the central panel—and he proposed joining *Saints Julian, James, and Michael* to the complex as the figure of Saint Michael within it would thus have stood in the position of honor, immediately to the right of the enthroned Virgin and above the predella panel now at Yale. He added to his reconstruction another predella panel showing two further scenes from the legend of Saint Michael, coincidentally also in the Yale collection and now recognized to be the work of Lippo d'Andrea (see Lippo d'Andrea, *Two Scenes from the Legend of Saint Michael*, and a third predella panel in the Vatican Pinacoteca,¹⁰ but he found no other fragments of the main tier of the altarpiece.



Fig. 3. Agnolo Gaddi, *Virgin and Child Enthroned* (Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. no. Contini-Bonacossi 29), as it looked in the Masi collection before 1921, when it was framed together with Fra Angelico, *Two Scenes from the Legend of Saint Michael* (Yale University Art Gallery, inv. no. 1943.213)

Gronau's reconstruction was based exclusively on iconography—representations of scenes from the legend of Saint Michael are not common in early Florentine painting—and did not take into account the fact that the three predella panels had been painted by three different artists at widely separated dates. Additionally, both predella panels now at Yale feature a division of the picture field into two scenes separated by a gilded border, implying that each of them came from a pentaptych

rather than a triptych, whereas the composition of *Saints Julian, James, and Michael* is more appropriate to a large altarpiece triptych. Boskovits rightly rejected Gronau's proposal, although initially he accepted the relationship between the Chiesa *Virgin and Child* now at the Uffizi and the first of the two Yale predella panels.¹¹ He recently advanced an alternative proposal for *Saints Julian, James, and Michael*, linking it with a panel in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., representing the Coronation of the Virgin (fig. 4).¹² This association was defended in part on grounds of iconography, as images of the Coronation are frequently accompanied not by single saints in individual compartments but by the court of Heaven as symbolized by the presence of three (or more) saints within a single picture field, as in the Yale panel. The Washington and Yale panels, however, are not as closely linked in style as Boskovits argued—the Washington panel being a slightly later work—and batten nails in the two works do not align. The unusually low placement of the batten on the Yale panel, at the level of the figures' hands, may imply that it was the center of three rather than the uppermost of two battens and that the panel once continued upward, possibly including clerestory figures that do not correspond to any other surviving altarpiece panels from the Gaddi circle. Evidence on the reverse of the Yale panel, furthermore, suggests either that it may possibly have been repurposed at a relatively early date for use as a door or that it was constructed from reused lumber, some of which had previously been part of a door. If the former were true, it may be that the complex of which the Yale panel formed part may have been dismantled much earlier than is usual with surviving trecento altarpiece fragments and, consequently, that no other members of the original structure survive.



Fig. 4. Agnolo Gaddi, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, ca. 1390. Tempera and gold on panel, 163.2 × 79.2 cm (64 1/4 × 31 1/8 in.). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection, inv. no. 1939.1.203

Despite the preference of modern scholars to favor a more inclusive definition of the range of Agnolo Gaddi's style and level of achievement—and their attendant rejection of overscrupulous efforts to mine his oeuvre in search of a cadre of minor masters working in his shadow—it is essential to consider the vast output, especially of fresco commissions, for which the artist was responsible over a relatively short span of time, from the mid-1370s to the mid-1390s. The efficiency and sustained

level of this production, which far outstripped that of any other painter in late trecento Florence, would not have been possible without a stable, well-organized, and accomplished team of studio assistants, and it is not unreasonable to assume that some of these assistants might have gone on to pursue independent careers after Agnolo Gaddi's death. The equivocal results of so many past attempts to assemble groups of paintings that might reveal distinct personalities is due not to a fallacy of concept but to a reliance on superficial criteria of discrimination. One group at least has been successfully isolated and broadly accepted as the work of a distinct artist, whom Gronau and Zeri have identified as the young Lorenzo Monaco.¹³ This group centers around the three predella panels and four pilaster bases of a dismembered altarpiece from the Nobili Chapel in Santa Maria degli Angeli, Florence, a documented work of 1387–88 presumed to have been commissioned from Agnolo Gaddi, with Lorenzo Monaco working as an assistant (see Lorenzo Monaco, *Portrait of Bernardo di Cino Bartolini Benvenuti de' Nobili and Four of His Sons: Bartolomeo, Carlo, Benedetto, Alamanno*). While there is no reason to question the presence of Lorenzo Monaco in these seven panels, it is important to note that there is no hard evidence that Agnolo Gaddi was directly responsible for the upper registers of the altarpiece: none of the documentation relating to the commission actually names the artist or artists responsible for its creation. The eight pilaster saints,¹⁴ three pinnacles,¹⁵ and the main tier of this altarpiece¹⁶ may also be the work of Lorenzo Monaco. They are fundamentally different from all other panel paintings attributed to Agnolo Gaddi in their higher key palette that relies on a greater range of contrasts in bright, unmodulated colors and in their tendency to reinforce the outer contours of draperies by modeling them in deep, saturated tones rather than bordering them with a simple outline. Their drawing is more cursive and tends to exaggerate the plasticity of details, such as hands or of drapery folds enlivened with deep pockets of light and shadow, while simultaneously suppressing all but the most basic spatial devices. Agnolo generally inverts this process, preferring simplified planar forms of flat, clear color with light outlines, arranged in compositions that invoke a stronger notional sense of space.

Of all the surviving paintings presumed to have emerged from Agnolo Gaddi's studio, the closest comparable works to the Yale *Saints Julian, James, and Michael* are the main panels of the Nobili altarpiece now in Berlin (see Lorenzo Monaco, *Portrait of Bernardo di Cino Bartolini Benvenuti de' Nobili and Four of His Sons*, fig. 7). At the very least, this resemblance suggests a date for the Yale panel close

to 1388. It also implies that it could be the work of Lorenzo Monaco, not Agnolo Gaddi. Consensus on this point may not be possible, but it is worth noting that the chief obstacle to integrating this painting (as well as the panels in Berlin) into the early career of Lorenzo Monaco is their incompatibility in style with the so-called Carmine Altarpiece, widely believed to be a documented work by Don Lorenzo from the late 1390s. First published by Zeri, the exceptional quality of each of the fragments of this altarpiece is regularly adduced to support their attribution to Lorenzo Monaco.¹⁷ Only Luciano Bellosi has seriously doubted this attribution, and although generally ignored, his objections deserve to be considered more seriously.¹⁸ The drawing in these panels is finer and less forceful than Lorenzo Monaco's usual standard, while the palette is softer—more nuanced and less reliant on bright contrasts—and the range of colors more subdued. Spatial effects are both more ambitious and more lucid, and architectural detail, such as the finials of the Virgin's throne, are articulated with a precision and structural clarity encountered nowhere else in Lorenzo Monaco's oeuvre. Whether the presumed dating of the Carmine Altarpiece to 1398–99 is accurate or only approximate, it is irrelevant to a consideration of the chronology of Lorenzo Monaco's development. A linear progression from the Yale and Berlin *Saints*, through the large figures of the San Gaggio altarpiece (in Florence and London¹⁹) and the scenes from its predella (in Berlin and Santa Barbara, California²⁰), to the *Agony in the Garden* in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence,²¹ is coherent and persuasive and argues on the whole for an attribution to Lorenzo Monaco for the Yale *Saints Julian, James, and Michael*. —LK

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Jarves 1860, 44, no. 25; Sturgis 1868, 34, no. 21; Brown 1871, 14, no. 21; Rankin 1895, 140, no. 21; Rankin 1905, 8, no. 21; Sirén 1916a, 51–53, no. 20, fig. 20; van Marle 1924b, 573; Offner 1927a, 3, 20–21; Wulff-Berlin 1929, 174n2, 176, 188–89; Berenson 1932a, 214; Venturi 1931; Salvini 1936, 186; Gronau 1950a, 44–47, pl. 26/fig. 6, pl. 27/fig. 7; Berenson 1963, 1:68; Seymour 1970, 37–39, no. 22, fig. 22; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 76, 599; Boskovits 1975b, 298, 301; Cole 1977, 73, 76; Ladis 1992, 329, 333n20, fig. 12; Andrea Rothe, in Garland 2003, 177–79, 181; Leonard 2003b, 16–17, fig. 4; Boskovits 2016, 133, fig. 2

NOTES

1. Sturgis 1868, 34, no. 21; Brown 1871, 14, no. 21; and Rankin 1905, 8, no. 21.
2. Rankin 1895, 140, no. 21.

3. Sirén 1916a, 51–53, no. 20, fig. 20; and van Marle 1924b, 573.
4. Offner 1927a, 3, 20–21.
5. Berenson 1932a, 214; Gronau 1950a, 44–47, pl. 26/fig. 6, pl. 27/fig. 7; Seymour 1970, 37–39, no. 22, fig. 22; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 76, 599; Boskovits 1975b, 298, 301; and Boskovits 2016, 133, fig. 2.
6. Cole 1977, 73, 76; and Ladis 1992, 329, 333n20, fig. 12.
7. Sirén 1916a, 51–53, no. 20, fig. 20.
8. Gronau 1950a, 44–47, pl. 26/fig. 6, pl. 27/fig. 7.
9. Inv. no. 1943.213; <https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/45075>.
10. Inv. no. 528.
11. Boskovits 1975b, 298, 301. The Chiesa *Virgin and Child* has subsequently been united in the Contini Bonacossi Collection at the Uffizi with four lateral panels by Agnolo Gaddi representing Saints Benedict (sometimes said to be John Gualbert), Peter, John the Baptist, and Minias; see inv. no. Contini Bonacossi no. 29, <https://www.uffizi.it/en/artworks/triptych-gaddi-contini>. See Cole 1977, 76–77; and Giovanna Ragionieri, in Caneva et al. 2018, 70. This reconstruction, which is at least plausible, has been rejected by Miklós Boskovits and others (such as Gaudenz Freuler), who instead suggest including a *Virgin and Child Enthroned* formerly in the Heinz Kisters collection, Kreuzlingen, Switzerland (sale, Sotheby's, New York, February 1, 2018, lot 3), with the four Contini Bonacossi lateral panels. See Boskovits 1975b, 298, 300; and Freuler 1991, 203–5. These, however, seem incompatible in date, the ex-Kisters *Virgin* being an early work by Agnolo Gaddi, possibly from the 1370s, while the Contini Bonacossi *Saints* are mature works closer in date to 1390. The unusual shape and decoration of the gold ground in the ex-Kisters *Virgin*, furthermore, is entirely modern. Its similarity to the shapes of the Contini Bonacossi *Saints* is either fortuitous or imitative, as their frames, too, are modern. Giacomo Calogero has proposed identifying a panel in the Cathedral Museum at Mdina in Malta, representing Saints Julian and Benedict, as part of an alternative reconstruction for the Chiesa/Contini Bonacossi *Virgin*; see Calogero 2013, 34–39. Based on photographic evidence alone, this reconstruction, while not impossible, is not entirely persuasive.
12. Boskovits 2016, 133.
13. Gronau 1950b, 183–88, 217–22; Zeri 1964, 554–58; and Zeri 1965, 3–11. A more recent claim to recognize the work of Antonio Veneziano and Gherardo Starnina in passages of the frescoes in the Cappella Maggiore in Santa Croce, Florence, is extremely promising; see Monciatti 2014, 85–111, esp. 101–5.
14. Indianapolis Museum of Art, inv. no. 2004.160A–D, <https://collections.discovernewfields.org/artwork/75564?fromSearch=true>; and Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, inv. no. 1138.

15. Fondazione Francesco Federico Cerruti, Castello di Rivoli, Turin, inv. no. CC.17.P.GAD.1387.A26.
16. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, inv. no. 1039.
17. Zeri 1965, 3–11.
18. Bellosi 1965, 37–38. Marvin Eisenberg initially rejected the panels of this altarpiece from his list of accepted works by Lorenzo Monaco but retracted that position in an unpaginated addendum to his book just prior to publication; see Eisenberg 1989, 50–51, 187–88, and n.p. Angelo Tartuferi reproduced and catalogued the ten known panels from the altarpiece (plus four pilaster saints hypothetically added to it) in Tartuferi and Parenti 2006, 120–27. It should be noted that the gabled shape of the current frames on the main panels (today in Florence and Toledo, Ohio) of the structure is fanciful. It is possible that the pinnacle originally positioned above the center panel is to be identified with a *Crucifixion* formerly in the Samuel H. Kress Collection and now in the Mead Art Museum at Amherst College, Mass., inv. no. AC 1961.79, <https://museums.fivecolleges.edu/detail.php?museum=all&t=objects&type=all&f=&s=1961.79&record=0>. Conventionally attributed to Mariotto di Nardo, this painting, of exceptional quality, is fully consonant in style with the Toledo *Virgin* and the five predella panels from this structure.
19. Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, inv. nos. 1890 nn. 8604, 8605; and Courtauld Institute, London, inv. no. P.1966.GP.272, <https://gallerycollections.courtauld.ac.uk/object-p-1966-gp-272>.
20. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, inv. nos. 1063, 1108; and Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Calif., inv. no. 1967.15, <https://collections.sbma.net/objects/2068/martyrdom-of-pope-caius?ctx=8b14e62b82dfdbd225b76dbadd351338f5678b0e&idx=0>.
21. Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 438.



Lorenzo Monaco, *Portrait of Bernardo di Cino Bartolini Benvenuti de' Nobili and Four of His Sons: Bartolomeo, Carlo, Benedetto, and Alamanno*

Artist	Lorenzo Monaco, Florence, active by 1388–ca. 1424/25
Title	<i>Portrait of Bernardo di Cino Bartolini Benvenuti de' Nobili and Four of His Sons: Bartolomeo, Carlo, Benedetto, and Alamanno</i>
Date	1387–88
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 38.4 × 28.8 cm (15 1/8 × 11 3/8 in.); picture surface: 30.7 × 22.7 cm (12 1/8 × 9 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Richard L. Feigen, B.A. 1952
Inv. No.	2020.75.1

Provenance

Chapel of Saints James and John the Baptist, Santa Maria degli Angeli, Florence, until 1799/1808; private collection, France; sale, Jean-Mar Delvaux, Paris, June 30, 2010; Richard L. Feigen (1930–2021), New York

Condition

The panel, of a horizontal wood grain, is 1.2 centimeters thick and has not been thinned in modern times. The reverse displays numerous open worm channels, but these may result from the wood having been in direct contact with another panel in its original placement at the base of an altarpiece pilaster. Nails securing the frame moldings to the panel support all end just shy of the present depth of the panel, and none has been cut. An inscription in black ink across the top of the reverse—“di Fra Filippo Lippi / pittore Fiorentino / 1450”—is written in the style of, and in a script resembling, the inscriptions added by Alfonso Tacoli Cannaci to paintings in his collection at the end of the eighteenth century.¹ Three dowel holes set 2 centimeters from the right edge (viewed

from the reverse) and 2, 18.5, and 35.5 centimeters from the bottom edge once secured the panel to the return face of the pilaster base—a panel showing the Baptism of Christ, now in the National Gallery, London (see fig. 4). The engaged framing elements are 1.2 centimeters thick and original, although their surfaces, except at the upper left, have been extensively repaired and locally regilt. Capping strips at the top (1.5 centimeters wide) and bottom (1.8 centimeters wide) of the frame appear also to be original. Similar capping strips, 1 centimeter wide, at the left and right edges may instead be repairs but are made of old wood. Two knots visible on the reverse of the panel, one 4 centimeters from the left edge and 20 centimeters from the bottom and the other 11 centimeters from the left edge and 14 centimeters from the bottom, have provoked no losses of paint or gilding on the picture surface, where discreet local losses of gilding along the craquelure have been repaired, most noticeably around the face of the kneeling figure in blue robes. Retouching in the right sleeve of the rose-colored cloak of the figure at the right and in the faces of the three young men behind him is more extensive than the losses they compensate.

Discussion

This recently discovered panel completes the reconstruction of one of the most elaborate and artistically remarkable altarpieces commissioned for Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence in the fourteenth century, an altarpiece described hyperbolically by Giuseppe Richa in 1759 as the most beautiful he had ever seen.² It portrays Bernardo di Cino Bartolini Benvenuti de' Nobili—a wealthy financier and favorite of King Charles V (from whom the entitlement to add “de' Nobili” to his surname was procured) and King Charles VI of France—kneeling in adoration with four of his sons. The identification of the sons is not straightforward, as Bernardo de' Nobili had five, not four, male offspring: Bartolomeo, Alamanno, Giovanni, Carlo, and Benedetto, the latter of whom may have been only two or three years old at the time this portrait was made.³ The altarpiece beneath which it stood was painted for the chapel of Saints James and John the Baptist Beheaded (San Giovanni Decollato) in the west cloister of the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli, founded on July 25, 1387, by Bernardo di Cino Bartolini Benvenuti de' Nobili. The first mass was said in the chapel on March 29, 1388, by which date it may be presumed the altarpiece had been finished and installed. Santa Maria degli Angeli and the Camaldolese order were suppressed by Napoleonic decree in 1808, but many of the altarpieces in the church and cloister may already have been dismantled and at least partially dispersed before that. William Young Ottley, who owned numerous fragments from the altarpieces and choir books at Santa Maria degli Angeli, had acquired them before returning to England from Italy in 1799.

The recognition and reconstruction of the dispersed fragments of the Nobili altarpiece began in 1950, when Hans Gronau attributed three predella panels in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, to Lorenzo Monaco as his earliest works, suggesting, on iconographic grounds, that they came from the chapel of Saints James and John the Baptist at Santa Maria degli Angeli.⁴ These portray the Beheading of the Baptist, the Banquet of Herod, and Salome presenting the head of the Baptist to Herodias (fig. 1); the Crucifixion (fig. 2); and Saint James liberating the magician Hermogenes and the Beheading of Saint James (fig. 3). In 1964 Federico Zeri extended the predella with three additional panels: a Baptism of Christ in the National Gallery, London (fig. 4) that he believed stood between the central *Crucifixion* in the Louvre and the scenes of the Beheading of the Baptist, which, for compositional reasons, he situated on the right side of the predella; a donor portrait showing Piera degli Albizzi

(died February 17, 1387), the wife of Bernardo de' Nobili, and four of her daughters (fig. 5), then on the art market in Milan and now in the Alana Collection, Newark, Delaware, that he placed at the right end of the predella; and an unusual scene of Hermogenes, following his conversion by Saint James, casting his books of magic into a river (fig. 6), also now in the Alana Collection, that he imagined having stood between the *Crucifixion* and the scenes of the Beheading of Saint James. Finally, he hypothesized the existence of a donor portrait representing Bernardo de' Nobili and his sons—the present panel, which was not discovered until forty-five years later—that would have closed off the predella on the left.⁵ Zeri also suggested that as Lorenzo Monaco may have been too young to have received so prominent a commission at this date and, as his style in these panels was so heavily influenced by that of Agnolo Gaddi, it might be more fruitful to search for the rest of the altarpiece among Agnolo's acknowledged works.



Fig. 1. Lorenzo Monaco, *The Banquet of Herod*, 1387–88. Tempera and gold on panel, 33.8 × 66.7 cm (13 3/8 × 26 1/4 in.). Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. 290 A MR 224



Fig. 2. Lorenzo Monaco, *The Crucifixion*, 1387–88. Tempera and gold on panel, 33.8 × 66.7 cm (13 3/8 × 26 1/4 in.). Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. 290 B MR 224



Fig. 3. Lorenzo Monaco, *Saint James Liberating Hermogenes; The Beheading of Saint James*, 1387–88. Tempera and gold on panel, 33.8 × 66.7 cm (13 3/8 × 26 1/4 in.). Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. 290 C MR 224



Fig. 4. Lorenzo Monaco, *The Baptism of Christ*, 1387–88. Tempera and gold on panel, 27.5 × 21.9 cm (10 7/8 × 8 5/8 in.). National Gallery, London, Presented by Viscount Rothermere, 1926, inv. no. NG4208



Fig. 5. Lorenzo Monaco, *Portrait of Piera degli Albizzi and Her Daughters*, 1387–88. Tempera and gold on panel, 27.5 × 21.9 cm (10 7/8 × 8 5/8 in.). Alana Collection, Newark, Delaware, inv. no. 2013.12



Fig. 6. Lorenzo Monaco, *Hermogenes Throwing His Books of Magic in a River*, 1387–88. Tempera and gold on panel, 38.1 × 30.1 cm (15 × 11 7/8 in.). Alana Collection, Newark, Delaware, inv. no. 2009.03

Miklós Boskovits and Bruce Cole first associated the Louvre predella and the panels added to it by Zeri with an altarpiece triptych in Berlin representing the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints John the Evangelist, John the Baptist, James, and Bartholomew (fig. 7), attributed by them to Agnolo Gaddi.⁶ This identification entailed reversing the order of the Louvre predella panels, placing the *Banquet of Herod* on the left and the scenes from the legend of Saint James on the right and displacing the *Baptism of Christ* and the *Books of Magic* to pilaster bases framing the predella at either end. Erling Skaug added to these reassembled panels three pinnacles showing the Blessing Redeemer and the Annunciation (fig. 8), now in the collection of the Fondazione Francesco Federico Cerruti, Turin, which he also attributed to Agnolo Gaddi. His reconstruction placed the portrait of Piera degli Albizzi and the presumed portrait of Bernardo de' Nobili on the outer faces of the pilaster bases, but he suggested no candidates for the painted pilasters themselves.⁷ Finally, the present panel and eight small full-length figures of saints from the framing pilasters, now divided between the Clowes Collection at the Indianapolis



Fig. 7. Lorenzo Monaco, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints John the Evangelist, John the Baptist, James, and Bartholomew*, 1387–88. Tempera and gold on panel, 118 × 207 cm (46 1/2 × 81 1/2 in.). Bode Museum, Berlin, inv. no. 1039 (on loan to the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin)

Museum of Art (fig. 9) and the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (fig. 10), were added by the present author in a lecture at the Fondazione Roberto Longhi in 2012 and published by Dillian Gordon in 2020.⁸ Kanter recognized that the horizontal wood grain of both donor portraits argued for their placement on the front face of the predella, continuous with the panels in the Louvre, moving the *Baptism* and the *Books of Magic* to the returns on the outer face beneath the pilasters. Three dowel holes along the right edge of the reverse of the portrait of Bernardo de' Nobili demonstrate that the London *Baptism of Christ* was attached to it at right angles at this point.



Fig. 8. Lorenzo Monaco, *The Blessing Redeemer; The Annunciation*, 1387–88. Tempera and gold on panel, each 67.3 × 30.5 cm (26 1/2 × 12 in.). Fondazione Francesco Federico Cerruti, Turin, inv. no. CC.17.P.GAD.1387.A26



Fig. 9. Lorenzo Monaco, *Saints Mary Magdalen, Benedict, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Catherine of Alexandria*, 1387–88. Tempera and gold on panel, each 56 × 19 cm (22 × 7 1/2 in.). Indianapolis Museum of Art, Clowes Collection, inv. no. 2004.160A–D



Fig. 10. Lorenzo Monaco, *A Bishop Saint, Saint Peter, Saint Paul, and a Deacon Saint*, 1387–88. Tempera and gold on panel, each 55.8 × 18.7 cm (22 × 7 3/8 in.). Gemaldegalerie, Berlin, inv. no. 1138

The completed reconstruction of the Nobili altarpiece raises the question of the attribution of its various parts. It should be stated that no documentation survives naming the artist who received this commission; it is merely a presumption that this might have been Agnolo Gaddi, with whom Lorenzo Monaco would have been working as an assistant. Gronau's recognition of the central predella panels as early works by Lorenzo Monaco has rarely been questioned; it was rejected outright only by Mirella Levi D'Ancona and Marvin Eisenberg.⁹ While Zeri's observation of the role played by Agnolo Gaddi in Lorenzo Monaco's formation led initially to the recognition of the remainder of the altarpiece, it is salutary to bear in mind his words of caution: "It is not by any means clear at what point [Agnolo Gaddi's] own artistic personality ends, and where the band of assistants, followers, and imitators begins."¹⁰ The pilaster saints in Indianapolis and Berlin, for example, are indistinguishable in style from the seven panels of the predella and are certainly to be recognized as autograph works by Lorenzo Monaco. The same is true, on a considerably larger scale, for the three pinnacle panels in the Fondazione Francesco Federico Cerruti, which bear only a tangential relationship to the style of Agnolo Gaddi. Easily recognizable is Lorenzo Monaco's characteristic, incisive drawing of hands and facial features as well as his more pronounced interest in high-key color juxtapositions to emphasize highlights. As noted elsewhere in this catalogue (see Agnolo Gaddi or Lorenzo Monaco, *Saints Julian, James, and Michael*), Lorenzo Monaco reinforces the outer contours of draperies in pure saturated tones rather than the simple light outlines preferred by Agnolo Gaddi, and he excavates deeper folds in the fabric with more starkly contrasting shadows, again mostly in saturated tones of local color. These traits

are also notable in the main panels of the triptych in Berlin. There is no reason to believe that the entire commission was not awarded to, designed, and executed by Lorenzo Monaco, graduated from (so to speak) the studio of Agnolo Gaddi rather than working within it as a journeyman assistant.¹¹

In her discussion of the reconstruction and historical context of the Nobili altarpiece, Dillian Gordon noted that while the overall design and content of the structure are typically Florentine, there is no precedent in Italy for the group donor portraits at either end of the predella (fig. 11).¹² These she associates instead with a French royal prototype, specifically an altar embroidery owned by the Duc de Berry, part of which portrayed King Charles V kneeling in prayer with his sons opposite Queen Jeanne kneeling with her daughters. This embroidery may be simply the earliest known example of a once much larger category of image, widely diffused later in art north of the Alps. It is evident that Bernardo de' Nobili's regular contact with the French court and with the Duc de Berry not only gave him access to such imagery but also probably inculcated a taste for reproducing it in his own family monument. Although the family portrait has no visual precedent in Tuscany, it is a literal portrayal of the words that were recorded by Stefano Rosselli in the seventeenth century as inscribed across the base of the altarpiece: "BERNARDUS CINI DI NOBILUS FECIT FIERI HANC CAPELLAM [PRO REMEDIO ANIMAE SUAE ET SUORUM] DESCENDENTIUM" (Bernardo di Cino de' Nobili had this chapel made for the salvation of his soul and those of his descendants).¹³ —LK

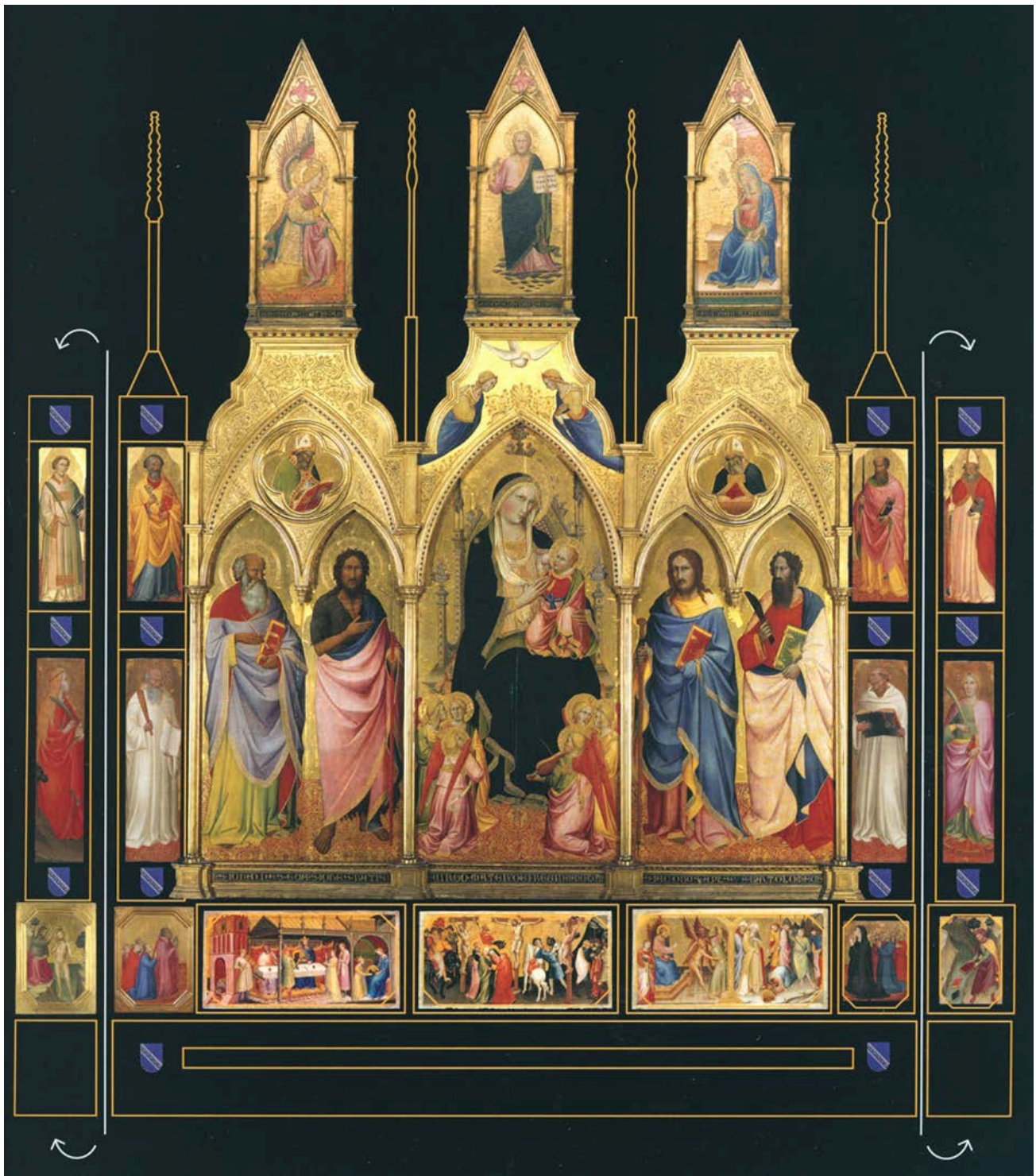


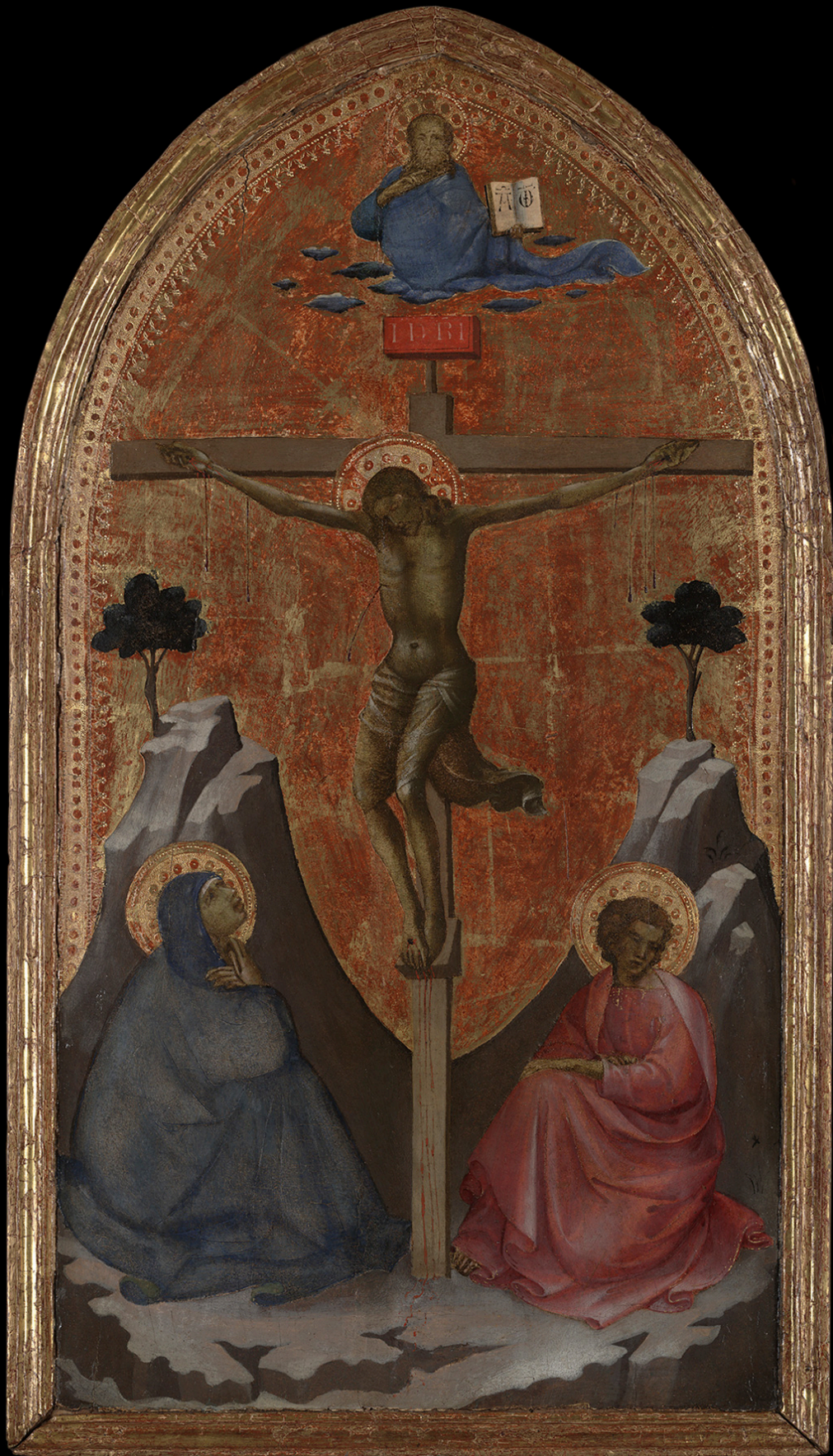
Fig. 11. Reconstruction of the *Nobile Altarpiece*. From: Dillian Gordon, "The Nobile Altarpiece from S. Maria degli Angeli, Florence," *Burlington Magazine* 162, no. 1402 (January 2020): 15

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Manni 1743, 16; Richa 1759, 166; Gordon 2020, 15, 18–19; Gordon 2022, 207, 223n90

NOTES

1. See also Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani, *Saint Lucy Enthroned with Six Angels* and Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, *Virgin and Child in Glory with Saint John the Baptist, Saint Peter, and Two Angels*. No painting matching the description of the present work appears in the Tacoli Canacci inventories published by Buonocore 2005, 134–305.
2. Richa 1759, 166.
3. For further discussion of the identities of the figures, see Gordon 2020, 19.
4. Gronau 1950b, 217–22.
5. Zeri 1964, 554–58.
6. Boskovits 1975b, 133, 348; and Cole 1977, 75, 84–87.
7. Skaug 2004b, 245–57.
8. Miklós Boskovits independently suggested that the Indianapolis panels may have stood alongside the Nobili altarpiece; see Boskovits 2016, 128–29n43.
9. D’Ancona 1958, 187n58; and Eisenberg 1989, 3–4, 200–201.
10. Zeri 1964, 558.
11. The motif punch used to decorate the margins of the gold ground (Skaug 1994, 2: no. 424) in the present panel and the London *Baptism of Christ* (the other two pilaster bases have been trimmed closer and have lost this decorative band) and the punch used to decorate the frame moldings (Skaug 1994, 2: no. 355) of the present panel (the gilding of the frame in the London *Baptism* is modern) are not recorded in any other works by either Agnolo Gaddi or Lorenzo Monaco. They do appear in an altarpiece by Mariotto di Nardo in Santa Margherita a Tosina at Boselli, near Pontassieve (see Skaug 1994, 1:280), but it is unclear whether that fact is consequential in identifying the source of the commission for the Nobili altarpiece or is merely an accident of the paucity of recorded comparable material from the period.
12. Gordon 2020, 25.
13. Stefano Rosselli, *Sepoltuario Fiorentino, ovvero Descrizione delle Chiese, Cappelle, e Sepolture, Loro Armi, ed Inscrizioni della Città di Firenze e suoi Contorni, fatta da Stefano Rosselli nell’Anno 1657*, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, MS 625, fols. 1324–25, no. 16; Gordon 2003, 197n3; and Gordon 2013, 303n63.



Lorenzo Monaco, *The Crucifixion*

Artist	Lorenzo Monaco, Florence, cactive by 1388–ca. 1424/25
Title	<i>The Crucifixion</i>
Date	ca. 1418–20
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 65.0 × 37.0 cm (25 5/8 × 14 5/8 in.); picture surface: 60.2 × 32.9 cm (23 5/8 × 13 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.24

Provenance

James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, has been thinned to a depth of 7 millimeters. It was cradled by Hammond Smith in 1915, ostensibly to stabilize the crack running the full height of the painting down its center. The cradle provoked a noticeable washboard effect on the surface and forced at least nine more partial splits to open. All the horizontal members and one vertical member of the cradle were removed during a radical cleaning by Andrew Petryn in 1966–68, while the remaining vertical members of the cradle were removed by Giovanni Marrussich at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, in 1998–99. At that time, the splits were remediated by carving a V-shaped channel through each from the reverse, to a level just beneath the original canvas lining of the panel. Short, triangular wedges carved of aged poplar were glued into these channels to limit but not block lateral movement of the panel. Broken and detached elements of the original frame were reattached, regessoed, and regilt.

The gold ground is heavily abraded throughout, exposing its red bolus underlayer except around the profiles of the painted areas and in the stippled decoration of the haloes and borders, where the gold is better preserved in the recesses. The painted landscape elements and the wood of the Cross are well preserved, but the figures are heavily abraded: the face and right hand of God the Father are inventions of the 1998–99 Getty restoration by Mark Leonard. The Virgin's face is better preserved than the others but still rubbed to the level of its terra verde preparation. The Virgin's blue draperies and Saint John's red draperies have been heavily reinforced with thin glazes of pigment. Total losses of paint and gilding along the wide split through Christ's head and right leg have been fully reintegrated.

Discussion

“Had this little picture not suffered by a crack running through the whole panel, from the top to the bottom, it would be one of the most refined examples of Lorenzo Monaco's art.”¹ So wrote Osvald Sirén when cataloguing the *Crucifixion* in 1916, an accurate assessment of the elevated quality of a great but damaged work of art from the scholar who had first systematically isolated and synthesized the personality of the artist. Prior to the publication in 1905 of Sirén's monograph on Lorenzo

Monaco, where the Jarves *Crucifixion* first appeared with its correct attribution, it had been catalogued by James Jackson Jarves and others as the work of Giotto;² by William Rankin with the unhelpful clarification “later than Giotto”;³ and by F. Mason Perkins with a strangely aberrant Siense classification as “school of Bartolo di Fredi.”⁴ Since then, there have been no dissenting voices other than Georg Pudelko’s and Marvin Eisenberg’s overscrupulous but unfounded qualification of workshop or assistant of Lorenzo Monaco and Charles Seymour’s inexplicable assignment to an independent follower of Lorenzo Monaco.⁵

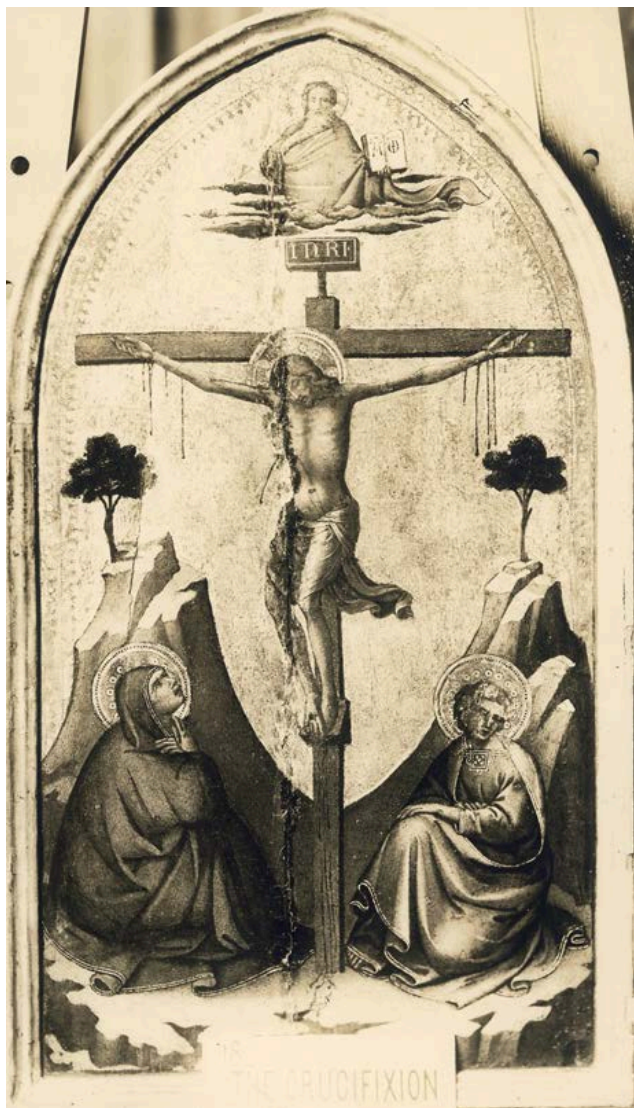


Fig. 1. *The Crucifixion*, ca. 1901

All these scholars have known the painting in different states of preservation but not so widely varying that they should have materially influenced judgments of attribution. A ca. 1901 photograph (fig. 1) shows the painting with the split in the panel repainted in poorly

matched colors, with losses and retouching in the head of Saint John the Evangelist, and with reinforcements in the draperies of the Virgin, but otherwise fully legible as a mature work by Lorenzo Monaco. A cleaning by Hammond Smith in 1915 corrected the discoloration of the retouching (fig. 2), resulting in a more homogeneous picture surface but much greater confusion in the restored areas. The head of Christ became fuller, rounder, and less easy to recognize as characteristic of any fourteenth- or fifteenth-century Florentine painter; Saint John the Evangelist became a softer and less expressive figure; and the draperies along God the Father’s right arm and Christ’s right leg became formless. A drastic cleaning by Andrew Petryn in 1966–68 reduced the painting to a study-collection object (fig. 3), while in the most recent conservation campaign (1998–99), Mark Leonard filled the splits and losses left exposed thirty years earlier and attempted once again to unify the picture surface, less opaquely than it had been in 1915 but with the same conceptual goal of making it appear to be undamaged other than by light overall abrasion.



Fig. 2. *The Crucifixion*, ca. 1915



Fig. 3. *The Crucifixion*, ca. 1968

There is a near consensus among scholars in dating the Jarves *Crucifixion* to the last third of Lorenzo Monaco’s career, with only Miklós Boskovits propounding an early date of ca. 1400–1405.⁶ Erling Skaug’s systematic survey of the punch tools used by Lorenzo Monaco throughout his career tends to support such a view.⁷ The arcade punch decorating the margins of the gold ground in the Yale panel recurs in the *Madonna of Humility* at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., dated by an inscription on the panel to 1413,⁸ and in the miniaturist diptych of the *Madonna of Humility* at the Thorvaldsen Museum,

Copenhagen,⁹ and Saint Jerome in His Study at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam,¹⁰ universally considered among the artist's last works. It is unrecorded by Skaug in any work prior to the Monteoliveto altarpiece of 1410. Precise dating within this final decade of Lorenzo Monaco's activity is problematic as no securely documented works later than 1415 survive and as two major commissions—for the fresco decoration and *Annunciation* altarpiece in the Bartolini Salimbeni Chapel in Santa Trinita and for the altarpiece of the *Deposition* (only the frame of which was ultimately painted by Lorenzo Monaco) now in the Museo di San Marco but also intended for the church of Santa Trinita—are often thought on anecdotal grounds to be the artist's very last works, although they may have been painted somewhat earlier.

Among all the works reasonably grouped in this final decade, the Jarves *Crucifixion* most closely resembles, in its figure types, emotional tenor, and drawing style, these two major commissions for Santa Trinita, especially the narrative scenes in the predella to the *Annunciation* altarpiece in the Bartolini Salimbeni Chapel. It does not share the greater exaggeration of forms, colors, or lighting effects (to the extent that these are still fully legible in the Yale panel) in such paintings from the very end of Lorenzo Monaco's career as the *Adoration of the Magi* altarpiece in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence,¹¹ or the Copenhagen/Amsterdam diptych, which may be assumed to date from some time in the 1420s. The Bartolini Salimbeni frescoes and altarpiece have recently been dated by Luciano Bellosi to shortly before 1420.¹² Similarly, although the pinnacles and predella from the frame of the Strozzi *Deposition* are still frequently discussed as Lorenzo Monaco's last work, left incomplete by the artist at his death,¹³ they have also and more persuasively been dated between 1418 and 1421, on the assumption that this commission was not left incomplete but rather was assigned to Fra Angelico for revision around 1430 in order to introduce a change in the iconography of the main panel.¹⁴ A broadly inclusive date for the Jarves *Crucifixion* between 1415 and 1420, as had in any event been proposed by Pudelko and Eisenberg, might therefore seem prudent, with the understanding that an execution close to the end of that time span, around or after 1418, is most likely.



Fig. 4. Lorenzo Monaco, *The Crucified Christ between the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist*, ca. 1406. Tempera and gold on panel, overall, including gable: 85.4 × 36.8 cm (33 5/8 × 14 1/2 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975, inv. no. 1975.1.67

It remains to be determined what function the Jarves *Crucifixion* might originally have fulfilled, as it is in many respects anomalous. In the majority of his depictions of the Crucifixion, Lorenzo Monaco included only the three figures portrayed here and, as in this example, he generally showed the Virgin and Saint John seated on the ground. As such, the paintings are not a reference to the historical event of the Crucifixion nor are they typical of devotional images of this subject in that some of them do not include any of the standard repertory of symbols alluding to the significance of Christ's sacrifice, such as the pelican in her piety atop the Cross, the skull of Adam

at the foot of the Cross, or angels collecting the blood dripping from Christ's wounds. In two examples, furthermore—the Yale painting and a similar though much earlier composition in the Robert Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 4)—the Virgin and Saint John are considerably larger in scale than Christ, further abstracting the scene and casting it almost as a private meditation on the Passion shared by the viewer with the two sacred figures in the foreground. The Metropolitan Museum painting appears to have been conceived as the central pinnacle to an altarpiece, but it is unlikely that the Yale panel was designed for a similar purpose. None of Lorenzo Monaco's altarpiece fragments have fully decorated margins to their gold grounds, and few retain no evidence whatsoever of the presence of architectural frame elements, such as side pilasters or corbels supporting the ogival pediment.

Only two other works by Lorenzo Monaco share with the Yale panel its elongated vertical proportions and its uninterrupted linear profile fully decorated by continuous punch tooling: the *Madonna of Humility* of 1413 in the National Gallery of Art and another *Madonna of Humility* in the center panel of a triptych in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena.¹⁵ In the latter, a very early work by Lorenzo Monaco, the engaged frame moldings do not follow the continuous punched margin of the central picture field but rather create an architectural form typical of folding tabernacle triptychs of around 1400. In a slightly later (1408) folding triptych, however, comprising a *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* in the National Gallery, Prague,¹⁶ and the *Agony in the Garden* and *Three Marias at the Tomb* now preserved in the Musée du Louvre, Paris,¹⁷ the engaged moldings did follow the profile of the uninterrupted ogival picture field, as in the Yale panel, although in this triptych the margins of the gold ground are not decorated with a continuous band of punching. Nevertheless, it is worth speculating whether the Yale panel might once have been part of a triptych, either as the center panel or as one of the folding wings, and whether it might have been completed by a triangular pediment similar to that above the Louvre triptych wings. It should be noted that, unlike other versions of the subject by Lorenzo Monaco, the composition of the Yale *Crucifixion* is not symmetrical (*pace* Seymour, who felt that its “emphatic symmetry” argued against an attribution to the master¹⁸): the arms of the Cross overlap the punched margin at the right but do not quite reach it at the left, the figure of Saint John on the right is positioned lower than the Virgin, and the hill on the right does not reach as high into the picture field as

does the hill on the left. These are not accidental differences, and it may be wondered whether they might have been intended to compensate for a viewing angle commonly encountered in the right wing of a folding diptych or triptych. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 43, no. 17; Sturgis 1868, 33, no. 18; Brown 1871, 14, no. 18; Rankin 1895, 140, no. 18; Perkins 1905, 76; Rankin 1905, 8, no. 18; Sirén 1905, 91, 102, 142, 189, pl. 34; Berenson 1909, 153; Sirén 1909a, 325, pl. 1, no. 1; Venturi 1901–40, 7:14–15; Sirén 1916a, 67–69, no. 24; van Marle 1927, 145–48; Offner 1927a, 5, 21–22, fig. 12; Suida 1929, 23:392; Venturi 1931, pl. 42; Berenson 1932a, 300; Venturi 1933, pl. 135; Pudelko 1938, 248n35; *Landscape* 1945, 13, no. 1; Berenson 1963, 1:120; Seymour 1970, 161–64, no. 116; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 111, 599; Boskovits 1975b, 350; Eisenberg 1989, 79, 127, 143, 149, fig. 174; Laurence Kanter, in Kanter et al. 1994, 252; Skaug 1994, 1:285, 2: no. 8.13; Dean 2001, 26–27, no. 6; Skaug 2006, 54

NOTES

1. Sirén 1916a, 68.
2. For the work as Giotto, see Jarves 1860, 43, no. 17; Sturgis 1868, 33, no. 18; and Brown 1871, 14, no. 18. For Sirén's attribution, see Sirén 1905, 91, 102, 142, 189, pl. 34.
3. Rankin 1895, 140, no. 18.
4. Perkins 1905, 76.
5. Pudelko 1938, 248n35; Eisenberg 1989, 79, 127, 143, 149, fig. 174; and Seymour 1970, 161–64, no. 116.
6. Boskovits 1975a, 350.
7. Skaug 2006, 54.
8. Inv. no. 1943.4.13, <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.121111.html>.
9. Inv. no. 1.
10. Inv. no. SK-A-3976, <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/SK-A-3976>.
11. Inv. no. 466.
12. The present author proposed a date between 1415 and 1417, but Luciano Bellosi's slightly later dating now seems more likely to be correct. See Laurence Kanter, in Kanter et al. 1994, 252; and Bellosi 2006, 47.
13. See Magnolia Scudieri, in Tartuferi and Parenti 2006, 232–36, with a summary of related opinions.
14. Carl Strehlke, cited in Kanter and Palladino 2005, 87n10.

15. Inv. no. 157. For the National Gallery of Art painting, see note 8, above. The original function of that painting is unknown. Miklós Boskovits speculates that it might have been the center panel of an altarpiece, but this seems unlikely; see Boskovits 2016, 235–41.
16. Inv. no. 428.
17. Inv. no. RF 965, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010062623>.
18. Seymour 1970, 164.



Probably Florentine School, ca. 1400, *The Crucifixion with the Penitent Magdalen and Saints*

Artist	Probably Florentine School
Title	<i>The Crucifixion with the Penitent Magdalen and Saints</i>
Date	ca. 1400
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 87.2 × 48.4 cm (34 3/8 × 19 in.); picture surface: 61.7 × 43.9 cm (24 1/4 × 17 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.7

Provenance

James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The much worm-eaten panel retains its original thickness of 3 centimeters and most of its original gesso coating on the reverse. Large areas of brown paint on the reverse and along the left lateral edge may also be original; the right edge has been planed. A vertical split runs the full height of the panel along its center and is especially deteriorated at the top. The predella and tympanum moldings, carved of pine, are original. The tympanum was regilt in the nineteenth century. The predella, which presumably had been treated identically, was stripped to the wood in a harsh cleaning in 1967, leaving only a scraped gesso frieze and exposed nail heads. Lateral and crown moldings were also applied in the nineteenth century; these have been removed from the right half of the painting but retained on the left. A circular cavity in the tympanum, 7.5 centimeters in diameter, has original bolus and remnants of gilding around its deeply recessed rim. The cavity has been filled with a modern wooden plug.

The picture surface is severely abraded and very little of the original paint structure remains. The gold has been reduced to its dark red bolus underlayer except along its punched margin, directly above the arms of the Cross, and in the wings of the angels and the clouds beneath their feet, where it was once covered by pigmented glazes. The figures were selectively damaged by gouging and overcleaning in 1967, especially in their faces and through passages of red in the draperies, but large areas of blue, yellow, gray, and violet are delicately painted and are relatively well preserved. Except for His face, which has been obliterated, the figure of Christ is largely intact, despite the wide split that passes through His head, torso, and right thigh. The gray “ground” on which the Crucifixion is set is undisturbed.

Discussion

This picture, which has lost most much of its original painted surface, was possibly conceived as an independent devotional panel or reliquary tabernacle. The deep, round cavity in center of the pinnacle, presently filled with a modern insert, may have enclosed a decorative element such as a *verre églomisé* roundel, but it could also have been an aperture for housing a relic,

possibly of the Cross. Dominating the foreground of the composition—whose original layout is documented by early photography (fig. 1)—is the penitent Mary Magdalen, hugging the base of the Cross and painted on a larger scale than the rest of the figures. To the left of the Cross are the swooning Virgin supported by the two Marys, and Saint Anthony Abbot, identified by the small black pig at his feet. Partially visible behind them is the bust of an unidentified deacon saint, next to a soldier bearing a lance. To the right of the Cross is the mourning Saint John the Evangelist, flanked by two unidentified female saints. The one closest to the Evangelist holds a book in her left hand and what may be a long staff or sword in her right; the other carries a book and martyr's palm. On horseback in the background are a lance-bearing bearded figure, possibly identifiable as Longinus, and a soldier holding a banner. Four angels hover in the air, two on either side of the Cross, collecting the blood from Christ's wounds.



Fig. 1. *The Crucifixion with the Penitent Magdalen and Saints*, 1915

The Yale *Crucifixion* was catalogued by James Jackson Jarves as a work in the manner of Spinello Aretino. “The figures,” Jarves noted, “though long, are graceful, and the heads full of expression; the pallor of deathly grief being admirably rendered in the fainting women.”¹ It is impossible to ascertain whether by this date the painting had already undergone the modern retouchings that are clearly visible in the earliest surviving photographs of it, from 1901 and 1915 (see fig. 1). The panel was passed over as a work “of slight interest” by William Rankin, who made no comment regarding its attribution.² By 1916, Osvald Sirén was very specific about its compromised state in his entry for the Jarves catalogue: “The color scheme is bright with red, blue, yellow and gray tones, the ground is gilded, but the original effect is largely impaired by clumsy restorations. . . . As this picture now is little more than a ruin it is rather hazardous to give a definite attribution to it.”³ Barring these qualifications, Sirén nevertheless concluded that the closest point of reference for the image was to be found in Bernardo Daddi’s small-scale altarpieces for private devotion, and he labeled the work as “In the Manner of Bernardo Daddi.”

The reference to Daddi was accepted by Charles Seymour, Jr., who assigned the Yale *Crucifixion* to a follower of the artist.⁴ Federico Zeri, on the other hand, had already identified the panel as an early effort of Cenni di Francesco in a 1967 note on the back of a photograph in the Fototeca Zeri archives.⁵ The attribution, later published by Burton Fredericksen and Zeri, was accepted by Miklós Boskovits, who nevertheless inserted the panel among the painter’s later production, between 1400 and 1405.⁶ Richard Offner acknowledged the Cionesque connotations and filed the work with other images by the so-called Rohoncz Master (also known as Master of the Kahn Saint Catherine), now recognized as the early Cenni di Francesco.⁷ Cenni’s authorship of the Yale panel, but with Boskovits’s later dating, was accepted by Carl Strehlke in his unpublished checklist of paintings at Yale.

Perhaps the most useful assessment of the *Crucifixion* was that of Sirén, when he cautioned about the limitations imposed by the panel’s altered condition at the time of his writing. His warnings are no less valid at present, for although the subsequent modern intervention removed the old overpaints, it also left little of the original intact. Compositionally, the panel does appear to have less to do with Daddi’s Giottesque models than with those of Jacopo di Cione, whose *Crucifixion* in the National Gallery, London, is reflected in the proportions and pose of Saint John the Evangelist, in particular.⁸ The suggested affinities with Cenni’s production, however, are

unconvincing. Careful examination of those areas that can be properly evaluated reflect a degree of subtlety in their execution that contrasts with Cenni's generally hard drawing technique and schematic execution. Details in the Yale panel, such as the naturalistic, sensitive handling of the anatomy of the horse on the left or the carefully modulated tonal transitions still noticeable in the brilliant yellow robes, suggest a markedly more sophisticated, delicate sensibility. The figures, enveloped in soft folds of cloth that do not completely hide their form, eschew both the tubular rigidity of Cenni's early production and the agitated angularity of his later works. Additionally, the rare passages that offer a glimpse of the artist's handling of facial physiognomy, most noticeably the intimation of underlying bone structure in the heads of Saint Anthony Abbot and the Virgin, appear inconsistent with Cenni's essentially flat, caricatural approach.



Fig. 2. Detail of *The Crucifixion with the Penitent Magdalen and Saints*, showing punch tooling along the pilaster edges

All of the above features of the *Crucifixion* suggest the hand of a not-unaccomplished personality, strongly influenced by the models of the Cione workshop and possibly active around the turn of the fourteenth century, if not slightly later. A precise attribution, however, remains elusive. A Florentine provenance seems likely, although certain technical features, such as the idiosyncratic pattern of the haloes, the trefoil arch enclosing the composition, the precious tooling pattern at the edges of the missing pilasters (fig. 2), and the dark red tone of the exposed bolus, are unusual in Florentine painting at this date. Equally puzzling is the use of pine for the engaged frame molding, which is more typical of Marchigian practice. —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 45, no. 31; Sturgis 1868, 40, no. 33; Brown 1871, 16, no. 33; Rankin 1895, 142; Rankin 1905, 3; Sirén 1916a, 25, no. 7; Seymour 1970, 27, no. 10, fig. 10; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 51, 599; Boskovits 1975b, 291; Offner and Maginnis 1981, 52

NOTES

1. Jarves 1860, 45, no. 31.
2. Rankin 1895, 142.
3. Sirén 1916a, 25, no. 7.
4. Seymour 1970, 27, no. 10, fig. 10.
5. Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna, inv. no. 17951.
6. Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 51, 599; and Boskovits 1975b, 291.
7. Offner and Maginnis 1981, 52.
8. Inv. no. NG1468, <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/jacopo-di-cione-the-crucifixion>.



Lorenzo Ghiberti, *The Stigmatization of Saint Francis*

Artist	Lorenzo Ghiberti, Florence, 1378–1455
Title	<i>The Stigmatization of Saint Francis</i>
Date	ca. 1398–1405
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 29.2 × 35.0 cm (11 1/2 × 13 3/4 in.), picture surface: 27.8 × 33.1 cm (10 7/8 × 13 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.25

Provenance

James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The panel, of a horizontal grain, has been thinned to a depth of 7 millimeters, cradled, and waxed. Two splits run the full length of the picture surface, 14.5 and 21 centimeters from the bottom edge, passing through the arms of both figures and directly above their heads, but neither has resulted in any appreciable paint loss. The composition retains a barb at the left and right edges and along the lower-left chamfered corner. The top edge seems to have been trimmed just within the barb, as the pattern of punched decoration in the gold ground there appears to be complete. The bottom edge may have been treated similarly, as the left chamfer also appears to be complete. Exposed wood along the top and bottom edges of the panel indicate that engaged wooden moldings were removed there. The lateral edges of the panel are instead covered with gesso, possibly indicating that the missing moldings dividing the scenes of the predella from each other were pastiglia rather than wood.

The gilding and paint surfaces are well preserved, having suffered chiefly from scattered pinpoint flaking losses and

modest abrasion in the draperies of both figures and in the darker colors of the landscape at the lower center and upper right. The loss of dark glazes in Saint Francis's robes has paradoxically made the shadowed folds of cloth appear brighter than the highlighted folds. Inpainting, dating from a cleaning of 1957–58, along scratches above and behind the seraph and Saint Francis, across the rock dividing Francis from Fra Bonaventura, and in Bonaventura's torso has discolored, interrupting the visual continuity of the pictorial surface.

Discussion

This painting depicts Saint Francis receiving the stigmata from a vision of a six-winged seraph in the guise of the Crucified Christ, an event recorded by Tommaso da Celano in his biography of the saint as occurring in 1224. Francis is shown kneeling in lost profile in a ravine in a mountainous landscape, with pine trees trailing back into the distance and the hermitage buildings of La Verna in the upper-left and -right corners. Fra Bonaventura, who according to Tommaso da Celano witnessed the event, is separated from Francis by an outcropping of rock at the left.

The earliest records of this painting in the collection of James Jackson Jarves ascribe it to Agnolo Gaddi. Osvald

Sirén noted instead its similarity in style, if not in the refinement of its execution, to the early works of Lorenzo Monaco.¹ Miklós Boskovits included the *Stigmatization of Saint Francis* in his foundational studies of the work of Mariotto di Nardo,² identifying it as a fragment of a predella of which two other scenes, a *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (fig. 1) and a *Martyrdom of Saint Blaise* (fig. 2) in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes, had already been attributed to Mariotto di Nardo by Richard Offner.³ While Charles Seymour, Jr., recorded Boskovits's opinion, he preferred to catalogue the painting still as by a follower of Lorenzo Monaco but with a note that “the most recent thinking on this panel tends to remove it from the Lorenzo Monaco orbit and into that of the Gerini” (i.e., Lorenzo di Niccolò rather than Niccolò di Pietro).⁴ This “recent thinking,” not further clarified by Seymour, may be a reference to Bernard Berenson's having listed the Rennes panels as the work of Lorenzo di Niccolò;⁵ no such attribution for the Yale *Stigmatization of Saint Francis* has ever been published, whereas the attribution to Mariotto di Nardo was subsequently accepted by Burton Fredericksen and Federico Zeri.⁶ Curiously, the *Stigmatization of Saint Francis* does not appear, under any attribution, in any of Berenson's published lists of Florentine paintings.



Fig. 1. Lorenzo Ghiberti, *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, ca. 1398–1405. Tempera and gold on panel, 33 × 32.7 cm (13 × 12 7/8 in.). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes, France, inv. no. 1894.34.1



Fig. 2. Lorenzo Ghiberti, *The Martyrdom of Saint Blaise*, ca. 1398–1405. Tempera and gold on panel, 32 × 34.3 cm (12 5/8 × 13 1/2 in.). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes, France, inv. no. 1894.34.2

Boskovits's 1968 study of Mariotto di Nardo was intended not only to introduce to the scholarly literature a group of previously little-known paintings but also to reappraise the artist's quality and his significance within the development of Late Gothic style in Florence. Boskovits accepted the proposal, first advanced by Mario Salmi and certainly correct, that Mariotto di Nardo must have been the unnamed “*egregio pictore*” with whom the young Lorenzo Ghiberti traveled to Pesaro in the summer of 1400 to work for Pandolfo Malatesta. The proposal rests first on the presence of a triptych by Mariotto, inscribed with the date 1400, still preserved in the Museo Civico at Pesaro and second on the evident stylistic affinity to Mariotto's work of the stained-glass window of the Assumption of the Virgin in the facade of Florence Cathedral, installed in 1405, for which Ghiberti claimed credit in his *Commentari*.⁷ Where Salmi followed his argument by advancing a number of largely unpersuasive attributions to Ghiberti as a painter, Boskovits more tentatively proposed the possibility that a pair of predella panels—one showing the Nativity (fig. 3), in the Lanckoronski Collection at the Wawel Royal Castle, Kraków, Poland, and the other the Adoration of the Magi (fig. 4), in the Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin, Ohio—might reflect the continuing collaboration of the two artists; both paintings clearly deploy Mariotto's figure types while neither is possible to fit comfortably into his chronology. Both paintings are conspicuously superior in quality of handling and in compositional ingenuity to Mariotto's standard output, and the Oberlin *Adoration*, with the Gothic sway of its figures' poses and the windswept rhythms of their draperies, struck Boskovits as particularly close to Ghiberti's early *Annunciation* relief on the north door of the Baptistery (see fig. 5).



Fig. 3. Lorenzo Ghiberti, *The Nativity*, ca. 1398–1405. Tempera and gold on panel, 30.5 × 52.2 cm (12 × 20 1/2 in.). Wawel Royal Castle, Lanckoronski Collection, Kraków, Poland, inv. no. 7914



Fig. 4. Lorenzo Ghiberti, *The Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1398–1405. Tempera and gold on panel, 31.6 × 52.4 cm (12 1/2 × 20 5/8 in.). Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin, Ohio, R. T. Miller Jr. Fund, inv. no. 1943.118

Revisiting his earlier studies of Mariotto di Nardo in 1975, Boskovits added three more predella panels to the Oberlin and Lanckoronski paintings as works showing the possible collaboration of Lorenzo Ghiberti and Mariotto: the Yale *Stigmatization of Saint Francis* and the Rennes *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (see fig. 1) and *Martyrdom of Saint Blaise* (see fig. 2). The figure style in all five of these panels is closely related (the two *Martyrdoms* in Rennes have suffered from apotropaic vandalism: only the figures of the two saints remain fully legible), as is the greater complexity of the spatial structure relative to other works by Mariotto di Nardo. Although it was not suggested by Boskovits, it is possible that these panels may be fragments of a single predella from an unusually large altarpiece. All five are presented in rectangular picture fields with chamfered corners and with identical punch decoration of their margins. All have identically punched haloes, and all are closely related in height: the Oberlin and Lanckoronski panels, which have been cropped slightly at the top and possibly at the bottom, are 31.6 and 30.5 centimeters tall, respectively; the Yale panel,

which has also been cropped, is 29.2 centimeters tall; and the Rennes panels are recorded as 32 centimeters (*Saint Blaise*) and 33 centimeters (*Saint Lawrence*) tall. Marvin Eisenberg, who first recognized the association of the Oberlin and Lanckoronski panels, correctly noted that the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi are subjects not usually found together in a single predella unless they form part of a larger narrative series depicting the Infancy of Christ.⁸

While it remains uncertain whether these five predella panels all belong together in the reconstruction of a single complex, it must be categorically affirmed that the Yale, Rennes, Oberlin, and Lanckoronski paintings are fundamentally unlike any other works by Mariotto di Nardo and relate suggestively to early compositional ideas by Lorenzo Ghiberti. In addition to the reflections of the *Annunciation* relief (fig. 5) on the north door of the Baptistry cited by Boskovits, Maria Skubiszewska compared the Oberlin panel (see fig. 4) to the *Adoration* relief (fig. 6) on the north doors,⁹ and the Yale *Stigmatization* can be said to be organized on loosely the same spatial and design principles as Ghiberti's bronze competition relief of the *Sacrifice of Isaac*. The sophisticated lighting and projection into depth of the landscape in the Yale painting, its loose but accomplished and confident draftsmanship, the surpassing delicacy of its painted highlights, and the remarkable device of the wooden porches extending the roofline of both ecclesiastical structures in the background are easily worthy of comparison to the refinement of detail in any of the bronze reliefs on the north door. The date of the *Sacrifice of Isaac* is known (1401–2), but the chronology of Ghiberti's work on the narrative reliefs of the north door cannot be established with any reliable precision. Surviving documentation permits little more than the supposition that the *Annunciation* and *Adoration* are not likely to have been designed, let alone modeled and cast, early enough for Mariotto di Nardo to have seen and been influenced by them before his style evolved into a noticeably more mature and drier idiom than is in evidence here. It is even less likely that Ghiberti might have based his own compositions on inventions by Mariotto di Nardo. Given that no documented paintings by Ghiberti—who claims to have mastered that medium—are known to survive, it may have been prudent for Boskovits to couch his discussion of Ghiberti working in Mariotto's studio in tentative, qualified terms. Anneke de Vries has argued against the presumptive association of the two artists by observing that the inscription dating Mariotto's Pesaro altarpiece to 1400 may be fragmentary, and the date, therefore, inaccurate, and that it may not

have been intended originally for that Adriatic city.¹⁰ These contentions are themselves hypothetical and do not invalidate Boskovits's theory, which rests only partially on the circumstantial evidence of the Pesaro triptych. The stylistic evidence of the *Assumption* window in the cathedral seems to be conclusive.



Fig. 5. Lorenzo Ghiberti, *The Annunciation*, ca. 1405–10. Relief in gilded bronze. Baptistery, Florence, North Door



Fig. 6. Lorenzo Ghiberti, *The Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1405–10. Relief in gilded bronze. Baptistery, Florence, North Door

It is possible to propose an expansion of Boskovits's premise by consideration of two large-scale works conventionally but implausibly ascribed to Mariotto di Nardo. One is the *Coronation of the Virgin* formerly at the Certosa di Galluzzo, now in the collection of the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence (fig. 7).¹¹ The other comprises the fragmentary frescoes and sinopie in the chapel of Saint Jerome in San Michele Visdomini and the altarpiece persuasively linked to this chapel by de Vries: the *Assumption* triptych in the Oratorio di Fontelucente at Fiesole, dated 1398. The naturalism of the lion and audacious foreshortening of the figures or perspective of the buildings in the fresco sinopie have no parallel in any other work by Mariotto di Nardo, and it is difficult to see the spatial competence or even the figure types in the Fiesole altarpiece as in any way related to the flat, conventional figures in the Pesaro triptych or any other work firmly attributable to the artist. Similarly, the Accademia *Coronation of the Virgin* is strikingly unlike two other versions of the same subject by Mariotto to which it has been compared by Richard Fremantle and Angelo Tartuferi.¹² In the Accademia painting, the Virgin is not seated symbolically alongside Christ as an equal but kneels humbly before and in front of her Son, while Christ reaches forward in space to place the crown on His mother's head. The convincing definition of space created

by a cloud of engraved cherubim forming a shell behind the principal figures is beyond Mariotto's capacities, and the projection of light from a single source, casting shadows in a single, consistent direction, is foreign to his practice. Presumably, consensus on an attribution with such potentially important consequences for the study of the subsequent history of quattrocento art in Florence will not be quick in developing. Proving that these paintings are not by Mariotto di Nardo does not demonstrate that they are by Lorenzo Ghiberti. Nevertheless, the question must be debated in its broader logical scope: that Ghiberti's "career" as a painter may well have been casual when confronted with his accomplishments as a sculptor, but there is no reason to assume a priori that it was brief or in any way insubstantial. —LK



Fig. 7. Lorenzo Ghiberti, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, ca. 1398–1405. Tempera and gold on panel, 143.5 × 78.5 cm (56 1/2 × 30 7/8 in.). Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 10729

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 45, no. 30; Sturgis 1868, 37–38, no. 28; Brown 1871, 15, no. 28; Rankin 1895, 142; Rankin 1905, 9, no. 28; Sirén 1916a, 69, no. 25; Boskovits 1968b, 22, 27, 30n15; Seymour 1970, 165, no. 117; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 121, 599; Boskovits 1975b, 398

NOTES

1. Sirén 1916a, 69, no. 25.
2. Boskovits 1968b, 22, 27, 30n15.
3. Offner 1933, 169n4.
4. Seymour 1970, 165, no. 117.
5. Berenson 1963, 1:123.
6. Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 121, 599.
7. Salmi 1955, 147–52; and Salmi 1956, 1:223–37.
8. Eisenberg 1951, 9–16. The present author once suggested that they could have originated in the predella beneath the San Remigio *Annunciation* altarpiece by Mariotto di Nardo, now in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 463, but that it is not possible to say whether that altarpiece—the present Gothicizing frame of which is modern—may originally have been completed by lateral panels of standing saints and, in the predella, with further scenes from the Infancy of Christ or with scenes from the legends of the saints, which might have appeared in such lateral panels. It now seems doubtful whether any of these panels may be associated with the San Remigio *Annunciation*.
9. Skubiszewska and Kuczman 2010, 169.
10. de Vries 2006, 1–24.
11. Angelo Tartuferi, Hollberg, Tartuferi, and Parenti 2020, 237–39, no. 53.
12. Fremantle 1975, 460; and Tartuferi, in Hollberg, Tartuferi, and Parenti 2020, 237–39, no. 53.



Mariotto di Nardo, *Scenes from the Legend of Saints Cosmas and Damian*

Artist	Mariotto di Nardo, Florence, documented 1394–1424
Title	<i>Scenes from the Legend of Saints Cosmas and Damian</i>
Date	probably 1404
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 24.4 × 73.5 cm (9 5/8 × 29 in.); picture surface: 22.7 × 72.1 cm (9 × 28 3/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.29

Provenance

James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The panel, of a vertical wood grain, is 2.4 centimeters thick, cradled, and waxed on the reverse. Two vertical splits, 22.5 and 44 centimeters from the left edge, have been braced by wider cradle members and filled with gesso. A new split, 57 centimeters from the left edge, may have been provoked by the rigidity of the cradle. Two nail holes, 19.5 centimeters from the left edge and 7.5 centimeters from the top, and 57.5 centimeters from the left edge and 8 centimeters from the top, have been filled with putty but do not seem to have caused appreciable paint loss on the surface. The paint surface is very poorly preserved, having been selectively and aggressively abraded in recent and probably in earlier restorations.¹ The blue draperies of the figure at far left are surprisingly well preserved, as are the bed and bedclothes in the scene at right, whereas much of the rest of the image has been obliterated by scrubbing.

Discussion

The panel represents two separate posthumous episodes from the legend of Saints Cosmas and Damian, as recounted in the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine. At the left are shown two moments from the story of a husband who, gone on a journey, left his wife in the protection of the two saints. The husband was to have sent his wife a sign when she was to join him, but the devil, intercepting the sign, brought it to her in the guise of a messenger. In the scene shown at the left of the Yale panel, the wife forces the devil to swear on the altar of Saints Cosmas and Damian that he will bring her safely to her husband. Heedless of this oath, the devil tries to kill her on the journey by pushing her off her horse, but she is rescued by the miraculous appearance of Saints Cosmas and Damian: the scene portrayed in the center of the Yale panel. At the right of the Yale panel is represented the dream of the deacon Justinian, in which Saints Cosmas and Damian appear to him in his sleep with salves and ointments for his cancerous leg, which they then replace with the leg of a recently deceased Ethiopian. Upon waking the following morning, Justinian finds the dream to have come true.

The Yale *Scenes from the Legend of Saints Cosmas and Damian* was catalogued in the Jarves collection as the

work of Lorenzo di Bicci and as a fragment probably of an ex-voto.² Osvald Sirén corrected the attribution to Mariotto di Nardo, a contention that has not been questioned since, but described it as part of the predella to an altarpiece.³ The vertical wood grain of the panel support implies that it probably did not form part of a conventional altarpiece predella, as almost invariably these are painted on a long horizontal plank appended beneath the main tier of the structure. It is more likely that the Yale “predella” formed the lower portion of a single large ex-voto panel, either representing Saints Cosmas and Damian or in some other fashion dedicated to them.



