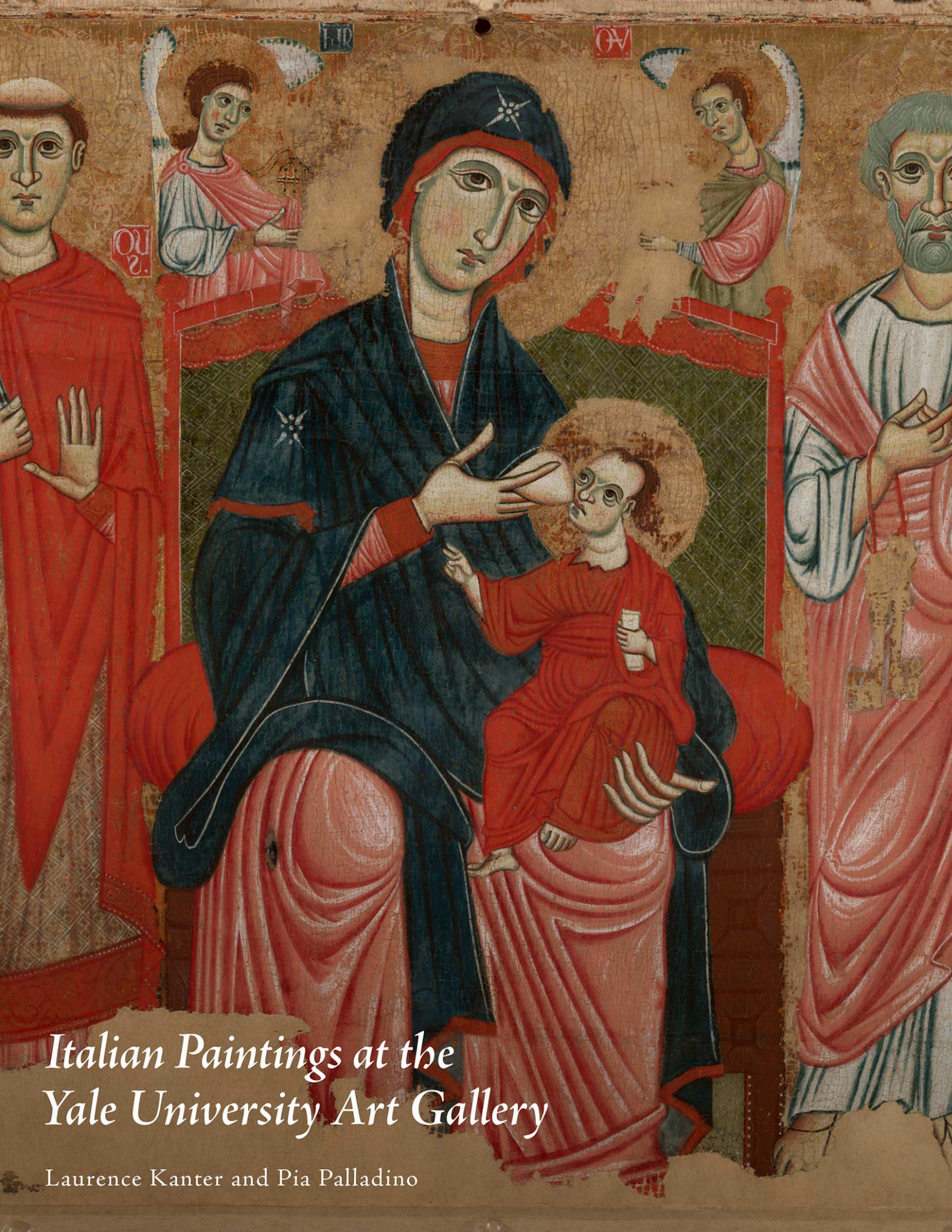

Italian Paintings at the Yale University Art Gallery

Laurence Kanter and Pia Palladino

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YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

Founded in 1832, the Yale University Art Gallery is the oldest university art museum in America. Today, it is a center for teaching, learning, and scholarship and is a preeminent cultural asset for Yale University, the wider academic community, and the public. The museum is open to all, free of charge, and is committed to engaging audiences through thoughtful, creative, and relevant exhibitions, programs, and publications.

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.

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Director's Foreword

Art museums are defined by their collections. One at the Yale University Art Gallery that rises to a level of international preeminence—among our nation's largest and widest-ranging collections of Italian medieval, Renaissance, Baroque, and modern paintings—forms the subject of this digital catalogue. It is both a privilege and a responsibility to steward this collection, an enterprise that has been brilliantly led for nearly a quarter century by Laurence Kanter, Chief Curator and the Lionel Goldfrank III Curator of European Art. Larry's distinguished expertise and extensive research—leading to remarkable new attributions and acquisitions—and the probing research of coauthor Pia Palladino, an esteemed scholar of early Italian manuscript and panel painting, are apparent throughout this volume.

As Larry explains in the introduction, this rich and varied collection owes its inception to the purchase in 1871, on the eve of the Gallery's fortieth anniversary, of a large group of paintings assembled some two decades earlier in Florence by the American entrepreneur James Jackson Jarves. Italian paintings from the periods preferred by Jarves—the thirteenth through the sixteenth century—were far from widely appreciated at the time, and Yale's purchase of so many was decried in some quarters as shortsighted and profligate. Three catalogues of the collection have appeared in the years since, each of varying degrees of ambition and each informed by ever-increasing public and scholarly interest in this material. The collection has grown over time, more than doubling its 1871 nucleus and expanding its chronological and geographic range to periods and types of art ignored by Jarves. The collection has also endured, more harshly or at least more extensively than perhaps any other, the vicissitudes of the conservation and restoration debates raging across Europe and America in the 1950s and 1960s. All this is chronicled, evaluated, and synthesized in the exemplary entries written by Kanter and Palladino, to whom admirers of Italian painting will surely feel a debt of gratitude for the resolution these outstanding scholars bring to many long-standing problems.

More than 250 Italian paintings at Yale span nearly eight centuries of artistic creation, frequently at the most exalted levels of quality and rarity. Maintaining public access to so precious a legacy and promoting scholarship of a rigorous, exacting standard is an obligation we at the Gallery accept as core values of our mission. Writing, editing, and production of these volumes has been a long-gestating process. Dedicated research began some fifteen years ago, enabled by the generous support of Darcy and Treacy Beyer and of Nina Griggs. Our gratitude to them is doubled by a sense of how rare it has become for museums to be able to dedicate substantial resources to such scholarly undertakings. Along with Larry, I am proud to be part of the ongoing team effort that has led to the appearance of this book and its companion print editions, available at https://artgallery.yale.edu/research-and-learning/publications.

Stephanie Wiles
The Henry J. Heinz II Director
Yale University Art Gallery

Acknowledgments

Permanent-collection catalogues grow slowly over time, absorbing and synthesizing information and opinions collected from scholars around the world. We have been fortunate, in compiling this catalogue, not only to have found a wealth of such material at our disposal but also to have enjoyed the support of so many curatorial and conservation colleagues in museums across America and Europe. To all of them, for their help with access to the objects in their care and for information about them, thank you. For special assistance, thanks are owed to Rita Albertson, Alessandro Bagnoli, George Bisacca, Saige Blanchard, Michael Candelori, Damien Cerutti, Keith Christiansen, Elise Effmann Clifford, Christopher Daly, Andrea De Marchi, Corentin Dury, Cecilia Frosinini, Dillian Gordon, Kate Green, Susan Green, Machtelt Israëls, Claudia Kryza-Gersch, Ian Lewis, Elisabeth Lobkowicz, Mauro Minardi, Fabrizio Moretti, Pierluigi Nieri, Jonquil O'Reilly, Daniela Parenti, Christopher Platts, Susan Rosenberg, Daniele Rossi, Neville Rowley, Erling Skaug, Yvonne Szafran, and Emanuele Zappasodi. Two distinguished scholars of an earlier generation, Miklós Boskovits and Luciano Bellosi, left important notes on their impressions of the Italian pictures at Yale after visits several decades ago, and two others, Everett Fahy and Carl Strehlke, began systematically updating attributions for the Italian collection shortly after the appearance of the last official catalogue of it in 1970. Carl also initiated a program jointly with the staff of the Conservation Institute at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, to redeem some of the damage left by the overzealous cleaning for which Yale had become infamous, and Everett ultimately gifted the Yale University Art Gallery his remarkable library, without which our work could not have moved forward through the difficult years of the pandemic lockdown.

Many colleagues at Yale have contributed to shaping this catalogue over its long gestation. Irma Passeri, the Susan Morse Hilles Chief Conservator, her predecessor Ian McClure, and their staff in the Conservation Department at the Gallery, especially Margherita Morello, have facilitated and enriched our understanding of the complex conservation history of the collection. Assistants and fellows past and present in the Department of European Art—Antonia V. Bartoli, Bennett Harrison, Linsey LaFrenier, Katharine Luce, Meghan Lynch, and Elizabeth Soden—have supported the hundreds of demanding tasks that arise in the organization of a project of this scale, and even more art handlers, photographers (especially Alexander Harding and Richard House), registrars, librarians, and archivists have unstintingly committed time and energy to ensure its successful completion. Our editor, Tiffany Sprague, and her talented team of editors, production assistants, and designers—Chris Chew, Annika Fisher, Zsofia Jilling, Diana Mellon, Mary Ellen Wilson, Stacey A. Wujcik, Grace Zhou, and Lesley Zurolo—created first a digital version of exemplary beauty and then a print edition of which any author would be proud. Two successive directors at the Gallery, Jock Reynolds and Stephanie Wiles, provided the opportunity and the encouragement to dedicate the huge investment of time to this project that it required. We are humbly grateful to them both for appreciating the value and embracing the challenge of ensuring resources for scholarship in an era when fewer and fewer museums find themselves in a position to be able to do so.

A final word of thanks is due to four friends and supporters who years ago set the wheels in motion that led to the conception of this catalogue and generously stood behind it every step of the way: Richard Feigen, Nina Griggs, and Darcy and Treacy Beyer. But for the four of you, there would be no one else to thank.

Laurence Kanter and Pia Palladino

Contributors and Note to the Reader

Contributors
LK Laurence Kanter
PP Pia Palladino

Arrangement of Entries
Catalogue entries are arranged by region and, within regions, in approximate chronological sequence. Works by the same artist are kept together, again in approximate chronological sequence.

Condition
Condition reports for all entries were written by Laurence Kanter. The wood of panel supports may be presumed to be poplar, unless otherwise noted.

Print Catalogue
The print version of this catalogue is available; see https://artgallery.yale.edu/publication/italian-paintings-yale-university-art-gallery-volume-1-1230-1420.

Dimensions
Dimensions are given in centimeters followed by inches. In all instances, metric dimensions have been measured directly from the objects; inches are a conversion, rounded to the nearest 1/8 inch. Height precedes width.

Provenance
Provenance for each object is given chronologically; each owner is separated from the next by a semicolon. Dates given are those of acquisition. Provenance ends with the owner prior to the Yale University Art Gallery.

Quotations and Translations
Citations from the Bible are taken from the Douay Version. Translations are the authors' own, unless otherwise noted.

Short Titles
Citations given with short titles in the notes and published references can be found in full in the bibliography.

Introduction

The collection of Italian paintings at Yale, which numbers among the richest concentrations of such material owned by any public institution outside of Italy, was begun with the oft-retold story of the purchase in 1871 of 119 paintings assembled by James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888) during his residence in Florence between 1852 and 1859. Jarves (fig. 1), a Bostonian not of great wealth but of independent means, had earlier spent a decade as a journalist and failed business entrepreneur in Hawaii, then known as the Sandwich Islands, where he was on equally friendly terms with the colony of Protestant missionaries, Hawaiian royalty, and British traders.[1] A cultivated and well-read man, he was entirely self-educated in matters of art, which he first "discovered" on a visit to the Musée du Louvre in Paris in 1852. Under the intellectual guidance of the sparse literature on the subject available in his day—chiefly the polemical writings of Alexis-François Rio (1797–1874), Lord Lindsay (1812–1880), and, above all, John Ruskin (1819–1900)—Jarves threw himself with missionary zeal into assembling a collection of pictures that would illustrate the earliest beginnings of Christian art, by which he meant the several centuries preceding the climactic achievements of Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, and Michelangelo around the year 1500. This was an adventurous, even exotic undertaking for the time, a generation or more prior to the explosion of interest in Botticelli and the Italian "primitives" that swept over England in the 1870s and later, and entirely without precedent or peer among Jarves's American contemporaries.