Fig. 1. Mariotto di Nardo, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Donors*, 1404. Tempera and gold on panel, 196 × 92 cm (77 1/8 × 36 1/4 in.). Sacro Convento di San Francesco, Assisi, Donazione F. Mason Perkins

Only one painting among the surviving works of Mariotto di Nardo is known that might present itself as a candidate for this ex-voto: a *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Donors* (fig. 1) in the Perkins Collection at the Sacro Convento di San Francesco at Assisi.⁴ The framing members attached to this panel, although regilt and redecorated, are apparently original; the predella bears an inscription—“FECIT FIERI M[AGISTER] GIOVANNI M[AGISTR]I IACOBI P[RO] A[N]I[MA]E SV[A]E MCCCCIII” (Master Giovanni, son of Master Jacopo, had this made for the salvation of their souls, 1404)—identifying the donors as father and son, Jacopo and Giovanni, who are both dressed as doctors. Cosmas and Damian are the patron saints of doctors. The Perkins panel, which measures 196 by 92 centimeters overall (154 by 92 centimeters, picture surface), appears to be complete in its present configuration, missing only the spiral colonettes and half-capitals that must have linked the framing arches at the top to the pilaster bases in the predella. Although it was suggested by Federico Zeri,⁵ and more recently by Sonia Chiodo,⁶ that the Perkins panel was the center of an altarpiece triptych, the form of its frame would be highly unusual in that context. It appears instead to have been designed for insertion into an outer frame that would enclose the panel at the sides, as an independent tabernacle. The abrupt profile of the vertical molding alongside the spandrels in the mixtilinear arch at the top of the panel and the repaired moldings on the pilaster bases, the outer returns of which are new and are not mitered in the front, are most easily explained by presuming that they once abutted such an enclosing outer frame. If so, an outer frame might well have enclosed a second painted predella beneath the present gilt and inscribed band. It should be noted that the Perkins panel has two vertical splits in its support, approximately 20 to 22 centimeters apart—the splits in the Yale predella are situated 21.5 centimeters apart—and located off-center in nearly the same position as those in the Yale predella. It is difficult to say if this correspondence is significant.

In 2008 Chiodo published a notice from the *chroniche* of the Dominican church of Santi Jacopo e Lucia in San Miniato al Monte, near Pisa, that recorded the foundation by testamentary bequest from “Maestro Giovanni di Maestro Jacopo da San Miniato” in 1384 of a chapel dedicated to Saints John the Baptist, James, and Lucy. The bequest, apparently, was received in 1401, and a later commentator in the *chroniche* recorded the existence in the chapel, constructed with the proceeds of the bequest, of an altarpiece that included these three patron saints and that bore an inscription: *fecit fieri Magister Johannes Magistri Jacobi pro rimedio animae suae MCCCCIII*.⁷

Chiodo quite reasonably concluded that the Perkins panel by Mariotto di Nardo, the inscription beneath which corresponds almost exactly with this one, must have been the center panel of this altarpiece. If this were so, it is unlikely, for the reasons stated above, that the chapel was provided in the first instance with a conventional altarpiece and probable instead that the Perkins panel was adapted later by the addition of flanking saints matching the chapel's dedication.⁸ It remains possible, of course, that Maestro Giovanni di Maestro Jacopo commissioned a second ex-voto from Mariotto di Nardo and that the Perkins panel was not, in fact, painted for this chapel. Two sons of Maestro Giovanni, Jacopo and Girolamo, commissioned such an ex-voto to hang on the wall alongside their father's chapel on the occasion of the meeting of the provincial chapter of the Dominican order in Santi Jacopo e Lucia in 1411.⁹ That painting, showing Saint Jerome in his study, by Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, is now in the Museo d'Arte Sacra, San Miniato. Such speculative possibilities, however, would be moot but for the physical evidence linking the Yale and Perkins panels, and there is as yet no certainty that this evidence is consequential rather than coincidental. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 45, no. 33; Sturgis 1868, 41, no. 36; Brown 1871, 16, no. 36; Rankin 1895, 142, no. 36; Rankin 1905, 9, no. 36; Sirén 1909a, 325, pl. 1, no. 2; Sirén 1916a, 75–76, no. 29, fig. 29; Berenson 1932a, 332; Kaftal 1952, 294; Berenson 1963, 1:132; Seymour 1970, 54–55, no. 37; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 121, 599; Boskovits 1975b, 398

NOTES

1. The harsh modern treatment of this panel is unrecorded in the Yale University Art Gallery's archives but must have occurred after 1970. Charles Seymour, Jr., says that the painting was restored by Hammond Smith in 1915 but not cleaned since. He speaks of a "much overpainted surface," which is no longer in evidence; of damage "along two seams running horizontally," which is impossible; and of "a deep crack at left running through the left-hand figure," which can only be accurate if he were reading an x-radiograph in reverse. See Seymour 1970, 54. The painting is not included in Seymour et al. 1972.
2. Jarves 1860, 45, no. 33; Sturgis 1868, 41, no. 36; Rankin 1895, 142, no. 36; and Rankin 1905, 9, no. 36.
3. Sirén 1909a, 325, pl. 1, no. 2; and Sirén 1916a, 75–76, no. 29, fig. 29.
4. Zeri 1988, 26–27, no. 5.
5. Zeri 1988, 26–27, no. 5.
6. Chiodo 2008, 81–94.
7. Chiodo 2008, 81–94. See also Belinda Bitossi, in Ciardi et al. 2013, 90–91.
8. A fragmentary predella with scenes from the life of the Baptist by Mariotto di Nardo, still in the church of Santi Jacopo e Lucia, may have come from a different chapel; see Bitossi, in Ciardi et al. 2013, 102–3.
9. Daniela Risso, in Ciardi et al. 2013, 90.



Lippo d'Andrea, *Saints Louis of Toulouse and Clare*

Artist	Lippo d'Andrea, Florence, ca. 1370–before 1451
Title	<i>Saints Louis of Toulouse and Clare</i>
Date	ca. 1400–1405
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	67.4 × 29.5 cm (26 1/2 × 11 5/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.211

For more on this painting, see Lippo d'Andrea, *Saints Elizabeth of Hungary and Anthony of Padua*.

Condition



Fig. 1. Reverse of *Saints Louis of Toulouse and Clare*

The panel, of a vertical wood grain and 2.0 centimeters thick, was drastically cleaned in 1962–63, revealing scattered losses throughout the shadowed areas of the figures' draperies and in the pavement; the dark blue background and pigments mixed with lead white are better preserved. The faces and hands have been abraded to the priming layers of paint and the gilt haloes are worn, while the mordant gilding on Saint Louis's staff, on the fleur-de-lis-decorated hem of his cope, on his miter, and on the binding of his book is largely intact, though it has flaked irregularly. The mordant gilding of the crown at his feet is nearly obliterated. Scars from six nails align across the top of the panel approximately 6 centimeters from the top edge, and seven nail scars align across the bottom of the panel approximately 13 centimeters from the bottom edge. These nails secured iron strap hinges, 15 millimeters wide, across the back of the panel. Two channels are cut into the surface of the back of the panel to receive these hinges, but only 7 centimeters of the length of the bottom hinge, secured by two nails, are preserved. The hinge nails provoked three partial splits in the panel at the top and two at the bottom that have each resulted in minor paint loss. The back of the panel (fig. 1) is painted with a *faux marbre* pattern, bordered by a black band. This band is missing at the top, indicating that the panel has been truncated and has been reduced in width by 8 to 14 millimeters at the left (the right edge viewed from the

front). The bottom has been trimmed by approximately 8 millimeters. The right edge (the left edge from the front) is original and preserves a recessed flange of wood 2 centimeters wide that originally rested beneath a corresponding flange on the other shutter, indicating that

this wing closed first. A handle, covering an area of approximately 16 by 3 centimeters, was attached to the back by two nails and situated 6 centimeters from the right edge (from the back) and 22 centimeters from the bottom edge.



Lippo d'Andrea, *Saints Elizabeth of Hungary and Anthony of Padua*

Artist	Lippo d'Andrea, Florence, ca. 1370–before 1451
Title	<i>Saints Elizabeth of Hungary and Anthony of Padua</i>
Date	ca. 1400–1405
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	67.3 × 26.0 cm (26 1/2 × 10 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.210

Provenance

Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, by 1925

Condition



Fig. 1. Reverse of *Saints Elizabeth of Hungary and Anthony of Padua*

The panel, of a vertical wood grain and 2.0 centimeters thick, was left uncleaned in the 1962–63 cleaning that the related *Saints Louis of Toulouse and Clare* panel

underwent and survives in nearly perfect condition: the hands, faces, and haloes are virtually unabraded, and the draperies and background are marred only by minor scattered losses from nicks and scratches. Only two nail scars are visible at the bottom of the panel and five at the top. The bottom and right edge (from the front) are intact, except that the flange extension that would have rested atop the corresponding flange of the other shutter when closed is missing. The marbled painting on the reverse of the panel (fig. 1) is much less well preserved than in its companion but more of the bottom hinge remains: two lengths of iron, 7 and 8 centimeters long. The top hinge is missing. Like its companion panel, the outer edge of the panel, in this case the left edge viewed from the front, has been trimmed by approximately 14 millimeters.

Discussion

When first acquired by Maitland Griggs, these two panels were described by Richard Offner as “Gerinesque.”¹ In correspondence from 1925 preserved in the object files at the Yale University Art Gallery, Raimond van Marle attributed them to Lorenzo di Niccolò, and in correspondence from 1932, Bernard Berenson gave them to Lorenzo di Bicci. Charles Seymour, Jr., included them in his catalogue of the Gallery’s collection as “Florentine

School ca. 1380,” without further discussion.² They were first correctly identified by Luciano Bellosi (verbal opinion) in 1987 as by the artist then known as the Pseudo-Ambrogio di Baldese and have since been classified under the various names associated with that group of paintings, principally Ventura di Moro and Lippo d’Andrea. It was not until 2009 that they appeared in a published source under their correct attribution and, furthermore, were correctly identified as wings of a tabernacle triptych rather than lateral panels of an altarpiece.³ The relatively modest thickness of the panels (2 centimeters), which is original; the original marbled surface on their reverses; and the presence of iron strap hinges make this identification a certainty. It is therefore reasonable to presume that the truncated top edges of the panels were completed by half-arched or right-triangular gables. In comparable tabernacle triptychs, these almost invariably portray the Annunciatory Angel and the Virgin Annunciate, but at least one instance is known—two triptych wings by Lippo d’Andrea formerly in San Nicolò, Capriogliola—where the Stigmatization of Saint Francis is included in this position.⁴ Either possibility is conceivable in the present instance since these panels feature exclusively Franciscan saints.

Following a convention of Tuscan triptychs in this period, the central panel over which the Griggs panels once folded—which may be estimated to have measured about 56 centimeters in width and perhaps 90 to 96 centimeters in height—undoubtedly contained a representation of the Virgin and Child Enthroned, possibly attended by angels and perhaps by two additional saints. The presence in the wings of four of the principal saints of the Franciscan order—Clare, patron of the second order of Saint Francis; Louis of Toulouse and Elizabeth of Hungary, patrons of the third order of Saint Francis; and Anthony of Padua, the Thaumaturge—but not of Saint Francis himself argues that the latter was almost certainly included in the company of the Virgin and Child in the missing central panel. He would probably have been paired there with an onomastic saint, indicating either the name of the institution for which the tabernacle was commissioned or the patron who financed it. Although this panel has not yet been identified, an example of its format may be gleaned from a *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints John the Baptist, Francis, and Two Angels* by Lippo d’Andrea offered for sale at Sotheby’s, New York, in 2017.⁵ This panel, cut to an irregular shape in modern times, is of an appropriate size—98.2 by 57.7 centimeters—to have stood between the Griggs shutters and, like them, is painted with a blue background. However, notwithstanding its damaged and heavily restored state, it

was correctly recognized by Linda Pisani as a late work by the artist and was, additionally, probably executed with extensive studio assistance, in both respects unlike the Griggs panels.

The style and exceptional quality of the Griggs panels, especially of the relatively undamaged *Saints Elizabeth of Hungary and Anthony of Padua*, place them among the finest paintings produced by Lippo d’Andrea in his early career. They clearly predate the Angiolini altarpiece of 1430 at the Galleria dell’Accademia, Florence, with its more sophisticated attention to the representation of surface textures, spatial structures, and directed lighting.⁶ While the painted architecture within which the Griggs saints are contained is meant to convey a notional sense of projection in depth, the illusion is not carefully calibrated nor fully rational: the left panel is seen from the left while the right panel is seen from the right; the placement of the saints’ feet on the pavement indicates that the inner pair are standing further back than the outer pair, but the relation of their heads to the arches above is entirely ambiguous; and the schematic highlights and shadows in the draperies do not suggest a single light source. The broader, more generalized forms of the Griggs saints find their closest parallels in the frescoes of the legend of Saint Bernardo degli Uberti at the Castello di Vincigliata, documented as having been commissioned in 1398, and even more precisely in the frescoed Passion scenes in the Nerli Chapel at the church of the Carmine in Florence, purportedly of 1402.⁷ By 1408, the date of the frescoed scenes from the legend of Saint Cecilia in the sacristy at the Carmine, Lippo d’Andrea evinces his interest in the contemporary example of Lorenzo Monaco, an interest conspicuously absent from the Griggs panels.

The placement of Saints Clare and Elizabeth of Hungary in positions of honor closest to the central Virgin and Child implies that the tabernacle was commissioned for a Clarissan convent or a community of female members of the third order of Saint Francis. Although no object matching its description is recorded in early guides to Florence, several possibilities are at least hypothetically possible, including: Santi Girolamo e Francesco alla Costa in the Costa San Giorgio, consecrated in 1377 for the sisters of the third order of Saint Francis; the Clarissan convent of Santi Jacopo e Lorenzo in via Ghibellina, founded in 1333; or the Ospedale di San Paolo, which was managed by Franciscan tertiaries and for which the Accademia altarpiece by Lippo d’Andrea may have been painted.⁸ A large inventory number, “29,” painted in black on the reverse of *Saints Elizabeth of Hungary and Anthony of Padua* (see fig. 1) may ultimately provide a

further clue to the panels' provenance, though it has not yet yielded a concrete identification with property from the suppressed religious institutions in Florence during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Seymour 1970, 33, 35, nos. 18–19; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Offner and Maginnis 1981, 76; Katherine Smith Abbott, in Smith Abbott et al. 2009, 84–87, nos. 6a–b

NOTES

1. Lecture notes recorded in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York; and Offner and Maginnis 1981, 76 (as "school of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini").

2. Seymour 1970, 33, 35, nos. 18–19.
3. See Katherine Smith Abbott, in Smith Abbott et al. 2009, 84–87, nos. 6a–b.
4. Parenti 2006, 70, fig. 6.
5. Sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 26, 2017, lot 110.
6. Inv. no. Dep. n. 18; Daniela Parenti, in Hollberg, Tartuferi, and Parenti 2020, 89–95.
7. On these works, see Pisani 2001, 1–36.
8. Parenti 2014, 66–79.



Lippo d'Andrea, *Two Scenes from the Legend of Saint Michael*

Artist	Lippo d'Andrea, Florence, ca. 1370–before 1451
Title	<i>Two Scenes from the Legend of Saint Michael</i>
Date	ca. 1430
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 31.3 × 70.3 cm (12 3/8 × 27 3/4 in.); picture surface: 29.6 × 69.0 cm (11 5/8 × 27 1/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.23

Provenance

James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The panel support, of a horizontal wood grain, has been thinned to 1.0 centimeters, cradled, and impregnated with wax. A barb along all four edges of the picture surface indicates that it has not been reduced significantly in any dimension. Pre-1960 photographs (fig. 1) show the panel in the heavily overpainted state in which it has been known to most scholars. Cleaning in 1960 reduced the paint film to a network of lacunae, particularly extensive through areas of dark color and earth tones. Very little of the narrative is more than imperfectly legible. It remains unclear how much overpaint was left on the panel, despite the radical damage from solvents and scraping: there is some evidence that the child in the left scene may once have had a halo, and many of the rocky fissures into which the demons are cast in the right scene appear to be built up with layers of later paint.



Fig. 1. *Two Scenes from the Legend of Saint Michael*, before 1960

Discussion

Initially thought to be by Spinello Aretino¹—or to have been executed by the school of Spinello² or in the manner of Spinello³—the Jarves *Legend of Saint Michael* was more accurately described as by a follower of Agnolo Gaddi by Hans Gronau and George Kaftal.⁴ In 1927 Richard Offner annotated a photograph of the painting at the Frick Art Reference Library as “Florentine, ca. 1460,” while Federico Zeri annotated his own photograph in 1967 with the correct attribution to the Pseudo Ambrogio di Baldese. This attribution was repeated by Boskovits⁵ and endorsed in written communications by Everett Fahy (1978), Luciano Bellosi (1987), and Carl Strehlke (1998). The evident justification for this attribution was demonstrated



Fig. 2. Lippo d'Andrea, *Predella: Saint Michael and the Rebel Angels*, ca. 1415. Tempera and gold on panel, 36 × 78 cm (14 1/8 × 30 3/4 in.). Museo Diocesano d'Arte Sacra, San Miniato al Tedesco

by Katherine Smith Abbott in comparing the scene at the right of the Jarves panel, showing Saint Michael and his host defeating the Rebel Angels, to that of the same subject painted by the Pseudo Ambrogio di Baldese in a predella panel in the Museo Diocesano d'Arte Sacra at San Miniato al Tedesco (fig. 2).⁶ Smith Abbott also argued for accepting the identification of the Pseudo Ambrogio di Baldese with Lippo d'Andrea as first proposed by Serena Padovani rather than with Ventura di Moro as suggested earlier by Enzo Carli.⁷ Both identifications still appear in the scattered literature concerning the artist, but the identification with Lippo d'Andrea seems far more likely to be correct for the majority of paintings included in this large and somewhat heterogeneous group.

While the scene on the right of the Jarves panel can unequivocally be recognized as the Fall of the Rebel Angels, the scene on the left has so far eluded precise identification. It shows a bearded saint standing before the door of a chapel or hermitage, addressing a child standing before him. Approaching from the left is a cohort of mounted knights holding spears and an imperial banner. These details could relate to the story of the army sent by Nero to arrest Saints Nazarius and Celsus in the wilderness, but the apparition of a host of angelic warriors led by Saint Michael in the background above the chapel does not occur in the narrative of Saint Nazarius as related in the *Golden Legend*. James Jackson Jarves identified the scene as a "Vision of Constantine," although Osvald Sirén confessed to be unable to see any reason for such an identification.⁸ Kaftal described the

scene as illustrating the appearance of Saint Michael to the bishop of Siponto, promising him victory on the eve of battle, but qualified this in a footnote as "tentative identification: very doubtful."⁹ Possibly it represents a local legend of Saint Michael not included in the *Golden Legend* or in other written sources.

Only one attempt has so far been made to reconstruct the original context of the Jarves *Legend of Saint Michael*. In 1950 Gronau proposed reuniting three dispersed predella panels all showing different episodes from the legend of Saint Michael with a fragmentary altarpiece by Agnolo Gaddi in which the Archangel appears alongside Saints Julian and James in one of the lateral panels. Three of the five panels included by Gronau in this reconstruction are, by coincidence, in the collection of the Yale University Art Gallery: the just-mentioned lateral panel showing *Saints Julian, James, and Michael* (inv. no. 1871.20), a predella panel showing the Apparition of Saint Michael at Mont-Saint-Michel and the Miracle of the Bull at Monte Gargano (inv. no. 1943.213), and the present panel. This reconstruction has been correctly rejected by most authors: the two predella panels at Yale are by different artists and from different dates, while the third predella panel—showing the Apparition of Saint Michael above the Castel Sant'Angelo and now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana¹⁰—is by yet another artist. None of these three is by the artist responsible for the *Saints Julian, James, and Michael* lateral panel at Yale, which was painted either by Agnolo Gaddi or by Lorenzo Monaco in, or recently emerged from, Gaddi's workshop, and all of them date

twenty or more years later than it does. The link tenuously uniting the works in Gronau's reconstruction was the fact that the second Yale predella panel, showing the Apparition of Saint Michael at Mont-Saint-Michel and the Miracle of the Bull, was discovered in the mid-nineteenth century framed together with the final panel in his proposed altarpiece, a *Virgin and Child* by Agnolo Gaddi, now in the Contini Bonacossi Collection at the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence.¹¹ This assemblage, however, was a pastiche, and all five works in this group are, in fact, entirely unrelated.

It may be possible to suggest one and perhaps two predella panels by the Pseudo Ambrogio di Baldese/Lippo d'Andrea that could plausibly have stood alongside the Jarves panel in a single altarpiece. In 1932 Bernard Berenson published an *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 3), then "homeless," that corresponds closely to the Yale panel in style and almost exactly in size, reportedly measuring 30.1 by 71.7 centimeters.¹² That such a panel might have stood in the center of the predella of which the Yale panel formed the left or right member is suggested by analogy with the predella to Lippo d'Andrea's altarpiece from Santa Maria Nuova, now in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence.¹³ In that altarpiece, the center panel of the predella is approximately the same width as either of the side panels, and each of the latter is divided into two scenes drawn from the legends of the saints portrayed in the main register above them. In the case of the Yale panel, it is difficult to know whether the two scenes refer to different saints or whether both are intended to commemorate miracles of Saint Michael. If they relate the stories of different saints, it is reasonable to suppose that the other lateral panel from the predella mirrored it in format and also contained narratives from two different saintly legends. If they both celebrate Saint Michael, then the other lateral predella panel is likely to have shown either additional scenes from the legend of Saint Michael, as Gronau supposed, or two scenes (possibly one long scene) from the legend of another saint. Such a panel could have resembled the *Martyrdom of Saint Acacius and the Theban Legion* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon (fig. 4). Close in style to the *Adoration of the Magi* and the Yale *Scenes from the Legend of Saint Michael*, this panel also corresponds to them in height (30 centimeters); it is only 43.1 centimeters long but has clearly been cropped at both sides. No altarpieces or fragments of altarpieces by Lippo d'Andrea are known that portray either Saint Michael or Saint Acacius.



Fig. 3. Lippo d'Andrea, *The Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1430. Tempera and gold on panel, 30.1 × 71.7 cm (11 7/8 × 28 1/4 in.). Location unknown



Fig. 4. Lippo d'Andrea, *The Martyrdom of Saint Acacius and the Theban Legion*, ca. 1430. Tempera and gold on panel, 30 × 43.1 cm (11 3/4 × 17 in.). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, inv. no. D.19

Dating the Yale panel and its possibly related companion panels is, given their compromised state and the relative paucity of comparative material, largely intuitive. The compression of the narrative of the Fall of the Rebel Angels into a nearly square format relative to the more expansive composition in the San Miniato predella, as well as the looser handling of both scenes in the Yale panel, suggests that it follows rather than precedes the San Miniato example. The latter has been dated shortly after 1413 on the basis of a donation of land to the Dominicans in San Miniato to endow a chapel of Saint Michael in the church of Santi Jacopo e Lucia, the first mention of such a dedication in the historical record.¹⁴ The Yale panel is even closer in style to the scenes in the predella of the Accademia altarpiece, which is dated 1430 by inscription, although whether it might have preceded or followed that work is unclear. The dating proposed here, ca. 1430, must therefore be understood as both approximate and tentative, pending verification of other fragments of the same structure and a better understanding of the development of Lippo d'Andrea's style over the second half of his career. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 45, no. 32; Sturgis 1868, 40, no. 34; Brown 1871, 16, no. 34; Rankin 1905, 9, no. 34; Sirén 1916a, 63–64, no. 23; Gronau 1950a, 41–47, pl. 25/fig. 4, pl. 27/fig. 7; Kaftal 1952, cols. 740–41, fig. 834; Seymour 1970, 36–37, no. 21; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 76, 599; Boskovits 1975b, 298; Cole 1977, 76; Volbach 1987, 39–40; Johannes Roll, in Duston and Nesselrath 1998, 234–35; Katherine Smith Abbott, in Smith Abbott et al. 2009, 38–39, 82–83, fig. 10

NOTES

1. Brown 1871, 16, no. 34.
2. Jarves 1860, 45, no. 32.
3. Sturgis 1868, 40, no. 34; Sirén 1916a, 63–64, no. 23; and Seymour 1970, 36–37, no. 21.
4. Gronau 1950a, 41–47, pl. 25/fig. 4, pl. 27/fig. 7; and Kaftal 1952, cols. 740–41, fig. 834. Kaftal incorrectly listed the painting as in the collection of Maitland Griggs, New York.
5. Boskovits 1975b, 298.
6. Katherine Smith Abbot, in Smith Abbott et al. 2009, 38–39, 82–83, fig. 10. Abbott thought this predella panel was one of a series from an altarpiece with another showing the Martyrdom of Saint Catherine of Alexandria, also in the Museo Diocesano in San Miniato al Tedesco. Both of these predella panels stood beneath large votive panels intended to be hung on pillars, not beneath lateral panels of an altarpiece. Both votives survive: the *Saint Michael the Archangel* is by Lippo d'Andrea and the *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, together with its predella, is by Rossello di Jacopo Franchi.
7. Serena Padovani, in *Tesori d'arte antica* 1979, 55–56; and Carli 1971, 109–12.
8. Jarves 1860, 45, no. 32; and Sirén 1916a, 63–64, no. 23.
9. Kaftal 1952, cols. 740–41.
10. Inv. no. 528.
11. Inv. no. Contini Bonacossi 29.
12. Berenson 1932b, 177. The painting was last recorded at sale at Sotheby's, New York, January 26, 2006, lot 269.
13. Inv. Dep. n. 18. See Pisani 2001, 1–36; and Daniela Parenti, in Hollberg, Tartuferi, and Parenti 2020, 89–95.
14. See Ciardi et al. 2013, 87.



Florentine School(?), ca. 1410, *Desco da Parto*

Artist	Florentine School(?), ca. 1410
Title	<i>Desco da Parto with the Amorous Hunt</i>
Date	ca. 1410
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	48.4 × 50.2 cm (19 × 19 3/4 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz
Inv. No.	1959.15.8

Provenance

E. and A. Silberman Galleries, New York, by 1943; Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz (1887–1957), Sands Point, Long Island, N.Y., 1943

Condition

The panel, of a horizontal grain, has been thinned to less than 8 millimeters, marouflaged, and cradled. Its dodecagonal format appears to be original. Three parallel splits originate from the right edges of the panel at 14, 20, and 41 centimeters from the bottom edge; the lowest of these has provoked considerable paint loss, but the upper two do not significantly interrupt the painted surface. The painting was partially cleaned in 1972, revealing the extent of losses along the lowest split in the panel and smaller losses scattered throughout the water of the pond at the bottom of the composition, in the neck of the white horse at the right, and in the collar of the horse's rider and the head of the hawk perched on her hand. It also revealed remarkably little abrasion in the paint surface, which retains many of its original glazes and some of the prominent impasto in the blood of the stag at the center and the white highlights on the rim of the fountain above it. Green pigments throughout the picture have oxidized to brown, but all of the finely applied mordant gilt decoration is intact.

Discussion

This panel is among the earliest extant examples of a *desco da parto*, a so-called birth tray used to carry gifts and food to new mothers in their private chambers. Fewer than eighty such objects from the late fourteenth to the early sixteenth century survive, most of them produced in Florence and later in Siena, where they are frequently listed among other domestic furnishings in the inventories of patrician and wealthier middle-class households.¹ Made to commemorate the birth of a first-born child or as auguries of love and fertility for newlyweds, the trays were painted with a wide range of subject matter, from the straightforward depiction of birth scenes to biblical and allegorical subjects drawn from a variety of classical and contemporary literary sources whose precise meaning has often eluded the modern viewer. Judging from the few examples that survive intact, earlier trays were painted on both sides and usually had a gilt frame or molding. Given its date, it may be assumed that the Yale *desco*, which is missing its original frame and painted back, conformed to such models.

In contrast to other birth trays, the decoration of which is usually confined to a single episode or narrative easily accommodated to the limitations of the round format, the decoration of the Yale *desco* is distinguished by a variety

of individual, seemingly unrelated vignettes that are arranged over the picture field in a manner closely reminiscent of the horror vacui of Late Gothic illuminated manuscripts. The circular composition revolves around the slaying of a stag by three beautifully dressed, blond young women in the center of a rocky landscape, with a pond in the foreground and woods in the back. To the left of the main action is another group of three similarly characterized young huntresses, two of them ready with bow and arrow and a third holding a falcon. On a different plane directly above them are two young women engaged in conversation. Before the woods is a young man carrying off a mildly protesting young maiden. The head of another maiden peeks out from the treetops in the woods, where two lovers are engaged in an amorous exchange. To the right is a square trough with running water, identifiable as a rustically depicted Fountain of Love; behind it is a young woman with blond tresses who is being addressed by another unidentified female. Separated from them by a rocky outcrop is a hunting party composed of a couple on horseback and their two servants, one of whom is carrying their catch—a hare dangling from a stick held over his shoulder. The riders and servants appear oblivious to the events unfolding before them. The gentleman's attention is turned toward his female companion as he places a loving arm around her shoulder. She carries a hawk in her right hand. The genteel, courtly atmosphere of the image, despite the brutality of the hunt, is underscored by the elegant clothing and elaborate headdresses of the female protagonists, which mirror early fifteenth-century fashion, and by the precious treatment of decorative details and gold highlights still visible in the less abraded parts of the composition.

The most cogent interpretation of the subject of the Yale *desco* was first put forward by Paul Watson in his 1970 dissertation on cassone panels, later elaborated into his 1979 volume on the theme of the Garden of Love in early Renaissance art.² According to Watson, who traced the development of this motif in Tuscan art of the early Renaissance, the Yale *desco* falls into a group of coffers, chests, and birth trays that fuse the amatory symbol of the Fountain of Love with the erotic theme of the allegorical love hunt, or *caccia d'amore*. As noted by literary critics, the hunt as a metaphor for love's pursuit, already familiar to those acquainted with classical authors such as Ovid and Virgil, was popularized by troubadour lyrics and other forms of sung poetry in the thirteenth century and would have been understood by most Renaissance audiences.³ Watson, however, referred specifically to the influence of a popular poetic genre known as *caccia* that

was developed in Italy during the fourteenth century, in which the verses were set to music, "effectively mimicking the hurly-burly of the hunt" and highlighting its erotic connotations.⁴ An anonymous lyric, for example, relates how a man, having followed a hunting party through a forest, comes across a young maiden; excited by the clamor of the hounds, he embraces her and, "crushing her proud spirit," carries her off into the woods.⁵ On another level, classical poetry and its interpretations by Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, in particular, are used by Watson to explain many, if not all, of the details in the Yale *desco*. The brutal treatment of the stag might recall Virgil's *Aeneid*, in which Dido's burning passion is likened to the way a deer, wounded by a shepherd, wanders the countryside with the shaft still clinging to its side, but it is also a symbol of masculine torments, according to Petrarch's poetic interpretation. In killing the stag, the ladies at the center of the Yale composition put an end to the agony of the animal's flight and, in so doing, assuage his passion. Epitomizing the "witty play on modes of courtship and acceptance" that characterize Yale's allegorical hunt, Watson pointed out, is the apparently mundane detail of the fisherman casting his hook in the body of water in the foreground.⁶ The twelfth-century French author Andreas Capellanus, whose work was certainly known to Boccaccio, began his treatise on love, *De arte honesta amandi*, by describing the etymology of the Latin word for *amor* in fishing terms: "Love gets its name from the word for hook, which means 'to capture' or 'to be captured.' . . . Just as the fisherman tries to attract fishes by his bait and to capture them on his crooked hook, so the man who is a captive of love tries to attract another person by his allurements."⁷ Capellanus's analogy to fishing was presumably indebted to Ovid, whose advice to his male readers in the *Art of Love*, Watson concluded, almost serves as an epigraph to the present image: "She will not come floating down to you through the tenuous air, she must be sought, the girl whose glance approves. Well knows the hunter where to spread his nets for the stag, well knows he in what glen the boar with gnashing teeth abides; familiar are the copses to fowlers, and he who holds the hook is aware in what waters many fish are swimming; you too, who seek the object of lasting passion, learn first what places the maidens haunt."⁸

Watson's impressive and, at times, dizzying display of literary sources goes far to explain the allegorical content of the Yale *desco* and has been embraced by all subsequent scholarship. His interpretation, however, does not sufficiently account for the multiple layers of meaning implicit in every iconographic detail of the composition. The motif of the falcon-bearing figures, for example, goes

beyond the theme of the hunt as a metaphor for sensual love, desire, or even the lover and his beloved.⁹ The emphasis on erotic love and female beauty conveyed by the comeliness of the huntresses—who recall images of Diana’s nymphs—is perhaps reinforced by the possibility that one of the two mysterious female figures standing on the left of the composition may represent the goddess of love, Venus. Clad in a brilliant red dress with a revealing neckline, she provides a marked contrast to the other more demurely attired maidens who populate the image. Her right arm is placed protectively around her young interlocutor—perhaps the new bride—as she points up with her left hand, to either the sky or the abduction scene above them. In his *Genealogia deorum*, Boccaccio described in great detail an image of a *Venus magna*, the planetary and celestial Venus who implanted desire in mankind, leading to friendship and conjugal bliss.¹⁰ It is within this broader context, tied to notions of enduring love and marriage beyond simple courtship, that the Yale *desco* should perhaps be considered. The relevance of such images for contemporary audiences, it is safe to infer, was tied less to specific literary sources than to an accumulation of cultural reference points, embedded in the medieval imagination but less obvious to modern eyes. The repetition of compositional motifs, like those of the young huntresses, in other birth trays with stories of Diana and her nymphs and the reuse of genre elements, like that of the hunting couple on horseback, suggest that these, and presumably other iconographic details, had instantly recognizable connotations that could be adapted by artists to different contexts.¹¹

Most recent authors have concurred with Everett Fahy’s and Miklós Boskovits’s attribution of the Yale *desco* to the so-called Master of Charles III of Durazzo, named after the subject on a chest in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 1), and placed its execution around 1420, during the last phase of the artist’s activity.¹² The forty or so paintings currently gathered around the artist’s name, however, do not constitute a stylistically homogeneous group and reflect noticeably different levels of artistic proficiency. The discrepancy is evident in the contrasts between the Yale birth tray and a cassone panel also in the Yale University Art Gallery’s collection that was attributed to the same master by Fahy but is, in fact, distinguished by an altogether more advanced spatial sensibility.¹³ Comparisons with the Metropolitan Museum cassone, with its robust, coarse figural types, are equally unpersuasive. The basic formal distinctions between these two works are such that they cannot be accounted for by presumed different phases in the Master’s development. Similar contrasts may be drawn between

the Yale *desco* and other birth trays generally assigned to the Master of Charles III of Durazzo, which on their own constitute an eclectic mix. The exquisite elegance of the Yale figures and their elongated, slender proportions, as well as the nuanced execution of small details, like the diaphanous veil worn by the character here identified as Venus, seem to relegate this *desco* to a category of its own among extant examples. Its miniaturistic qualities and rarefied courtly atmosphere, perfectly attuned to the decorative concerns of the International Gothic, might suggest an origin outside Florence, although there is insufficient evidence about the production of such objects outside Tuscany at present to support any firm conclusions. —PP



Fig. 1. Master of Charles III of Durazzo, *The Conquest of Naples by Charles of Durazzo*, 1381–82. Tempera and gold on panel, 49.2 × 128.9 cm (19 3/8 × 50 3/4 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1906, 07.120.1

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Venturi 1945, 19–20; *YUAG Bulletin* 1960, 53; Seymour 1961, 20–21, 54; Seymour 1970, 135–37, no. 93, fig. 93; Watson 1970, 77–81, 159, 161–62, 166–67, 281–82, no. 20, pl. 19; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 601; Vertova 1973, 159; Watson 1979, 93–95, 105, pl. 78; Friedman 1989, 165; Boskovits 1991, 47n14; Miziolek 1996, 95; De Carli 1997, 23, 72–73, no. 5; Däubler-Hauschke 2003, 77–78, 82, 209, 224–26, no. 19, fig. 90

NOTES

1. The chief source of information on such objects are the records of the Florentine Magistrato dei Pupilli, the government agency that inventoried and processed the estates of deceased citizens for the protection and guardianship of minor heirs. The earliest inventory dates from 1382. See Musacchio 1998, 141. These and other inventories are published in the most recent study of *deschi da parto*; see Däubler-Hauschke 2003, 125–58. See also Musacchio 1999, 59–89; and De Carli 1997. For an insightful and balanced assessment of the last two volumes, which take radically different approaches to the study of these objects, see Morrall 2002–3, 151–56.
2. Watson 1970; and Watson 1979.
3. See Thiébaux 1965, 531–45.
4. Watson 1979, 94.

5. Marrocco 1961, xii; cited by Watson 1979, 94, 157n10.
6. Watson 1970, 162.
7. Andreas Capellanus, *De arte honesta amandi* 1.3; cited by Watson 1979, 95, 157–58n15.
8. Ovid, *Art of Love* 1.43–50; cited by Watson 1979, 95, 158n16.
9. Friedman 1989, 158.
10. Watson 1970, 191–92. For Boccaccio’s distinction between the different aspects of Venus, see Lummus 2011, 65–88.
11. For a similar arrangement of young huntresses, see the *desco* with the story of Diana and Actaeon in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, inv. no. 78.78, <https://www.famsf.org/artworks/childbirth-tray-desco-da-parto-obverse-diana-and-actaeon-reverse-justice>. A couple on horseback accompanied by a servant on foot carrying their catch is also included in a *desco* with episodes from Boccaccio’s *Teseida* in the Caramoor Foundation, Katonah, N.Y.
12. Everett Fahy, typescript list of “Master of the Siege of Taranto” (also known as Master of Charles III of Durazzo), July 13, 1983, Frick Art Reference Library, New York; and Boskovits 1991.
13. Inv. no. 1943.218, <https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/45019>.



Florentine School, *The Story of Rinaldo da Montalbano, or the Four Sons of Aymon*

Artist	Florentine School, first quarter 15th century
Title	<i>The Story of Rinaldo da Montalbano, or the Four Sons of Aymon</i>
Date	ca. 1415–20
Medium	Tempera on panel
Dimensions	overall 31.6 × 119.2 cm (12 1/2 × 46 7/8 in.), picture surface: 29.8 × 117.2 cm (11 3/4 × 46 1/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.218

Provenance

Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, by June 1926

Condition

The panel, of a horizontal wood grain, has been thinned to a depth of 1 centimeter and cradled, presumably by 1926, before Maitland Griggs acquired it. Two labels are preserved on the cradle, reading “11 B. Gozzoli” and “Giovanni di Paolo / 1403–1482, No. 15,401.” The cradle has provoked several long horizontal splits in the panel, notably at 13 and 20 centimeters from the bottom at the left and at 6.5 and 22.5 centimeters from the bottom at the right. There is no trace of a keyhole or of the removal of a lock hasp anywhere on the panel. A number of deep gouges and smaller knicks, especially near the center of the composition and among the figures occupying the building at the left, appear to be due to the hazards of rough usage typical of decorated furniture chests. Other broad areas of total loss and exposed gesso are the result of overzealous cleaning; these are concentrated in the landscape background at the center and at the right—where areas of deep blue between the top lines of the tents have been systematically removed—but are also

scattered throughout the draperies and armor across the entire picture surface. The building at the left and tents at the right are abraded but remain much better preserved than the rest of the painting. In addition to having suffered from solvent damage and abrasion, every figure has been “canceled” by at least one long vertical or diagonal scratch. The middle horseman and the attendant in a yellow doublet beneath him have been more aggressively vandalized. A synthetic varnish, applied during a cleaning of 1965–66, has grayed, further dulling the pictorial effect of the image.

Discussion

Identifying the subject of this cassone panel has occupied scholars, with little agreement, since it was first published by Paul Schubring as illustrating the story of the four sons shooting at their father’s corpse, as narrated in chapter 45 of the *Gesta Romanorum*.¹ The only point in common shared by that story and this image, however, is the number of the protagonists. No other detail—above all, that three of the brothers in the text hated the fourth or that in the painting no one carries a bow and two living monarchs are portrayed—coincides even obliquely. Charles Seymour, Jr., in his one-sentence catalogue entry

for the painting, retained Schubring's title for it but claimed that it derived from Boccaccio.² Paul Watson tentatively suggested that the story of the three daughters of N'Arnald Civada of Marseille by Boccaccio (*Decameron* 4.3) might be the actual source of the image, but that story involves three female and three male protagonists, none of whom wear armor at any point, again in contradiction to the painted imagery here.³ Ellen Callmann correctly rejected this identification but inexplicably defended Schubring's contention that the *Gesta Romanorum* was the literary source for this scene.⁴ Instead, it is almost certainly based on the twelfth-century French chivalric romance *Quatre fils Aymon*, the most popular, judging from the number of printed editions issued in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, of the chansons de geste circulating in late medieval Europe.

The numerous surviving manuscripts of *Quatre fils Aymon* differ from each other in important details. The Yale painting seems to draw its imagery less from the French originals than from one or more of the Italian translations of this story. Fourteenth-century Tuscan manuscripts, titled *Rinaldo da Montalbano* after its chief protagonist, the eldest of the four sons of Aymon of Dordone, add characters and episodes not found in the French versions of the story.⁵ At the left, the four sons of Aymon (Amone in Italian) kneel before the Emperor Charlemagne and his barons. In the French texts, they are presented to the emperor by their father at a tournament in Paris convened at the Feast of Pentecost, and it is possible that the older bearded figure standing to the left of the imperial throne is meant to portray Amone. It is equally possible, however, that this figure is a counselor of the emperor; in the Italian texts, the brothers do not appear together with their father, having been sent to Paris by their mother, Clarice di Soave, to be invested as knights by Charlemagne. The emperor acceded to this request but also banished the brothers for having killed their father's enemy, Ghinamo di Bajona, duke of Maganza, who had five years earlier betrayed their father with false accusations of the infidelity of his wife and illegitimacy of his sons. Charlemagne tasked the brothers with a pilgrimage to the Holy Land as penance to expiate the ban of exile. In the center of the Yale panel, the four young men, invested as knights and clad in full armor, leave Charlemagne's castle on horseback, bound for Jerusalem. One, presumably Rinaldo, receives a parting gift from, or exchanges a pledge with, a courtier dressed in green with red leggings standing on the threshold of the palace, possibly the paladin Orlando (Roland in French), a confidante of the emperor and in some versions of the story said to be a cousin of the brothers.

Returning first to their mother's castle, the brothers encounter the magician Malagigi (Maugis d'Aigremont)—also, although unbeknownst to them, a cousin—disguised as an old woman: this may be the partially legible figure in a hooded red cloak visible at the center of the Yale panel. Malagigi presents Rinaldo with the magic horse, Baiardo (Bayard), and sword, Frusberto (Froberge), that he, in turn, had received from Thetis, the mother of Achilles. In the French versions of the story, the four brothers ride together on Bayard. In Italian texts, each brother is presented with his own horse and arms.

After several further adventures, the brothers took ship and arrived at the frontiers of Persia, where they found the city of Nilibi on the river Fosca and its king, Amostante, besieged by the Persian sultan. The brothers first presented themselves to the sultan and offered him their services, requesting payment for one hundred knights. The sultan refused, saying that not even the famous Orlando was worth that sum, but he granted the brothers permission to enter the city under siege. This, presumably, is the scene portrayed at the right of the Yale predella, although no aspect of costume or heraldry makes such an identification a certainty. Callmann suggested that the standard flown above the sultan's tent bears the imperial eagle, but the device here is not the two-headed eagle of the Holy Roman Empire.⁶ She further suggested that the four soldiers lounging among the tents in the middle distance are the four sons, but these soldiers are not in armor and are more likely emblematic indicators that the sultan was holding Nilibi under siege with a large army. In subsequent verses of the story, Rinaldo was made captain within the walls of Nilibi and shortly afterward led the citizens in battle, defeating the sultan and his troops.

Although its exceptional quality is still evident through its indifferent state of preservation, the Yale panel has elicited very little notice in the sporadic literature concerned with early Florentine cassone painting. Aside from generic references to the Florentine school of the late fourteenth century⁷ or early fifteenth century,⁸ and a cannily perceptive remark of Richard Offner, who in 1927 observed affinities with the style of Paolo Uccello,⁹ only one focused attribution has been brought forward for the panel. Everett Fahy included it among a group of paintings, chiefly cassone panels and deschi da parto (see Florentine School(?), *Desco da Parto*), which he assembled around a painted chest in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.¹⁰ Fahy named the artist he believed to be responsible for these works the "Master of Charles III of Durazzo," after the subject of the painted front of the

Metropolitan Museum chest, the capture of Naples by Charles III of Durazzo in 1381. He created a list of some forty paintings by amalgamating newly discovered works to others formerly referred to by a variety of names, including Master of the Siege of Taranto or Master of Ladislaus of Durazzo, following earlier (mistaken) identifications of the subject of the Metropolitan cassone, or Master of Cracow, after one of the other cassone panels in the group.¹¹ This number would be considerably expanded if his suggestion is accepted that the artist was also responsible for the body of works conventionally labeled as by the Master of San Martino a Mensola.¹²

Despite Miklos Boskovits's contention that this large group of paintings is "substantially homogeneous even if individual works have been radically altered by restorations,"¹³ the primary factor common to most of them is their format. A majority of the cassone panels are distinguished not by a homogeneous painting style but by their exuberant pastiglia or gilt gesso ornamental surrounds, often assuming fanciful geometric shapes that subsume the painted narrative scenes. Some, like the name piece of the group in New York, employ a pastiglia rope device to divide the narrative into three discreet, roughly circular scenes, each of which is highly decorative and complex but little more than artisanal in pictorial ambition. Others, like the well-preserved cassone in the Bargello representing episodes from Boccaccio's story of Saladin and Messer Torrello, adopt the same framing device but employ a sophisticated figural vocabulary with a wide expressive range while evincing little interest in spatial devices or compositional variety.¹⁴ Still others with even more inventive framing systems are merely mechanical in their painting style. While it may be reasonable to argue that the complexity and sophistication of their manufacture implies a single proficient and prolific workshop, that shop must have employed a stable of painters of varying degrees of professional competence. The label "Master of Charles III of Durazzo," therefore, actually denotes a category of object rather than a single artistic personality in any conventional sense.

A small number of the cassone panels in the Master of Charles III of Durazzo group feature a unified, rectangular picture field, the pastiglia framing decoration restricted to the rectilinear periphery of the front panel of the chest. These are generally explained as the latest of the paintings in the group, the closest to ca. 1420 within a range that may begin as early as 1380.¹⁵ While it is possible that dating alone may be adequate to explain the differences in appearance among some of these, it is not a

sufficient explanation for the differences presented by the Yale panel to all the other members of the group. Above all else, spatial devices in the Yale panel are exceptionally accomplished, if not quite Albertian. The semicircular projection of Charlemagne's palace at the left, while derived from simpler examples within the Charles III of Durazzo group or the workshop practice of another contemporary artist, Mariotto di Nardo, takes some pains to rationalize foreshortening and single-source lighting effects, especially evident in the corbel frieze that runs along the back wall and outer face of the throne room. The four brothers kneeling before the emperor, and again before the sultan at the right of the panel, are properly foreshortened and, in some instances, seen fully from behind, an exceptional rarity in this period. Their horses are rendered with reasonable anatomical accuracy and in one instance gratuitously posed turning backward into space. Even the emblematic plants and grasses that dot the landscape are studiously foreshortened, while the orthogonals of the simple tower in the background at the right converge correctly in an empirical, if not mathematical, perspective. The draperies of all the figures reflect the movements of the bodies they cover, some in visually credible response to the motions of kneeling or leaning backward, and each figure is beautifully drawn and animated to convey the tenor of the narrative.

In all these respects, the Yale panel can be compared only to two other works of art sometimes associated with the Master of Charles III of Durazzo. A cassone panel in the Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, Maine (fig. 1), illustrating Boccaccio's poem of the *Ninfale fiesolano*, was originally included by Fahy in his list of the Master's works but later deleted in favor of Callmann's attribution of it to Giovanni di Francesco Toscani.¹⁶ This much-damaged painting was extensively repainted during a cleaning and restoration by Dianne Dwyer Modestini in 2004 and so cannot be compared directly to the Yale panel for similarities of figure style, but the two works do share many of the same accomplishments of spatial imagination and narrative scansion. Equally suggestive are similarities to a full painted cassone of unknown whereabouts, recorded in old Brogi photographs preserved in the Fototeca Zeri, where they are filed as "Anonimo Fiorentino, XIV/XV secolo" (fig. 2). In this case, the chest is of the more fanciful pastiglia framing type and possibly, therefore, earlier than the Yale panel. Its figure types are all but illegible except for their proportions and attitudes, but the architectural settings for each of the three unidentified scenes portrayed on the chest are remarkable both for their originality and accomplishment. A third chest, slightly less ambitious

than this one in its architectural settings and more heavily repainted, was formerly in the Marzell von Nemes collection and subsequently with the dealer Bohler in Munich.¹⁷



Fig. 1. Florentine School, *Scenes from Boccaccio's "Il ninfaie fiesolano,"* ca. 1415–20. Tempera and gold on panel, 28.9 cm × 126.5 cm (11 3/8 in. × 49 3/4 in.). Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, Maine, Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, inv. no. 1961.100.1

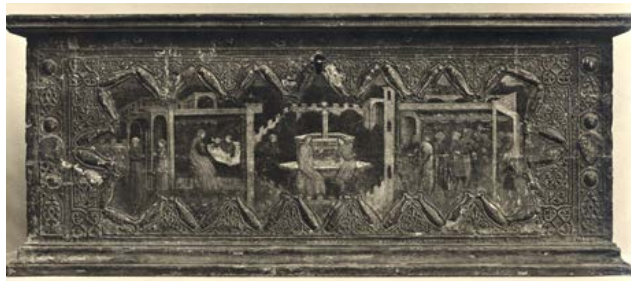


Fig. 2. Florentine School, *Cassone with Scenes from a Legend,* ca. 1410–20. Tempera, pastiglia, and gold on panel. Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna, inv. no. 4282

It is impossible to say with confidence—given their deteriorated condition and widely varying current states of presentation—whether any two or more of these works of art were the product of a single creative mind, but it is also difficult to believe that more than one anonymous painter with such similarly developed skills might have been active within the same narrow arc of time and yet unknown by any other paintings than these. It is possible that they are the only surviving record of an important artist who deserves to be better known—a “Master of the Bowdoin Ninfaie,” so to speak—or that they represent a previously unrecognized phase in the career of an artist who has not otherwise been credited with this category of work. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Schubring 1926, 252–53; Seymour 1970, 138; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Watson 1985–86, 154; Boskovits 1991, 47n14; Callmann 1995, 65

NOTES

1. Schubring 1926, 252–53.
2. Seymour 1970, 138.
3. Watson 1985–86, 154.
4. Callmann 1995, 65.
5. See Rajna 1870; and da Barberino 2020. The correct identification of the subject was first suggested by Pia Palladino.
6. Ellen Callmann, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
7. Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600.
8. Schubring 1926, 252–53; Seymour 1970, 138; Watson 1985–86, 154; and Callmann 1995, 65.
9. Note recorded in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York.
10. Fahy, cited in Boskovits 1991, 47n14; Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 07.120.1, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437001>.
11. Boskovits 1991, 47–48n14.
12. Fahy 1994, 231–43. For the Master of San Martino a Mensola, see also Ladis 1992, 323–34; and Bellosi 1985, 57–63, where it is proposed that he be identified with the painter Francesco di Michele, known from dated paintings ranging between 1385 and 1395. For discursive overviews of the Master of Charles III of Durazzo as a painter of domestic furniture and his place in Florentine culture of the last quarter of the fourteenth century and the first quarter of the fifteenth century, see Miziolek 2002, 443–69; and Sbaraglio 2010, 104–13.
13. “Al gruppo così riunito, sostanzialmente omogeneo anche se i singoli numeri spesso sono fortemente deturpati da rifacimenti”; Boskovits 1991, 47–48.
14. Inv. no. 160.
15. A firm date of 1382 for the Metropolitan Museum chest, proposed by Everett Fahy based on his identification of the battle it portrays, is accepted by Jerzy Miziolek (in Miziolek 2002, 8n6, 34–37, 63–66, pls. 14, 16, 17, 27a) and Lorenzo Sbaraglio (in Sbaraglio 2010, 105–7), both of whom use it as the basis for dating the beginning of the full series of works attributed to the so-called Master of Charles III of Durazzo. Luciana Mocchiola (in Mocchiola 2011, 57–67) has instead argued, persuasively, that the Metropolitan Museum chest should be dated 1402, as a commission celebrating the marriage of Ladislaus of Durazzo with Maria di Lusignano, whose heraldic devices decorate the frame surrounding the battle scene. She has also suggested, plausibly, that the chest was manufactured in Naples, not Florence. Both of these suggestions further contribute to refuting the notion of a single Florentine workshop responsible

for the heterogeneous production currently associated with the label "Master of Charles III of Durazzo."

16. Fahy 1994, 242n26. The Bowdoin cassone was attributed with hesitation to the young Fra Angelico by the present author, in Kanter and Palladino 2005, 19–21. This attribution was overambitious but highlighted the irreconcilable differences between this painting and imitations of it by Giovanni Toscani. Everett Fahy (oral communication) agreed with this conclusion.
17. Schubring 1915, pl. 15. In a note in the curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery, Ellen Callmann associated this chest with the present one, along with one formerly in the collection of Sir George Nelson; sale, London, Sotheby's, December 2, 1964, lot 94.



Florentine School, ca. 1420–25, *The Agony in the Garden*

Artist	Florentine School, ca. 1420–25
Title	<i>The Agony in the Garden</i>
Date	ca. 1420–25
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall 29.3 × 39.8 cm (11 1/2 × 15 5/8 in.); picture surface: 27.4 × 37.8 cm (10 3/4 × 14 7/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.32

Provenance

James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The panel, of a horizontal grain, retains its original thickness of 2.5 centimeters and has been slightly beveled along the back right edge. An insert of old wood, 2.5 by 3 centimeters, fills a notch cut into the lower corner on that side. Eight hand-cut but probably modern nails protrude on a diagonal along the left, top, and bottom margins on the obverse of the panel. Undoubtedly intended to secure a later frame, none of these has provoked iron staining in the wood. The margins of the panel outside the picture field have been scraped back to the wood along the top, right, and bottom edges, whereas a linen underlayer survives along the left edge. Pastiglia moldings defining a quatrefoil shape for the picture field have been scraped down to the plane of the gesso preparation of the full panel; traces of bolus, silver, and gold leaf survive in the lower-right corner only. The paint surface is generally well preserved, with minimal abrasion, though the continuity of the image is interrupted by small nicks scattered throughout. Larger losses occur in the trees and stream at lower right, and one major loss occurs in the trees at upper right.

Discussion

This painting is a fragment of a predella from an unidentified altarpiece. Already restored when it was in the James Jackson Jarves collection (fig. 1), it suffered considerable losses in a 1965 cleaning. Those areas in which the original painted surface is still intact, however, permit a fair assessment of its original appearance and palette. When it entered Yale's collection, the painting bore Jarves's attribution, reiterated by Russell Sturgis, to the school of Taddeo Gaddi.¹ In 1916 Osvald Sirén catalogued it as "Manner of Andrea di Giusto," observing that its inferior quality and generic characteristics prevented a precise attribution to any known master but that "certain peculiarities in the treatment of the wavy draperies and the oblique types" pointed to Andrea di Giusto.² Uncertainties regarding its authorship were reflected in later assessments as well. Richard Offner ascribed it to an anonymous Florentine master working around 1450 under the influence of Masaccio and Fra Angelico, whereas Charles Seymour, Jr., echoed Sirén's opinion and labeled it "Florentine School (manner of Andrea di Giusto)," with a date around 1435.³ Federico Zeri was the first author to suggest the name of a specific artist when he assigned the picture to Bicci di Lorenzo's partner, Stefano d'Antonio di Vanni (1405–1483), who is first documented in Bicci's workshop in 1420 and was

involved in a *compagnia* with the older painter between 1426 and 1434.⁴ According to Zeri, the *Agony in the Garden* was executed by Stefano d'Antonio "under Bicci's direction" around 1430, the same period during which the two artists collaborated on the *Annunciation* in the

Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (fig. 2). Subsequent scholarship unanimously embraced Zeri's argument, listing the Yale panel among a small group of narrative predella scenes purportedly executed by Stefano at the time his partnership with Bicci.



Fig. 1. *The Agony in the Garden*, ca. 1430



Fig. 2. Stefano d'Antonio di Vanni, Scenes from the *Life of the Virgin* (detail of the predella of Bicci di Lorenzo, *Annunciation* altarpiece), ca. 1430. Tempera and gold on panel. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Acquired by Henry Walters, 1913, inv. no. 37.448

In the most recent discussion of the Yale *Agony in the Garden*, Andrea Staderini reiterated the attribution to Stefano d'Antonio and tentatively associated it with the same predella as a *Descent from the Cross* in the Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C. (fig. 3), and a previously unpublished *Betrayal of Christ* formerly in the Artaud de Montor Collection, Paris (fig. 4).⁵ The Smithsonian fragment, catalogued by early authors as a possible work of Allegretto Nuzi, was identified as a work of Stefano d'Antonio by Zeri,⁶ whereas the ex-Artaud de Montor panel, known only from a photograph in the Berenson Library, Villa I Tatti, Florence, was labeled by Bernard Berenson as "Bicci di Lorenzo."⁷ That all three images are the product of the same hand, as noted by Staderini, is confirmed by their shared formal vocabulary and topographical details, as well as by the identical tooling in the haloes. Still visible beneath the repaints along the sides of the Smithsonian panel, moreover, is evidence of the same quatrefoil shape that came to light in the cleaning of the Yale picture, a detail that all but confirms their physical relationship.⁸ Less convincing, however, is the proposed link between these works and the production hitherto assembled under the name of Stefano d'Antonio.

Notwithstanding the precarious condition of the Yale, Smithsonian, and ex-Artaud de Montor panels, comparisons between them and the predellas below Bicci's *Walters Annunciation* and the *Saint Lawrence* in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence (fig. 5)—currently assigned to Stefano d'Antonio by most authors⁹—reveal significant discrepancies in handling and execution. Both the Walters and Accademia predellas translate Bicci's Late Gothic prototypes into vivacious, preciously handled figures rendered in miniaturistic detail that have little in common with the stolid, prosaically depicted bystanders in the *Descent from the Cross*, in particular. Moreover, absent from the *Agony in the Garden* are the sensitively applied atmospheric effects that characterize the Walters and Accademia settings. Finally, certain eccentricities of style reflected in the ex-Artaud de Montor panel, such as



Fig. 3. Florentine School, *The Descent from the Cross*, ca. 1420–25. Tempera and gold on panel, 25.4 × 33 cm (10 × 13 in.). Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C., Gift of John Gellatly, inv. no. 1929.6.81



Fig. 4. Florentine School, *The Betrayal of Christ*, ca. 1420–25. Tempera and gold on panel, 30.8 × 35.2 cm (12 1/8 × 13 7/8 in.). Location unknown

the awkward pose of Judas or the ferocious expression of the sword-wielding soldier behind Christ, seem incompatible with anything produced in Bicci's workshop and oriented toward different models.



Fig. 5. Stefano d'Antonio di Vanni, *Scenes from the Legend of Saint Lawrence* (predella of Bicci di Lorenzo, *Saint Lawrence*), ca. 1425–30. Tempera and gold on panel, 13 x 99 cm (5 1/8 x 39 in.). Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, inv. 1890 no. 471

A hitherto overlooked but significant factor in the evaluation of the Yale *Agony in the Garden* is the quatrefoil shape of the picture field, which appears anachronistic in a work purportedly executed around 1430. The essentially Gothic format was revived in Lorenzo Ghiberti's first Baptistery doors, completed in 1424, but was adopted in only a handful of fifteenth-century altarpiece designs produced in Lorenzo Monaco's shop over the course of little more than a decade, from the *Agony in the Garden* in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence,¹⁰ painted around 1400, to the 1414 *Coronation*

of the Virgin in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (fig. 6). After this date, the quatrefoil design also disappears from Lorenzo Monaco's oeuvre, replaced by the more modern, rectangular compositions favored by other Florentine painters. While such evidence is not conclusive, it does seem to confirm a more precocious chronology for the Yale panel and its related fragments. The identity of their author is elusive, but stylistic as well as physical evidence suggests the hand of a minor personality responding to different trends in Florentine painting in the early 1420s, before the death of Lorenzo Monaco.



Fig. 6. Lorenzo Monaco, *The Adoration of the Magi* (predella of the *Coronation of the Virgin* altarpiece), 1414. Tempera and gold on panel. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 855

Based on the Yale, Smithsonian, and ex-Artaud de Montor panels, it may be postulated that the dismembered predella from which they were excised was dedicated to Christ's Passion. A hitherto unidentified Crucifixion probably stood in the center, flanked on the left by the Yale *Agony in the Garden* and the ex-Artaud de Montor *Betrayal of Christ* and on the right by the Smithsonian *Descent from the Cross*, followed by a Lamentation or an Entombment. It is also not out of the question that the three panels, and maybe additional episodes of the Passion, originally stood below an image of the Crucified Christ or even a sculpted cross, as in Niccolò di Pietro Gerini's monumental complex for the Compagnia del Crocifisso in the Collegiata of Sant'Andrea in Empoli.¹¹ The identification of the three mysterious bystanders at right in the Smithsonian *Descent from the Cross* could potentially provide a clue to the patronage of the lost altarpiece. Two of the figures carry large jars of ointment. One is a pope, identified by the papal tiara with three gold

crowns; he wears a white tunic under what was originally a blue mantle (now oxidized to black). The long-haired bearded figure next to him, wearing a red cloak with an ermine collar, is perhaps a nobleman or prince. Behind them is a young man dressed in a red tunic and green cloak. The focus on the ointment jars that the first two figures hold can perhaps be viewed in terms of the resonance that such objects held in the medieval imagination and their association, through the Magdalen's anointing of Christ, with the virtues of charity and faith.¹² —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 45, no. 29; Sturgis 1868, 38, no. 29; Brown 1871, 16, no. 29; Sirén 1916a, 81, no. 32; Seymour 1970, 130–31, no. 88, fig. 88; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 192, 599; Zeri 1976b, 1:33; Padoa Rizzo and Frosinini 1984, 8, fig. 4; Staderini 2004, 264, 266n29, fig. 7; Parenti 2019

NOTES

1. Jarves 1860, 45, no. 29; and Sturgis 1868, 38.
2. Sirén 1916a, 81, no. 32.
3. Richard Offner, verbal opinion, 1927, recorded in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York; and Seymour 1970, 130–31, no. 88, fig. 88.
4. Federico Zeri, in Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 192, 599; and Zeri 1976b, 1:33.
5. Staderini 2004, 262.
6. Federico Zeri, in Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 192, 648. The painting was among the works donated to the Smithsonian Institution in 1929 by John Gellatly (1853–1931); see *Catalogue of American and European Paintings* 1933, 13, no. 8.
7. A handwritten note by Berenson on the back of the photograph states that the painting was last recorded in the collection of Erwin Rosenthal, Munich. On this work, see Artaud de Montor 1843, 38, no. 71 (as Pietro Lorenzetti); and Staderini 2004, 262.
8. The panels do not share exactly the same measurements, but it is clear that the Smithsonian *Descent from the Cross*, like the Yale picture, was cut on all sides. Its present dimensions are 25.4 by 33 centimeters. The dimensions of the *Betrayal of Christ* were given by Artaud de Montor as 30.8 by 35.2 centimeters. Judging from the black-and-white photograph in the Berenson Library (see fig. 4), the picture was in a similar state as the Yale and Smithsonian fragments and had a new gold ground applied over the original pigment in the sky.
9. Despite documentary evidence, effort to isolate Stefano's contribution in works produced under the banner of Bicci's *compagnia* are not always conclusive. Walter Cohn's initial distinction of hands in the San Niccolò in Cafaggio Polyptych (see Cohn 1959, 61–68), for which both artists received payment in 1434, has not been acknowledged by more recent scholarship; see Chiodo 2000, 274.
10. Inv. no. 1890 no. 438.
11. For a reconstruction of this complex, now in the Museo della Collegiata, Empoli, see De Luca 2019, 144–47, pl. 16. The three Passion episodes in its predella are a *Last Supper*, *Capture of Christ*, and *Lamentation*.
12. See Barbashina 2022, 5–28, esp. 22–23. A bearded lay figure wearing an ermine cloak and holding a large jar of ointment appears behind the kneeling Magdalen in Gerini's predella scene with the *Lamentation* in the Museo della Collegiata, Empoli. It may be hypothesized that, in this instance, he represents one of the wealthy members of the lay confraternity that sponsored that altarpiece.



Bicci di Lorenzo, *The Crucifixion with Saints and the Penitent Magdalen*

Artist	Bicci di Lorenzo, Florence, 1373–1452
Title	<i>The Crucifixion with Saints and the Penitent Magdalen</i>
Date	ca. 1430
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall, excluding modern capping strips varying in width between 5 and 10 mm applied to all the margins: 49.9 × 33.1 cm (19 5/8 × 13 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Richard Carley Hunt, LL.B. 1908
Inv. No.	1937.200a

Inscription

on scroll carried by Saint Elijah, RESPICE IN FACIEM
CHRISTI TU[I]

preserved, although currently dulled by a gray synthetic
varnish.

Provenance

Richard Morris Hunt (1827–1895); by descent to Richard
Howland Hunt (1862–1931); by descent to Richard Carley
Hunt (1886–1954), New York, 1931

Condition

The panel, of a vertical wood grain, has been thinned to
between 5 and 8 millimeters, partially marouflaged, and
cradled. The composition has been trimmed by at least 10
millimeters on the left and perhaps 2 millimeters on the
right, judging from the truncation there of the punched
margins of the gold ground. The gilding and paint surface
have been lightly abraded throughout but are marred by
aggressive cleaning damage, mostly confined to the lower
third of the picture field. Pigment has been scraped down
to the underlying gesso layer in the Virgin's blue robe, the
lower portion of the Magdalen's red cloak, and Saint
Ursula's(?) red(?) dress. Losses are also scattered in Saint
John's lilac robe. Other colors are relatively well

Discussion

This panel, probably conceived as an independent image for private devotion, shows the Crucified Christ with Mary Magdalen kneeling at the foot of the Cross between the mourning Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist, and four other saints. On the right next to Saint John the Evangelist are Tobias and the Archangel Raphael, whose role as guardian angel and healer made him a favorite subject of such works.¹ The Archangel's gaze is turned toward a bearded saint holding a scroll inscribed with a fragment of Psalm 83: [PROTECTOR NOSTER ASPICE DEUS ET] RESPICE IN FACIEM CHRISTI TU[I] (Behold, O God our protector: and look on the face of thy Christ; Ps. 83:10). The saint wears the gray-and-white mantle with seven horizontal stripes that was the original habit of the Carmelite order, the so-called *pallium barratum*. The habit was said to have been modeled on the scorched robe left behind by the prophet Elijah when he ascended to heaven in a chariot of fire; according to Carmelite legend, the mantle hung in folds as it dropped through the flames, resulting in fire-branded dark stripes on the exposed parts of the white cloth. The association between fire and Elijah, which is also found in stories related to his birth, may account for the small flame held by the saint, confirming his identification as that prophet.² The present depiction is highly unusual in Italian painting, however, where representations of Elijah in the main panels of an altarpiece typically show him wearing the new habit with a white scapular and gray tunic adopted by the Carmelite order in 1287 and include no other attribute than a scroll bearing his name. As if to emphasize the contrast between the old and new order, standing opposite Elijah on the other side of the Cross is a younger, beardless saint dressed in the updated version of the Carmelite habit. Although lacking any visible attributes, he is most likely Saint Albert of Trapani (ca. 1240–1307), venerated as the first “modern” founder of the order, long before his official canonization in 1457.³ Next to him, her face turned in his direction, is a young female saint holding a book and an arrow, probably Saint Ursula.⁴

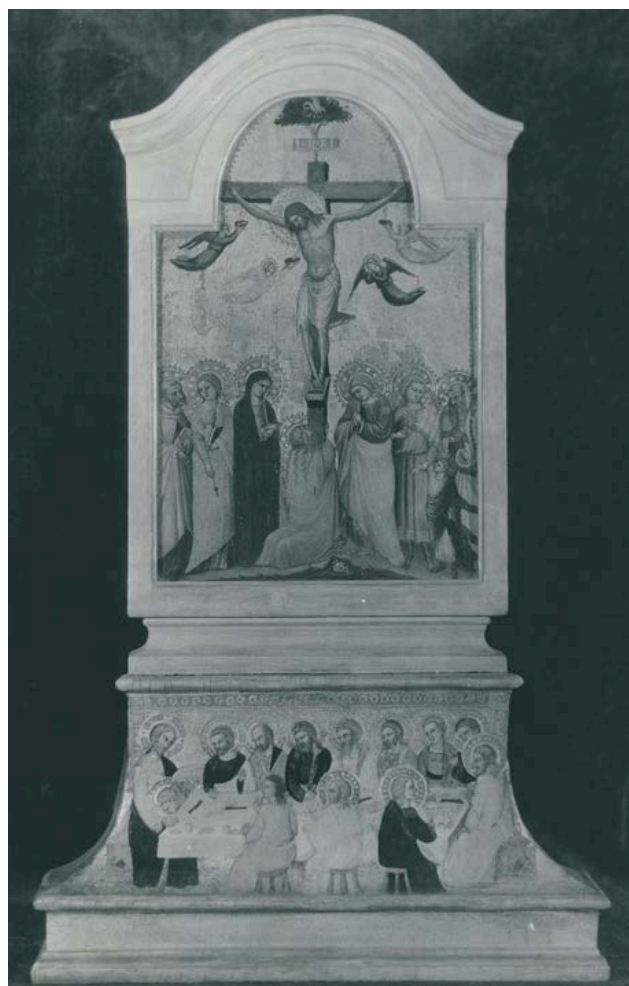


Fig. 1. *The Crucifixion with Saints and the Penitent Magdalen with The Last Supper* below, ca. 1938

The panel's original appearance has been gravely compromised by modern interventions, especially noticeable on the left side where the painted surface has been scraped away in places to reveal the gesso preparation. Some of the faces, like that of the Virgin and Magdalen are all but illegible, while others have been repainted or reduced to the underdrawing. The picture, formerly in the collection of the famous nineteenth-century American architect Richard Morris Hunt, was bequeathed to the Yale University Art Gallery by his heirs in 1937. At the time, it was inserted into a composite modern structure above a tabernacle base by the workshop of Niccolò di Tommaso (fig. 1) (see Workshop of Niccolò di Tommaso, *Last Supper*) and regarded as a Florentine work from the “middle years” of the fourteenth century.⁵ The two images were first recognized as independent creations by Richard Offner, who assigned the *Crucifixion* to Bicci di Lorenzo.⁶ Charles Seymour, Jr., paid scarce attention to the painting, neglecting even to identify the saints represented, and

reiterated the attribution to Bicci, albeit qualifying it as a shop product with a date around 1410.⁷ Federico Zeri listed the panel as school or shop of Bicci di Lorenzo.⁸ The image was also assigned to Bicci's workshop, but with a date around 1440, by Carl Strehlke, in his unpublished checklist of Italian paintings at Yale.

Notwithstanding the present condition of the panel, which has to some degree influenced the evaluation of it, there is little question that the *Crucifixion* conforms in most aspects to the stylistic and compositional models formulated in Bicci di Lorenzo's workshop. The detail of Christ on the Cross surrounded by flying angels gathering His blood is consistent with other such representations by the artist conceived for large altarpieces, such as that in a tondo fragment formerly in the Viezzoli collection, Genoa, which is distinguished by the same folds in Christ's loincloth and a similar, irregular tooling in His halo.⁹ Exact comparisons for the figures of the saints in the Yale *Crucifixion* are found, instead, in a little-known fresco cycle executed by Bicci and his workshop for the Magdalen Chapel in the Augustinian church of Santo Stefano in Empoli. The bust-length patriarchs and prophets painted in quatrefoils along the large entrance arch to that chapel bear a striking likeness to the male figures in the present work. The Yale Saint Elijah, for instance, virtually replicates the bearded image of Abraham holding an identically unfurled scroll in the fresco (fig. 2), while Tobias strongly recalls the image of the beardless young prophet Joshua (fig. 3). The losses of the paint surface in the Yale Saint Albert, moreover, reveal the same hasty drawing technique and cursory treatment of individual features that is discernible in other figures along the more worn sections of the frescoed archway.



Fig. 2. Bicci di Lorenzo, *Abraham*, ca. 1430. Fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Santo Stefano degli Agostiniani, Empoli



Fig. 3. Bicci di Lorenzo, *Joshua*, ca. 1430. Fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Santo Stefano degli Agostiniani, Empoli

Although the relationship of the Magdalen Chapel frescoes to Bicci's production has never been questioned by scholars, their dating, and the extent of the artist's direct involvement in their execution, have been the subject of divergent opinions. Following restorations in 1992, Cecilia Frosinini attributed the entire cycle to Stefano d'Antonio di Vanni (1405–1483), suggesting that he took over the commission from Bicci after the end of their joint partnership in 1434.¹⁰ Rosanna Caterina Proto Pisani, on the other hand, viewed the frescoes as a collaborative effort between Bicci and Stefano d'Antonio—whom she, too, considered responsible for the figures of patriarchs and prophets—and proposed a date between 1425 and 1430.¹¹ More recently, however, Silvia De Luca has strongly reiterated the attribution to Bicci, noting that “all of the paintings bear the unmistakable mark of Bicci di Lorenzo.”¹² For De Luca, the stylistic inconsistencies between the various zones of the fresco are not so great as to warrant a division of hands, other than what typically existed between the head of a workshop and his various assistants. The same author proposed a significantly earlier chronology and dated the cycle not long after 1423, when Bicci was entrusted with the execution of a triptych for the chapel of Simone Guiducci in the Collegiata of Sant'Andrea in Empoli, now in the Museo della Collegiata—the first of several commissions awarded to the artist's workshop in and around the city over the course of two decades. Bicci's full responsibility for the execution of the Magdalen Chapel fresco cycle was subsequently reiterated by Francesco Suppa, who nevertheless returned to Proto Pisani's dating in the second half of the 1420s.¹³



Fig. 4. Bicci di Lorenzo, *Vertine Triptych*, 1430. Tempera and gold on panel, 186 × 190 cm (73 1/4 × 74 3/4 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena (on deposit from San Bartolomeo a Vertine, Gaiole in Chianti [Siena])

The stylistic homogeneity between the Yale panel and the Magdalen Chapel frescoes suggests a virtually contemporary date of execution. The sturdily built types with rounded proportions that inhabit both works, however, share little of the refined Late Gothic mannerisms of the 1423 Collegiata triptych and recall Bicci's more mature efforts from the beginning of the fourth decade, as represented by the dated 1430 *Vertine Triptych* (fig. 4) and by the polyptych in San Niccolò in Cafaggio, completed in 1433. A chronology for the Yale panel and the Magdalen Chapel frescoes in greater proximity to these images seems therefore more plausible. Notwithstanding efforts to discern the hand of Stefano d'Antonio in the artist's production from this period, the Yale *Crucifixion*, like the Magdalen Chapel prophets, reveals above all a close adherence to Bicci's prototypes, even if rendered with a pronouncedly looser brushstroke and less polished finish. These elements suggest the intervention of an assistant in Bicci's workshop, executing the master's designs, rather than an independent personality.

The allusions to the past and present history of the Carmelite order implicit in the iconography the Yale *Crucifixion* suggest that the work may have been intended for a prominent cleric or other figure closely affiliated with a Carmelite convent. The symbolic significance of the old and new habit, reflected in this instance by the visual juxtaposition of Elijah and Albert of Trapani, was highlighted by the monumental altarpiece painted by

Pietro Lorenzetti in 1329 for the monks of Santa Maria del Carmine in Siena.¹⁴ Conceived as a manifesto of the Carmelite order, the Lorenzetti altarpiece shows the mythical founders, Elijah and Elisha, in the main panels, dressed anachronistically in the new white mantle. The predella, which illustrates in vivid detail the history of the order from the legendary events of its foundation to the present, traces the transition from the *pallium barratum* worn by the ancient monks in the *Carmelites at the Fountain of Elijah* and the *Carmelites Receiving the Rule by Albert of Vercelli* to the white cloak held up by the pope in the *Approval of the Carmelite Habit by Honorius IV*. Although usually confined to narrative scenes, the representation of the ancient Carmelite habit continued to have political and spiritual connotations for the order's identity well into the fifteenth century.¹⁵ Filippo Lippi included monks wearing the *pallium barratum* alongside monks in contemporary dress in a fresco fragment from the cloister of Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence, showing the Confirmation of the Carmelite Rule—a work possibly painted around the same time as the Yale *Crucifixion*.¹⁶ Much like Pietro Lorenzetti's predella, the fresco has been interpreted as a visual celebration and reminder of the “historic passage” of the Carmelites from their Eastern roots as hermits on Mount Carmel to their existence as a conventual order legitimized by the pope in the West.¹⁷ Albeit on a more intimate scale, the Yale *Crucifixion* seems to allude to a similar concept, which was reiterated in the order's texts and was presumably embedded in the consciousness of every monk in the order. Considering Bicci di Lorenzo's personal ties to the Florentine monastery of Santa Maria del Carmine and his membership in the famous Compagnia di Sant'Agnese, which had its headquarters in the church, it is worth speculating whether the artist was entrusted with the commission by an erudite member of that community.¹⁸ Perhaps even more pertinent, the patron of the Yale *Crucifixion* might be sought among the spiritual leaders of the Carmelite hermitage of Santa Maria delle Selve in Lastra a Signa, in the hills outside Florence. Founded in 1413, the convent was the highly regarded center of the Carmelite Observant movement in Tuscany. At the core of its constitutions was the revival of certain features of the “primitive” Carmelite Rule, with its emphasis on prayer, stricter enclosure, and silence.¹⁹ The figure of the penitent Magdalen and the exhortative nature of the verses inscribed on Elijah's scroll, emphasizing the meditative quality of the image, would have been especially appropriate in such a context. It may be more than mere coincidence that the prior and then superior of Le Selve around the time of execution of the Yale

Crucifixion was the famous Carmelite preacher and doctor of theology Fra Angelo Mazzinghi, later beatified by the order—whose name could be alluded to by the Archangel Raphael.²⁰ —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Hamilton 1938, 52; Seymour 1970, 24, no. 8; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 29, 600

NOTES

1. On the various connotations of the image of Raphael and Tobias, see, most recently, Argenziano 2015, 463–83.
2. According to patristic texts, at the time of Elijah’s birth, his father dreamed of “men dressed in white clothes” who wrapped the infant in fire and gave him fire to eat; cited in Cannon 1987, 25.
3. For an image of Saint Albert of Trapani, see Yale University Art Gallery, inv. no. 1871.22, <https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/278>.
4. Usually, Saint Ursula is shown as a princess martyr, wearing a crown and/or carrying a flag. The present depiction follows the iconography of the saint in Bicci di Lorenzo’s triptych in the church of Sant’Ambrogio, Florence, where her image is identified by an inscription below it. Although it could be argued that Saint Cristina of Bolsena is also represented as a young virgin martyr holding a book and an arrow in Sano di Pietro’s altarpiece for the basilica dedicated to her in Bolsena, the cult of Saint Cristina was not particularly strong outside Bolsena and the Lazio region, and she appears only rarely in Tuscan altarpieces.
5. Hamilton 1938, 52.
6. Richard Offner, July 7, 1938, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
7. Seymour 1970, 24, no. 8.
8. Federico Zeri, in Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 29, 600.
9. The tondo was attributed to Bicci by Federico Zeri and Everett Fahy, whose opinions are recorded in the Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna, inv. no. 4710.
10. Frosinini 1992, 9.
11. Caterina Proto Pisani 1992, 21.
12. “Tutti i dipinti mostrano l’impronta inconfondibile di Bicci di Lorenzo”; see De Luca 2019, 153.
13. Suppa 2022, 41–42.
14. The main panels of this altarpiece and the predella are now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena (inv. nos. 16a–b, 62, 64, 83–84, 578–579); see Torriti 1977, 97–103. For an exhaustive discussion of its iconography, see Cannon 1987, 18–28; and Gardner von Teuffel 2015, 16–18.
15. For a summary of all the issues surrounding the Carmelite habit, see Jotischky 2002, 45–78.
16. Holmes 1999, 69–79. Megan Holmes places the frescoes in the early part of Lippo’s career (ca. 1430–34).
17. Holmes 1999, 77. See also Holmes 2007, 163–64, where the author notes that “in the Lorenzetti predella the striped mantle asserts a certain kind of historical facticity within a panoramic presentation of the phases of the transformation as the Carmelites change from an eremitical brotherhood on the slopes of Mount Carmel in the Holy Land to a cenobitical and mendicant monastic order in the West.”
18. The record books of the Compagnia di Sant’Agnese list Bicci as paying his membership dues along with his son, Neri di Bicci, in 1430. Both Bicci and his wife, Benedetta, were buried in the Carmine. See Eckstein 1995, 48; and Holmes 1999, 248n78.
19. Holmes 1999, 54. For more on Santa Maria delle Selve, see Lippo di Andrea’s altarpiece for that community: Yale University Art Gallery, inv. no. 1959.15.1a–c, <https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/43494>.
20. Fra Angelo Mazzinghi was prior at Le Selve from 1419 to 1430 and once again in 1437. Between 1435 and 1437, he served as prior of Santa Maria del Carmine. Like Bicci di Lorenzo, he was a member of the Compagnia di Sant’Agnese in Santa Maria del Carmine, where he is listed as registered in 1431. See Pratti 2008. Mazzinghi’s obituary in the *Necrologium* of Santa Maria del Carmine described him in the following terms: “A venerable man of the greatest virtue and excellent doctrine, a teacher of judgment, achieving great fame and holiness in his life, and a most famous preacher, who was the first son at the inception of the Observance at Le Selve”; cited by Holmes 1999, 54. Holmes noted that he was one of the few friars in Florentine Carmelite circles with a patrician, and therefore privileged, economic background.



Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, *Pilaster Fragment with Saint Catherine of Alexandria*

Artist	Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, Florence, ca. 1377–1456
Title	<i>Pilaster Fragment with Saint Catherine of Alexandria</i>
Date	ca. 1425–30
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 81.6 × 14.4 cm (32 1/8 × 5 5/8 in.); picture surface: 42.0 × 10.0 cm (16 1/2 × 3 7/8 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Edward Hutton and Maitland Lee Griggs, in memory of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1953.26.1

Provenance

Elia Volpi (1858–1938), Florence, by 1930; Edward Hutton (1875–1969), London, 1932

Condition

The panel support, 8.9 centimeters thick, comprises a main block 12.5 centimeters wide and a 1.9-centimeter extension nailed and glued to it on the left. A vertical split rises through the main block for its full height approximately 5 centimeters from its right edge. The top edge of the panel is a clean cut and shows evidence of the possibility of a missing capping strip molding; the bottom edge has been unevenly sawn through from more than one angle, suggesting that the pilaster fragment was roughly removed from its original structure at this point. The added board along the left edge has been stripped of all gesso and gilding; the right edge of the main block preserves sections of a band of gilding that originally extended approximately 5 centimeters from the front face of the block, with discolored gesso drips and some bolus below that. The gilding overall, including remnants in the chamfered right front edge of the block, is well preserved, although it is rubbed at the high points of the pastiglia

decoration, exposing the underlying bolus. Large losses at the top and bottom of the panel and smaller losses along its vertical edges have exposed layers of gesso, linen, or wood. The paint surface (confined to the figure of Saint Catherine) is in an excellent state of preservation, although it is currently covered by an unevenly discolored varnish.

Discussion

This little-known fragment, which preserves its original thickness, was sawn from the pilaster of an unidentified altarpiece. Traces of gilding and paint on the right face of the narrow block of wood indicate that it stood to the left of the main structure. The painted surface, still largely intact, shows Saint Catherine of Alexandria holding a book and martyr's palm; she is identified by her traditional attributes of a crown and a wheel, partially visible at her feet. The saint is dressed in a pale blue tunic and a brilliant orange cloak lined in gold and stands on an illusionistically depicted stone or marble platform against a gold background. Enclosing her figure is a Gothic niche of raised pastiglia with spiral colonettes—now visible only on the lower right—supporting a trefoil arch. Above and below the image are two equal quadrants with an elaborate acanthus-leaf motif in pastiglia against a stippled gold ground. The undercut, partially beveled edges of the block (fig. 1) and remains of gesso strips at the top and bottom of the fragment could suggest the architectural subdivision of the original pilaster into two or more tiers of saints. The extent of the decorated surface between saints, however, would be unusual for a monumental complex and may imply a more modest structure with perhaps just one saint on each side.



Fig. 1. Detail of the *Pilaster Fragment with Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, showing the beveled edges of the block

Notable for its delicate handling and preciously decorated surfaces, the Yale *Saint Catherine* is first mentioned in a letter dated December 5, 1930, and addressed by Edward Hutton in London to the New York collector Robert Lehman, who had recently established a joint account with Hutton for the purchase of works of art.¹ The subject of the letter was Hutton's proposed acquisition for immediate resale of the present fragment, then owned by the Florentine art dealer Elia Volpi. The proposition was apparently turned down by Lehman since Hutton bought the painting from Volpi in 1932 and later (in 1953) donated it to the Yale University Art Gallery as part of a financial arrangement with Maitland Lee Griggs, son of the collector Maitland Fuller Griggs. In his 1930 letter to Lehman, Hutton had attributed the *Saint Catherine* to either Sassetta or Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, highlighting its exceptional quality and state of preservation. The work went seemingly unnoticed in scholarly publications, however, until it was included by Bernard Berenson in his

1963 compilation of Rossello's oeuvre.² The attribution was reiterated by Charles Seymour, Jr., followed by Federico Zeri and Carol Talbert Peters.³ As in other instances in Rossello's production, however, the dating of the fragment has been inconsistent. Whereas Seymour catalogued the image as a late effort, between 1430 and 1440, Talbert Peters compared it to Rossello's triptych in the Museo della Collegiata, Empoli, and assigned both works to a very precocious phase in the artist's development, preceding his earliest documented picture, the *Saint Blaise* in Florence Cathedral, completed around 1408.⁴

While Talbert Peters's assessment is not questioned in the only two mentions of the Yale fragment postdating her study,⁵ her comparisons with the *Saint Blaise* and the Empoli altarpiece are unpersuasive. The hard, incisive drawing technique and austere quality that distinguishes both of those images, still reminiscent of fourteenth-century models, is at odds with the naive charm and sensitive treatment of the present figure. Compared to the representation of the same saint in the Empoli triptych, the Yale *Saint Catherine* is distinguished by rounder, softer proportions and by a more nuanced approach in the handling of individual features that is consistent with those works usually gathered around the next fixed points in the artist's chronology, following the *Saint Blaise*: the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, datable on the basis of a fragmentary inscription to around 1424–25; and the illuminations in a gradual dated 1429 in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Prato.⁶ The doll-like features of the Yale *Saint Catherine* and the concern for exquisite decorative details, as well as the luminous palette, recall, in particular, the vivacious figures painted by the artist in a predella panel with the *Nativity* and *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 2) in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia, most recently dated to around 1425 but possibly slightly later.⁷ Formerly located in the church of Sant'Egidio in Poggio di Croce, near Preci (Umbria), the predella belonged to an unidentified altarpiece, of which no other elements are known. Although the format of the scenes suggests, perhaps, a more modern kind of structure than the one that included the Yale *Saint Catherine*, the Perugia predella is distinguished by the same tooling of the haloes and similar treatment of the gold ground between the images, alternating stippled surfaces with almost identical leaf motifs and patterns of incised lines. The stylistic correspondences point to a near-contemporary date of execution for both works, between the middle and end of the third decade of the fifteenth century, when the artist appears to have been

intimately familiar with the models of Lorenzo Monaco. Among other paintings from the same period that also seem closely related to the Yale *Saint Catherine* are the remains of a dismembered triptych comprising a *Virgin and Child* formerly in the collection of Carl Moll, Vienna (present location unknown), and a lateral with Saints Peter and Bartholomew now in the Museo Diocesano, Pistoia.⁸ The loss of the Pistoia panel's outer framing elements makes it impossible to determine whether the present work might have been included in the same complex; the remains of the original pastiglia decoration in the pinnacle above the saints does not correspond exactly to that of the Yale pilaster. —PP



Fig. 2. Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, *The Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1425. Tempera and gold on panel, 35.3 × 145 cm (13 7/8 × 56 1/8 in.). Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, inv. no. 982

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Berenson 1963, 1:193; Seymour 1970, 174, no. 126, 175, fig. 126; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 601; Talbert Peters 1981, 40–41, 51, 241–42, no. 14, pl. 3; Edelstein 1998; Alice Chiostrini, in Hollberg, Tartuferi, and Parenti 2020, 204

NOTES

1. A copy of the letter is preserved in the curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery, and in the Robert Lehman Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Papers, box L-2, folder 9. From the wording of the letter, it appears that Lehman first suggested a joint account in 1929; see also Robert Lehman Papers, box 17, folder 10.
2. Berenson 1963, 1:193
3. Seymour 1970, 174–75, no. 126, fig. 126; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 601; and Talbert Peters 1981, 40–41, 51, 241–42, no. 14, pl. 3.
4. Seymour's suggestion (based on a purported conversation with Ugo Procacci) that the fragment might be part of an altarpiece

- in the Galleria dell'Accademia from the high altar of Santa Maria Novella is puzzling. Neither of the two altarpieces by Rossello now in the Accademia come from Santa Maria Novella nor have they ever been associated with that church.
5. Edelstein 1998; and Alice Chiostrini, in Hollberg, Tartuferi, and Parenti 2020, 204.
 6. Inv. no. 1890 n. 8460; and MS D, no. 5, respectively. On these works, see, most recently, Michela Palmeri, in Hollberg, Tartuferi, and Parenti 2020, 207–17, nos. 46–47 (with previous bibliography); and Sara Giacomelli, in Natali, Neri Lusanna, and Tartuferi 2012, 280–83, nos. 91–92.
 7. See Garibaldi 2015, 332–34, no. 123 (with previous bibliography).
 8. Inv. no. 105. The ex-Moll *Madonna* last appeared on the art market in 1974; sale, Sotheby's, London, July 10, 1974, lot 8. According to notes in the Fototeca Zeri, Foundation Federico Zeri, Bologna, inv. no. 10547, by February 1978 it was reportedly with the Colnaghi firm in London. The Pistoia panel was recognized as part of the same structure by Giacomo Guazzini; see Guazzini 2015, 10, 12, pl. 1.



Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, *Virgin and Child in Glory with Saint John the Baptist, Saint Peter, and Two Angels*

Artist	Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, Florence, ca. 1377–1456
Title	<i>Virgin and Child in Glory with Saint John the Baptist, Saint Peter, and Two Angels</i>
Date	ca. 1415–20
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 81.5 × 49.8 cm (32 1/8 × 19 5/8 in.); picture surface: 81.5 × 47.3 cm (32 1/8 × 18 5/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.219

Provenance

Marchese Alfonso Tacoli-Canacci (1724–1801), Florence, 1789–96; Cesare Canessa (1863–1922) and Ercole Canessa (1868–1929) Collection, New York and Paris, by 1924; C. and E. Canessa sale, American Art Galleries, New York, January 25–26, 1924, lot 172; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1924

Condition

The panel, of a vertical wood grain, is composed of three planks measuring, from left to right, 14, 24, and 11 centimeters wide. It has been cut on all four sides and thinned to a depth of 2.2 centimeters. The paint and gilded surfaces have been severely abraded throughout. The gold ground is almost entirely lost around the Virgin and Child; it is slightly better preserved in the haloes of the figures and within the lobes of the missing engaged frame. Two areas of spandrel decoration outside the frame margins have been reduced to triangles of gesso preparation. The Christ Child's head and torso and the faces of the two flanking angels are worn to a pale gray-green preparatory layer. The Baptist is similarly worn, revealing a darker green underpaint, while the faces of

the Virgin and Saint Peter retain slightly greater modeling effects. The blue tail feathers (or wing tips?) of the cherubim at the top of the panel are lost entirely. Shadows in the Virgin's blue robe and in the draperies of the two figures at the left were selectively overcleaned in a restoration of 1958–59, which also left deep gouges in the center of the panel, near the Child's right thigh. The figures on the right, though abraded, were left undisturbed except for aggressive cleaning of Peter's rose-colored lower garment.

Discussion

As indicated by a comparison with early photography (fig. 1), the appearance of this work has been greatly compromised by past interventions. The image conflates the traditional theme of the Madonna of Humility, in which the Virgin is shown seated on the ground, with the celestial vision of the Virgin and Child in Glory, where she is suspended in the sky and surrounded by golden rays. In the present instance, the Virgin was originally placed against a gilded, brocaded cloth of honor, now reduced to the original bole preparation. Framing the Virgin and Child as in a mandorla are two cherubim, who close off the composition at the top; two standing angels bearing

offerings of lilies in a vase, at the sides; and a red seraph with spread wings at the bottom. Standing on a porphyry floor, in the viewer's realm, are Saint John the Baptist, who raises his left hand in a gesture of presentation, and Saint Peter. In the middle between them are two large vases of lilies. The palette, now less discernible as a result of the abraded surface, once consisted of delicate pastel tones, contrasted with brilliant hues of blue, yellow, and orange.



Fig. 1. *Virgin and Child in Glory with Saint John the Baptist, Saint Peter, and Two Angels*, before 1958



Fig. 2. Reverse of *Virgin and Child in Glory with Saint John the Baptist, Saint Peter, and Two Angels*, showing Tacoli-Canacci label

The earliest record of the Yale *Virgin and Child* is in the inventories of the famous eighteenth-century dealer and collector, the marchese Alfonso Tacoli-Canacci, whose label appears on the back of the panel (fig. 2). The painting is cited in the 1789, 1792, and 1796 lists with an attribution to Agnolo Gaddi and is described in the following terms: “A gold ground picture with gothic lunette above, showing the Madonna and Child, with Cherubim, and two Angels on the sides, with vases of flowers; in the foreground are Saint John the Baptist, on the right, and Saint Peter, on the left. B. [braccia] 1 2/3-B. 1 – By Angelo Gaddi – of [sic] Taddeo Gaddi – 1324.1387 – 3.”¹ Its subsequent whereabouts are unknown; the picture did not reappear on the art market until 1924, when it was included in the New York sale of the Ercole Canessa collection and purchased by Maitland Griggs. The Canessa auction catalogue listed the painting with an attribution to Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, confirmed by Richard Offner. In an undated expert opinion, Offner pointed out the losses to the original surface already evident at the time but also highlighted the work’s intimate charm and the essential qualities of the artist: “This is one of those minor masters, never without charm, who, if he lacks the great sturdy traits of his native Florence, is unflinching and exquisitely sensitive. In Mr. Griggs’ little panel which has been rubbed in cleaning, there is a lovely delicacy of tone; and ‘quality’—by which I understand evidence at every point of a caressing love of the material. The painting reveals an intimacy and a dainty sobriety of sentiment, which even his master

Lorenzo Monaco rarely possesses.”² Offner went on to describe the Yale *Virgin and Child* as a typical work of Rossello, sharing the characteristics of two altarpieces universally attributed to him in the Galleria dell’Accademia, Florence: the monumental *Coronation of the Virgin*, datable on the basis of a fragmentary inscription to around 1424–25; and the slightly later triptych of the *Virgin and Child between Saints John the Baptist, Francis, Mary Magdalen, and John the Evangelist*.³

Following Raimond van Marle, who mentioned the Yale *Virgin and Child* among a group of works produced by Rossello after the Accademia *Coronation*, Bernard Berenson and Federico Zeri included the panel in the artist’s oeuvre.⁴ Since then, modern scholarship has not questioned the picture’s attribution, but efforts to determine its place in the reconstruction of Rossello’s chronology—anchored by few secure points of reference—have not been convincing. While Charles Seymour, Jr., advanced a date around 1440,⁵ Carol Talbert Peters classified the Yale *Virgin and Child* more broadly as a product of the artist’s “Earlier Middle Period,” in the 1430s⁶—a decade that is marked on one end by the artist’s illuminations in a gradual in the Museo dell’Opera del Duomo, Prato, dated 1429, and on the other by the signed and dated 1439 *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena.⁷ The dynamic pose of the Yale Christ Child and the turbulent folds of the Virgin’s mantle, however, lend the present image an agitated atmosphere that contrasts sharply with the delicate equilibrium of the Prato miniatures. While the latter anticipate the calm, balanced control of the Siena *Coronation*, the Yale *Virgin and Child* relates to an earlier phase in the artist’s development, represented by the *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* in the Museo Diocesano in San Miniato al Tedesco (Pisa) (fig. 3), datable on circumstantial evidence between around 1415 and 1420.⁸ Identical in proportions and facial morphology to the Yale *Virgin* and enveloped in a similar flow of cascading material, the San Miniato *Saint Catherine* also shares the loose handling and unruly graphic energy of the present panel. In contrast to the artist’s efforts in the following decade, which adhere more closely to the example of Lorenzo Monaco, the San Miniato and Yale panels betray Rossello’s response to the more vivacious Late Gothic idiom of Jacopo Starnina, whose eccentric approach to traditional subjects exerted a powerful influence on Florentine painting during this period. Certain elements of the Yale composition, like the restless attitude of the Christ Child or the combination of vase-bearing angels and cherubim around the Virgin, may in fact owe a debt to Starnina’s own rendering of the same subject in devotional panels such as the *Virgin and Child*

in *Glory between Saints John the Baptist and Nicholas* in the Galleria dell’Accademia, Florence (fig. 4), most recently dated between around 1405 and 1410.⁹



Fig. 3. Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, ca. 1415–20. Tempera and gold on panel, 205 × 78.5 cm (80 3/4 × 30 7/8 in.). Museo Diocesano, San Miniato al Tedesco (Pisa)



Fig. 4. Jacopo Starnina, *Virgin and Child in Glory between Saints John the Baptist and Nicholas*, ca. 1405–10. Tempera and gold on panel, 104.5 × 58.2 cm (41 1/8 × 62 1/4 in.). Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 441



Fig. 5. Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, *Virgin and Child in Glory*, ca. 1430–35. Tempera and gold on panel, 166.2 × 63.5 cm (65 1/2 × 25 in.). Museo Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona, inv. no. 15932

Based on formal and stylistic analogies with the San Miniato *Saint Catherine*, a comparable chronology between around 1415 and 1420 also seems plausible for the Yale *Virgin and Child*. The panel is the earliest among several versions of the *Virgin and Child in Glory* with attendant saints that were produced in Rossello's busy workshop and that were most likely intended for private devotion in domestic settings. Two other examples, similar in dimensions to the Yale picture, are located in the Museo Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona (fig. 5), and in a private collection. Both are more consistent in style with the 1429 miniatures and with the Siena *Coronation* and have been convincingly dated in the fourth decade of the fifteenth century.¹⁰ —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

American Art Galleries 1924, lot 172; "Paintings Sold at Auction" 1924–25, 310; van Marle 1927, 56, fig. 32; Berenson 1932a, 494; Frankfurter 1937, 30; Berenson 1963, 1:193; Seymour 1970, 174, no.

125, fig. 125; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Fremantle 1975, fig. 968; Talbert Peters 1981, 94–97, 243–45, no. 15, pl. 15; Edelstein 1998; Buonocore 2005, 218, no. 394; Elisa Camporeale, in Caetano and Sbaraglio 2020, 100

NOTES

1. "106-Tavola. Quadro con fondo d'oro nella sommità a lunette Gottaica [sic] Rappresentante la Madonna col Bambino, con Cherubini, e due Angeli lateralmente, con vasi di Fiori; nel piano a destra San Giovanni Battista ed'a sinistra San Pietro. B. 1 2/3-B. 1 - Di Angelo Gaddi - Di Taddeo Gaddi - 1324.1387 - 3"; see A. Tacoli-Canacci, *Etruria Pittrice* (Florence, 1789), Real Biblioteca, Madrid, MS II/574, inv. 106, as cited by Buonocore 2005, 218, no. 394. The fragmentary label on the reverse of the Yale panel has both the 1789 and 1792 inventory numbers, recorded in ink: "N. 106 [crossed out] 81. / . . . A. Gaddi / . . . discepolo . . . / 1324." The measurements of the panel in braccia correspond to the dimensions of the Yale picture.
2. Richard Offner, recorded in curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
3. Inv. nos. 1890 n. 8460, 1890 n. 475. For these works, see, most recently, Michela Palmeri, in Hollberg, Tartuferi, and Parenti 2020, 207–17, nos. 46–47 (with previous bibliography). The triptych is dated by Palmeri between 1425 and 1430.
4. van Marle 1927, 56, fig. 32; Berenson 1932a, 494; Berenson 1963, 1:193; and Federico Zeri, in Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600.
5. Seymour 1970, 174, no. 125, fig. 125.
6. Talbert Peters 1981, 94–97, 243–45, no. 15, pl. 15.
7. For the Prato gradual, see Sara Giacomelli, in Natali, Neri Lusanna, and Tartuferi 2012, 280–83, nos. 91–92; the Siena *Coronation* is illustrated in Torriti 1977, 409, no. 608, fig. 491.
8. The *Saint Catherine* is a pendant to a *Saint Michael* by Lippo d'Andrea in the same museum. The pair, formerly in the church of San Domenico in San Miniato, were first dated between 1415 and 1420 by Serena Padovani (in *Tesori d'arte antica* 1979, 55–56, 64), based on stylistic considerations. The subsequent recovery of a 1416 document recording Lippo's involvement in a series of frescoes in San Domenico has allowed modern scholarship to posit that the panels were most likely commissioned around the same time. See Chiodo 2008, 87.
9. Alberto Lenza, in Hollberg, Tartuferi, and Parenti 2020, 54–57, no. 9.
10. Elisa Camporeale, in Caioni 2011, 80–85.

The Sienese School



“Pseudo Dietisalvi di Speme,” *The Crucifixion with the Penitent Magdalen*

Artist	“Pseudo Dietisalvi di Speme,” Siena, active last third 13th century
Title	<i>The Crucifixion with the Penitent Magdalen</i>
Date	ca. 1270–80
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	65.1 × 96.5 cm (25 5/8 × 38 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.2

Inscriptions

on cross, •IC•XC•

Provenance

Unidentified church near Siena; James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The panel was thinned and cradled in 1930 and cleaned in 1954. It is constructed of two horizontally grained boards. The top and vertical sides have been cropped. The barb along each of the inclined sides indicates that the painting originally had an engaged frame. Most of the paint layer and raised mordant gilding are in excellent condition. The gold background is also original and well preserved. There are three empty pastiglia wells in Christ’s halo, where stones or cut glass were once set.

Discussion

This beautifully preserved panel, described as a “little masterpiece” by Richard Offner, was probably the pediment above a large altarpiece or reliquary cupboard.¹ Occupying the full height of the composition is the Crucified Christ, whose sharply curved body is set

against a brilliant blue Cross inscribed with His name in Greek letters. The deep folds of His ochre loincloth are highlighted by delicate gold striations. Kneeling in adoration below the Cross, her arms wrapped around its base, is the diminutive figure of the penitent Mary Magdalen, clad in a scarlet robe also highlighted in gold. Arranged symmetrically around the Crucified Christ are two groups of figures whose size and placement follow the slope of the panel. Standing on the left is the full-length figure of the mourning Virgin followed by Mary Cleophas and Mary Salome, each shown in a different attitude of distress. On the opposite side is the mourning Saint John the Evangelist, behind whom is a lively group of soldiers in various dynamic poses. A centurion, shown with a Jewish headdress, directs attention toward the Cross in a gesture of declamation, proclaiming to his companions that “truly this was the son of God” (Matthew 27:54). Two of the soldiers behind him look up in awe, while a third recoils in fear.

The panel entered the Yale collection with an attribution to Giunta Pisano proposed by James Jackson Jarves, who stated that it “formerly filled the head of a doorway in a church near Siena, for which it was painted.”² Since then, modern scholarship has concurred in identifying the work as a product of the Sienese school in the third or

final quarter of the thirteenth century, although the specific attribution has gone back and forth between Guido da Siena and “shop of Guido da Siena.” First published as a work of Guido by Osvald Sirén,³ it was assigned to the artist’s shop by virtually all subsequent scholarship, including in James Stubblebine’s monograph on the artist and in Charles Seymour’s catalogue of the Yale collection.⁴ In 1991, however, Luciano Bellosi proposed a radical revision of Guido’s corpus and reinstated the Yale panel among the artist’s autograph production.⁵ The attribution to Guido was accepted by Carl Strehlke in an unpublished checklist of the Italian paintings at Yale, whereas Daniela Bohde cited Laurence Kanter’s unpublished attribution to Dietisalvi di Speme.⁶

As was noted by Offner, who wrote that the Yale *Crucifixion* “involves all the difficulties . . . on which attributions to Guido repose,”⁷ any consideration of this image brings to the fore the problems inherent in the very definition of the artist’s personality, whose only signed work, the large *Virgin and Child* in the church of San Domenico, Siena, was extensively repainted in the fourteenth century by a Ducciesque hand. The date 1221 inscribed on the San Domenico *Virgin*, moreover, is now generally thought to refer to a specific event in the Dominican order rather than to the painting’s year of execution, upending the traditional view of Guido as the pioneering founder of the Sienese school. Most modern scholarship has been divided between those who use Guido’s name “to cover a formula rather than to confine a personality”⁸ and view these works as the product of a large, typically medieval workshop, made up of distinct personalities employing the same models, and those who have embraced the reassessment of the artist proposed by Bellosi. The latter argued that Guido was just one of several minor painters active in Siena in the 1270s and 1280s and distributed many of the works formerly gathered under his name among equally accomplished but lesser-known personalities, such as Dietisalvi di Speme, Rinaldo da Siena, and Guido di Graziano.

While Bellosi’s study was instrumental in expanding the panorama of Sienese duecento painting beyond Guido’s name, his reconstruction of the artist’s oeuvre is not entirely convincing. Significantly, of the thirteen works in Bellosi’s list, only one has been universally attributed to the same hand that painted the San Domenico *Virgin*: the dossal dated 1270 from the church of San Francesco in Colle Val d’Elsa, now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, known as “Dossal no. 7.” This work, which is entirely consistent with the intact portions of the San Domenico *Virgin*—namely, the Redeemer and angels in the gable—

was rightly viewed by Offner as fundamental for assessing Guido’s personality and anchoring his activity. Yet, among the remaining panels assigned by Bellosi to Guido, only a handful appear to reflect a sufficient proximity to that work to warrant the attribution. Others, including the Yale *Crucifixion*, seem to be the product of several distinct and independent personalities.⁹



Fig. 1. “Pseudo Dietisalvi di Speme,” *The Last Judgment*, ca. 1270–80. Tempera and gold on panel, 141 × 99 cm (55 1/2 × 39 in.). Museo Archeologico e d’Arte della Maremma, Grosseto

It has often been remarked that, in contrast to the dry technique and tight, meticulous execution that characterizes Dossal no. 7, the Yale *Crucifixion* is distinguished by a markedly more pronounced chiaroscuro and rounding of forms as well as by a more fluid and denser application of paint. Whereas previous authors had interpreted these elements as indicative of a different hand, Bellosi, followed by Silvia Giorgi,¹⁰ presented them as evidence of Cimabue’s presumed impact on Guido’s later production. Both authors placed the Yale *Crucifixion* in the same advanced moment in Guido’s career as the *Last Judgment* from the church of the Misericordia in Grosseto (fig. 1), now in the Museo Archeologico e d’Arte della Maremma, Grosseto, another

work otherwise attributed to the artist's workshop. There is no question that the Yale *Crucifixion* and the Grosseto *Last Judgment* are the product of the same hand, as evidenced by a comparison between the standing angels around the seated Christ and the female figures in the Yale panel or between the heads of the small figures in the narrative scenes below Christ and those of the soldiers in the *Crucifixion*. Yet, it is difficult to explain the qualitative differences between these two works and Dossal no. 7 in terms of a coherent stylistic evolution, as suggested by Bellosi. The expressive liveliness of the figures, as much as the fluid modeling of the draperies and broader handling of the forms, appears incompatible with the rigid, abstract idiom of Guido's dossal and denotes an altogether different artistic sensibility.

Both the Yale *Crucifixion* and the Grosseto *Last Judgment* seem to overlap, to varying degrees, with some of the production currently gathered—in the wake of Bellosi's research—under the name of Guido's contemporary Dietisalvi di Speme: the exterior scenes of the *Saint Clare* reliquary shutters and the *Beato Andrea Gallerani* reliquary shutters in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena¹¹; the frescoes in the crypt of Siena Cathedral¹²; and the series of panels from the Badia Ardenga formerly included in the *Madonna del Voto* altarpiece for the duomo.¹³ This last commission was viewed by Bellosi as the result of a collaboration between Dietisalvi, author of the central panel with the Virgin and Child, and Guido, who supposedly acted in a subsidiary capacity and intervened in some of the narrative scenes in the Christological cycle.¹⁴ The division of hands proposed by Bellosi, however, is not persuasive nor is there evidence of Guido's participation in any parts of this complex. As noted by Barbara John, the various panels reflect a single, unified pictorial vision,¹⁵ notwithstanding the possible intervention of assistants in the execution. Undoubtedly related to the Yale *Crucifixion* is the scene of the Flagellation now in the Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, Germany (fig. 2), where the stance and bodily proportions as well as the gesture of the flagellant on the left provide a virtually identical counterpart to the figure of the pointing centurion below the Cross.



Fig. 2. Pseudo Dietisalvi di Speme, *The Flagellation of Christ*, ca. 1270–80. Tempera and gold on panel, 33.9 × 45.8 cm (13 3/8 × 18 in.). Lindenau-Museum, Altenburg, Germany, inv. no. 8

Although these works betray the style of a distinct personality, the identification with Dietisalvi di Speme, an artist who seems to have specialized primarily in the decoration of *biccherna* covers, is problematic. According to documents, Dietisalvi was responsible for painting no fewer than twenty-nine *biccherna* in the period between 1259 and 1288, yet just four of them—dated 1264, 1267, 1270, and 1282—appear to be extant. The 1267 *biccherna*, however, depicts only the coat of arms of the *provedditori*, and the one painted in 1282 is possibly by a different artist. The coarse execution and minute scale of the figures in these small images, moreover, as already noted by Hayden Maginnis,¹⁶ make any comparisons with monumental painting tentative at best. Scholars such as Anna Maria Giusti and Ada Labriola, in fact, denied any relationship between the *biccherna* and “Guidesque” production, suggesting instead more persuasive comparisons with contemporary Siennese manuscript illumination.¹⁷

Recognizing some of the above issues, John preferred to attribute the *Madonna del Voto* altarpiece to a so-called Master of the *Madonna del Voto*. That pseudonym might be misleading, however, given previous gatherings under the same name of other images unrelated to the present grouping. For now, a tentative label of “Pseudo Dietisalvi di Speme” seems the most prudent way of isolating the hand of this painter from that of Guido da Siena and other anonymous contemporaries.

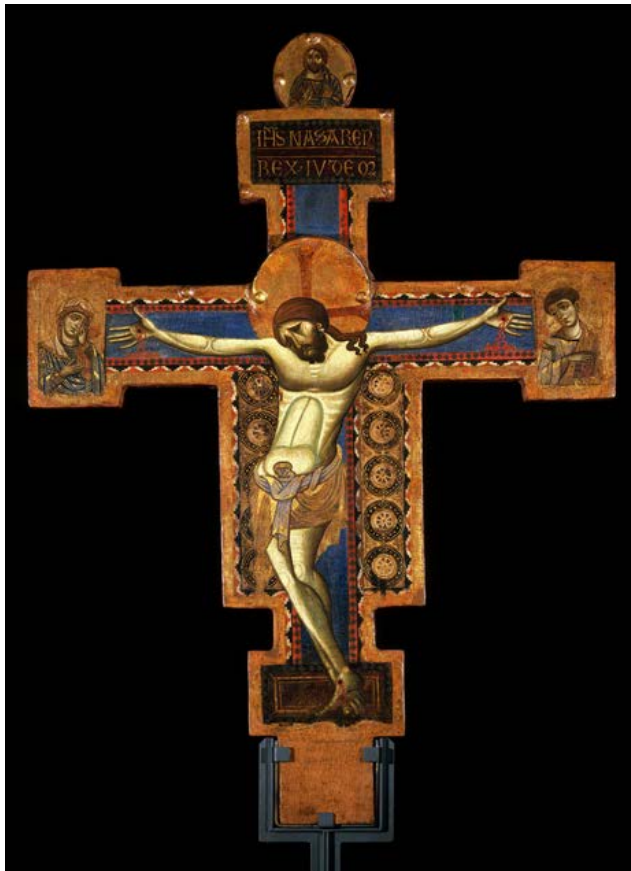


Fig. 3. Attributed to Giunta Pisano, *Processional Cross*, ca. 1250. Tempera and gold on panel, 133 × 83 cm (52 3/8 × 32 5/8 in.). Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, inv. no. 2325

Based primarily on iconographic grounds, most authors have concurred in dating the Yale *Crucifixion* to the decade between 1270 and 1280. Curt Weigelt was the first author to point out that the unusual detail of the crouching soldier in the Yale panel derives from Nicola Pisano's *Crucifixion* on the pulpit for Siena Cathedral, completed in 1268.¹⁸ The artist's debt to Nicola Pisano has been emphasized by subsequent authors, who have also highlighted the influence of his relief in the depiction of the Crucified Christ with crossed legs and twisted feet held in place by one nail—a motif that traces its origin to northern European art rather than Byzantine representations and that also appears in the 1260 pulpit in Pisa.¹⁹ Less discussed, however, is the relationship between the Yale panel and the work of Giunta Pisano, whose influence is betrayed not only in the exaggerated arc of Christ's elongated body²⁰ but also in the exquisitely rendered loincloth and the deep shadows that give expression to the suffering on Christ's face. Not coincidentally, the closest painted precedent for this rendering of the Crucified Christ is the double-sided processional cross from the monastery of San Benedetto in San Paolo a Ripa d'Arno, now in the Museo Nazionale

di San Matteo, Pisa (fig. 3), a work attributed to Giunta himself or otherwise assigned to a "closest Pisan follower," baptized "Master of the Crucifix of San Paolo a Ripa d'Arno."²¹ Generally dated around the middle of the thirteenth century or slightly later, the San Benedetto cross represents an iconographic unicum in Giuntesque production in its depiction of Christ's crossed legs and feet, which mirrors the present work, suggesting that just such an image may have provided the model for our artist. The example of Giunta, whose lost crucifix for the Upper Church of Assisi provided the archetype for all subsequent representations of Saint Francis kneeling at the foot of the Cross,²¹ may also have inspired the motif—still rare in Italian painting at this date—of the penitent Magdalen embracing the Cross in the Yale *Crucifixion*. Other elements from the same structure, already dismembered by the time Jarves saw this fragment hanging above a doorway, are yet to be identified. —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

- Jarves 1860, 42, no. 12; Jarves 1861, 114, pl. A, fig. 3; Sturgis 1868, 24–25, no. 11; Brown 1871, 12, fig. 11; Rankin 1905, 7, no. 11; Sirén 1915, 277–79, fig. 1; Sirén 1916a, 7–9, no. 2, fig. 2; Sirén and Brockwell 1917, 110; van Marle 1920a, 270; Weigelt 1922, 15:284; Offner 1927a, 2, 37, fig. 26; Berenson 1932a, 268; Edgell 1932, 33; Berenson 1936, 231; Garrison 1949, 116, no. 298; Meiss 1951, 150n80; Steegmuller 1951, 293; Coor-Achenbach 1953, 257–58; Stubblebine 1964, 16, 91–92, 102, no. 18, fig. 52; Berenson 1968, 1:205; Seymour 1970, 13–15, no. 3; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 599; Seymour et al. 1972, 12, no. 3; Offner and Maginnis 1981, 2, 37, fig. 26; Sullivan 1985, 41, 43n25, fig. 19; Derbes 1989, 195, 197, 202n29, fig. 14; Bellosi 1991a, 7–8, 58, 67, fig. 8; Kenney 1992, 131; Dean 2001, 18–19, no. 2; Maginnis 2002, 472, 485n1; Villers and Lehner 2002, 295n22, 297, 298–99n27; Silvia Giorgi, in Bagnoli et al. 2003, 61; Bellosi 2003, 39; Foskolou 2011–12, 274n16; Benay and Rafanelli 2015, 64, fig. 2.2; Bohde 2019, 8n9, fig. 5

NOTES

1. Offner 1927a, 37.
2. Jarves 1860, 42, no. 12.
3. Sirén 1915, 277–79, fig. 1.
4. Stubblebine 1964, 16, 91–92, 102, no. 18, fig. 52; and Seymour 1970, 13–15, no. 3.
5. Bellosi 1991a, 7–8, 58, 67, fig. 8.
6. Bohde 2019, 8n9, fig. 5.
7. Offner 1927a, 37.
8. Offner 1927a, 37.

9. Above all, the present author agrees with most previous scholars in noting that the relationship between Dossal no. 7 and the more weakly executed Dossal no. 6 in the Siena Pinacoteca is purely iconographic. As noted by James Stubblebine, the latter was most likely painted by the same anonymous personality responsible for the *Virgin and Child* in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence (inv. no. 435); see Stubblebine 1964, 16, 91–92, 102, no. 18, fig. 52. Equally unconvincing is Bellosi's attribution to Guido of the *Virgin and Child* in the Princeton University Art Museum (inv. no. y1962-48, <https://artmuseum.princeton.edu/collections/objects/28816>)—another panel generally referred to the artist's workshop.
10. Silvia Giorgi, in Bagnoli et al. 2003, 61.
11. Inv. nos. 4–5.
12. For the division of hands in these frescoes, attributed to a team of painters including Dietisalvi di Speme, see Bagnoli 2003, 107–47.
13. The present author finds it difficult to regard the Galli Dunn *Virgin* and the San Bernardino *Virgin* as products of the same hand that painted the *Madonna del Voto*. These works appear to instead reflect the effort of three distinct and separate personalities.
14. The *Madonna del Voto* altarpiece comprised twelve scenes from the life and Passion of Christ and was formerly in the Badia Ardenga, outside Siena; it is currently divided among the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena; the Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, Germany; the Musée du Louvre, Paris; the Princeton University Art Museum, N.J.; the Museum Catherijneconvent, Utrecht, the Netherlands; and the Courtauld Institute of Art, London. The reconstruction of the original complex, based on research by Barbara John, Holger Manzke, and Jutta Penndorf (in John, Manzke, and Penndorf 2001) and by Caroline Villers and Astrid Lehner (in Villers and Lehner 2002), was questioned by Silvia Giorgi, in Bagnoli et al. 2003. However, it was later reconfirmed by Norman Muller based on unassailable technical evidence; see Muller 2004, 28–39.
15. Barbara John, in John, Manzke, and Penndorf 2001, 107.
16. Maginnis 2002, 472, 485n1.
17. Anna Maria Giusti, in Chelazzi Dini 1982, 37–30, no. 1, asserted categorically that the 1270 *biccherna* bore “no relationship” to the “Guidesque current” that in those years was taking hold in Siene painting and argued that it was stylistically linked instead to an earlier Romanesque tradition, still kept alive in Siena by local manuscript illuminators, such as those involved in the series of choir books decorated in 1271 for the church of Santa Maria dei Servi. Her observations were later expanded by Ada Labriola, in Labriola, De Benedictis, and Freuler 2002, 14, 256–58, who compared both the 1264 and 1270 *biccherna* to the work of the so-called Second Master of Santa Maria dei Servi. The only *biccherna* from the same decade that does, in fact, betray the hand of a distinct, accomplished personality also involved in large-scale production is the one executed in 1278 by Rinaldo da Siena (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, inv. no. M 580), first attributed to the artist by Giusti; see Giusti 1974, 275–78.
18. Weigelt 1922, 15:284.
19. Maria Laura Testi Cristiani noted the iconographic connection between this representation and the Crucifixions in the famous sketchbook (1225–35) of Villard de Honnecourt; see Testi Cristiani 1987, 248.
20. Dean 2001, 18.
21. Tartuferi 1991, 18–19, 74–76, no. 7. For the attribution to Giunta, first proposed by Peleo Bacci but rejected by Miklós Boskovits and Angelo Tartuferi, see, most recently, Lorenzo Carletti, in Burrese and Caleca 2005, 120–21, no. 12.
22. It has been argued that the 1236 cross may also have contained an image of the penitent Saint Francis as well as Brother Elia; see Faranda 2011, 7–27.



Master of Monte Oliveto, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Six Angels*

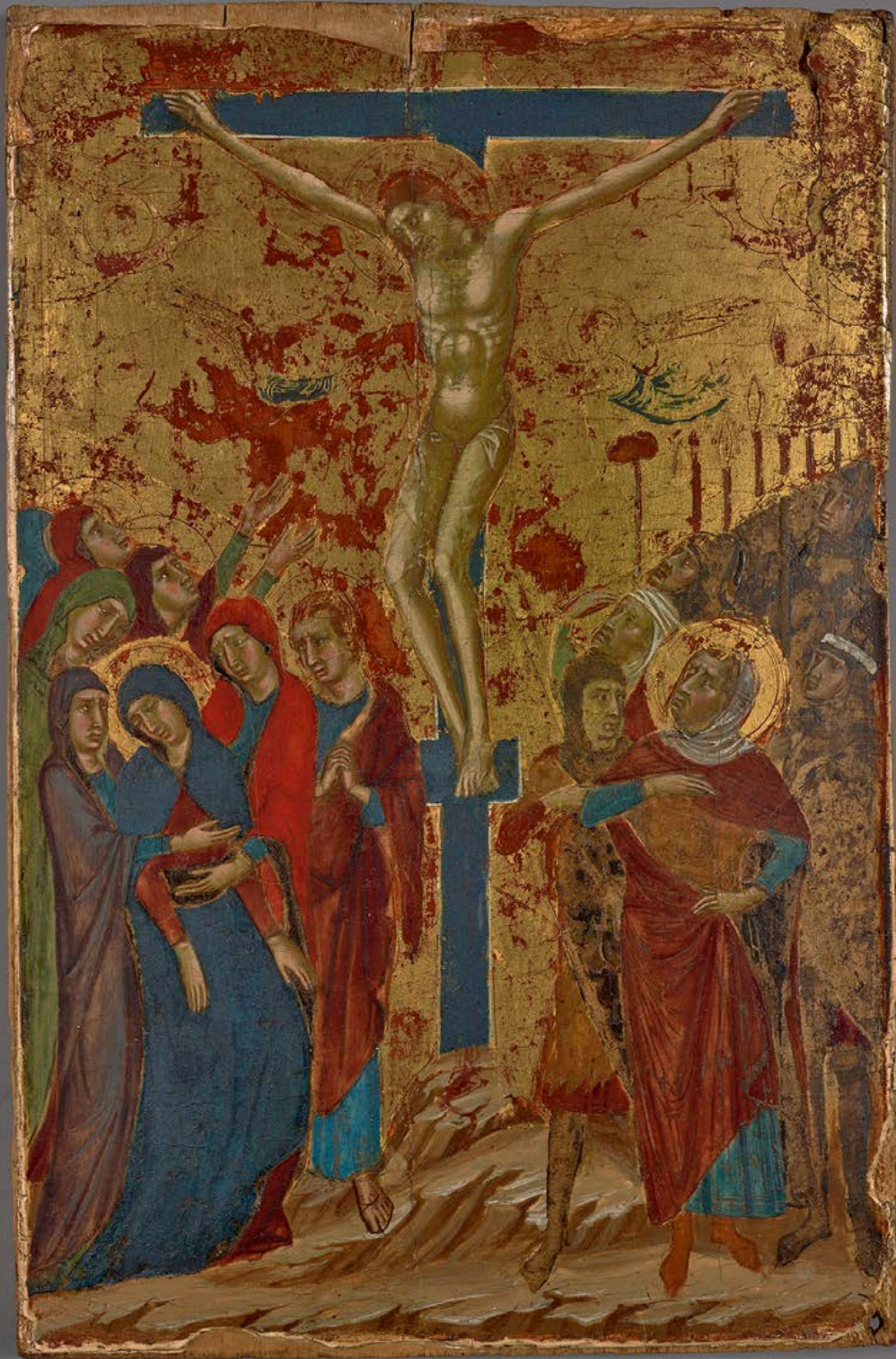
Artist	Master of Monte Oliveto, Siena, active ca. 1315–ca. 1335
Title	<i>Virgin and Child Enthroned with Six Angels</i>
Date	ca. 1315
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	33.4 × 22.2 cm (13 1/8 × 8 7/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.10a

For more on this panel, see Master of Monte Oliveto, *The Crucifixion*.

Condition

The panel, of a vertical wood grain, retains its original thickness of 1.4 centimeters, but six vertical channels have been routed into the reverse to relieve some of the pressure of a convex warp, and two dovetail battens have been cut into the back, cross-grain, to maintain the planarity of the support. Traces of an original gesso coating survive beneath a thick layer of wax impregnating the entire back, routed channels, and battens. The original engaged frame moldings have been

cut away on all four sides, but a continuous barb along the painted and gilt border indicates that none of the image has been lost. Two partial splits rising from the bottom at 9.5 and 17 centimeters from the left edge and two descending from the top at 5 and 13 centimeters from the left edge have not resulted in any appreciable loss of paint or gilding, except that an old retouch fills a loss on the Virgin's right shoulder at the end of one of the splits. The surface is covered with a thick, discolored varnish that was not removed, other than a small cleaning test in the lower-left corner, during the "restoration" of 1967 to which the companion *Crucifixion* was subjected.



Master of Monte Oliveto, *The Crucifixion*

Artist	Master of Monte Oliveto, Siena, active ca. 1315–ca. 1335
Title	<i>The Crucifixion</i>
Date	ca. 1315
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	33.0 × 21.9 cm (13 × 8 5/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.10b

Provenance

James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The panel, of a vertical wood grain, retains its original thickness of 1.4 centimeters, but four vertical channels have been routed into the reverse to relieve some of the pressure of a convex warp, and two dovetail battens have been cut into the back, cross-grain, to maintain the planarity of the support. Traces of an original gesso coating and possibly some black(?) pigment survive beneath a thick layer of wax impregnating the entire back, routed channels, and battens. The original engaged frame moldings have been cut away on all four sides, but a continuous barb along the painted and gilt border indicates that none of the image has been lost. A major split running the full height of the panel 10 centimeters from the left edge passes through the face of Christ, and a shorter split 2 centimeters from the right edge has resulted in a loss of gesso and gilding at the top edge. Further small losses have occurred on the left edge at the top, on the right edge at the bottom, and along the bottom edge at the left of center. An old drilled hole in the bottom-right corner corresponds to a similar partial hole in the bottom-left corner of the companion *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Six Angels*.

The paint surface was harshly cleaned by Andrew Petryn in 1967, revealing extensive losses in the silver armor of the crowd of soldiers at the right. These were lightly repaired in *tratteggio* during a treatment by Irma Passeri in 2008–9. Four angels flying around the arms of the Cross are largely missing, visible only as engraved outlines and small islands of blue paint in the bottom pair and red paint in the upper pair. The spear heads and a banner projecting from the crowd of soldiers onto the gold ground are now only visible as engraved outlines. The figure of Christ is much abraded, and His loincloth is mostly missing. Shell gold chrysoony on the robes of the centurion is well preserved.

Discussion

The two panels of this diptych (see Master of Monte Oliveto, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Six Angels*), now missing their original frames and the physical evidence of their attachment to each other, were originally catalogued by James Jackson Jarves as the work of Duccio, at a period when nearly all early Sienese paintings bore that attribution and none of the many followers of Duccio subsequently identified by scholars were as yet known.¹ Giacomo De Nicola first isolated a small *Maestà* in the monastery of Monte Oliveto Maggiore and with it the Jarves diptych as works by a distinct artist influenced by Duccio—an artist baptized the “Master of Monteoliveto”

by Cesare Brandi in 1933.² All subsequent authors have embraced this designation except for Charles Seymour, Jr., who seems to have been unaware of it despite the painting's long publication history.³ Lingering disagreement, to the extent that there is any, concerns only the chronology of this artist's work and his place within the development of the Ducciesque school of painting in Siena. For many scholars, the Master of Monte Oliveto was a direct follower of Duccio, while for others he was instead a follower of one of Duccio's pupils, specifically Segna di Bonaventura, and therefore reflects Ducciesque models only at second hand.

Opinions regarding the date of the Jarves diptych and of the work of the Master of Monte Oliveto in general tend to range within the first two decades of the fourteenth century. Amplifying an argument first advanced by Brandi, James Stubblebine contended that the left valve of the Jarves diptych recorded the design of a lost altarpiece (and that the right valve reflected one of the compositions within its predella) painted by Duccio in 1302 for the Cappella delle Nove in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, a presumably seminal work otherwise known only from mention of it in documents.⁴ As supposed copies of a painting dated 1302, Stubblebine argued that the Jarves diptych and the Master's eponymous work at the monastery of Monte Oliveto Maggiore were probably that artist's earliest efforts, painted very close in time to the lost original. This argument is based exclusively on a hypothetical iconographic relationship, not on style. While the Jarves diptych is undoubtedly the Monte Oliveto Master's earliest surviving painting, it has no direct chronological relationship to the Monte Oliveto *Maestà* itself, which must have been painted considerably later. Only two works correctly attributed to this artist use engraved rather than punched decoration in the haloes and along the borders of the gold ground: the Jarves diptych and the wings of a triptych in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 1), and both of these were manifestly painted later than Duccio's *Maestà* for the high altar of the cathedral of Siena (1308–11).⁵ All of the Master's other works employ more or less elaborate sequences of motif punches to decorate the gold grounds and are thus likely to date no earlier than ca. 1320.⁶ Given their uniformly small scale and apparently provincial distribution, a great number of these, perhaps a majority, may have been painted as late as the 1330s.

The Jarves diptych was included in the 1972 exhibition of "restored" paintings at Yale, the *Crucifixion* panel having been cleaned in 1967, the *Virgin and Child Enthroned* left for comparison in the state in which it had been found



Fig. 1. Master of Monte Oliveto, *Saints and Scenes from the Life of the Virgin*, ca. 1320. Tempera and gold on panel, left wing, overall, with engaged frame: 64.1 × 23.5 cm (25 1/4 × 9 1/4 in.); right wing, overall, with engaged frame: 63.8 × 23.8 cm (25 1/8 × 9 3/8 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Bequest of George Blumenthal, 1941, 41.190.31bc

following its previous treatment in 1915. Charles Seymour, Jr., wrote in the exhibition catalogue only that "the cleaned panel [i.e., the *Crucifixion*] reveals the original blues which had been obscured to black and the subtle play of textures in contrasting pigments."⁷ The *Virgin and Child Enthroned* was not commented upon in the exhibition catalogue. It reveals a complex structure that includes, in addition to discolored varnishes, unexpected strata of old repaints atypical of commercial reconstructions of the nineteenth century. Immediately apparent is the coarse, opaque texture of the cloth of honor behind the throne and angels, which contrasts clumsily with the translucent rose tones and elegant mordant gilding of the cloth covering the back and seat of the Virgin's throne. The latter is entirely consonant in pattern, and in the density and palette of its rendering, with fabric types included in a wide range of Ducciesque paintings, whereas the former is not. The confronted parrots or falcons decorating this upper fabric and the opacity of its colors are commonly encountered not in Sieneese but in Florentine panels, and not of the first but of the second half of the fourteenth century.⁸

To integrate this upper painted canopy with the rest of the composition, the artist responsible found it necessary to introduce several other adjustments. The top two angels on both sides of the Virgin's throne wear robes of the same dense, flat orange color that occurs in this fabric, whereas the lowest angel on each side is clad in robes of translucent rose with mordant gilt decoration. The orange tunics of the two angels at the upper left are painted over remnants of mordant gilding, and it is reasonable to conclude that they, too, were "restored" early in the panel's history. X-radiographs (fig. 2) reveal not only the broad, coarse brushwork by which these fabrics are constructed but also that they were painted around the hands of the angels, whereas the hands of the foreground angels are painted after—that is, on top of—their draperies. The same broad, coarse brushwork appears to reinforce all the white surfaces of the Virgin's throne. The Gothic spires that rise from the top corners of the throne, painted on top of the second cloth canopy, are clearly later additions: no comparable architectural forms are to be found in any other Ducciesque paintings, although they are frequently encountered in mid- and late fourteenth-century Florentine panels. The strong black outlines that reinforce all the forms in this painting are undoubtedly also later additions, as are the darkened oil glazes on the lining of the cloth of honor, the ends of the Virgin's cushions, and the inlays on her throne that achieve a chiaroscuro effect typically exploited by Florentine rather than Sieneese artists. Finally, evidence of an original layer of gold visible through pinpoint flaking losses in the upper cloth canopy suggest that the gold ground presently visible at the top of the panel is actually a second layer of gold laid atop the first.

While it may be presumed that these revisions to the original composition of the *Virgin and Child Enthroned* panel were made less than a century and perhaps only half a century after it was first painted, there is no immediately apparent reason why they might have been required, unless it may have been related to warpage of the panel causing losses around its engaged frame. If the alterations were meant to compensate for damages suffered by the panel, they have completely masked any physical scars they may have been intended to cover. It is possible that they were simply meant to update the panel to a fashionably later and more locally Florentine taste, a procedure encountered with some frequency in the fifteenth century that may have been more widely diffused in the fourteenth century than the paucity of surviving examples would seem to imply.⁹ Few certain indications of later intervention survive on the *Crucifixion* panel after its thorough 1967 cleaning. The thick white



Fig. 2. X-radiograph of the *Virgin and Child*

highlights applied to the edges of the rocks at the foot of the Cross may be so interpreted: X-radiography (fig. 3) shows that these highlights were painted around the feet of Saint John the Evangelist and over his toes, suggestive but not unequivocal evidence that they are part of the second and not the first campaign of work on the diptych. Pre-1967 photographs of the *Crucifixion* (fig. 4) show the spearheads outlined in black and dark, oil-glazed shadows on the greaves of the soldiers' armor and in the wings and draperies of the angels—all missing today—which may not have been later restorations in the conventional sense but instead fourteenth-century additions to the original composition in keeping with the alterations found in the companion panel. The coarsely ground blue pigment covering the Cross, which inexplicably fills only the arms and lower portion but not the top of the Cross, may also be later, as may be the blue surface of the Virgin's cloak, the poorly defined area of black(?) at her waist—seemingly a broad sash, but no such article of clothing is known in any other Ducciesque painting—and the indistinct areas of color filling the spaces between the braced legs of two of the soldiers in the foreground. —LK



Fig. 3. X-radiograph of *The Crucifixion*



Fig. 4. *The Crucifixion*, before 1967

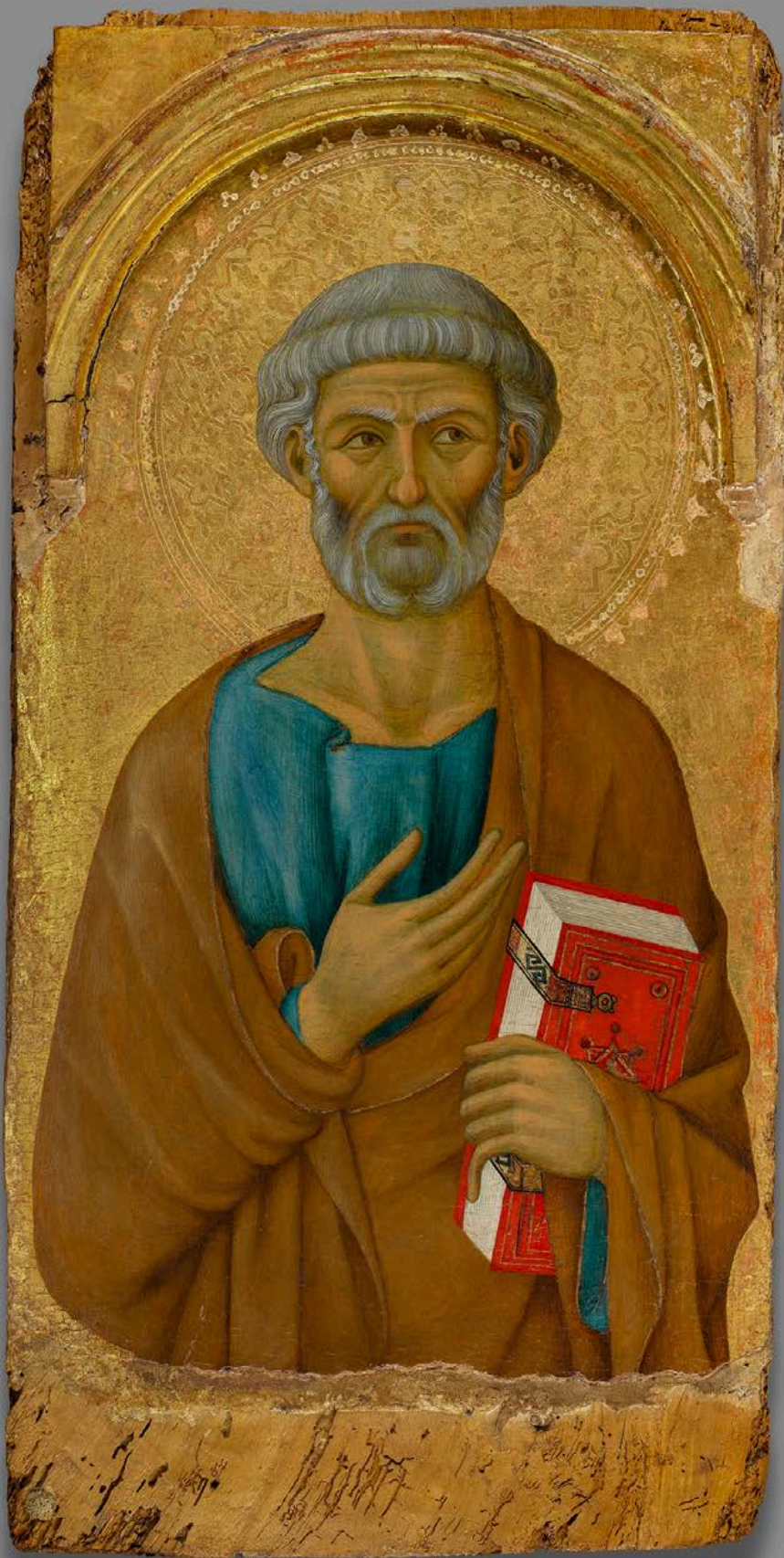
PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 44, no. 21; Sturgis 1868, 27–28; Brown 1871, 13, no. 14; Rankin 1895, 139–40; Perkins 1905, 76; Rankin 1905, 8, no. 14; De Nicola 1912b, 147; Sirén 1916a, 31–33; Offner 1927a, 4, 38; Venturi 1931, pls. 19–20; Berenson 1932a, 524; Brandi 1933, 176; Brandi 1951, 141n23; Coor-Achenbach 1955, 203, 207; Klesse 1967, 328; Berenson 1968, 1:83; Seymour 1970, 71, 73, nos. 49a–b; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 599; Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 43, no. 34; Stubblebine 1972, 240, 243, 245, 251, 260–61; Vertova 1973, 159–60; Zeri 1976b, 1:36; Stubblebine 1979, 94–95; Pope-Hennessy and Kanter 1987, 2, 4; Kanter 2010, 59–65

NOTES

1. Jarves 1860, 44, no. 21.
2. De Nicola 1912b, 147; and Brandi 1933, 176.
3. Seymour 1970, 71, 73, nos. 49a–b; and Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 43, no. 34.
4. Brandi 1951, 141n23; and Stubblebine 1979, 94–95.

5. Stubblebine 1979, 100, recognized the derivation of several scenes on the panels in figure 1 from prototypes on Duccio's cathedral *Maestà* of 1308–11 but did not acknowledge this as a *terminus post quem* for the Master of Monte Oliveto's early career. He furthermore assumed the wings were integral to the center panel (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 41.190.31a, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/440985>)—which he attributed to a suppositious Tabernacle 39 Master but which can now be identified as the work of Ugolino di Nerio—and therefore that, in this collaboration, it was the influence of the second artist on the Master of Monte Oliveto that accounted for the “softening” of the style of the latter. The wings and center panel of the Metropolitan triptych were actually assembled in comparatively modern times.
6. The introduction of motif punches as a regular practice in Sienese trecento painting is usually credited to Simone Martini around the years 1315–20. Such punches were used with irregular frequency in the thirteenth century, but after 1320 they came to be the norm for panel painting decoration in that city. They do not appear in Florentine painting until ca. 1333. See Skaug 2013.
7. Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 43.
8. Klesse 1967, 328, lists the Yale panel as a parallel example for her pattern no. 262, by Niccolò di Segna. A closer match, however, is to be found with her patterns no. 259, from a Florentine work dated 1372, or nos. 267 and 269, from paintings by the Master of Santa Verdiana (Tommaso del Mazza) in the last quarter of the fourteenth century.
9. One particularly relevant example is the *Virgin and Child* in the Robert Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 1975.1.10, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/459134>, catalogued by John Pope-Hennessy, in Pope-Hennessy and Kanter 1987, 24, no. 10, as by the Sienese painter Naddo Ceccarelli, modernized by a late fourteenth-century Florentine artist. The original passages in this painting are actually by Barna da Siena/Lippo Memmi, not Ceccarelli, but the circumstances of the panel's alterations nevertheless closely parallel those inferred here for the Jarves diptych by the Master of Monte Oliveto.



Master of Città di Castello, *Saint Peter*

Artist	Master of Città di Castello, Siena, active ca. 1290–ca. 1315/20
Title	<i>Saint Peter</i>
Date	ca. 1310–15
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 71.5 × 36.0 cm (28 1/8 × 14 1/8 in.); picture surface: 58.0 × 36.0 cm (22 7/8 × 14 1/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.242

For more on this panel, see Master of Città di Castello, *Saint John the Baptist*.

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, is 3.9 centimeters thick and appears not to have been thinned or cropped. It retains dowel holes 15 millimeters in diameter along both lateral edges: these are spaced approximately 54.5 centimeters apart on the right edge—5.3 centimeters from the top and 11 centimeters from the bottom, on center—and approximately 53 centimeters apart on the left edge, where the lower hole is 12 centimeters from the bottom and the upper, which has been all but obliterated by worm damage, appears to be 6.5 centimeters from the top. The spandrels and inner molding of the arched top are carved in an added layer of wood 12 millimeters deep, and the top molding of the arch is cut from a 7-millimeter-thick piece of wood

superimposed on these. A fragment 3 centimeters tall and 1 centimeter wide at the top-right edge of the right spandrel is new wood and gilding, and a full 8 centimeters width of the left spandrel is also a modern repair, as is the length of top molding that covers it. The lowest 6 centimeters of the arch is original. The gilding and paint surfaces were harshly cleaned in a treatment of 1964 by Andrew Petryn. Dirt in the punch impressions around the halo was gouged out, destroying the profile of the tool marks. The canvas underlayer was exposed in an irregular strip approximately 2 centimeters wide across the bottom of the painted surface and in corbel-shaped areas beneath the spring of the arches. The gold is worn to the bolus underlayer at left and right. There are no significant areas of loss in the paint surface, except across the bottom of the composition, but all the colors are thin and flat due to abrasion.



Master of Città di Castello, *Saint John the Baptist*

Artist	Master of Città di Castello, Siena, active ca. 1290–ca. 1315/20
Title	<i>Saint John the Baptist</i>
Date	ca. 1310–15
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 73.0 × 36.0 cm (28 3/4 × 14 1/8 in.); picture surface: 61.0 × 36.0 cm (24 × 14 1/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.243

Provenance

Icilio Federico Joni (1866–1946), Siena; Dan Fellows Platt (1873–1937), Englewood N.J., 1909; Prince Vittorio Emanuele(?), count of Turin (1870–1946);¹ Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, by 1925

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, is 3.5 centimeters deep and has been heavily waxed on the reverse. It may have been thinned slightly, as the dowel holes on both lateral edges are set significantly closer to the back than to the front of the panel. These holes are 15 millimeters in diameter and are spaced 57.5 centimeters apart on the right edge—5 centimeters from the top and 10 centimeters from the bottom; they are 53 centimeters apart on the left edge—5 centimeters from the top and 15 centimeters from the bottom. Repairs measuring 1 centimeter wide have been integrated into the left and right edges of the spandrels, but the arch moldings are intact. This painting was not cleaned in the treatment of 1964 to which the related *Saint Peter* was subjected, and its paint surface, though darkened by an old and discolored varnish, is pristine. An irregular margin of damage up to 4 centimeters wide along the full length of

the left, bottom, and right edges has been regilt or repainted.

Discussion

This panel representing Saint John the Baptist and the related *Saint Peter* were unknown in the early years of the twentieth century when the first attempts were made to reconstruct an artistic personality subsequently identified by the conventional name Master of Città di Castello.² They were first published as the work of Ugolino di Nerio when they entered the collection of Maitland Griggs,³ but they have consistently and correctly been acknowledged as cornerstones of the late career of the Città di Castello Master since they were first so identified by Richard Offner in 1926.⁴ Though the attribution and relative dating of the panels have never been in doubt, minor differences of opinion have emerged concerning the exact reconstruction of the altarpiece complex of which they once formed part and of the specific span of years possibly embraced by the late career of the Master of Città di Castello. These disagreements, in turn, reflect lingering uncertainty over the precise contours of the painter's total oeuvre: notwithstanding the fact that he is widely appreciated as the most emotive and distinctively, almost eccentrically, mannered of Duccio's recognized followers and

contemporaries, works associated with his name by some scholars are divided into two, three, or even four distinct personalities by others.⁵

Raimond van Marle, when he first brought the Griggs panels to public attention, perceptively associated them with a panel in the Lanckoronski collection, then in Vienna, representing Saint Francis (fig. 1), as fragments of a single altarpiece. This suggestion was not acknowledged by Offner when he first advanced the correct attribution for the Griggs *Saints*, and it was ignored by Sherwood Fehm in his otherwise highly detailed study of the two panels at Yale.⁶ Luisa Vertova and Bernard Berenson accepted the relationship of the Griggs panels with the Lanckoronski *Saint Francis*, as did Federico Zeri, who added a related figure of Saint Anthony of Padua in the collection of Amedeo Lia at La Spezia (fig. 2).⁷ These four saints have not subsequently been questioned as belonging to a single altarpiece until the most recent publication of the Lanckoronski panel, where it is claimed that the *Saint Francis* must be part of a different ensemble on the mistaken assumptions that, first, its frame is entirely original and therefore it is significantly different in size from the other panels and, second, it is in a superior state of preservation, revealing subtle stylistic differences.⁸ In reality, the lower half of the Lanckoronski *Saint Francis* is largely, if not entirely, modern repaint.

Child by the Master of Città di Castello in Copenhagen (fig. 3) was in all likelihood the center panel of the altarpiece from which the Griggs *Saints* originated and that the latter both stood on the left side of the original complex. Fehm's contention was based on measurements of dowel holes present on the lateral edges of the Copenhagen and Yale panels, the spacing of which argued for placing the figure of the Baptist immediately to the left of the Virgin and the figure of Saint Peter immediately to the left of the Baptist. This reconstruction was recently accepted by Andrea De Marchi.⁹ Vertova, who at the time of writing was seemingly not aware of Fehm's research (though she did cite and apparently accept his findings in a footnote, without acknowledging that they contradict the claims advanced in her text), believed the Copenhagen *Virgin* to be the product of an earlier phase in the Master's career, proposing instead that a fragmentary *Virgin and Child* from the church of Santa Cecilia at Crevole was more closely related to the Yale panels. Vertova went so far as to suggest that sufficient differences could be discerned between the two panels at Yale that they could perhaps be considered surviving remnants of two different triptychs, the *Saint Peter* being as much like the Lanckoronski *Saint Francis* as both are unlike the *Saint John the Baptist*.

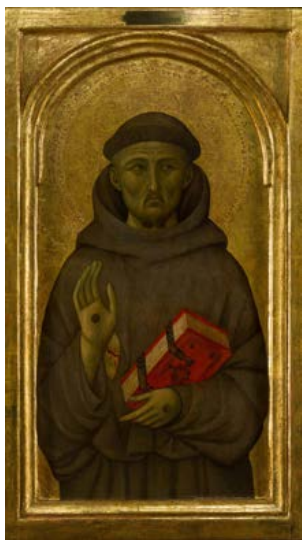


Fig. 1. Master of Città di Castello, *Saint Francis*, ca. 1310–15. Tempera and gold on panel, 68 × 37.3 cm (26 3/4 × 14 5/8 in.). Wawel Royal Castle, Lanckoronski Collection, Kraków, Poland, inv. no. 7901



Fig. 2. Master of Città di Castello, *Saint Anthony of Padua*, ca. 1310–15. Tempera and gold on panel, 61 × 33 cm (24 × 13 in.). Museo Amedeo Lia, La Spezia, inv. no. 150

A further note of dissension in this proposed reconstruction involves Fehm's assertion that a *Virgin and*



Fig. 3. Master of Città di Castello, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1310–15. Tempera and gold on panel, 88.3 × 60.9 cm (34 3/4 × 24 in.). Staatliche Museen für Kunst, Copenhagen, inv. no. 1001

While no later author has accepted this last suggestion, Zeri did agree with Vertova that the Copenhagen *Virgin* and Yale *Saints* are stylistically unrelated and therefore that Fehm’s purportedly scientific demonstration of their contiguity was irrelevant, probably the result of nothing more than the coincidence in general scale of numerous Sienese altarpieces.¹⁰ Furthermore, in adding the Lia *Saint Anthony of Padua* to the reconstruction, he pointed out that the Yale *Saint Peter* cannot originally have stood to the left of the Baptist since the outermost pair of saints in this altarpiece must have been the two Franciscans, based on repeatedly similar arrangements in other intact altarpieces. Joanna Cannon agreed that Saints Francis and Anthony of Padua must have stood outermost among the lateral panels in the complex.¹¹ Although she accepted the Copenhagen *Virgin* as the putative center of the structure, she correctly pointed out that Fehm’s measurements do not correspond exactly at any point between or among the panels. She therefore arranged the five panels in a hypothetical pentptych—reading, from left to right, *Saint Francis*, *Saint John the Baptist*, *Virgin and Child*, *Saint Peter*, *Saint Anthony of Padua*—but without any conviction that this sequence was irrefutably correct.