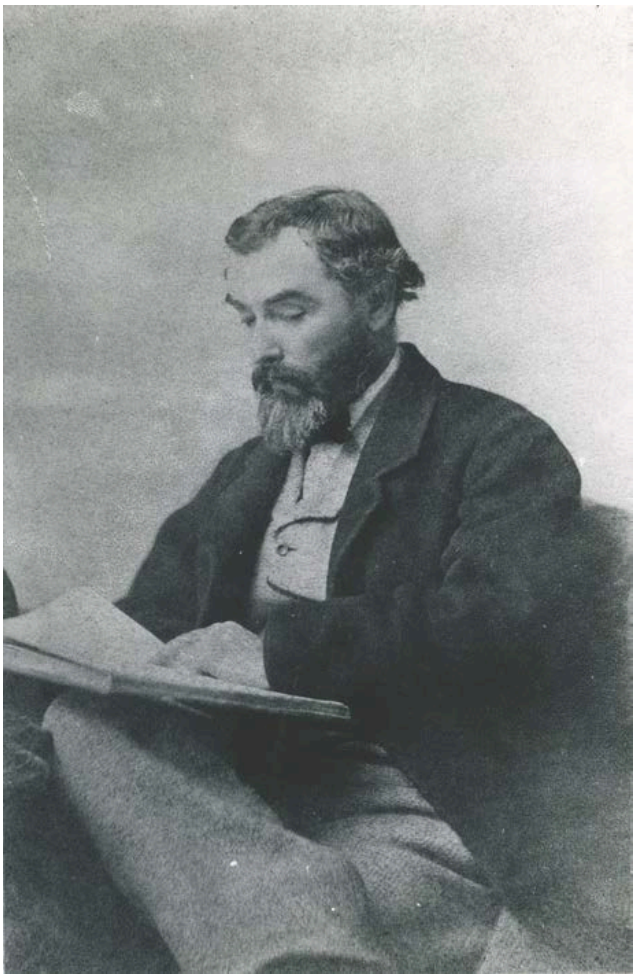

Fig. 1. James Jackson Jarves, 1863

In Florence, Jarves developed a close friendship with the poet Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806–1861), whose intense devotion to Spiritualism he shared. Robert Browning (1812–1889), who indulged his wife in her Spiritualist fancy, thought Jarves likable but mad.[2]

Jarves's credulous religious convictions might be seen as a parallel to his attraction to paintings of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries: he saw in them a purer, more unsullied expression of Christian sensibility and belief than could be found in the technically more accomplished works from what he (along with Ruskin, Rio, and Lindsay) deemed a period of art's ostensible decline and degeneracy from the late sixteenth century onward. Where most of his contemporaries were unquestioning in their belief that progress in the arts was inevitable and that a taste for its naive roots was risible, Jarves clung—unconsciously, no doubt—to Jean-Jacques Rousseau's ideal of the values of simplicity and purity that were lost to artifice and disingenuity as civilizations "progressed." As suspicious of Roman Catholicism as any New England Protestant, he also associated the great works of the seventeenth-century Bolognese school then in fashion with organized state religion, the tyranny of the Church, and the age of autocracy. Jarves, deeply patriotic, embarked on a dual crusade to educate his countrymen, through his writings, not just in a wider appreciation of European culture but also in an expanded view of that culture that would embrace the fantasy of a virtuous republican prelude to the age of the despots from whom America had fought for its independence not many generations before. He further sought to persuade them, through his collection, that the rising status of the young republic depended upon the foundation of a public art museum. As he wrote in his first book, *Art-Hints* (1855):

> No nation has ever been in so favorable a position as the United States of America, for the complete development of those ideal faculties of which Art is language. . . . In one respect aristocracies have been of service to Art. They have collected and preserved its objects in public museums, when otherwise they might have perished. To them we owe the best galleries of Europe. There has never been, before the United States of America, a republic commensurate in dignity and power with the old monarchies of Europe. What the people may do in this matter remains to be seen. . . . I believe . . . that great public collections will be formed by individual exertions, and that in time America will rival the old world in Art-treasures.[3]

Having invested most of his income and a considerable amount of borrowed capital in the hunt for underappreciated "masterpieces," Jarves shipped the greater part of his collection to Boston in 1859, and the following year, nearing financial insolvency, he put it on exhibition at a commercial gallery in New York. From then until 1868, he attempted, tirelessly but fruitlessly, to persuade the citizens of either city to purchase it from him by public subscription, to which he would contribute as a gift half of the $60,000 value he declared for it, as the basis for founding a municipal art museum (the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, were both incorporated only in the following decade). The citizenry of Boston and New York were unmoved by the offer, and rumored negotiations with Baltimore and Washington, D.C., also came to naught. Jarves had come back to America armed with testimonials from eminent critics but nevertheless followed by a cloud of suspicion surrounding his motives and his competence to judge authenticity.[4] He also encountered a public entirely unprepared at that time to consider the "ligneous daubs"[5] of early artists and the almost exclusively religious subject matter of their creations to be of any value whatsoever. The ill timing of his progressive taste so many years ahead of collecting fashion was compounded by the ill timing of his philanthropic enterprise during the period of the American Civil War, when underwriting the cost of any public endeavor was effectively impossible. Virtually destitute, he accepted a loan of $20,000 from the Corporation of Yale College in 1867, offering as collateral his collection, which was put on display the following year in the north gallery of the newly constructed Street Hall that housed the Yale School of the Fine Arts, the first to be founded (1864) at any American university, and the Art Gallery, the first to be founded (1832) in America.

Yale's foresight in expressing an interest in Jarves's collection, an interest they were prepared to back with a financial commitment, was due chiefly to the initiative of a chance acquaintance of Jarves's, Lewis Packard, Hillhouse Professor of Greek, and to a climate of openness to the educational value of aesthetic experience fostered by then–Yale College president Theodore Woolsey, a decided novelty among American institutions of higher learning. Supported, and possibly financed, by the wealthy Edward Elbridge Salisbury, former Professor of Arabic and Sanskrit at Yale, it was also encouraged by a warm letter of recommendation from Charles Eliot Norton (1827–1908), a prominent Boston writer and critic and a translator of Dante, who was later (1874) appointed Professor of the History of Art at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, the first such appointment in the nation. Norton wrote of the Jarves collection, "If Yale were to secure it, it would do more to make it a true university and the leading university in America than could be done in any other way by an equal expenditure of money."[6] It must be acknowledged that Yale's actions were as shrewd as they were magnanimous or foresighted: the terms of Jarves's loan obliged him to repay the principal, with interest at 6 percent, in three years, making it more of an investment than an outlay of

capital. The period of the loan was extended one year when Jarves was unable to meet his obligations, but in November 1871, the collection was consigned to auction. No buyers materialized: Yale's bid of $22,000, the amount of principal and interest owed by Jarves, was not advanced by any bidder. The college extended the aggrieved collector a month's grace to redeem his debt, but even so he could find no one prepared to back his hopes of returning the paintings to Boston or New York on terms more favorable to him.

The complete apathy with which Jarves and his collection were greeted in America should, in hindsight, be anything but surprising. Scarcely half a dozen collectors in England, France, and Germany had preceded him in his interests, and only in London were any public institutions prepared to venture down this eccentric path with an outlay of funds. American critics and their reading public might agree with Jarves that raising the national levels of cultural literacy would be a good thing, but apparently only three men—Packard, Salisbury, and Norton—agreed with his prescriptions for achieving this desirable goal. Even with the backing of two influential members of faculty and of the Dean of the School of the Fine Arts, John Ferguson Weir, the reception of the Jarves collection at Yale was uncertain, and it was opened to the public only after a delay of half a year, in May 1868, for fear of ridicule and accusations of fiscal impropriety.

Nor did controversy subside with the final purchase of the collection in 1871. In 1875 Daniel Cady Eaton, a professor at the art school, resigned his post and complained to the Yale Corporation:

> Without denying that there may be a few works that bear the impress of originality; that here and there bits of technical excellence can be discovered, I unhesitatingly pronounce the manner in which the [Jarves] collection is at present exhibited an active fraud on the public. . . . The Fine Arts are best taught by example. What idea can the historian give of the merits of great masters in opposition to such evidences of their vulgarity and ignorance! What hope of exciting in the student a pure and elevated taste in the midst of pictures not only destitute of intrinsic merit, but attaching their coarseness and worthlessness to the foremost names in the History of Art![7]

Eaton's diatribe may today be read at face value as an unfortunate blindness to the merits of "primitive" painting, but it is also a barometer of a more fundamental attitude: that to be worthwhile, the arts must be useful, must serve a purpose. In his mind, that purpose was to complete a classical education. In the minds of the city fathers of Boston and New York who rejected the Jarves paintings but ultimately supported the creation of the great museums in those cities, it was to improve the morals of the general public and the quality (viz. profitability) of local industry: "encouraging and developing the study of the fine arts, and the application of the arts to manufacture," as it was expressed in the founding charter of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[8] Italian painting of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries[9] struck none of them as relevant to any of these pursuits.

The Jarves Collection remained as it was in Street Hall, displayed as Jarves himself had arranged it (fig. 2), for nearly a quarter century, until 1892, little known and scarcely used outside the School of the Fine Arts. A modest rehang in 1892 (fig. 3) may have led to the appearance in 1895 of the first critical survey attempting to reconsider some of the naive attributions "to the foremost names in the History of Art" that Jarves and his proxy, Russell Sturgis, Jr., had attached to the paintings, but even this did little either to push serious scholarship forward or to bring the collection to the attention of a wider and more committed public.[10] It could not be more revealing than to learn that the great American pioneer of Italian studies, Bernard Berenson (1865–1959), had not yet felt compelled to visit Yale to see the Jarves Collection when he published the first edition of his *Florentine Painters of the Renaissance* in 1896, an oversight he rectified only for subsequent editions in the following decade. But the early years of the twentieth century finally saw the reputation of the works on view in Street Hall cast in a more positive light—perhaps not coincidentally alongside the phenomenal rise in popularity of the Sienese school of painting, in which the Jarves Collection is singularly rich, following the great exhibitions in Siena and London in 1904.[11] Shortly after the collection was moved into a newly built wing of Street Hall, in 1911, it was visited by Frank Jewett Mather, Jr. (1868–1953), who held the Professorship of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University and was later (1922) to be appointed the second director of the Princeton University Art Museum. Mather contributed a warmly appreciative survey of the Jarves pictures to the Yale Alumni Weekly in 1914 that may be said to have secured the attention of authorities at Yale in language they could not fail to understand. Of the University's 1871 purchase, he wrote:

> It was one of the most irregular pieces of University finance on record and certainly one of the most brilliant. In less than fifty years . . . the Jarves collection has multiplied just about two hundred fold

> in market value. . . . These one hundred and twenty pictures constitute one of the completest and most representative series of Italian pictures between the year 1250 and 1500 existing in the world. The famous galleries of Europe naturally excel the Jarves in masterpieces within this period, but none except the galleries of London, Berlin, and Florence, in representative character. . . . It is fortunate that [Jarves] died a bachelor. Had he left children, Yale would morally owe them the price of two or three stadiums. As it is, the money locked up in the Jarves Collection would endow modestly a dozen or so professorships. I am rather ashamed to advertise things that are beautiful by such comparisons, but to make the stadium the common denominator between professors by the dozen and art objects of great beauty, may help to emphasize my point, that the Jarves Collection is one of Yale's most precious possessions.[12]

Included in Mather's encomium was his casual observation that "it strikes an outsider oddly that there is still no better catalogue than Jarves himself could compile in the prescientific days as regards art studies, 1860, and also that valuable pictures are suffering from want of repair that a trifling sum would effect." Yale responded immediately. The collection was submitted to a full conservation survey and modest campaign of mostly cosmetic restoration in 1915, undertaken by Harry Augustus Hammond Smith of New York, and the following year the University published its first serious and fully illustrated catalogue of the Jarves pictures.[13] Written by the Swedish scholar Osvald Sirén (1879–1966) (fig. 4), it was a well-researched and insightful attempt to correct the romantically hopeful attributions that had accompanied the works of art at the time of their sale. Art history was then a discipline truly in its infancy, and Sirén's catalogue reads today more like informed journalism than critical scholarship, but in light of the sad fate that lay in store for the Jarves Collection, it is invaluable for its eloquent and evocative descriptions of the paintings, especially of their colors (in an era of black-and-white photography) following the light-handed interventions of Hammond Smith.

By 1921, it had become evident that the display space in Street Hall was inadequate for Yale's growing collections and that the conditions of display were inappropriate for their safety. With the appointment the following year of Everett V. Meeks (1879–1954) as dean of the School of the Fine Arts, plans were made for the construction of a new building, ultimately designed by the architect Egerton Swartwout and opened to the public in 1928. More consequential for the future of Italian paintings at Yale than the reinstallation of the Jarves Collection in a spacious new gallery, however, was the decision by Dean Meeks in 1925 to appoint a committee of Associates in Fine Arts, chaired by the New York lawyer Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), tasked with helping to raise money for the new building. Griggs was already a committed collector of early Italian paintings, which he was buying with a passion and at a pace rivaling that of Jarves seventy years before. Unlike Jarves, Griggs was careful to cultivate the advice of reputable authorities (to be fair, it might be claimed that none existed in Jarves's day) to assist him, one of whom was the remarkable Austrian scholar Richard Offner (1889–1965) (fig. 5). Offner, who had transferred to New York after the First World War, was already by 1925 the preeminent international authority on fourteenth-century Italian, chiefly Tuscan,

Fig. 2. James Jackson Jarves Gallery, Street Hall, 1868–78. Yale University Library, New Haven, Mauscripts and Archives, Yale University, Pictures of Street Hall

Fig. 3. James Jackson Jarves Gallery, Street Hall, ca. 1900. Yale University Library, New Haven, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University, Pictures of Street Hall, RU 698

painting, in the study of which he set himself up in vocal opposition to the opinions expressed, on almost every topic, a decade earlier by Osvald Sirén. In 1927 Offner published an extended review of Sirén's catalogue of the Jarves Collection, couched in the form of a public lecture, titled *Italian Primitives at Yale University*. This slender book, with its canny and piercing observations, rigorous scholarly method, and poetic if sometimes difficult descriptions of works of art, did more to cement the importance of this collection at the center of American research on the arts of the early Renaissance than had any other publication before it and more than almost any publication to have appeared since.[14] It brought the collection deservedly, and at last, to the attention of an audience of art amateurs well beyond the closed circle of Yale students, faculty, and alumni.

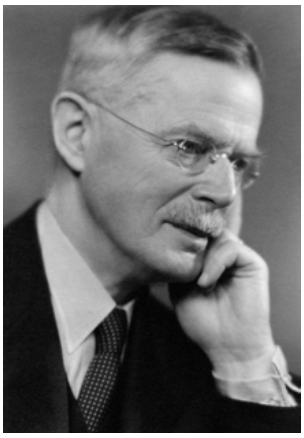

Fig. 4. Osvald Sirén, ca. 1950s

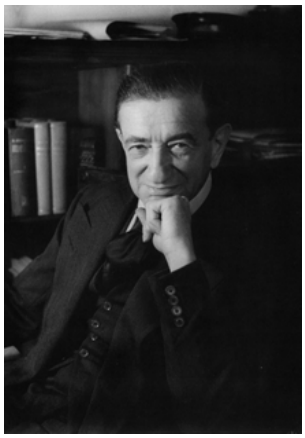

Fig. 5. Richard Offner, ca. 1950s

When Offner's book appeared in 1927, the number and range of early Italian paintings available to be seen in American public collections were relatively limited. The great private collections of New York were still mostly private. The Metropolitan Museum of Art displayed the few purchases it had made alongside a handful of gifts it had received, as did the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, but neither could be said to offer more than a token representation of the field. The vast collection formed by John G. Johnson in Philadelphia, which had been catalogued as early as 1913 by Berenson,[15] was partially and sporadically put on public view, but it did not find a permanent home until 1928, while Henry Walters's collection in Baltimore was not made public until 1934. Of the prominent East Coast institutions, only the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard University owned and exhibited a considerable number of early Italian paintings, all acquired by purchase or gift over a brief period of little more than two decades, beginning in 1899, and these had been well publicized by the scholarship emerging from Harvard's productive faculty. Yale's collection, by contrast, appeared in Offner's book as something of a novelty, despite its longer pedigree. Offner made the visually obvious but previously unacknowledged point:

> For academic purposes it is perhaps the most useful of all university collections for its fairly even distribution of illustrations of three centuries of Tuscan painting: and is more adequately supplied in fine and rare examples of the thirteenth century of this area than any other public museum outside Italy.[16]

The number of Italian paintings at Yale was modestly increased in the 1930s by gifts from the estate of the expatriate painter Edwin Austen Abbey (1852–1911) and by purchases in the name of the Associates in Fine Arts, essentially funneling contributions made by Griggs. The bequest in 1943 of the remainder of Griggs's personal collection, from which gifts were also made to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, catapulted Yale's holdings to the front ranks of research collections worldwide. Griggs's taste leaned decidedly toward paintings from Florence and Siena—the two schools best represented in the Jarves Collection—and since his contributions were, numerically, nearly as great as Jarves's,[17] these two important artistic centers still account for the deepest strengths of Yale's holdings.