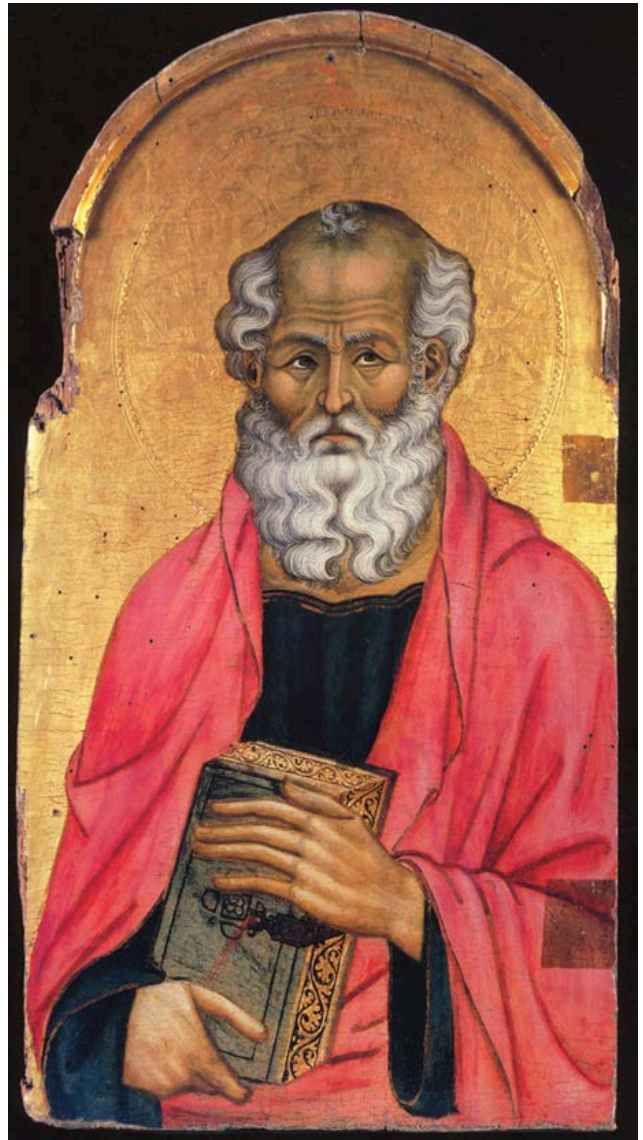


Fig. 4. Master of Città di Castello, *Saint John the Evangelist*, ca. 1310–15. Tempera and gold on panel, 59.2 × 31.5 cm (23 1/4 × 12 3/8 in.). Salini Collection, Castello di Gallico, Asciano

It has hitherto escaped notice that the “Griggs altarpiece” is more likely to have been a heptptych than a pentptych. Alessandro Bagnoli, in his well-argued essay on the Crevole altarpiece by the Master of Città di Castello, published a previously unknown half-length image of Saint John the Evangelist in the Salini Collection at the Castello di Gallico (fig. 4), later catalogued by Federica Siddi as the only surviving lateral panel of an unidentified polyptych.¹² Although it is exceptionally close in style to the Griggs, Lanckoronski, and Lia *Saints*, the Salini *Evangelist* is considerably smaller (59.2 × 31.5 cm) than they are and lacks the characteristic triad of punched dots that line the outer engraved rim of the saint’s halo, which is also positioned slightly lower within the picture field than it is in the other four panels. The Salini panel,

however, has been cropped more aggressively than any of the other panels discussed so far, eliminating the topmost molding of its engaged frame (a surviving barb indicates that such a molding has been removed), all of the area along the sides of the panel that in the others stood beneath engaged spires in the superstructure, and the entire unpainted area at the bottom of the panel that once underlay and supported the engaged outer frame. Excluding the corresponding areas in the Griggs *Saint Peter* leaves a remaining field measuring 59.4 by 32.0 centimeters, so close to the present measurements of the Salini panel that it is essential to discuss the probability of their having once been companions. As a complement to

Saint John the Baptist, Saint John the Evangelist would have stood immediately to the right of the Virgin and Child. Evidence of dowel holes has been lost along the left edge of the Salini panel; two holes on the right edge of the panel remain but their distance apart is not recorded. By implication, Saint Peter, standing to the right of Saint John the Evangelist, would have been complemented by a missing panel probably representing Saint Paul, positioned to the left of Saint John the Baptist. Saints Francis (left) and Anthony of Padua (right) would then have completed the structure in the outermost panels (fig. 5).

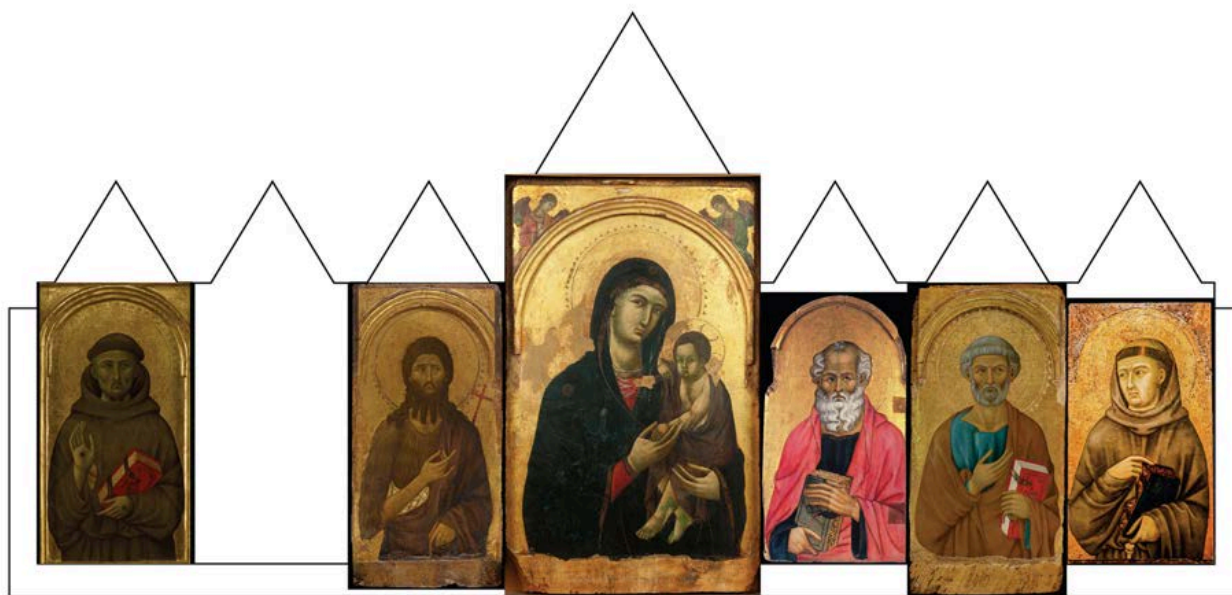


Fig. 5. Reconstruction of the Griggs altarpiece

Several important Sienese altarpieces destined for Franciscan churches follow a similar heptptych structure. These include the high altarpiece from Santa Croce in Florence by Ugolino da Siena, the principle surviving panels of which are now in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin,¹³ and the National Gallery, London;¹⁴ another, largely intact altarpiece by Ugolino now in the Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts;¹⁵ and a dispersed altarpiece by Lippo Memmi (see Lippo Memmi, *Saint John the Evangelist*, inv. no. 1943.239) reasonably supposed to have been painted for the church of San Francesco in San Gimignano. These are all believed to have been executed close to or shortly after 1320. While it is not possible to advance a proposal for the ultimate provenance of the heptptych by the Master of Città di Castello, a date for it within the same range of years is plausible. It has until

now been agreed only that these panels must have been among the last, most floridly calligraphic, least archaizing works by the artist, but few scholars have agreed on whether this hypothetical late career might have occurred in the first, second, third, or even fourth decade of the fourteenth century, based on whether the Master of Città di Castello was considered a contemporary or a second-generation follower of Duccio. Although consensus is still lacking, recent scholars generally concur in describing the artist as a slightly younger contemporary of Duccio and among the first painters to reflect the influence of that master's pictorial innovations. De Marchi, who dates the "Griggs altarpiece" to the second decade of the fourteenth century, has recently advanced the intriguing proposal that the Master of Città di Castello might be identifiable with the painter Nerio di Ugolino, father of three other

Sieneſe painters: Ugolino di Nerio,¹⁶ Guido di Nerio, and Muccio di Nerio.¹⁷ Nerio di Ugolino was mentioned as a painter in two documents of 1311 and recorded as having died between 1317 and 1318. Although based on a hypothetical reconstruction of an only partially legible ſignature, De Marchi’s proposal is eminently plausible and ſupports the difficulty of dating any of the known works by the Maſter of Città di Caſtello as late as 1320. In the caſe of the preſent altarpiece, the inclusion of Saint Anthony of Padua rather than Saint Louis of Toulouse—who is preſent in the other three Franciſcan ſtructures mentioned above— muſt be due to its having preceded the latter’s canonization in 1317. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

van Marle 1926, 4, fig. 5; Offner 1926, 5–7; Berenson 1932a, 344; Brandi 1951, 149; Fehm 1967, 16–27; Vertova 1967, 668–71, fig. 7; Berenson 1968, 1:249; Seymour 1970, 84–86; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 44, no. 37; Zeri 1976a, 2:8–10; Torriti 1977, 66; Stubblebine 1979, 88–89; Cannon 1994, 60–62, pl. 53; Zeri and De Marchi 1997, 193–94; Freuler 2001–4, 45n39; Alessandro Bagnoli, in Bagnoli et al. 2003, 288–89, 298; Federica Siddi, in Bellosi 2009, 69, 73; Maria Skubiszewska, in Skubiszewska and Kuczman 2010, 144–46; De Marchi 2002, 59, 63, 78n39, figs. 98, 106

NOTES

1. Charles Seymour, Jr., referred to a Griggs record (not traceable) mentioning the duke of Turin; ſee Seymour 1970, 84.
2. Perkins 1908a, 51–52; Krohn 1910, 4–8; and De Nicola 1912b, 147.
3. van Marle 1926, 4, fig. 5.
4. Offner 1926, 5–7.
5. See Bagnoli 2003, 314–26; and Boskovits 2016, 262–73.
6. Fehm 1967, 16–27.
7. Vertova 1967, 668–71, fig. 7; Berenson 1968, 1:249; and Zeri 1976a, 2:8–10.
8. Maria Skubiszewska, in Skubiszewska and Kuczman 2010, 144–46.
9. De Marchi 2002, 63.
10. Zeri 1976a, 2:9–10.
11. Cannon 1994, 60–62, pl. 53.
12. Bagnoli 2003, 288–89, 298; and Federica Siddi, in Bellosi 2009, 69, 73.
13. Inv. nos. 1635, <https://id.smb.museum/object/864423>; 1635A–E, <https://id.smb.museum/object/864430>, <https://id.smb.museum/object/864431>, <https://id.smb.museum/object/864438>, <https://id.smb.museum/object/864439>, <https://id.smb.museum/object/864437>.
14. Inv. nos. NG1188–89; NG3473; NG3375–78; NG4191; NG6484–86.
15. Inv. no. 1962.148, [https://www.clarkart.edu/ArtPiece/Detail/Virgin-and-Child-with-Saints-Francis,-Andrew,-\(1\)](https://www.clarkart.edu/ArtPiece/Detail/Virgin-and-Child-with-Saints-Francis,-Andrew,-(1)).
16. See Yale University Art Gallery, inv. no. 1959.15.17, <https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/43510>.
17. De Marchi 2002, 70–72, 78n46.



Master of the Gondi Maestà (Goodhart Ducciesque Master),
Virgin and Child

Artist	Master of the Gondi Maestà (Goodhart Ducciesque Master), Siena, active first quarter 14th century
Title	<i>Virgin and Child</i>
Date	ca. 1315
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 84.4 × 59.0 cm (33 1/4 × 23 1/4 in.); picture surface: 70.7 × 59.0 cm (27 7/8 × 23 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Darcy F. and John Treacy Beyer, B.A. 1965
Inv. No.	2020.68.1

Provenance

Convent of Santa Chiara, San Miniato al Tedesco (Pisa);¹ Charles Loeser (1864–1928), Florence, by 1908; Achillito Chiesa (1881–1951), Milan; sale, American Art Association, New York, November 27, 1925, lot 54; Samuel L. Fuller (1875–1963), Martha's Vineyard, Mass.; sale, Sotheby's, New York, June 11, 1981, lot 107; sale, Christie's, London, July 4, 1991, lot 73; Luigi Grassi, Florence; John Treacy Beyer (born 1943) and Darcy Fisher Beyer (1943–2022), Washington Depot, Conn., 2000

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, retains its original thickness of 3.2 centimeters. The painted spandrel decoration comprises an 8-millimeter-thick panel, vertically grained, applied to the face of the support at the top. The right half of this decoration is largely original; the center (above the apex of the arch) and left half is a modern reconstruction. The engaged top molding above the spandrel is modern and has been shaped to follow the pronounced convex warp of the panel. The vertical moldings alongside the spandrel are partly original and partly modern repairs. The projecting

molding of the arched frame is substantially original but regessoed and regilt; its right supporting corbel may be original, but the left corbel is a modern carved replacement. Nails, driven in front to back, once securing a horizontal batten, are plainly visible on the reverse at 60.5 and 61 centimeters from the bottom edge of the panel; discoloration of the wood on the reverse of the panel suggests that this batten was approximately 8 centimeters wide. Two holes that may indicate the placement of similar nails securing a second batten or the lower molding of the altarpiece frame are visible at 1.5 centimeters from the bottom edge, implying that the panel has been cropped at this edge by 2 to 3 centimeters. Dowel holes are drilled along the left edge of the panel at 13 and 59 centimeters from the bottom and along the right edge at 15 and 59 centimeters from the bottom. The predella molding applied to the front of the panel is modern.

The entire gold ground of the picture surface is modern, applied over the original gesso preparatory layer sometime between 1912 and 1925. The picture surface is evenly abraded throughout, more so in the flesh tones, where the terra verde underpaint is too prominently

visible. Losses in the Virgin's cowl, right shoulder and sleeve, and right wrist have been unevenly retouched, and damages to her left eye and scattered throughout the face and neck of the Christ Child have been reconstructed. The Child's hair and the deeper shadows in His red draperies and in the Virgin's white veil have been reinforced. The mordant gilt decoration is substantially original but repaired. An irregular line of damage across the bottom 6 to 7 centimeters of the paint surface has resulted in two areas of total loss: in the blue of the Virgin's robe at the lower-right corner of the panel and to the right of center above the predella, including the entirety of the Child's right foot and the fold of drapery beneath it. The glimpse of red lining in the Virgin's cloak just to the left of this area is a modern invention.

Discussion

From the time of its first appearance in the scholarly literature, this *Virgin and Child* has been considered part of a group of works clustered around the name of Duccio's best-known follower, one of only two whose names are preserved in the historical record: Segna di Bonaventura.² For Langton Douglas, the painting was an early example of the output of Duccio's own workshop, while F. Mason Perkins assigned it directly to Segna, calling it "a work of exceptional refinement that clearly reveals the uncommon gifts of this too little appreciated follower of Duccio."³ It was lent by its owner, Charles Loeser, to the 1912 exhibition in Siena of the work of Duccio and his followers, where it was catalogued by Giacomo De Nicola as from the circle of Segna and described as sensitively restored.⁴ De Nicola, in his *Burlington Magazine* review of (or publicity for?) the exhibition, discussed the painting as by Segna himself, although the caption published alongside the photograph accompanying his article calls it the work of Segna's son, Niccolò di Segna.⁵ He specifically mentioned the successful restoration of the painting by Luigi Cavenaghi as having brought forward its finest features. Cavenaghi's restoration, as it is recorded in the early Lombardi photographs of the painting that were known to this first generation of Duccio scholars (fig. 1), included a new gold ground, deftly enhanced shadows that had been lost to abrasion, and local repairs to losses chiefly in the figure of the Christ Child and in the Virgin's left eye. These may account, in part, for the vacillation of opinions in the literature, a vacillation to which the study of Sieneese Ducciesque painting is in any event subject. Raimond van Marle listed the painting twice, once without discussion as a work by Segna and once as "perhaps the finest" member of a group of paintings in Segna's orbit, most of which have since been recognized as by a slightly younger follower of Duccio: Ugolino da Siena.⁶ Curtis Weigelt doubted the integrity of van Marle's grouping and returned the painting generically to the school of Duccio or orbit of Segna di Bonaventura, comparing it to a related image of the Virgin and Child in Asciano (see fig. 3).⁷ Cesare Brandi listed it in passing as one of a number of Ducciesque works.⁸ James Stubblebine, in his comprehensive review of this important school of painting, seized on the differences between this painting and the more monumental, angular, and dramatic works that he accepted as Segna's.⁹ Perhaps following a suggestion derived from De Nicola's 1912 *Burlington Magazine* article, he assigned the painting to Segna's son, Niccolò di Segna, as a probable early work executed within or immediately upon graduation from his father's shop, probably around 1330. At least four of the

six paintings that he placed in this category, including the Asciano *Virgin and Child* cited by Weigelt, are now widely recognized as autograph works by Segna di Bonaventura.¹⁰



Fig. 1. *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1912



Fig. 2. *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1925

It is not known when the Yale painting might have been sold by Charles Loeser to Achillito Chiesa, but sometime before it appeared at the Achillito Chiesa auction sale in New York in 1925, it underwent another, more radical restoration that removed much of Cavenaghi's strengthening of forms and replaced the new gold ground that he had added with an artificially "aged" gilding, replete with its own craquelure and with induced passages of wear and abrasion. This was achieved by gilding atop a sheet of linen—a technique outlined by Icilio Federico Joni in his autobiographical *Memorie di un pittore di quadri antichi*¹¹—which was then carefully cut around the silhouette of the Virgin and Child and glued atop the remnants of original gesso on the panel. While superficially enhancing the gestalt of the image, the discontinuity of the crackle patterns between the gilded and painted surfaces, as well as a barely perceptible line of gesso reserve created by shrinkage of the added linen and gilding, served to exaggerate the appearance of a hard profile around the figures typical of a slightly later and more decorative generation of painters. This state of the painting is recorded in a photograph by Girolamo Bombelli (fig. 2) that is certainly the source of Stubblebine's confusion with the style of Niccolò di Segna.¹² A third restoration, by Gabriella Kopelman, following the painting's sale at auction in 1981, corrected discolored repaints over local losses and replaced the badly proportioned right foot of the Christ Child (an area of total loss) that had been provided by the Chiesa restoration with the slightly foreshortened version now in evidence.



Fig. 3. Segna di Bonaventura, *Virgin and Child*, 1305–10. Tempera and gold on panel, 61 × 44 cm (24 × 17 3/8 in.). Museo d'Arte Sacra, Asciano

Reconsidering not only attributions to Segna but also the probable chronology of his work, Luciano Cateni adduced the Asciano *Virgin and Child* (fig. 3), correctly, as an example of the artist's earliest efforts, possibly still within the first decade of the fourteenth century, rather than a later simplification and reduction of his mature style. It, like the Yale *Virgin and Child*, reflects awareness of Duccio's accomplishments before the unveiling in 1312 of the *Maestà* in Siena Cathedral, being instead dependent on works such as the Perugia *Madonna* (ca. 1300–1305)¹³ or Polyptych 28 in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena (ca. 1305–10). Also indicative of an early date are the squat proportions of the picture field in the Asciano and Yale panels and the unusual asymmetry of the painting now at Yale, although the volume of empty space (i.e., gold ground) around the figures, noted by Stubblebine as more typical of earlier periods, is actually exaggerated by repainting of the Virgin's silhouette considerably shy of the engraved line in the gesso still visible in an X-radiograph (fig. 4). The compositional relationship of the Child to His mother—pulling at her veil while looking not at her directly but out of the picture field, toward the right—is also found only in a small number of other



Fig 4. X-radiograph of the *Virgin and Child*

Sieneese paintings all datable before 1315. The eponymous work by the Master of Città di Castello, which probably dates at or shortly before the turn of the thirteenth century, might be considered a prototype for the composition of the Yale painting, while the slightly later Polyptych 33 in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, by the same artist (fig. 5) shows the Child pulling at His mother's index finger instead of her veil, but it undoubtedly reflects the overall appearance of the complete polyptych of which the Yale panel once formed part. A *Virgin and Child* at the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Siena, now widely considered among Simone Martini's earliest paintings, is probably contemporary to the Yale painting.¹⁴ None of these works perpetuate the stylized reprise of Duccio's *Maestà* that typifies the continuation of this conservative school of painting after 1325.

An even more important contribution to the study of Segna di Bonaventura and his Ducciesque contemporaries was advanced by Cateni in 1986, when he recognized a large panel in the Gondi collection in Florence, representing the *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Angels*, and a fragmentary fresco in the church of San Domenico at Arezzo (fig. 6) as having been painted not by Segna—as

had recently been suggested by Boskovits—but by a painter who had, until then, been known only for a handful of highly refined, small-scale works in the style of Segna and given the conventional name of the “Goodhart Ducciesque Master.”¹⁵ Alessandro Bagnoli expanded the profile of this accomplished if undervalued artist, whom he proposed renaming the Master of the Gondi *Maestà*, adding further monumental works in fresco and on panel to his oeuvre and arguing that these are efforts of an earlier period, probably beginning around or before 1310, than were the works assembled around the Goodhart *Maestà* in the Robert Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 7).¹⁶ The affinities of this group of works with the Yale *Virgin and Child* are palpable—far more compelling than those between the Yale painting and the more severe, emotionally distant images of Segna di Bonaventura. Above all, it is the fragmentary fresco in San Domenico, Arezzo, that argues for an attribution of the Yale painting to the Gondi Master. The cartoons for the figures of the *Virgin and Child* can practically be superimposed from one to the other. The elaborate folds of the Virgin's white veil, her elongated but gentle facial features, and the almost geometrically spherical head of the Christ Child are nearly identical in both. These traits are all observable, to a greater or lesser degree, in the paintings that had formerly been associated with the Goodhart *Maestà*, most of which are likely to have been painted in the 1320s. It is plausible to view the Yale panel as emerging from a pivotal moment between these two stylistic periods and to consider it a product of the second decade of the fourteenth century. —LK



Fig. 6. Master of the Gondi *Maestà* (Goodhart Ducciesque Master), *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1310–15. Fresco. San Domenico, Arezzo



Fig. 5. Master of Città di Castello, *Virgin and Child with Saints Francis, John the Evangelist, Stephen, and Clare*, 1310–15. Tempera and gold on panel, 116 × 184 cm (45 5/8 × 72 1/2 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 33

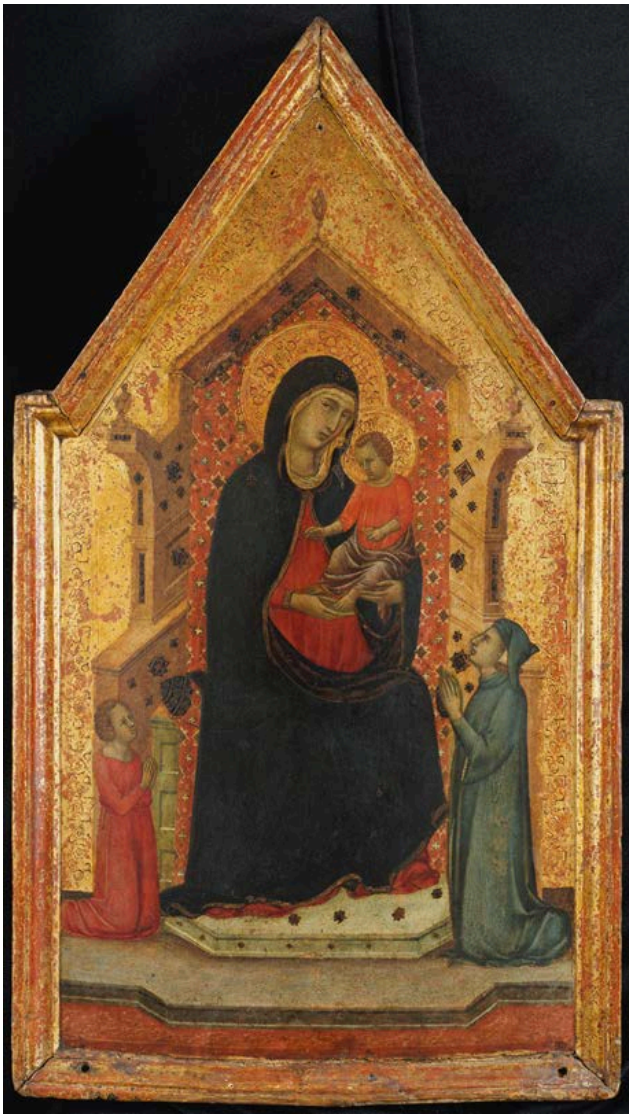


Fig 7. Master of the Gondi Maestà (Goodhart Ducciesque Master), *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Donors*, ca. 1320. Tempera and gold on panel, 52.7 × 29.8 cm (20 3/4 × 11 3/4 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975, 1975.1.24

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1908, 28n1; Perkins 1908b, 7; De Nicola 1912a, 23, no. 38; De Nicola 1912b, 143, 146, pl. 2d; van Marle 1924a, 139, 149, figs. 100, 153; Weigelt 1930, 72n32; Brandi 1951, 156; Stubblebine 1979, 1:138, 140; 2: fig. 335; Angelelli and De Marchi 1991, 255, no. 538; De Marchi 2001, 158, 187n69, pl. 37; Luciano Cateni, in Bagnoli et al. 2003, 318

NOTES

1. Information from label on reverse of panel.
2. Langton Douglas, in Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1908, 28n1; and Perkins 1908b, 7.
3. “Un lavoro di eccezionale finezza, il quale rivela ben chiaramente le doti non comuni di questo seguace troppo poco apprezzato di Duccio”; Perkins 1908b, 7.
4. De Nicola 1912a, 23, no. 38. *
5. De Nicola 1912b, 143, 146, pl. 2d.
6. van Marle 1924a, 139, 149, figs. 100, 153.
7. Weigelt 1930, 72n32.
8. Brandi 1951, 156.
9. Stubblebine 1979, 1:138, 140; 2: fig. 335.
10. Luciano Cateni, in Bagnoli et al. 2003, 318. See also Boskovits 1982, 496–98, for a summary but conscientious dismantling of Stubblebine’s many categories of attribution. Boskovits’s review is not frequently cited, but it has formed the basis for most modern scholarship of this period.
11. Joni 1932. Joni’s book was translated in English and published as *Affairs of a Painter* (London, 1936).
12. See Angelelli and De Marchi 1991, 255, no. 538.
13. Galleria Nazionale dell’Umbria, inv. no. 29.
14. Inv. no. 583.
15. Cateni 1986, 63–66. For the Goodhart Ducciesque Master, see Pope-Hennessy and Kanter 1987, 6–7 (with previous bibliography).
16. Alessandro Bagnoli, “Maestro della Maestà Gondi,” in Bagnoli et al. 2003, 334–43. Several of the paintings aggregated to the Goodhart/Gondi group by Bagnoli had been assembled by Stubblebine (in Stubblebine 1979, 1:110–16; 2, figs. 267–76) under the name the Casole Fresco Master. Boskovits (in Boskovits 1982,) noted that the Casole Fresco Master was actually a combination of works by the Master of Città di Castello and Segna, the latter being the paintings that Bagnoli recognized instead as belonging with the Gondi *Maestà*. Note that the captions for two illustrations in Bagnoli’s study are reversed: the fresco in San Domenico, Arezzo, is illustrated on p. 339, not p. 338. For this fresco, see also Stubblebine 1979, 1:111–12; 2: fig. 268.



Lippo Memmi, *Saint John the Evangelist*

Artist	Lippo Memmi, Siena, active ca. 1317–ca. 1350
Title	<i>Saint John the Evangelist</i>
Date	ca. 1330
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall 104.7 × 44.5 cm (41 1/4 × 17 1/2 in.); picture surface: 90.5 × 44.5 cm (35 5/8 × 17 1/2 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.239

Provenance

San Francesco, San Gimignano, to 1553; possibly San Giovanni Battista, San Gimignano, to 1782; possibly San Francesco, Colle Val d'Elsa, to before 1865; Commendatore Giulio Sterbini (died 1911), Rome, by 1905; Godefroy Brauer (1857–1923), Paris; from whom purchased by Bernard Berenson (1865–1959), Settignano, June 28, 1910; Edward Hutton (1875–1969), London; Wildenstein and Co., New York and Paris; Mrs. Benjamin Thaw (née Elma Ellsworth Dows, 1861–1931), New York, by 1917; sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 15, 1922; Duveen Brothers, New York, 1922–24/25; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1925

Condition

The panel, of a vertical wood grain, is 2.5 centimeters thick but may have been thinned slightly, no more than 5 millimeters, judging by the off-center positioning of the dowel holes on its edges. These occur at 7, 40.5, and 75.5 centimeters from the bottom on the left margin and at 7, 41.5, and 76.5 centimeters from the bottom on the right margin. The spandrel applied above the arch of the panel is a 7-millimeter-thick panel with a horizontal grain; its original silver decoration is missing, but the bolus, punched ornament, and blue sgraffito decoration are

intact. A capping molding at the top of this spandrel is missing. A split in the primary panel support, originating at its top edge (beneath the spandrel) and extending just right of center to the level of the saint's forehead, is open and has caused minor losses in the gold ground through which it passes. Three smaller splits rise from the bottom of the panel, only one of which, near the left edge, reaches above the 6.5-centimeter-wide area of exposed wood that originally bore an attached predella or base molding. A 1.5-centimeter-wide strip of exposed gesso and linen above this base molding probably indicates a lost portion of paint surface: no barb is visible anywhere along the bottom edge of the paint surface. A cradle formerly attached to the back of the panel was removed in 1959, and scars from batten nails 11.5 centimeters and 72.4 centimeters from the bottom were filled with wood putty.

The gilding overall is well preserved, except for approximately 1-centimeter-wide strips running the full height of each side of the panel, beneath the spring of the arch molding; presumably, applied colonettes once covered this area, which therefore may originally not have been finished with more than polished bolus. Missing corbels or capitals at the spring of the arch at each side are indicated by exposed areas of gesso. Abrasion to the gilding is greater on the right side of the panel than on the left and is particularly evident above

and below the points of the trilobe framing arch, whereas the saint's halo, the interior spandrels, and the top lobe of the arch are beautifully preserved, as is most of the gilding on the left side of the panel. The mordant gilt decoration of the saint's robe is largely intact. The paint surface is thin but generally well preserved, with light overall abrasion. Areas of total loss, as revealed by the aggressive cleaning by Andrew Petryn in 1959 (fig. 1), affect the green cover of the saint's book; shadowed areas in his blue tunic at the breast, right sleeve, and left cuff; and scattered smaller losses in the lower portion of his red cloak. These were filled and inpainted by Gabrielle Kopelman in 1985.



Fig. 1. *Saint John the Evangelist*, ca. 1360

Discussion

From its earliest mention in the Sterbini collection in Rome,¹ the Griggs *Saint John the Evangelist* was consistently referred to as a work by Simone Martini² and discussed as unrelated to any other known altarpieces or altarpiece fragments by Simone. Raimond van Marle described it as possibly a very early work by Simone, painted before he had developed his recognizable, mature style, but he acknowledged that, as it is not possible to document such a period in Simone's career, the painting might also be the work of a close follower.³ Helen Comstock first noted that it must have formed part of the same altarpiece as panels representing Saint Paul in the

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 2); Saint Peter in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (fig. 3); Saint John the Baptist in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (fig. 4); and Saints Louis of Toulouse and Francis in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena (fig. 5–6).⁴ Several of these, chiefly the New York and Paris panels, had previously been attributed to Lippo Memmi, and Comstock presumed, therefore, that the altarpiece was a collaborative effort between Simone and his brother-in-law, Lippo. Acknowledgment of Comstock's reconstruction came from Federico Zeri, who rejected outright the possibility of considering the Griggs panel as a work by Simone, attributing it and the *Saints Peter, Paul, and John the Baptist* unequivocally to Lippo Memmi.⁵ This contention has not been seriously challenged other than by Charles Seymour, Jr., who wondered if the superior quality of the Griggs panel might not indicate the authorship of the supposed "Barna da Siena."⁶ Seymour might, in this respect, have been mirroring Bernard Berenson's brief flirtation with assigning the New York *Saint Paul* to "Barna," a suggestion that Berenson subsequently withdrew.⁷ Later scholarly literature has not revived this proposal, other than an oblique reference by Alessandro Bagnoli, where the altarpiece is assigned to Lippo Memmi and his brother Federico, an encoded reference to its affiliation with the supposed "Barna da Siena."⁸



Fig. 2. Lippo Memmi, *Saint Paul*, ca. 1330. Tempera and gold on panel, overall, with arched top and engaged frame: 95.9 × 48.3 cm (37 3/4 × 19 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Coudert Brothers, 1888, inv. no. 88.3.99



Fig. 3. Lippo Memmi, *Saint Peter*, ca. 1330. Tempera and gold on panel, 94 × 44.3 cm (37 × 17 1/2 in.). Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. MI 690



Fig. 4. Lippo Memmi, *Saint John the Baptist*, ca. 1330. Tempera and gold on panel, 92.6 × 44 cm (36 1/2 × 17 3/8 in.). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection, inv. no. 1939.1.291



Fig. 5. Lippo Memmi, *Saint Louis of Toulouse*, ca. 1330. Tempera, gold, and silver on panel, 105 × 44 cm (41 3/8 × 17 3/8 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 49



Fig. 6. Lippo Memmi, *Saint Francis*, ca. 1330. Tempera, gold, and silver on panel, 105 × 44 cm (41 3/8 × 17 3/8 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 48

While the New York *Saint Paul* and the Paris *Saint Peter* have long been recognized both as companions from a

single altarpiece and as works probably by Lippo Memmi, opinions regarding the other panels associated with them by Comstock have not been unanimous. The Washington *Saint John the Baptist*, which was first exhibited publicly in 1934, was, like the *Saint John the Evangelist*, initially attributed by van Marle to Simone Martini. Klara Steinweg argued that the *Saint John the Baptist* and the *Saint John the Evangelist* may have come from a different altarpiece than the *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul*, while Cristina De Benedictis accepted Zeri's view that these four panels were related to one another.⁹ Zeri had not commented on the *Saint Louis of Toulouse* and *Saint Francis* in Siena, and De Benedictis excluded them from her reconstruction, notwithstanding the identity of their framing elements with those preserved on the Griggs *Saint John the Evangelist*. Removing the Franciscan saints enabled De Benedictis to accept earlier proposals for identifying the reconstructed altarpiece with one described by Giorgio Vasari in the Vallombrosan church of San Paolo a Ripa d'Arno in Pisa, said by him to have included figures of Saints Peter, Paul, and John the Baptist and to have borne Lippo Memmi's signature.¹⁰ Gertrude Coor had previously supported this identification—even though she had included the two Franciscan saints in her reconstruction—suggesting, additionally, that three smaller panels showing the Blessing Redeemer (in Douai, France) and two Vallombrosan saints (in Altenburg, Germany) might have been pinnacles from this structure.¹¹ Michael Mallory recognized these pinnacles as being insufficiently close in style to the other panels and incompatible in iconography with a Franciscan altarpiece.¹² He related them instead to a series of four panels showing full-length figures of Saints Peter and Paul (in Palermo), John the Baptist (in Altenburg), and Andrew (in Pisa)¹³ and, consequently, suggested that the latter are more likely to have been part of the Pisan altarpiece seen by Vasari.

Returning to the altarpiece of which the Griggs *Evangelist* once formed part, Mallory further observed that the *Saint Francis* and *Saint Louis of Toulouse* in Siena were recorded in 1865 in the church of San Francesco in Colle Val d'Elsa. Since these panels conform in style, internal measurements, and frame design to the panels in New Haven, New York, Paris, and Washington, that provenance was then extended to the entire altarpiece. Establishing a Franciscan provenance for this altarpiece also allowed Mallory to propose the identification of five pinnacle panels from the structure. These included three more Franciscan saints: *Saint Clare* (fig. 7), in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; *Saint Elizabeth of Hungary* (fig. 8), in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan; *Saint*

Anthony of Padua, in the Frick Art and Historical Center, Pittsburgh; along with *Saint Agnes*, also in the Frick collection, Pittsburgh (fig. 9); and *Saint Mary Magdalen* (fig. 10), in the Rhode Island School of Design Museum, Providence. A sixth pinnacle has been added to these more recently: *Saint Augustine* (fig. 11) in the Salini Collection at the Castello di Gallico, near Asciano. Finally, Bagnoli, who correctly accepted this complete reconstruction, observed that none of these panels, including the two now in Siena (where they were brought in 1867), is recorded in San Francesco at Colle Val d'Elsa in any source earlier than 1865.¹⁴ He noted instead that several fifteenth-century panels also appearing in the 1865 inventory of San Francesco at Colle Val d'Elsa are documented as commissions from the Franciscans at San Gimignano. That community relocated to Colle in 1787, following the suppression of their own convent five years earlier. This fact, combined with the prominence of the Memmi family workshop in San Gimignano, led Bagnoli to propose the church of San Francesco, outside the walls of that town, as the probable original site of this altarpiece. The church of San Francesco at San Gimignano was destroyed in 1553, at which time the friars were reassigned to conventual premises at San Giovanni Battista inside the walls of the town. They remained there until the suppression of the chapter in 1782 and their relocation to Colle Val d'Elsa in 1787.



Fig. 7. Lippo Memmi, *Saint Clare*, ca. 1330. Tempera and gold on panel, overall, with shaped top and engaged (modern) frame: 48.3 × 20.3 cm (19 × 8 in.); painted surface: 39.4 × 19.1 cm (15 1/2 × 7 1/2 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Irma N. Straus, 1964, inv. no. 64.189.2



Fig. 8. Lippo Memmi, *Saint Elizabeth of Hungary*, ca. 1330. Tempera and gold on panel, 50.5 × 22 cm (19 7/8 × 8 5/8 in.). Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan, inv. no. 3343



Fig. 9. Lippo Memmi, *Saint Anthony of Padua and Saint Agnes*, ca. 1330. Tempera and gold on panel, 41.3 × 19.1 cm (16 1/4 × 7 1/2 in.) and 41.3 × 19.1 cm (16 1/4 × 7 1/2 in.). Frick Art and Historical Center, Pittsburgh, inv. no. 1970.83



Fig. 10. Lippo Memmi, *Saint Mary Magdalen*, ca. 1330. Tempera and gold on panel, 49.5 × 22.5 cm (19 1/2 × 8 7/8 in.). Rhode Island School of Design Museum, Providence, R.I., Museum Appropriation Fund, inv. no. 21.250



Fig. 11. Lippo Memmi, *Saint Augustine (or Saint Geminianus?)*, ca. 1330. Tempera and gold on panel, 51 × 22 cm (20 1/8 × 8 5/8 in.). Salini Collection, Castello di Gallico, Asciano



Fig. 12. Lippo Memmi, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1330–40. Tempera and gold on panel, 77.5 × 55.5 cm (30 1/2 × 21 7/8 in.). Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, inv. no. 1067

A lingering point of contention in the reconstruction of this altarpiece involves the identification of its central panel, presumably representing the Virgin and Child. Discussing the panels now in New York, Paris, and Washington, Evelyn Sandberg-Vavalà noted their similarity to a half-length *Virgin and Child* in the German state collections at Berlin (fig. 12) and suggested these might all have originated in a single altarpiece.¹⁵ Van Marle had already noted the relationship among the Berlin, New York, and Paris panels, without explicitly proposing a common origin;¹⁶ De Benedictis published the Berlin panel as certainly the center of this altarpiece.¹⁷ Mallory further elaborated on this reconstruction, providing supporting evidence through the correspondence of internal measurements (the Berlin panel has been truncated at the top, so its full height remains hypothetical).¹⁸ Hayden B. J. Maginnis cast doubt on the inclusion of the Berlin painting with the other six panels, noting differences in the punched decoration of their gold grounds.¹⁹ Miklós Boskovits initially, followed by Bagnoli, accepted these doubts, observing that the silver-leaf spandrel decoration in the Berlin panel does not correspond to the gilt spandrels in any of the other panels.²⁰ Boskovits subsequently retracted his objections, however, noting that “further reflection . . . has now strengthened my suspicion that the painting in [Berlin], whose stylistic and chronological closeness to the other

components of the San Gimignano polyptych is generally recognized, could possibly have formed part of it.”²¹

The Berlin *Virgin* is unlikely to have formed part of this altarpiece: the initial objections to such a reconstruction voiced by Maginnis, Boskovits, and Bagnoli were sound. The punched decoration of the Berlin *Virgin* and the six lateral panels implies two different and incompatible systems of framing. Punch tooling along the margins in the lateral panels follows the contours of their trilobe, ogival arches only, ending at the corbels or capitals supporting the spring of the arches on either side, indicating that the panels were divided from one another only by freestanding colonettes. The marginal decoration in the Berlin panel instead continues the full length of its sides to the bottom of the picture field, suggesting that it was separated from the panels alongside it by an engaged molding. This dichotomy is not known in any other trecento Sienese altarpiece. While it cannot be assumed that the central panel of the San Gimignano polyptych must survive, the remarkable preservation of all twelve of

its lateral members argues that it might. A more promising candidate, on stylistic grounds, than the Berlin *Virgin and Child* is the Virgin discovered in 1957 in the parish church of San Giovanni Battista at Lucignano d'Arbia, now exhibited at the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Siena as the work of Simone Martini (fig. 13), an attribution universally accepted in the various monographs dedicated to that artist since its discovery. Although truncated at the top and entirely missing its gold ground and punched decoration, the outlines of the original frame moldings once attached to it are still clearly visible and correspond to those in the New Haven, New York, Paris, Siena, and Washington panels. The Lucignano d'Arbia *Virgin* is of the correct proportional scale to have formed part of this altarpiece: the height of the panel from its base to the spring of its arches (61 centimeters) is identical to that of the Griggs *Saint John the Evangelist*. Traces of battens remaining on the reverse of the Lucignano *Virgin*, however, do not align with those on the reverse of the Griggs *Saint John the Evangelist*, making this reconstruction also unlikely.²²



Fig. 13. Lippo Memmi, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1330. Tempera and gold on panel, 95.5 × 52.5 cm (37 5/8 × 20 3/4 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena (on loan from Lucignano d'Arbia)

The possibility of restoring a *Virgin and Child* attributed to Simone Martini to the San Gimignano altarpiece focuses renewed attention on the vacillating attributions historically assigned to the various panels of the complex. Distinguishing between the work of Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi has always been one of the most contentious issues in the study of fourteenth-century Italian painting. In part, this springs from the fact that, in 1333, both artists signed the altarpiece of the Annunciation from Siena Cathedral²³ as collaborators and that Vasari, in his *Life* of Simone and Lippo, implied that they worked together frequently.²⁴ The lack of consensus over the responsibilities of either painter within the *Annunciation* altarpiece has compounded a misunderstanding of Lippo Memmi's independent

personality that sprang in the first instance from Vasari's characterization of Lippo as a derivative artist.²⁵ Most modern scholarship has accepted as fact Vasari's critical appraisal of Lippo Memmi: "Sebbene non fu eccellente come Simone, seguì nondimeno quanto potè il più la sua maniera" (Although he was not as gifted as Simone, he nevertheless followed his style as best he could).²⁶ Accordingly, Lippo has been treated as little more than a one-dimensional foil for his more famous brother-in-law, and as recently as 1960, his paintings could be described as "d'ispirazione delicata ma monotona, spesso stanca" (of delicate but monotonous, often tired, inspiration).²⁷ This contention, however, is belied by recent arguments that one of the protagonists of early Sienese painting, the so-called Barna da Siena, who has correctly been praised as "poco al di sotto di Simone e dei Lorenzetti" (scarcely less than Simone or the Lorenzetti), is actually not an independent personality but a phase in the career of Lippo Memmi. So polarizing a discrepancy led, inevitably, to a hesitant reception for the proposed amalgamation, since the 1970s, of the paintings in the "Barna" group with those conventionally attributed to Lippo Memmi.²⁸ Numerous scholars opted to compromise by regarding the enlarged oeuvre as the product of a vaguely defined Memmi family workshop—including the artist's brother Federico (or Tederigo) and possibly his second brother-in-law, Donato Martini—within which there was little possibility of discerning discrete personalities.²⁹ From this point of view, the five signatures left or said to have been left on paintings by Lippo Memmi were regarded as commercial brands rather than personal indications of authorship.³⁰

Not acknowledged within the abundant and frequently polemical literature on this topic is the realization that the chief distinction between the contested group of paintings formerly divided between Lippo Memmi, on the one hand, and "Barna da Siena," on the other, is not stylistic but compositional. Works with an inventive composition or displaying an original approach to narrative are placed in the second group while the first group comprises works with conventional or traditional themes and compositions. If this distinction were considered, as it always had been, a function of the artists' personalities, it would be impossible to believe that a single painter could be responsible for both. If, instead, it is recognized that, for the most part, such differences were conditioned by the demands of patronage rather than the whims of the artist's creativity, it is easy, indeed inevitable, to recognize a single artistic intelligence, of the highest degree of accomplishment, behind the entire group. The *Saint John the Baptist* on a faldstool in Altenburg, part of the San

Paolo a Ripa d'Arno altarpiece, is fundamentally the same figure as the *Saint John the Baptist* from the San Gimignano altarpiece in Washington (see fig. 4). Differences between them are largely due to the latter being marginally more mature and considerably less well preserved than the former. The rhythm of their drapery folds and their command of spatial devices are identical, within the greater restrictions of format imposed by the context for which the Washington panel was created. Similarly, the *Virgin and Child Enthroned* in the Richard Feigen collection (fig. 14), incontestably part of the Barna group, is in all respects the same as the small *Virgin and Child Enthroned* in Altenburg (fig. 15), signed by Lippo Memmi,³¹ the fur-lined cloth of honor in the latter no less a tour de force than any of the painterly effects in the former. It follows that differentiating the work of Lippo Memmi from that of Simone Martini must proceed from a full and realistic assessment of Lippo's polyvalent accomplishments rather than from the conventional perspective regarding him as being merely a lesser-quality imitator of Simone. It is not adequate, or even meaningful, simply to assess the degree to which the work of one is perceived to be an inferior variant of the other.



Fig. 14. Lippo Memmi, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Peter and Paul and Ten Angels*, ca. 1340. Tempera and gold on panel, 32.6 × 29.6 cm (12 7/8 × 11 5/8 in.). Collection of Richard L. Feigen, New York



Fig. 15. Lippo Memmi, *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, ca. 1340. Tempera and gold on panel, 51 × 34.3 cm (20 1/8 × 13 1/2 in.). Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, Germany, inv. no. 43

At least two fundamental differences of artistic temperament may be observed within works attributed either to Simone or Lippo. Simone's interest in spatial illusion was most fully expressed in the study of single objects or figures. These might be portrayed from stunningly original points of view and realized with remarkable success, but they were frequently integrated into larger compositional ensembles with a casual

disregard for the overall cohesion of the scene. Not infrequently, he might include a figure's hands or wrists seemingly disconnected from any indication of an arm and placed without regard for its logical relationship to the body to which it should notionally be attached. Lippo Memmi, by contrast, was scrupulously obsessive in creating accurate spatial envelopes for his figures and for the props—thrones, cushions, canopies, buildings—in his paintings; likewise, he was meticulous in his application of the rules of foreshortening to figures, their draperies, and the structures that might surround them. In addition, Simone Martini was an adventurous and original colorist. Not only are his choices of hues and his manipulation of color contrasts unique for this period, but also the freedom and looseness with which he brushed these onto his panels or frescoed wall surfaces, both blending and layering, is unparalleled in his generation. Lippo Memmi did not share this predilection. His modeling from light to dark is exceptionally accomplished, but he invariably works within solid areas of local color. His gift is his strength of drawing and the tight control he maintains over his brush at all times. Simone's handling of the brush is more bravura than disciplined. With these distinctions in mind, it should be apparent that all six lateral panels from the San Gimignano altarpiece are by Lippo Memmi, not Simone Martini, as is the Lucignano d'Arbia *Virgin*, contrary to current assumptions of scholarship. While it seems unlikely that this panel can be joined physically with the other six, it may well reflect, in general terms, the appearance of the missing center panel of the San Gimignano altarpiece.

Fixed points in the chronology of Lippo Memmi's expanded oeuvre are numerous, but many of them are imprecise. In 1317 he signed and dated the fresco of the *Maestà* in the Palazzo del Popolo in San Gimignano. A presumed terminus a quo of 1323 is frequently assigned to the altarpiece of the *Glorification of Saint Thomas Aquinas* in Santa Caterina in Pisa, close to the date of the saint's canonization, but in practice, that date could just as easily be a *terminus post quem*. An eighteenth-century record of the date 1325, said to have been visible alongside Lippo Memmi's signature beneath the altarpiece from San Paolo a Ripa d'Arno, also in Pisa, has alternately been deemed authoritative and unreliable. It has also been suggested that this date might have been fragmentary and possibly, therefore, reconstructed as anything between 1325 and 1329.³² There can be little doubt on stylistic grounds that the two works from Pisa were painted close in time to each other, so while the evidence for dating them is in the one case inferential and in the other both indirect and variable, there is little

reason to reject the evidence outright. The scenes from the New Testament frescoed on the right wall of the nave in the Collegiata at San Gimignano, the works that Lorenzo Ghiberti had first praised as the masterpieces of Barna da Siena, are, by all measures, more mature than either of the Pisan altarpieces. Recent archival scholarship has narrowed a window of opportunity for their execution to between 1337 and 1343. The fragmentary remains of a fresco from San Domenico in Siena testify to Lippo Memmi's style in the last years of his life, after 1350. Together with his contributions to the 1333 *Annunciation* altarpiece and a small signed and dated diptych of the same year divided between the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin,³³ and a private collection, this leaves an unusually long and evenly spaced range of reasonably well-documented works to mark the stages of his development.

A majority of scholars assign a vague date of ca. 1330 to the panels of the San Gimignano altarpiece, without specifying a reason for this approximation. Bagnoli argued instead that they must follow closely upon the completion of the *Glorification of Saint Thomas Aquinas* altarpiece in Pisa, which he felt was probably painted in anticipation of the saint's canonization, not in response to it, and therefore ca. 1321–23.³⁴ He justified this contention by comparing the type of the Louvre *Saint Peter* (see fig. 3) to the same saint in Simone's polyptych painted for the Dominicans of Orvieto in 1320, always assuming that Lippo followed Simone's example and, as often as not, at no great distance of time. He cited as well the pronounced "Simonesque" and "Gothicizing" qualities of the Washington *Saint John the Baptist* (see fig. 4) and the Griggs *Saint John the Evangelist* as evidence of an early date. Pierluigi Leone de Castris felt that the date suggested by Bagnoli (ca. 1323–25) was "precocious," without, however, specifying how much later he felt it ought to be.³⁵ In support of this latter view, it may be observed that the unusual device incorporated by Lippo Memmi in the Griggs panel of showing the Evangelist dipping his pen in an inkwell as he is poised to write his Gospel also appears in Simone Martini's painting of Saint Luke the Evangelist now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (fig. 16). That panel is part of a pentaptych that is generally identified as a documented work painted by Simone Martini for the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena in 1326,³⁶ and the question would then arise of whether the gesture was invented by Simone and later imitated by Lippo or vice versa. Bagnoli, however, advanced arguments for disassociating the Getty panel and its companions from the 1326 document, preferring to

consider it a work of ca. 1320. It is difficult to decide whether this argument is circular or substantive.

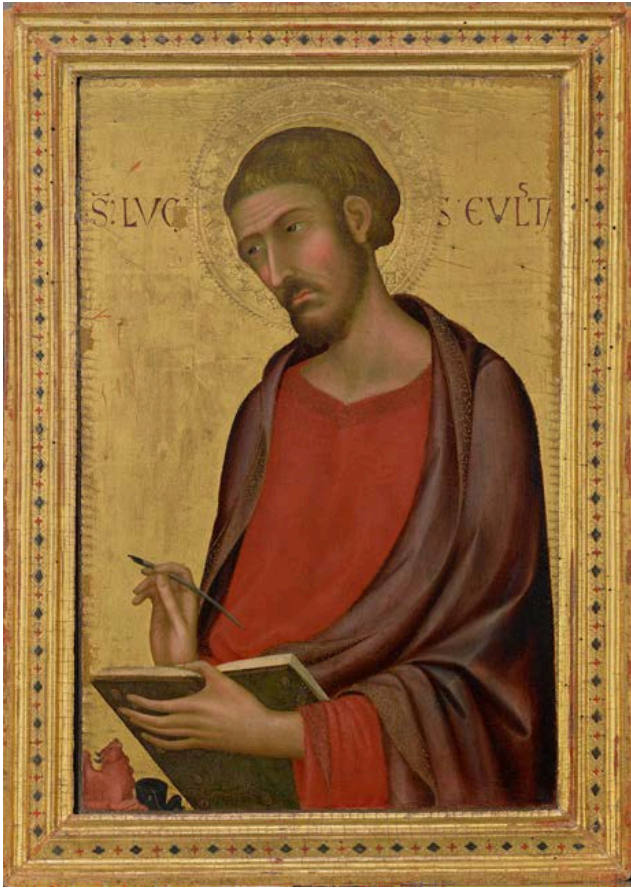


Fig. 16. Simone Martini, *Saint Luke*, 1326. Tempera and gold on panel, 67.5 × 48.3 cm (26 9/16 × 19 in.). J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, inv. no. 82.PB.72

The defining question for dating the panels of the San Gimignano altarpiece seems to be determining whether they precede or follow those of the San Paolo a Ripa d’Arno altarpiece, with which they share so many details of figure type and emotional content. There is an unbroken continuity of effects and idiosyncratic types between the figures in the San Paolo a Ripa d’Arno altarpiece, especially its pinnacles, and the *Glorification of Saint Thomas Aquinas* altarpiece, none of which recur among the panels of the San Gimignano altarpiece. This continuity has long been recognized by scholars, first in the creation of a so-called Master of the *Glorification of Saint Thomas* and later in the admission that this painter and “Barna” were one and the same but yet distinct from Lippo Memmi. It is implausible to imagine that the San Gimignano panels—core works within the traditional Memmi corpus—could intervene between the two altarpieces from Pisa. Positioning them instead after the San Paolo a Ripa d’Arno altarpiece explains their greater

resemblance to the Santa Massima from the 1333 *Annunciation* altarpiece or the *Madonna del Popolo* from Santa Maria dei Servi in Siena, a work plausibly dated in the 1330s. Determining how much later they might have been painted than the San Paolo panels would be an intuitive exercise. —LK

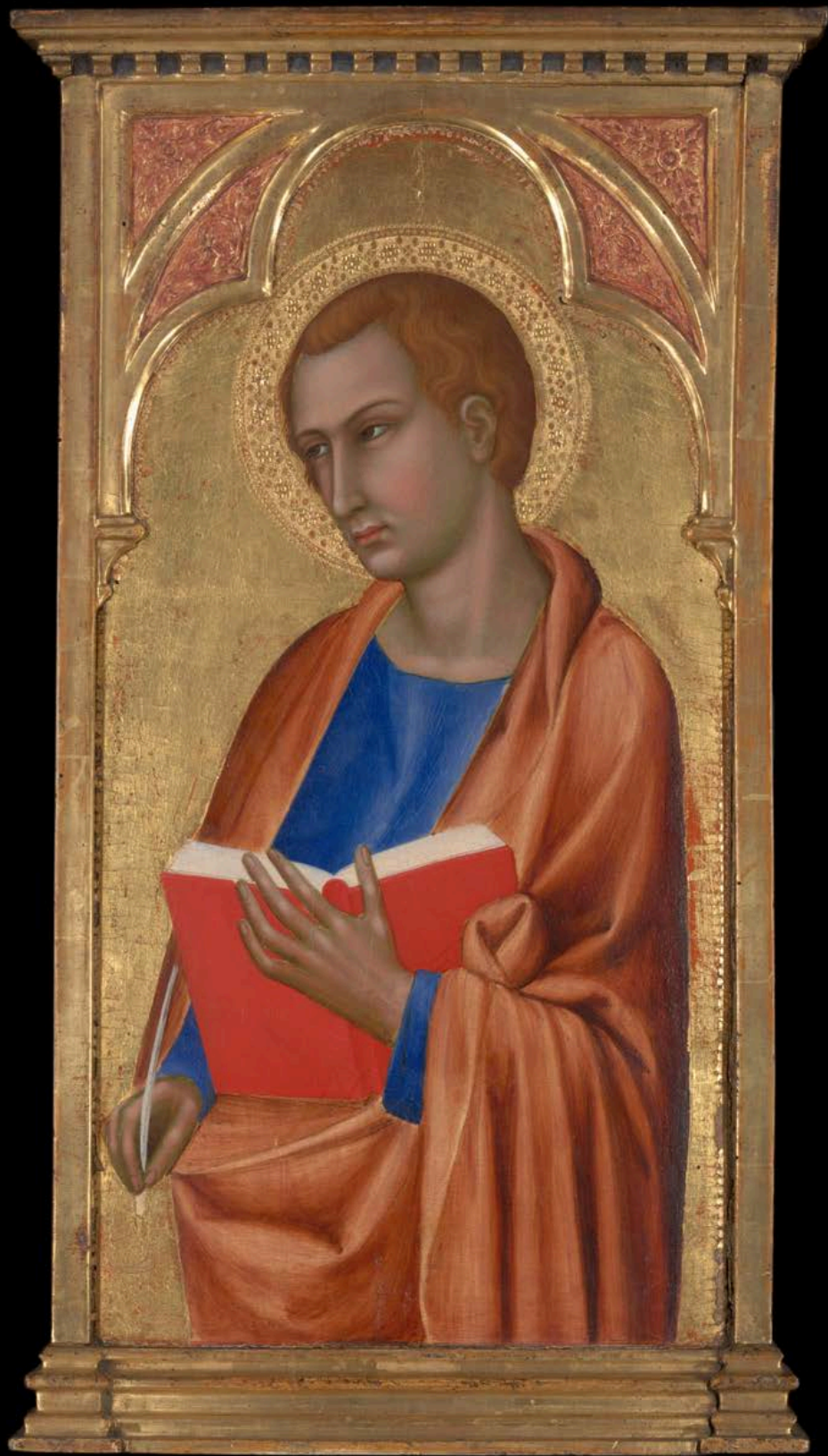
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Venturi 1905, 424; Sirén and Brockwell 1917, 126, no. 47; van Marle 1920b, 24; van Marle 1924a, 173, 184–86; van Marle 1929, 308, 310n1; Venturi 1931, pl. 56; Berenson 1932a, 534; Venturi 1933, no. 70; Berenson 1936, 459; McCall and Valentiner 1939, no. 237; Comstock 1939, 275–77; *Arts of the Middle Ages* 1940, no. 52; “Griggs Collection” 1944, 3; Venturi 1945, pl. 16; “Drawings and Paintings” 1946, 2; “Picture Book Number One” 1946, fig. 17; Comstock 1946, 50; Zeri 1952, 321; Steinweg 1956, 167; Volpe 1960, 157n10; Coor-Achenbach 1961, 127–33; Shapley 1966, p. 49W; Berenson 1968, 1:269; Bologna 1969, 335n7; Seymour 1970, 90–93; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Fahy 1974, 283–84; De Benedictis 1974, 8; Mallory 1974, 187–88; Mallory 1975, 18–20; De Benedictis 1976, 7–8; Caleca 1976, 53; Caleca 1977, 70; Torriti 1977, 54–56; Maginnis 1977, 289; Meiss 1977, 1:139; Michel Laclotte, in Ressor 1978, 19; Shapley 1979, 331; De Benedictis 1979, 93; Zeri and Gardner 1980, 50–52; Christiansen 1982, 26–27; Marianne Lonjon, in *L’art gothique siennois* 1983, 142; Giovanni Previtali, in Bagnoli and Bellosi 1985, 28; Conti 1986, 102; Tartuferi 1986a, 86, 92n32; Boskovits 1988b, 74–75; Martindale 1988, 29, 59; Previtali 1988, 160–61, 166n22, 26; Cannon 1994, 60–62; Frinta 1998, 78, 189, 247, 298, 310, 400, 423, 516; Bagnoli 1999, 142, 151n184; Dean 2001, 13, 22–23, no. 4; Leone de Castris 2003, 181, 218n49; Lonjon 2006, 34, 38n1, 39n13; Daniela Parenti, in Boskovits and Tripps 2008, 34, 37n24; Miklós Boskovits, in Bellosi 2009, 147–48; Spannocchi 2009, 450; Boskovits 2016, 203–14

NOTES

1. Venturi 1905, 424.
2. Venturi 1931, pl. 56; Berenson 1932a, 534; Venturi 1933, no. 70; and Berenson 1936, 459.
3. van Marle 1920b, 24; and van Marle 1924a, 173, 184–86.
4. Comstock 1939, 275–77; and Comstock 1946, 50.
5. Zeri 1952, 321.
6. Seymour 1970, 90–93.
7. Berenson 1936, 459; and Berenson 1968, 1:269.
8. Bagnoli 1999, 142, 151n184.
9. Steinweg 1956, 167; and De Benedictis 1974, 8.
10. Vasari 1878–85, 1:555.

11. Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai, France, inv. no. 1135; and Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, Germany, inv. nos. 44–45. See Coor-Achenbach 1961, 127–33.
12. Mallory 1974, 187–88.
13. For the *Saint John the Baptist*, see Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, Germany, inv. no. 42; for the *Saint Andrew*, see Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa.
14. Bagnoli 1999, 151n184. See also Lonjon 2006, 34–35.
15. Manuscript opinion reported in Zeri and Gardner 1980, 51.
16. van Marle 1920b, 24.
17. De Benedictis 1974, 8.
18. Mallory 1974, 187–88.
19. Maginnis 1977, 289.
20. Boskovits 1988b, 74–75.
21. Boskovits 2016, 211n24.
22. The author is grateful to Elena Pinzauti, Machtelt Israëls, and Carl Strehlke for careful measurements of the Lucignano *Virgin* and the *Saint Francis* and *Saint Louis of Toulouse* in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena.
23. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 451–53.
24. Vasari 1878–85, 1:554, 558–59.
25. An important breakthrough in disentangling each artist's contribution to this altarpiece was published by Miklós Boskovits, following observations first advanced by Klara Steinweg. See Boskovits 1986b, 69–78; and Steinweg 1956, 161–68. For these writers, Lippo's contribution was largely confined to the figure of Santa Massima (formerly thought to be Santa Giulitta) in the right-lateral panel of the altarpiece. This contention was expanded and refined by Andrea De Marchi, who added large parts of the figure of the Virgin in the central panel to Lippo's share; see De Marchi 2006, 5–24. While De Marchi's arguments for attributing various portions of work in the *Annunciation* altarpiece to one artist or the other are wholly persuasive, his efforts to extend the corpus of their collaborations to a diptych in the Museo Horne, Florence, inv. nos. 55–56, and another divided between the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inv. no. 43.98.6, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437063>), and the Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. no. RF 1984 31, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010061668>), are not.
26. Vasari 1906, 1:554.
27. Volpe 1960, 149–50. Carlo Volpe's characterization of Lippo Memmi was borrowed from Pietro Toesca, in Toesca 1951, 554.
28. For a concise summary of the long, often repetitive, sometimes contentious bibliography addressing the amalgamation of Lippo and Barna, see Daniela Parenti, in Boskovits and Tripps 2008, 28–37.
29. The most elaborate exposition of the scope of this family workshop, as well as a detailed and confident division of hands within it, is to be found in Machtelt Israëls, "The Memmi-Martini Compagnia," in Strehlke and Israëls 2015, 441–43.
30. See Laurence Kanter, in Kanter and Marciari 2010, 42–48, for a review of the problems associated with these signatures. Though the evidentiary value of these signatures is relative rather than absolute, the present author now believes that the distinctions between Lippo Memmi and supposed members of his family workshop are overscrupulous and, in most cases, exaggerated. The "Barna" group, in particular, all seem to be works by Lippo Memmi and an indication of his true stature within the development of Sienese painting. One possible exception to this regrouping is the Casciana Alta altarpiece, which seems to be the work of Pisan assistants of Lippo Memmi. A Sienese document of 1327 cites a certain "Giovanni suo [i.e., Lippo's] discepolo di Pisa"; see Hueck 2001, 19. It may be possible to identify this "Giovanni" with Giovanni di Nicola da Pisa, whose style is closely related to that of the Casciana Alta altarpiece.
31. Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, Germany, inv. no. 43.
32. Caleca 1976, 1977; and Daniela Parenti, in Boskovits and Tripps 2008, 30.
33. Inv. no. 1081 A.
34. Bagnoli 1999, 142, 151n184.
35. Leone de Castris 2003, 181, 218n49.
36. Boskovits 1974, 367–76; and Christiansen 1994, 148–60.



Lippo Memmi, *Saint John the Evangelist*

Artist	Lippo Memmi, Siena, active by 1317–ca. 1350
Title	<i>Saint John the Evangelist</i>
Date	ca. 1350
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 69.8 × 32.1 cm (27 7/8 × 12 5/8 in.); picture surface: 60.9 × 32.1 cm (24 × 12 5/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1946.12

Provenance

Edward Hutton (1875–1969), London; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York¹

Condition

The panel, of a vertical wood grain, retains its original thickness of 2.9 centimeters and exhibits a modest convex warp. Modern frame moldings have been engaged along its top and sides and three horizontal braces have been secured across its reverse, which is heavily impregnated with wax. Indications of two batten channels, approximately 8 centimeters wide, cross the panel at 10 centimeters (on center) from the top of the panel and 12 centimeters from the bottom. The present spandrel moldings and decoration are modern, as is the tabernacle-style base of the frame. The barb of gilding and paint where this base molding meets the picture surface may or may not be original, but a drawn line beneath the paint demarcating the end of the composition implies that its format has not been altered. The picture surface has been lightly and evenly abraded from vigorous cleaning, but it and the gold ground are overall beautifully preserved. Scratches through the book and hands of Saint John have been discreetly inpainted, as have minor flaking losses in the saint's draperies caused by a split in the panel rising

from the bottom edge slightly left of center. A similar split at the top edge of the panel along its center has resulted in no appreciable loss of gilding. The engraved outlines of an inkwell set against the gold ground at the lower-left corner of the composition may have been covered by now-lost pigment or glazes, but none are in evidence: this may be the remnants of a design idea not ultimately realized by the artist.

Discussion

A relatively recent addition to the body of works involved in the contentious debates around the identities of Simone Martini's closest followers, the Griggs *Saint John the Evangelist* was, ironically, first recorded only after Maitland Griggs's death, when Richard Offner mentioned it as a possible companion to a panel in the Percy Straus Collection (fig. 1), then recently donated to the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.² Shortly afterward, John Pope-Hennessy confirmed and elaborated this suggestion, arguing on the basis of the unusual shape of their picture fields and the consonance of their dimensions (Pope-Hennessy had, however, been supplied with incorrect dimensions for the Griggs panel that included its modern frame) that these two panels were certainly fragments of a single altarpiece.³ He attributed both of them to the assistant of Barna da Siena responsible for the less-accomplished frescoes among the New Testament scenes in the Collegiata at San Gimignano, works that were later to be reassigned in their entirety to Lippo Memmi and his workshop. The Houston panel had previously been discussed as the eponymous work of an artist isolated by Curt Weigelt and named by him the "Master of the Straus Madonna" (sometimes designated in later literature as the "Master of the Sienese Straus Madonna" to distinguish him from an early fifteenth-century Florentine artist assigned the same name).⁴ While Pope-Hennessy accepted the integrity of Weigelt's grouping and its stylistic proximity to Barna da Siena, he rejected his contention that a half-length image of Saint Agnes in the Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts (fig. 2), might have been a lateral panel from the same altarpiece as the Straus painting—and by extension a companion to the Griggs *Evangelist* as well—a proposal that had been accepted by Offner but that has been rejected by nearly all later writers except Carolyn Wilson.⁵

Setting aside the bewildering range of proposals by later writers for additions to or subtractions from the group isolated by Weigelt as by the Master of the Sienese Straus Madonna or the shuffling of members of this group within the canon of other Simonesque painters variously identified as Barna, the Pseudo-Barna, the Master of the Palazzo Venezia Madonna, Donato Martini, Tederigo Memmi, or Lippo Memmi, the one constant running through all the bibliography related to the Griggs painting has been the assumption that it and the Straus *Madonna* in Houston are fragments of the same altarpiece. In a paper delivered at a College Art Association (CAA) conference in February 2006, however, conservators at the Worcester Art Museum demonstrated that this cannot



Fig 1. Lippo Memmi, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1350. Tempera and gold on panel, 81.6 × 45.1 cm (32 1/8 × 17 3/4 in.). Houston Museum of Fine Arts, The Edith A. and Percy S. Straus Collection, inv. no. 44.564

have been the case.⁶ Not only are the panels radically different in size, but also the embedded nails intended to secure battens across their backs do not align. The Houston panel, furthermore, retains dowel holes along its left and right sides that originally held it in plane with its adjacent lateral panels, whereas the Griggs panel shows (in an X-radiograph; the engaged modern frame prevents direct visual inspection) no evidence of dowel cavities. Finally, the gold ground in the Houston panel is decorated with punch tooling lining its arches, vertical margins, and bottom edge, while no tooling appears along the bottom edge of the Griggs panel. In the same CAA paper, it was definitively concluded that the Worcester *Saint Agnes* originated from yet a third complex, distinct from either the Houston or Griggs panels. The style of each of these works, therefore, needs to be considered independently of



Fig 2. Master of the Palazzo Venezia Madonna, *Saint Agnes*, ca. 1350. Tempera and gold on panel, 72.2 × 44.9 cm (28 3/8 × 17 5/8 in.). Worcester Art Museum, Mass., Museum Purchase, inv. no. 1923.35

the others rather than as an indivisible unit, as it has been approached throughout the existing literature.

Even though it can be assumed that the Griggs and Houston panels are not fragments of a single altarpiece, it must be acknowledged that they were painted by the same artist and probably at no great distance of time from each other. Each can independently be associated on stylistic grounds with the beautifully preserved diptych of the Annunciation (fig. 3) and the Lamentation over the Dead Christ (fig. 4) that is a central feature of nearly all discussions of the Barna/Straus Master group of paintings; indeed, for Millard Meiss, Federico Zeri, and Carlo Volpe, this diptych was the defining member of the group and deserved to be the name-piece of an eponymous master.⁷ Volpe, in particular, stressed the relationship of the considerably damaged *Madonna* in Houston to the diptych and emphasized the distinctions between these

three paintings and nearly everything else that had been grouped with them by Weigelt. He argued in favor of dismantling the so-called Master of the Sienese Straus Madonna and for recognizing the other paintings isolated by Weigelt as variously assignable either to Barna (alias Master of the Ashmolean Lamentation) or to the Master of the Palazzo Venezia Madonna, an independent follower of Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi. The latter remains a vague and elusive personality but can in general be described as more closely dependent on models by Simone and Lippo; as more linear in his modeling and less responsive to opportunities for creating pictorial space; and as more exaggerated or theatrical in the emotional tenor of his figures, without the emotive sincerity of the artist known as Barna.



Fig. 3. Lippo Memmi, *The Annunciation; Six Saints*, ca. 1340–50. Tempera and gold on panel, 52.6 × 38.1 cm (20 3/4 × 15 in.). Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, inv. no. 1142



Fig. 4. Lippo Memmi, *The Crucifixion and Lamentation*, ca. 1340–50. Tempera and gold on panel, 53 × 38 cm (20 7/8 × 15 in.). Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Presented by William Thomas Horner Fox-Strangways, 1850, inv. no. WA1850.9

Volpe’s critique of Weigelt’s proposals rests on solid visual arguments and must be accepted as valid. Although he did not specifically address the case of the Griggs *Evangelist* (except by implication through its association with the Houston panel), it may be assumed that he considered it, too, to be a member of the Barna group. At the same time, “Barna” must now be understood to be a name of convenience designating a group of works that almost certainly were painted by Lippo Memmi (see Lippo Memmi, *Saint John the Evangelist*, inv. no. 1943.239). The “Barna” group does not represent a distinctive stage within Lippo’s career but reveals instead a long tradition of critical misunderstanding of Lippo Memmi as an artist. It is likely, though not susceptible of proof, that the subgroup of paintings related to the *Annunciation/Lamentation* diptych, the Straus *Madonna*, and the Griggs *Evangelist* are to be situated at the end of Lippo Memmi’s long and productive career, close in time to the fragmentary fresco of the Virgin and Child with Saints Peter, Paul, and Dominic removed from a wall in the cloister of San Domenico in Siena and now displayed

in the Pinacoteca Nazionale there—a fresco that was said by Fabio Chigi in his manuscript of 1625 to have been signed by Lippo Memmi and dated 1350.⁸ The paintings of the so-called Master of the Palazzo Venezia Madonna—among which is probably to be numbered the Worcester *Saint Agnes* (see fig. 2)—are also strongly dependent on works from this period in Lippo’s career, accounting, in some measure, for the persistent confusion between some of them and works in the Barna group.

A model for the altarpiece of which the Griggs *Evangelist* once formed part is likely to be provided by the polyptych from Casciana Alta, now displayed in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo in Pisa and widely attributed to Lippo Memmi and his workshop in Pisa.⁹ The proportions and shape of the lateral panels in this altarpiece, including the delineation of their picture fields by a rounded rather than ogival trilobe arch, closely approximate those of the Griggs panel. The Casciana Alta polyptych is preserved intact with its triangular gables, and the relation in size between these and the lateral panels below them suggest the possibility that a triangular gable showing a bishop saint in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 5), may well have been excised from the Griggs *Evangelist* or from another panel in the same altarpiece, as has been suggested by the present author.¹⁰ It must, however, be acknowledged that the association between these paintings is based primarily on the repetition of punch motifs within them and on a general similarity of style and technique, evidence that would permit a reconstruction but that cannot demonstrate one. In practice, the Boston pinnacle could have stood above almost any painting by Lippo Memmi from this period in his career, and there can be no certainty even that its original subjacent panel survives. Lacking further physical evidence, the proposal for a reconstruction must be regarded as speculative. —LK



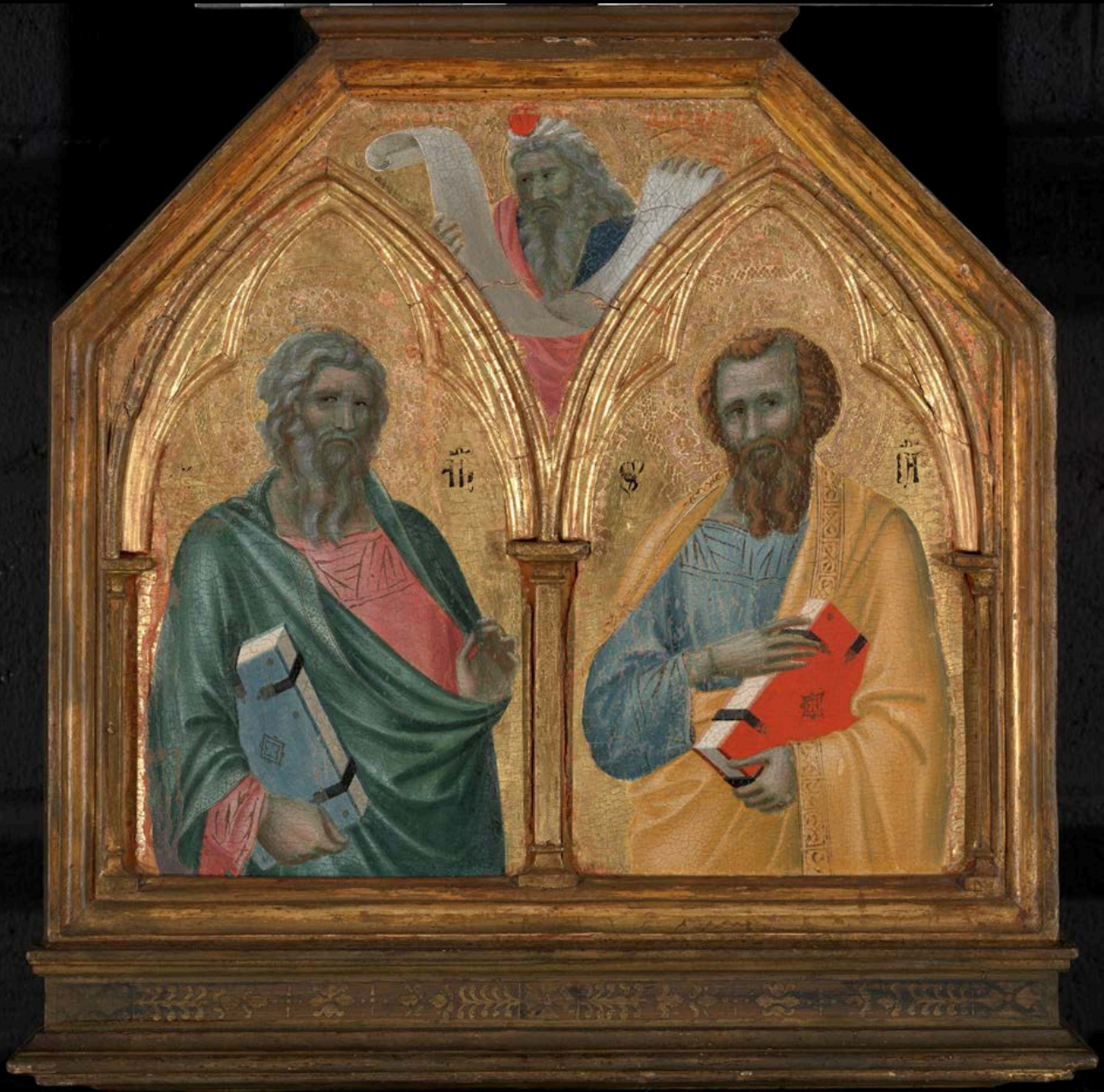
Fig. 5. Lippo Memmi, *Bishop Saint*, ca. 1350. Tempera and gold on panel, 30.8 × 26.0 cm (12 1/8 × 10 1/4 in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Charles Potter Kling Fund, inv. no. 51.738

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Offner 1945, 17; Pope-Hennessy 1946, 35–37; Berenson 1968, 1:405; Seymour 1970, 69–71, no. 47, fig. 47; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 601; Martin Davies, in *European Paintings* 1974, 456, 457n5; De Benedictis 1976, 4, 8, 10, 11n37, fig. 12; De Benedictis 1979, 91, fig. 77; Monica Leoncini, in *Castelnuovo* 1986, 2:608; Boskovits 1988b, 80, 83, 114; Kanter 1994, 95–97; Wilson 1996, 29, 32; Leone de Castris 2003, 340n60

NOTES

1. There is no record of the date at which Griggs purchased this painting from Hutton nor of when or where Hutton acquired it. It is referred to in Offner 1945, 17, as private collection, England. Three photographs of the painting in Richard Offner's archive, now at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., are stamped "Dino Zani & C, Corso Garibaldi 2, Milano"; "Henry Dixon & Sons, Ltd., 112 Albany St., N.W."; and "William Edward Gray, 92 Queens Road, Bayswater." William Edward Gray died in 1935. Henry Dixon (1820–1893) operated his studio in partnership with his son, Thomas James Dixon (1857–1943), and the studio is believed to have remained active into the early 1940s. Dino Zani (1891–1957) was a partner in the Milanese photography studio Crimella-Castagneri-Zani, founded in 1920 at corso Garibaldi, 2. There is no record of whether Zani stamping as an independent photographer implies a specific time period, but it may at least be inferred that the painting was in an Italian private collection before the Second World War.
2. Offner 1945, 17, no. 7.
3. Pope-Hennessy 1946, 35–37.
4. Weigelt 1931, 11–12.
5. Wilson 1996, 29, 32.
6. Albertson, Blewett, and Klausmeyer 2006.
7. Meiss 1955, 142–45; Zeri 1957, 66; and Volpe 1960, 149–58.
8. See Cristina de Benedictis, in *Mostra di opera* 1979, 42–44, no. 12; and Daniella Bruschetti, in Bagnoli and Bellosi 1985, 103–6, nos. 16–19.
9. Caleca 1976, 49–59; and Luciano Bellosi, in Bagnoli and Bellosi 1985, 94–101, no. 15.
10. Kanter 1994, 95–97.



Pietro Lorenzetti, *Saints Andrew and James the Greater, and a Prophet*

Artist	Pietro Lorenzetti, Siena, documented 1305–45
Title	<i>Saints Andrew and James the Greater, and a Prophet</i>
Date	1327–29
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	<i>Saint Andrew</i> : overall, including modern restorations: 37.4 × 22.0 cm (14 3/4 × 8 5/8 in.); picture surface: 34.3 × 21.1 cm (13 1/2 × 8 1/4 in.); <i>Saint James the Greater</i> : overall, including modern restorations: 37.8 × 22.2 cm (14 7/8 × 8 3/4 in.); picture surface: 34.4 × 21.5 cm (13 1/2 × 8 1/2 in.); <i>Prophet</i> : overall, including modern restorations: 39.4 × 45.5 cm (15 7/8 × 17 7/8 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz
Inv. No.	1959.15.1a–c

Provenance

Santa Maria del Carmine, Siena; E. and A. Silberman Galleries, New York; Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz (1887–1957), Sands Point, Long Island, N.Y., by 1945

Condition

The panels depicting Saint Andrew and Saint James, both 3.0 centimeters thick and of a vertical wood grain, have been cut out of their surrounding pediment, repaired with veneered capping strips—*Saint Andrew*, along the bottom and right edges, and *Saint James*, along both lateral edges and the bottom—and returned to their original placement within the pediment. A split at the upper right of the *Saint Andrew* panel has been repaired with a walnut insert, 17 by 1.5 centimeters long. The split had provoked a modest loss of gilding at the right edge of the saint's halo, while another split, running the full height of the panel 2 to 3 centimeters from its left edge is visible as a notable discontinuity of surface level through the saint's elbow and shoulder. Other than minor repairs along these splits and small losses in the saint's beard and

hair at the left side of his head, the paint is thin but very well preserved, although it is currently dulled by a discolored, opaque synthetic varnish. A nail, possibly once securing a batten, is embedded in the panel 3.5 centimeters from its right edge (viewed from the back) and 18 centimeters from its bottom edge. A walnut insert 2.5 centimeters wide repairs a split running the full height of the *Saint James* panel near its right edge. The gold ground of this panel has been abraded near the top of the framing arch, and small flaking losses have occurred along the cusps of the craquelure in the saint's hair and beard. The paint surface otherwise is in excellent condition, although it, too, is currently dulled by a discolored synthetic varnish. A nail, possibly once securing a batten, is embedded in the panel 6 centimeters from its left edge (viewed from the back) and 17.5 centimeters from its bottom edge. The Prophet is painted on a panel support of a horizontal wood grain, still applied to the face of the pediment and embedded with it in a reconstructed modern frame. Its original dimensions, therefore, including its depth, are impossible to estimate with precision. A split in the panel, unrepaired, interrupts

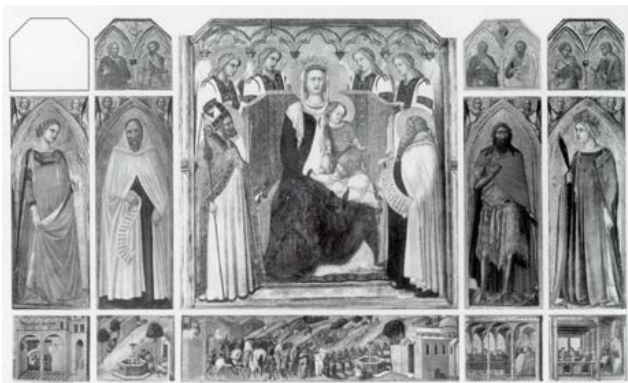


Fig. 1. Reconstruction of the *Carmine Altarpiece*. From: Chiara Frugoni, ed., *Pietro e Ambrogio Lorenzetti* (Florence: Le Lettere, 2002), 64

the tip of the prophet's beard. The paint surface otherwise is extremely well preserved.

Discussion

These images, enclosed in their original framing elements, were unknown to scholars until 1945, when they were published by Lionello Venturi in his catalogue of the Rabinowitz Collection.¹ Venturi recognized the ensemble as one of the pinnacles of Pietro Lorenzetti's signed and dated 1329 *Carmine Altarpiece* (fig. 1), an impressive multitiered polyptych executed for the monks of Santa Maria del Monte Carmelo in Siena and one of the key monuments of Sienese painting. The recovery of the Yale fragment added one more piece to the complex history and reconstruction of this important complex, already dismembered by the late sixteenth-century.

The earliest evidence for the *Carmine Altarpiece* is in the life of Pietro Lorenzetti compiled by the eighteenth-century Franciscan author Guglielmo della Valle, who first referred to the surviving documentary records of this commission: a resolution dated October 26, 1329, in which the Sienese commune approved the petition of the monks and prior of Santa Maria del Carmine for financial assistance so that they could "collect" the finished altarpiece from Pietro Lorenzetti's workshop; and the subsequent disbursement of the requested sum to the artist, on November 29, 1329.² The work, painted for the high altar of the monastery's church, dedicated to Saint Nicholas, was described in the first document as an "admirable [*honorabilem*] and very beautiful panel in which the Blessed Virgin Mary and the most blessed confessor Nicholas, and apostles and Martyrs, confessors and virgins, were painted most beautifully and in great detail by Master Pietro Lorenzetti of Siena."

In 1835 Ettore Romagnoli cited the same two documents in his own biography of Pietro Lorenzetti, adding that the altarpiece in question was "that beautiful work sold for little money in 1818 by the administrators of the Seminario [Arcivescovile]. . . . This painting, which had hung for a long time above the refectory door of that convent, was resold in Florence for a considerable sum by the person who had bought it."³ In 1852 Gaetano Milanesi recognized that four scenes with Carmelite episodes that had been in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, since at least 1842 were most likely fragments of the altarpiece's predella.⁴ The same author, who later published the above documents in their entirety, repeated Romagnoli's information, but possibly privy to other details regarding one or more sales, he wrote that "this panel was removed from the high altar of the church of the Carmine, and was hanging above the Convent's refectory door, when in 1818 it was sold in England."⁵

Ironically, well before the purported 1818 sale, which may have applied to some of the subsidiary parts of the polyptych, the signed and dated central compartment, with the Virgin and Child, had already made its way to the small parish church of Sant'Ansano a Dofana, in the environs of Siena, where it went unrecognized by Romagnoli and all subsequent nineteenth-century scholars.⁶ J. B. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle described the work in great detail, highlighting its very poor state of preservation, in their 1864 volume of the *History of Painting in Italy*: "The earliest altarpiece signed by Pietro is that of the Cappellina del Martirio in the little church of S. Ansano, belonging to the Compagnia a Dofana outside the Pispini gate of Sienna [*sic*], in which the Virgin, almost life size, is enthroned under the guard of four angels, between S. Anthony the abbot and S. Nicholas, erect at her sides. On the step of the throne are the words: "Petrus Laurētii de Senis me pinxit A.D. MCCCXXVIII" (fig. 2).⁷ The connection between this painting and the Carmine commission was not made until the following century, when Ernst DeWald noticed the later repaints that had transformed the figure of the Prophet Elijah, the mythical founder of the Carmelite order, into a Saint Anthony Abbot. Dewald's discovery laid the groundwork for his later identification of two other previously overlooked fragments in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena: the two pinnacles with *Saints Thaddeus and Bartholomew* and *Saints Thomas and James Minor*, companions to the present figures.⁸



Fig. 2. Pietro Lorenzetti, central compartment of the *Carmine Altarpiece*, pre-1883

In 1939 Pèleo Bacci devoted a comprehensive study to the *Carmine Altarpiece*, in which he chronicled the various restorations of the Dofana panel up to his time, from the earliest intervention in 1883 to the latest in 1936.⁹ On that occasion, a cleaning revealed, in addition to the figure of Elijah dressed in the Carmelite habit, the original predella scene with the *Carmelites Receiving the Rule*, which had been painted over with scenes from the life of Saint Ansanus when the work was relocated to the oratory dedicated to that saint in the sixteenth century or later.¹⁰ In the first attempt at a reconstruction of the Carmelite polyptych, Bacci associated with the altarpiece the two full-length images of Saint Agnes and Saint Catherine of Alexandria, clearly laterals of a large complex, that had been transferred to the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, in 1902 from the Siennese convent of Sant'Egidio.¹¹ Bacci's proposal was dismissed by subsequent scholars until the emergence on the New York art market, in 1971, of two other laterals, clearly related to the female saints, showing Saint John the Baptist and Elijah's successor, Elisha, dressed in the Carmelite habit.¹² The recovery of the four panels allowed Federico Zeri and Hayden Maginnis, followed by later authors, to obtain an almost complete picture of the original structure.¹³ In 1989 Volpe

corrected Brandi's original placement of the three surviving pinnacles—echoed in Piero Torriti's 1977 reconstruction—by situating the *Saints Thomas and James Minor* in Siena at the extreme right of the altarpiece, above *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* and next to the Yale *Apostles* and the standing *Saint John the Baptist* (see fig. 1).¹⁴ Still unidentified or lost are the pair of apostles that crowned *Saint Agnes* on the extreme left. Based on the altarpiece type, Christa Gardner von Teuffel added to the missing elements a broad central pinnacle with its uppermost gable; the outer buttresses necessitated by the extreme width of the polyptych; and other unidentified parts of the framework.¹⁵

It has been suggested that Pietro Lorenzetti's imposing structure remained on the high altar of San Niccolò al Carmine through the first half of the sixteenth century, until it was replaced, later in the century, with the "magnificent" wood and gilt tabernacle for the Sacrament described by Francesco Bossio in 1575.¹⁶ It is worth noting, however, that in his study of the Carmelite convent, Vittorio Luisini dated the construction of the new high altar described by Bossio to "the end of the fifteenth century," noting that the wood tabernacle was placed on it at a later moment. One cannot discount the possibility, therefore, that Pietro's altarpiece was dismantled before the sixteenth century and that the various components were relocated to other parts of the convent or transferred to other institutions earlier than hitherto supposed. Within such a context, it is tempting to identify the Norton Simon *Elisha* with that "beautiful image of Saint Benedict" by Pietro Lorenzetti, which the late fifteenth-century historian Sigismondo Tizio (1458–1528) saw hanging in the church of the Umiliati in Siena and identified as the only surviving fragment of an altarpiece painted by the artist for that church in 1329.¹⁷ The panel, located on a pillar to the right of the high altar, according to Tizio, had disappeared by Romagnoli's time. While it is altogether possible that Pietro did execute another lost work for the Umiliati in the same years as the Carmine commission, the coincidence in date and the fact that Tizio could easily have mistaken the figure of Elisha for Saint Benedict—who is usually shown as a bearded older monk in a white habit—leave room for speculation.¹⁸

As ambitious in size as in content, Pietro's altarpiece was conceived as a grand manifesto of the Carmelite order, providing a detailed visual account of its foundation "before it was coherently expressed in writing."¹⁹ As acknowledged by the Siennese commune in their acceptance of the monks' petition, the completed

structure was a remarkable achievement, especially in terms of the attention devoted to the narrative predella, whose size and elaborate storytelling were unprecedented in Siena or Florence at this date.²⁰ Almost half a meter tall, the predella scenes illustrate in chronological sequence and extraordinary detail the salient episodes of Carmelite legend and history, beginning with *Sobac's Dream*, on the extreme left; followed by the *Carmelites at the Fountain of Elijah*; the *Carmelites Receiving the Rule by Albert of Vercelli*; the *Approval of the Carmelite Habit by Honorius IV* (in 1286); and the *Reconfirmation of the Carmelite Order by John XXII* (in 1326).²¹ The identification of the final scene, related to recent events, has allowed modern scholarship to infer that the commission for the altarpiece must be dated shortly after 1326 and to propose a chronological parameter for its execution between around 1326 or 1327 and 1329. The longer time frame, compatible with the large scale of the endeavor, has led some authors to account for perceived differences between the *Virgin and Child* and the lateral panels in terms of the artist's stylistic development over this period.²² The vicissitudes suffered by the central compartment, however, make such distinctions difficult to support. Proposals to discern the intervention of assistants in other parts of the work have also been unconvincing.²³ —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Venturi 1945, 3–4; Carli 1947, 44; Brandi 1948, 69, 72, fig. 5; *Exhibition of Paintings* 1955, 14, no. 2; Carli 1957, 38; *YUAG Bulletin* 1960, 54; Seymour 1961, 7, 12–13, 55; Berenson 1968, 1:219; Seymour 1970, 75–77, nos. 51a–c; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 601; Zeri 1974, 146, 154, 156, fig. 14; Maginnis 1975, 10, 15n13, fig. 14; Torriti 1977, 98; Carli 1981, 159; van Os 1984, 99, fig. 114; Monica Leoncini, in Castelnovo 1986, 2:591; Cannon 1987, 19; Frugoni 1988, 8; Volpe 1989, 135, 148–49, no. 116; Kenney 1992, 133; De Benedictis 1996; Alessio Monciatti, in Frugoni 2002, 63–64; Rowlands 2003, 78; De Marchi 2009, 87; Gardner von Teuffel 2015, 16–18n76; Shaneyfelt 2021, 118n16

NOTES

1. Venturi 1945, 3–4. The history of the panels prior to their acquisition by the E. and A. Silberman Galleries, New York, is unknown. A nineteenth-century wax seal with a count's crest on the reverse of *Saint James the Greater* remains unidentified.
2. Della Valle 1785, 209–10, later transcribed by Milanese 1854–56, 1:193–94, no. 39; and Bacci 1939, 83–86, 88–89, docs. 7, 9.
3. Romagnoli 1835, 2: fols. 359–60.
4. Inv. nos. 83–84. Milanese 1852, 14–15.

5. Milanese 1854–56, 1:194.
6. Ettore Romagnoli (in Romagnoli 1835, fol. 369) referred to the painting as a “Virgin and Child between Saints John the Baptist, Saint Peter and two bishop saints with four angels above . . . much ruined by the humidity,” and inscribed below: “Petrus Laurentii de’ Senis. 1379 [sic],” giving rise to much later confusion and speculation about two different works in the same church. It is much more likely, as noted by Pèleo Bacci (in Bacci 1939, 42), that the writer was working from distant memory or based on flawed hearsay.
7. Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1864, 2:119–20. It is curious that the authors mentioned the documents pertaining to the *Carmine Altarpiece* in the next passage but, presuming it had been sold in 1818, thought the artist had signed and dated two paintings in the same year. The Dofana *Madonna* was also examined by Francesco Brogi in 1863 (see Brogi 1897, 86), although the author read the date as “M.CCC.XXVIII,” the last part of the inscription having been eroded and less legible due to a vertical split of the panel at this point. See note 8, below.
8. Inv. nos. 62, 64. DeWald 1920, 73–76; and DeWald 1930, 9–11, 18–19. Regarding the inscribed date of the altarpiece, sometimes reported as 1328, De Wald (in DeWald 1930, 10) pointedly noted, “Because of the condition of the panel only a tip of the last ‘I’ was visible when I saw it. This has evidently escaped those who have read the date as 1328.”
9. Bacci 1939, 35–64.
10. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. I.B.S. 16 b. The actual date of the transfer is unknown but is surmised from the dating of the oil repaints in the predella. These have been generally placed in the late sixteenth century but could be later. They were estimated to be seventeenth century by the earliest restorers; cited in Bacci 1939, 49. Carlo Volpe (in Volpe 1989, 137) thought that the painting had most likely been moved to the chapel in Dofana “after the 16th century.”
11. Inv. nos. 578–79.
12. Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, Calif., inv. nos. F.1973.08.1.P, F.1973.08.2.P. Federico Zeri (in Zeri 1974, 148) reported that he was first shown the panels in 1971 by an unidentified dealer in New York. According to information on the Norton Simon website both works were sold in 1972 by the descendants of Jerome Bonaparte Wheat (1809–1895) to the Newhouse Galleries, New York (in partnership with Bruno Meissner, Frederick Mont and Piccolo). They were purchased by the Norton Simon Foundation from Frederick Mont in 1973; see Norton Simon Museum, “The Prophet Elisha,” <https://www.nortonsimon.org/art/detail/F.1973.08.2.P>. Not much is known of Jerome Bonaparte Wheat, and whether he owned other works of art. Born in Glastonbury, Connecticut, on April 12, 1809, he practiced dentistry in Charleston, South Carolina (1837), Philadelphia (1842–46), and New York. He is recorded as living in Brooklyn between 1879 and 1887, before moving back to

- Connecticut. He died in New Haven on June 7, 1895. The two paintings were inherited by Wheat's daughter, Blanche Wheat Bauer (1878–1938), born from his second marriage to Helen Jeffrey, in New York. Although Wheat could have acquired the panels in the United States, the family did have connections in Europe (another of Wheat's daughters, from his first wife, married a Polish count—a physician—in Paris) and must have traveled overseas, leaving open the possibility that they were purchased there. See Scranton 1960, 218–19.
13. Zeri 1974, 146–56; and Maginnis 1975, 10–16.
 14. Volpe 1989, 148–49, nos. 114–16; and Torriti 1977, 99.
 15. Gardner von Teuffel 2005, 138–39.
 16. Francesco Bossio, *Visita apostolica*, Siena, Archivio Arcivescovile, *Sante Visite* 2, fol. 687, transcribed by Lusini 1907, 41n1; and Israëls 2001, 534. According to Bossio, the new tabernacle was commissioned by the Arte della Lana, whose involvement with the affairs of the Carmine dated to 1431, when they took over the patronage of the main chapel. Machtelt Israëls has postulated that the Arte della Lana's involvement in the upkeep of the high altar might account for the transformation of the figure of Elijah into Saint Anthony Abbot, one of the guild's first patron saints. While this is an interesting suggestion, it seems unlikely that the Carmelite friars would have allowed for the replacement of the founder of their order in the main panel of an altarpiece dedicated to the history of its foundation. Most monastic orders were reluctant to concede any *ius patronatus* over the high altar, notwithstanding the involvement of a lay entity or benefactor, and Bossio's description stated specifically that the altar was not endowed ("*non dotatum*") at the time of his writing. See Gardner von Teuffel 2005, 372–98, 656–66.
 17. Sigismundi Titii, *Historiae senenses* 2, fols. 485–86, Biblioteca Comunale, Siena, MS B.III, 7; cited by Della Valle 1785, 208 and transcribed by Bacci 1939, 81–82, doc. 5.
 18. Carlo Volpe, in Volpe 1989, 134, thought that Tizio's reference might apply to the predella fragments with *Saint Anthony Abbot* and the *Man of Sorrows*, presently divided between the Alana Collection, Newark, Del., inv. no. 2012.43, and the Museo Civico Amedeo Lia, La Spezia, inv. no. 133.
 19. Gardner von Teuffel 2015, 38. Christa Gardner von Teuffel's exhaustive discussion of the visual program of Pietro's altarpiece follows upon the foundational study by Joanna Cannon; see Cannon 1987, 18–28. See also van Os 1984, 91–103; Frugoni 1988, 8–13; and Alessio Monciatti, in Frugoni 2002, 63–64. It bears restating that Cannon (in Cannon 1987, 23n48) convincingly pointed out that the inclusion of Saints Agnes and Catherine in the altarpiece could not be related to the Arte della Lana, as first suggested by Zeri (in Zeri 1974) and repeated in the following literature since the guild became involved with the Carmine only in the fifteenth century (see note 16, above). On the other hand, as Cannon pointedly observed, Saint Agnes was, together with the Virgin, joint patron saint of the confraternity attached to the church of the Carmine in Florence, suggesting that there existed an affiliation between her and the order.
 20. De Marchi 2009, 87.
 21. The original sequence of the last two scenes, whose order had been inverted in earlier reconstructions, was reestablished following the 1997–98 restorations; see Gardner von Teuffel 2015, 23.
 22. Alessio Monciatti, in Frugoni 2002, 68.
 23. Seymour 1970, 75–77, nos. 51a–c.



Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *The Charity of Saint Martin*

Artist	Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Siena, documented 1319–48
Title	<i>The Charity of Saint Martin</i>
Date	ca. 1342–44
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 29.9 × 20.9 cm (11 3/4 × 8 1/4 in.); picture surface: 29.4 × 19.2 cm (11 1/2 × 7 1/2 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.11

Provenance

San Benedetto fuori Porta Tufi, Siena, by 1734;¹ James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, retains its original thickness of 1.8 centimeters. It appears to have been trimmed slightly at the left, bottom, and right edges but not within the picture field, as a barb is evident along all three edges. The top edge has been truncated by an indeterminate amount. A full dowel hole, 7 millimeters in diameter, has been drilled into the left edge, 17.2 centimeters from the bottom of the panel. Three half-channels for dowels occur on the left and right edges, 2.5, 14.5, and 27.5 centimeters from the bottom. The purpose served by these dowels is unclear, unless they relate to a later framing structure not preserved today. The paint surface has been lightly abraded overall but is generally in a good state. Scattered local losses in and around the figure of the beggar chiefly affect his left leg. The shadowed inner wall of the city gate directly above Saint Martin's left shoulder and between the legs of his horse was left in an abraded state after a cleaning of 1952–53 by Andrew Petryn and was subsequently inpainted by Patricia Garland in a cleaning of 2002. The latter

campaign also saw retouching of losses in the right wall of the city gate and scattered throughout the buildings visible above the city wall at the top center, especially along a V-shaped loss above Saint Martin's helmet.

Discussion

Saint Martin, bishop of Tours, was, according to the thirteenth-century *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine, the son of a Roman legionary who served under the emperors Constantine and Julian. He was raised by his father in the garrison at Pavia and, although he was of spiritual inclination, he was pressed into military service at age fifteen by an imperial decree that the sons of veterans should assume their fathers' commissions. In the winter of his eighteenth year, "he was passing through the city gate of Amiens when a poor man, almost naked, confronted him."² Drawing his sword, Martin cut his cloak in two and gave half to the beggar. "The following night he had a vision of Christ wearing the part of his cloak with which he had covered the beggar. . . . [Martin] saw this not as a reason for pride, but as evidence of God's kindness, and had himself baptized." In the painting, Saint Martin, mounted and dressed not as a Roman legionary but as a medieval knight, emerges from a city gate, riding along a cobbled highway. He encounters a nearly naked beggar at the left, to whom he hands the end

of his fur-lined red cloak while he cuts it in half with his sword. The city walls behind the two figures are topped with a corbel arcade, and above them can be seen the upper stories and roofs of several buildings, rendered with an empirically accurate sense of proportion and solidity.

The Charity of Saint Martin has resisted accurate identification longer than any other of the most important paintings in the Jarves Collection at Yale. It was catalogued by Jarves and Russel Sturgis, Jr., as by Dello Delli, a fifteenth-century Florentine painter and sculptor much praised by Giorgio Vasari as the first to perfect the art of cassone decoration but by whom no documented works were, or are, known to survive.³ As they also attributed to Dello Delli the cassone in the Jarves Collection representing a tournament in Piazza Santa Croce, now recognized as the work of Apollonio di Giovanni,⁴ it is clear that this attribution was based exclusively on the narrative content and figure scale of the painting, and possibly on the fact that Saint Martin is portrayed wearing armor. As early as 1895, William Rankin realized that the painting must date earlier than the fifteenth century; shortly afterward, Bernard Berenson situated it firmly in the first half of the fourteenth century and moved its place of origin from Florence to Siena by attributing it to Simone Martini.⁵ Although he repeated this attribution through subsequent editions of his lists,⁶ it gained little traction beyond the initial cataloguing efforts of Osvald Sirén.⁷ It was rejected timidly by Raimond van Marle and more decisively by Richard Offner.⁸ Offner suggested instead an artist of a slightly later generation, Lippo Vanni, who at that time was believed to be the author of a painting of the Charity of Saint Nicholas in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (fig. 1), that would later come to be recognized as a pendant to the Yale *Charity of Saint Martin*. Offner's proposal found an echo in the final version of Berenson's lists, where the painting appears as "close to Lippo Vanni."⁹ F. Mason Perkins believed the panel to be by a follower of Bartolo di Fredi, an artist then thought to have been responsible for most of the major developments in Sieneese painting during the second half of the fourteenth century.¹⁰



Fig. 1. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *The Charity of Saint Nicholas*, ca. 1342–44. Tempera on gold on panel, 30 × 20.5 cm (11 3/4 × 8 1/8 in.). Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. RF 2096

A breakthrough in discussions of the *Charity of Saint Martin* came in 1951, when Roberto Longhi asserted that the Louvre *Charity of Saint Nicholas*, which relates to the Yale panel in size, style, and subject, must have been part of a single complex with it and attributed both works to Ambrogio Lorenzetti.¹¹ Although this identification is stubbornly and inexplicably credited to Federico Zeri throughout the English-language literature concerning the *Charity of Saint Martin*, the pairing has never been doubted. All subsequent discussion of both works has centered on identifying the complex from which they might have been removed and on whether the Yale panel was painted by Ambrogio Lorenzetti or in his workshop by an assistant. Doubts concerning Ambrogio's authorship of this panel have been surprisingly persistent,¹² perhaps due to the unconventional and stiff-legged portrayal of the horse upon which Saint Martin is mounted. Such doubts, however, are belied by the daring perspective of the scene, viewed as it develops moving forward in space; by the astonishing technical sophistication of the rendering of Saint Martin's armor in tooled gold leaf and

oil glazes; and by the complex and self-confident architectural detail that fills the upper third of the composition. In all these respects, the Yale panel may be compared favorably with Ambrogio's scenes from the legend of Saint Nicholas from San Procolo in Florence, now in the Gallerie degli Uffizi.¹³ The Yale panel, unfortunately, is less well preserved than the truly remarkable scenes in the Uffizi, but it is certainly by the same hand and from a slightly later moment in his career. It is persuasively dated to the first half of the 1340s, close to the *Annunciation* for the Ufficio della Gabella, Siena, of 1344, in the most recent and most thorough discussion of it and its companion panels, the exemplary entry by Gina Lullo in the Ambrogio Lorenzetti exhibition catalogue of 2017.¹⁴

The other major point of contention in discussions of the *Charity of Saint Martin* is the identification of its original context and provenance. In 1967 Gordon Moran argued on the basis of style and iconography that the two narrative panels at Yale and the Louvre might have formed the wings of a triptych with the so-called *Piccola Maestà* by Ambrogio in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena (fig. 2).¹⁵ Moran advanced physical evidence, in the form of dowel holes drilled into the sides of the panel, that the latter was indeed the center of a triptych or small altarpiece rather than an independent devotional work, as had previously been believed. The *Piccola Maestà* represents the Virgin and Child Enthroned, adored by six angels and six saints, among whom are two bishops who may be identifiable as Saints Martin of Tours and Nicholas of Bari. Moran interpreted the device represented on the parchment scroll held by the Christ Child as a ladder, emblem of the Spedale di Santa Maria della Scala, the foremost charitable institution in Renaissance Siena, which he adduced as thematic confirmation of his reconstruction. He also hypothesized that the Yale and Louvre panels had been cropped not only at their tops but also at their left and right edges, respectively, to account for the lack of matching dowel holes along the sides that would have abutted the *Piccola Maestà* standing between them. Cataloguing the Siena panel in 1977, Piero Torriti expressed only minor doubts about this reconstruction, emphasizing the qualitative difference he perceived between the splendid *Charity of Saint Nicholas* at the Louvre and the deficiencies of the *Charity of Saint Martin* at Yale.¹⁶ He rejected unequivocally the hypothetical provenance from the Spedale della Scala, noting that the device on the Christ Child's scroll in the *Piccola Maestà* is not a ladder but the text "FIAT V[oluntas tua]." Torriti reported without comment that a 1735 inventory from the monastery of

San Benedetto fuori Porta Tufi, called to his attention by Gordon Moran, might refer to the Siena, Louvre, and Yale panels, confirming that they had once stood together as a triptych.



Fig. 2. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Six Saints and Six Angels* (*Piccola Maestà*), 1342–44. Tempera and gold on panel, 50.5 × 35.5 cm (19 7/8 × 14 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 65

Creighton Gilbert, in an eccentric article of 1997, explored an altogether different avenue of inquiry.¹⁷ He noted conservation reports indicating that the Yale panel had not been trimmed on either of its lateral edges and concluded that it could not therefore have been part of a triptych with the *Piccola Maestà*. This conclusion was instinctual rather than evidentiary since he observed that the Yale panel preserves a dowel hole along its left edge (unknown to Moran in 1967). He insisted, on the one hand, that a narrative scene of this type is not generally encountered in the context of a triptych wing and, on the other, that the Yale and Louvre panels were not cut at their top edges and were therefore too small to have stood alongside the *Piccola Maestà* in a triptych. He contended that in both panels Ambrogio Lorenzetti must have decided to paint over the bare wood surround to extend

the top edge of the composition in order to relieve the cramped projection of space within them. It may be inferred that Gilbert misunderstood the bare wood along the sides and bottom as areas of the picture surface that the artist had decided not to paint, whereas these, in fact, resulted from the removal of engaged frame moldings that had been applied before the artist began work on the painted image. The upper edge, too, would have been provided with an engaged molding, and it must be assumed therefore that both the Yale and Louvre panels have been cropped somewhere within the original picture field, although it is impossible to determine by how much. Gilbert also dismissed the evidence of the 1735 inventory linking the three panels in a single structure, claiming that, notwithstanding its great specificity in describing the unusual subjects of each of the three works, it cites their medium as oil rather than tempera and must therefore refer to some other objects.¹⁸

Gilbert's conclusion, that the Yale and Louvre panels were painted to decorate the sides of an alms box, is based on iconographic interpretation only. It fails to take into account the function of the dowel in the left side of the Yale panel (evidence of a corresponding dowel in the Louvre panel was destroyed when its support was thinned to a depth of 6 millimeters; the dowel in the Yale panel is set 6.5 millimeters from the surface of the panel). Norman Muller instead reported that the dowel holes in the left edge of the Yale panel and the right edge of the *Piccola Maestà* are within 1 millimeter the same diameter, and both occur 17.5 centimeters from the bottom edge of their respective panels.¹⁹ Having demonstrated conclusively that the Yale, Siena, and Louvre panels did originate as a triptych, he then advanced an overscrupulous interpretation of the punch tooling in the three panels and an unsupportable reading of their style to suggest that the triptych might have been executed around midcentury, possibly after Ambrogio Lorenzetti's death and certainly by members of his workshop. It was not until 2017, when the three panels were reunited in Siena on the occasion of the monographic exhibition dedicated to Ambrogio Lorenzetti at the Complesso Museale di Santa Maria della Scala, that their integrity as a group was reaffirmed and their position within Ambrogio's oeuvre—as masterpieces from his last decade of activity—could be decisively established.

The chief difficulty with the reconstruction proposed graphically by Muller lies in its assumption that the Yale and Louvre panels once approximated the height of the *Piccola Maestà* much more closely than they do at present. To be sure, the presence of a second dowel hole

on either side of the Siena panel implies that its wings were taller than the roughly 30 centimeters of these two panels as they have come down to us. It need not be assumed, however, that their missing height was fully occupied by a continuation of their present painted surfaces, as in Muller's reconstruction, where a trilobe arch mirroring that of the center panel would have extended the painted architecture and gold ground in both panels to nearly 40 percent of their total height. While it is, of course, possible, it is difficult to imagine the artist lavishing that much attention on nonessential parts of either narrative. Equally possible, if not more so, is that each lateral was capped by a pinnacle framing an independent scene or figure, just as it is possible that the truncated top of the *Piccola Maestà* did not originally terminate in a simple gable, as is always imagined, but was crowned by a framing pinnacle. If this were the case, and if the missing pinnacles survive, three candidates present themselves on the basis of style and quality of execution. Two are matching triangular pediments showing half-length figures of Saint Agnes (fig. 3) and Saint Elizabeth of Hungary (fig. 4), measuring 37 by 25.1 and 36.5 by 25 centimeters, respectively, overall. In scale, these figures are considerably larger than any other figures in the triptych, except for the Virgin in the *Piccola Maestà*, but their painted surfaces are, at their bottom edges, exactly the same width as the *Charity of Saint Martin* and the *Charity of Saint Nicholas*. Their iconography continues that of the main panels of the triptych, unless one accepts the occasional proposal to identify the female saint at the left of the *Maestà* as Saint Elizabeth of Hungary rather than Saint Dorothy.²⁰ In painting style and decorative details, the pinnacles correspond closely with the other panels of the triptych, and conversely, they do not relate well enough to any other surviving works by Ambrogio Lorenzetti to propose an alternative reconstruction for them. The third candidate, a roundel showing Saint John the Baptist clearly excised from the tympanum or spandrel of a gilded frame (fig. 5), is also closely related in style, technique of execution, and quality to the *Piccola Maestà*.²¹ No physical or iconographic evidence exists that can associate this roundel incontrovertibly with the missing pinnacles of either the Siena, Yale, or Louvre panels, but its possible relation to them cannot be excluded a priori.

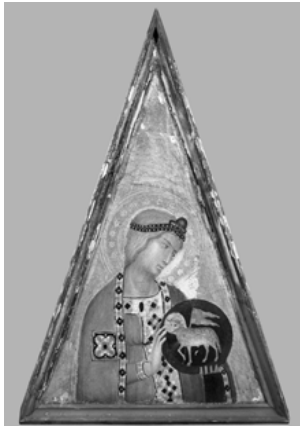


Fig. 3. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Saint Agnes*, ca. 1342–44. Tempera and gold on panel, 37 × 25.1 cm (14 5/8 × 9 7/8 in.). Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Gift of Edward W. Forbes, Cambridge, Mass., inv. no. 1953.203



Fig. 4. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Saint Elizabeth of Hungary*, 1342–44. Tempera and gold on panel, 36.5 × 25 cm (14 3/8 × 9 7/8 in.). Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, inv. no. P15n10



Fig. 5. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Saint John the Baptist*, ca. 1342–44. Tempera and gold on panel, Diam. 9.9 cm (3 7/8 in.). Alana Collection, Newark, Del., inv. no. 2019.09

Discussing on the seminal role played by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the promulgation of naturalistic motifs in Italian, specifically Siennese, Renaissance painting, Gilbert called attention to what he believed was the highly original device of a shadow cast by Saint Martin's cloak in the Yale *Charity of Saint Martin*. Although it cannot be doubted that Ambrogio Lorenzetti experimented with optical effects of this sort and was instrumental in their transmission to later generations of painters, the area in

question in the Yale painting is not a cast shadow. It is the vertical face of a rocky bank bordering the paved road on which the saint rides out of the city gate at Amiens. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 49, no. 56; Sturgis 1868, 51–52; Brown 1871, lot 46; Rankin 1895, 146; Berenson 1902, 252; Perkins 1905, 74, 76; Rankin 1905, 146; Sirén 1916a, 35–36; van Marle 1920b, 81–82; Offner 1927a, 4–5, 38; Berenson 1930, 58; Berenson 1932a, 534; Liberati 1933, 244–45; Berenson 1936, 459; “Picture Book Number One” 1946, fig. 18; Longhi 1951, 52–54; Steegmuller 1951, 299, fig. 8; Moran, Seymour, and Carli 1967, 28–39; Berenson 1968, 1:221; Seymour 1970, 72–75, no. 50; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 599; Ritchie and Neilson 1972, no. 2; Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 13, no. 5; Torriti 1977, 122; Brejon de Lavergnée and Thiébaud 1981, 195; Kenney 1992, 133; Gilbert 1997–98, 31–41; Muller 1999, 214–24; Frugoni 2002, 161; Gina Lullo, in Bagnoli, Bartalini, and Seidel 2017, 338–44

NOTES

1. Gina Lullo, in Bagnoli, Bartalini, and Seidel 2017, 342, cites documents of 1734 and 1735, the latter published by Alfredo Liberati (in Liberati 1933), describing the triptych of which the Yale panel formed part in the *foresteria* at San Benedetto, the Olivetan monastery outside the walls of Siena. By 1752, the triptych had been dismantled and the wings, including the Yale panel, moved to the private apartments of the abbot Piccolomini.
2. de Voragine 1993, 2:292.
3. Jarves 1860, 49, no. 56; and Sturgis 1868, 51–52.
4. Yale University Art Gallery, inv. no. 1871.33, <https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/290>.
5. Rankin 1895, 146; Berenson 1902, 252.
6. Berenson 1932a, 534; and Berenson 1936, 459.
7. Sirén 1916a, 35–36.
8. van Marle 1920b, 81–82; Offner 1927a, 4–5, 38.
9. Berenson 1968, 1:221.
10. Perkins 1905, 74, 76.
11. Longhi 1951, 52–54.
12. See Moran, Seymour, and Carli 1967, 28–39; Seymour 1970, 72–75, no. 50; Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 13, no. 5; Torriti 1977, 122; Gilbert 1997–98, 31–41; and Muller 1999, 214–24.
13. Inv. nos. 1890 nn. 1848–49, <https://catalogo.uffizi.it/it/29/ricerca/detailiccd/1185295/>.

14. Gina Lullo, in Bagnoli, Bartalini, and Seidel 2017, 338–44.
15. Moran, Seymour, and Carli 1967, 28–39.
16. Torriti 1977, 122.
17. Gilbert 1997–98, 31–41.
18. “Tre quadri in tavola fatti a olio di penello antico buono rappresentanti, uno la Madonna col Bambino in braccio con dodici Santi che gli fanno corona, il secondo San Martino e il terzo San Niccolò di Bari facendo elemosina alle tre fanciulle, con cornici colorate, et dorate” (Three paintings in oil on panel in a good antique style, one representing the Virgin with the Child in her arms and twelve saints surrounding them, the second Saint Martin, and the third Nicholas of Bari giving alms to the three maidens, with gilded and painted frames); Gilbert 1997–98, 40n12.
19. Muller 1999, 214–24.
20. S. D’Argenio, in Chelazzi Dini 1982, 150; and van Os 1994, 68.
21. The roundel, 9.9 centimeters in diameter, appeared at sale at Sotheby’s, New York, January 30, 2019, lot 2, with an attribution to Ambrogio Lorenzetti. It does not otherwise occur in the literature devoted to the artist.



Bartolomeo Bulgarini, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels*

Artist	Bartolomeo Bulgarini, Siena, documented 1338–died 1378
Title	<i>Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels</i>
Date	ca. 1355–60
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall 69.3 × 60.1 cm (27 1/4 × 23 5/8 in.), picture surface: 67.2 × 56.4 cm (26 1/2 × 22 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.244

Provenance

Dan Fellows Platt(?) (1873–1937), Englewood, N.J.;¹
Durlacher Brothers, London and New York, by 1920;²
Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, by
February 25, 1924

Condition

The panel, of a vertical grain, retains its original thickness of 1.9 centimeters. It is comprised of three planks, 9.5, 41.7, and 8.7 centimeters wide, left to right; several prominent knots occur in the central plank. The reverse is discolored from the removal of an 8-centimeter-wide batten, 40 centimeters (on center) from the present bottom edge of the panel. A dowel peg on the right edge of the panel, 1.2 centimeters in diameter, is inserted 33.8 centimeters from the bottom, or 1.5 centimeters below the level of the batten. A similar dowel on the left edge is inserted 35 centimeters from the bottom, or 5 millimeters below the batten. The join between the center and left planks has opened and was further excavated by Andrew Petryn in a drastic cleaning of 1959 to expose wood, linen, and gesso along its full length. The join between the center and right planks has produced three irregular vertical splits in the paint surface but no significant loss of

pigment. The pastiglia moldings defining the arch at the top of the panel are broken and partially lost.

The gold ground is heavily abraded, the haloes less so except that dirt within the punch impressions in the Christ Child's halo and in the lower half of the Virgin's halo was aggressively removed with solvents that destroyed gilding as well and exposed a damaged gesso underlayer. The paint surface has been badly burned by solvents and is heavily abraded. Flesh tones remain visible only in the figures' hands. The Virgin's robe has been severely damaged and was scraped down to the wood in areas of her lap and cowl. Her red dress and the red-and-blue cloth of honor are scarred by numerous small local losses exposing the gesso preparation beneath. The Virgin's white veil and the Child's yellow and purple garments retain more of their original modeling. The silver and blue sgraffito decoration within the cusps lining the arch is abraded, while that in the spandrels outside the main arch is relatively well preserved. A 1.4-centimeter-wide strip of polished gesso along the right edge of the panel is original and was meant to be covered by an attached pilaster; a corresponding strip on the left side has been badly pitted and scored by solvents.

Discussion

This panel, already drastically reduced in height when it first appeared on the art market around 1920, was originally the center of a large polyptych with the Virgin and Child Enthroned, flanked by standing saints. As evidenced by comparisons with early photographs (fig. 1), the painted surface was still relatively intact before being irreparably damaged in a 1959 cleaning. The earliest record of the work is an expert opinion written by F. Mason Perkins for the London and New York firm of Durlacher Brothers, in April 1920, excerpts of which are preserved in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York, and in the Yale curatorial files.³ In it the scholar referred to the image as “a most interesting and rare find” and attributed it to the author of a *Nativity* in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, christened by him “Master of the Fogg Museum Nativity.”⁴ As Perkins reported in another letter, his attribution had been confirmed by Bernard Berenson, who had already gathered a body of works around the Fogg *Nativity* under the fictitious sobriquet “Ugolino Lorenzetti,” in reference to the peculiar blend of derivations from Ugolino di Nerio and Pietro Lorenzetti. In 1923 Ernest DeWald⁵ inserted the *Virgin and Child*, then with the New York branch of Durlacher, in his reconstruction of the so-called Oville Master—named after a *Virgin and Child* in the church of San Pietro Oville, Siena (now Museo Diocesano d’Arte Sacra)—whose oeuvre comprised some of the paintings assigned by Berenson to “Ugolino Lorenzetti,” including the Fogg *Nativity*. Calling the present panel “an excellent example of the Oville Master’s work,” DeWald evoked the coloristic brilliance that characterized the image, noting “the lovely vermillion brocade” of the cloth of honor behind the Virgin; “the lovely blue” of the Virgin’s mantle; and “the strong yellow” of the drapery of the Christ Child, which recalled the color effects of the Fogg *Nativity*. The painting was in the collection of Maitland Griggs by February 25, 1924, when Richard Offner described it as “an undisputable and typical” work of the Oville Master in a Lorenzettesque phase,” pointing out that the painted surface was “slightly worn, but free from any disfiguring damage or restoration.”⁶ The attribution to the Oville Master was reiterated in Venturi’s 1931 overview of Italian paintings in American collections, which provides the most detailed record of the painting’s original palette: “The gold background is nearly covered by the great red and gold cloth of the throne. The Madonna wears a blue cloak and red robe, the Child a lilac cloak and yellow robe, and the angels are in blue, red and gold. The flesh tints are dark blonde. There are some signs of toning.”⁷



Fig. 1. *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels*, before 1959

In two fundamental studies in the 1930s,⁸ Millard Meiss convincingly demonstrated that the two groups of works alternately assigned to “Ugolino Lorenzetti” and the Oville Master reflected different phases in the career of the same painter, identified as Bartolomeo Bulgarini. Meiss’s proposal, based on circumstantial evidence and the realization that the same hand was responsible for a *biccherna* cover for which Bartolomeo was paid in 1353, was not immediately embraced by scholars. Berenson continued to list the Yale *Virgin and Child* under “Ugolino Lorenzetti,” while Seymour catalogued it under “Master of the Oville Madonna (‘Ugolino Lorenzetti’),” with a date around 1340.⁹ Most doubts were dispersed, however, with the subsequent discovery of documentary proof that the Fogg *Nativity*—central to the “Ugolino Lorenzetti”/Oville Master debate—was, in fact, the main panel of an altarpiece painted by Bartolomeo Bulgarini between around 1348 and 1351 for the chapel of Saint Victor in Siena Cathedral.¹⁰

In her monographic study of Bartolomeo Bulgarini, Judith Steinhoff reexamined the Yale *Virgin and Child*, confirming the hypothesis, first formulated by Berenson and picked up by Seymour,¹¹ that it was originally flanked by the four standing saints unanimously attributed to the artist in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa: *Saint Lucy*, *Saint Michael the Archangel*, *Saint Bartholomew*, and *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* (figs. 2–3).

As demonstrated by Steinhoff and supported by recent examination, the relationship between the Pisa *Saints* and the Yale *Virgin and Child* is confirmed, as much as by stylistic comparisons, by shared framing elements and structural details. Like the Yale *Virgin*, the standing figures are enclosed by the same five-lobed arch, with identical silver patterns in the spaces between the raised cusps and in the spandrels. The panels, which have the same thickness, were formerly attached by horizontal battens, still present on the top and bottom of the Pisa *Saints*. Traces of the missing upper batten are still visible on the reverse of the Yale *Virgin*, and dowel holes on both sides align with those in two of the Pisa panels: on the left, with *Saint Michael*, and on the right, with *Saint Bartholomew*. The two female saints occupied the extremities of the altarpiece, Lucy on the left and Catherine of Alexandria on the right.¹²



Fig. 2. Bartolomeo Bulgarini, *Saint Lucy and Saint Michael the Archangel*, ca. 1355–60. Tempera, gold, and silver on panel, each 107.6 × 36 cm (42 3/8 × 14 1/4 in.). Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, inv. nos. 1612–13



Fig. 3. Bartolomeo Bulgarini, *Saint Bartholomew and Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, ca. 1355–60. Tempera, gold, and silver on panel, each 107.6 × 36 cm (42 3/8 × 14 1/4 in.). Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, inv. nos. 1614–15

The Pisa panels were formerly part of the collection of Canon Sebastiano Zucchetti (1723–1801), deacon of Pisa Cathedral between 1784 and 1801, suggesting a Pisan provenance for the original complex.¹³ Most recently, Linda Pisani advanced the possibility that Bulgarini's altarpiece, which shows Saint Michael in the position of honor to the Virgin's right and also includes Catherine of Alexandria, could have been executed for the chapel of Saint Michael in the Dominican convent of Santa Caterina in Pisa.¹⁴ According to a description of the church of Santa Caterina compiled by the Pisan canon Ranieri Zucchelli around 1787, the chapel had been founded sometime before 1340 by the powerful Della Rocca family and was the site of a family tomb.¹⁵ Bolstering Pisani's proposition is her plausible suggestion that two small

tondi by Bulgarini recently on the art market, showing Saint Dominic and Saint Peter Martyr and stylistically related to the Yale/Pisa panels (figs. 4–5), could be additional fragments of the same altarpiece, possibly inserted into the now-missing upper framing elements.¹⁶ Pisani tentatively placed the execution of the polyptych around 1355, when the probable founder of the chapel of Saint Michael, Dino Della Rocca (documented 1322–55), banned from the city in 1347 for his role in a plot to assassinate Count Ranieri Novello, returned from exile along with other members of the family.¹⁷



Fig. 4. Bartolomeo Bulgarini, *Saint Dominic*, ca. 1355–60. Tempera and gold on panel, Diam. 24 cm (9 1/2 in.). Location unknown



Fig. 5. Bartolomeo Bulgarini, *Saint Peter Martyr*, ca. 1355–60. Tempera and gold on panel, Diam. 24 cm (9 1/2 in.). Location unknown

While not conclusive, the circumstantial evidence presented by Pisani coincides with the chronology of the Yale/Pisa altarpiece advanced by past authors on stylistic grounds. Most modern scholarship has concurred in dating the complex after the San Gimignano Polyptych in the Salini Collection, Asciano, datable on internal evidence between 1353 and 1355.¹⁸ Steinhoff initially placed the Yale/Pisa altarpiece in the mid- to late 1350s but later proposed a more specific date around 1356,¹⁹ immediately following the execution of a polyptych from the Hospital Church of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena.²⁰ As noted by other critics, however, the absence of any dated paintings in Bulgarini's oeuvre, apart from small-scale *biccherna* covers, makes it difficult to establish a precise chronological sequence of works. Both the Hospital polyptych and the Yale/Pisa altarpiece may be inserted among a group of images that document the increasingly decorative concerns and softening of the forms in Bulgarini's production through the second half of the 1350s—possibly under the influence of a new awareness of Simonesque models—but do not yet achieve the precious quality of the Ovile *Madonna*, or the much later *Assumption of the Virgin* from Santa Maria della Scala.²¹ In its simplicity of design and looser execution, the Yale *Virgin* bears an especially close relationship to the *Enthroned Virgin and Child* in the Museo d'Arte Sacra

in Grosseto, painted by the artist for Grosseto Cathedral or a church in its environs (fig. 6).²² Comparisons may also be drawn between the Pisa *Saints* and the small figures in the tabernacle presently divided between the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston,²³ and the Philadelphia Museum of Art²⁴—a work possibly associated with another Pisan commission.²⁵ Alongside the Yale/Pisa altarpiece, these paintings may document a particular moment in Bulgarini’s career, between 1355 and 1360, when he was actively engaged in projects outside his native city. —PP



Fig. 6. Bartolomeo Bulgarini, *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, ca. 1355–60. Tempera and gold on panel, 95 × 55 cm (37 3/8 × 21 5/8 in.). Museo d’Arte Sacra della Diocesi di Grosseto

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DeWald 1923, 52–53, fig. 33; van Marle 1925, 458; Péter 1927, 93; DeWald 1929, 155; DeWald 1930, 27–28; Meiss 1931, 376n2, 379n4, 383n9, 384n14; Venturi 1931, pl. 71; Berenson 1932a, 295; Venturi 1933, pl. 88; Berenson 1936, 253; Shorr 1954, 159, fig. 24 Siena 4; Shapley 1966, 54–55n3; Berenson 1968, 1:435; Seymour 1970, 86–87, no. 61, fig. 61; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 133, 600; Seymour et al. 1972, 8; De Benedictis 1979, 85; Skaug 1982, 263; Steinhoff 1990,

126–27, 471, 493–509, 562–63, 566, 575, nos. 31–32; Steinhoff 1993, 11; Skaug 1994, 1:25, 253; Strehlke 2004, 89n8; Steinhoff 2006, 91, 93–94, fig. 34; Boskovits 2016, 26; Pisani 2020, 254–55

NOTES

1. According to Seymour et al. 1972, 8. Charles Seymour, Jr., notes the possibility that this work might be no. 166 in the Platt Collection. The present author has not been able to confirm this information, reportedly obtained from unpublished records in Mrs. Platt’s files, provided to Seymour by John H. W. Clark.
2. An early photograph of the painting in the Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna, bears the stamp of the British fine art photographer William Edward Gray (1864–1935), who had a studio at 92 Queen’s Road, Bayswater, London, suggesting that the work was in England at an unknown date. Among Gray’s activities, beginning in the 1890s, was photographing works of art in country houses, so their owners could showcase their collections; see Gray’s correspondence in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, “Salisbury & South Wiltshire Museum Catalogue of the Letters of Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers,” http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/sswm/sswm_letters/SSWM_RPR_B481.pdf. Gray’s photographs were also used by English dealers and their agents to promote the sale of works of art. See below.
3. The excerpts in the Frick accompany another print of the same photograph in the Zeri archives (see note 2, above), courtesy of “Messr. Durlacher.” Shorter excerpts of Perkins’s letters were forwarded by Adam E. Merriman Paff of Durlacher to Maitland Griggs on November 26, 1923, in answer to the latter’s request for an expert opinion, possibly prior to his purchase.
4. Inv. no. 1917.89, <https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/232007?position=232007>.
5. DeWald 1923, 52.
6. Richard Offner, expert opinion, recorded in the curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
7. Venturi 1931, pl. 71.
8. Meiss 1931, 376–97; and Meiss 1936, 113–36.
9. Berenson 1932a, 295; Berenson 1968, 1:435; and Seymour 1970, 86–87, no. 61, fig. 61.
10. Beatson, Muller, and Steinhoff 1986, 610–63. A 1351 document recording payment for the final decorative framing elements of the *Saint Victor* altarpiece provides a secure *terminus ante quem* for its execution.
11. Steinhoff 1990, 126–27, 471, 493–509, 562–63, 566, 575, nos. 31–32; Berenson 1968, 1:435–36; and Seymour 1970, 86–87, no. 61, fig. 61.

12. Based on the distance between the top batten and the base of the Pisa *Saints* (90 cm), it can be estimated that around 54.5 centimeters are missing from the bottom of the Yale panel. The present author is very grateful to Pierluigi Nieri of the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo for sharing measurements and photographs of the reverse of the Pisa panels.
13. Burrese and Caleca 2011, 57–68. The paintings were described in Zucchetti’s inventory (nos. 72–75) as “four panels 2 braccia high, the first showing Saint Bartholomew, the second Saint Michael the archangel, the third Saint Catherine virgin and martyr, and the fourth Saint Margaret. Believed to be by Zanobio Macchiavelli” (Quattro quadri alti braccia 2, che il primo rappresenta San Bartolommeo, il 2° San Michele arcangelo, il 3° Santa Caterina vergine e martire, ed il 4° Santa Margherita. Creduti di Zanobio Machiavelli). The figure of Saint Michael the Archangel has sometimes been mistakenly identified as Saint George by modern authors. Judith Steinhoff correctly identified the figure described as Saint Margaret in the inventory (and by others as Saint Agatha) as Saint Lucy.
14. Pisani 2020, 254–55.
15. Cited in Pisani 2020, 129.
16. Sale, Moretti Fine Art, London, 2016. The two roundels were formerly in the Carlo De Carlo collection, Florence, and before that were on the French art market. They were dated between 1350 and 1355 by Gaudenz Freuler (expert opinion, recorded by Moretti Fine Art).
17. Pisani 2020, 129–30, notes that a specific connection between Dino Della Rocca and Santa Caterina is evidenced by the dedication to him of an important Pisan manuscript—the illuminated copy of Ranieri Granchi’s *De Preelis Tuscie*, in the Biblioteca Classense, Ravenna. Written by a Dominican friar in Santa Caterina, the text, most likely produced in the convent’s scriptorium, is an account of the political events and battles of which Dino della Rocca was a protagonist in the years between 1315 and 1347; it also includes a specific reference to him praying and attending private masses in Santa Caterina. See Granchi 2008, 31. For Dino Della Rocca, see also Ceccarelli Lemut 1989 (with previous bibliography).
18. Steinhoff 1993, 102–12; and Francesco Mori, in Bellosi 2009, 104–13, no. 10.
19. Steinhoff 2006, 92.
20. Now Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 76. For the reconstruction of the Hospital altarpiece, see Steinhoff 1990, 464–76 (with previous bibliography). Based on seventeenth-century sources recording the presence of a painting by Bulgarini on the altar of the chapel of Saint Luke, Steinhoff associated this work with a certain Monna Becca, who in 1355 commissioned Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio to fresco that chapel, of which she had held the patronage since 1351. Steinhoff suggested Bulgarini’s painting was commissioned by Monna Becca around the same time as the frescoes, in 1355. For a different opinion and a date around 1350, see Strehlke 2004, 88, 89n11.
21. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 61.
22. The Grosseto panel, badly damaged and cut at the top and sides, may originally have had a round arch set in a rectangular field, like the Yale *Virgin*. For a full discussion of its provenance and condition, see Steinhoff 1990, 487–92, no. 30.
23. Inv. no. P15n8, <https://www.gardnermuseum.org/experience/collection/10794>.
24. Inv. no. 92, <https://philamuseum.org/collection/object/102757>.
25. Strehlke 2004, 84–90 (with previous bibliography). The tabernacle wings in the Johnson Collection were in the Toscanelli collection, Pisa, until 1883. While this alone does not imply a Pisan provenance, Strehlke pointedly observed that two of the small figures of saints in the Johnson wings, Bartholomew and Lucy, appear modeled on the corresponding figures in the Pisa panels. He also drew a comparison between the *Virgin* in the Gardner Museum and the Grosseto *Virgin and Child* and dated both works in the mid- to late 1350s.



Luca di Tommè, *Predella: Saint Francis, the Mourning Virgin, Christ on the Cross, the Mourning Saint John the Evangelist, and Saint Dominic*

Artist	Luca di Tommè, Siena, documented 1356–89
Title	<i>Predella: Saint Francis, the Mourning Virgin, Christ on the Cross, the Mourning Saint John the Evangelist, and Saint Dominic</i>
Date	ca. 1350–55
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall 23.5 × 197.3 cm (9 1/4 × 77 5/8 in.); picture surface: 20.0 × 193.1 cm (7 7/8 × 76 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.246

Provenance

Cesare Canessa (1863–1922) and Ercole Canessa (1868–1929) Collection, New York and Paris; sale, American Art Galleries, New York, January 25–26, 1924, lot 152; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1924

Condition

The panel support, of a horizontal wood grain, is 2.0 centimeters thick and has not been thinned or cradled. It shows no signs of the attachment of vertical battens at the back, but it retains fragments of old claw nails 3 centimeters from the top and 4 centimeters from the bottom of the right edge; no nails are in evidence at the left edge. A split running on a slight diagonal with the grain extends from the left edge, passing through the figure of Saint Francis at the level of his shoulders and interrupting his raised left hand, ending in the compartment with the mourning Virgin at a level slightly above her gesturing right hand. Paint loss along this split chiefly affects the figure of Saint Francis and the

decorative pattern at the left end of the predella.

Examination during cleaning at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, in 1999–2001 concluded that the dentil pattern running the length of the panel across its top is original; the engaged dentils were not recreated but the green background was restored, leaving negative spaces to suggest their regular placement. The same restoration concluded that barbs of gesso at the left and right ends of the predella are original, but this is incorrect. These (and possibly, although not certainly, the barb at the bottom as well) are remnants of a pre-1924 restoration that incorporated the predella into a modern engaged frame: they run across and fill the split in the panel at the left but are not affected by the movement of the wood there. That frame was removed in a radical cleaning at Yale in 1969; the present frame was designed and built for the panel at the Getty in 2001.

A large area of total loss affects the lower third of the central compartment, from Christ's thighs down, and extends into the decorative compartment alongside it at the left (fig. 1). The lower-right quadrant of that compartment is a modern reconstruction from the Getty

cleaning, as is the green framing strip separating it from the Crucifixion. The lost area in the Crucifixion was filled at that time with a “neutral” colored *tratteggio*, creating the illogical appearance of damage occurring “behind” the fictive moldings. All the gilt backgrounds and haloes in the figured compartments are modern, possibly applied in the pre-1924 restoration, but the silver gilding in the decorative fields, while damaged, is largely original; the half-panels at either end are more extensively damaged than the complete panels dividing the figured compartments. Abrasion and flaking losses are scattered throughout the panel along the interfaces of paint surfaces with the new areas of gilding, and the green “moldings” framing each compartment are much restored. The haloes, where they project beyond the borders of their gilded compartments, are raised slightly above the level of the green painted surrounds. It is not clear if that reflects the original appearance of the predella and was once better resolved, perhaps with *pastiglia* rims along the top arcs of the haloes, or if it is a clumsy by-product of the later gilding.



Fig. 1. *Predella: Saint Francis, the Mourning Virgin, Christ on the Cross, the Mourning Saint John the Evangelist, and Saint Dominic (detail), before treatment in 1999*

Discussion

The attribution to Luca di Tommè and the identity of the figures in this predella have not been in doubt since it was first brought to the attention of scholars by F. Mason Perkins in 1924, following its appearance with a generic ascription to the school of Simone Martini at the sale of the Ercole Canessa collection earlier that year.¹ An expertise written by Richard Offner for Maitland Griggs in February 1924 described the “course of grave and noble mourners of Christ [that] has the hush about it of great tragic moments” and offered comparison to a signed and dated (1367) polyptych by Luca di Tommè in the Pinacoteca in Siena, “if one should require the unnecessary proof that this predella is an absolutely unquestionable work of the master.”² The few authors who have troubled to consider its dating are divided in their opinions between those who find it an early,

“Lorenzettian” work³ and those who prefer to place it in the artist’s maturity.⁴

In 1978 Federico Zeri wrote to Andrea Norris, then assistant to the director at the Yale University Art Gallery, reporting that he had found four panels from the main register and two pinnacles from the altarpiece to which he believed the Yale predella belonged, but that he was awaiting further evidence to support the connection. The basis of Zeri’s reconstruction, according to his letter, was in part “that absolutely identical dentils, like those which have been removed from your painting, appear in five of the panels of the altarpiece, and they are unquestionably genuine.”⁵ It seems that his hesitation was occasioned by uncertainty over the attribution of the other six panels, as it was only through the Yale predella that they could be linked to Luca di Tommè. The panels in question comprise four half-length saints from the main register of the altarpiece: Saint John Gualbert, formerly in the Chalandon collection (fig. 2)⁶; Saint Michael, in the Alana Collection, Newark, Delaware (fig. 3); Saint John the Baptist, in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (fig. 4); and Saint Bernard degli Uberti, formerly in the Chalandon collection (fig. 5),⁷ reading left to right according to the reconstruction proposed by Gaudenz Freuler.⁸ Among the pinnacles, Zeri identified a panel showing two apostles in the Fondazione Roberto Longhi, Florence (fig. 6), and a Blessing Redeemer in the Kress Collection at the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh (fig. 7).⁹ To these has since been added a third pinnacle panel, showing Saints Peter and Paul, that appeared at auction in 1989 (fig. 8).¹⁰



Fig. 2. Luca di Tommè, *Saint John Gualbert*, ca. 1350–55. Tempera and gold on panel, 114 × 47.2 cm (44 7/8 × 18 5/8 in.). Location unknown



Fig. 3. Luca di Tommè, *Saint Michael*, ca. 1350–55. Tempera and gold on panel, 114.4 × 48.8 cm (45 × 19 1/4 in.). Alana Collection, Newark, Del., inv. no. 2009.13



Fig. 6. Luca di Tommè, *Two Apostles*, ca. 1350–55. Tempera and gold on panel, 47.3 × 44.2 cm (18 5/8 × 17 3/8 in.). Fondazione Roberto Longhi, Florence



Fig. 7. Luca di Tommè, *Blessing Redeemer*, ca. 1350–55. Tempera and gold on panel, 58.1 × 33.7 cm (22 7/8 × 13 1/4 in.). North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, inv. no. GL.60.17.5



Fig. 4. Luca di Tommè, *Saint John the Baptist*, ca. 1350–55. Tempera and gold on panel, 99.7 × 48.9 cm (39 1/4 × 19 1/4 in.). J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, inv. no. 72.PB.7



Fig. 5. Luca di Tommè, *Saint Bernard degli Uberti*, ca. 1350–55. Tempera and gold on panel, 101.5 × 49.5 cm (40 × 19 1/2 in.). Location unknown



Fig. 8. Luca di Tommè, *Saints Peter and Paul*, ca. 1350–55. Tempera and gold on panel, 53.5 × 52 cm (21 1/8 × 20 1/2 in.). Location unknown

Only three of these panels—those at the Getty, in Raleigh, and at the Fondazione Roberto Longhi—had been known to Sherwood Fehm, who rejected the attribution of all three to Luca di Tommè, notwithstanding Longhi's proposal of that artist's name for the pinnacle in his

collection.¹¹ S. D'Argenio, writing in the catalogue of the Fondazione Longhi collection,¹² accepted both Zeri's reconstruction and the attribution for all the panels to Luca di Tommè, as did Giulietta Chelazzi Dini.¹³ Gaudenz Freuler, investigating a likely provenance for this reconstructed altarpiece from the Vallombrosan church of San Michele in Siena, also accepted the attribution to Luca di Tommè but rejected the Yale predella on the grounds that the inclusion of Saints Francis and Dominic would have been inappropriate for a Vallombrosan commission.¹⁴ He proposed instead identifying four narrative panels—a *Nativity* now in the Alana Collection, an *Adoration of the Magi* in the Thyssen Collection in Madrid,¹⁵ a *Crucifixion* in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco,¹⁶ and a *Presentation in the Temple* in a private collection—as parts of the probable predella to this altarpiece, adducing the evidence of size, style, and iconography to bolster his argument. Pia Palladino rejected Freuler's hypothesis, pointing out that, while he had correctly dated the predella panels shortly before the monumental altarpiece of 1362 that Luca produced in collaboration with Niccolò di Ser Sozzo, the remaining panels from the Vallombrosan altarpiece had to be significantly, possibly as much as a decade, earlier still, certainly predating the Gabella cover of 1357 that was then a recent addition to the study of Luca di Tommè's stylistic development.¹⁷ It should be noted that the four predella panels in question do not actually correspond in size with the panels from the main register of the Vallombrosan altarpiece, as Freuler had claimed, each being on average between 7 and 10 centimeters narrower.

While Palladino also considered the association of the Yale predella with the Vallombrosan altarpiece unconvincing “on both stylistic and technical grounds,” it must be admitted that the stylistic evidence available at the time was compromised by the drastically abraded state of the predella at that time.¹⁸ Technical evidence, in the form of punch tooling, had also been misrepresented. Erling Skaug described the punch tools decorating gilded haloes and borders in the Yale predella, which he acknowledged knowing only through photographs provided to him by Norman Muller, as an unicum within the career of Luca di Tommè.¹⁹ Mojmír Frinta later classified these punch tools as restorations, and it is indeed true that the gold backgrounds in all five figured sections of the predella are modern.²⁰ Furthermore, the predella is a fragment, as seems to have been observed so far only by Palladino. The decorative panels of blue and red sgraffito ornament against a silver ground that divide each of the figured compartments are not meant to be read as positive elements in the overall composition: the

truncated panels at either end must originally have been full squares, not half squares, and undoubtedly served to divide both Saints Francis and Dominic from a further compartment with a saint—one of whom is likely to have been Saint Benedict—that closed off the predella at either side. Adding these missing portions back into the overall length of the predella results in a total width commensurate with that of the Vallombrosan altarpiece panels. Specifically, it establishes a proportional relationship of the predella imagery with the panels above it, wherein two saints in the main register stood directly above two saints and the mourning Virgin (left) and above two saints and the mourning Evangelist (right) in the predella, while the missing central panel, almost certainly portraying the Virgin and Child, occupied exactly the same width as the Crucified Christ and its two decorative end panels in the predella, 58.5 centimeters. As Federico Zeri observed, the dentilated molding closing off the predella at the top is identical to that preserved in three of the four panels from the main register as well as in the Fondazione Longhi pinnacle,²¹ and it should be noted that no similar molding occurs in any other work by Luca di Tommè. Finally, while it is difficult to claim any compelling stylistic relationship between the predella saints and those appearing on a much larger scale in the main register, they are, in fact, all but identical in type and handling to the smaller apostles in the Longhi pinnacle. It is, in short, a viable conclusion that the Yale predella was originally part of the Vallombrosan altarpiece.

The arguments elaborated by Palladino for considering the panels of the Vallombrosan altarpiece among Luca di Tommè's earliest surviving works, or at least as the earliest of the works commonly accepted as being by him, are completely convincing, as is her proposal for situating them in the first half of the decade of the 1350s. Citing the evidence of shared punch tools (not in reference to the Yale panel) and stylistic rapprochement, furthermore, she suggests that these panels may also indicate an earlier period of collaboration between Luca di Tommè and Niccolò di Ser Sozzo, independent of their work together on the 1362 Umiliati altarpiece in Siena. A logical corollary of this contention may well be that the missing central panel of the Vallombrosan altarpiece is to be sought not among the recognizable works of Luca di Tommè but among those of Niccolò di Ser Sozzo, an avenue of investigation that has not yet been explored. — LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Catalogue of the Ercole Canessa Collection 1924, no. 152; Perkins 1924b, 15n; Comstock 1928b, 58–59; Perkins 1929, 427; van Marle 1931a, 170, pl. 5; Berenson 1932a, 313; Berenson 1936, 269; Frankfurter 1937, 156; Berenson 1968, 1:225; Seymour 1970, 81, no. 54; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Vertova 1973, 159–60; Fehm 1973a, 15, 31n31; Muller 1973, 16, 18, 21n33, fig. 8; De Benedictis 1979, 88; Chelazzi Dini 1982, 278; Fehm 1986, 95–96, no. 20; Skaug 1994, 1:244; Freuler 1997, 24; Palladino 1997, 76n72; Frinta 1998, 449; Leonard 2003a, 164, 225–32

NOTES

1. Perkins 1924b, 15n.
2. Richard Offner, expertise.
3. van Marle 1931a, 170, pl. 5; Frankfurter 1937, 156; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Fehm 1973a, 15, 31n31; Chelazzi Dini 1982, 278; and Fehm 1986, 95–96, no. 20.
4. Perkins 1924b, 15n; Perkins 1929, 427; and Seymour 1970, 81, no. 54.
5. Federico Zeri, letter to Andrea Norris, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
6. Sale, Sotheby's, London, July 8, 2009, lot 22.
7. Sale, Sotheby's, London, July 8, 2009, lot 21.
8. Freuler 1997, 24.
9. Federico Zeri, in Fredericksen and Zeri 1972.
10. Sale, Finarte, Milan, December 13, 1989, lot 137.
11. Fehm 1973a, 15, 31n31.
12. S. D'Argenio, in *Fondazione Roberto Longhi* 1980, 242.
13. Chelazzi Dini 1982, 278.
14. Freuler 1997, 24.
15. Inv. no. 1978.46.
16. Inv. no. 66.41.3.
17. Palladino 1997, 76n72.
18. Palladino 1997, 76n72.
19. Skaug 1994, 1:244.
20. Frinta 1998, 449. Frinta listed four other paintings employing the same punch tools in restorations, including the *Adoration of the Shepherds* altarpiece fragment by Bartolomeo Bulgarini at the Fogg Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (inv. no. 1917.89, not the Museum of Fine Arts [MFA], Boston, as he recorded), a *Virgin and Child* attributed to Lippo Memmi at the MFA (inv. no. 36.114), and a full-length *Saint Lucy* now recognized as the work of Jacopo del Casentino (sale, Christie's, New York, April 15, 2008, lot 4). The painting at the MFA has been identified by Gianni Mazzoni (Mazzoni 2001, 308–12) as the work of Icilio Federico Joni. It is unclear whether the painting is entirely an invention of Joni or one of the many severely damaged early paintings extensively "restored" by him, but it might be possible to conclude that Joni was responsible for regilding all the paintings in the group listed by Frinta, including the Yale predella.
21. Federico Zeri, in Fredericksen and Zeri 1972.



Luca di Tommè, *The Assumption of the Virgin*

Artist	Luca di Tommè, Siena, documented 1356–89
Title	<i>The Assumption of the Virgin</i>
Date	1362
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 125.3 × 62.1 cm (49 3/8 × 24 1/2 in.); picture surface: 81.5 × 60 cm (32 1/8 × 23 5/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.12

Provenance

Oratorio del Podere Gazzaja, Arezzo (environs), to 1818;¹
James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical grain, is 2.5 centimeters thick and has been cradled and waxed. All the vertical frame members attached to it are modern, as is the predella, the capitals at the sides, and the corbels supporting the central arches. All the frame moldings outside of the central trefoil medallion, which measures 17.5 by 14.5 centimeters, and lateral roundels, which are 5.4 centimeters in diameter, have been regilt to match the gilding of the additions. The paint surface and gilding are otherwise in excellent condition, displaying virtually no abrasion or flaking except for minor repaints covering small irregular losses along the bottom edge of the image. A split rising from the bottom, 23 to 24 centimeters from the left edge and extending 28 centimeters above the predella, has provoked no attendant losses of paint or gilding.