The Griggs bequest arrived two years before the end of the Second World War and was followed in short order by the appointment in 1949 of Charles Seymour, Jr. (1918–1975)—son of Yale's fifteenth president and formerly the curator of sculpture at the newly formed National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.—as Assistant Professor of the History of Art and Curator of Renaissance Art at the Gallery. Seymour was the first to make the Griggs paintings known to a wider scholarly audience, with the publication in 1970 of his *Early Italian Paintings in the Yale University Art Gallery*, and two years later his findings were incorporated, with slightly more refined attributions, in the summary lists of the *Census of Pre-Nineteenth-Century Italian Paintings in North American Public Collections*, compiled by Burton Fredericksen and Federico Zeri.[18] These two publications also introduced little-known gifts made by alumni like Robert Lehman (1946) and the significant donation received in 1959 from Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz. The Rabinowitzes, neither of whom had a direct Yale connection, collected ecumenically, and their gift included works by such pivotal names in the history of Italian art as Pietro Lorenzetti, Sassetta, and Fra Angelico, as well as by such Northern European masters as Hieronymous Bosch (one

of only two or perhaps three autograph works by that artist in America) and Lucas Cranach.

As comprehensive guides to the collection, the publications of Seymour and Zeri in the early 1970s represent a major advance over Sirén's catalogue and Offner's critical study, but neither rises to the level of scholarly achievement of these earlier books. Zeri did not aspire to create more than an up-to-date typescript list that incorporated his attributions for the contents of American museums, while Seymour's catalogue, which has remained for more than fifty years the document of record for Yale's Italian paintings, is more of an annotated inventory than a proper catalogue. It is hampered by its summary approach to bibliography, its minimal discursive text (many entries have little more than one sentence explaining their classification and none outlining the arguments or conclusions that led there), its unreliable efforts at attribution and dating, and, above all, its decisions to illustrate more than half of its contents only with thumbnail images and to include almost exclusively works of art predating 1500. Fully a third of the Jarves Collection comprises works of later date, and these, therefore, along with miscellaneous gifts both negligible and important, have remained all but unknown outside New Haven. On the other hand, Seymour's book, followed by an exhibition catalogue of 1972,[19] offered the first glimpse available to much of the scholarly world of the results of twenty years of aggressive, radical cleaning to which the collection of Italian paintings at Yale had been subjected under his tutelage.

This campaign of "restoration" at Yale, undertaken from roughly 1950 to 1972 by Seymour's handpicked conservator, Andrew Petryn, and with Seymour's guidance and encouragement, reduced more than 150 paintings to a status akin to laboratory specimens. In a misguided theoretical attempt to eliminate the aesthetic bias of earlier approaches to conservation and unearth the original material components of each painting, it succeeded—almost without exception—in compromising the works' artistic integrity, in many cases also destroying valuable physical evidence of provenance, function, and authorship. Compounding questionable decisions of the appropriate level to which a picture should be cleaned was the categorical decision not to retouch or otherwise address any losses, no matter how intrusive on the visual coherence of a work of art they might be. Saddest of all was the speed and determination with which this campaign was prosecuted. On average, a new painting was treated every six or seven weeks, without pause, over twenty-two years, leaving behind a storeroom full of unexhibitable treasures in lamentable state. For all its riches, Yale's collection became a byword among museum professionals for the abuse of a public trust. The Italian scholar Giovanni Previtali glibly explained the ruinous condition of Giotto's frescoes in the Peruzzi Chapel in Santa Croce in Florence by averring that "if we can imagine a sadistic (or simply an American) restorer rabidly attacking the *Legends of the Madgalene* [at Assisi] and reducing them to a larval state, we could be sure to obtain something very similar to another Peruzzi Chapel 'after treatment.'"[20] It was impossible for anyone not to recognize Previtali's quip as a minimally disguised reference to the situation at Yale.

Several attempts were made over the succeeding thirty years to emend some of these excesses, with varying results reflecting different philosophies of the preservation and presentation of early works of art. A notable campaign of intervention sponsored by the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, between 1998 and 2000 addressed twenty or more paintings with the aim of returning them to a state permissive of public display. The results of this project were celebrated in an April 2002 symposium at Yale, "Early Italian Paintings: Approaches to Conservation."[21] Emerging from this conference, and from the aggregated range and variety of "approaches" to the redress of extreme damage that led up to it, was a clear picture of little more than the intrinsically controversial nature of conservation and the vulnerability of works of art entrusted to the care of public institutions. A small number of paintings at Yale escaped the ravages of the Petryn/Seymour campaign: in particular, in every instance where the collection included a pair of paintings, one was cleaned and one was left alone as a baseline demonstration of the "improvements" of the cleaned state. Important works have also been added to the collection since 1972—chiefly through gifts from Richard L. Feigen, Darcy and Treacy Beyer, and Nina Griggs and through purchases made with endowment funds established by Maitland Griggs, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., and the Robert Lehman Foundation—and these, of course, provide a study in contrast with the more damaged works once owned by Jarves, Griggs, or the Rabinowitzes. Since 2002, it has also been possible to reconsider the treatment of a small number of Italian panel paintings in the hopes not only of redeeming works of great beauty and historical importance but also of proposing a model of the limits to which any such redemption can responsibly be advanced. Future generations will judge for themselves whether any of these treatments, or any of those that preceded them, offer an enhanced key to the understanding and enjoyment of the rich legacy of artistic accomplishment left behind by the early Italian Renaissance.

* * *

Although Yale's collection of Italian paintings has labored under a cloud of critical suspicion from its inception nearly to the present day, it must be categorically affirmed that it is a collection of superlative value for its remarkable scope and, more importantly, for the extraordinary quality of many of the works it contains. As Offner noted after gently chiding Jarves for not owning any paintings by Giotto or Duccio, nowhere outside Italy can one find as many thirteenth-century works of consequence as here. Nor can one expect to find the fourteenth century in Florence and, above all, in Siena illustrated with such thoroughness and refinement as one does at Yale, with many artists of the first rank (Taddeo Gaddi, Jacopo del Casentino, Andrea and Nardo di Cione, Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, Lorenzo Monaco, Lippo Memmi, Luca di Tommè, Taddeo di Bartolo) and others less memorable (Lippo d'Andrea) represented not just by one but by two or three examples, offering precious insight into the development of their careers and the range of their visual imaginations. The great strength of the collection shifts in the fifteenth century decidedly in favor of Siena. Only two major Sienese painters, Domenico di Bartolo and Vecchietta, are omitted from the roll, while some of their compatriots boast three (Matteo di Giovanni), four (Benvenuto di Giovanni), or five (Giovanni di Paolo, Sano di Pietro) examples each. Paintings or painted sculptures by the Master of the Osservanza, Neroccio de' Landi, and Francesco di Giorgio Martini are widely admired as among the most impressive of their kind anywhere. Nor is the Florentine school lacking in distinction at Yale. Eight painters, including Fra Angelico and Paolo Uccello, are catalogued in the following pages by two, four, or even five examples each, while Antonio del Pollaiuolo's *Abduction of Deianira* has long been admired as one of the landmarks of fifteenth-century Italian painting in America. Outside of Tuscany in these early centuries, one encounters coverage of a more relaxed density but highlighted by such luminous offerings as the only signed painting by Gentile da Fabriano in America and good-quality examples of the Venetian, Umbrian, and Bolognese schools. Paintings of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries are mostly more recent arrivals at Yale but already include important, in some cases truly imposing, examples of the work of Luca Signorelli, Piero di Cosimo, Jacopo Pontormo, Titian, Tintoretto, Jacopo Zucchi, Scarsellino, Annibale Carracci, Guido Reni, Guercino, Carlo Dolci, Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, Bernardo Bellotto, Francesco Trevisani, and Corrado Giaquinto.

Demography and chronology are just two of the parameters defining the range and excellence of Yale's Italian paintings; the variety of object types and functions represented in the collection is scarcely less impressive. Visitors to American museums are accustomed to finding altarpiece fragments and panels of private devotion comprising the displays of early Italian art. At Yale, these are supplemented with two complete dossals from the thirteenth century and one of the earliest known intact portable triptychs. From the fourteenth century are a rare double-sided processional cross, a nearly complete altarpiece predella, and possibly a unique surviving example of a painted *testata di bara*, the headboard of a bier or hospital bed. The fifteenth century can boast more painted cassone fronts than any other collection in this country, as well as one complete chest; two *deschi da parto* (painted birth trays), one from the beginning and one from the end of that peculiarly Tuscan tradition; at least one complete altarpiece polyptych and one *all'antica* altarpiece in the updated Renaissance style; votive panels and tabernacles with and without their original frames; unusually refined polychrome stucco reliefs and a nearly unique cartapesta relief with beautifully preserved polychromy; a painted processional standard; an intact portable house altar; fresco fragments; frames painted by major artists (an exceptional rarity anywhere in the world); and more. Italian painting in later centuries became decidedly less utilitarian than it had been earlier and its range of functions accordingly more limited, but very few types of objects will not be found in the final volumes of this catalogue: portraits, ecclesiastical commissions, pictures for private devotion, profane subjects, still lifes, landscapes, oil sketches, painted furniture panels and fireplace decorations, and so on.

The interested reader can find all but limitless opportunities for new discoveries among the Italian paintings at the Yale University Art Gallery. This catalogue represents a concerted attempt to record our present state of knowledge in a field not only rapidly changing but also too vast to exhaust in any single publication. The authors earnestly hope to offer here a solid basis for continued research: errors, omissions, and oversights should be considered invitations to an improved future edition that we would feel honored to have helped make possible.

Laurence Kanter
Chief Curator and the Lionel Goldfrank III Curator of European Art
Yale University Art Gallery

NOTES

1. For a thoroughly researched and very intelligent study of Jarves, the intellectual currents that contributed to the formation of his ideas, and the drama surrounding the compilation and ultimate dispersal of his collection, see Steegmuller 1951. Most of the information about him repeated here is drawn from this remarkable biography.
2. Steegmuller 1951, 201n5.
3. Jarves 1855, 27.
4. For an amusing sample of mid-nineteenth-century Bostonian denunciations of the culture of ignorance and deceit underpinning the trade in European art treasures to a gullible American public, see Zafran 1994, 11–15.
5. Quoted in Steegmuller 1951, 181.
6. Quoted in Steegmuller 1951, 230.
7. Quoted in Steegmuller 1951, 252n18.
8. Tomkins 1970, 35.
9. Less than two-thirds of the Jarves collection comprises works from this period. Nearly 40 percent of the collection is made up of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paintings as well as paintings from Northern Europe, presumably added by Jarves in an attempt to make the entire collection more palatable to a potential buyer.
10. Jarves's attributions are recorded in the catalogue of the 1860 exhibition of his collection at the Institute of Fine Art in New York (see Jarves 1860) and in the catalogue prepared for the sale at auction in 1871 (see Brown 1871). Russell Sturgis, Jr., published a guide to the collection in 1868 to accompany its display in Street Hall (Sturgis 1868), the content of which largely followed Jarves's 1860 catalogue. William Rankin's lengthy, discursive review appeared in the *American Journal of Archaeology* in 1895; see Rankin 1895.
11. The *Mostra d'arte antica senese* was on view at the Palazzo Pubblico from April to August 1904; see Ricci 1904. In addition to the major ecclesiastical and civic monuments of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Sienese paintings, this exhibition included a number of works of art owned by the impoverished noble families of Siena, many of which, not surprisingly, found their way into prominent American collections over the following two decades. The London exhibition (see Camporeale 2005, 485–517) was mostly drawn from paintings in British private collections. Some of these had previously been shown in the great Manchester exhibition of 1857 (see Morris 1857; and Pergam 2011), but it was not until fifty or more years later that they achieved recognition as a distinct taste within the collecting panorama of early Italian art.
12. Mather 1914, 965.
13. Sirén 1916a.
14. Offner 1927a.
15. Berenson 1913.
16. Offner 1927a, 2.
17. The first volume of the present catalogue, comprising paintings datable between roughly 1230 and 1420, contains thirty-five works from Jarves and thirty-four from Griggs. The second volume, dedicated to fifteenth-century paintings, includes thirty-three works from Jarves and twenty-one from Griggs. An acquisition endowment created by Griggs has secured a number of important Italian paintings in addition to these and accounts as well for many of the chief works from later centuries at Yale.
18. Seymour 1970; and Fredericksen and Zeri 1972.
19. Seymour et al. 1972.
20. Previtali 1974, 112: "se vogliamo immaginare un restauratore sadico (o, semplicemente, statunitense) accanirsi sulle *Storie della Maddalena* sino a ridurle allo stato larvale, possiamo esser certi di ottenere qualcosa di molto simile ad un'altra Cappella Peruzzi 'dopo la cura.'"
21. The symposium papers were edited by the former Yale conservator Patricia Garland and published by the Yale University Art Gallery in 2003; see Garland 2003a.

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The Florentine School

Florentine School, ca. 1230, *The Crucifixion*

Artist	Florentine School, ca. 1230
Title	*The Crucifixion*
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 recradled 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. 1890 n. 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, to form the right wing of a large tabernacle triptych. In 1949 Edward Garrison recognized that a *Virgin and Child Enthroned* formerly in the convent of San Francesco at San Miniato al Tedesco (Pisa), 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, *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 call attention to the perceived Lucchese components of the Yale scenes, advancing attributions to the Berlinghieri "school" or "circle," albeit with considerable differences in dating. Evelyn Sandberg-Vavalà, 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-Vavalà, 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 Berlinghieri, 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-Vavalà'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 Strehlke, such a precocious dating was questioned by Anne Derbes and Rebecca 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* (see fig. 2) 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 Berlinghieri—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, Germany.[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 Enthroned* 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 and Scenes from His Life*, 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 the triptych's 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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1929, 267; Sandberg-Vavalà 1929, 558–59, 714; Venturi 1931, 1: pl. 4; Venturi 1933, 1: 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 Luisa Marcucci (in Marcucci 1958, 89), 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. Evelyn Sandberg-Vavalaà (in 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. Edward Garrison (in 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 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 Master of the Yale Dossal, *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 (in Boskovits 1993a, 74n146) followed Robert Oertel (in Oertel 1953) and convincingly attributed it to the same artist responsible for a "Berlinghieresque" cross in the Galleria Nazionale di Arte Antica, 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*

Artist	Florentine School, ca. 1230
Title	*The Deposition*
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 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.