Discussion

One of the best known and most widely discussed paintings in the collection of the Yale University Art

Gallery, Luca di Tommè's *Assumption of the Virgin* is also one of the best preserved—having largely escaped the dramatic excesses of the 1950s cleaning campaigns at Yale—and least controversial. It is exceptional among fourteenth-century Italian paintings for the extent, intricacy, and delicacy of its sgraffito gilt decoration and embellishment with oil glazes, much of which survives intact. The material cost and time-consuming labor of these decorative effects—ranging from the lavish patterning of “brocade” fabrics worn by the Virgin and the orders of angels who support her mandorla in the foreground or sing her praises as she ascends to Heaven, to the outlining in gold of the vanes of the feathers in the angels' wings and in the blue and red seraphim and cherubim that fill the ogival framing and circular medallions above—is particularly astonishing given the probability that the panel was originally meant to be viewed from three or more meters off the floor. The conspicuous opulence of the complete structure of which it formed part is unique among Italian ecclesiastical commissions of its day, leaving the total absence of documentation concerning its genesis and the lack of a continuous trail of provenance all the more bewildering.

The *Assumption of the Virgin* was acquired by James Jackson Jarves in the 1850s as an anonymous work of the mid-fourteenth-century Sieneese school, and it is referred

to as such in all nineteenth-century publications.² The first scholar to attempt a more specific classification for the painting was F. Mason Perkins, who assigned it to Bartolo di Fredi and compared it to the altarpiece of the same subject in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,³ which was then thought to be by that artist (though it has subsequently been recognized as a typical work of Niccolò di Ser Sozzo), and to the miniature of the Caleffo, also representing the Assumption of the Virgin, in the Archivio di Stato di Siena, a signed work by Niccolò di Ser Sozzo.⁴ Perkins's attribution was echoed by Bernard Berenson in the 1909 edition of his lists of Italian paintings but has otherwise not been repeated by any other author.⁵ Perkins corrected his own assessment of the Yale *Assumption* in 1909, attributing it to Luca di Tommè.⁶ This attribution was endorsed by Osvald Sirén in his 1916 catalogue of the Jarves Collection and has been assumed to be fact by nearly all writers since.⁷ Only Raimond van Marle, Pietro Toesca, Mario Bucci, and Mario Rotili have demurred, preferring to assign the painting to Niccolò di Ser Sozzo.⁸ Federico Zeri discussed it as by both Niccolò di Ser Sozzo and Luca di Tommè. A number of writers since then, clinging to the attribution to Luca di Tommè, have pointed out how close the artist approaches to the example of Niccolò di Ser Sozzo in this work. Henk van Os, finally, followed by Pia Palladino, proposed that the Yale *Assumption* might have been the central pinnacle to the 1362 altarpiece from San Tommaso degli Umiliati (fig. 1), a work signed jointly by Niccolò di Ser Sozzo and Luca di Tommè.⁹



Fig. 1. Luca di Tommè and Niccolò di Ser Sozzo, *Umiliati Altarpiece*, 1362. Tempera and gold on panel, 191 × 297 cm (75 1/4 × 9 ft. 8 5/8 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 51

It is remarkable that until the publications of van Os and Palladino, no scholar had wondered what function the Yale *Assumption* might have fulfilled. The painting was repeatedly compared to three versions of the same

subject by Niccolò di Ser Sozzo—one manuscript illumination and two center panels of full-scale altarpieces—but only to discuss its iconography. In fact, the size and shape of the Yale panel are appropriate only to the central pinnacle of an unusually large altarpiece. Furthermore, of all surviving altarpieces painted in the early decades of the second half of the fourteenth century, few if any are as large as the Umiliati altarpiece of 1362, and that painting, in turn, is perhaps the only structure large enough to have accommodated the Yale panel as its central pinnacle. That earlier generations of scholars did not leap to this conclusion is understandable, given that the Yale panel was first correctly attributed to Luca di Tommè in 1909, but the Umiliati altarpiece was believed until 1932 to be by Bartolo di Fredi. In that year, Cesare Brandi discovered the inscription in the framing socle beneath its central panel—“NICCHOLAUS SER SOCCII ET LUCAS TOMAS DE SENIS HOC OPUS PINSERUNT ANNI MCCCLXII” (Niccolò di Ser Sozzo and Luca di Tommè of Siena painted this work in the year 1362)¹⁰—and discussion of the work since then has focused on the relative contribution of either master to its design or execution. Majority opinion at first assigned the invention and the lion's share of the execution of this important complex to Niccolò di Ser Sozzo, proceeding on the a priori argument that he was the older of the two painters and therefore that Luca di Tommè would have been employed merely as his assistant, possibly as his apprentice. Following the logic of this narrative, the Yale *Assumption* would necessarily have been a later, more mature work by Luca di Tommè.

The presumption of Luca di Tommè's subordinate role in the genesis of the Umiliati altarpiece was reinforced by the nature of the prevailing taste for Sienese painting in the mid-twentieth century, which admired the lively palette and naively calligraphic drawing style of Niccolò di Ser Sozzo at the expense of what was perceived to be the inadequately imaginative (sometimes described as derivatively Florentine) and somber naturalism of Luca di Tommè. This situation began to change only after Millard Meiss adopted Luca di Tommè as one of the protagonists of the post-plague style that he asserted to be dominant in Siena in the second half of the fourteenth century.¹¹ A new view that the two painters might have been engaged as equal partners rather than as master and assistant gained traction with Zeri's recognition of five predella panels in the Crawford collection at Balcarres and the Pinacoteca Vaticana (fig. 2)—all clearly painted by Luca di Tommè—as comprising the missing predella of the Umiliati altarpiece. Discussion of their collaboration from that point forward was invariably more granular, if not

always more persuasive, culminating in the recognition that, in addition to the predella, Luca painted at least the figure of Saint John the Baptist in the leftmost panel of the main tier of the altarpiece and possibly the figure of Saint Thomas alongside him as well, while Niccolò was responsible for the central and two right-hand panels.¹² Within this working paradigm, there is no intellectual obstacle to recognizing the Yale *Assumption* as the central pinnacle from this complex. Palladino's cogent comparisons of it to the Balcarres and Vatican predella panels confirm not only its original association with them as parts of the same altarpiece but also its unqualified attribution to Luca di Tommè.



Fig. 2. Luca di Tommè, *The Crucifixion*, 1362. Tempera and gold on panel, 32.8 × 56 cm (12 7/8 × 22 in.). Pinacoteca Vaticana, Vatican City, inv. no. 195

There is no record of the original patron or even location of the Umiliati altarpiece. It is presumed to have been painted for the church of San Tommaso, then officiated by the Umiliati, solely on the basis of its iconography: Saint Thomas occupies the position of honor immediately to the Virgin's right (the viewer's left, facing the altarpiece) and four of the five predella panels are dedicated to scenes from his life. The order of the Umiliati was suppressed by Pope Pius V in 1571, but even before this, the church of San Tommaso in Siena was reassigned (1554–59) to a community of Clarissans. Early published sources do not cite the Saint Thomas altarpiece there or elsewhere, and the source of its transfer to the Pinacoteca Nazionale, presumably at its founding in the post-Napoleonic era, is also unrecorded. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 46, no. 40; Jarves 1861, pl. B; Sturgis 1868, 40–44; Brown 1871, 16, no. 35; Rankin 1895, 142–43; Perkins 1905, 76; Rankin 1905, 9, no. 35; Berenson 1909, 141; Perkins 1909; Mather 1914, 967; Sirén 1916a, 37–38, fig. 12; van Marle 1920b, 144–45; Perkins 1920, 288;

DeWald 1923, 54, no. 24; Mather 1923, 86, fig. 54; van Marle 1924a, 481, fig. 313; Offner 1927a, 5, 38–39, figs. 29 and 29a; Cecchi 1928, 148, pl. 223; Comstock 1928b, 58–59; Perkins 1929, 427; "Handbook" 1931, 28; van Marle 1931a, 170; Venturi 1931, pl. 84; Berenson 1932a, 313; Edgell 1932, 157, fig. 191; van Marle 1934, 512; Berenson 1936, 269; *New York Herald Tribune*, January 11, 1945, pl. 1; Comstock 1946, 51, no. 9; "Picture Book Number One" 1946, fig. 22; Meiss 1951, 21–24, fig. 21; Steegmuller 1951, 297; Toesca 1951, 2:594–97, fig. 525; Mazzini 1952, 65–66n18; *International Style* 1962, 18; Dalli Regoli 1963; Meiss 1963, 47–48, fig. 7; 56; Meiss 1964, 21–24; Bucci 1965, 59n2; Klesse 1967, 259, no. 151k, 407, no. 394e; Berenson 1968, 1:225, 2: pl. 368; Rotili 1968–69, 2:17; Fehm 1969, 574, fig. 7; Mongan and Mongan 1969, 22; van Os 1969, 166n56, 170n65; Fehm 1971, viii, pl. 31; Seymour 1970, 79–80, no. 53; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 113, 307, 599; Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 13, no. 4, figs. 4a–b; Muller 1973, 16, 21n32; Fehm 1976, 333n2; De Benedictis 1979, 47–48, 88, fig. 89; Cole 1980, 191–92, 195, fig. 101; Duncan Phillips, in Shestack 1983, 24–25; Fehm 1986, 1, 26–30, 85–88, no. 15, pls. 15-1 to 15-5; van Os 1984, 46–47, fig. 18; Skaug 1994, 1:247; Palladino 1997, 34–35, fig. 25; Frinta 1998, 51; Chelazzi Dini, Angelini, and Sani 2002, 187

NOTES

1. Removed from an altar by permission of the bishop of Arezzo and transferred to the private chapel of the noble Agazzari family in Siena, who owned it.
2. Jarves 1860, 46, no. 40; Jarves 1861, pl. B; Sturgis 1868, 40–44; Brown 1871, 16, no. 35; and Rankin 1895, 142–43.
3. Inv. no. 83.175a–c, <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/30920/saints-augustine-and-peter-left-panel?ctx=28021073-0af0-4a4f-92a2-3184af3133c3&idx=1>, <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/30919/the-dormition-and-assumption-of-the-virgin-center-panel?ctx=47727eae-e210-4ff5-b2e8-cf3672814954&idx=0>, and <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/30921/saint-john-the-evangelist-and-a-deacon-saint-right-panel?ctx=28021073-0af0-4a4f-92a2-3184af3133c3&idx=2>.
4. MS Capitoli 2; Perkins 1905, 76.
5. Berenson 1909, 141.
6. Perkins 1909.
7. Sirén 1916a, 37–38, fig. 12.
8. van Marle 1934, 512; Toesca 1951, 2:594–97, fig. 525; Bucci 1965, 59n2; and Rotili 1968–69, 2:17.
9. van Os 1984, 46–47, fig. 18; and Palladino 1997, 34–35, fig. 25.
10. Brandi 1932, 223–36.
11. Meiss 1951, 21–24, fig. 21.
12. Palladino 1997, 34–35, fig. 25.



Luca di Tommè, *Virgin and Child with a Goldfinch*

Artist	Luca di Tommè, Siena, documented 1356–89
Title	<i>Virgin and Child with a Goldfinch</i>
Date	ca. 1365–70
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	65.6 × 46.3 cm (25 7/8 × 18 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Richard L. Feigen, B.A. 1952
Inv. No.	2020.75.9

Provenance

Sale, Sotheby's, London, March 16, 1966, lot 27; "Salocchi"; with Vittore Frascione, Florence, 1968–69; private collection, Italy, and by descent; sale, Bonhams, London, July 3, 2013, lot 55; Richard L. Feigen (1930–2021), New York

Condition



Fig. 1. Reverse of *Virgin and Child with a Goldfinch*

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain and a depth of 2.0 centimeters, retains its original thickness but has been cut on all four sides. It comprises one large plank, 42.7 centimeters wide, with a smaller 4.6-centimeters-wide strip added to it at the right (fig. 1). At some point, presumably when the panel was cut to a half-length format, the upper edge was also cut to form a rounded arch: the present upper-left and upper-right corners of the panel are modern inserts to return it to a rectangular shape. The main plank of the support features a large knot near its upper-right edge, provoking an unusually pronounced swirl to the wood grain around it. Scribed marks for a horizontal batten, 6.7 centimeters wide and 11 centimeters below the present top edge of the panel, are clearly visible on the reverse. Two iron nails driven through the center of this batten, 4.3 and 31.4 centimeters from the present left edge of the panel, are still visible, while a hole that may have housed a third nail, 44.5 centimeters from the left edge, is now empty.

of His head, and including the right third of His halo. The paint in the lower half of the panel to the right of this line is also modern. A split following the wood grain on a slight diagonal through the panel, from 18 centimeters off the right edge at the bottom to 32.5 centimeters off the right edge at the top, has provoked smaller, local paint losses, most prominently in the area of the Child's left knee and thigh and the Virgin's jaw. Losses are also scattered throughout the Virgin's blue mantle at the left of the painting, including a large irregular total loss along the left edge of the panel, from the Virgin's elbow through her shoulder. Where the flesh tones and features are not interrupted by these losses or by abrasions associated with old repairs, they are beautifully preserved and reveal a confident and accomplished technique. Vigorous underdrawing is plainly visible through the lavender robe of the Christ Child. The painting was last cleaned and restored in Florence in 2014 by Daniele Rossi.



Fig. 2. *Virgin and Child with a Goldfinch*, during cleaning, 2014

The paint surface has suffered extensive losses and localized abrasion (fig. 2). The gilding of the haloes, except as noted below, is original although worn. Outside the haloes, there are two campaigns of modern gilding on the panel. One, surrounding the Virgin's halo, appears to be laid over original gesso. The other, executed over new gesso, covers the inserts at the upper corners, a strip of damage along the left edge of the panel, and a large area of total loss to the right of an irregular line approximately 11 centimeters from the right edge of the panel, running vertically through the Child's left hand and arm, the back

Discussion



Fig. 3. Luca di Tommè, *Saint Peter*, ca. 1365–70. Tempera and gold on panel, 142 × 34 cm (55 7/8 × 13 3/8 in.). Exeter College Chapel, University of Oxford

The few scholars to have considered this painting appear to have known it in photograph only, and none of them was fully aware of its compromised condition. In its present reduced format, it is presented as an object of private devotion, but the indications of a batten on its reverse (see fig. 1) reveal that it was designed as the center panel of an altarpiece polyptych. The placement of this batten must coincide with the height at which the gables of the lateral panels met that of the center panel,

slightly above the spring of its framing arch. The presence of one batten alone, however, cannot reveal whether the original format of the altarpiece included three-quarter-length figures, in which case only a single batten at the bottom of the structure is missing, or full-length figures, in which case two battens are probably missing: one along the center and one across the bottom of the structure. The overwhelming majority of Luca di Tommè's liturgical commissions include full-length figures, and in every altarpiece by the artist in which the center panel shows a full-length Virgin and Child, the Virgin is seated on a throne draped with a cloth of honor; only in the three-quarter-length polyptych no. 586 in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, does she appear directly against a gold ground. It is possible that the regilding of the ground outside the haloes in the Yale panel was intended to mask a fragmentary throne and cloth of honor, completing the illusion of its revised function as a private devotional work. The presence of red paint or glaze—and what appears to be sgraffito granulation simulating a textile pattern atop gilding and bolus in the small triangular patch above the Virgin's left shoulder, below the two overlapping haloes—tends to support the reconstruction of the composition as a Virgin and Child Enthroned.



Fig. 4. Luca di Tommè, *Saint Paul*, ca. 1365–70. Tempera and gold on panel, 145 × 34 cm (57 1/8 × 13 3/8 in.). Exeter College Chapel, University of Oxford

If any other fragments survive from the altarpiece of which this panel formed part, the most likely candidates would be the full-length figures of Saints Peter and Paul now displayed in the chapel at Exeter College, Oxford (figs. 3–4).¹ The rounded and heavily shaded features of the two apostles are an exact stylistic match for the Yale *Virgin and Child*, the haloes of all four figures are similarly decorated, and the three panels are compatible in scale, to the extent that the original format of the Yale panel can be approximately reconstructed. Two deformations of the gilded surface in the Exeter *Saint*

Paul, just within the framing arch at roughly the level of the saint's ears, may indicate nails securing a horizontal batten; the corresponding area in the Exeter *Saint Peter* has been damaged and repaired. It has not been possible to inspect the reverse of these panels to determine if scribed lines are preserved indicating the batten's placement and, accordingly, if it corresponds in width to that on the reverse of the Yale *Virgin and Child*.

The Exeter *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul* were presented to the College Chapel ca. 1920 by George Gidley Robinson, who had been a fellow at Exeter from 1873 to 1878; their earlier provenance is unknown. Sherwood Fehm proposed an alternative reconstruction for these panels as parts of a dismembered polyptych in the church of San Francesco at Mercatello sul Metauro, but this is demonstrably incorrect.² The lateral panel with Saint Anthony Abbot still in situ at Mercatello sul Metauro is larger than the Exeter *Saints*, is framed differently from them (its spandrels rise from a different height and at a much gentler slope), and is considerably later in date. It and the *Enthroned Virgin* preserved alongside it at Mercatello sul Metauro are undoubtedly works of the 1380s, painted quite late in Luca di Tommè's career. While Gaudenz Freuler, as quoted in the catalogue of the Bonhams sale of July 2013, suggested a date of ca. 1380 for the panel now at Yale, it, along with the Exeter *Saints*, is likely to have been painted around the time of the 1367 altarpiece of the Sant'Anna Meterza in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena,³ probably not later than Luca's Rieti altarpiece of 1370. Two of the punch tools used in the Yale *Virgin and Child*—Erling Skaug's no. 547 and one punch not catalogued by Skaug, no. La123 in Mojmir Frinta's catalogue—recur in the Rieti altarpiece.⁴ The latter is also found in the Exeter *Saints*. The third tool in the Yale panel, Skaug no. 609, was shared by Bartolomeo Bulgarini and Niccolò di Ser Sozzo. Luca di Tommè signed an altarpiece jointly with Niccolò di Ser Sozzo in 1362, one year before the latter's death, which might be taken as a hypothetical *terminus post quem* for Luca's acquisition of Niccolò's punch tools.

Two further panels might tentatively be considered candidates to complete a reconstruction with the Yale and Exeter panels: full-length figures of Saint John the Baptist and Saint John the Evangelist last recorded in the Lanckoronki collection in Vienna in 1935.⁵ These were included by Fehm in a hypothetical reconstruction of another altarpiece, including panels of the Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine, Saint Bartholomew, and Saint Blaise in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena.⁶ While that reconstruction is not overtly implausible, neither is it

especially compelling, whereas old photographs of the Lanckoronski panels suggest a strong stylistic link to the two saints at Exeter College. Barring retrieval of these panels, this question can be nothing more than a conjectural proposition.

The motif of the Christ Child holding a goldfinch tied to a string refers to the symbolism of a bird escaping a snare (Psalm 124:7) as a metaphor for the freedom of the human soul. In medieval lore, the goldfinch was said to have acquired the red spot on his breast after pulling a thorn from Christ's crown on the way to Calvary and being splashed by a drop of the holy blood. In the Yale *Virgin and Child*, the finch nips at the Christ Child's thumb with his beak, evoking the splash of blood. The finch was also a commonly accepted symbol of the Virgin's foreknowledge of her Son's Passion, due to its habit of feeding off the seeds of thistles. Captive goldfinches were reputedly a favorite pet of children in wealthy or aristocratic families. Luca di Tommè has successfully alluded to his patrons' likely familiarity with the bird by showing it straining against the string tied to its foot and

wound twice around the Child's finger to prevent its escape. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Gregori 1969, 112; Fehm 1976, 348; De Benedictis 1979, 38, 66, 89; Fehm 1986, 165, no. 64

NOTES

1. Both of these panels have been truncated at the bottom; see Fehm 1986, 104–5.
2. Fehm 1973b, 463–64.
3. Inv. no. 109.
4. Skaug 1994, 2: no. 547; and Frinta 1998, no. La123.
5. Fehm 1986, 116–17. The panels are not included in Skubiszewska and Kuczman 2010.
6. Inv. no. 594; Fehm 1986, 114–15. Torriti 1977, 435, lists these paintings as "lost" ("*non rintracciato*"). Photographs of them published by Fehm leave an attribution to Luca di Tommè doubtful.



Master of Panzano (with Luca di Tommè?), *Virgin and Child
with Saints Ansanus and Victor*

Artist	Master of Panzano, Siena, active last quarter 14th century
Title	<i>Virgin and Child with Saints Ansanus and Victor</i>
Date	ca. 1370–75
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 62.1 × 49.7 cm (24 3/8 × 19 5/8 in.); picture surface: 59.0 × 43.9 cm (23 1/4 × 17 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.245

Provenance

Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, by 1924¹

disengaged along the top due to the warp of the panel support.

Condition

The panel, 2.4 centimeters thick and of a vertical wood grain, has been neither thinned nor cradled, but it has been cropped along its bottom edge by perhaps as much as 17 centimeters. Three parallel, scribed lines on the back of the panel, 37, 39.5, and 42 centimeters from the top edge, indicate the placement of a batten that once connected it to some adjacent structure(s); three cut iron nails are still in place along the center of these lines. Three similar nails are embedded in the panel, 4 centimeters from the top edge, and a scribed line 2.5 centimeters above them undoubtedly indicates the top edge of a similar batten. Splits in the panel in the lower-left corner (lower right when viewed from the back) have been repaired from behind with a gesso patch, obviously applied when the battens were still in place. These splits are visible on the front of the panel but have resulted in minimal associated paint loss. The original engaged frame, of a maximum thickness of 1.6 centimeters, is preserved along three sides of the painting, though it has



Fig. 1. *Virgin and Child with Saints Ansanus and Victor*, before 1958

The paint surface is unevenly preserved. It is in exceptionally good condition in most of the hands, draperies, and above all in the brocaded cloth of honor behind the Virgin, executed in a refined sgraffito technique with applied shadows in a green (now brown) oil glaze to indicate lines of tension where it is pulled taut by the angels. The faces of all the figures and the blue of the Virgin's mantle were severely abraded in a 1958 cleaning; precleaning photographs do not reveal obvious layers of overpaint that needed to be removed from these areas (fig. 1). Two candle burns—one in the area of the Virgin's left knee and Saint Ansanus's right elbow and the other primarily in the frame to the right of Saint Ansanus—have provoked losses of pigment or gilding, and scattered losses occur along the lower 3 centimeters of the composition, where a modern frame was applied after the panel was cropped. Removal of this frame in 1958 revealed much of the paint and gilded surface beneath it to be intact. It was decided at that point to simulate the missing extent of original panel by the addition of an unpainted panel—of polished walnut and applied walnut moldings—of a profile similar to the original engaged moldings.

Discussion

The earliest known references to this painting, expertises from Osvald Sirén (in August 1923) and Tancred Borenius (in October 1923),² concur in ascribing it to Luca di Tommè, an attribution endorsed by Richard Offner and Bernard Berenson in 1925 and repeated without exception in all published citations of it.³ Opinions have varied only in identifying the saint at the lower left of the composition as either Galganus or Victor, both patron saints of Siena whose attribute is a sword. Galganus, however, was not a martyr, whereas Victor is commonly portrayed holding both the palm of martyrdom and a spray of olive, as he does here. The saint at the lower right is unequivocally Ansanus, another of the patron saints of Siena.



Fig. 2. Master of Panzano (with Luca di Tommè?), *Virgin and Child; Blessing Redeemer*, ca. 1370–75. Tempera and gold on panel, 154 × 76 cm (60 5/8 × 29 7/8 in.). Private collection

The few authors who have demurred at an attribution to Luca di Tommè for the Yale panel have gone only as far as admitting the possibility of workshop intervention in its execution.⁴ This observation may be broadened and, at the same time, made more specific by noting that a small nucleus of works included in authoritative catalogues of Luca di Tommè's production may be grouped with the Yale panel as apparently the work of a single hand operating either within the senior artist's studio or in

close dependence on his models. These include a half-length *Virgin and Child* in San Bartolomeo a Pescina, near Seggiano⁵; a half-length *Virgin and Child* with a roundel of the Blessing Redeemer in its pinnacle that was with Moretti Fine Art, London, in 2017 (fig. 2)⁶; a half-length *Saint Michael* with a roundel showing Saint Peter in its pinnacle in the Acton Collection at Villa La Pietra, Florence, reasonably supposed to be a lateral panel from the same polyptych as the latter work⁷; and a polyptych of the Virgin and Child with Saints John the Baptist, Michael, Peter, and Catherine of Alexandria, all portrayed in full length, in the Museo Communale at Lucignano.⁸ Connections among these panels are self-evident, as is their divergence from Luca di Tommè's more assertive, crisper modeling of volumes; his more assured and lively drawing of contours; and his more expressive, brooding figure types. This second artist borrows a number of Luca di Tommè's trademark mannerisms, such as the exaggerated turn of heads on shoulders, but has a tendency to make them flatter, less representational, and more decorative. He evinces a brighter and less nuanced color sense, a more insistent attraction to surface patterns, and a tendency to apply softer contrasts of light and shadow, along with much more simplified contours outlining his figures. In the case of the Yale panel, this artist may have been working alongside Luca di Tommè or over his drawings, as the incised profiles of the figures are more angular and much more rapid and assured than those apparent in other works within this group—more like those in autograph paintings by Luca—while the unusual cropping of the figures at the sides of the composition is an affectation typical of Luca but of few other painters at any point in the fourteenth century.



Fig. 3. Master of Panzano, *Saints James the Greater, Anthony Abbot, Francis, and Ansanus*, ca. 1385–90. Tempera and gold on panel, 37.4 × 32.4 cm (14 3/4 × 12 3/4 in.). San Diego Museum of Art, Gift of Anne R. and Amy Putnam, inv. no. 1946.19

This collaborator/follower of Luca di Tommè may be identified with an artist who has long been recognized as having emerged from the orbit of that painter, the artist known conventionally as the Master of Panzano. First isolated as an independent personality by Berenson, who named the painter after a triptych in the Pieve di San Leolino at Panzano in the Chianti showing the Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine with Saints Peter and Paul,⁹ the Master of Panzano was recognized by Sherwood Fehm to have owed much if not all of his artistic formation to Luca di Tommè.¹⁰ The general observations of these and other writers were synthesized in a more detailed study by Denise Boucher de Lapparent, who added a number of previously unknown works to the painter's oeuvre and pointed out his debt to other contemporary Sieneese masters, particularly Bartolo di Fredi and Niccolò di Buonaccorso.¹¹ Connections between the group of panels listed above and the easily recognized style of the Master of Panzano in his mature works are both plentiful and substantive, well beyond a resemblance of simple influence. The Lucignano altarpiece and the Moretti and Acton fragments of an altarpiece are particularly close in style and may simply be early independent commissions to the Master of Panzano rather than delegated work from Luca di Tommè. The eccentricities common to works

by the Master of Panzano are more subdued in the Yale panel, but even there it is possible to recognize the same bony, tapering fingers of the Virgin and the saints, the flat projection of the feet of the Christ Child, or the close-set eyes and pursed mouths of all the figures, as appear in any number of paintings by the Panzano Master. Particularly close are a pair of triptych wings in the Pinacoteca Vaticana representing Saints Anthony Abbot, Francis, Paul, and Nicholas of Bari,¹² and a similar pair in the collection of the San Diego Museum of Art, representing Saints James the Greater, Anthony Abbot, Francis, and Ansanus (fig. 3). Conspicuously unlike any other painting by the Panzano Master is the technically expert use in the Yale panel of tooled gold leaf to indicate the hems and collars of the draperies of all the figures, a procedure that seems to have required the local application of small strips of gold rather than a more traditional overall gilding and sgraffito execution. It is likely that this refined detail may have been due to Luca di Tommè's direct intervention in some stage of the panel's genesis.

In her discussion of the San Diego triptych wings, Pia Palladino pointed out that the grisaille figures of Saints Anthony Abbot and Christopher painted on their reverses seem to be by a different artist, probably Niccolò di Buonaccorso.¹³ The same observation could be extended to a triptych by the Panzano Master in the Hearst Collection at San Simeon, where the figures of Saints Anthony Abbot and Catherine of Alexandria on the wings appear to be the work of Niccolò di Buonaccorso. The repeated evidence of contact between these two painters led Palladino to advance the tentative but highly intriguing suggestion that the Master of Panzano might be identifiable with the artist Paolo di Buonaccorso di Pace, presumably a brother of Niccolò di Buonaccorso, who is named in a document of 1374 as an assistant of Luca di Tommè's.¹⁴ Although based on circumstantial evidence, this suggestion is entirely plausible. If it were possible to demonstrate the identification, it could provide a useful terminus a quo for dating the Yale panel around 1374, a date that is, in any event, not contradicted by any other stylistic evidence.

The original format and function of the Yale panel remain difficult to define. Its proportions and subject are typical of the center panel of folding triptychs, although, in this case, such a triptych would be considerably larger than usual, and both the evidence of battens having been secured across its back and the absence of any signs of hinges along its sides make such a proposition doubtful. Furthermore, the sides of the panel show no evidence of

having been in prolonged contact with other wooden surfaces, so the purpose of the battens is unclear unless they were intended to secure the panel in place within a large frame or architectural structure, such as a marble tabernacle. The possibility that the panel had indeed been enclosed within a larger marble frame could explain several anomalies. Among these is the fact that the engaged moldings, which are original and unaltered, are incomplete in profile: they ought to extend further in width or wrap around the outer edges of the panel support, unless they were intended as transitional moldings to a larger profile outside them. Also, the selection of Saints Ansanus and Victor to accompany the Virgin and Child implies a civic rather than private commission, and if such a commission had been placed by a prominent governmental agency or intended for a prominent public location, the unusually lavish use of gold decoration in this panel might be explained. The panel's exceptional state of preservation does indicate that it must have been protected, presumably by shutters that closed over it, and the loss of its lower quarter (Charles Seymour, Jr., estimated the original height of the complete panel to be 79 centimeters, based on the assumption that the battens on the reverse were set at regular intervals¹⁵) could have been provoked by water damage from moisture pooling within a stone frame. In the absence of any more solid evidence or documentation, however, these last observations are merely conjectural. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Perkins 1924b, 15n; Comstock 1928b, 60, 62; Perkins 1929, 427; *Exhibition of Italian Primitive Paintings* 1930, no. 20; Venturi 1931, pl. 71; Brandi 1932, 234n1; Berenson 1936, 269; Klesse 1967, 406, no. 393; Berenson 1968, 1:225; Seymour 1970, 81–82, no. 55; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 50, no. 43, figs. 43a–c; Muller 1973, 16–18, 21n31, fig. 6; Vertova 1973, 159–60; De Benedictis 1979, 88; Fehm 1986, 154, no. 55; Frinta 1998, 231, 374

NOTES

1. F. Mason Perkins (Perkins 1924b) described the painting, already in the Griggs collection, as having come to his attention after he had completed his article in March 1924. Manuscript opinions of 1923 by Osvald Sirén (August) and Tancred Borenius (October) may have been written while the painting was on the market rather than after Maitland Griggs had acquired it; see note 2 below.
2. Manuscript opinions on the reverse of photographs preserved in the curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery. It is unclear whether these opinions were written for Maitland Griggs or for the (unknown) dealer from whom he bought the painting. As neither Sirén nor Borenius were regular correspondents of Griggs's, it may be that their opinions were solicited by the dealer and, moreover, that the dealer was British rather than Italian. This is, however, entirely conjecture.
3. Bernard Berenson's opinion is recorded in a letter from Mary Berenson to Maitland Griggs dated January 2, 1925, Griggs correspondence, Yale University Art Gallery Archives; Offner's opinion, dated January 15, 1925, is recorded in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York.
4. Berenson 1936, 269; Berenson 1968, 1:225; Fehm 1986, 154, no. 55; and Seymour 1970, 81–82, no. 55.
5. Fehm 1986, 71, no. 10.
6. Formerly Archbishop Downey collection, Liverpool; Fehm 1986, 139, no. 45.
7. Fehm 1986, 141, no. 46.
8. Fehm 1986, 147, no. 49.
9. Berenson 1930–31a, 52ff.
10. Fehm 1976, 333–50.
11. Boucher de Lapparent 1978, 165–74.
12. Inv. nos. 146, 151.
13. Palladino 1997, 69–72.
14. Palladino 1997, 72. The document is transcribed in Fehm 1986, 199.
15. Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 50.



Bartolo di Fredi, *Virgin Annunciate*

Artist	Bartolo di Fredi, Siena, active 1353–1410
Title	<i>Virgin Annunciate</i>
Date	ca. 1380–82
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall 79.4 × 32.2 cm (31 1/4 × 12 5/8 in.); picture surface: 49.9 × 26.4 cm (19 5/8 × 10 3/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.247

Inscriptions

on the Virgin's book, ECCE VIRGO CONCIPIET E PARIET FILIUM ET VO[CABITUR NOMEN EIUS EMMANUEL] (Isaiah 7:14: "Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son [and his name shall be called Emmanuel]")

Provenance

Charles Butler (1821–1910), Warren Wood, Hatfield, England (not Mass., as asserted in Seymour 1970); Robert Langton Douglas (1864–1951), London, by 1912; Dan Fellows Platt (1873–1937), Englewood, N.J.; Edward Hutton (1875–1969), London, by 1923; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1923

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, retains its original thickness of 2.5 centimeters. The beveled lateral frame moldings were originally silver gilt, but at some modern date, they and most of the other frame moldings and crockets were covered with a gold paint that was not removed in the radical cleaning of 1958. The reverse of the panel had at one point been reinforced by having glued onto it a square oak support of two vertical and three horizontal slats; the uppermost horizontal slat remains attached. Tension from this support may have

been responsible for a small vertical split in the panel passing through the nose and left eye of the Virgin; this has generated very little paint loss. A larger split, running from her throat through her right hand and the cuff of her left wrist, was provoked by two nails that originally secured a vertical batten on the reverse. The clinched ends of these nails are visible where they have caused areas of total loss directly beneath the Virgin's right hand and in the folds of the blue robe beneath her left wrist. The flesh tones of the Virgin's face and hands have been abraded to the terra verde underpaint in areas of shadow but retain their highlights of pink and white; the drawing of the features is unimpaired. Extensive flaking losses and abrasion interrupt the blue of the Virgin's robe, most notably in the area of her left shoulder and along her left arm, while her red dress is disfigured by deeper gouges and abrasion along the cupped edges of the (predominantly horizontal) craquelure. The book held in the Virgin's left hand with the inscription is largely undamaged. The gold ground is irregularly abraded, exposing broad areas of bolus preparation, and three large gouges at the left edge have removed everything above the gesso layer. At present, the paint surface is coated with an opaque synthetic varnish, further dulling the palette and exaggerating the effects of solvent damage.

Discussion



Fig. 1. Bartolo di Fredi, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1374. Tempera and gold on panel, 175.6 × 114.6 cm (69 1/8 × 45 1/8 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Cloisters Collection, 1925, inv. no. 25.120.288

Although the first recorded reference to the *Virgin Annunciate* as a work by Bartolo di Fredi appears to be Richard Offner's manuscript opinion of 1924 (preserved in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York), the painting had been sold the preceding year by Edward Hutton to Maitland Griggs with that name already attached to it. According to correspondence in the Yale University Art Gallery's archives, Hutton urged Griggs to consult with Offner for confirmation of the attribution but not to contact Robert Langton Douglas or F. Mason Perkins—the then-acknowledged experts on Sienese painting—as either would likely demand a commission from Hutton for their opinion. Bernard Berenson listed the painting as by Paolo di Giovanni Fei and as in the Platt collection, in Englewood, New Jersey, even though it had by then belonged to Griggs for nearly a decade.¹ Surprisingly, the first published identification of the painting as by Bartolo di Fredi occurs in Berenson's Central Italian lists of 1968.² Charles Seymour, Jr.,

inexplicably qualified the painting as “attributed to Bartolo di Fredi” and equally inexplicably suggested it could have been the right wing of a diptych, notwithstanding its original, engaged chamfered moldings and the evidence of two nails securing a vertical batten to its reverse.³ He revised this assessment in 1972 on the advice of his former students, Michael Mallory and Gordon Moran, who that same year published the painting as a lateral pinnacle from an altarpiece but also as probably executed with workshop assistance.⁴ Discussion of the painting since then has focused entirely on differing proposals for identifying the altarpiece of which it might have formed part. For Keith Christiansen, followed by Patricia Harpring and, apparently, Wolfgang Loseries, this would have been the altarpiece of which the *Adoration of the Shepherds* now in the Cloisters Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 1), once formed the center panel.⁵ For Mallory and Moran, it would more likely have been the triptych by Bartolo di Fredi currently in the Museo Civico in Lucignano (fig. 2). Gaudenz Freuler, in his comprehensive monograph on the artist, rejected both of these suggestions—without, however, proposing an alternative.⁶



Fig. 2. Bartolo di Fredi, *Cacciati Triptych*, ca. 1380. Tempera and gold on panel, 143 × 147 cm (56 1/4 × 57 7/8 in.). Museo Civico, Lucignano

A consensus of scholars identifies the Cloisters *Adoration of the Shepherds* with an altarpiece recorded by Ettore Romagnoli (ca. 1835) in the church of San Domenico at San Gimignano bearing the signature of Bartolo di Fredi and the date 1374. Romagnoli described the painting as accompanied by figures of the four Evangelists, the

Annunciation, the Baptism of Christ, and the Coronation of the Virgin. Several authors, as has been mentioned, assumed that the Yale *Annunciate* could be one of these ancillary panels. Freuler proposed identifying two of the lateral full-length standing saints with panels of Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist now in the Alana Collection, Newark, Delaware, neither of which is large enough, however, to have accommodated the Yale panel as a pinnacle above it. Freuler's reconstruction is questionable on a number of counts. First, although Romagnoli did mention a *Baptism of Christ*, he did not mention a figure of the Baptist, referring instead to the four Evangelists. Second, the pastiglia moldings and punched borders of the Alana panels imply a system of framing incompatible with that partially preserved on the Cloisters panel. And third, the Alana panels are to be attributed to Andrea di Bartolo and recognized as works of a considerably later date. It may therefore be said that there is no physical impediment to accepting Christiansen's proposal for associating the Yale *Annunciate* with the Cloisters *Adoration*, but several arguments incline to preferring the reconstruction offered by Mallory and Moran. These writers pointed out that the punched decoration along the margins of the Yale *Annunciate* is identical to that in the Lucignano triptych (see fig. 2)—which shows the Virgin and Child with Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist—and that the width of the former is compatible with the upper portion of the Lucignano laterals. Freuler contested this observation, reporting that the present frame on the Lucignano triptych is modern but that the width of the top of the two lateral panels is 27 centimeters. This is more than adequate to support the Yale *Annunciate*, whose painted surface measures 26.4 centimeters wide.

Following the inscription preserved on the riser of the Virgin's throne in the Lucignano triptych—"DNA [LI]NA FILIA OLI[M] PETRI CE[IA]TI JAKOB OLI[M] D[OMINI] GRIFFI FECIT FIERI I[N] CAPEELLA PER ANIMA SUA" (Dona Lina, daughter of Pietro Cacciati, deceased, [and widow of] Don Jacopo Griffi made this chapel for the salvation of her soul)⁷—Freuler identified its patrons as the Cacciati and Griffi families and established its original provenance as the chapel of Saint Peter in the church of San Francesco in Montalcino. As the dedication of this chapel does not correspond to the identity of either of the saints in the lateral panels of the triptych, he reasonably assumed that the altarpiece was originally a pentaptych and posited that two further lateral panels portraying Saints Peter and Lucy are missing today. The assumption that Saint Lucy was one of the missing saints derived from his inclusion of a predella now in the Pinacoteca

Nazionale, Siena,⁸ showing the Adoration of the Magi with scenes from the lives of Saints Peter, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, and Lucy. This predella, however, was painted not by Bartolo di Fredi but by Andrea di Bartolo. It is not clear whether Andrea was yet an active member of Bartolo's studio at the date of this altarpiece, and the iconographic evidence for including the predella with this reconstruction is subject to alternative interpretations. Freuler assumed that the scene of the martyrdom of Saint Lucy at the right of the predella was included as a reference to another of the Cacciati family charities, the Ospedale della Misericordia di Santa Lucia. Lacking further evidence, this suggestion is plausible, but his argument for the choice of the unusual Petrine scene of the healing of Saint Petronilla is less convincing. An alternative proposal to identify the predella as a later work by Andrea di Bartolo and as having stood beneath an altarpiece originally in the church of San Petronilla in Siena, four lateral panels of which are now preserved in the basilica of the Osservanza there, has the merits of accounting for this singularly unusual iconography but requires the presumption that at least two other scenes are missing from the predella in its current configuration.⁹ Neither of these contentions can at present be confirmed. Freuler's other proposal, to identify a much-damaged panel portraying Saint Mary Magdalen now in the WL-Museum für Kunst und Kultur (formerly the Westfälisches Landesmuseum), Münster, Germany,¹⁰ as the probable pinnacle completing the missing panel of Saint Peter at the extreme left of the altarpiece, also cannot be verified on physical or stylistic grounds. Although it is similar in style to the Yale *Annunciate* and vaguely comparable in size—the Magdalen has been cut laterally and at the top, it currently measures 38 by 25.5 centimeters—it differs considerably in the system of punch tooling visible along its intact right margin, where the cusping of the picture surface begins only at the midpoint of the saint's halo rather than at the level of her shoulder, as in the Yale panel. There is little likelihood that these two pinnacles originated from the same altarpiece. Which of them, if either, might have been part of the triptych in Lucignano cannot be established with confidence.

Opinions expressed on the dating of the Yale *Annunciate* have varied widely but necessarily follow from arguments for reconstructing its original context. Christiansen assumed the panel should be dated close to 1374. Freuler accepted this general dating, objecting to Christiansen's reconstruction only on the grounds that the Yale panel is too large to have accompanied the lateral panels he wished to include with the 1374 *Adoration*

altarpiece. Mallory and Moran believed the Yale panel could be dated between 1382 and 1385. If anything, the harshly cleaned condition of the Yale pinnacle leaves the impression that it is all but contemporary to two other Franciscan altarpieces painted by Bartolo di Fredi in Montalcino: the Beato Filippo Ciardelli altarpiece of 1382¹¹ and the *Fraternità di San Francesco* altarpiece probably of 1381–82.¹² Although he omitted the Yale panel from his discussion, Freuler's contention that the Cacciati/Griffi altarpiece is most likely datable ca. 1380, at the beginning of an extended sojourn at Montalcino undertaken by Bartolo di Fredi, is entirely convincing, and a range of dates for the Yale panel, whatever its reconstruction, between 1380 and 1382 seems prudent. — LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Berenson 1932a, 183; Berenson 1968, 1:30; Seymour 1970, 71, no. 48; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Mallory and Moran 1972, 10–15; Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 52, no. 45, fig. 45a; De Benedictis 1979, 81; Sutton 1979, 382, figs. 28–29; Christiansen 1982, 38, fig. 35; Freuler 1985, 156, 165n41, fig. 9; Harpring 1993, 151, no. 8; Freuler 1994, 141, 446–47, no. 17, fig. 363; Frinta 1998, 98, 330, 482; Loseries 2012, 60, 63n23

NOTES

1. Berenson 1932a, 183.
2. Berenson 1968, 1:30.
3. Seymour 1970, 71, no. 48.
4. Mallory and Moran 1972, 10–15.
5. Christiansen 1982, 38, fig. 35; Harpring 1993, 151, no. 8; and Loseries 2012, 60, 63n23.
6. Freuler 1994, 141, 446–47, no. 17, fig. 363.
7. Although Freuler, in Freuler 1985, interpreted the abbreviation before “Capeella” as “in,” it might better be read as “istud” (this) and as referring to the foundation and endowment of the entire chapel, not just the provision of the altarpiece.
8. Inv. no. 103.
9. Kanter 1986, 28n14.
10. Inv. no. 911 BM.
11. Museo Civico Montalcino, inv. nos. 25, 31, 41.
12. Museo Civico Montalcino, inv. nos. 37, 40; Museo Diocesano d'Arte Sacra, Montalcino.



AGNUS DEI QUIT

Taddeo di Bartolo, *Saint John the Baptist*, One of Two Panels from a Dismembered Altarpiece

Artist	Taddeo di Bartolo, Siena, ca. 1362–1422
Title	<i>Saint John the Baptist</i> , One of Two Panels from a Dismembered Altarpiece
Date	ca. 1385–89
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	56.0 × 36.0 cm (22 × 14 1/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.251

For more on this panel, see Taddeo di Bartolo, *Saint Jerome*.

Inscriptions

on the scroll held by Saint John the Baptist, ECCE AGNUS
DEI QUI T[OLLIT]

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, has been thinned to 2.9 centimeters and cut across the top and bottom. A dowel hole on the right edge, 36.5 centimeters from the bottom edge, is tangent with the back surface of the panel, indicating that up to 1 centimeter thickness has been lost (assuming the hole was originally centered). No other dowel holes are in evidence. Two nail heads aligned 18 centimeters from the top edge, one 6 centimeters from the left edge and the other 5.5 centimeters from the right edge, indicate the placement of a batten at this height. The gilding and paint surface are thin, evenly abraded in an aggressive cleaning by Andrew Petryn in 1966–67 that left underdrawing in the draperies and terra verde priming layers beneath the flesh tones fully apparent.¹ Old repaints covering surviving fragments of spandrel decoration were removed in that conservation campaign, leaving exposed areas of wood that underlay original

framing moldings (fig. 1). These were filled with new gesso during a cleaning at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, in 1999–2000, bringing the missing surfaces to a level uniform with the surviving paint and gilded surfaces. They were then touched out in neutral colors, leaving islands of surviving bolus and silver leaf exposed but confusing the nature of the losses as extensions of the painted image rather than framing members. Scattered gilding losses at either edge and especially at the lower-left corner, as well as small losses in the saint's red robe and hair shirt, were also filled and inpainted at that time.



Fig. 1. *Saint John the Baptist*, after 1967

NOTES

1. Only the *Baptist* was treated in this campaign, not the related *Saint Jerome* panel. Both panels are reproduced in Seymour 1970, 95, nos. 66–67, in their precleaning state.



Taddeo di Bartolo, *Saint Jerome*, One of Two Panels from a Dismembered Altarpiece

Artist	Taddeo di Bartolo, Siena, ca. 1362–1422
Title	<i>Saint Jerome</i> , One of Two Panels from a Dismembered Altarpiece
Date	ca. 1385–89
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	55.8 × 36.2 cm (22 × 14 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.250

Provenance

Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, by 1926

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, has been thinned to 2.3 centimeters and cut across the top and bottom. A dowel hole on the left edge, 33.7 centimeters from the bottom, has been cut through at just over half its diameter, suggesting that as much as 1.5 centimeters of panel thickness has been lost. No other dowel holes are in evidence. Two nail heads aligned 18 centimeters from the top edge, one 8 centimeters from the right edge and the other 6 centimeters from the left edge, indicate the placement of a batten at this height. Two partial splits in the panel extend from the top edge to the right of Saint Jerome's cardinal's hat to the level of his left wrist and through the gold ground to the level of the saint's shoulder on the same side. The latter may have been provoked by the batten nail driven into the panel at that point. Both splits have resulted in minor losses in the surface, and the plugs covering both batten nails have been regilt. An approximately 2-centimeters-wide strip of regilding covers both lateral edges of the panel. The paint and gilded surfaces, which were not subjected to cleaning by Andrew Petryn in 1966–67 as was the related *Saint*

John the Baptist panel, are otherwise in a near-perfect state of preservation: they were discovered in the course of restoration at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, in 1999–2000 to have been protected by what is believed to be an original, undisturbed layer of varnish. This varnish was thinned, and discolored retouchings on top of it were removed and corrected at that time. The repainted spandrel areas were filled and painted out to match those of the *Saint John the Baptist*.

Discussion

This *Saint Jerome* panel and the related *Saint John the Baptist* were lateral elements of the same unidentified complex. Based on the stance and gesture of the figures, it can be assumed that Saint John the Baptist stood to the right of a central image of the Virgin and Child, and Saint Jerome to left. Both images underwent treatment at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, between 1999 and 2000, when it was discovered that the *Saint Jerome* is remarkable for being one of the rare early Italian paintings to preserve its original varnish, still beautifully intact beneath old retouchings. The removal of added layers of modern varnish over the original surface revealed, in the words of the Getty restorers, “the eloquent and subtle modeling of the face and hands, and

the richness, depth, and luminosity of the colors and forms . . . [and] every nuance of the finely hatched tempera paint.”¹ These qualities are conspicuously absent from the *Saint John the Baptist*, which is missing the top layers of paint and varnish as a result of an aggressive cleaning in 1966–67. While most of the individual details of the figure are preserved, it lacks the delicate transitions and surface brilliance of its companion, and the forms appear coarser and more hard-edged than originally intended.

There are no records of the Yale saints predating their entry into the Maitland Griggs collection, sometime before 1926. A note on the back of old photographs in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York, records Richard Offner’s verbal attribution to Taddeo di Bartolo, which has not been questioned since. Modern scholarship, following Bernard Berenson’s original assessment,² has unanimously placed the panels among Taddeo’s earliest documented works, implicating them in the debate over the artist’s initial formation and training. Sibilla Symeonides first noted the correspondences between the Yale figures and the artist’s first signed and dated work—the 1389 polyptych for the chapel of Saint Paul at Collegiarli, near San Miniato al Tedesco (Pisa) (fig. 1)—and proposed a chronology between 1389 and 1393, predating the artist’s activity in Liguria and the influence of Barnaba da Modena.³ For Symeonides, certain details in the saints’ features were directly indebted to the work of Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio, while others reflected the influence of Bartolo di Fredi. Charles Seymour, Jr., who followed traditional scholarship and considered Taddeo a pupil of Bartolo di Fredi, dated the Yale panels around 1390 but did not provide a discussion of their style.⁴ In her study of the painter, Gail Solberg deemed the Yale *Saint John the Baptist* and *Saint Jerome* “perfectly plausible heirs” of the Collegiarli saints and followed Seymour in proposing a chronology around 1390, also noting that both works still manifested “uncertainties that characterize an emerging style.”⁵ While Solberg considered the possibility that Taddeo might have been a pupil of Jacopo di Mino—a suggestion first advanced by Berenson⁶—she concluded that the Yale panels, like the Collegiarli altarpiece, bore no allegiance to a specific Siennese source or single master. Gaudenz Freuler, by contrast, cited the Yale panels as evidence of the impact of Bartolo di Fredi’s mature production on Taddeo’s early work, specifically highlighting their relationship to Bartolo’s four saints in the Museo Civico, Montalcino, executed around 1381/82.⁷ In the most recent examination of Taddeo’s early career, Gianluca Amato grouped the Yale saints with Taddeo’s *Virgin and Child*

and *Saint Peter* in the Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon (figs. 2–3)—fragments of another unidentified structure—and placed the execution of all four panels between 1390 and 1393.⁸ Amato reiterated that these paintings, unlike the artist’s next signed and dated commissions—the 1395 polyptychs for the Sardi-Campiglia⁹ and Casassi (fig. 4) families in Pisa—showed no traces of the art of Barnaba da Modena and were still inherently tied to Siennese tradition.



Fig. 1. Taddeo di Bartolo, *Virgin and Child between Saints Sebastian, Paul, John the Baptist, and Nicholas of Bari (Collegiarli Altarpiece)*, 1389. Tempera and gold on panel, 147.3 × 200.6 cm (58 × 79 in.). Location unknown



Fig. 2. Taddeo di Bartolo, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1385–89. Tempera and gold on panel, 104 × 69 cm (41 × 27 1/4 in.). Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon, France, inv. no. 432



Fig. 3. Taddeo di Bartolo, *Saint Peter*, 1385–89. Tempera and gold on panel, 82 × 39 cm (32 1/4 × 15 3/8 in.). Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon, France, inv. no. 384



Fig. 4. Taddeo di Bartolo, *Virgin and Child between Saints Gherardo of Villmagna, Paul, Andrew, and Nicholas of Bari (Casassi Altarpiece)*, 1395. Tempera and gold on panel, 170 × 225 cm (66 7/8 × 88 5/8 in.). Musée de Grenoble, France, inv. no. MG 652

Painted by Taddeo when he was around the age of twenty-seven—in the same year that his name first appears in the registers of the Sieneese painters’ guild—the Collegiarli altarpiece (see fig. 1) represents a touchstone for evaluating Taddeo’s formation and subsequent development.¹⁰ Long believed to have been lost, this work reappeared on the art market in 1950 and again in 1997 but is presently known only from photographs; these reveal certain inconsistencies in execution, especially noticeable in the figures of the Virgin and Child, which suggest later retouchings and interventions, possibly contemporary to its modern reframing.¹¹ Issues of condition aside, the Collegiarli Saint John the Baptist, as noted by past scholars, supplies a close analogy for the Yale saint, whose relaxed features and gentle demeanor contrast sharply with the dour, ascetic type favored by Taddeo in his later production. Compared to the Yale panels, however, the Collegiarli saints are distinguished by slightly heavier, fuller proportions and complicated drapery folds that clearly anticipate the evolution of the artist’s manner in the 1395 Casassi (see fig. 4) and Sardi-Campiglia altarpieces. The Yale saints bear a less pronounced relationship to those works and reflect, instead, a different orientation in the artist’s approach, more completely beholden to Sieneese examples and especially to the models of Bartolo di Fredi, as intuited by Freuler and other earlier scholars.¹²



Fig. 5. Bartolo di Fredi, *Saint Jerome*, ca. 1385–88. Fresco. Sant’Agostino, Montalcino

The paintings that most nearly recall the Yale saints in both style and execution, as convincingly argued by Amato, are the altarpiece fragments with the *Virgin and Child* and *Saint Peter in Avignon* (see figs. 2–3). More than any other pictures by Taddeo, these images share the luminous palette and delicately nuanced execution of the present panels. Notwithstanding the abrasion to its painted surface, the Avignon *Saint Peter* is a close relative of the Yale *Saint Jerome*; both figures are characterized by virtually identical facial features and by the same painstaking definition of every single strand of gray hair and beard, including the unruly dark wisps escaping from the softly brushed curls. Following Symeonides, Amato traced the stylistic antecedents of these works to Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio’s models in Siena and Pisa. The closely observed naturalistic passages in the Yale *Saint Jerome*, however, seem incompatible with the blander, essentially flat vocabulary typical of Jacopo di Mino, whose role in Taddeo’s formation has been greatly overstated. More relevant to Taddeo’s approach is Bartolo di Fredi’s production in Montalcino in the years between around 1380 and 1388, when the artist was engaged in several major commissions for the churches of San Francesco and Sant’Agostino. The expressive figure of Saint Jerome included among the Church Fathers painted

by Bartolo in the choir of Sant'Agostino, in particular, offers a concrete precedent for the sensitive handling of the Yale image (fig. 5).¹³ The obvious debt to such works—more than to any other Sieneese prototype—suggests a plausible chronology for the Yale saints and the closely related Avignon altarpiece in the years immediately preceding the execution of the Collegiarli altarpiece rather than after it, at a time when Taddeo was possibly already active in his native city and engaged in commissions in Sieneese territory, before leaving for Pisa.

No other works by Taddeo that might reasonably be associated with the Yale saints have hitherto been identified. The original framing structure of the panels, which were clearly cut at the top and bottom, is uncertain. Although Solberg argued that they were most probably included in a polyptych with three-quarter-length rather than full-length figures, there is no technical evidence to support that assumption. The lack of a second (or third) dowel hole and second batten indicates only that the panels have been reduced in height, not how much has been lost. The presence of a dowel hole on only the inside edge of both panels, however, does imply either that they were the outermost panels of their complex or that the structure of which they formed part was not larger than a triptych. Remnants of painted and silver-gilded decoration, as well as round punch marks in the upper corners of both panels, suggest a framing structure similar to that in Gualtieri di Giovanni's triptych in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena.¹⁴ The convex line of punched decoration in the gold ground on each side of the figures has been described as unusual but could indicate the profile of a large capital or corbel, as in Paolo di Giovanni Fei's altarpiece fragment with Saint John the Baptist in the Pinacoteca Stuard, Parma. —PP

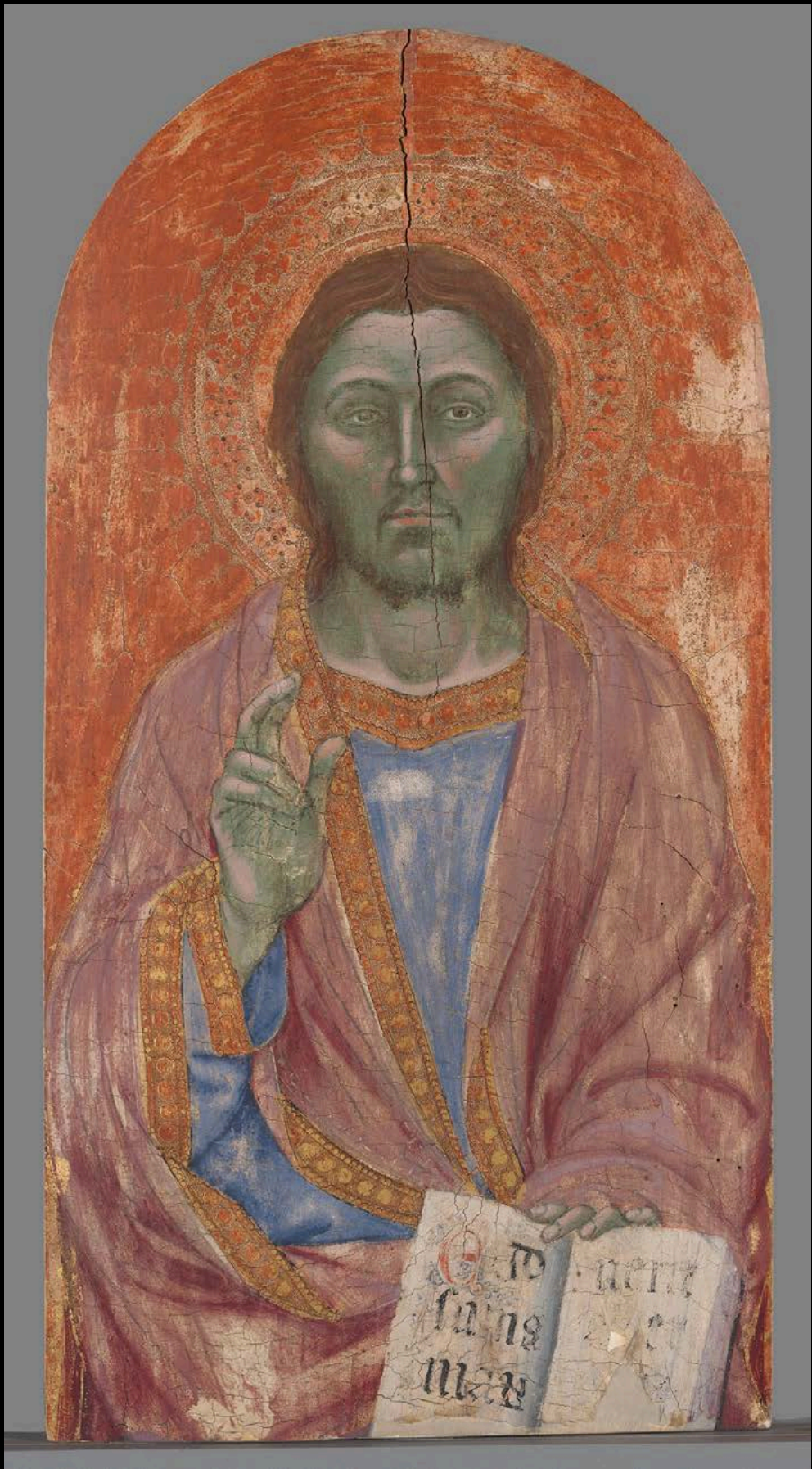
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Berenson 1932a, 552; Berenson 1936, 474; Perkins 1938, 396; Symeonides 1965, 34–35, 196–97, pls. 2a–b; Berenson 1968, 1:420; Seymour 1970, 94–96, nos. 66–67; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 43, no. 36; Solberg 1991, 30–31, 33, 294, 322, 555–57; Solberg 1992b, 13–18, figs. 2–3; Freuler 1994, 414n18; Frinta 1998, 300, no. Gh19; Szafran and

Khandekar 2003, 108–19, pls. 13, 19; Amato 2009, 104, figs. 3–4; Gail E. Solberg, in Strehlke and Israëls 2015, 591

NOTES

1. Szafran and Khandekar 2003, 110.
2. Berenson 1932a, 552.
3. Symeonides 1965, 34–35, 196–97, pls. 2a–b.
4. Seymour 1970, 94–96, nos. 66–67.
5. Solberg 1992b, 18.
6. Berenson 1911, 255.
7. Freuler 1994, 414n18.
8. Amato 2009, 104, figs. 3–4.
9. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. 53.100.
10. The exact date of the artist's birth is unknown but is generally placed around 1362 on the basis of a contract document dated February 7, 1386, in which Taddeo cites his father, Bartolo di Mino, a barber, as guarantor, implying that he was not yet of age—that is, under twenty-five years old. This would coincide with Vasari's statement that Taddeo, who made his will in 1422, died at the age of fifty-nine. See Solberg 1991, 7.
11. The polyptych remained in situ until 1767 and then disappeared from view until it resurfaced in a sale at Christie's, London, December 8, 1950, only to vanish again and reemerge in a sale at Sotheby's, London, December 3, 1997, lot 56. Based on stylistic considerations alone, it is difficult to concur with Carl Strehlke's and Gail Solberg's proposals to associate with the Collegiarli altarpiece a predella fragment with saints in Philadelphia (Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, inv. no. 95) and two pinnacles with the *Annunciation* in Bergen, Norway (Kode—Art Museums and Composer Homes, inv. no. 2). See Strehlke 1985, 5–6; Solberg 1991, 321–24; and Solberg 2020, 150–51, no. 30.
12. The dominant influence of Bartolo di Fredi on the artist's formation was stressed by Perkins 1938.
13. For these frescoes, see Freuler 1994, 224–59, 485–88, no. 71.
14. Inv. no. 140.



Taddeo di Bartolo, *The Blessing Redeemer*

Artist	Taddeo di Bartolo, Siena, ca. 1362–1422
Title	<i>The Blessing Redeemer</i>
Date	1403
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	66.2 × 34.8 cm (26 × 13 3/4 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.249

Inscription

on book, EGO / SUM / VIA [ET VERITAS ET VITA]

tones and thin passages of blue or mauve in the draperies. A vigorous brush underdrawing is visible everywhere except through the areas of blue color.

Provenance

Edward Hutton (1875–1969), England; from whom purchased by Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1923

Condition

The panel, of a vertical wood grain, exhibits a pronounced convex warp. It has been irregularly sawn through its thickness: its depth varies unevenly from 2.4 centimeters at the bottom to 1.4 centimeters near the top. A vertical split along the center of the panel runs from the top edge to the gold hem of Christ's tunic, approximately through the thinnest area of the wood. Two tapering dowel channels are visible at the lower edge on the reverse, 4 centimeters in from either edge, 8.3 centimeters long on the left (as viewed from the reverse) and 7.4 centimeters long on the right. The gilding, except in the hems of Christ's garments, has been effaced by abrasion. Only the red bolus survives, in some areas worn to the gesso underlayer. The paint surface has been severely abraded throughout, leaving little more than terra verde underpaint with scattered pink highlights in the flesh

Discussion



Fig. 1. *The Blessing Redeemer*, before 1967

The panel, whose original appearance can be more properly assessed from photographs predating its overcleaning in 1967 (fig. 1), is typical of representations of Christ as Redeemer usually placed above the central compartment in multitiered polyptychs. Shown in three-quarter length and facing the viewer, Christ raises His right hand in blessing while displaying with His left hand a book open to the biblical verse “Ego sum via et veritas et vita” (I am the way, the truth and the life, John 14:6). The painting was acquired by Maitland Griggs from the English collector and dealer Edward Hutton in 1923. According to Hutton, who stated that the color was “perfect and exquisite,” although the gold background had been restored, the picture had been authenticated as a work of Taddeo di Bartolo by both Bernard Berenson and F. Mason Perkins.¹ In his 1925 lecture at the Griggs residence in New York, Richard Offner reiterated the

attribution, which has been accepted by all subsequent scholars.² Raimond van Marle, who first published the panel,³ listed it among other iconographically related images of the Blessing Redeemer by Taddeo, the closest of which, in the Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, Germany,⁴ has since been associated with the artist’s 1395 altarpiece for San Paolo all’Orto in Pisa.⁵

In 1975 Gordon Moran convincingly identified the Yale *Blessing Redeemer* as one of two images of Christ in the pinnacle of Taddeo’s monumental, double-sided altarpiece for the high altar of the church of San Francesco al Prato, in Perugia, signed and dated by the painter in 1403.⁶ As subsequently confirmed by Gail Solberg in her reconstruction of the original complex,⁷ the Yale panel is one of twenty-four surviving fragments from this ambitious structure, dismantled in the sixteenth century to make room for successive programs of renovation in San Francesco.⁸ The original complex, conceived as a double-sided, multitiered polyptych, comprised a main register of seven compartments with full-length figures, a narrative predella, and decorated pilasters (figs. 2–3). Each compartment was painted on the recto and verso. On one side, facing the nave and the lay audience, was the Enthroned Virgin and Child flanked by Saints Clare of Assisi, John the Baptist, and Mary Magdalen to her right and Saints Catherine of Alexandria, John the Evangelist, and Elizabeth of Hungary to her left. On the other side, facing the so-called retrochoir, was the image of Saint Francis of Assisi displaying the wounds of the Stigmata, flanked by Saints Herculanus, Anthony of Padua, and Peter to his right and Saints Paul, Constantius, and Louis of Toulouse to his left. In the predella, below each of the standing saints on both sides, were twelve episodes from the life of Saint Francis.⁹

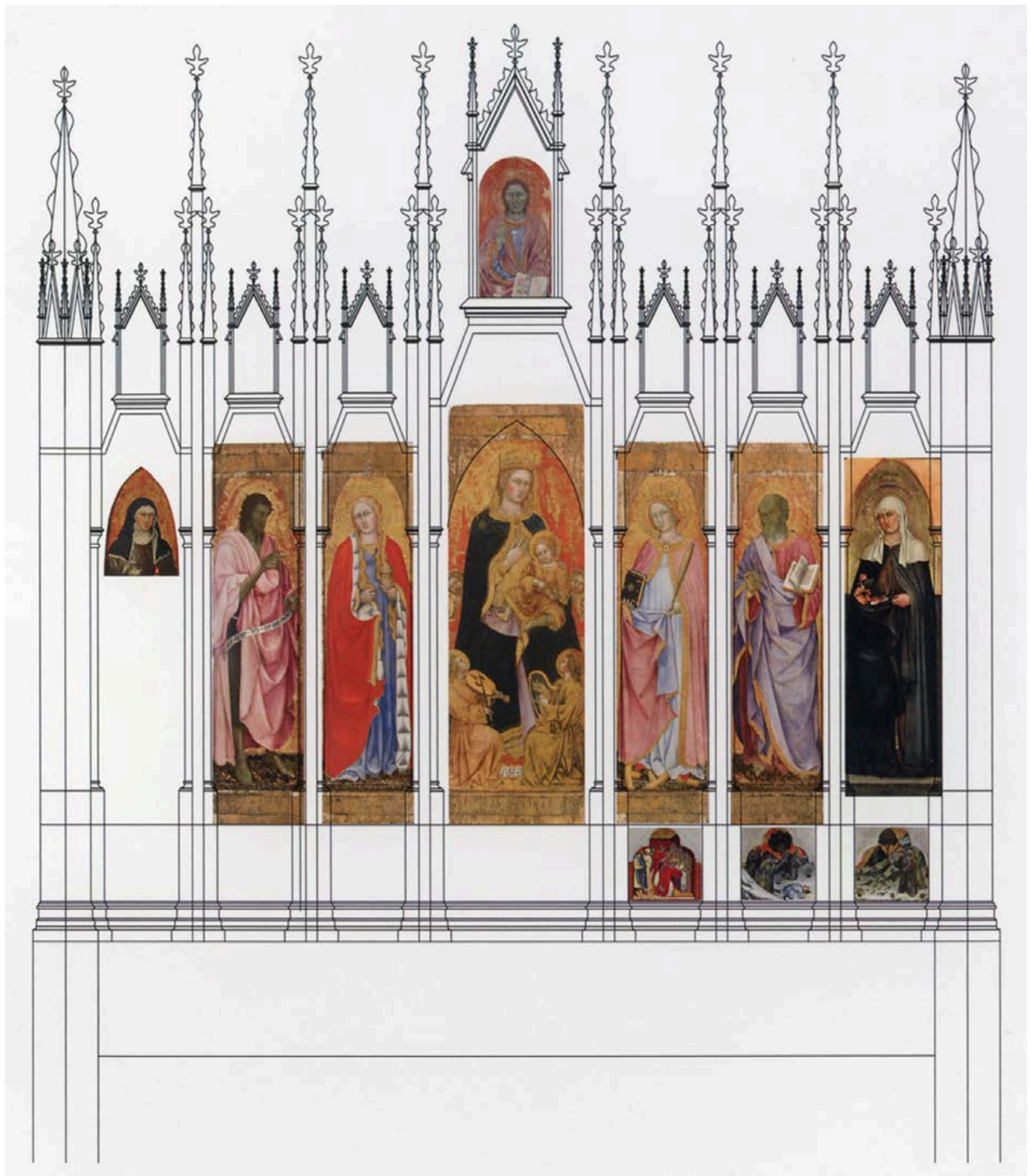


Fig. 2. Reconstruction of the Perugia polyptych (front)

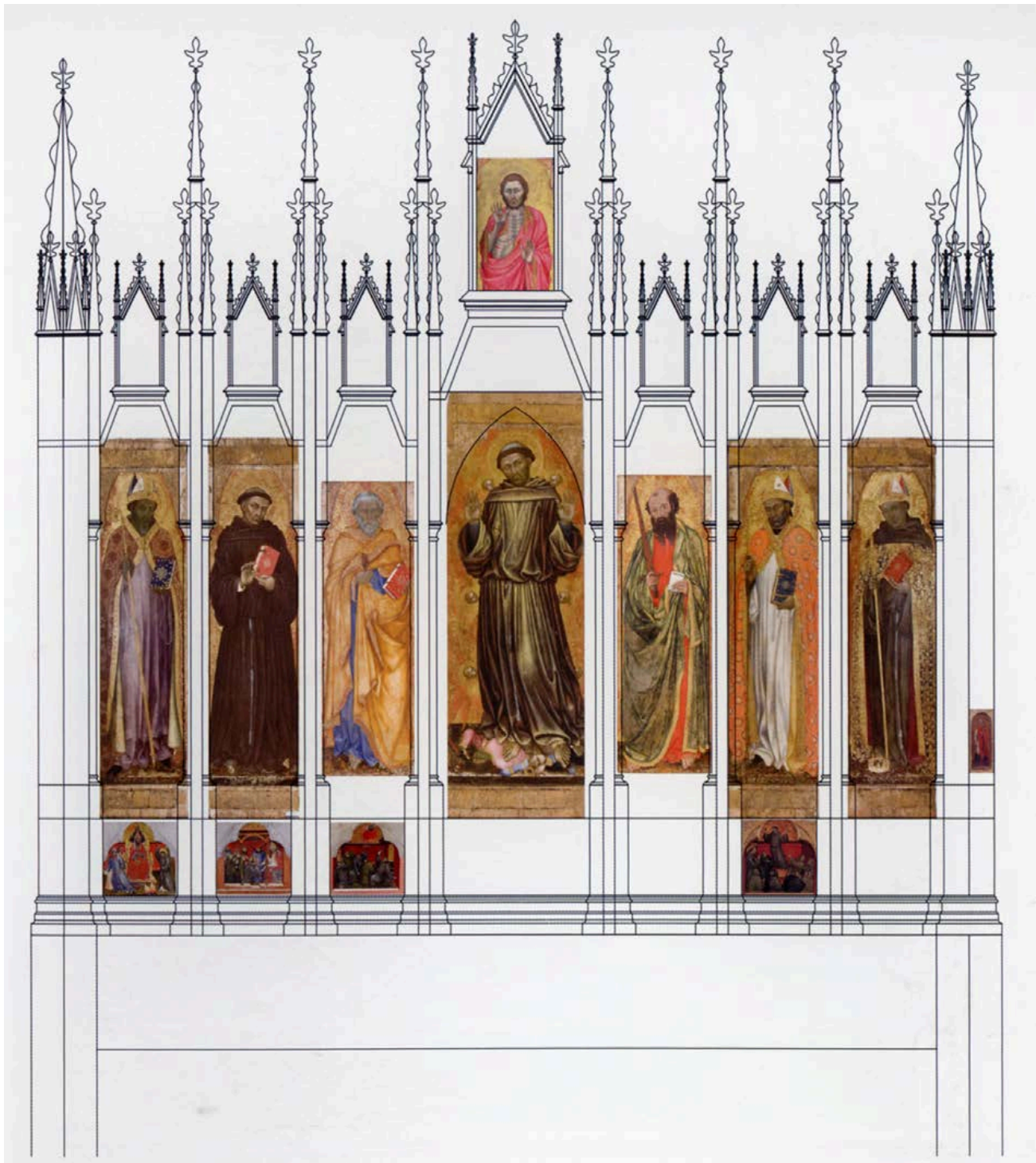


Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the Perugia polyptych (back)

At some point during the disassembly of the altarpiece, the individual compartments, including the pinnacle and predella, were sawn apart through their thickness to yield multiple panels. Twenty-three of these are now divided among the following collections:

- ✦ Assisi, Museo del Tesoro della Basilica di San Francesco, Perkins Collection: *Saint Elizabeth of Hungary*
- ✦ Gubbio, Museo Diocesano, inv. no. DP007S3N005: *Saint Clare of Assisi*
- ✦ Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, inv. no. 66: *Virgin and Child; Saint John the Baptist; Saint Mary Magdalen; Saint Catherine of Alexandria; Saint John the Evangelist*
- ✦ Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, inv. no. 62: *Saint Francis Trampling the Vices; Saint Herculanus; Saint Anthony of Padua; Saint Louis of Toulouse; Saint Constantius*
- ✦ Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, inv. no. 63: *Saint Paul*
- ✦ Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, inv. no. 64: *Saint Peter*
- ✦ Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, inv. no. 135/1072: *Redeemer Displaying His Wounds*
- ✦ Hanover, Germany, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, inv. no. KM 307a–f, six episodes from the life of Saint Francis: *Saint Francis and the Trial by Fire; The Approbation of the Rule; The Miraculous Mass at Greccio; The Vision of the Fiery Chariot; The Miracle of the Source; Saint Francis Preaching to the Birds*
- ✦ 's-Heerenberg, the Netherlands, Collection of Dr. J. H. van Heek, Huis Bergh Castle, inv. no. 3354: *Saint Francis Appearing at Arles*
- ✦ Naples, Museo di Capodimonte, inv. no. 36: *Saint Sebastian*

Technical comparisons between the Yale panel and the fragment with the *Redeemer Displaying His Wounds* in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia (fig. 4) present clear evidence that the two images originally stood back-to-back on the uppermost, central pinnacle of the San Francesco altarpiece (see figs. 2–3).¹⁰ As first pointed out by Henk van Os, it is likely that the Perugia *Redeemer* was on the choir side, where its unusual iconography

provided a visual parallel to the image of Saint Francis as *alter christus* (second Christ) showing the wounds of the Stigmata.¹¹ The Yale *Blessing Redeemer*, indebted to a more traditional iconographic type, stood above the *Virgin and Child* on the nave side of the church. Both *Redeemer* panels, Solberg has proposed, must have been accompanied by additional pinnacle elements over the side compartments with standing saints, although none of these have yet been identified.

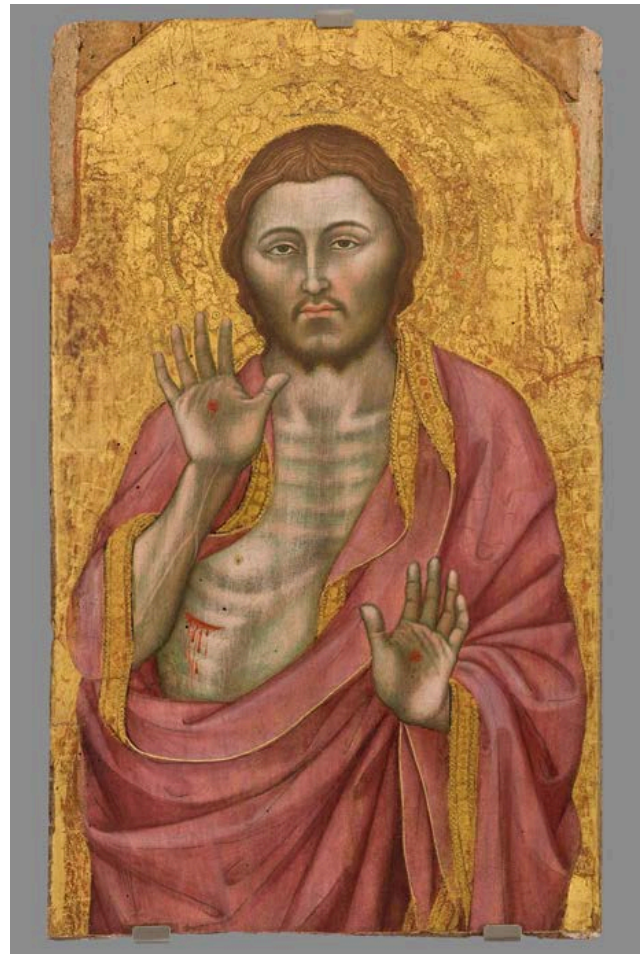


Fig. 4. Taddeo di Bartolo, *The Redeemer Displaying His Wounds*, 1403. Tempera and gold on panel, 64 × 37 cm (25 1/4 × 14 5/8 in.). Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia, inv. no. 135/1072

Executed for the most important Franciscan foundation in Umbria after Assisi, the polyptych for San Francesco al Prato confirms Taddeo's standing as the most sought-after painter in Siena and the adjoining territory, following his return to the city in 1399. The magnificently imposing structure is generally viewed as the crowning achievement of his career and a showcase for his fully developed technical abilities. At the same time, this work, like the artist's equally grandiose 1401 polyptych in

Montepulciano Cathedral, marks the final evolution of his style away from the more nuanced naturalistic approach of his earliest efforts of the previous decade, as exemplified by works such as the *Saint John the Baptist* and *Saint Jerome* panels also at the Yale University Art Gallery. The robust, darkly contoured figures enveloped in ample folds of cloth that distinguish the Perugia altarpiece anticipate the increasingly conventional, formulaic style adopted by the artist over the course of the next two decades of his activity, possibly as a result of the ever-greater demands placed on his workshop.¹² —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

van Marle 1931a, 172, pl. 10; Berenson 1932a, 552; Berenson 1936, 474; Perkins 1938, 396; Symeonides 1965, 235, pl. 80a; Berenson 1968, 1:420; Seymour 1970, 96, no. 68; Moran 1975, 4–7; van Os 1990, 89, fig. 77; Solberg 1991, 551–54; Solberg 1992a, 650n18, fig. 26; Solberg 1992b, 13, 18–23, figs. 1, 12; Gail E. Solberg, in Boskovits and Tripps 2008, 116, 118, fig. 19a; Amato 2009, 117n42; Gianluca Amato, in Seidel et al. 2010, 384; Garibaldi 2015, 293; Solberg 2020, 19, 206, 213, 217, no. 27e

NOTES

1. Edward Hutton, letter to Maitland Griggs, November 18, [1923], Griggs correspondence, Yale University Art Gallery Archives.
2. Lecture notes recorded in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York.
3. van Marle 1931a, 172, pl. 10.
4. Inv. no. 63.
5. See Amato 2009, 110, 117n42.
6. Moran 1975, 4–7.
7. Solberg 1991, 551–54; Solberg 1992a, 650n18, fig. 26; Solberg 1992b, 13, 18–23, figs. 1, 12; and Solberg 2020, 19, 206, 213, 217, no. 27e.
8. The various phases of the church's construction and the location of the altarpiece are discussed in detail by Cooper and Sartore 2020, 71–87 (with previous bibliography).
9. For a discussion of the structure and iconography of the predella, in particular, see Gardner von Teuffel 2020, 103–17.
10. A full account of the technical examination of the two panels can be found in Solberg 1992a, 22–23.
11. van Os 1974, 120–21.
12. Amato 2009, 109–10, 117nn40–41. Cesare Brandi, as quoted by Amato, perceptively referred to a “gothic hardening” (*rincrudimento gotico*) in Taddeo's forms, beginning around 1400. For Amato, the change is already manifest in Taddeo's frescoes with stories of the Virgin in the Sardi Chapel in San Francesco, Pisa.



Martino di Bartolomeo, *Saint Mary Magdalen and Saint Francis*

Artist	Martino di Bartolomeo, Siena, active 1389–1434
Title	<i>Saint Mary Magdalen and Saint Francis</i>
Date	ca. 1405
Medium	Tempera and silver on panel
Dimensions	22.5 × 18.1 cm (8 7/8 × 7 1/8 in.) and 22.8 × 18.3 cm (9 × 7 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Andrew F. Petryn
Inv. No.	2016.99.20–21

View *Saint Mary Magdalen and Saint Francis* in the Yale University Art Gallery's online collection.

Provenance

Andrew F. Petryn (1918–2013), by 2016

Condition

Saint Mary Magdalen is painted on a panel of horizontal wood grain, thinned irregularly to between 11 and 13 millimeters; *Saint Francis* is painted on a panel of vertical wood grain, thinned irregularly to between 11 and 14 millimeters. The picture surfaces of both have suffered extensive damage from abrasion and caustic cleaning. The original silver ground is almost entirely obliterated, and the gesso substrate is, in many places, losing its adherence to the panel support. Little more than the outlines of the figures and their general forms remain legible.

Discussion

These two panels are unknown to the literature of Sieneese painting except for their passing mention in Sherwood Fehm's catalogue of works by Luca di Tommè, where they are listed as shop works and misidentified as Saints

Francis and Catherine.¹ Although very little can be read of the painting style of the two figures, it is clear that they have nothing in common with the work of Luca di Tommè. Their reattribution here to Martino di Bartolomeo is based on the occurrence of a punch tool—Mojmír Frinta's no. L48—among the impressions of the original decoration of the silver ground still visible in the gesso layer around the edges of the picture fields, a punch used repeatedly by that artist in paintings made both for Sieneese and Pisan patrons.² While the style of the figures, to the extent that it remains visible, supports this attribution, it does not permit finer judgments of chronology. A date during the artist's Pisan period, however, might be suggested by the unusual hexafoil shape of the fields in which the figures appear. Without parallel among known Sieneese altarpieces, the form is repeated in the gable decoration of several Pisan structures at the turn of the fourteenth century. That the *Saint Mary Magdalen* is a fragment of a predella and not removed from a gable or other framing elements of an altarpiece may be inferred from the horizontal wood grain of its support and from the punched horizontal decorative bands cropped at the top and bottom edges of its decorated surface. The gesture of that saint, furthermore, might imply that she was once positioned to the right of an image of the Man of Sorrows. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Fehm 1986, 161

NOTES

1. Fehm 1986, 161.
2. Frinta 1998, 484.



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Martino di Bartolomeo, *The Blessing Redeemer*

Artist	Martino di Bartolomeo, Siena, active 1389–1434
Title	<i>The Blessing Redeemer</i>
Date	ca. 1410
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 38.7 × 38.5 cm (15 1/4 × 15 1/8 in.); picture surface: 33.5 × 32.5 cm (13 1/4 × 12 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1942.322

Inscription

on book, EGO SUM LU / X MUNDI / ET VIA VE / RITAS ET /
VITA QU / I SEGUI / TUR ME / NON AB / ITANT I[N] /
TENEB[RIS]

Provenance

Achillito Chiesa (1881–1951), Milan, 1924; art market,
Florence; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York,
ca. 1928

Condition

The panel, of a vertical grain and 3.3 centimeters thick, was cut across the lower corners and along the bottom edge to create its present pentagonal shape. Modern dowel pegs were inserted into the new bottom and lower-right edges; the lower-left edge is completely covered by a putty fill. The frame moldings engaged along the upper-left and -right edges are old and probably original but have been stripped of any surface decoration or tone. Remnants of discolored bolus along the innermost molding of the frame suggest that it may once have been silvered, as was the semicircular raised molding beneath the figure of Christ. A 2- to 2.5-centimeter strip of exposed wood along the lower-left and -right edges accommodated a modern continuation of the frame moldings, now

missing. The gilding and paint surface have been lightly and evenly abraded but are largely preserved intact. A loss in the gold ground just above Christ's right shoulder has been releafed, as have minor repairs to the gold along the edge of the frame moldings. Five long scratches through Christ's face have not resulted in significant paint loss. A dull synthetic varnish blunts the color range of the palette and masks the possibility that the gold ground has been reinforced by the addition of a thin layer of modern leaf over the original gilding.

Discussion

This small image, unanimously attributed to Martino di Bartolomeo, was probably excised from the pinnacle of a hitherto unidentified gabled altarpiece comparable to the artist's triptych in the National Gallery, Washington, D.C. (fig. 1). As in that work, the half-length figure of Christ, who holds a book open to the words from the Gospel of Saint John (John 8:12 and John 14:6), probably surmounted a central compartment with the Virgin and Child. At an unknown date, the *Redeemer* was cut from the main panel and along the original corners, resulting in the present pentagonal shape. The remains of a curved molding and punching below the bust of Christ, along with possible traces of pastiglia decoration in the corners at the base of the panel, indicate where the figure,

following the example in Washington, was separated from the Virgin and Child below it.



Fig. 1. Martino di Bartolomeo, *Virgin and Child with the Blessing Christ, Saints Peter, James Major, and Anthony Abbot, and a Deacon Saint*, ca. 1415/20. Tempera and gold on panel. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gift of Samuel L. Fuller, 1950.11.1a-c

The Yale fragment was first published by F. Mason Perkins in his fundamental 1924 study dedicated to the artist. In that work, the author described “a small tablet with a half-length figure of Christ—in the best manner of the artist—in the collection of Sig. Chiesa in Milan.”¹ By 1928, the panel was on the art market in Florence, where it was acquired by Maitland Griggs.² The attribution to Martino di Bartolomeo, reiterated by Bernard Berenson and Millard Meiss,³ has remained uncontested in all subsequent, if scant, references to the work.

Remarkable for its virtually intact state of preservation, the Yale *Blessing Redeemer* is typical of the artist’s mature production following his return to Siena in 1405, when the hard, coarser approach of his Pisan works was gradually replaced by a softer, more graceful idiom influenced by the work of Taddeo di Bartolo and other Sieneese contemporaries. While Charles Seymour, Jr., dated the painting around 1410, Carol Montfort Molten placed it, less specifically, into a broad category of images executed “after 1410” but convincingly highlighted its similarities to the head of the young Christ in Martino’s fresco of the Holy Trinity in the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala, Siena (Sala Marcacci) (fig. 2).⁴

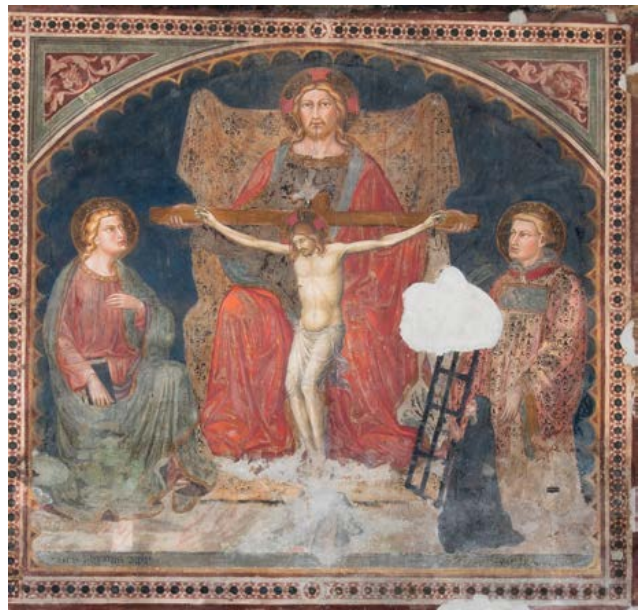


Fig. 2. Martino di Bartolomeo, *Holy Trinity with Saints Philip and Lawrence*, ca. 1410. Fresco. Santa Maria della Scala, Siena

A precise *terminus post quem* for the Yale *Redeemer* can be established by a comparison with Martino’s four saints in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena (fig. 3), generally regarded as fragments of a polyptych that had at its center a *Virgin and Child*, signed and dated 1408, formerly in the Bonichi collection, Asciano (later Fossati Bellani collection, Milan).⁵ As noted by scholars, this work provides the first preview of the new, essentially Sieneese figurative vocabulary that would characterize Martino’s production into the next decade. The elegant, serene features of the Pinacoteca *Saint James* are closely related to those of the Yale panel, which shares the same rounded forms and delicate modeling of the features and individual strands of hair and beard.



Fig. 3. Martino di Bartolomeo, *Saints James and Catherine of Alexandria*, 1408. Tempera and gold on panel, 113.5 × 78 cm (44 5/8 × 30 3/4 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 120

The looser handling of the contours in the present work, however, suggests a still-further stage in the evolution of the artist's style, toward a livelier approach that is also discernible in the *Trinity* fresco in Santa Maria della Scala, appropriately singled out for comparison by Molten. Although there are no records for that commission, circumstantial evidence suggests that the execution of the fresco possibly coincided with Martino's earliest documented activity for the hospital, in both an administrative and a professional capacity, at the beginning of the second decade.⁶ Most recently, Gabriele Fattorini proposed a date for the *Trinity* "toward the second decade of the Quattrocento."⁷ A date for the Yale *Redeemer* in the same moment of the artist's career, around 1410, seems therefore quite plausible. Both works clearly precede the execution of the Washington triptych, which marks a subsequent phase in the artist's development, less influenced by the models of Taddeo di Bartolo.⁸ —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Perkins 1924a, 12; Berenson 1932a, 676; Berenson 1968, 1:246; Seymour 1970, 82–83, no. 56; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 122, 600; Montfort Molten 1992, 102–3, 189, no. 35

NOTES

1. Perkins 1924a, 12.
2. According to the provenance recorded on the back of a photograph in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York, inv. no. 17507, which cites the source as: "Information obtained from Mr. Griggs, May 12, 1932." Carol Montfort Molten interpreted Raimond van Marle's 1925 description of a "half-length figure of the Lord" in the Griggs collection as a reference to the present panel. See van Marle 1925, 478; and Montfort Molten 1992, 102–3, 189, no. 35. It is more than likely, however, that the painting cited by van Marle was the half-length *Blessing Redeemer* by Taddeo di Bartolo also in the collection of the Yale University Art Gallery, which was already in the Griggs collection by 1924.
3. Berenson 1932a, 676; and Millard Meiss, verbal opinion, 1933, recorded in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York.
4. Seymour 1970, 82–83, no. 56; and Montfort Molten 1992, 102–3, 189, no. 35.
5. A prerestoration image of the *Virgin and Child* was first published in Perkins 1924a, 9. The panel was related to the Pinacoteca saints by Luciano Berti; see Berti 1952, 257. For a postrestoration photograph, see Tartuferi 1998, 57, fig. 43.
6. Ettore Romagnoli cites Martino's appointments, in 1410 and 1412, to the office of *camarlingo* (treasurer) for the Confraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary under the vaults of the hospital and notes that the artist was commissioned to paint a *Last Judgment*, now lost, for that organization, to fulfill a 1372 bequest; see Romagnoli 1976, 46. In 1413 Martino was paid for unspecified work on the clockface of the hospital. See Milanese 1854–56, 2:32; and Gallavotti Cavallero 1985, 144, 258n34, 420, doc. 115. It should be pointed out that this document has sometimes been reported as dating to 1419. Molten cites the payment record under both dates, noting that "the date of this document is difficult to decipher, and may be from the year 1413, or the year 1419"; see Montfort Molten 1992, 292, 296. The present author has not had the opportunity to examine the archival source.
7. Fattorini 2016, 46 ("verso il secondo decennio del Quattrocento").
8. The Washington triptych has been convincingly dated around 1415/20 by Miklós Boskovits; see Boskovits 2016, 254–61, no. 28.



Andrea di Bartolo, *Virgin and Child with Fourteen Saints; The Annunciation*

Artist	Andrea di Bartolo, Siena, active by 1389–died 1428
Title	<i>Virgin and Child with Fourteen Saints; The Annunciation</i>
Date	ca. 1420–24
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 88.4 × 67.6 cm (34 3/4 × 26 5/8 in.); picture surface: 82.5 × 65.0 cm (32 1/2 × 25 5/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.248

Provenance

Carlo Angeli, Lucignano, Val di Chiana, by 1921; Luigi Grassi (died 1937), Florence; from whom purchased by Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1926

Condition

The panel, of a vertical wood grain, has been thinned to a depth of 2 centimeters. The reverse was scored with a series of parallel, 5-centimeter-wide channels running the full height of the panel, spaced 7 centimeters apart across the full width of the panel and cut to just over half of the panel's depth. These were filled with slats of new wood to block the natural warpage of the support, which was then waxed and cradled. The cradle has provoked five prominent vertical splits, the most conspicuous of which run through the Virgin's left eye and the bridge of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary's nose. These splits have not resulted in any appreciable loss of gilding or paint, but the larger central split has dislodged a 12-centimeter-long section of molding from the top of the engaged framing arch, now lost. The engaged molding once framing the panel on all four sides was removed at an unknown date, but a prominent barb surrounding most of the paint and

gilded surfaces indicates that the composition has not been truncated.

The flesh tones of all the figures have been significantly abraded: in most instances, little more than the terra verde underpaint is still visible. Most of the draperies are much better preserved, with the notable exception of the Virgin's blue mantle, which has been heavily disfigured by solvent damage. The Baptist's hair shirt, Saint Francis's brown habit, and the rose-colored cloths draped over the Christ Child, Saint John the Evangelist, and Saint Catherine of Alexandria are more worn than the other colors, having been painted more thinly from the outset. The Annunciation roundels in the spandrels of the frame are less worn than is the rest of the paint surface and retain vestiges of oil glazes, although it has not been determined if these are original or remnants of early restorations. The gold ground is lightly abraded throughout but not marred by any consequential losses.

Discussion

Considerably larger than any other figure in this painting, the Virgin is seated (though not on any visible throne or stool) in the center of the composition supporting the Christ Child, who stands on her left knee. Fourteen saints

are arranged in three rows on either side of the Virgin and Child: in the front row (left to right) are Saint John the Baptist, Saint Mary Magdalen, Saint Paul, an unknown bishop saint (possibly Sabinus),¹ Saint John the Evangelist, and Saint Ambrose; in the second row are Saint James Major, Saint Francis, an Augustinian hermit(?),² and Saint Anthony Abbot; in the back row are Saints Helen, Catherine of Alexandria, Elizabeth of Hungary,³ and Agatha. The foreground is completed by a marbled dais with a complex, mixtilinear profile to its front edge and riser. In the spandrels outside the wood and *pastiglia* arch that frames the composition are two roundels containing images of the half-length Annunciatory Angel, holding an olive branch, and the Virgin Annunciate, holding an open book in her left hand and touching her right hand to her breast in a gesture of submission to the will of God.

First brought to the attention of scholars by Giacomo de Nicola in 1921, when he listed it in the Angeli collection “in Florence [sic],”⁴ the present painting has always been known under its correct attribution to Andrea di Bartolo, except for its inexplicable inclusion by Raimond van Marle, in his discussion of the followers of Simone Martini, as a possible work by Giovanni di Nicola da Pisa.⁵ It has otherwise been substantially ignored in the subsequent literature on Sieneese late trecento painting in general and on Andrea di Bartolo in particular, notwithstanding its unusually imposing size and its notable quality, still evident despite the harsh and disfiguring cleaning to which it was subjected in 1964.⁶ With the loss of its outermost frame moldings, it is uncertain whether the panel was intended to function as a self-contained devotional image or whether it might have been the center of a folding triptych or of a horizontal retable-style altarpiece. The center panel of a triptych by the Master of Panzano formerly on the art market in London is closely related to the present work in format and design and could indicate a possible reconstruction of its original appearance.⁷ Hinges for such a triptych, however, would have been driven through the outer frame moldings so that evidence of their possible existence has been lost. Also, no smaller narrative panels or standing figures of saints (as in the wings of the Master of Panzano triptych) have come to light that could plausibly be associated on stylistic grounds with the Yale panel. Miklós Boskovits has posited the reconstruction of a well-known series of four narrative panels by Andrea di Bartolo showing scenes from the life of the Virgin⁸ as parts of an altarpiece retable on the model of the San Geminianus altarpiece by Taddeo di Bartolo in the Museo Comunale at San

Gimignano or a similar altarpiece by Andrea di Bartolo formerly in the Adolphe Stoclet collection.⁹ The missing central panel of this hypothetical reconstruction could well have been of the same size and shape as the Yale panel, but the vertical wood grain of the Washington panels and the profile of the frame moldings inscribed on their gold grounds imply that these may have had a Venetian rather than Tuscan provenance, whereas the *pastiglia* moldings on the Yale panel are typical of Tuscan practice, and its first appearance in the possession of the dealer Carlo Angeli suggests that it was made for a patron somewhere in the Sieneese territories.

A clue to the identity of that patron may be provided by the identities of the fourteen saints who accompany the Virgin and Child, not all of whom are regularly encountered in standard Sieneese iconography. Saint Ambrose, for example, appears prominently in the right foreground of the painting. Ambrose most commonly appears in Tuscan painting in his role as one of the four Fathers of the Church, but the absence here of Saints Jerome and Gregory, and possibly of Saint Augustine, probably indicates that he is included in this instance as an invocation of personal devotion or a name-saint, commemorating a family member named Ambrogio. The presence of Mary Magdalen, in the front row of saints on the left, and the fact that the back row of saints is entirely female may imply that the original patron of the Yale painting—or its recipient as a gift—was a woman, possibly named Maria or Maddalena. The presence of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, in the back row immediately to the right of the Virgin, and of Saint Francis, in the second row at the left, further suggests that she was a lay member of the Third Order of Saint Francis, of which Elizabeth of Hungary and Louis of Toulouse were the patrons. The fact that Louis of Toulouse does not appear among the saints here supports the contention that the original owner of the painting was a woman rather than a man.

A date for the Yale painting is difficult to establish as no scholarly agreement exists over the probable development of Andrea di Bartolo's style as a painter. Only one securely dated work by him survives: the four laterals from an altarpiece of 1413, now installed at the basilica of the Osservanza in Siena but painted originally for the church of San Petronilla there. Comparison to Andrea's probable contributions to the altarpieces commissioned from his father, Bartolo di Fredi, in the late 1380s, or to an altarpiece of the Annunciation in Buonconvento putatively dated 1397 in a now-lost inscription, argue that the Yale painting cannot have been

a product from this earlier stage of Andrea's career. Miklós Boskovits proposed a date of ca. 1405–10 for the scenes from the life of the Virgin in Washington, which relate generically in style to the Yale panel.¹⁰ It is probable that these were painted later than that, and if the proposal to recognize them as part of a Venetian commission is correct, they may even have been among Andrea di Bartolo's last works, painted after 1424. The present author at one time attributed the Washington panels to Andrea di Bartolo's son, Giorgio di Andrea.¹¹ While the attribution to Giorgio di Andrea cannot be sustained, it arose initially from a recognition of similarities among a small group of works centered around the altarpieces from Tuscania and Sant'Angelo in Vado that are more likely to have been painted after the 1413 Osservanza altarpiece than before it. Equally close to the Yale painting is a panel now in the Salini Collection at the Castello di Gallico, Asciano, representing the Virgin of Humility with music-making angels, clearly made in Venice for a Venetian patron. Gaudenz Freuler has argued with some plausibility that Andrea di Bartolo was most likely to have been in Venice at the very end of his career, between 1424 and 1428.¹² If this is so, a date for the Yale painting shortly before Andrea's departure from Siena in the early 1420s would seem most persuasive. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

de Nicola 1921, fasc. I, p. 14; van Marle 1925, 234, fig. 155; *Exhibition of Italian Primitive Paintings* 1930, no. 2; Berenson 1932a, 9; Berenson 1936, 8; Berenson 1968, 1:7; Seymour 1970, 67, 69, no. 46; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Frinta 1998, 95, 260, 293, 432, 473, 479, 507, 522

NOTES

1. This figure was identified by Charles Seymour, Jr., as Augustine, but he does not wear an Augustinian habit; see Seymour 1970, 69. Saint Sabinus, one of the four patron saints of Siena, was a

bishop, but he is not generally portrayed with any other distinguishing attributes.

2. The habit worn by this figure is clearly Augustinian, but it is unclear what his headdress is intended to indicate. The figure was identified by Seymour as Paul the Hermit, but as he holds a book, this seems unlikely; see Seymour 1970, 69.
3. This figure was misidentified by Seymour as Catherine of Siena, who had not yet been canonized by the date of this painting; see Seymour 1970, 69. The figure wears a Clarissan habit, not a Dominican one, and holds a bunch of flowers in its folds. She was correctly identified by Carl Brandon Strehlke in his manuscript notes on Italian paintings at Yale as Elizabeth of Hungary.
4. de Nicola 1921, fasc. I, p. 14.
5. van Marle 1925, 234, fig. 155.
6. The painting is reproduced in Seymour 1970, 69, in its precleaning state, which appears in the photograph to have been quite good.
7. *Gold Backs* 1996, 81–84, no. 10.
8. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., inv. nos. 1939.1.41–43, <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.182.html>, <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.183.html>, and <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.184.html>; and Keresztény Múzeum, Esztergom, Hungary, inv. no. 55.148.
9. Boskovits 2016, 14–25.
10. Boskovits 2016, 18–19.
11. Kanter 1986, 21–22, 24, 28.
12. Gaudenz Freuler, in Bellosi 2009, 250–55.

Other Tuscan Schools



Giuntesque Painter, *Saint Mary Magdalen*

Artist	Giuntesque Painter, Pisa, active second third 13th century
Title	<i>Saint Mary Magdalen</i>
Date	ca. 1250–60
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	33.7 × 27.4 cm (13 1/4 × 10 3/4 in.)
Credit Line	Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896, Fund
Inv. No.	1970.80

Inscription

upper right, punched in gold ground, MAG

Provenance

Paul Chalfin (1874–1959), New York; French and Company, New York, by 1955; Professor George W. Weber, Jr. (died 1990), New Jersey, 1955

Condition

The panel, of a horizontal grain exhibiting a pronounced convex warp, has been cut on all sides and thinned to a depth of 8.5 millimeters. Two large splits run on a slight diagonal the full width of the panel, one through the Magdalen's throat and one below her hands. A smaller split runs from the right edge of the panel into the Magdalen's ointment jar. The reverse of the panel had been painted ocher and coated with glue(?), probably in the nineteenth century. Two vertical battens formerly glued to this surface were removed in an undocumented modern restoration and the splits reinforced from behind by the insertion of balsa wedges.

The paint and gilded surfaces are very little abraded but are both interrupted by large flaking losses or scraping, the gilding more so than the paint. The saint's halo and the gold ground, including the inscription engraved and

filled with small ring punches, are better preserved on the right half of the panel. The left half has been scraped down to the gesso and in large areas to the canvas underlayer. The paint, by contrast, including the mordant gilt chrysogony, is largely intact except along the three splits, around the profile of the ointment jar and the saint's left hand, and across the lower 3 centimeters of the panel. The upper-left and -right corners have been scraped down to the wood to create the impression of an arched-top picture field. There is nothing to indicate whether this was original or is a modern intervention.

Discussion



Fig. 1. *Saint Mary Magdalen*, ca. 1270

This small panel, considerably thinned and cut on all sides, is probably a fragment from a gabled low dossal with three-quarter-length figures of the Virgin or Christ flanked by saints, on the model of surviving duecento examples in Pisa and Siena. The direction of the Magdalen's gaze and relatively small size of the panel suggest that it most likely stood to the right of the central image and toward the end of the original structure. Despite damage to the painted surface along the horizontal cracks and bottom edge of the panel, and notwithstanding the losses in the gold ground resulting from past restorations—visible in a comparison with old photographs (fig. 1)—one can still appreciate the painting's high quality of execution and refined decorative effects. Lending a precious, otherworldly quality to the image is the brilliant scarlet cloak highlighted with delicate gold striations that envelops the saint, covering her light blue tunic and *maphorion*. She holds a thin gold cross in her right hand; in her left is the Magdalen's traditional attribute, an ointment jar, rendered with an elaborately punched design tooled in the gold leaf. The oversize halo is similarly decorated with an alternating pattern of large flowers and leaves defined by rows of small punched dots. The same technique of overlapping dots is used to spell the first three letters of the saint's name, MAG, against the gold ground above her left shoulder.

The attributional history of the Yale *Magdalen*, here discussed for the first time, is confined exclusively to expert opinions recorded in the museum files. A 1969 letter from Rutgers University professor George Weber, who owned the painting before it entered Yale's

collection, states that it formerly belonged to Paul Chalfin, a New York painter and interior designer known primarily for his work on the pseudo-Renaissance villa of Vizcaya in Florida (1912–16).¹ Weber records that he purchased the panel in 1955, when he was a student of Richard Offner's, who, upon examining the work, was reportedly "very enthusiastic about it . . . and suggested that it was Pisan, ca. 1265–1275." Catalogued as Sieneese or Pisan, around 1290, when it entered the Yale collection, the panel was subsequently assigned more generically to the "Tuscan School, late 1200s" by Carl Strehlke in an unpublished checklist of the Italian paintings at Yale. In 2004, in correspondence to the Gallery, Margherita Romagnoli reiterated the Pisan attribution and proposed a date between 1260 and 1270.² Romagnoli also cited Miklós Boskovits's opinion of the painting as a Sieneese product closely related to the *Madonna dei Mantellini* from the church of San Niccolò al Carmine in Siena (fig. 2). The latter is traditionally inserted in the production of the so-called Master of Saints Cosmas and Damian, a name first assigned by Edward Garrison to a group of Giuntesque painters of Madonnas, primarily active in Pisa from about 1265 to 1285.³ Most recently, Laurence Kanter labeled the Yale *Magdalen* as a work of the Master of Saints Cosmas and Damian, datable to around 1270, although leaving open to question the Pisan or Sieneese origin of the master.

Any examination of the Yale *Magdalen* must begin with a consideration of its unique qualities vis-à-vis the serial nature of those images traditionally gathered under the name of Master of Saints Cosmas and Damian. As pointed out by Walter Angelelli in a fundamental study on the transmissions of models in the workshop of this artist, technical and stylistic evidence suggest the use of multiple templates (*patroni*) that ensured the painter's strict adherence to the same prototype, resulting in works that are virtually interchangeable not only in compositional structure but also in individual details, such as the folds of skin and cloth.⁴ The approach is particularly evident in the exact correspondences between the Virgin from the church of Saints Cosmas and Damian in Pisa—the painter's eponymous work (fig. 3)—and the *Madonna dei Mantellini* from the church of the Carmine (see fig. 2) or the *Virgin and Child* in the Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts.⁵ The same technique is also discernible in the two panels located in the Museo Civico Amedeo Lia, La Spezia,⁶ and the Acton Collection, Florence, both of which are based on a different version of the same model. In contrast to the mechanical rendering and hard-edged graphic quality of this group of images, the Yale *Magdalen* is distinguished by a more

naturalistic approach and subtle rendering of physiognomic features, whereby the structure of the face reads as an organic whole rather than as a collection of separate, abstract elements: the outlines of the face do not form a perfectly shaped oval but curve out gently around the cheeks and back in toward the pointed chin; the pink and white highlights that accent the individual features and mark the folds of skin are less linear and do not end as abruptly but are applied in quick, confident brushstrokes that blend into the surrounding area; the whites around the pupils are indicated by a few irregular strokes of paint rather than by a precise pattern of semicircular filaments; and the deep shadows around the eyes and in the cleft below the nose and between the mouth and chin read less as geometric patterns than as calibrated passages from one feature to the next. These qualities denote a distinct and more accomplished personality, one that appears to be less influenced by Florentine Coppesque examples than was the Master of Saints Cosmas and Damian and more directly dependent on the byzantinizing vocabulary of Giunta Pisano.



Fig. 2. Master of Saints Cosmas and Damian, *Virgin and Child (Madonna dei Mantellini)*, third quarter 13th century. Tempera and gold on panel, 80 × 49 cm (31 1/2 × 19 3/8 in.). Location unknown



Fig. 3. Master of Saints Cosmas and Damian, *Virgin and Child*, third quarter 13th century. Tempera and gold on panel, 75 × 49 cm (29 1/2 × 19 1/4 in.). Santi Cosma e Damiano, Pisa

Certain archaisms in the Yale *Magdalen*, like the shape of the cheekbones highlighted by the triangle-shaped flush, point to a generation of painters preceding the Master of Saints Cosmas and Damian and perhaps contemporary to Giunta. Yet, within the sparse panorama of Giuntesque painting around the middle of the thirteenth century, it is difficult to find an exact equivalent for the level of sophistication of the present work. The extent of Giunta's own production beyond the three signed crosses in Assisi, Bologna, and Pisa, moreover, remains a subject of debate among scholars, rendering comparisons with other paintings variously assigned to his hand tentative at best. In some crucial aspects, such as in the shape and modeling of the facial features and application of white highlights or in the attention to decorative details incised in the gold ground, the Yale *Magdalen* parallels, to some degree, the *Saint Francis* dossal in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa—a work attributed in the past to a close follower of Giunta but now generally given to the artist

himself. Although Boskovits and Angelo Tartuferi placed the execution of the Pisa *Saint Francis* as early as before 1235, a dating in the 1250s proposed by other scholars seems more persuasive.⁷ —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCE

YUAG Bulletin 1971, 39

NOTES

1. On Chalfin's relations with some of the most prominent Italian art dealers and collectors, see Gennari Santori 2017, 205–26.
2. Margherita Romagnoli, April 27, 2004, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
3. Garrison 1949, 29, 60–61, 65, 77. Luciano Bellosi's identification of this artist with Gilio di Pietro, the author of a 1258 *biccherna* in the Archivio di Stato, Siena, is not convincing and has not been unanimously embraced by scholars; see Bellosi 1998, 36.
4. Angelelli 2002, 688–98.
5. Inv. no. 1926.41, <https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/231795?position=11>.
6. Inv. no. 105.
7. See Lorenzo Carletti, in Burrelli and Caleca 2005, 122–23, no. 13 (with previous bibliography).



Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani, *Saint Lucy Enthroned with Six Angels*

Artist	Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani, Pistoia, documented 1366–98
Title	<i>Saint Lucy Enthroned with Six Angels</i>
Date	ca. 1385–90
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall 83.3 × 77.2 cm (32 3/4 × 30 3/8 in.); picture surface: 81.5 × 75.8 cm (32 1/8 × 29 7/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.215

Provenance

Alfonso Tacoli-Canacci (1724–1801), Florence, 1789–92; from whom probably purchased by Ferdinando di Borbone (1751–1802), duke of Parma and Piacenza, 1792; Cesare Canessa (1863–1922) and Ercole Canessa (1868–1929) Collection, New York and Paris; sale, American Art Galleries, New York, January 25–26, 1924, lot 162; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1924

Condition

The panel support, of a horizontal grain, has been thinned to 11 millimeters, cradled, and waxed. It is comprised of three planks with seams on a slight diagonal: 20 centimeters from the top at the right and 20.6 centimeters from the top at the left; 25.5 centimeters from the bottom at the right and 27 centimeters from the bottom at the left. Movement along the lower seam has provoked modest paint loss and retouching along its full length, but the upper seam has barely disturbed the paint surface. Pressure from the cradle has caused several partial splits across the length of the top plank, mostly within 5 centimeters of its lower edge, and minor paint loss. Both the center and bottom planks have partial splits at their

right edges, but these have resulted in no appreciable paint loss. Evidence of a barb is present along all four edges of the composition. The gilding and paint surface are in excellent state, outside of minor, if clumsy, retouching to the faces of the upper two angels on the right side and some reinforcement of the green draperies of the angel kneeling below them. Minor flaking of the pink draperies and wings of the upper pair of angels where they overlap the gold ground have not been retouched. The silver leaf used in the sgraffito decoration of the cloth of honor appears to have been laid atop the gold ground, which is exposed in one area of abrasion to the right of Saint Lucy and again alongside her halo at the top where the squares of silver leaf were not cut to the full width and height of the field they were meant to cover.

Discussion

The panel, in near-perfect condition, shows Saint Lucy in glory surrounded by singing and music-making angels. The young saint, martyred in Syracuse, Sicily, in the year 303 or 304 C.E., is identified by the dagger with which she was executed, in her right hand, and a burning lamp—the flame now no longer visible—in her left. The attribute of

the lamp, more common in early representations of the saint, was an allusion to the etymology of her name, Lucia, derived from the Latin word for light (*lux*) and interpreted in terms of her spiritual guidance as the “way of light” and “light of truth.”¹ Dressed in a royal-red cape trimmed in gold over a blue tunic, the saint is seated on a throne covered by an elaborately embroidered cloth of honor held up by two angels in the background. Two more angels, kneeling at her side in the middle ground, sing her praise to the accompaniment of another pair of angels, in the foreground—one playing a harp, the other a vielle. The image was originally the central element of a large dossal, dismembered probably in the eighteenth century, that also included six episodes from the life of Saint Lucy (fig. 1), arranged in two columns of three each, one to the left and one to the right of the present panel. Four of the scenes, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, depict, in narrative sequence, *Saint Lucy and Her Mother at the Shrine of Saint Agatha* (fig. 2); *Saint Lucy Giving Alms* (fig. 3); *Saint Lucy before the Prefect Paschasius* (fig. 4); and *Saint Lucy Resisting Efforts to Move Her* (fig. 5). A fifth panel, formerly in the Alana Collection, Newark, Delaware, shows the *Last Communion and Martyrdom of Saint Lucy* (fig. 6).² Completing the series was an image of the *Funeral of Saint Lucy*, last recorded in the early nineteenth century in the Paris collection of Timothée Francillon (1766–1829) and known only through an engraving.



Fig. 1. Reconstruction of the original dossal, with *Saint Lucy Enthroned with Six Angels* at center



Fig. 2. Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani, *Saint Lucy and Her Mother at the Shrine of Saint Agatha*, ca. 1385–90. Tempera and gold on panel, 24.8 × 38.4 cm (9 3/4 × 15 1/8 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1912, inv. no. 12.41.4



Fig. 3. Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani, *Saint Lucy Giving Alms*, ca. 1385–90. Tempera and gold on panel, 24.8 × 38.4 cm (9 3/4 × 15 1/8 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1912, inv. no. 12.41.3



Fig. 4. Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani, *Saint Lucy before the Prefect Paschasius*, ca. 1385–90. Tempera and gold on panel, 24.1 × 38.7 cm (9 1/2 × 15 1/4 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1912, inv. no. 12.41.1



Fig. 5. Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani, *Saint Lucy Resisting Efforts to Move Her*, ca. 1385–90. Tempera and gold on panel, 25.4 × 38.1 cm (10 × 15 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1912, inv. no. 12.41.2



Fig. 6. Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani, *The Last Communion and Martyrdom of Saint Lucy*, ca. 1385–90. Tempera and gold on panel, 25.5 × 38 cm (10 × 15 in.). Location unknown

The earliest mention of the Yale *Saint Lucy*, as recently discovered by Vincenzo Buonocore, is in the 1789, 1790/91, and 1792 inventories of the eighteenth-century collector and dealer Marchese Alfonso Tacoli-Canacci, where it is described in precise detail as “a painting on gold leaf showing Saint Lucy seated on a throne with a dagger in the right hand and a vase with a flame in the left, and six angels on the sides; two of whom in the act of

playing the harp and the violin . . . by Simone Memmi [Martini] celebrated by Petrarch.”³ Intended as sale catalogues, the three inventories were compiled by Tacoli-Canacci shortly after his transfer from Parma to Florence in 1785, at the height of the Leopoldine suppressions of monasteries and other religious institutions, a period that he described as most “felicitous” for his acquisition of works of art. The 1792 inventory, now preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Parma, comprises all of the paintings then being offered for sale to Don Ferdinando di Borbone, duke of Parma and Piacenza, possibly indicating that the Yale panel, which is not mentioned in subsequent catalogues of the marchese’s collection, was acquired by the duke along with his numerous other purchases from the same list.⁴

There is no further record of the Yale *Saint Lucy* until its appearance on the art market in 1924, when it was included in the American Art Galleries, New York, sale of the collection of Cesare and Ercole Canessa—Neapolitan art dealers with branches in both Paris and New York—and was purchased by Maitland Griggs.⁵ By this date, the painting was listed with an attribution to Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani, subsequently reiterated by Richard Offner in a lecture at the Griggs residence in 1925.⁶ On this occasion, Offner added the Yale painting to the first nucleus of works gathered around the artist’s signed and dated 1370 dossal with Saint John the Evangelist in the church of San Giovanni Fuorcivitas, Pistoia. The small grouping included the four episodes from the life of Saint Lucy in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, then regarded as elements of a predella; a pinnacle fragment with Christ in Glory formerly in the Ehrich Galleries, New York (current location unknown); and an altarpiece in the Acton Collection at Villa La Pietra, Florence. Although Raimond van Marle, in correspondence with Griggs,⁷ offered a different opinion and assigned the Yale *Saint Lucy* to a so-called *Compagno dell’Orcagna*—now identified as Nardo di Cione—subsequent scholarship, beginning with Bernard Berenson, embraced Offner’s attribution to Cristiani.⁸ In 1961, writing to Hellmut Wohl, then in the Department of the History of Art at Yale, Federico Zeri first identified the Yale panel as part of the same complex as the stories of Saint Lucy in the Metropolitan Museum, suggesting a structure similar to the Saint John the Evangelist dossal in Pistoia.⁹ Zeri later added the ex-Alana panel, then in the Heinz Kisters collection, in Kreuzlingen, Switzerland, to his reconstruction,¹⁰ which was reiterated by Charles Seymour, Jr.¹¹ The original appearance of the dossal was finally confirmed by Michel Laclotte, who recognized the missing sixth panel in the series, the *Funeral of Saint Lucy*, among the engravings in

Francillon’s 1823 French translation of Luigi Lanzi’s *Storia pittorica dell’Italia*, illustrated primarily by works from Francillon’s own collection.¹²

Most modern scholarship has placed the execution of the Saint Lucy dossal in the 1370s, following Cristiani’s Saint John the Evangelist altarpiece but preceding the artist’s frescoes with Dominican allegories in the church of San Domenico, Pistoia, generally placed in the following decade. The evaluation of Cristiani’s activity has been significantly altered, however, by Giacomo Guazzini’s discussion of several of the painter’s most important works, including the present one, within the context of the patronage of the Dominican preacher and theologian Andrea Franchi (1335–1401), bishop of Pistoia between 1381/83 and 1400.¹³ Following an early intuition of Viktor Schmidt,¹⁴ Guazzini traced the original provenance of the Saint Lucy dossal to the Dominican female convent of Saint Lucy in Pistoia and suggested that the commission had been awarded to Cristiani by Franchi in the early 1380s, around the same time that the prelate was involved in various restoration projects for the monks of San Domenico. The convent of Saint Lucy, built in 1335 and destroyed in 1539, was a close dependency of San Domenico, which enjoyed the special patronage of Franchi, who was prior of the monastery in the 1370s and was buried in its church. Among the first commissions of Franchi, whose coat of arms appears on the facade of San Domenico, was a rebuilding campaign that also involved the decoration of the church’s interior with Cristiani’s cycle of Dominican allegories, originally located on the left side of the nave (detached in 1946, now in the refectory of San Domenico). As Guazzini concluded, it is not unlikely that the bishop would have extended his munificence to the small sister community of Saint Lucy, which also came under his protection and which he reportedly endowed with various testamentary bequests.



Fig. 7. Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani, *Saint Paul and Saint Elizabeth of Hungary*, ca. 1385–90. Tempera and gold on panel, each 102 × 41 cm (40 1/4 × 16 1/8 in.). Location unknown

Beyond the entirely plausible circumstantial evidence for a dating after 1380, stylistic elements also suggest a much later chronology for the *Saint Lucy* dossal than previously supposed. A comparison of the small scenes that originally flanked the *Yale Saint Lucy* with those in the *Saint John the Evangelist* dossal reveals a significant evolution in the artist's idiom away from the Orcagnesque models of the 1370s, toward a more lively, looser narrative vocabulary that seems much more attuned to the developments of Late Gothic painting in Florence in

the generation following the Cione. As noted by Berenson in reference to the *Yale Saint Lucy*, “here Cristiani brings more to mind Agnolo than the Orcagna.”¹⁵ The elongated proportions and pinched features of the saint and her attendant angels, as well as the pastel tonalities, have much in common, in fact, with the vocabulary of provincial imitators of Agnolo Gaddi, such as the Lucchese painter Giuliano di Simone, whose work has sometimes been confused with Cristiani's (see Giuliano di Simone, *Two Deacon Saints*). This gradual evolution in the artist's approach, beginning with the *San Domenico* frescoes, also characterizes two other works by Cristiani, both of which were dated by Guazzini to the same decade based on circumstantial evidence: the polyptych currently divided between the Pushkin Museum, Moscow,¹⁶ the Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg,¹⁷ and the Museo Bandini, Fiesole,¹⁸ possibly commissioned by Bartolomeo Franchi (1340–1405), Andrea's younger brother, for the Olivetan monastery of San Benedetto, Pistoia, founded by him around 1380; and the altarpiece in the Acton Collection, Florence, whose provenance Guazzini has traced to the Augustinian monastery of Santa Maria della Neve in Pistoia, consecrated in 1380.¹⁹ While closely related to these images, however, the *Yale Saint Lucy* is marked by a drier execution and less nuanced handling of forms that point to a slightly later moment in the artist's activity. Its execution must be virtually contemporary to that of the two panels with *Saint Paul* and *Saint Elizabeth of Hungary* first recorded in the collection of John Temple Leader (1810–1903) in the Castello di Vincigliata, Fiesole, and subsequently in the Fassini collection, Rome (fig. 7). Surviving fragments of a hitherto unidentified polyptych, they were dated by Miklós Boskovits between 1385 and 1390, a time frame that is also applicable to the present work.²⁰ —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

American Art Galleries 1924, lot 162; Berenson 1930–31b, 1312, 1314; Comstock 1946, 48; Kaftal 1952, col. 644, no. 192i; Offner 1956b, 192; Berenson 1963, 1:51, pl. 328; Seymour 1970, 60–63, no. 42; Zeri and Gardner 1971, 39; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Boskovits 1975b, 317–18; Offner and Maginnis 1981, 65; Boskovits 1985; Freuler 1991, 200–201; Kenney 1992, 133; Skaug 1994, 1:152, 2: pl. 6.5; Frinta 1998, 50, 234, 513; Laclotte 1998, 418, fig. 150; Buonocore 2005, 100, 139–40, no. 23, fig. 66; Galli 2007, 20, 26–27n53, fig. 21; Schmidt 2009, 209, 303, pl. 66, fig. 8; Guazzini 2014, 212, 224nn12–14

NOTES

1. The attribute of the burning lamp was gradually replaced in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with that of a salver displaying the saint's eyes. This iconographic development, which led to her role as patron saint of eyesight, has been traced to a later legend, of unknown origin and distinct from the *Golden Legend*, that told of Lucy's self-blinding to repel the advances of a suitor and preserve her virginity; see Wisch 2015, 101–41.
2. The painting was sold at Christie's, New York, June 9, 2022, lot 34.
3. Buonocore 2005, 139–40. The same attribution to "Simone Memmi" is registered for both the ex-Alana Collection and ex-Francillon panels with stories from the life of Saint Lucy, leading some scholars to speculate whether Tacoli-Canacci might have owned the entire dossal and dismembered it for individual sale; see Galli 2007, 27n56.
4. Archivio di Stato di Parma, MS 101; see Buonocore 2005, 71–72, 91, 100.
5. For a history of the Canessa firm and its various branches, see D'Orazi 2018.
6. Lecture notes recorded in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York.
7. Correspondence dated February 1, 1926, Frick Art Reference Library, New York.
8. Berenson 1930–31b, 1312, 1314.
9. A copy of the letter, which is dated March 2, 1961, is in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York.
10. Zeri and Gardner 1971, 39.
11. Seymour 1970, 60–63, no. 42.
12. Laclotte 1998, 418, fig. 150.
13. Guazzini 2014, 212, 224nn12–14.
14. Schmidt 2009, 209, 303, pl. 66, fig. 8.
15. Berenson 1930–31b, 1312.
16. Inv. no. 176.
17. Inv. nos. 271, 274.
18. Inv. nos. 15, 17.
19. Guazzini 2014, 215–16, 220–21.
20. Boskovits 1975b, 319. The earliest reference to these works is in the nineteenth-century guide to the castle of Vincigliata, published by a close friend (and possibly relative) of John Temple Leader, Lucy Baxter, under the pseudonym Leader Scott; see Scott 1891, 113, nos. 6–7. At this date, the *Saint Elizabeth* was largely repainted to look like Saint Lucy (though described by Scott as a "Saint Christine"). The castle of Vincigliata and its entire contents were purchased by Baron Alberto Fassini in 1917. After the sale of the property in 1925, some of the objects collected by Leader went on to form the nucleus of Fassini's collection in his residence in Rome; see Baldry 1997, 160–61n195, 192n12. Among them were the *Saint Paul* and *Saint Elizabeth*, which underwent restoration sometime before the publication of the catalogue of the Fassini collection in 1930, where they were attributed by Adolfo Venturi to Niccolò di Tommaso; see Venturi 1930, 1: pls. 5–6. The panels were first recognized as works of Cristiani by Richard Offner in 1924 (recorded in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York) and by Berenson in Berenson 1930–31b, 1318n8. Records in the Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna, inv. no. 6957, note that they last appeared in a sale at Finarte, Milan (date not given).



Giuliano di Simone, *Two Deacon Saints*

Artist	Giuliano di Simone, Lucca, documented 1383–97
Title	<i>Two Deacon Saints</i>
Date	ca. 1389
Medium	Tempera and gold on canvas, transferred from panel
Dimensions	overall 126.0 × 66.9 cm (49 5/8 × 26 5/16 in.); original painted surface: 106.0 × 59.0 cm (41 3/4 × 23 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.216

Provenance

Mrs. Benjamin Thaw (née Elma Ellsworth Dows, 1861–1931), New York; sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 15, 1922, lot 18; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, by 1925

modestly abraded. A prominent canvas weave is visible throughout the picture surface from the pressure of the transfer.

Condition

The paintings, originally two separate panels, were truncated across the top and trimmed at the left and right before removal from their wood supports and transfer to a single canvas support. Strips of new gold and paint were added at the left (1 centimeter), top (4 centimeters), and right (3.5 centimeters) to fill out the ogival, double-arched picture field, as was new spandrel filler. The original gold is moderately abraded, but scattered areas of loss have been cosmetically repaired with added squares of new leaf, chiefly visible around the head of the saint at the left, which was partially cleaned in 1968–69. Old retouches in that head were removed but have been left in place in the rest of the painting. These are most extensive in the lower half of the draperies of both figures. The paint film has puckered in some areas from heat applied during the transfer process, but apart from this and liberal retouching over discreet areas of small loss, the paint surface generally is well preserved, having been only

Discussion

The two saints, identifiable as martyred deacons by their dress and palms, originally occupied the left wings of a large polyptych. Losses in the head of the saint at left that may indicate the former presence of a stone suggest that the figure could be Saint Stephen. If so, he is perhaps flanked by his traditional companion, Saint Lawrence, whose attribute, the grill of his martyrdom, may have been painted alongside the figure, near the right edge of the original panel, currently replaced by a two-inch strip of new gold. Alternatively, at least one of the two saints could be the deacon saint and martyr Saint Caesarius of Terracina, who was especially venerated in the Benedictine, and later Olivetan, monastery of San Ponziano in Lucca.¹ Beyond the small areas of localized damage and notwithstanding the transfer to canvas—carried out at an unknown date before the panel's first appearance on the art market—the image retains most of its original paint surface and elaborate punchwork. Still noteworthy are the delicate palette and lavish decoration of the saint's vestments, characterized by broad areas of elaborate tooling and intricately designed patterns in mordant gilding.

The earliest record of the Yale *Saints* dates to 1922, when they appeared in the Paris sale of the collection of Mrs. Benjamin Thaw with an attribution to the Sienese school. According to records in the Yale archives, they were bought by an unnamed private dealer who listed them as works of Allegretto Nuzi, and they entered the collection of Maitland Griggs sometime before 1925.² In a lecture at the Griggs residence on January 19, 1925, Richard Offner reportedly assigned them to “a master very close to Agnolo Gaddi's pupil, Giovanni dal Ponte.”³ That same year, Bernard Berenson and Raimond van Marle offered their own assessments, each in correspondence with Griggs.⁴ In a letter dated September 10, 1925, Mary Berenson informed Griggs that “the two Deacons are, in my husband's opinion, clearly Florentine, but again he has no name to suggest. They seem in first rate condition.” On December 12, 1925, anticipating an opinion that he would publish two years later, van Marle wrote, “As to the two saints about which you hesitate between the school of Agnolo Gaddi and Allegretto Nuzi—I think them to be by that follower of Lorenzo Monaco who passes under the name of the ‘Maestro del Bambino Vispo.’”⁵ While F. Mason Perkins still preferred the label “School of Agnolo Gaddi,”⁶ van Marle's attribution to the Master of the Bambino Vispo—now universally recognized as Starnina—was accepted by Berenson, who included the Yale panel under the artist's name in his list of Florentine

painters.⁷ This identification was rejected by Charles Seymour, Jr., however, in favor of a tentative attribution to Lorenzo di Niccolò, with a date around 1410.⁸ Significantly, Seymour misrepresented the state of the picture, erroneously claiming that its condition was “difficult to judge” and that it was “much repainted.”

In 1971, Alvar Gonzalez-Palacios, reiterating an unpublished opinion of Federico Zeri,⁹ included the Yale *Saints* in the first reconstruction of the personality of the then little-known Lucchese painter Giuliano di Simone, author of a signed *Virgin and Child*, dated 1389 in the church of San Michele at Castiglione Garfagnana (Lucca).¹⁰ According to Gonzalez-Palacios, the *Saints* were to be identified with the missing laterals of a *Virgin and Child* in the church of San Nicola in Pisa, first given to Giuliano di Simone by Zeri but otherwise assigned to Francesco Traini or his school. Barring an unpublished opinion of Everett Fahy, who proposed the name of Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani,¹¹ most subsequent scholarship embraced Gonzalez-Palacios's attribution, albeit dismissing the work's relationship to the Pisa Madonna, which was eventually expunged from Giuliano's oeuvre.¹² In the most comprehensive discussions of Giuliano di Simone to date, Linda Pisani and Ada Labriola placed the Yale *Saints* among other works considered representative of the final phase of the artist's activity, presumed not to have extended much beyond the last mention of his name in documents, in 1397.¹³

Stylistic correspondences with the Castiglione Garfagnana altarpiece—which remains Giuliano di Simone's only signed and dated work—suggest that there is no reason to question the attribution of the Yale *Saints* to the artist. At the same time, the not-entirely homogeneous quality of the remaining works currently gathered under his name has resulted in a less than coherent internal chronology and inconsistent picture of his development. Although the Yale *Saints* take their place among Giuliano's finest and most accomplished efforts, it is difficult to view them as a product of the same moment in the artist's career as the polyptych in the Museo Nazionale di Villa Guinigi, Lucca, generally associated with a 1395 payment to the artist, or alongside supposedly late works, such as the *Man of Sorrows* in a private collection and the *Crucifixion* in the Kunsthau, Zürich, as suggested by Labriola.¹⁴ The monumental proportions of the Lucca polyptych and the emotional content of the private collection and Zürich panels are inconsistent with the slender forms and detached elegance of the present figures. The attribution of the Yale *Saints* rests, rather, on their intimate

relationship to the Castiglione Garfagnana Madonna, whose original appearance is best discerned in photographs predating its radical modern restoration (fig. 1). Although this work was already described as being in a poor state of conservation in the nineteenth century, those parts that appear still intact in old reproductions, such as the head of the Christ Child, reflect proportions and morphological characteristics identical to the Yale *Saints*, along with the same linear emphasis in the execution. Despite the difference in scale, further correspondences may be found in the small *Virgin and Child with Saints and Reclining Eve* in the Galleria Nazionale in Parma (fig. 2), first associated with the Castiglione Garfagnana Madonna by Ugo Procacci, on an indication from Offner.¹⁵ Clearly visible in the Parma picture, datable in close proximity to the Castiglione Garfagnana altarpiece but in much better condition, is the artist's predilection for the same elaborate surface decorative effects that distinguish the Yale *Saints*.



Fig. 1. Giuliano di Simone, *Virgin and Child* (before cleaning, ca 1932), 1389. Tempera and gold on panel, 175 × 76 cm (68 7/8 × 29 7/8 in.). San Michele, Castiglione Garfagnana (Lucca)



Fig. 2. Giuliano di Simone, *Virgin and Child with Saints and Reclining Eve*, ca. 1388–89. Tempera and gold on panel, 93.3 × 47.5 cm (36 3/4 × 18 3/4 in.). Galleria Nazionale, Parma, inv. no. GN433

Rather than harking back to the vocabulary of Spinello Aretino—whose influence on Giuliano's formation has been overstated in recent studies—the artist's formal and decorative vocabulary, as noted by earlier scholars, seems closely indebted to the contemporary idiom of Agnolo

Gaddi. The relevance of Agnolo's production, already implicit in Offner's attribution of the Yale *Saints* to a follower, was considered self-evident by Procacci. "There is no need to waste words," he wrote about the Castiglione Garfagnana and Parma altarpieces, "demonstrating that [Giuliano's] art approaches that of Agnolo Gaddi, not only in its forms but also in its palette."¹⁶ It was surprising, Procacci pointedly noted in the same context, that these works bore no traces of Spinello's Luccese production. Undoubtedly, the pastel hues and blonde tonalities that also distinguish the Yale *Saints*, along with the delicate flush of their cheeks, seem to have much more in common with Agnolo's lyrically luminous paintings of the same decade—admittedly interpreted in a more prosaic vein—than with the "penumbral" qualities of Spinello's San Ponziano polyptych, a work frequently compared to the Castiglione Garfagnana and Parma Madonnas.¹⁷ Equally unconvincing, however, is the pupil-master relationship proposed by some authors between Giuliano and Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani, whose animated figures and "robust gothicism," as it was defined by Zeri, find little reflection in the ephemeral, brittle elegance of the present image.¹⁸ The issue of Giuliano's formation, predating the first mention of his name in documents in 1383 and 1386, remains an open question, although it seems fair to state that it was independent of Spinello and oriented instead toward Florentine painting in the previous decade.

Among the relatively few surviving fragments of large-scale altarpieces that can be securely attributed to Giuliano, only the Castiglione Garfagnana *Virgin and Child* is sufficiently similar to the Yale *Saints* to consider the possibility that they may originally have been included in the same complex. This hypothesis was tentatively advanced by Pisani in correspondence with the Yale University Art Gallery but was omitted in her later study of the painter, where the author seemed to opt for the alternative suggestion that the *Virgin and Child* may have been an independent image.¹⁹ As first noted by Procacci, the remains of the original frame around that work are, in fact, consistent with the central element of a larger structure. The dimensions of the Yale *Saints*, accounting for the modern framing elements, are sufficiently similar to those of the Castiglione Garfagnana panel to suggest that they could have stood to the left of the Virgin, in an arrangement comparable to Giuliano's altarpieces at Moriano Castello and Lucca. Unfortunately, the transfer to canvas of the Yale panels precludes a comparison of their carpentry construction to that of the Castiglione Garfagnana panel, nor is it possible to contrast the tooling in the figures' haloes, no longer discernible in the *Virgin*

and *Child*. In the absence of other elements from the same structure, therefore, such a theory must for now be confined to the realm of pure speculation.

Nothing is known of the Castiglione Garfagnana Madonna prior to its first mention by the local historian Tommaso Trenta, in 1822, when it was already in the church of San Michele.²⁰ There is no reason to assume, however, that the dismembered structure was originally intended for that location. The presence of a church dedicated to Saints Lawrence and Stephen in Cascio, located not far from Castiglione Garfagnana and subject to the monastery of San Ponziano, provides an intriguing opportunity for further research.²¹ —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

van Marle 1927, 198, fig. 132; Berenson 1963, 1:140; Seymour 1970, 50–53, no. 35; Gonzalez-Palacios 1971, 50, 51n17, fig. 11; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Boskovits 1975b, 247n236; Boggi 1998, 568; Linda Pisani, in Filieri 1998, 187, fig. 133; Labriola 2001

NOTES

1. Franciotti 1613, 297–308.
2. Curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
3. Lecture notes recorded in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York.
4. Curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
5. “You might compare them,” the letter continues, “with the two saints in the Boston Museum which Perkins published in *Art in America*, December 1921.” The two saints referred to by van Marle are the *Saint Vincent* and *Saint Stephen* now attributed to Starnina, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. nos. 20.1855a–b, <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/35898/saint-vincent> and <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/31851/saint-stephen>. Due to an editorial oversight, the 1927 edition of van Marle’s *Development of the Italian Schools of Painting* included a photograph of the Yale *Saints* where, according to the text, there should have been one of the Boston panels, resulting in some confusion among later scholars; see van Marle 1927, 198, fig. 132.
6. Verbal opinion, reported by Griggs, May 1926, recorded in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York.
7. Berenson 1963, 1:140.
8. Seymour 1970, 50–53, no. 35.
9. Unpublished opinion, March 18, 1965, recorded in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York.
10. Gonzalez-Palacios 1971, 50, 51n17.
11. Verbal opinion, August 3, 1998, recorded in the curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
12. Although accepted as a possible early work of Giuliano by Boskovits (in Boskovits 1975b, 247), the Pisa *Virgin* was definitively excluded from the artist’s oeuvre by Massimo Ferretti; see Ferretti 1976, 40n25. For Luciano Bellosi, the Pisa panel was “among the most important works in the following of Traini”; see Bellosi 1991b, 17. In her recent monograph on Traini, Linda Pisani convincingly identified the painting as an early work of the so-called Maestro della Carità, a Pisan contemporary of Traini; see Pisani 2020, 81–82.
13. Linda Pisani, in Filieri 1998, 187, fig. 133; and Labriola 2001.
14. Inv. no. 1946.15; see Labriola 2001.
15. Procacci 1932, 346, where he cites Offner’s unpublished opinion.
16. “Non importa spendere molte parole per dimostrare che la sua arte si avvicina a quella di Agnolo Gaddi, e non solo per le forme ma anche per una simile tendenza coloristica”; author’s translation. After discussing the distinctions between Giuliano’s idiom and that of Angelo Puccinelli, Procacci went on to add that it was “strange” how the work of both painters bore no evidence of Spinello’s presence in Lucca: “Quel che è strano è come nelle pitture dei due maestri non si risenta niente dell’arte di Spinello Aretino”; see Procacci 1932, 46. The relevance of Agnolo Gaddi’s production for the Castiglione Garfagnana Madonna and the Parma panel was reiterated by Ada Labriola, notwithstanding her late dating of the Yale *Saints*; see Labriola 2001.
17. In his discussion the San Ponziano polyptych, Angelo Tartuferi evocatively referred to the “piglio ombroso” that distinguished that work as a result of its pronounced chiaroscuro modeling; see Tartuferi, in Filieri 1998, 140, no. 2. Alvar Gonzalez-Palacios was the first author to emphasize the perceived impact of Spinello’s Lucchese production on Giuliano, and the relevance of the San Ponziano polyptych in particular; see Gonzalez-Palacios 1971, 49–59. Since then, it has become a leitmotif of most discussions of the artist.
18. Zeri 1961, 220.
19. Linda Pisani, November 10, 1996, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery; and Linda Pisani, in Filieri 1998, 187. Gonzalez-Palacios’s proposal that a fragment with *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* formerly in the church of San Frediano, Lucca, should be associated with the same altarpiece was correctly rejected by Pisani on stylistic grounds. See Alvar Gonzalez-Palacios, in Filieri 1998, 22; and Linda Pisani, in Filieri 1998, 192–93, 198–99, nos. 13, 16.
20. Trenta 1822, 31.

21. The church of Saints Lawrence and Stephen in Cascio was entrusted to the care of the monastery of San Ponziano in 1358; see Angelini 2009, 15.

North Italian Schools



Paolo Veneziano and Workshop, *Saint Mary Magdalen*, One of Two Panels from a Dismembered Altarpiece

Artist	Paolo Veneziano and Workshop, Venice, active by 1333–58/62
Title	<i>Saint Mary Magdalen</i> , One of Two Panels from a Dismembered Altarpiece
Date	ca. 1325–30
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	58.7 × 23.8 cm (23 1/8 × 9 3/8 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz
Inv. No.	1959.15.4a

For more on this painting, see Paolo Veneziano, *Saint John the Baptist*, One of Two Panels from a Dismembered Altarpiece.

Inscription

to the right of the saint, in red paint, MA / RIA / M[AGDALENA]



Paolo Veneziano, *Saint John the Baptist*, One of Two Panels from a Dismembered Altarpiece

Artist	Paolo Veneziano, Venice, active by 1333–58/62
Title	<i>Saint John the Baptist</i>
Date	ca. 1325–30
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	59.5 × 23.3 cm (23 3/8 × 9 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz
Inv. No.	1959.15.4b

Inscriptions

to the right of the saint, in red paint, remains of name; on the scroll, ECCE / AGNU[S] / DEI. / ECCE / QUI T / OLIS / PEC / ATA

Provenance

Museo Guidi, Faenza(?);¹ E. and A. Silberman Galleries, New York and Vienna, before 1938; Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz (1887–1957), Sands Point, Long Island, N.Y., by 1945

Condition

Both panels, of a horizontal wood grain, had been thinned to a depth of 3 millimeters, waxed, and cradled; the cradles and wax coating were removed in 2000 by Gianni Marussich. Splits in both panels were reinforced from behind with wedge inserts, but neither panel was deemed sufficiently sound to maintain its own structural integrity, so both were adhered to rigid birch plywood supports that have accentuated the “washboarding” effect of their surfaces. *Saint Mary Magdalen* has seven prominent horizontal splits, and *Saint John the Baptist* has fourteen. In the panel of the Baptist, a polished gesso border is visible at the left edge, separated from the painted surface

by a scalloped incised line marking the placement of colonette and capital moldings. A fragmentary incision on the right side denotes the placement of the corresponding capital on that side, but the panel has been cropped inside of any incisions for a colonette beneath it. Conversely, a fragmentary border of the arch rising above the capital is visible at the right but not at the left. In the panel of the Magdalen, polished gesso and the inscribed profiles of the framing colonette, capital, and arch are visible at the right, while the left edge preserves traces of the inscribed profile of the capital and the lower part of the colonette. Both panels have been cropped at the top and bottom.

The gilding and paint surfaces of both panels have been extensively abraded. Losses in the gold ground of the *Baptist* panel, especially to either side of the figure’s torso, have been reinforced or toned to a worn gesso color and regilded along the right edge of the composition. The figure of the Baptist is largely free of retouching except for discreet inpainting along the splits and most prominent craquelure. A large damage at the top of the scroll has been compensated, as have scattered losses throughout the lower section of the scroll. The green base on which the Baptist stands has been reinforced. This panel was restored by Anne O’Connor in 2000, who applied a matte varnish and light retouching that both

read well today. The panel of the Magdalen has been similarly reinforced over losses in the gold ground. Retouching of losses along the splits and scattered through the figure's blue dress are more extensive than in the *Baptist* panel. The green base has also been heavily reconstructed, using a poorly matched *tratteggio* technique that slightly falsifies the profile of the lowest folds in the Magdalen's dress. This panel was restored by Patricia Garland in 2000, who applied a glossy varnish that has pooled in the splits and open craquelure, exaggerating the flattening effect of the exposed abrasions of the surface.

Discussion

The two saints, originally parts of the same complex, were first discussed by Evelyn Sandberg-Vavalà in 1939, when they were still in the New York gallery of Abris Silberman.² Sandberg-Vavalà inserted the works in the production of Paolo Veneziano and his workshop, remarking on their “unusually expressive character” and comparing them to the “sterner, less ornate mood” of four panels with standing saints in the Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts.³ While accepting the Yale pictures' relationship to the work of Paolo Veneziano, subsequent authors have remained divided over their chronology and the extent of the artist's direct participation in their execution. In the catalogue of the Rabinowitz Collection at Yale, Charles Seymour, Jr., accepted the attribution to Paolo and proposed a date in the 1330s, emphasizing the combination of Byzantine qualities, particularly evident in the “immobility” of the poses and “sobriety of expression,” with incipient Gothic elements, such as the “super-elongation of the forms and swing of the draperies.”⁴ Rodolfo Pallucchini, who reiterated Paolo's authorship, remarked on the still-archaizing quality of the Magdalen and situated the panels' execution in proximity to the polyptych in the Shalva Amiranashvili Museum of Fine Arts, Tbilisi, Georgia, between “the end of the fourth decade and beginning of the fifth decade” of the fourteenth century.⁵ Michelangelo Muraro concurred with Pallucchini in the dating of the Tbilisi polyptych around 1340 but distanced that work from the Yale *Saint Mary Magdalen* and *Saint John the Baptist*, which he regarded as a later workshop product from “around the middle of the century.”⁶ In his 1970 Yale catalogue, Seymour repeated the opinions he had expressed in the Rabinowitz Collection volume and dated the panels more precisely around 1335.⁷ In the exhibition curated by Seymour a few years later, however, Gloria Kury Keach was cautious about assigning the panels to Paolo's own hand, writing that they were

“good examples of the artist's style, though conceivably executed by the *bottega*.”⁸ Paolo's authorship was not questioned by Federico Zeri and Elizabeth Gardner, who nevertheless associated the panels with the last phase of the artist's career, proposing that they may have been laterals from the same polyptych as the *Virgin and Child Enthroned* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York⁹—a work generally placed around 1350 or later. This reconstruction was accepted by Alessandro Marchi, although he referred the altarpiece to Paolo's workshop.¹⁰ In the most recent monograph devoted to the artist, Filippo Pedrocchi listed the Yale *Magdalen* and *John the Baptist* under a separate category labeled “Paolo Veneziano and Workshop,” specifying that it referred to those works executed exclusively by collaborators based on the master's models.¹¹

Hitherto unacknowledged in discussions of the Yale *Magdalen* and *John the Baptist* are the qualitative differences that separate the two panels. The contrasts between them is especially evident in photographs taken before the 1959 cleaning by Andrew Petryn (figs. 1–2), which contributed to a flattening of the painted surface and elimination of the sensitively applied highlights that noticeably distinguished the handling of the Baptist. Compared to the almost generic, formulaic technique used in the figure of the Magdalen, the Baptist stands out for the meticulous attention to the articulation of the individual facial features and hands, as well as a concern with *chiaroscuro* effects that clearly emphasize the underlying bone structure and the individual folds of drapery. These elements denote a markedly more sophisticated approach that suggests Paolo's direct involvement in the execution of this figure, and the probable intervention of assistants in the Magdalen.



Fig. 1. *Saint Mary Magdalen*, before 1959



Fig. 2. *Saint John the Baptist*, before 1959

Regardless of a debatable claim of a possible common provenance, Zeri and Gardner's association of the Yale *Saints* with the Metropolitan Museum *Virgin* is unconvincing on stylistic grounds.¹² Whereas the latter picture partakes of the fully developed Gothicism of the signed and dated 1347 Carpineta Madonna¹³—from which it derives the pose of the standing Christ Child—the Yale panels are indebted, in both palette and mood, to a pronouncedly more archaic, byzantinizing phase in the artist's career. A considerable lapse in time must undoubtedly separate the rigidly severe figure of the Baptist not only from the impossibly elongated aristocratic saint of the 1349 Chioggia polyptych but also from the elegant, livelier figure in the Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts, associated with a dismembered portable triptych convincingly dated to the early 1340s.¹⁴ Even more distant from the Yale saint is the image in the Tbilisi polyptych cited as a comparison by Muraro, which, though based on the same iconographic type, employs an altogether different facial physiognomy and is more insubstantial and schematic in execution.¹⁵

Among Paolo's signed and dated works, the nearest point of reference for the Yale *Magdalen* and *John the Baptist* are the hieratic lateral figures in the 1333 altarpiece with the *Dormition of the Virgin* in the Musei Civici, Vicenza (fig. 3)—a work described by Francesca Flores d'Arcais as

a “sort of manifesto” of the artist's early maturity, characterized by a “subtle equilibrium” between traditional Byzantine forms and modern Gothic elements.¹⁶ But rather than providing a *terminus post quem* for the Yale panels, as argued by past authors, the Vicenza altarpiece seems to represent a more advanced stage in the evolution of the artist's idiom toward increasingly Gothic formulas. Absent from the Yale figures are the swaying linear rhythms that break up the severity of the poses; the gestures are more restricted, the mood more contained.