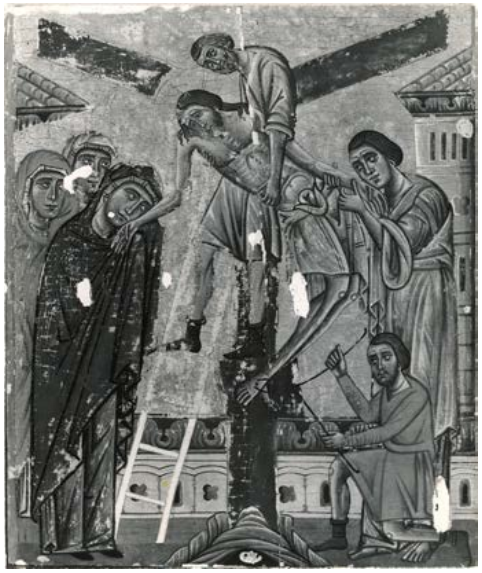

Fig. 1. *The Deposition*, ca. 1954

Florentine School, ca. 1230, *The Lamentation*

Artist	Florentine School, ca. 1230
Title	*The Lamentation*
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 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 was 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 inpainting (tratteggio) to fill losses, in contrast 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. 1. *The Lamentation*, 1957

S̄C̄S
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PETRUS

Master of the Yale Dossal, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with 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	*Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Leonard and Peter and Scenes from the Life of Saint Peter*
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 Handing the Keys of the Church to Saint Peter, [illegible]; above Saint Peter Healing the Paralytic, MIRACULUM BEATI PETRI SICUT SANAVIT [. . .]; above the Martyrdom of Saints Peter and Paul, PASSIO BEATI PETRI ET PAULI

Provenance

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

Condition

The panel support comprises 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 Yale University Art 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. 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 censing 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 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 (fig. 2). The cradle was removed by Gianni Marussich in 1999, who replaced it with two battens to reinforce the planarity of the painting support.

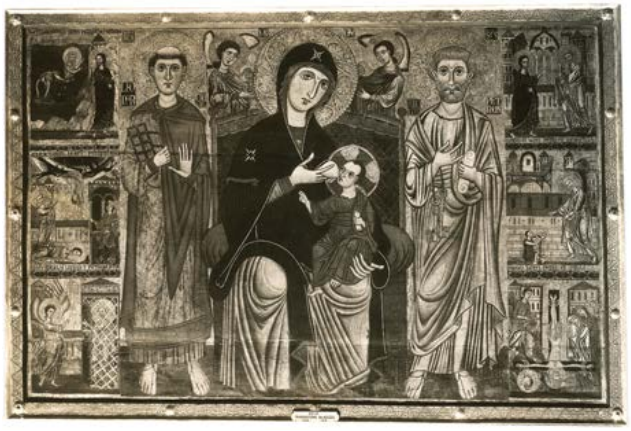

Fig. 1. *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Leonard and Peter and Scenes from the Life of Saint Peter*, ca. 1915

Fig. 2. *Virgin and Child Enthroned with 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, Rome. 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 the *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 while raising his right hand in a gesture of blessing and 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 (Matt. 16:17–19), Saint Peter Healing the Paralytic (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 with 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 of Meliore in the church of San Leolino at Panzano (fig. 3) or by that of 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 Fogg Museum, 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. 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

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

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 (see fig. 3) 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, *The 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 Magadalen Master's name might be the product of different personalities is confirmed by the noticeable disparities in quality of execution, as well as in figure 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 figure types with regular oval heads, round "goggle eyes,"[20] and pronounced noses that also characterize the Harvard (see fig. 5) and Lia (see fig. 6) fragments as well as the Metropolitan Museum triptych (see fig. 4), 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 Accademia *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 Miklós 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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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. no. PE 76.

19. Daniela Parenti, in Tartuferi and Scalini 2004, 98–99, no. 9.

20. Offner 1927a, 12.

21. 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 d'Arte Sacra, Certaldo, with a date "around or shortly before 1270"; see Boskovits 2007, 153, 156–57, pls. 21–22 (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. 63 (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.

MR
OV

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

Fig. 1. Reverse of the center panel of the *Virgin and Child with Saints Dominic and Francis; The Crucifixion with the Penitent Magdalen; Saints Michael the Archangel, Peter Martyr, and Catherine of Alexandria*

Discussion

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 of the *Virgin and Child with Saints Dominic and Francis; The Crucifixion with the Penitent Magdalen; Saints Michael the Archangel, Peter Martyr, and Catherine of Alexandria*

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 Osvald Sirén in considering it a product of the same atelier responsible for the *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Leonard and Peter and Scenes from the Life of Saint Peter* also 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), and 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

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

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. 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 aforementioned 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

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NOTES

1. Weitzmann 1984, 152–53.
2. Weitzmann 1984, pl. 58, fig. 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, pl. 59, 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 (in Cannon 1980, 209) pointed 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'Agnese di Borgo San Lorenzo in Mugello, supposedly founded by Peter Martyr, and San Iacopo in Pian di Ripoli, made up 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	*Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels*
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. An area of 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 Orlandi[2] as well as more generic references to the Florentine school[3] 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-Vavalà in 1934 and whose career was more fully outlined and characterized by Giulia Sinibaldi, Giulia Brunetti, and Roberto Longhi over the following decade[6]—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 Crocifissio 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 Lippo di Benivieni, *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, 1: pl. 11; Venturi 1933, 1: 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; Garland 2003b, 61–62, figs. 3.6–.7; 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, 1: pl. 11; and Venturi 1933, 1: 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 1948a, 19, 48.
7. For more on the Magdalen Master, see Master of the Yale Dossal, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Leonard and Peter and Scenes from the Life of Saint Peter*.
8. Previtali 1967, 28, 30, fig. 28.
9. 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.

S PETRI SERAPHICI

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

Artist	Lippo di Benivieni, Florence, documented 1296–1316
Title	*Virgin and Child with Saints James Major, John the Baptist, Peter, and Francis*
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 Major , 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 Major 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 dossal 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 dossal depicting the Virgin

and Child with Saints James Major, 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 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), Newark, Delaware,[12] 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* 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 (engraving); Sturgis 1868, 27, no. 13; Brown 1871, 13, no. 13; Rankin 1895, 139; Rankin 1905, 7; Sirén 1908b, 126, pl. 2 (top); Sirén 1915, 279–80, fig. 3; Sirén 1916a, 17–18, no. 5; van Marle 1923, 306–7; Offner 1927a, 2; Venturi 1931, 1: pl. 11; Venturi 1933, 1: pl. 14; Longhi 1948a, 48–49; Garrison 1949, 161, no. 421; Meiss 1951a, 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 1948a, 48–49; 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, 1: pl. 11; and Venturi 1933, 1: 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, inv. no. Contini Bonacossi 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, add. pl. 1(1–2).

13. Inv. no. 1917.195.A, https://hvrd.art/o/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	*Virgin and Child*
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 wood 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 Communale, 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 releafed 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.

Fig. 1. *Virgin and Child*, before 1930

Fig. 2. *Virgin and Child*, after 1970

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

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

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 Mojmír 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 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 Speziali 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

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Offner 1930b, 221, 225–26, add. pl. 5; Venturi 1931, 1: 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, 309, 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 1987a, 17, 151–54, 159; Christine Sciacca and Yvonne Szafran, in Sciacca 2012, 386–90

NOTES

1. Inv. no. 10.
2. Offner 1930b, 225.
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 the panel's radical cleaning in 1970, it is no longer possible to identify with certainty the punch used to ornament the haloes and borders in it, 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	*The Coronation of the Virgin*
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, Middlesex, England, by 1854–85; sale, Christie's, London, April 18, 1885, lot 108; Henry Wagner (1840–1926), London; sale, Christie's, London, January 16, 1925, lot 58; Galerie Mori, Paris; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1925

Condition

Fig. 1. Reverse of the *Coronation of the Virgin*

The panel support, of a vertical wood 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 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 vielle-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]

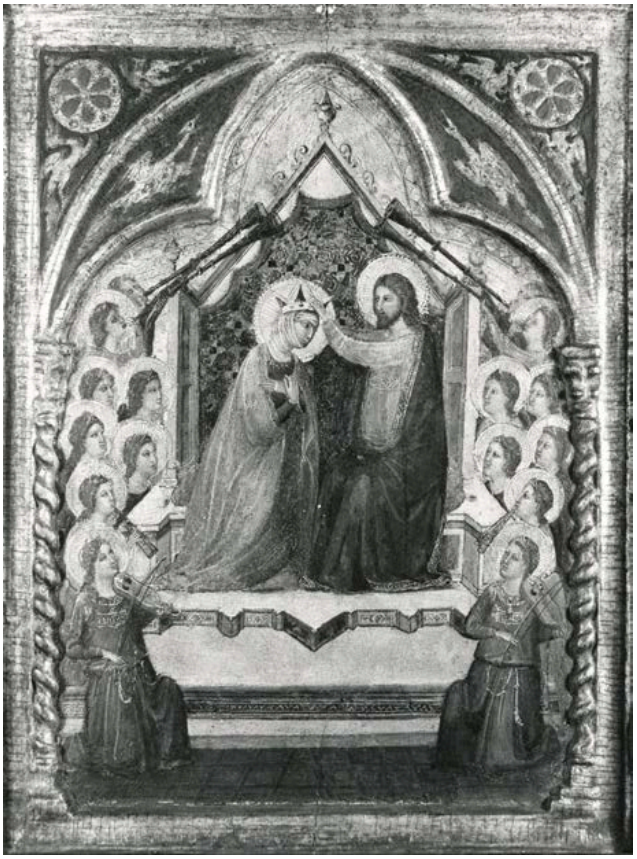

Fig. 3. *The Coronation of the Virgin*, before 1930

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 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.

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.

Fig. 5. Jacopo del Casentino, *The Coronation of the Virgin* (detail of a triptych), ca. 1345. Tempera and gold on panel. Kunstmuseum Bern, Switzerland, inv. no. 872

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. 1890 n. 9258

Fig. 6. 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

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Waagen 1854, 2:462; *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters* 1877, 28, no. 156; *Exhibition of Early Italian Art* 1893, 10, no. 52; Offner 1927b, 33; Offner 1930b, 93, 170, pl. 72; van Marle 1931e, 17; Berenson 1932a, 272; Ameisenowa 1939, 120; Offner 1947, 247–48; Offner 1957, 105n2, 151; Berenson 1963, 1:102; Seymour 1970, 46–47, 307, no. 28; Gosebruch 1971, 247; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Boskovits 1987a, 10, 387, 522–23; Skaug 1994, 1:122n230; Pergam 2011, 140–41, 188n13, 219, 312

NOTES

1. Waagen 1854, 2:462.
2. Offner 1927b, 33.
3. van Marle 1931e, 17.
4. Offner 1927b, 33.
5. Offner 1930b, pl. 72.
6. Seymour 1970, 47.
7. Skaug 1994, 1:122n230.
8. Boskovits 1987a, 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, 49–64.
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 1987a, 326–33. While Boskovits (in Boskovits 1987a, 10), ignoring then-recent scholarship, dismissed 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, France (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, Washingon, D.C., by Grifo di Tancredi (inv. no. 1937.1.2.a–c), 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	*Virgin and Child*
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 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 perhaps as late as his possible 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 1911a, 1, no. 1; Offner 1927b, 31; Offner 1930b, 93, 181–82, pl. 77; Berenson 1932a, 272; Berenson 1936, 234; Shorr 1954, 128–29, 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 1987a, 10n4, 387, 539–541, pl. 237; Skaug 1994, 1:122

NOTES

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

Bernardo Daddi, *Vision of Saint Dominic*

Artist	Bernardo Daddi, Florence, active 1312/20–died 1348
Title	*Vision of Saint Dominic*
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 wood 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, Poland (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 'Sepoltuario 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, Staatliche 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 *Sepoltuario* 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]

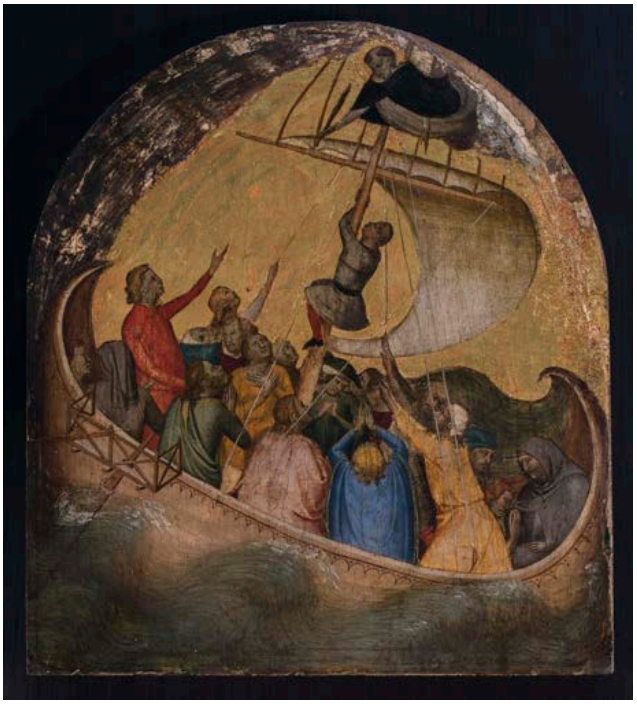

Fig. 3. Bernardo Daddi, *Saint Dominic Rescuing a Ship at Sea*, 1338(?) or 1343(?). Tempera and gold on panel, 37 × 33 cm (14 5/8 × 13 in.). Muzeum Narodowe, Poznań, Poland, inv. no. 11