Fig. 3. Paolo Veneziano, *Dormition of the Virgin with Saints Francis of Assisi and Anthony*, 1333. Tempera and gold on panel, center panel: 77 × 112 cm (30 3/8 × 44 1/8 in.); Saint Francis: 89 × 23 cm (35 × 9 in.); Saint Anthony: 90 × 23 cm (35 3/8 × 9 in.). Musei Civici, Vicenza, inv. no. A157

The most distinctive features of the Yale *Baptist*, such as the piercing eyes and dramatically lit facial structure, invite comparison with works associated with the controversial early phase of Paolo's development in the decade leading up to the Vicenza polyptych, when his career seems closely intertwined with that of the so-called Master of the Washington Coronation.¹⁷ The beginning of

this decade is marked by the dated 1321 *Dossal of the Blessed Leone Bembo* (fig. 4), now in the church of Saint Blaise, Vodnjan, Croatia, but originally located in the church of San Sebastiano, Venice.¹⁸ This much-debated work has been variously assigned to the young Paolo; to an anonymous “Master earlier than Paolo”; to the young Paolo in collaboration with the Master of the Washington Coronation; and, most recently, to the Master of the Washington Coronation himself.¹⁹ Bolstering an attribution to Paolo is the close relationship of the Vodnjan panel to the two shutters of the *Triptych of Santa Chiara* in the Civico Museo Sartorio, Trieste, generally

given to the artist and unanimously placed within the third decade.²⁰ The common authorship of the two works was already recognized by Giuseppe Fiocco and later emphasized by Pallucchini, who pointed to the identical figure types with “pin point eyes, highlighted nose, downturned mouth, [and] *verdaccio* based flesh tones.”²¹ Although the Trieste shutters are sometimes dated around 1320,²² more or less contemporary to the Vodnjan panel, the treatment of the large figures painted on the outside of the wings more closely anticipates the Vicenza altarpiece, arguing for a somewhat later execution.²³



Fig. 4. Paolo Veneziano, *Dossal of the Blessed Leone Bembo*, 1321. Tempera and gold on panel, 76 × 168 cm (29 7/8 × 66 1/8 in.). Saint Blaise, Collection of Sacral Art, Vodnjan, Croatia, inv. no. 81

The same morphological traits that characterize both the Vodnjan and Trieste panels, loosely indebted to the vocabulary of the Master of the Washington Coronation, are also peculiar to the Yale *Saint John the Baptist*. The correspondences between the Yale figures and those in the right wing of the Trieste triptych (fig. 5), despite the differences in scale, are especially compelling. A slightly earlier chronology for the Yale *Saints* is suggested perhaps by the greater rigidity of the poses and stiffer handling of the draperies, nearer to the Vodnjan painting. A dating for the *Magdalen* and *John the Baptist* between that work and the Trieste shutters, in the mid-1320s or slightly after, seems therefore plausible. Like those images, the Yale panels should ultimately be viewed as further illustration of the “stylistic continuity” between Paolo’s manner and that of the Master of the Washington Coronation, in the crucial period of his formation.²⁴



Fig. 5. Paolo Veneziano, *Saints Clare and Agnes and Female Supplicants before a Bishop Tending an Olive Branch* (detail of right shutter of the *Triptych of Santa Chiara*), ca. 1328–30. Tempera and gold on panel. Civico Museo Sartorio, Trieste

No other fragments that might reasonably be associated with the Yale *Magdalen* and *Baptist* have yet been identified. A possible clue to the original appearance of the complex from which they were excised is offered, however, by the panels' dimensions and horizontal wood grain. These suggest that they may have been part of a so-

called *pala ribaltabile*, or folding altarpiece, similar to the examples produced by Paolo's workshop around the middle of the century for the cathedral of Saint George in Piran (now Civico Museo Sartorio, Trieste) (fig. 6) and the cathedral of the Assumption in Rab, Croatia.²⁵ Common to both of those altarpieces is the long, low, horizontal format, with an image of the Virgin and Child or the Crucifixion in the center, flanked by standing saints in separate compartments on either side, and, on the reverse, traces of upside-down figures sculpted in low relief, which would have been visible when the panel was turned or rotated upon itself.²⁶ The design of the Piran altarpiece, which also includes standing figures of the Magdalen and Saint John the Baptist, may closely reflect that of the dismembered complex to which the Yale figures belonged. Painted on a single horizontal plank measuring 82.5 by 247 centimeters, it is divided into nine compartments separated by spiral colonettes supporting ogival arches—not unlike the framing elements that, judging from the incised profiles, must have enclosed the Yale figures. Additionally, the dimensions of the individual compartments with standing saints—60 by 22 centimeters—are almost identical to those of the present panels. Given the close structural correspondences, it is worth speculating whether the dismembered *pala ribaltabile* with the Yale *Magdalen* and *John the Baptist*, like so many other works produced in Paolo's famous mainland workshop, could have provided the prototype for the altarpiece commissioned by Dalmatian patrons in Piran, several decades later.²⁷ —PP



Fig. 6. Paolo Veneziano, *Virgin and Child between Saints Mary Magdalen, Nicholas of Bari, Mark, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Blaise, Anthony Abbot, and Catherine of Alexandria* (*Piran Altarpiece*), 1355. Tempera and gold on panel, 82.5 × 247 cm (32 1/2 × 97 1/4 in.). Civico Museo Sartorio, Trieste

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Venturi 1945, 11–12, pl. 6; Berenson 1957, 1:128; Seymour 1961, 14–15, 55; Pallucchini 1964, 33, 97; Muraro 1970, 56, 101, 116; Seymour 1970, 109–11, nos. 76a–b; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 601; Gloria Kury Keach, in Seymour et al. 1972, 38; Zeri and Gardner 1973, 47; Kenney 1992, 134; Frinta 1998, 128; Marchi 2000, 35, 51n42; Pedrocco 2003, 211; Rullo 2014, 81:190–94

NOTES

1. This provenance is first cited with a question mark by Charles Seymour, Jr., in the catalogue of the Rabinowitz Collection at Yale and was later repeated as hearsay: “Said to have come from the Museo Guidi in Faenza.” See Seymour 1961, 14; and Seymour 1970, 109–11, nos. 76a–b. The present author has not been able to find the origin of Seymour’s source in the Yale files or elsewhere. The panels are not mentioned in the 1902 sale of the Guidi collection (see Galleria Sangiorgi 1902), although this alone does not preclude their having been in the possession of that dealer at some point before being acquired by the E. and A. Silberman Galleries.
2. Evelyn Sandberg-Valavà, “Maestro Paolo Veneziano: His Paintings in America and Elsewhere,” unpublished manuscript written for the *Bulletin of the Worcester Art Museum*, March 1939; quoted in Pallucchini 1964, 97. E. and A. Silberman Galleries in New York was established by Abris Silberman in 1928 as a branch of the family’s Viennese gallery. In 1938 Abris was joined by his brother Elkan Silberman. It may be presumed that Louis Rabinowitz, who purchased several other Italian paintings from Silberman, acquired the Yale panels sometime between 1939 and 1945. Though the Silberman provenance is not cited by Seymour, it is mentioned by Federico Zeri on the back of old photographs of the panels in the Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna, inv. nos. 25979–80: “Paolo Veneziano, [before 1938, Wien & NYC, Silberman].”
3. Inv. no. 1937.33, <https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/230775>.
4. Seymour 1961, 14.
5. Inv. no. 190; Pallucchini 1964, 33.
6. Muraro 1970, 56, 101, 116.
7. Seymour 1970, 109–111, nos. 76a–b
8. Kury Keach, in Seymour et al. 1972, 38.
9. Inv. no. 1971.115.5, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437249>; Zeri and Gardner 1973, 47.
10. Marchi 2000, 35, 51n42.
11. Pedrocco 2003, 211.
12. The Metropolitan Museum of Art *Virgin* is first recorded in the collection of Anton Reichel in Grossgmain, Austria, in 1912. According to Zeri and Gardner, the Yale panels’ “earlier provenance from Austria, whence they came to New York through the firm of Silberman and Co., may be an indication that they came from the same complex”; see Zeri and Gardner 1973, 49. Although it is possible that the Yale panels were brought to New York from the Viennese branch of the Silberman Galleries, there is no documentary evidence that they were ever included in the Reichel collection or in any other Austrian private collection.
13. Museo Diocesano, Cesena; Pedrocco 2003, 176–77, no. 18.
14. Inv. no. 1927.19. 6a, <https://worchester.emuseum.com/objects/29796/saint-john-the-baptist>. The triptych is currently divided between the Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts (1927.19), the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (inv. no. 1939.1.143, <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.284.html>), and the Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon, France (inv. no. 20194). See Boskovits 2016, 325–33 (with previous bibliography).
15. Based on the most recent photographs of the Tbilisi polyptych (reproduced in Kalandia 2018, 12–17), it is difficult to accept Filippo Pedrocco’s direct attribution to Paolo or his proposed chronology in the second half of the 1330s; see Pedrocco 2003, 156–57. The ruinous state makes it difficult to evaluate that work properly, but the general physiognomy of the figures suggests a much later execution by the artist’s workshop.
16. Flores d’Arcais 1998.
17. On the personality of the Master of the Washington Coronation, long identified with Paolo Veneziano, see, most recently, Guarnieri 2007, 153–201; and Boskovits 2016, 301–13. Most art historians now generally agree that he belonged to a generation preceding Paolo, proposing to identify him with his older brother Marco or, more likely, his father, Martino da Venezia. For the various suggestions, see Guarnieri 2007, 155–56n9.
18. Though traditionally referred to as a dossal, it is generally thought that the panel was the front of a wood sarcophagus in which the relics of the Blessed Leone Bembo were kept and that it was used as an altar frontal.
19. The attribution of the Vodnjan painting to Paolo, first proposed by Giuseppe Fiocco in his fundamental article on the young Paolo (see Fiocco 1930–31, 881–84), was strongly upheld by Rodolfo Pallucchini; Pallucchini, in Bettini et al. 1974, no. 86 (with previous bibliography). The panel is accepted as a work of Paolo by, among others, Flores d’Arcais 1998; Fossaluzza 2000, 42–43; Flores d’Arcais 2002, 22; and Krekic 2005, 147–60. The attribution was rejected by Viktor Lazareff, in Lazareff 1954, 88n1, who assigned the painting to the “instructor of Maestro Paolo”; and, most recently, by Filippo Pedrocco, in Pedrocco 2003, 47–50, 212, A 46. Cristina Guarnieri, in Guarnieri 2007, 166–67, 169–70, thought that it reflected the participation of a young Paolo in a work conceived by the Master of the Washington Coronation.

For Boskovits, it belongs exclusively to the hand of the Master of the Washington Coronation; see Boskovits 2016, 307, 310n22.

20. The triptych's shutters were added to the central panel, executed by the so-called Master of the Triptych of Santa Chiara, at a later date. They were first inserted into Paolo's oeuvre by Evelyn Sandberg-Valalà; see Sandberg-Valalà 1930, 177.
21. Fiocco 1930–31, 882; and Pallucchini 1964, 26. The relationship between the two works "clearly produced in the same moment by the same artist" is also acknowledged by Pedrocco (in Pedrocco 2003, 50), despite his attribution of both to a "Master earlier than Paolo." For Guarnieri, in Guarnieri 2007, 169, the correspondences between the Santa Chiara laterals and the Vodnjan panel are an indication that the latter may be the result of a collaboration between the young Paolo and the Master of the Washington Coronation.
22. Travi 1992, 81, 90–91nn5–6; and Boskovits 2009b, 81–82, 86n9, 87–88n16.
23. Based on circumstantial evidence, Maria Walcher Casotti, in Walcher Casotti 1961, 6–16, proposed a date between 1328 and 1330. Her arguments were accepted by Pallucchini (in Pallucchini 1964, 26), followed by Bianco Fiorin, in Bianco Fiorin et al. 1975, sec. 2, no. 1. A dating toward the end the decade was reiterated, more recently, by Giorgio Fossaluzza (in Fossaluzza 2000, 42).
24. Miklós Boskovits, in Boskovits 2016, 307, noted that the Vodnjan picture "provides further evidence of the essential stylistic continuity between the manner of Paolo and that of the older master." The exact nature of the artists' relationship remains unclear. Cristina Guarnieri (in Guarnieri 2007, 157) highlighted the particular structure of a family workshop in which the older, more archaic master—whether Paolo's father, Martino, Paolo's brother Marco, or an altogether different painter in the same workshop—possibly determined the stylistic direction and models to be imitated into the third decade of the fourteenth century and argued that Paolo initially intervened in projects conceived and designed by this artist.
25. For a discussion of these altarpieces, see Guarnieri 2019, 39–53. The term *pala ribaltabile* was coined by Guarnieri to describe the moving mechanism of such works, whose function was related to the display of the relics of saints associated with the altar or church for which they were commissioned. Among the earliest examples of this type of altarpiece, which seems to have originated in Venice, is that in the cathedral of San Giusto, Trieste, attributed by Guarnieri to the Master of the Washington Coronation but more convincingly identified by Boskovits (in Boskovits 2016, 301, 302n3) as the work of an anonymous late thirteenth-century painter influenced by Palaeologan art. The most famous and sophisticated example of a *pala ribaltabile* is undoubtedly the *Pala d'Oro* painted by Paolo and his sons between 1343 and 1345 for the basilica of San Marco, Venice. Guarnieri's examination of the structure of the Piran and Rab altarpieces confirms that their original design was a simplified version of the much more complex system of the *Pala d'Oro*, resolving many of the technical issues that have hitherto confounded scholars when analyzing these structures (see note 26, below). The possibility, discussed by Guarnieri, that other works by Paolo usually classified as dossals might also conform to the specifications of a *pala ribaltabile* suggests that his workshop may have specialized in their production.
26. Guarnieri 2019, 45–48. The remains on the reverse of the Piran panel have misled more than one scholar to presume that the altarpiece was left unfinished; see Luisa Morozzi, in Flores d'Arcais and Gentili 2002 158–60, no. 28 (with previous bibliography). As pointed out by Guarnieri, however, the fact that similar upside-down gesso imprints appear on the back of the Rab altarpiece suggests that they were both conceived as mixed *pala ribaltabili*, with one side painted and the other sculpted. The presence of a metal plate with a large hole on one side of the Piran panel—to which corresponded another plate, now missing, on the other side—possibly indicates that the panel moved by turning on itself along a wooden axle; see Pizzolongo 2019, 54–57. Confirmation that the Piran altarpiece was originally commissioned for the cathedral rather than the baptistery, as sometimes stated, comes from Guarnieri's clarification that the central image on the reverse was not another Virgin and Child, as hitherto supposed, but a representation of Piran's patron saint, George, and the dragon.
27. On the transfer of works of art, rather than painters, from Paolo's mainland workshop to locations along the Adriatic Coast, see Cozzi 2017, 235–93.



Follower of Pietro da Rimini, *Portable Triptych with Scenes from the Lives of Christ and Saint John the Baptist*

Artist	Follower of Pietro da Rimini, Romagnole, active second quarter 14th century
Title	<i>Portable Triptych with Scenes from the Lives of Christ and Saint John the Baptist</i>
Date	ca. 1325–30
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	center panel, overall: 45.3 × 33.7 cm (17 7/8 × 13 1/4 in.), picture surface: 41.9 × 30.6 cm (16 1/2 × 12 1/8 in.); left panel: 45.5 × 16.8 cm (17 7/8 × 6 5/8 in.); right panel: 44.8 × 16.9 cm (17 5/8 × 6 5/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.9

Provenance

James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The triptych is composed of three soft wood (fir or spruce) panels of a vertical grain, none of them thinned or cradled. The center panel is 1.7 centimeters thick. Its engaged frame moldings, 6 millimeters thick, are affixed with large, regularly spaced nails, four on each of the left, bottom, and right sides, and three in the two moldings forming the gabled top. The wings are each 1.5 centimeters thick. The hinges connecting the left wing and center panel are original, while the pair driven into the right wing are later replacements. A triangular insert of new wood on the reverse of the right wing, measuring 16 by 5 centimeters, replaces damage along its inner edge, and putty fills reinforce losses around both hinge loops. The left wing has putty fills along the center of its bottom edge and the top of its outer edge. The center panel is repaired with putty fills along the bottom and both side edges. A split in the left wing 6.5 centimeters from its

outer edge extends approximately 16 centimeters down from the top edge.

A harsh cleaning in 1965–68 exposed and exacerbated damage from earlier interventions. The silver ground and paint surfaces throughout the triptych are much consumed by solvent damage and overall abrasion; the scenes retain their general legibility but virtually nothing of their painterly qualities. The decoration on the backs of the center panel and wings (fig. 1), although worn, has not been deliberately disfigured by restoration. It is applied directly to the panel surface, with no gesso preparatory layer beneath.



Fig. 1. Reverse of the *Portable Triptych with Scenes from the Lives of Christ and Saint John the Baptist*

Discussion

This small portable triptych, remarkable for the number of narrative scenes included in the main compartment as well as in the wings, illustrates sixteen episodes from the life of Christ and three from the life of Saint John the Baptist. The Christological cycle begins at the top of the left wing with the Annunciation, below which is the Nativity, followed by the Adoration of the Magi and the Presentation in the Temple. In the central panel, six rectangular fields contain seven other episodes, beginning with the Baptism of Christ (lower left), followed by the Last Supper (lower right), the Ecce Homo and Crucifixion (middle right), the Deposition and Lamentation (middle left), and the Resurrection (upper left). In the field at the upper right is an image of the Enthroned Virgin and Child with two angels. The Christ Child is shown standing on the Virgin's lap, reaching for a bird held in a snare by the angel on the right—a biblical allusion to the trapped human soul and Christ's role as Redeemer. In the gable above these scenes is Saint John the Baptist in the Wilderness. At the bottom of the right wing are two quadrants with four more scenes from Christ's Passion: the Agony in the Garden, the Kiss of Judas, Christ before Pilate, and the Flagellation. Two episodes from the life of Saint John the Baptist fill a quadrant and the gable above these: his Beheading outside the Prison Gates and the Feast of Herod. Dividing the main scenes is a wide decorative band with a red, white, and black geometric pattern composed of large diamonds alternating with vertical or horizontal stripes. The back of the main compartment and the outside of both wings are decorated with a black vine-and-clover motif painted against a red background (see fig. 1).

The proper evaluation of this triptych has undoubtedly been compromised by its poor state of preservation and the losses suffered in subsequent harsh cleanings, both before and after it entered the Yale collection. Already described in 1916 by Osvald Sirén as having “gone through a rather coarse treatment at a remote period,”¹ the triptych underwent further restorations in the late 1960s, during which—judging from a comparison with old photographs (fig. 2)—the painted surface was completely abraded in large areas and the layers of modeling removed from the heads and bodies of most of the figures. While conceding that the picture may have lost some of its “original qualities,” Sirén nevertheless pointed to its “crude technique” and considered it a “weak imitation after the early Giottesque painters in the Romagna,” drawing analogies between some of the better-preserved figures in the triptych and Giuliano da Rimini's production in the first decade of the fourteenth century. Sirén's attribution to the Romagnole school was accepted by Raimond van Marle and Richard Offner.² The latter, who proposed a considerably later date for the work, around 1350, confessed that he had “never seen anything quite like it” but conceded that the figure of the Virgin and the long-skirted Christ Child, the wide throne, and the painted partitions dividing the episodes “all commit one to Romagnole territory or to its artistic dependencies.” Edward Garrison subsequently listed the triptych as “North Umbrian or Marchigian under North Umbrian influence,” with a date between 1320 and 1330.³ A date around 1330 was also proposed by Charles Seymour, Jr., who catalogued the image as “School of Rimini” but pointed to Marchigian as well as Romagnole influences.⁴ Following Sirén, Seymour highlighted the compositional relationship of this work to the gabled panel with scenes from the lives of Christ and Saint Dominic in the Robert Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York—a work formerly associated with the Romagna or the Marche but now unanimously recognized as by the Florentine Master of the Dominican Effigies.⁵ Barring Andrea De Marchi's tentative association of the Yale triptych with the Florentine Master of Vicchio a Rimaggio,⁶ subsequent authors have concurred with earlier opinions identifying it as a product of the Romagnole or Riminese school in the early fourteenth century.



Fig. 2. *Portable Triptych with Scenes from the Lives of Christ and Saint John the Baptist*, before 1965

Despite efforts to relate the Yale triptych to Umbrian, Marchigian, and, most puzzlingly, Florentine painting, most of its compositional and stylistic elements, as first recognized by Sirén and Offner, point unequivocally to the Riminese school. As noted by Offner, the painted divisions with a black-and-white geometric design against a red background, as well as the uneven distribution of episodes, hark back to works such as Giovanni da Rimini's diptych with scenes from the life of Christ, the Virgin, and other saints, presently divided between Rome and London.⁷ The nearest point of reference for the triptych's figural style and for certain of its compositional elements, however, lies less in the work of the first generation of Riminese painters than in that of Pietro da Rimini. In contrast to the more staid Giottesque vocabulary of Giovanni or Giuliano da Rimini, the triptych reflects a closer adherence to the more expressive, incipiently Gothic idiom of Pietro's production around the middle of the third decade of the fourteenth century, as evidenced in the fresco cycles for the convent of the Eremitani in Padua and the convent of Santa Chiara in Ravenna (fig. 3).⁸ Both of these works are echoed in the lively figural types with impossibly long necks, pinched features, and pointed chins that inhabit the Yale triptych—more clearly recognizable in premodern restoration photographs (see fig. 2)—as well as in the dynamic poses of the Christ Child in the central panel and left wing. The standing Child on the enthroned Virgin's lap, lunging forward with extended arms, is compositionally indebted to the Santa Chiara *Adoration* but also brings to mind the larger striding figures that characterize both fresco cycles, the violent motion of their bodies reflected in the artificial sweep of the thick folds of drapery.



Fig. 3. Pietro da Rimini, *The Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1325–30. Fresco. Santa Chiara, Ravenna

The iconographic and formal relationships between the Yale triptych and the frescoes in Padua and Ravenna suggest an artist with an intimate familiarity with Pietro's workshop, working in the Romagnole region along the Adriatic coast. It is worth noting that the decoration of the exterior of the triptych closely recalls the naturalistic pattern against a red background on the reverse of the two small panels from the church of Mezzaratta in Bologna, now in Perugia and Zürich.⁹ Those images, generally attributed to the so-called Master of Verucchio—a close follower of Pietro whose identity is still open to debate—were discussed by Daniele Benati in terms of their strong dependence on the frescoes of Santa Chiara in Ravenna.¹⁰ The relevance of the production of the Master of Verucchio is also reflected in certain eccentricities of the Yale triptych, such as the inconsistent proportions of the figures and architectural elements, which parallel those in the panels from the *Dossal of the Blessed Clare* executed for the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Rimini, presently divided between Coral Gables, Florida (fig. 4), and London.¹¹ The dossal, which once constituted the namepiece of the group now gathered under the name of the Master of Verucchio, has been persuasively dated after the Blessed Clare's death in 1326 and before 1330.¹² A comparable dating can be applied to the Yale triptych, which, although executed by a less accomplished hand, reflects a similar general dependency on Pietro's vocabulary during the same period.



Fig. 4. Master of Verucchio, *The Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1326–30. Tempera and gold on panel, 57.8 × 59.4 cm (22 3/4 × 23 3/8 in.). Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla., inv. no. 61.018.000

The presence of scenes from the life of Saint John the Baptist and the preeminence accorded the saint in the gable of the main compartment suggest that the Yale triptych may have been commissioned for a confraternity or oratory dedicated to the saint. Confraternities devoted to Saint John the Baptist or to San Giovanni Decollato, the patron saint of condemned prisoners, were often involved with the care and spiritual assistance of those awaiting execution.¹³ The possibility that the Yale triptych may have been commissioned for such an organization is underscored by the message of penitence and redemption reflected in the combination of the Baptist scenes with a complete Christological cycle and by the focus, in the central panel, on events from the Passion instead of the more typical image of the Virgin and Child. —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 42, no. 10; Sturgis 1868, 19, no. 4; Brown 1871, 11, no. 4; Rankin 1895, 138; Rankin 1905, 7, no. 4; Sirén 1916a, 29–30, no. 9, fig. 9; van Marle 1924c, 298, fig. 151; Offner 1927a, 41–42, no. 9, figs. 34, 34a–b; Garrison 1949, 131, no. 345; Seymour 1970, 106, no. 74,

fig. 74; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 236–37, 599; De Marchi 1986, 55n10; Boskovits 1988b, 137; Freuler 1991, 124, fig. 2

NOTES

1. Sirén 1916a, 29–30, no. 9, fig. 9.
2. van Marle 1924c, 298, fig. 151; and Offner 1927a, 41–42, no. 9, figs. 34, 34a–b.
3. Garrison 1949, 131, no. 345.
4. Seymour 1970, 106, no. 74, fig. 74.
5. Inv. no. 1975.1.99, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/459041>.
6. De Marchi 1986, 55n10.
7. Galleria Nazionale di Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome, inv. no. 1441; and National Gallery, London, inv. no. NG6656, <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/giovanni-da-rimini-scenes-from-the-lives-of-the-virgin-and-other-saints>.
8. The execution of the Paduan cycle is traditionally placed around 1324, the date recorded on the lost polyptych by Giuliano and Pietro da Rimini for the same church. The dating of the Santa Chiara frescoes has oscillated from as early as around 1320 (see Pier Giorgio Pasini, in Emiliani, Montanari, and Pasini 1995, 45–67) to the 1330s. A date not far removed from the Paduan cycle, as suggested by Massimo Medica, seems most likely; see Medica 1995, 102–5.
9. Galleria Nazionale dell’Umbria, Perugia, inv. no. 68; and Kunsthau, Zürich. For a color illustration of the reverse of the Zürich panel, see Pasini 1990, 152.
10. See Daniele Benati, in Bon Valvassina and Garibaldi 1994, 158–60. Miklós Boskovits’s identification of the Master of Verucchio with Francesco da Rimini (in Boskovits 1988a, 40; and Boskovits 1993b, 163–67) is questioned by Benati. See also Benati 1995a, 52–54; and, more recently, Benati 2008, 26, 35n32.
11. National Gallery, London, inv. no. 6503, <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/francesco-da-rimini-the-vision-of-the-blessed-clare-of-rimini>.
12. Alessandro Marchi, in Benati 1995b, 226–29, nos. 33–34.
13. On these confraternities, see, most recently, Terpstra 2019, 212–31 (with previous bibliography).



Pseudo-Dalmasio, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Angels*

Artist	Pseudo-Dalmasio, Bologna, active second quarter 14th century
Title	<i>Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Angels</i>
Date	ca. 1340–45
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 51.1 × 39.9 cm (20 1/8 × 15 3/4 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.260

Provenance

Art market, Italy; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1926

Condition

The panel support, 2.7 centimeters thick, has been neither thinned nor cradled, but all four edges have been beveled slightly at the back. A split rising the full height of the panel, approximately 25.5 centimeters from the left edge (viewed from the front), has been repaired and strengthened on the reverse with the insertion of sections of new wood. Two dowel holes have been drilled into the right edge of the panel, 7 and 37.5 centimeters (on center) from the bottom edge; the left edge of the panel shows no trace of dowel holes nor any other form of attachment to another adjacent structure. Three prominent candle burns interrupt the surface along the bottom edge, 24, 29.5, and 37.5 centimeters from the left edge of the panel. The gilding and paint surface have been severely and extensively abraded, as can be seen in photographs following the 1964–67 cleaning by Andrew Petryn (fig. 1). The painting was most recently restored and some of the losses reintegrated by Daniele Rossi in 2012.



Fig. 1. *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Angels*, before 2012

Discussion

The painting, heavily retouched at an unknown date before entering the collection of Maitland Griggs and subsequently subjected to harsh “cleaning” in 1964–67, was restored to some semblance of its original

appearance in 2012. Notwithstanding the significant losses—most noticeable in the heads of the Virgin and of the angels in the background but also extending to surface decorative effects—the image still retains much of its original charm, derived from the unusual composition and palette. Referred to by Roberto Longhi as the Madonna “of the flying carpet” (“del tappeto volante”),¹ the panel depicts the Virgin and Child “seated” on a brocaded cloth of honor held aloft by four angels rather than on a solid throne. Conceived with a close attention to naturalistic detail, two kneeling angels, dressed in brilliant orange robes with yellow highlights, are shown holding onto the edges of the heavy material, sagging under the weight of the bodies. Judging from old photographs (fig. 2), the other two angels, standing in the background, may originally have been depicted holding up the other end of the cloth, now seemingly suspended in midair. The figures are placed above the kind of marble platform usually reserved for a throne, its edges carefully painted to evoke the rich veining of the material. The Virgin, wearing an exquisite mauve-colored mantle lined with green over a white gown, supports the half-naked Christ Child on her lap; a diaphanous veil is draped over His left shoulder and a brilliant red blanket covers His lower half. With His right hand—whose present form is a modern restoration—the Child gestures toward the words, no longer legible, in a small volume held open by the Virgin, perhaps a book of hours. The precious, enamel-like quality of the panel was undoubtedly once magnified by the gilt borders that formerly decorated the figures’ robes and by the gilt sgraffito designs incised over the cloth of honor.

The painting was acquired by Griggs in Italy in 1926 as a work of the Giottesque Northern school of painting and reportedly attributed by Bernard Berenson to Vitale da Bologna.² In 1927 Richard Offner assigned it more generically to the Bolognese-Romagnole school around 1350,³ and it was exhibited as such in the 1930 exhibition of the Griggs collection in New York.⁴ Subsequent scholarship ignored the Yale *Virgin*, until Wilhelm Suida published it for the first time among the works of Vitale da Bologna, highlighting its distinctive qualities: “This fascinating small painting . . . is as unique in its composition as it is in its coloristic character. It unites solidity of structure with grace and sensitiveness and a preference for rare and exceptional colors. . . . I believe that when [it] is exhibited together with the primitives of the Jarves collection, it will be one of the favorite treasures of the Yale University Museum.”⁵



Fig. 2. *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Angels*, before 1964

Suida’s appreciative assessment of the Yale *Virgin* was composed on the eve of Longhi’s groundbreaking exhibition of Bolognese trecento painting, held from May to July 1950. Among Longhi’s major contributions was a first effort to delineate the personality of the mysterious Bolognese painter then known as “Dalmasio,” under whose name he exhibited a stylistically coherent group of images headed by the *Crucifixion* in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna (fig. 3), and including the Yale panel.⁶ In addition to the latter, the same hand was identified by Longhi in the following works: the *Crucifixion* previously attributed to Vitale in the Acton Collection, Villa la Pietra, Florence; the *Virgin and Child* formerly in the Kirk Askew collection, now in the Alana Collection, Newark, Delaware; the *Flagellation* formerly in the Kress collection, now in the Seattle Art Museum (fig. 4); the *Descent from the Cross* formerly in the Visconti di Modrone collection, Milan, now in a private collection, New York; and a series of quadrilobes with saints, presently divided among the Richard Feigen collection in New York, the Detroit Institute of Arts, the National Gallery of Ireland in Dublin, and an unknown collection.⁷ For Longhi, these works were the product of a Bolognese follower of Vitale, strongly influenced by Tuscan Orcagnesque models. Based on the recognition of the same hand in a series of frescoes in the Saint Gregory



Fig. 3. Pseudo-Dalmasio, *The Crucifixion*, 1340–45. Tempera and gold on panel, 125 × 61.5 cm (49 1/4 × 24 1/4 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, inv. no. 215

Chapel in Santa Maria Novella, Florence, and in the church of San Francesco, Pistoia, Longhi tentatively proposed that the artist be identified with Dalmasio degli Scannabecchi, the only Bolognese painter recorded in Tuscany around the middle of the fourteenth century. Although no signed works by him survive, archival evidence testifies to Dalmasio's presence in Bologna from 1350 to 1356; in Pistoia in 1359 and 1365; and again in Bologna from 1369 to 1373, the year he composed his will.⁸



Fig. 4. Pseudo-Dalmasio, *The Flagellation*, ca. 1340–45. Tempera and gold on panel, 71.1 × 49.5 cm (28 × 19 1/2 in.). Seattle Art Museum, Samuel H. Kress Collection, inv. no. 61.147

While unanimously acknowledging the homogeneity of Longhi's grouping, later critics have remained divided over the dating of these works and their proposed association with the historical Dalmasio. In the first lengthy examination of the problem, Gian Lorenzo Mellini essentially concurred with Longhi's assessment and traced the artist's career from the Pistoia frescoes, securely dated 1343, to the later Santa Maria Novella frescoes, for which he proposed a date between 1353 and 1356, to the series of panel paintings, including the Yale *Virgin*, which he dated in the 1360s.⁹ Writing around the same time, Charles Seymour, Jr., on the other hand, put the execution of the Yale *Virgin* at around 1340, arguing that it appeared to be "far more Tuscan in style" than the Bologna *Crucifixion* and Seattle *Flagellation* and strongly influenced by Giotto's models.¹⁰ Anticipating a hypothesis later developed by Michel Laclotte, Seymour cautiously speculated whether the young Dalmasio might in fact have had firsthand contact with Giotto's workshop, possibly as one of the local assistants involved in the

execution of Giotto's signed polyptych in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna.¹¹

Seymour's precocious dating of the Yale *Virgin*, reiterated by all subsequent scholarship, was consistent with the radical revision of Longhi's chronology that would be undertaken by Luciano Bellosi in two fundamental studies in 1974 and 1977.¹² Casting serious doubts on the identification with Dalmasio degli Scannabecchi, Bellosi confined the production of the artist—to whom he assigned the label of convenience "Pseudo-Dalmasio"—to the first half of the fourteenth century and viewed him as a precursor rather than a follower of Vitale. If the majority of critics embraced Bellosi's arguments, some authors continued to leave open the possibility of an attribution to the documented Dalmasio,¹³ but acknowledging the likelihood of an early career in the fourth decade.¹⁴

In the most recent and comprehensive reexamination of the "Dalmasio" question to date, Damien Cerutti focused extensively on the importance of the Yale panel in the debate, while presenting new evidence about its original provenance and structure.¹⁵ Following upon the intuition of previous scholars,¹⁶ Cerutti convincingly demonstrated that the Yale *Virgin* was originally included in the same complex as the Bologna *Crucifixion* (see fig. 3) and the Seattle *Flagellation* (see fig. 4), two paintings that Longhi had already considered part of a single altarpiece.¹⁷ As Cerutti noted, an examination of the carpentry of each panel confirms that the Bologna *Crucifixion* was the central element of a pentaptych, with the Yale *Virgin* on its outer left, followed by the Seattle *Flagellation*. To the right of the *Crucifixion* would have been two other scenes, possibly showing other events from Christ's Passion, such as the Descent from the Cross and Entombment.¹⁸ The placement of the image of the Virgin and Child on one end rather than in the center of the altarpiece would have been unthinkable in a Tuscan context but was perhaps less so in Bologna, under the influence of Venetian and Riminese models. In this instance, as noted by Cerutti, the Virgin's position would be consonant with the narrative thrust of the altarpiece and its Eucharistic content, highlighting her role in offering up her Son for sacrifice—a notion perhaps alluded to by the no-longer-legible text in her book. Based on the early provenance of the *Crucifixion* from the Carmelite church of San Martino Maggiore in Bologna, which also contains a fresco attributed to the artist, Cerutti reasonably concluded that the complex was most likely commissioned for that institution.

Cerutti, who preferred the label "Pseudo-Dalmasio," dated the artist's activity between around 1330 and the end of the 1340s. His study traced the gradual evolution of the artist's approach from an initial adherence to Bolognese formulas, reflected in the ex-Askew *Virgin and Child*, considered his earliest work, toward an increasing "Tuscanization," influenced by direct contact with Giotto, that reaches its fullest expression in the Yale *Virgin*. Cerutti placed the execution of the San Martino Maggiore altarpiece between 1338 and 1342, immediately after the Santa Maria Novella frescoes, which he dated around 1336–37, and just before the 1343 Pistoia cycle. His reconstruction and dating of the complex rightfully acknowledged the stylistic continuity between these panels and both Tuscan fresco cycles, often placed at opposite ends of the artist's activity.

Crucial to the debate over the painter's identity until now has been the interpretation of a 1336 document recording the transfer of patronage of the Saint Gregory Chapel in Santa Maria Novella to the heirs of Riccardo di Ricco de' Bardi. While Bellosi considered this date a *terminus ante quem* for the decoration of the chapel, others, like Mellini and Miklós Boskovits, viewed it as a *terminus post quem* in favor of a much later chronology, after the Pistoia cycle.¹⁹ As demonstrated by Irene Hueck, who pointed out that the dedication of the chapel to Saint Gregory predates 1316 at the latest and is unrelated to the Bardi patronage, the conclusions that can be drawn from Riccardo's will are, in fact, very fluid.²⁰ What may be inferred from other records is that the new decoration, replacing an earlier cycle (surviving fragments of which are now attributed to Duccio), was most likely undertaken sometime between 1336 and 1346.²¹ Stylistic considerations, moreover, suggest that the involvement of the Pseudo-Dalmasio in the execution of the predella of Giotto's altarpiece in Bologna, painted around 1333, is not as self-evident as is sometimes maintained in current scholarship. Since the attribution to the artist of the dated 1333 triptych in the Musée du Louvre, Paris,²² has been questioned by most recent authors, including Cerutti,²³ it is perhaps worth reconsidering the presumed fixed points for the artist's activity, aside from the 1343 Pistoia frescoes. —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Exhibition of Italian Primitive Paintings 1930, no. 28; Longhi 1950, reprinted in Longhi 1973, 160; Suida 1950, 52, 57, fig. 60; Suida and Fuller 1954, 22; Mellini 1970, 49, fig. 35; Seymour 1970, 104–5, no. 72; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; David Arnheim, in Seymour et al. 1972, 38, no. 28; Castagnoli 1978, 98; Benati 1986, 1:220, fig. 332, 2:567; Benati 1994; Stefano Tumidei, in *Italiae* 1996, 53; Strehlke 2004, 108; Volpe 2004, 9; Benati 2005, 66, fig. 2; De Marchi 2009, 74;

Bagnarol 2010, 97n1; Cova 2018; del Monaco 2018a, 19; Cerutti 2019, 1:36–38, 282–84, 286–89, 295–97, 2: fig. II.2; Humphrey 2021, 89, no. 51

NOTES

1. Longhi 1950, reprinted in Longhi 1973, 160.
2. Maitland Griggs, 1927, recorded in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York.
3. Richard Offner, verbal communication, recorded in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York.
4. *Exhibition of Italian Primitive Paintings* 1930, no. 28.
5. Suida 1950, 52.
6. Longhi 1950, reprinted in Longhi 1973, 160.
7. Detroit Institute of Arts, inv. no. 37.189.2; and National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, inv. no. NGI.1113. For discussions of these works, see, most recently, Cerutti 2019.
8. Cova 2018 (with previous bibliography). For a review of the earliest Bolognese documents, see Cerutti 2019, 18–20. The present author is extremely grateful to Damien Cerutti for sharing several chapters of his thesis.
9. Mellini 1970, 49.
10. Seymour 1970, 104–5, no. 72.
11. Inv. no. 284, https://www.pinacotecabologna.beniculturali.it/content_page/item/186-polittico-186. Michel Laclotte went on to suggest that the hand of Dalmasio might be identified in the predella of Giotto's altarpiece; see Michel Laclotte, in Ressorit 1978, 62n7.
12. Bellosi 1974, 84; and Bellosi 1977, 24.
13. See Benati 1986, 1:220, 2:567; Benati 1994; Volpe 2004, 9; and Strehlke 2004, 108.
14. Highlighting the uncertainties that characterize the debate, Daniele Benati (in Benati 2005) and Carl Brandon Strehlke (in Strehlke 2005, 174–75) later revised their initial opinions in favor of Bellosi's proposal. The attribution to "Dalmasio" was reiterated, however, by Flavio Boggi and Robert Gibbs, as well as by Damien Cerutti; see Boggi and Gibbs 2010, 15–19; and Cerutti 2012, 55. Cerutti modified his opinion in Cerutti 2019.
15. Cerutti 2019, 1:36–38, 282–84, 286–89, 295–97; 2: fig. II.2.
16. Castagnoli 1978, 98; and De Marchi 2009, 74.
17. The idea that the Bologna and Seattle panels must originally have formed part of the same structure, based on stylistic and technical evidence, was put forth by Roberto Longhi as far back as 1937, in an expertise written for Samuel H. Kress, who acquired the panel in 1939 from Count Alessandro Contini Bonacossi, Florence. See "Dalmasio Scannabeechi, *The Flagellation* (K1206)," in Kress Collection Digital Archive, <https://kress.nga.gov/Detail/objects/2721>; and Shapley 1966, 71–72.
18. For a reconstruction, see Cerutti 2019, 2: fig. VII.1.
19. Boskovits 1975b, 205n131. Boskovits, who dated the frescoes on a stylistic basis alone between 1350 and 1355, speculated that the commission might have been related to a testamentary bequest of Andrea de' Bardi (1285–1349), brother of Riccardo and a monk in Santa Maria Novella. In addition to Andrea, two other members from a different branch of the Bardi family were also living within the convent walls at the time of Riccardo's will: Ranuccio di Bartolo Bardi and his brother Ugo. The latter held the important positions of subprior and convent bursar for long periods between 1333 and 1365; see Ravalli 2015, 199, 244nn96–97.
20. Hueck 1976, 264. The mistaken notion that the chapel was dedicated to Saint Gregory on the occasion of the transfer of patronage to the Bardi is, surprisingly, still frequently repeated in the literature.
21. See Panella O.P., "Cappella Bardi, o di San Gregorio, o del Rosario," January 2007, <http://archivio.smn.it/arte/ch11.htm>. Panella proposes to identify a now lost "libro di ricordanze" compiled by Fra Giovanni degli Infangati around 1342–46 as the source for the sixteenth-century Dominican chronicler Modesto Biliotti, who alluded to an "old volume" in which it was stated that the frescoes had been commissioned by Riccardo's sons. Based on Biliotti's information, Irene Hueck concluded that the frescoes must have been commissioned sometime during the lifetime of Riccardo's sons, who are named in the will as Piero, Alessandro, and Tommaso; see Hueck 1976, 264n5.
22. Inv. no. 20197, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010065523>.
23. Cerutti 2019, 1:32–34 (with a review of previous literature). The triptych is currently attributed to an anonymous "Master of 1333."



Simone di Filippo (Simone dei Crocifissi), *The Crucifixion; The Coronation of the Virgin; Christ between the Twelve Apostles*

Artist	Simone di Filippo (Simone dei Crocifissi), Bologna, ca. 1330–1399
Title	<i>The Crucifixion; The Coronation of the Virgin; Christ between the Twelve Apostles</i>
Date	ca. 1385–90
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 56.9 × 66.7 cm (22 3/8 × 26 1/4 in.); picture surface: 49.4 × 59.3 cm (19 1/2 × 23 3/8 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz, 1959
Inv. No.	1959.15.3

Provenance

Giovanni Gozzadini (1810–1887), Eremo di Ronzano, Bologna; by descent to Gozzadina Gozzadini (1845–1899); Alvise Francesco Orso Da Schio (1840–1920), 1905;¹ Gozzadini sale, A. Rambaldi, Bologna, March 12–13, 1906, lot 50; E. and A. Silberman Galleries, New York, by 1936; Hannah D. Rabinowitz and Louis M. Rabinowitz (1887–1957), Sands Point, Long Island, N.Y., by 1945

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, has been thinned to a depth of 7 millimeters, cradled, and waxed. It is much consumed by woodworm damage, especially along the bottom edge, and is interrupted by numerous splits, four of which extend the full height of the panel: at the left through the figure of the Crucified Christ and the Magdalen's arms; at the right through the Virgin's right shoulder, through Christ's outstretched right hand, and through Christ's left shoulder. These full splits have resulted in extensive paint loss, above all in the body of the Crucified Christ and in the Virgin's blue robe in the

Coronation scene. At the bottom, the second and fourth apostles from the left and the second apostle from the right are compromised by paint losses, and in the Crucifixion scene, a candle burn has left a large area of loss in Saint John the Evangelist's thigh. The gold ground in the *Crucifixion* is heavily abraded, exposing bolus and gesso throughout, but it is well preserved in the predella. The paint surface, except for the described losses, is unusually well preserved, having suffered minimal abrasion other than unnecessarily harsh cleaning of some of the lighter-colored draperies when the panel was treated by Andrew Petryn at an unrecorded date after 1970. Fragmentary remnants of a barb are preserved along all four edges of the paint surface. The mark of a carpenter's saw cutting a mitered corner for the original engaged frame is preserved at the upper-right margin of the panel.

Discussion

This small panel, most likely intended for private devotion, is divided into two equal sections separated by a strip of punched gold. On the left is the Crucified Christ

between the Mourning Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist, with the penitent Magdalen at the foot of the Cross. The Virgin wears a blue mantle lined in yellow with red highlights over a (repainted) blue dress. Mary Magdalen is dressed in a light blue gown with gold trim and a brilliant red mantle with white lining. Saint John the Evangelist wears a purple cloak lined in light blue over a moss-colored tunic with yellow highlights and gold trim. The *Coronation of the Virgin* shows Christ as king, holding a scepter in His left hand while placing a gold crown over the head of His Mother with His right. The Virgin, in a purple dress and blue mantle with gold borders, bends her head to receive the crown while crossing her hands over her breast. Christ wears a light blue tunic, gathered at the waist by a gold belt, and a purple mantle lined with the same moss color of Saint John the Evangelist's dress. The figures are seated on gold pillows on an invisible throne covered by a bright red, ermine-lined cloth of honor with a gold pomegranate pattern. In the background is a starry sky and the arched vault of the Heavens, beyond which eleven angels stand witness to the event; two of them, in lavender-colored gowns, reach over the arch to hold up the cloth of honor. Below the *Crucifixion* and *Coronation*, separated by another strip of punched gold, are bust-length images of the twelve apostles, with the figure of Christ in the middle.

The Yale panel is first recorded in the collection of the Bolognese nobleman Giovanni Gozzadini, who described it among the objects in his residence in Ronzano, an old hermitage in the hills outside Bologna that he acquired in 1848. Gozzadini, who attributed the picture to Simone dei Crocifissi, listed it after two other works by the artist also in his possession: a larger signed *Coronation of the Virgin*, now in a private collection in Turin, and two laterals of an unidentified altarpiece showing Saint Anthony Abbot and Saint Thaddeus, later in the Spinelli collection, Florence (present location unknown).² Mentioned later was a fourth work by Simone, described by Gozzadini as “one of the most precious” that the artist had ever painted—a lunette with the Trinity between Saint Gerald of Aurillac, Saint John the Baptist, Saint Benedict, and an unidentified male saint, presently in the Paintings Gallery of the Academy of Fine Arts, Vienna.³ At the 1906 sale of the Gozzadini collection, the Yale panel and the *Trinity*, along with two pinnacles with the Annunciation by Paolo Veneziano now in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut,⁴ were arbitrarily joined together to form a small altarpiece attributed to Simone and listed as a single lot (fig. 1).⁵ Subsequent authors referred to the complex, known only through the reproduction published in the



Fig. 1. Reconstruction of *The Crucifixion; The Coronation of the Virgin; Christ between the Twelve Apostles*, from the 1906 Gozzadini sale

Gozzadini sale catalogue, as a typical work of the artist. Raimond van Marle related it to the signed *Christ and the Virgin Enthroned with Saints and Two Donors* panel in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna (fig. 2), and based on the presence of a supposed portrait of Pope Urban V in the latter, he dated both works to Urban's pontificate (1362–70).⁶ The correspondences between the Bologna picture and the Yale/Vienna complex were also noted by Wart Arslan, who identified them as products of a presumed “third follower” of Simone, active in the artist's workshop in the 1360s.⁷



Fig. 2. Simone di Filippo (Simone dei Crocifissi), *Christ and the Virgin Enthroned with Saints and Two Donors; Crucifixion*, ca. 1390. Tempera and gold on panel, 80.5 × 77 cm (31 3/4 × 30 3/8 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, inv. no. 302



Fig. 3. Simone di Filippo (Simone dei Crocifissi), *Coronation of the Virgin*, 1382. Tempera and gold on panel. Opera Pia Zoni, Bologna

By the time Yale panel reappeared on the art market in 1936, it had been separated from the Vienna lunette and Hartford pinnacles.⁸ Since then, scholars have concurred in situating it among Simone's autograph production. With the exception of Charles Seymour, Jr., who dated the panel around 1370,⁹ most authors have placed the Yale *Crucifixion and Coronation* in the 1380s, including it among the numerous small panels for private devotion produced by Simone's busy workshop during this decade—a period when the artist's professional success can also be measured by the various important roles he held in public office.¹⁰ The serial nature of this production, however, defined by a repetition of motifs and figural types, makes a relative dating difficult. The only fixed *terminus post quem* for the Yale panel is the signed and dated 1382 *Coronation of the Virgin* formerly in the church of Santa Maria Incoronata, in Bologna, and now in the Opera Pia Zoni (fig. 3). Including the Yale example, this image is one of at least ten versions of the

subject painted by the artist according to the Venetian prototype, with Christ crowning with one hand and holding a scepter in the other—and, in the background, a starry sky and the arch of the Heavens with one or more rows of angels.¹¹ In contrast to the tight execution of the *Incoronata* panel, the Yale painting is distinguished by the heavier outlines, deep shadows, and caricatured expressiveness—especially noticeable in the grimacing features of the mourning figures in the *Crucifixion*—that are generally associated with the last decades of the artist's activity. Although these elements prompted Arslan to posit the intervention of an assistant, the harmonious color symmetry and lavish attention to decorative details in the haloes and punched borders of the Yale picture are consistent with the artist's vision. As noted by the earliest critics, the closest work in terms of compositional format and style is the signed altarpiece with Christ and the Virgin Enthroned in Bologna (see fig. 2), which also shows multiple scenes spread over a unified picture field and retains its original engaged frame, whose simplicity of design may provide a clue to the missing molding in the Yale panel. The more aggressive chiaroscuro of the Bologna painting is possibly indicative of a marginally later date of execution, as suggested by past scholars, although the stripped state of the Yale picture surface should perhaps be taken into consideration before drawing any firm conclusions. Most recently, Gianluca del Monaco preferred to compare the Yale *Crucifixion*, and especially the figure Saint John the Evangelist, to a devotional triptych by Simone in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (fig. 4), and dated these two images between 1385 and 1390, placing the Bologna panel between 1390 and 1395.¹²



Fig. 4. Simone di Filippo (Simone dei Crocifissi), *Crucifixion Triptych*, ca. 1385–90. Tempera and gold on panel, 45.5 × 58 cm (17 7/8 × 22 7/8 in.). Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, inv. no. WA1892.8

In his discussion of Simone's oeuvre, del Monaco discerned a close stylistic proximity between the Yale *Crucifixion and Coronation* and the Vienna lunette with the Trinity, which he assigned to the same period.¹³ While highlighting the different states of preservation of the two panels, already evident at the time of the Gozzadini sale, del Monaco cautiously speculated whether they may, in fact, have originally belonged to the same complex, in an arrangement comparable to that attempted in the Gozzadini sale. Del Monaco cited as a precedent the multitiered structure of Tommaso da Modena's small altarpiece in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna.¹⁴ Such a hypothesis seems unlikely, however, given the radically different framing elements of the Yale and Vienna panels. Additionally, the *Trinity* appears marked by a tighter, more polished approach and less pronounced mannerisms in the rendering of facial expressions that suggest an earlier chronology.¹⁵ These qualifications aside, the vertical grain of the Yale panel does leave open the possibility that it could have had another unidentified element above it. —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Gozzadini 1851, 117n216; Rambaldi 1906, 17–18, lot 50, pl. 8; Baldani 1909, 465, pl. 10; van Marle 1924c, 448; Arslan 1930, 19; *Centennial*

Exposition 1936, 14, 18, no. 16; Venturi 1945, 9–10, pl. 5; Longhi 1946, reprinted in Longhi 1978, 41; *YUAG Bulletin* 1960, 53; Seymour 1961, 54; Volpe 1967, 88, fig. 24; Seymour 1970, 102–3, no. 71, fig. 71; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 601; Jean K. Cadogan, in Cadogan 1991, 252; Andrea De Marchi, in Laclotte et al. 2005, 118, 121, fig. 109; Ada Labriola, in Boskovits 2009a, 191n12; del Monaco 2018b, 69, 200–202, 232, no. 69, pl. 65

NOTES

1. With the death in 1899 of Gozzadini, Giovanni's only child, the Gozzadini family line was extinguished. In 1905, after a protracted legal battle over the terms of Gozzadini's will, the Gozzadini Palace in Bologna and the villa in Ronzano, together with its art collection, were awarded to her cousin, Alvise Francesco Orso. The latter organized the sale of the entire collection the following year. See Bellini 2019, 245–328.
2. Gozzadini 1851, 117n216.
3. Inv. no. A 31. See Gozzadini 1851, 117–18n216.
4. Inv. nos. 41.156, 41.157.
5. Rambaldi 1906. In the same sale (lot 85), Simone's other two panels with Saints Anthony Abbot and Thaddeus had also been arbitrarily joined to two cusps with the *Annunciation*. See del Monaco 2018b, 179–80, nos. 50a–b.
6. van Marle 1924c, 448.
7. Arslan 1930, 19.
8. *Centennial Exposition* 1936, 14, 18, no. 16, where it was listed as property of E. and A. Silberman Galleries, New York. For the provenance history of the Hartford pinnacles, recognized as works of Paolo Veneziano by Longhi (in Longhi 1946, reprinted in Longhi 1978, 41); see Jean Cadogan, in Cadogan 1991, 252.
9. Seymour 1970, 102–3, no. 71, fig. 71.
10. del Monaco 2018b, 80–81.
11. For a discussion of the prototype and different versions by Simone, see Andrea De Marchi, in Laclotte et al. 2005, 118–21; and Ada Labriola, in Boskovits 2009a, 190–91.
12. del Monaco 2018b, 137–38, no. 27; 200–201, no. 69; and 202, no. 70.
13. del Monaco 2018b, 231–32, no. 93.
14. Inv. no. 289.
15. The Vienna panel is unusual in that it includes a rare, if not unique, image in Italian painting of Saint Gerald of Aurillac, identified by the inscription "s.[anctus] geraldus" in red ink on the frame below him. Especially venerated in France, Gerald was born around the middle of the ninth century C.E. in the Auvergne region of the French Alps. According to the *Vita*

Geraldi by Odo of Cluny, he was a nobleman and warrior who became known for his piety, chastity, and pacifism. One of the few medieval lay saints, he never took holy orders but left all of his land and wealth for the foundation of a Benedictine monastery at the site of what would become the modern city of Aurillac. See Kuefler 2014. In the Vienna lunette, he is depicted as a knight in golden armor with a red ermine-lined cloak, a symbol of nobility. Kneeling in adoration opposite him is Saint Benedict, also identified by an inscription. Like Simone's 1368

Pietà for Johannes of Elthinl, commissioned for a foreign resident—possibly a German scholar or student at the famous University of Bologna—the *Trinity* may originally have decorated a small tabernacle or funerary monument for a French patron in the city, perhaps a prelate affiliated with the monastery at Aurillac.



Barnaba da Modena, *Mourning Virgin*

Artist	Barnaba da Modena, Genoa and Pisa, documented 1361–83
Title	<i>Mourning Virgin</i>
Date	ca. 1375–80
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	33.0 × 29.7 cm (13 × 11 3/4 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1942.323

Provenance

Icilio Federico Joni (1866–1946), Siena; Dan Fellows Platt (1873–1937), Englewood, N.J., 1909; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1926

Condition

The panel, of a horizontal grain exhibiting a modest convex warp, measures 1.5 centimeters in depth and apparently has not been thinned except for slight beveling along all four sides of the reverse. The composition has been trimmed by a few millimeters at the left, top, and right edges, cropping the tips of an arcade of punch decoration. The lowest 2 centimeters of the picture field have been scraped down to gesso and linen across the full width of the panel. The paint surface has been almost entirely consumed by caustic solvent damage, the dry, leached effect exacerbated by a gray synthetic varnish applied by Andrew Petryn following a cleaning in 1958.

Discussion

Acquired by Maitland Griggs in 1926 in a damaged and heavily repainted state, this painting of the Mourning Virgin was given only a generic attribution by Richard Offner to the Sienese school in the second quarter of the

fourteenth century.¹ Bernard Berenson was the first to advance a qualified attribution to Pietro Lorenzetti,² a name that accompanied the painting into at least the mid-1970s.³ In his review of Charles Seymour, Jr.'s 1970 catalogue of the Yale collection, Everett Fahy pointed out the painting's relation to a panel formerly in the Van Gelder collection at Uccle, Belgium, representing the mourning Saint John the Evangelist (fig. 1).⁴ The Van Gelder panel, which has clearly been cropped at the sides and bottom, is similar in size (30.5 × 25.4 cm) to the Yale panel and identical to it in the punched decoration of its gold ground. Fahy called both pictures simply Sienese, ca. 1340, and Carlo Volpe also refused to commit to an attribution to Pietro Lorenzetti or his workshop.⁵ The ex-Van Gelder *Saint John*, by then with the dealer Piero Corsini, was attributed by Miklós Boskovits to Barnaba da Modena but apparently without referencing the Yale *Virgin* alongside it. This attribution was first reported by Giuliana Algeri in 1989, again without mentioning the companion panel at Yale, and she also advanced a proposal to date the painting to the late 1370s.⁶ Both panels were finally published as Barnaba da Modena in Mojmír Frinta's catalogue of punch-tool decoration of gold-ground panels.⁷



Fig. 1. Barnaba da Modena, *Mourning Saint John the Evangelist*, ca. 1375–80. Tempera and gold on panel, 30.5 × 25.4 cm (12 × 10 in.). Location unknown

Both the attribution to Barnaba da Modena and the proposal to date these panels to the late 1370s are fully persuasive. Although the condition of both, especially of the Yale panel, makes any precise judgment impossible, the outlines of the figures and the tension of their postures are closely related to similar details in the altarpiece by Barnaba in San Bartolomeo del Fossato, Genoa. Algeri rehearsed the contradictory arguments for dating this altarpiece advanced by earlier scholarship and concluded, again persuasively, by accepting a date between December 1377 and September 1382. Given such a dating, it is unclear whether the Yale and Van Gelder panels might have been painted in Genoa or in Pisa, where Barnaba had relocated by June 1379. As it first appeared on the market in Siena in 1909, it might be presumed that this panel more likely had a Tuscan (i.e., Pisan) rather than Ligurian provenance, but in the absence of further documentary material, such circumstantial evidence is purely speculative.

One further unresolved argument in studies of the Yale and Van Gelder panels is whether they might have formed parts of an altarpiece predella, presumably flanking a lost image of Christ as the Man of Sorrows⁸ or terminals of a large painted crucifix.⁹ Again, definitive evidence is lacking, but it seems more likely that the panels were excised from a predella. The Yale panel retains what appears to be its original thickness, with original cross-grain gouges of a planing tool on the reverse, and this thickness, only 15 millimeters, would seem insufficient to the terminals of a large painted cross. Furthermore, such terminals in surviving fourteenth-century examples generally extend slightly above and below the width of the crossarm of the crucifix and are therefore composed of three boards: one wider central board continuing the plank of the crossarm and two others, considerably smaller, joined to it at the top and bottom for the vertical

extensions and for any decorative framing elements that might also have been included. The Yale panel shows no evidence of any seams from such a construction. Finally, pre-“restoration” photographs of the Yale panel (fig. 2) show a painted strip running the width of the panel along its lower edge. In its present state, this strip has been reduced to exposed linen, but fragments of original green paint are preserved in this area, suggesting that it once portrayed either a decorative framing element or an illusionistic “shelf” or ledge behind which the Virgin appeared. The Van Gelder panel has been reduced in height, eliminating any trace of such a painted strip across its base. While not conclusive, the presence of such a painted device again seems more appropriate to a predella than to a painted crucifix.



Fig. 2. *Mourning Virgin*, before 1958

Barnaba da Modena painted at least two Virgin and Child compositions of a domestic, devotional scale that include small painted predellas with Christ as the Man of Sorrows in their center, flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist. One of these, now in the Alana Collection, Newark, Delaware, is dated 1380 by inscription. The other was formerly in a private collection in Genoa (current location unknown; also recorded in a contemporary copy in the Kress Collection at the Benton Museum of Art at Pomona College, Claremont, California), leading to the presumption that the type might have been Genoese in origin.¹⁰ Paintings of a similar format appeared in the

first half of the century in Siena, particularly in the workshop of Lippo Memmi and Simone Martini, so it remains unclear whether it is possible to localize a market for paintings with this subject matter. The Man of Sorrows as a presence in altarpiece predellas is commonly encountered throughout Tuscany in the fourteenth century. In the Veneto, by contrast, that subject generally appears in altarpiece pinnacles rather than predellas. Insufficient evidence survives from fourteenth-century Liguria to be conclusive. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Berenson 1932a, 293; Berenson 1968, 1:219; Seymour 1970, 79, no. 52; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 8, no. 52; Preiser 1973, 234, 382, 415, no. 227; Fahy 1974, 285; Volpe 1989, 205–6; Frinta 1998, 1:179, 219

NOTES

1. Opinion, 1927, recorded in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York.

2. Berenson 1932a, 293; and Berenson 1968, 1:219.
3. Seymour 1970, 79, no. 52; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 8, no. 52; and Preiser 1973, 234, 382, 415, no. 227.
4. Fahy 1974, 285. The Van Gelder painting was sold at Christie's, London, May 14, 1971, lot 14.
5. Volpe 1989, 205–6.
6. Algeri 1989, 189–210.
7. Frinta 1998, 1:179, 219.
8. Seymour 1970, 79, no. 52; and Preiser 1973, 234, 382, 415, no. 227.
9. Berenson 1932a, 293; Berenson 1968, 1:219; Fahy 1974, 285; and Algeri 1989, 208–9n39.
10. Di Fabio 2011, 433–44.

Volume 2: 1420–1500

Coming soon

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Volume 3: 1500–1800

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Florentine School, *The Crucifixion*, One of Three Panels from a Tabernacle Wing

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

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Fig. 4: From: Miklós Boskovits, with Ada Labriola and Angelo Tartuferi, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting*, sec. 1, vol. 1, *The Origins of Florentine Painting, 1100–1270*, trans. Robert Erich Wolf (Florence: Giunti, 1993), pl. xxvi

Fig. 5: Photo courtesy SCALA/Art Resource, N.Y.

Florentine School, *The Deposition*, One of Three Panels from a Tabernacle Wing

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Florentine School, *The Lamentation*, One of Three Panels from a Tabernacle Wing

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Master of the Yale Dossal, *Virgin and Child Enthroned between Saints Leonard and Peter and Scenes from the Life of Saint Peter*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Fig. 2: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Fig. 3: Photo courtesy Alinari Archives, Florence

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Fig. 6: From: Federico Zeri and Andrea G. De Marchi, *Dipinti: La Spezia, Museo Civico Amedeo Lia*, Cataloghi del Museo Civico Amedeo (Milan: Silvana, 1997), 205, pls. 87–88

Fig. 7: Photo courtesy Luisa Ricciarini/Bridgeman Images

Follower of Meliore, *Triptych*

Fig. 3: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

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Fig. 6: From: Federico Zeri and Andrea G. De Marchi, *Dipinti: La Spezia, Museo Civico Amedeo Lia*, Cataloghi del Museo Civico Amedeo (Milan: Silvana, 1997), 205, pls. 87–88

Master of Varlungo, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Fig. 2: From: Angelo Tartuferi and Mario Scalini, ed., *L'arte a Firenze nell'età di Dante (1250–1300)*, exh. cat. (Florence: Giunti, 2004), 118, no. 19

Lippo di Benivieni, *Virgin and Child with Saints James, John the Baptist, Peter, and Francis*

Fig. 1: From: Richard Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting: The Fourteenth Century*. Sec. 3, vol. 9, *The Painters of the Miniaturist Tendency*, ed. Miklós Boskovits (Florence: Giunti, 1984), pl. 42.

Fig. 2: The Alana Collection, Delaware, USA

Master of Saint Cecilia, *Virgin and Child*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Fig. 2: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Fig. 3: From: Christine Sciacca, ed., *Florence at the Dawn of the Renaissance: Painting and Illumination, 1300–1350* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2012), exh. cat. Photo: Nicolò Orsi Battaglinii/IKONA

Jacopo del Casentino, *The Coronation of the Virgin*

Fig. 3: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

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Jacopo del Casentino, *Virgin and Child*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Bernardo Daddi, *Vision of Saint Dominic*

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Workshop of Bernardo Daddi, *Virgin and Child*

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Fig. 2: Courtesy Minneapolis Institute of Art

Fig. 3 Art Collection/Alamy Stock Photo

Nardo di Cione, *Saint John the Evangelist*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Fig. 2: Richard Offner and Klara Steinweg, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of
Florentine Painting*, sec. 4, vol. 4, *Giovanni del Biondo*, part 2 (New York: Locust
Valley, 1969), 28, pl. iv

Fig. 3: Richard Offner and Klara Steinweg, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of
Florentine Painting*, sec. 4, vol. 4, *Giovanni del Biondo*, part 2 (New York: Locust
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Florentine Painting*, sec. 4, vol. 4, *Giovanni del Biondo*, part 2 (New York: Locust
Valley, 1969), 190, pl. xlv

Fig. 5: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Fig. 6: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

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Andrea di Cione (called Orcagna), *Saint John the Baptist*

Fig. 3: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Fig. 4: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Fig. 5: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Fig. 7: Photo courtesy Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Nardo di Cione, *Virgin and Child*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Taddeo Gaddi, *Virgin and Child Enthroned*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Frick Art Reference Library, New York

Fig. 2: Photo courtesy Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Fig. 3: Photo courtesy Peter Horree/Alamy Stock Photo

Niccolò di Tommaso, *Saint Bridget's Vision of the Nativity*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy the John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art, cat. 120

Fig. 2: Photo courtesy Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

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Matteo di Pacino, *The Nativity and the Resurrection of Christ*

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Fig. 2: Photo courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie/Christoph Schmidt; Public Domain Mark 1.0

Florentine School(?), ca. 1360–70, *The Crucifixion*

Fig. 1: From Stefan Weppelman, *Geschichten auf Gold: Bilderzählungen in der frühen italienischen Malerei*, exh. cat. (Berlin: Dumont, 2005), 197, no. 12

Fig. 2: From: *Gold Backs, 1250–1480*, exh. cat. (London: Matthiesen Fine Art, 1996), 58, no. 5. Proprietà della Fondazione Pisa/Palazzo Blu—Property of the Pisa Foundation/Palazzo Blu

Attributed to Giovanni del Biondo, *Scene from the Legend of Saint John Gualbert*

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Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, *The Adoration of the Magi, One of Three Fragments from a Folding Triptych*

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Master of the Misericordia(?), *Virgin and Child Enthroned between Saints Nicholas, Margaret of Antioch(?), Dorothy, and John the Baptist; The Crucifixion*

Fig. 1: From: Sonia Chiodo, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting*. Sec. 4, vol. 9, *Painters in Florence after the “Black Death”: The Master of the Misericordia and Matteo di Pacino*, ed. Miklós Boskovits (Florence: Giunti, 2011), 309, pl. lii

Fig. 2: Photo courtesy Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022

Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, *The Annunciation*

Fig. 1: Zuri Swimmer/Alamy Stock Photo

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Agnolo Gaddi or Lorenzo Monaco, *Saints Julian, James, and Michael*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Fig. 2: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Fig. 3: By permission of the Ministry of Culture. From: Hans D. Gronau, “A Dispersed Florentine Altarpiece and Its Possible Origin,” *Proporzioni* 3 (1950): pl. 23/fig. 1

Fig. 4: Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington

Lorenzo Monaco, *Portrait of Bernardo di Cino Bartolini Benvenuti de’ Nobili and Four of His Sons: Bartolomeo, Carlo, Benedetto, and Alamanno*

Fig. 1: © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, N.Y. Photo: Tony Querrec

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Fig. 8: Christie's Images, London/Scala, Florence

Fig. 9: Courtesy of Indianapolis Museum of Art at Newfields

Fig. 10: bpk Bildagentur/Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin/Photo: Volker-H. Schneider/Art Resource, N.Y.

Fig. 11: Dillian Gordon, "The Nobili Altarpiece from S. Maria degli Angeli, Florence," *Burlington Magazine* 162, no. 1402 (January 2020): 15

Lorenzo Monaco, *The Crucifixion*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

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Probably Florentine School, ca. 1400, *The Crucifixion with the Penitent Magdalen and Saints*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Lorenzo Ghiberti, *The Stigmatization of Saint Francis*

Fig. 1: Photo: Adélaïde Beaudoin. © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, N.Y.

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Fig. 3: Wawel Royal Castle, phot. Mariusz Mikolajczyk, 3D, Pawel Klak

Fig. 4: Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Ohio

Fig. 5: Photo by Leemage/Corbis via Getty Images

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Mariotto di Nardo, *Scenes from the Legend of Saints Cosmas and Damian*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Luisa Ricciarini/Bridgeman Images

Lippo d'Andrea, *Two Scenes from the Legend of Saint Michael*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Fig. 2: Photo: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pseudo_ambrogio_di_baldese_s.michele,_1420,_da_s.domenico,_02.JPG

Fig. 3: Courtesy Sotheby's, New York

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Florentine School(?), ca. 1410, *Desco da Parto*

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Florentine School, *The Story of Rinaldo da Montalbano, or the Four Sons of Aymon*

Fig. 1: Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, Maine

Fig. 2: Federico Zeri Foundation Photo Archive

Florentine School, ca. 1420–25, *The Agony in the Garden*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Fig. 2: The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore

Fig. 3: Smithsonian American Art Museum

Fig. 4: Berenson Library, Villa I Tatti, Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies

Fig. 5: Gabinetto Fotografico delle Gallerie degli Uffizi

Fig. 6: Gabinetto Fotografico delle Gallerie degli Uffizi—Foto Roberto Palermo

Bicci di Lorenzo, *The Crucifixion with Saints and the Penitent Magdalen*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Fig. 2: Frick Art Reference Library Photoarchive

Fig. 3: Frick Art Reference Library Photoarchive

Fig. 4: From: Pietro Torriti, *La Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena: I dipinti dal XII al XV secolo* (Genoa: Sagep, 1977), fig. 494

Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, *Pilaster Fragment with Saint Catherine of Alexandria*

Fig. 2: © Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia, Italy/Bridgeman Images

Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, *Virgin and Child in Glory with Saint John the Baptist, Saint Peter, and Two Angels*

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“Pseudo Dietisalvi di Speme,” *Crucifixion with the Penitent Magdalen*

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Master of Città di Castello, *Saint John the Baptist*

Fig. 1: Wawel Royal Castle, phot. Mariusz Mikolajczyk, 3D, Pawel Klak

Fig. 2: RealyEasyStar/Claudio Pagliarani/Alamy Stock Photo

Fig. 3: Staatliche Museen für Kunst, National Gallery of Denmark. Photographer SMK Photo/Jacob Schou-Hansen

Fig. 4: From: Luciano Bellosi, ed., *La collezione Salini: Dipinti, sculture e oreficerie dei secoli XII, XIII, XIV e XV*, vol. 1, *Pittura* (Florence: Centro Di, 2009), 71

Master of the Gondi Maestà (Goodhart Ducciesque Master), *Virgin and Child*

Fig. 1: From: Giacomo De Nicola, “Duccio di Buoninsegna and His School in the Mostra di Duccio at Siena,” *Burlington Magazine* 22, no. 117 (December 1912): pl. 2/fig. D

Fig. 2: From: Luciano Cateni, “Pittori duccheschi di seconda generazione,” in *Duccio: Alle origini della pittura senese*, ed. Alessandro Bagnoli et al., exh. cat. (Milan: Silvana, 2003), 319

Fig. 3: From: Walter Angelelli and Andrea G. De Marchi, *Pittura dal duecento al primo cinquecento nelle fotografie di Girolamo Bombelli* (Milan: Electa, 1991), 255, no. 538

Fig. 4: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

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Fig. 6: From: Isabella Droandi, “Pittori ‘Forestieri’ ad Arezzo,” in *Arte in terra d’Arezzo: Il trecento*, ed. Aldo Galli and Paola Refice (Florence: Edifir, 2005), 46, no. 40

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Lippo Memmi, *Saint John the Evangelist*

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Fig. 11: From: Luciano Bellosi, ed., *La collezione Salini: Dipinti, sculture e oreficerie dei secoli XII, XIII, XIV e XV*, vol. 1, *Pittura* (Florence: Centro Di, 2009), 145

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Pietro Lorenzetti, *Saints Andrew and James the Greater, and a Prophet*

Fig. 1: From: Chiara Frugoni, ed., *Pietro e Ambrogio Lorenzetti* (Florence: Le Lettere, 2002), 64

Fig. 2: Frick Art Reference Library Photoarchive

Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *The Charity of Saint Martin*

Fig. 1: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.

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Bartolomeo Bulgarini, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels*

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Luca di Tommè, *Predella: Saint Francis, the Mourning Virgin Mary, Christ on the Cross, the Mourning Saint John the Evangelist, and Saint Dominic*

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Luca di Tommè, *The Assumption of the Virgin*

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Luca di Tommè, *Virgin and Child with a Goldfinch*

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Master of Panzano (with Luca di Tommè?), *Virgin and Child with Saints Ansanus and Victor*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

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Bartolo di Fredi, *Virgin Annunciate*

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Taddeo di Bartolo, *Saint John the Baptist, One of Two Panels from a Dismembered Altarpiece*

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Taddeo di Bartolo, *Saint Jerome, One of Two Panels from a Dismembered Altarpiece*

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Fig. 5: From: Gaudenz Freuler, *Bartolo di Fredi Cini: Ein Beitrag zur sienesischen Malerei des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Disentis, Switzerland: Desertina, 1994), 249, fig. 228

Taddeo di Bartolo, *The Blessing Redeemer*

Fig. 1: Frick Art Reference Library Photoarchive

Fig. 2: From: Gail E. Solberg, *Taddeo di Bartolo*, exh. cat. (Milan: Silvana, 2020), 286

Fig. 3: From: Gail E. Solberg, *Taddeo di Bartolo*, exh. cat. (Milan: Silvana, 2020), 287

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Martino di Bartolomeo, *The Blessing Redeemer*

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Giuntesque Painter, *Saint Mary Magdalen*

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Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani, *Saint Lucy Enthroned with Six Angels*

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Giuliano di Simone, *Two Deacon Saints*

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Paolo Veneziano, *Saint John the Baptist, One of Two Panels from a Dismembered Altarpiece*

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Follower of Pietro da Rimini, *Portable Triptych with Scenes from the Lives of Christ and Saint John the Baptist*

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Pseudo-Dalmasio, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Angels*

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Fig. 3: Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Fig. 4: Courtesy Seattle Art Museum. Photo: Susan Dirk

Simone di Filippo (Simone dei Crocifissi), *The Crucifixion; The Coronation of the Virgin; Christ between the Twelve Apostles*

Fig. 1: Federico Zeri Foundation Photo Archive

Fig. 2: Mario Bonotto/Photo Scala, Florence

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Barnaba da Modena, *Mourning Virgin*

Fig. 2: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

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Pia Palladino

Pia Palladino, an acknowledged authority on Italian manuscript illumination and panel painting of the thirteenth through fifteenth century, was formerly Associate Curator of the Robert Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. She is the author of *Art and Devotion in Siena after 1350: Niccolò di Buonaccorso and Luca di Tommè* (1997) and *Treasures of a Lost Art: Italian Manuscript Painting of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (2003); coauthor of *Painting and Illumination in Early Renaissance Florence, 1300–1450* (1994), *The Robert Lehman Collection, Vol. 4: Illuminations* (1997), *The Treasury of Saint Francis of Assisi* (1999), and *Fra Angelico* (2005); and a contributing author to catalogues of the Cini Foundation in Venice, the Timken Museum in San Diego, and the Alana Collection.