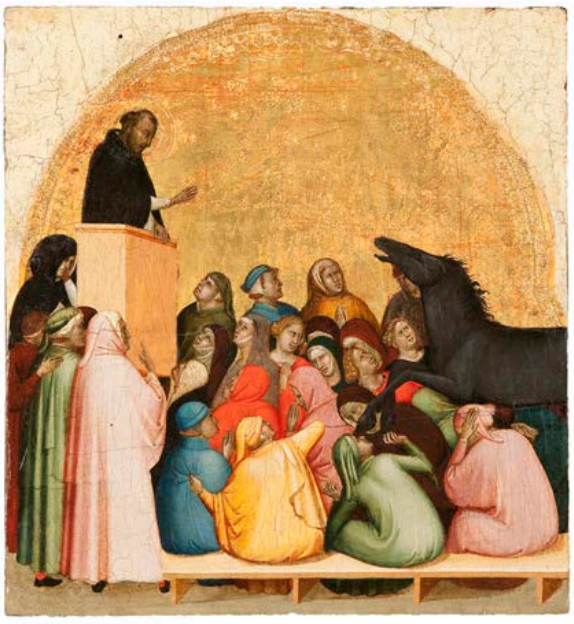

Fig. 4. Bernardo Daddi, *Saint Peter Martyr Preaching*, 1338(?) or 1343(?). Tempera and gold on panel, 37 × 34 cm (14 5/8 × 13 3/8 in.). Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris, Legs Emile Peyre, 1905, inv. no. PE 77

Fig. 5. Bernardo Daddi, *The Temptation of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, 1338(?) or 1343(?). Tempera and gold on panel, 38 × 33.5 cm (15 × 13 1/4 in.). Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 1094

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. 1343–45. 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

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(?) or 1343(?). 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, they are 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* now in the Accademia in Florence (see fig. 6) 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* (MCCCXXXXIII) for a *V* (MCCCXXXVIII).[24] While this is possible, it is unreasonable to advance this 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 sphragiological 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

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Jarves 1860, 44, no. 24; Jarves 1861, pl. C, fig. 11 (engraving); Sturgis 1868, 34; Rankin 1895, 141; Rankin 1905, 8, 18, no. 20; Sirén 1908c, 188–89, 193, pl. 1, fig. 1; Van Vechten Brown and Rankin 1914, 65n3; Sirén 1916a, 21–23, no. 6; Sirén 1916b, 208–9; Sirén 1917, 1:180, 271, 2: pl. 161; van Marle 1924b, 370, 373–75; Offner 1927a, 3, 16, fig. 6; Comstock 1928a, 71–73; Salmi 1929, 268; Borenius 1930, 154; Offner 1930c, 9, 36–39; Royal Academy of Arts 1930, 38–39; Balniel and Clark 1931, 13; Hautecoeur 1931, 157; Venturi 1931, 1: pl. 36; Berenson 1932a, 167; *Catalogue of "A Century of Progress"* 1933, 14, no. 84; Venturi 1933, 1: pl. 45; *Mostra giottesca* 1937, 56, no. 60; *Arts of the Middle Ages* 1940, 19–20, no. 55; Cibulka 1940–41, 352–54; Paatz and Paatz 1940–54, 3:748, 838nn490–91; Sinibaldi and Brunetti 1943, 501; Comstock 1946, 46–47; Offner 1947, 59, 65, 66n3, 67n9; Antal 1948, 183; Gronau 1949, 295; 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. "The artist never reached higher in quality than this"; Longhi 1959, 7.
3. de Voragine 1993, 2:47.
4. Jarves 1860, 44, no. 24.
5. Sturgis 1868, 34; and, for the quote, Sirén 1916b, 208.
6. van Marle 1924b, 370n3.
7. Offner 1947, 66n3.
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 Milanesi, 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 Raimond van Marle (in 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, 3:745, 748, 836–37n467.
16. Boskovits 2001, 183–92, pls. 13–14. The ex-Loeser panel is now in a private collection, London. 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. 1890 n. 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 situated 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. "The friars say that it was in the church near the choir . . . that it was removed around the year 1570"; 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	*Virgin and Child*
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 wood 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-centimeter-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. (see Nardo di Cione, *Virgin and Child*) 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, which he dated around 1345 and considered the earliest representation of the subject in Florentine painting.[7]

Barring an attribution to Spinello Aretino proposed by Bernard Berenson in 1932 (and later retracted),[8] 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,[9] while Federico Zeri listed it simply as "follower" of Bernardo Daddi.[10] 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.[11] Carl Strehlke returned instead to an earlier chronology and preferred to label the panel as "Workshop of Bernardo Daddi, ca. 1340s."[12] 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.[13] 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.[14] Skaug's own arguments regarding the chronological implications of the punching in the Yale picture, however, are equally inconclusive.[15] Stylistic considerations alone suggest that the Cionesque 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,[16] 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. no. 1980 n. 6140a

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. 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.[17] 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), usually dated to the same moment as the *Crucifixion* altarpiece and often viewed as involving the participation of assistants.[18] 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

Catalogue of the Ercole Canessa Collection 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, 305, 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 stated 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. Recorded in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York.
5. Offner 1947, 180.
6. Offner 1958, 115–17, pl. 31.
7. Inv. no. 1890 n. 3144.
8. Berenson 1932a, 549.
9. Seymour 1970, 28.
10. Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600.
11. Skaug 1994, 1:191–92, 2: no. 6.13.
12. Carl Strehlke, unpublished checklist of Italian paintings at Yale, 1998–2000, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
13. Boskovits 2001, 11n13, 392; and Boskovits 2016, 314.
14. Skaug 1994, 1:192n40.
15. 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 Sienese 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 Sienese 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.
16. Boskovits 2016, 314.
17. 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.
18. 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	*Virgin and Child*
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, 1907;[1] Silberstein & Co., New York, after 1936–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, 306, no. 12; Boskovits 1975b, 312; Boskovits 1984, 72, 359, 360n1, pl. 185; Boskovits 1989, 84; Skaug 1994, 1:101, 110; Passeri 2009, 5–7; Laurence Kanter, in Kanter and Marciari 2010, 10–11, fig. 1; Gordon 2022, 190–91, 220n7

NOTES

1. Venturi 1945; on Tarkington, see Woodress 1954.

Andrea di Cione, called Orcagna, *Saint Romuald*

Artist	Andrea di Cione, called Orcagna, Florence, active by 1343–died 1368
Title	*Saint Romuald*
Date	1342(?)
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	53.4 × 43.1 cm (21 × 17 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Richard L. Feigen, B.A. 1952
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 1953;[1] private collection; sale, Sotheby's, London, December 8, 1971, lot 57; Alice Loew-Beer (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

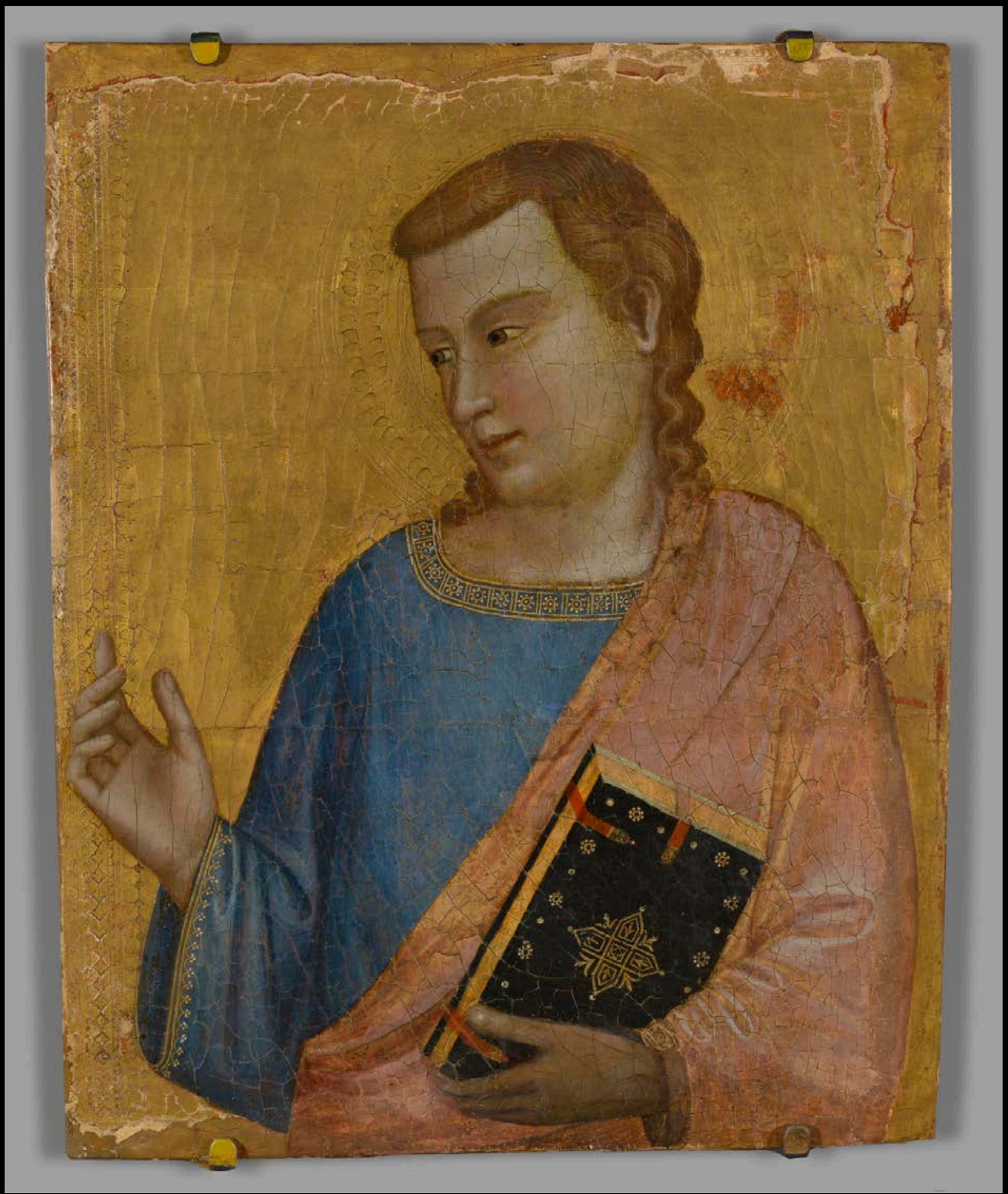
The panel has been cut on all four sides but retains its original thickness of 3 centimeters and exhibits a slight convex warp. It comprises three horizontal planks with joins approximately 20 centimeters from the bottom and 16 centimeters from the top; the joins have opened in the front, resulting in 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 2009, 5–7; Laurence Kanter, in Kanter and Marciari 2010, 7–11, no. 3b; Gordon 2022, 190–91, 220n7

NOTES

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



Nardo di Cione, *Saint John the Evangelist*

Artist	Nardo di Cione, Florence, documented 1343/46–died 1365/66
Title	*Saint John the Evangelist*
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, B.A. 1952
Inv. No.	2020.75.4

Provenance

Probably Santa Maria degli Angeli, Florence, until 1808; Wildenstein and Co., by January 1952–at least September 1953;[1] private collection; sale, Sotheby's, London, December 8, 1971, lot 57; Alice Loew-Beer (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 comprises three horizontal planks with joins approximately 21.5 centimeters from the bottom and 15.5 centimeters from the top; the joins 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. 1. *Virgin and Child*, before 1936

Fig. 2. Giovanni del Biondo, *Virgin and Child* (detail), ca. 1370. Tempera and gold on panel. Location unknown

Fig. 3. Giovanni del Biondo, *Virgin and Child* (detail), ca. 1370. Tempera and gold on panel. Location unknown

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

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, inv. no. M1995.679

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 the Minneapolis Institute of Art (see Workshop of Bernardo Daddi, *Virgin and Child*) and the frescoes from the Giochi Bastari Chapel at the Badia in Florence predate midcentury deserves the most serious consideration.[19] To these should be added the Whitley *Madonna* in the Milwaukee Art Museum (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.[20] 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,[21] 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 that saint's identification from Benedict to Romuald, founder of the Camaldolese reform movement.[22] 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.[23] 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, 1:101, 101n112, 110; Passeri 2009, 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 Berenson Library, Villa I Tatti, Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Settignano.
2. Berenson 1936, 143.
3. 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, 359–60n1, pl. 185.
10. Skaug 1994, 1:101, 110.
11. Laurence Kanter, in 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 (see 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, in Kanter and Marciari 2010, 10–11.
14. Bartalini 1995, 16–35; and Parenti 2001, 325–32.
15. Kanter, in 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 insisted 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 dated 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. Boskovits 2016, 314. Boskovits's suggestion that the *Virgin and Child* from the workshop of Bernardo Daddi in the Yale University Art Gallery (see Workshop of Bernardo Daddi, *Virgin and Child*) 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.
20. Inv. no. NG581, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/nardo-di-cione-three-saints.
21. Seymour 1970, 29.
22. Gordon 2022, 190–91.
23. Kanter, in Kanter and Marciari 2010, 11.

Nardo di Cione, *Saint Peter*

Artist	Nardo di Cione, Florence, documented 1343/46–died 1365/66
Title	*Saint Peter*
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	*Saint John the Baptist*
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

The panel supports of both panels—the *Saint John the Baptist* shown here and the *Saint Peter* catalogued before this entry—are of a vertical wood 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 the *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 1971–72. 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 the *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 the *Saint John the Baptist* has been more strongly abraded than the *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. (see Nardo di Cione, *Virgin and Child*), 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 (see Workshop of Bernardo Daddi, *Virgin and Child*).[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 draftsmen. 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 Museum[12] 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 also rectified another misconception about it and the *Saint Peter*: they are not lateral panels from a dispersed altarpiece but shutters to an unusually large tabernacle triptych. The reverse of each panel (see figs. 1–2) 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*, ca. 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*, is to be identified with a panel in the T. Robert and Katherine States Burke Collection in San Francisco (fig. 6). This panel has been cut to a fully arched format but retains a fragmentary band of gilding and punched decoration along its left margin that not only reveals its original demilunette shape but also corresponds to the borders of 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 related 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 with Saints* 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 both 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 Calzolai and Piazza Orsanmichaele, 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, pl. D, figs. 13, 16 (engravings); Sturgis 1868, 36–37; Brown 1871, 15, nos. 25–26; Rankin 1895, 141; Rankin 1905, 8; Sirén 1908a, 70, 89, fig. 30; Sirén 1908c, 193, pl. 2; Berenson 1909b, 162; Sirén 1914b, 270, fig. 3; Sirén 1916a, 39–40, nos. 13–14; 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, 3, 16, figs. 7–7a; Offner 1927b, 97; Salmi 1929, 268; Venturi 1931, 1: pl. 45; Berenson 1932a, 384; Venturi 1933, 1: 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, 16–19; 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; Boskovits 1975b, 244n211; Fremantle 1975, fig. 313; Skaug 1994, 1:176, 2: no. 6.10; Frinta 1998, 227, 512; Boskovits 2001, 383; Tartuferi 2001, 66, 70, fig. 24; Aronson 2003, 40, 43, fig. 2.7; Strehlke 2003b, 262–63, fig. 19.6; 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, nos. 34–35; and Jarves 1861, pl. D, figs. 13, 16 (engravings).

3. Offner 1924a, 101–3, fig. 2.

4. Offner 1960, 61–63.

5. Gronau 1937, 59, 85n146, fig. 50; and Tartuferi 2001, 66, 70, fig. 24.

6. 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. Národní Galerie, Prague, inv. no. O.2376-2385; and Alte Pinakothek, Munich, inv. no. W.A.F.1027-1028.

11. Skaug 1994, 1:179. Skaug presented 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 1951a, 168n4. The *Virgin Annunciate* was first recorded in the collection of W. B. Chamberlin, Hove, Essex, England; 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 Patruno 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 lavorio 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 Meiss, was initially accepted by scholars with appropriate hesitation but has come to assume the status of historical fact; see Meiss 1951a, 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.

AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA DOMINUS TECUM BT

Nardo di Cione, *Virgin and Child*

Artist	Nardo di Cione, Florence, documented 1343/46–died 1365/66
Title	*Virgin and Child*
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 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 around either Berenson's association of it with Jacopo di Cione and his workshop[2] 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 not simply a typical commercial product of an anonymous Cionesque or Orcagnesque artist but the ruin of a once-noble composition by Nardo di Cione. 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 Národní Galerie, Prague,[4] or the center panel of the Goldman triptych in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (fig. 2). 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*).[5] Mojmír Frinta catalogued this punch as his no. Fda10cN, though he measured it incorrectly.[6]

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 *Virgin and Child* now in the Minneapolis Institute of Art (See Workshop of Bernardo Daddi, *Virgin and Child*), 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 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, 1:105; Seymour 1970, 32–33, 306, 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. Inv. nos. O.2376–85, Offner 1960, pl. 5a.
5. Skaug 1994, 2: no. 104.
6. Another punch catalogued in this painting by Mojmír 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.

Fig. 2. Nardo di Cione, *Virgin and Child with Saints Peter and John the Evangelist; 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., Samuel H. Kress Collection, inv. no. 1939.1.261.a–c

Taddeo Gaddi, *Virgin and Child Enthroned*

Artist	Taddeo Gaddi, Florence, ca. 1300–1366
Title	*Virgin and Child Enthroned*
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.[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, Florence[3]—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 Uffizi[7] 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, Rogers Fund, 1910, 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 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 figure 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 1906a, 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, 342–43; Sirén 1926, 185; Berenson 1932a, 215; Venturi 1933, 1: 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 1965b, 2:523; Donati 1966, 28; Seymour 1970, 42–43, 307, 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 1906a, 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. Dep. n. 3.

4. Sirén 1926, 185; van Marle 1924b, 342–43; and Seymour 1970, 42–43, no. 25.

5. Marcucci 1965b, 2:523.

6. Donati 1966, 28.

7. Neri Lusanna 1995; and Labriola 1998.

8. Mirella Branca (in Branca 2008, 16) argued for a date before Taddeo's *Virgin and Child* for the church of Santa Felicita, 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 a 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.

Taddeo Gaddi, *The Entombment of Christ*

Artist	Taddeo Gaddi, Florence, ca. 1300–1366
Title	*The Entombment of Christ*
Date	ca. 1360
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	115.4 × 75.5 cm (45 5/8 × 29 3/4 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.8

Provenance

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

Condition

The painted and gilt surfaces appear to have been transferred to canvas, probably in the mid-nineteenth century, and mounted onto an old panel support comprising two large poplar planks flanked by 3.5-centimeter-wide soft wood planks at the sides, 1.7 centimeters thick but not cradled.[1] Heat and pressure have flattened the paint surface and impressed upon it the seams and splits (30 centimeters and 42 centimeters from the left edge) in the new support. Modern treatments by Andrew Petryn in 1951–52,[2] Lance Meyers in 1986, and Elisabeth Mention in 1998 addressed faults in the panel and lifting of paint, especially around the edges, but did not take into account the transfer. Petryn removed everything he believed to be a modern addition, including a false gable supplied in the nineteenth century (fig. 1), exposing large losses in the pink robes of Saint John the Evangelist, across the bottom of the sarcophagus, and at the elbows of each mourning angel, as well as extensive abrasion through the Virgin's cloak and the legs of Christ (fig. 2). The largest of these losses were compensated with a coarse crosshatch technique, and smaller flaking losses were covered by stippling in a color close to but not matching the surrounding surface. Some areas of white pigment, such as the ends of the Virgin's veil and shadows in Christ's loincloth, remain only as gesso preparation; others are intact. Flesh tones are relatively well preserved. The roses and leaves painted at the left are extremely thin. The gold ground has been entirely regilt over original gesso and bolus, but this was not disturbed by Petryn.

Fig. 1. *The Entombment of Christ*, ca. 1900

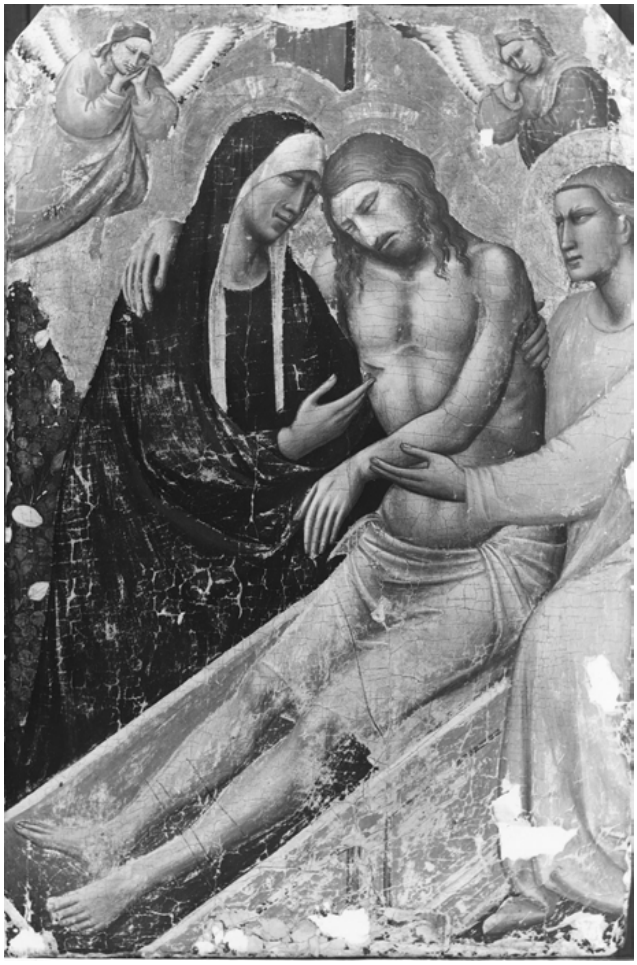


Fig. 2. *The Entombment of Christ*, during cleaning in 1951

Discussion

Sometimes referred to as a Lamentation or a Pietà, this image is actually an entirely original conflation of the two subjects with that of the Entombment of Christ. Rather than being seated on Mary's lap or stretched out on the ground, as in traditional images of the Pietà or the Lamentation, Christ is shown inside the sarcophagus, His body supported in a seated position by the Virgin with the help of Saint John the Evangelist. Two mourning angels hover above the figures, on either side of the shaft of the Cross partially visible in the background. Behind and to the left of the Virgin is the unusual detail of a rose bush with white and red flowers. According to Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1090/91–1153), the white rose was symbolic of Mary's virginity, the red rose of her compassion as well as Christ's suffering.[3]

Notably missing from the scene are the multiple bystanders that usually characterize scenes of the Entombment and Lamentation. The composition is instead dominated by the monumental figures of the dead Christ and the Virgin. Her mournful gaze and gesture draw the viewer's attention to Christ's bleeding wound, token of His Passion and sacrifice for humanity. In this respect, the painting approximates the more iconic, meditative quality of representations of the Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist, in which the half-length Christ is sometimes shown rising from His tomb and pointing to the open gash in His side. The transfer of this gesture to the figure of the Virgin, however, is rare in Italian panel painting and has been interpreted within the context of the theological doctrine of Mary as Coredeemer (*Maria Corredemptrix*) that gained currency during the fourteenth century.[4] The motif appears in only two other images before the fifteenth century: the left wing of a diptych by an anonymous Neapolitan follower of Giotto in the National Gallery, London (fig. 3), generally dated between around 1335 and 1345, and Giovanni da Milano's panel in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, signed and dated 1365.[5] Although indebted to a different compositional model than the Yale picture, the National Gallery painting—generally described as a Man of Sorrows—shares a similar focus on the Virgin's gesture. The fact that the position of her right hand, with which she both touches her Son's wound and motions toward Him, is repeated almost exactly in the present work led some scholars to speculate on a possible derivation from the same Giottesque prototype.[6] Like more traditional representations of the Man of Sorrows, these powerfully contemplative images coincide with renewed devotion to the cult of Christ's wounds during the course of the fourteenth century, when worship of the side wound, in particular, became enshrined in the liturgy and sanctioned by votive masses and papal indulgences.[7]

The Yale *Entombment*, which entered the James Jackson Jarves collection as a work of Giotto, was first attributed to Taddeo Gaddi by Osvald Sirén, who described it as "an example of Taddeo's later academic style" and compared it to the *Last Supper* fresco in the refectory of the church of Santa Croce, Florence, and to the signed and dated 1355 *Virgin and Child* in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence.[8] The painting was similarly inserted among the artist's late production by Raimond van Marle, followed by Frederick Antal, Millard Meiss, and Richard Offner.[9] Charles Seymour, Jr., however, rejected a dating after 1350 in favor of an earlier chronology in the previous decade.[10] Emphasizing the compositional similarities to the artist's fresco of the Entombment in the Bardi di Vernio Chapel in Santa Croce, generally placed around 1340, as well as the correspondences with the figures in the refectory *Last*

Fig. 3. Neapolitan Giottesque master, *The Lamentation*, ca. 1335–45. Tempera and gold on panel, 60 × 42.3 cm (23 5/8 × 16 5/8 in.). National Gallery, London, Presented by Henry Wagner, 1924, inv. no. NG3895

Supper, Seymour suggested a date between 1340 and 1350. The relationship to the Bardi di Vernio *Entombment* was also highlighted by Gloria Kury Keach and Massimo Ferretti, who dated the Yale panel around the middle of the 1340s.[11] Andrew Ladis, on the other hand, returned to Sirén's original assessment and reiterated, above all, the stringent correspondences between the present work and the Santa Croce refectory frescoes, which he situated around 1360, proposing an even later chronology for the Yale panel, in the final phase of the artist's career between 1360 and 1366.[12] A similar dating, around 1360 or slightly later, was advanced by Enrica Neri Lusanna and Ada Labriola.[13]

Undoubtedly, the most insightful analysis of the Yale *Entombment* remains that of Offner in his 1927 essay on Italian paintings at Yale, where he highlighted the immediate visual impact of the composition—which he referred to as a Pietà—and interpreted its "grim directness," "uncheered and unrelieved by humor," in metaphysical terms as a conscious expression of deep religious sentiment: "The mass of the figures, their thoughtless expression, give them the air of things that are and have been in mute communion with the universe since its beginning, and are, therefore, in its secret. There is a great deal of fundamental faith, of conviction in the unmindful clumsiness of the figures."[14] More often viewed in negative terms, the severe mood and at times crude execution that characterize the present image, as well as the acidic palette, find their closest equivalent, as first intuited by Sirén, in Taddeo's frescoes for the refectory of Santa Croce. The tall, massive figures with frozen expressions are "near relatives" of the apostles in the *Last Supper* (fig. 4), whose profiles may be superimposed over that of the Yale Saint John the Evangelist, while the Yale Virgin is intimately related to the figure of the Magdalen below the refectory *Crucifixion*. Notwithstanding recent efforts to date the refectory frescoes as early as 1340,[15] most authors have generally concurred in placing their execution near 1350 or later. It is difficult, in fact, to reconcile the schematic rendering and stiff formality of these images with the livelier idiom and more naturalistic approach, as well as the warmer tonalities, that generally characterize the artist's production in the 1340s, beginning with the San Miniato al Monte frescoes, datable based on documentary evidence around 1341–42. As noted by Ladis, the grim types and stark atmosphere of these works represent a further stage in the artist's evolution, clearly postdating the decorative concerns of the 1355 Uffizi *Virgin.* A date for the Yale panel around 1360 seems, therefore, highly plausible.

The original appearance and provenance of the Yale panel remain a subject of speculation. By the time the picture entered the Jarves collection, it had already been cut down on all sides and provided with a new summit and ogival frame that extended the vertical thrust of the composition (see fig. 1). Contrary to Keach's assertion, however, there is no evidence to suggest that the panel was significantly reduced on both sides and that the original shape approximated that of the much larger *Stigmatization of Saint Francis* by Taddeo Gaddi in the Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts.[16] Based on comparable devotional images, it cannot be assumed that the figures of the kneeling Evangelist or even of the two flying angels were originally complete, as claimed by Keach. A clue to the panel's shape and structure is perhaps provided by its often-noted iconographic relationship to two later Florentine works: a panel by Giovanni del Biondo in a private collection, Florence, dated to the late 1370s,[17] and a painting

Fig. 4. Taddeo Gaddi, *Apostles* (detail of *The Last Supper*), ca. 1360. Fresco. Santa Croce, Florence

formerly in the Grissel collection, Oxford, most recently attributed to Tommaso del Mazza and dated between 1400 and 1405.[18] Both images, which develop Taddeo's prototype into a more traditional representation of the Lamentation by the addition of other mourners and the elimination of the tomb in favor of a cloth of honor, terminate with an ogival arch at the top, filled in by the transverse arms of the Cross, with the angels hovering below. Particularly relevant are the close correspondences, first highlighted by Antal, between the Yale *Entombment* and the ex-Grissel *Lamentation*, which has similar dimensions and proportions and includes the same iconographic motif—not present in Giovanni del Biondo's version—of the Virgin gesturing toward Christ's wound. The ex-Grissel panel was the central element of a triptych and was originally flanked by standing figures of Saints James Major and Francis, possibly indicating a comparable context for the Yale image. If this were so, the rectangular damages at the elbows of both mourning angels and the larger losses aligned across the bottom of the panel (see fig. 2) might be explained by the removal of nails securing cross battens placed at those heights.

Based on the prominence of the Cross in the background of the Yale *Entombment*, Seymour supposed a provenance from Santa Croce, although the inclusion of this detail is common in representations of the Man of Sorrows and Lamentation, as well as of the Pietà (see Martino di Bartolomeo, *The Lamentation over the Dead Christ*). At the same time, given Taddeo's involvement in other major commissions for Santa Croce, it is not implausible that such an image, intimately related to Franciscan spirituality, could have been intended for an altar or a chapel in that church.[19] The fact that the composition seems to have resonated with a subsequent generation of Florentine painters suggests that the original prototype, whether invented by Taddeo or developed in Giotto's own workshop, was most likely intended for a prominent establishment in Florence or its environs. —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 43, no. 16; Jarves 1861, pl. B, fig. 5 (engraving); Sturgis 1868, 32–33; Brown 1871, 14, no. 17; Rankin 1895, 140; Sirén 1908b, 126, pl. 2; Sirén 1916a, 27–28, no. 8; Sirén 1917, 1:156, 269; Kreplin 1920, 13:32; van Marle 1924b, 342–43; Offner 1927a, 3, 19, fig. 10; Berenson 1932a, 215; Venturi 1933, 1: pl. 51; Berenson 1936, 185; Comstock 1946, 47; Antal 1948, 219n66, 226n141; Meiss 1951a, 56n165; Steegmuller 1951, 294; *Rediscovered Italian Paintings* 1952, 14–15; Berenson 1963, 1:71; Offner and Steinweg 1969, 31; Seymour 1970, 40–42, no. 24; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 77; Gloria Kury Keach, in Seymour et al. 1972, 16–17, no. 7, figs. 7a–c; Ferretti 1976, 25; La Favia 1980, 105n51; Offner and Maginnis 1981, 69; Ladis 1982, 73, 170, 186, 190, 205, 240–41, no. 62; Neri Lusanna 1995; Labriola 1998; Barbara Deimling, in Pasquinucci and Deimling 2000, 131, 134, 340n2, fig. 10; Dean 2001, 24–25, no. 5; Strehlke 2003a, 141–43, 155, pl. 25, fig. 9.6; Daniela Parenti, in Parenti 2008, 232, 234; Gordon 2011, 377; Dominique Thiébaut, in Thiébaut 2013, 193n6; Aronson, McClure, and Passeri 2017, 122–25; Kozlowski 2018, 9, fig. 8

NOTES

1. An anonymous note dated 1940 in the Yale conservation files alleging such a transfer is recorded in Aronson, McClure, and Passeri 2017, 124, 125n23. Although it is not reported in any other source, this appears to be true.
2. This date is reported as 1954 in Seymour 1970, 41, and as 1951–52 by Gloria Kury Keach, in Seymour et al. 1972, 16. There is no independent documentation of the treatment in the Yale files.
3. Joret 1892, 247.
4. La Favia 1980, 107.
5. For the most recent discussions of the National Gallery painting, part of a diptych that also included a panel with Saints John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalen in the Robert Lehman Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inv. no. 1975.1.102), see

Dominique Thiébaut, in Thiébaut 2013, 188–93, nos. 24–25 (with previous bibliography); and Kozlowski 2018, 7–11. For the Accademia picture (inv. no. 1890 n. 8467), see Angelo Tartuferi, in Boskovits and Tartuferi 2003, 89–93, no. 14.

6. Gordon 2011, 377.

7. Developed among mystics and the cloistered in the thirteenth century, the cult of the Five Wounds of Christ became part of the liturgy in the early fourteenth century. A votive Mass of the Five Wounds, known as *Missa humiliavit* and supposedly composed by Saint John the Evangelist and revealed by an angel to Pope Boniface II (r. 530–32), became especially popular and was granted indulgences first by Pope John XXII (r. 1316–34) and later by Pope Innocent VI (r. 1352–62). See Gougaud 1927, 82–83; and Candelaria 2008, 66–67. There is no evidence, however, to support Louis Marcello La Favia's claim (in La Favia 1980, 75), upheld in more recent literature (see Daniela Parenti, in Parenti 2008, 232), that Pope Innocent VI instituted an official Feast of the Sacred Wounds in 1362. In fact, Carolyn Muessig has outlined the unsuccessful efforts of the Dominican friar and hagiographer Tommaso Caffarini (ca. 1350–1434) to establish "a remarkable feast day and solemn ritual for the wounds of Christ" in the early decades of the fifteenth century, by increasing the liturgical status of the *Missa humiliavit* from a votive to a solemn Mass; see Muessig 2020, 172–73. For an extensive discussion of devotion to the Five Wounds and its close association with devotion to the Sacred Heart, which, in turn, led to Eucharistic associations, see Gougaud 1927, 80–130. For twelfth-century mystics, the wound in the side was the direct access to the heart of Jesus, "the door in the side of the ark," which they not only wanted to touch with the finger of their hand, like Saint Thomas, but also wished to enter completely in order to "penetrate to the very Heart of Jesus"; Gougaud 1927, 96.

8. Inv. no. Dep. n. 3. See Sirén 1908b, 126, pl. 2; and Sirén 1916a, 27–28, no. 8.

9. van Marle 1924b, 342–43; Antal 1948, 219n66, 226n141; Meiss 1951a, 56n165; and Offner and Steinweg 1969, 31.

10. Seymour 1970, 40–42, no. 24.

11. Gloria Kury Keach, in Seymour et al. 1972, 16–17, no. 7, figs. 7a–c; and Ferretti 1976, 25.

12. Ladis 1982, 240–41, no. 62.

13. Neri Lusanna 1995; and Labriola 1998.

14. Offner 1927a, 3, 19.

15. Simbeni 2011, 113–41.

16. Keach, in Seymour et al. 1972, 16; inv. no. 1929.234, https://hvrd.art/o/304462.

17. Offner and Steinweg 1969, 31–32, pl. 6.

18. See Barbara Deimling, in Pasquinucci and Deimling 2000, 338–43, no. 1, pl. 63.

19. It is worth noting that the Giottesque panel at the National Gallery, London (see fig. 3), and Giovanni da Milano's painting in the Accademia (see note 5, above) cited as comparisons for the Virgin's gesture were both executed for Franciscan institutions. A similar provenance may perhaps be adduced from the presence of Saint Francis in the triptych by Tommaso del Mazza. For Franciscan devotion to the wound in Christ's side, see Gougaud 1927, 99–100.

Workshop of Niccolò di Tommaso, *The Last Supper*

Artist	Workshop of Niccolò di Tommaso, Florence, documented 1346–76
Title	*The Last Supper*
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 1/4 × 10 in.). Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Ruth Blumka in memory of Leopold Blumka, inv. no. 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, 309, 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 Major*

Artist	Niccolò di Tommaso, Florence, documented 1346–died 1376
Title	*Saint James Major*
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

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

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, 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 Major, 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 Major* was recognized by Richard Offner as a typical work by Niccolò di Tommaso and published by him in 1924 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 Major 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, the artist 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 Cione[9]—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, 27, 31, fig. 4; van Marle 1925, 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, no. 41, figs. 41a–b; 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, 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 "Niccolaio" 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	*Saint Bridget's Vision of the Nativity*
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 and has a vertical wood grain, 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

cropped 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, inv. no. MV.40137.0.0

Fig. 1. Niccolò di Tommaso, *Saint Bridget's Vision of the Nativity; Saints Anthony Abbot, Catherine of Alexandria, Nicholas of Bari, and James Major; The Crucifixion; The Annunciation*, ca. 1373–75. Tempera and gold on panel, 63.5 × 55 cm (25 × 21 3/4 in.). Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, inv. no. JC cat. 120

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 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, 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, 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 suggest 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 1951a, 149–50n73; Offner 1956b, 191; Berenson 1963, 1:162; Seymour 1970, 66, 309, no. 45; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Boskovits 1975b, 203n108; Offner and Maginnis 1981, 90; Boskovits 1987a, 110n13; Volbach 1987, 26; Skaug 2001, 202; Skaug 2004a, 290, 292, 300, 304–5, 308, 311–14, figs. 3, 6, 18; Strehlke 2004, 345

NOTES

1. Meiss 1951a, 149–50n73.
2. Skaug 2001, 202; and Skaug 2004a, 290.
3. Strehlke 2004, 345.
4. Skaug 2001, 202.
5. Nordenfalk 1961, 379–81.

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

Artist	Matteo di Pacino, Florence, active by 1358–died ca. 1374
Title	*The Nativity and the Resurrection of Christ*
Date	ca. 1360 or 1371–73(?)
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall, original panel: 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

This 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 Giottino 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 Altenburg, Germany,[8] 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, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 1525

Fig. 2. Matteo di Pacino, *Saints John the Baptist, Dominic, and Thomas Aquinas and a Donor*, ca. 1360. Tempera and gold on panel, picture surface: 33.2 × 19.4 cm (13 1/8 × 7 5/8 in.). Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu 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; Jarves 1861, pl. C, fig. 7 (engraving); Sturgis 1868, 39, no. 32; Brown 1871, 16, no. 32; Rankin 1895, 142; Rankin 1905, 9; Sirén 1914c, 330; Sirén 1916a, 43–45, no. 17; Offner 1927a, 18; Berenson 1932a, 332; Steegmuller 1951, 296; Berenson 1963, 1:132; Seymour 1970, 49, 308, no. 32; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 76, 599; Boskovits 1975b, 290; Offner and Maginnis 1981, 17–18

NOTES

1. Sirén 1914c, 330; and Sirén 1916a, 43–45.
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. cat. 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*

Artist	Pietro Nelli, Florence, documented 1374–died 1419
Title	*Mourning Virgin*
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 wood 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 cross. 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 Speziali only in 1382, but his collaboration with Niccolò di Pietro Gerini in painting the high altarpiece for the collegiate church of Santa Maria all'Impruneta (Florence) 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.

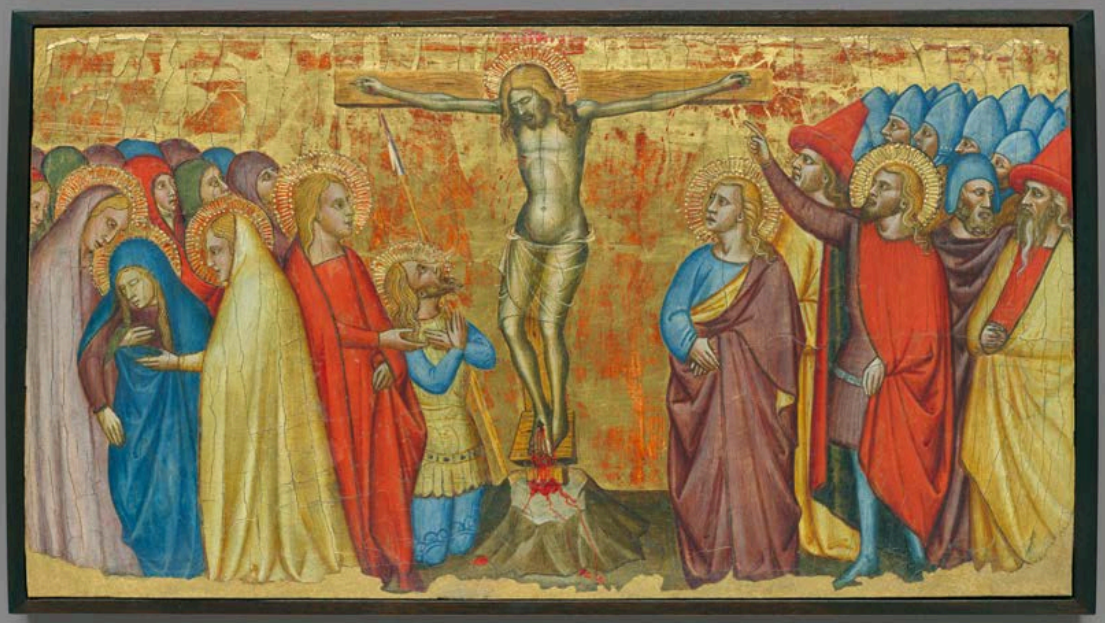
Two painted crosses survive for which Pietro Nelli may be said to have been responsible. One of these, in the Cappella Castellani in the church of Santa Croce in Florence, is dated 1380 and was executed in collaboration with Niccolò di Pietro Gerini. The lateral terminals of this cross are intact. The 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, 306, 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 Mojmír 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 cross.
7. Boskovits 1975b, 418, pl. 101.



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

Artist	Florentine School(?), ca. 1360–70
Title	*The Crucifixion*
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, by 1911; Estate of Edwin Austin Abbey, by 1931

Condition

The panel, of a horizontal wood 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 (Matt. 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 Siddi[5] 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—a work otherwise attributed to the Master of San Lucchese[6] 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]

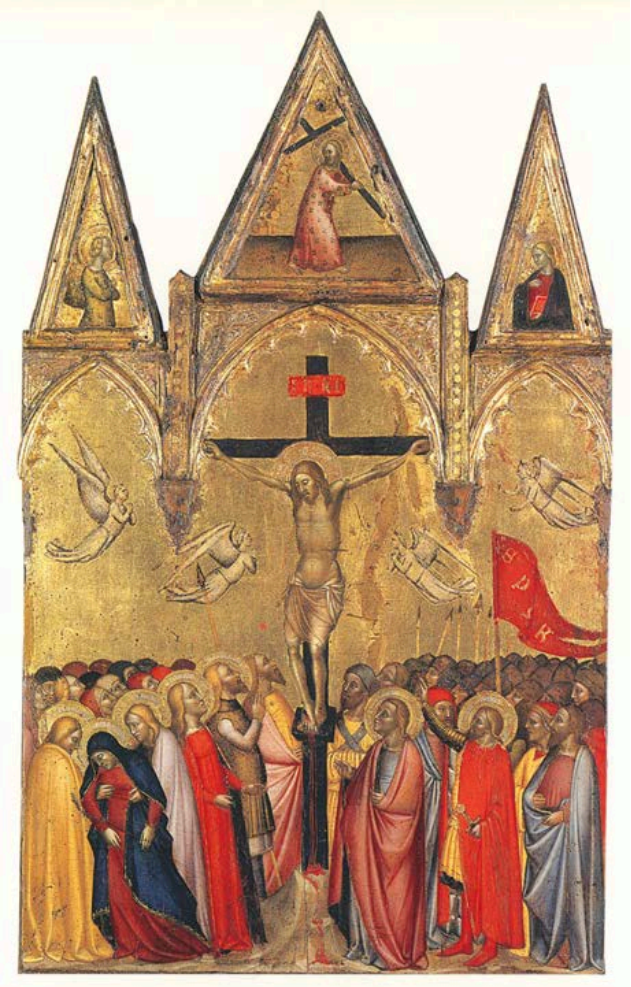


Fig. 2. Francesco di Neri da Volterra, *The Crucifixion*, ca. 1370. Tempera and gold on panel, 91 × 54 cm (35 7/8 × 21 1/4 in.). Palazzo Blu, Pisa

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, 306, 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, 306, no. 15.
2. Filippo Todini, 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.

Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary Magdalen,
St John the Baptist and Saint Peter the Penitential
Follower of JACOPO DI CIONE
Florentine, active 1368 - 1398
Tempera on gold ground on panel
Purchased in 1848 with the Ashburnham
gift, 1878

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	*Holy Trinity with the Virgin and Saints Mary Magdalen, John the Baptist, and John the Evangelist*
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, of a vertical wood grain, retains its original thickness of approximately 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 "Niccolaio 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, London[11]—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 1365 or 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; Sirén 1914c, 336; Sirén 1916a, 43, 45–46, no. 18; Offner 1927a, 17–18; Berenson 1932a, 274; Meiss 1951a, 34n83; Berenson 1963, 1:105; Seymour 1970, 48, 308, 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; Sturgis 1868, 37, no. 27; Brown 1871, 15, no. 27; Rankin 1895, 141; and Rankin 1905, 8.
2. Sirén 1914c, 336.
3. Sirén 1916a, 45–46.
4. Offner 1927a, 17–18.
5. Meiss 1951a, 34n83.
6. Seymour 1970, 48, 308, 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, 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.

Giovanni del Biondo, *Christ and the Virgin Enthroned with Angels; Allegories of the New (Ecclesia) and Old (Synagoga) Dispensation*

Artist	Giovanni del Biondo, Florence, documented 1356–99
Title	*Christ and the Virgin Enthroned with Angels; Allegories of the New (Ecclesia) and Old (Synagoga) Dispensation*
Date	ca. 1370
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 183.0 × 80.0 cm (72 1/8 × 31 1/2 in.); picture surface: 159.8 × 76.5 cm (62 7/8 × 30 1/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.19

Provenance

Found in the house of a farmer, near Florence, before 1843; Paolo Fumagalli, Florence; James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, is 3.3 centimeters thick and comprises three members: a central plank 35.7 centimeters wide and two lateral planks each approximately 20 centimeters wide. A channel to receive a cross-grain batten, 21.5 centimeters wide, has been slightly recessed in the back of the panel below the tympanum; two massive nails securing this batten are embedded in the panel, their heads hidden beneath the spandrel decoration on the front. A similar recess to house a batten across the bottom of the panel is only 12.5 centimeters wide and displays no evidence of nails anywhere along its length, suggesting that a minimum of 9 centimeters has been lost at this edge. The side edges of the panel are intact, retaining gesso drips from their preparation. The painted tympanum is fashioned of a vertical panel 3.5 centimeters thick, affixed to the top of the support panel. This, too, seems to be made of three planks, the center one measuring 23.5 centimeters wide. A split along the center of this plank is the only defect in the carpentry visible through the paint and gilded surfaces. Two notches cut into the top edge of this panel, approximately 5 centimeters wide, 2 centimeters long, and 29 centimeters apart, indicate the placement of a pinnacle panel above the tympanum frame, now lost. The tympanum is bordered by an engaged molding 3.5 centimeters thick that formerly extended around the entire perimeter of the panel. The sections of this molding that had been engaged below the tympanum were secured there after the altarpiece had been dismembered, probably in the eighteenth or early nineteenth century, and were removed by Andrea Rothe during a treatment at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, in 1999.[1]

Gilding throughout the main image is beautifully preserved, though it has been harshly abraded in the tympanum and nearly effaced along the raised moldings. The paint surface throughout has been heavily and evenly abraded, except where it was covered by the moldings

engaged along the edges of the composition. These slivers of protected surface indicate how extensive are the losses of modeling effects and of colored glazes across the rest of the painting: the yellow draperies were glazed green over highlights and red in shadows, the white draperies were glazed blue, and the cloth of honor had red glazes reinforcing the orange and red sgraffito decoration that remains. The blue draperies of Christ and the Virgin are, in their present state, an invention of Rothe, following rudimentary indications of modeling deduced from incisions in the gesso ground.

Discussion

Christ, wearing the pallium of a priest and bearing the crown and scepter of a king, is seated frontally on a cushion before an elaborate brocade hanging. The cushion is notionally resting on the seat of a throne, but the architecture of the throne is entirely obscured by the hanging, which is rendered as though suspended from ties linked to fictive rings along the framing of the arched top of the scene. Christ supports on His right thigh a book, opened to the ornate capitals Alpha and Omega. To His left sits the Virgin, also crowned, turned three-quarters toward her Son, her hands crossed before her breast in a gesture of humility. A mandorla of red seraphim and blue cherubim encircles the two figures, while six music-making angels kneel in the foreground, singing and playing horns and a vielle. Filling the spandrels of the frame above the main picture field are allegories of the old and new dispensation. On the right, Synagoga is represented as an old woman, stooped, dressed in black, and blindfolded, with a naked child in her arms and an altar table with a sacrificial ox behind her. She is identified by the inscription HAEBEBIS DEO[S] (Thou shalt have no other gods before me; Ex. 20:3) on a banderole held by an angel flying away from her.[2] On the left, Ecclesia is represented as a young woman standing proudly upright, crowned and wearing white, holding a chalice and paten for the Eucharist in her left hand and, with her right, blessing a child standing in a baptismal font. She, too, is identified by an inscribed banderole, reading ECCE NOVA FACIO (Behold I make all things new; Rev. 21:5).

The Yale *Christ and the Virgin Enthroned* has been central to discussions of Giovanni del Biondo as an artist nearly since he was first recognized as an independent personality by Wilhelm Suida in the early years of the twentieth century.[3] It was first labeled with Giovanni del Biondo's name in 1916, when Osvald Sirén recognized it and two panels then in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, now in the private papal apartments at the Vatican (figs. 1–2), as fragments of a single altarpiece.[4] The Vatican panels represent the choirs of saints populating the Kingdom of Heaven, completing the image of Christ and the Virgin presiding over their court in the Yale panel. The association of these three panels and their attribution to Giovanni del Biondo are undoubtedly correct and have never been questioned. Dating the panels to the artist's early career has also been a subject of consensus. Raimond van Marle proposed a date around 1373 for the altarpiece,[5] with which Richard Offner was largely in agreement.[6] Sirén, followed by Charles Seymour, Jr., pushed the dating slightly earlier, to about 1370,[7] and Miklós Boskovits moved it earlier still, to ca. 1360–65,[8] but no writer has suggested moving it to the second half of Giovanni del Biondo's career. Erling Skaug presented evidence for dating the panels between about 1365 and 1375, with an absolute *terminus post quem* of 1363, based on the presence of punch mark decoration made by tools brought to Florence from Siena in that year and for the most part disappearing from Florentine paintings slightly more than a decade later.[9]

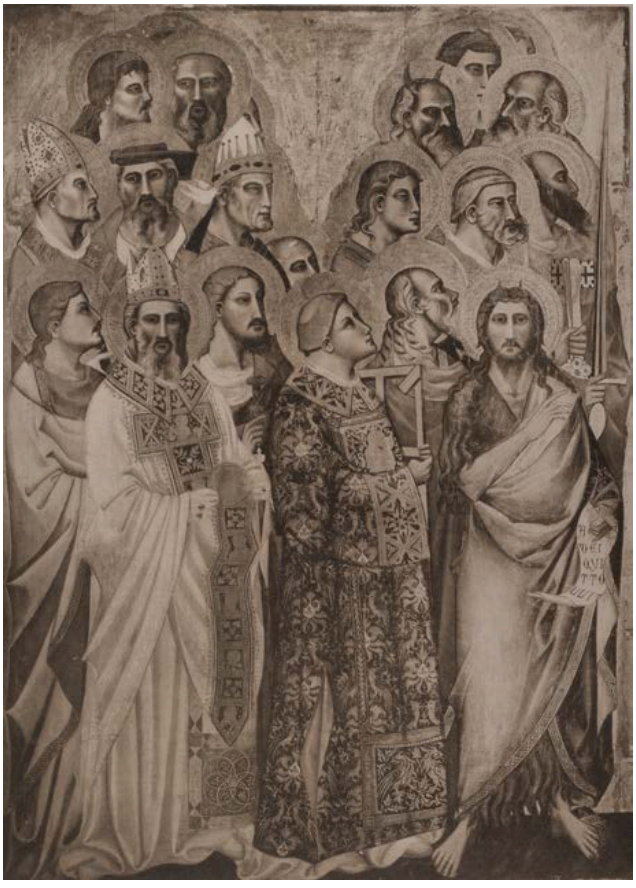


Fig. 1. Giovanni del Biondo, *Saints*, ca. 1370. Tempera and gold on panel, 136 × 100 cm (53 5/8 × 39 3/8 in.). Pinacoteca Vaticana, inv. no. 13

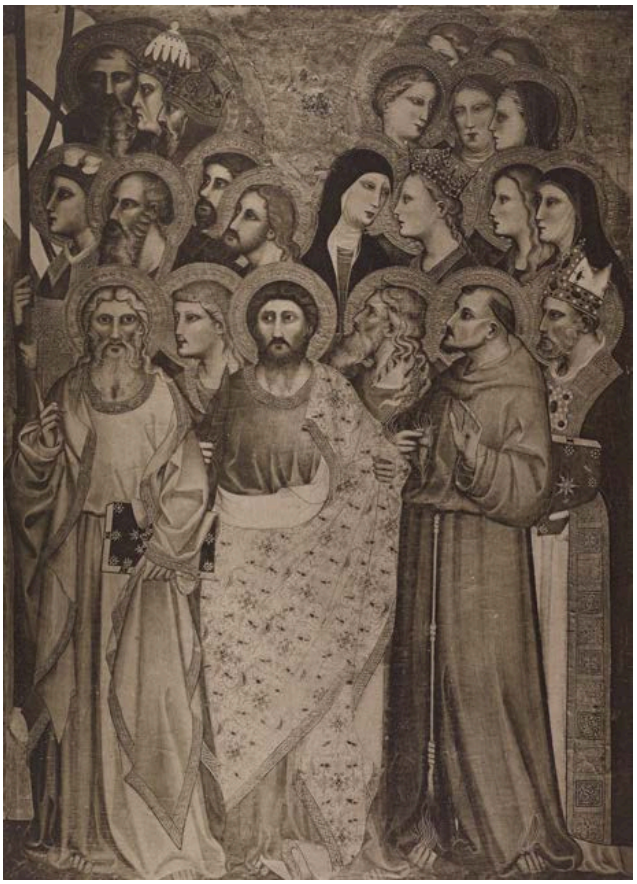


Fig. 2. Giovanni del Biondo, *Saints*, ca. 1370. Tempera and gold on panel, 136 × 100 cm (53 5/8 × 39 3/8 in.). Pinacoteca Vaticana, inv. no. 15

Klara Steinweg observed that, while the ranks of saints portrayed in the Vatican panels include the patriarchs, doctors, confessors, martyrs, and virgins, the mendicant orders are represented only by Franciscans: Saints Francis and Clare, with Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, patron of the Third Order of Saint Francis.[10] Combined with the observation that the motif of Ecclesia and Synagoga appearing in the spandrels of the frame on the Yale panel, while fairly common in medieval iconography generally, only occurs in Florence in a single other example—the decorative painted border of Taddeo Gaddi's fresco of the Crucifixion in the sacristy at Santa Croce—she inferred a probable original provenance from a Franciscan convent. She further suggested that the prominence accorded Saint John the Baptist in the foreground immediately to Christ's right, and the rarity of coupling the allegory of Ecclesia with the rite of baptism, might imply that the altarpiece was commissioned for a baptistery or baptismal chapel. Given the exceptional size of the reconstructed altarpiece, including pinnacles that are lost or unidentified today and possibly a predella, also lost, it is reasonable to suppose that such a chapel must have been part of a conspicuously important church, possibly even Santa Croce itself.

It is scarcely to be doubted that the Yale/Vatican altarpiece was originally a Franciscan commission, but it is possible that identifying further missing fragments from it might suggest an intended location other than a baptismal chapel. Photographs of the Vatican panels outside of their modern frames reveal that their overall shape probably mirrored that of the Yale panel, with a single trapezoidal pinnacle surmounting the two arched compartments framing the painted choirs of saints (see figs. 1–2).[11] This left an unusually large spandrel area between the two arches, just under 50 centimeters wide at its maximum extension, that must have been filled with painted imagery. Such areas in later altarpieces of approximately this form (i.e., five painted compartments but only three pinnacles, the two compartments on either side of the central compartment being conjoined beneath a single pinnacle) are often filled with tondi representing prophets or an Annunciation group. No suitable paintings of prophets attributable to Giovanni del Biondo are known, but one Annunciation group that could possibly have served this function is the pair of panels formerly in the Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York (figs. 3–4), which are clearly of a congruent style and date to the Yale and Vatican panels.[12] These are conventionally supposed to have been fragments cut out of a single narrative panel, which may be correct but which cannot be demonstrated any more conclusively than can a possible provenance from the spandrels or pinnacles of a large altarpiece.

Fig. 3. Giovanni del Biondo, *Annunciatory Angel*, ca. 1370. Tempera and gold on panel, 58.4 × 38.1 cm (23 × 15 in.). Location unknown

Fig. 4. Giovanni del Biondo, *Virgin Annunciate*, ca. 1370. Tempera and gold on panel, 58.4 × 36.8 cm (23 × 14 1/2 in.). Location unknown

Two panels now in the Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts (figs. 5–6), present an even more intriguing

possibility as fragments either of the missing Vatican spandrels or of the pinnacles that must have stood above them. These represent two of the seven Sacraments: Communion (represented as the last communion of an elderly man) and Extreme Unction.[13] Both panels, which measure 47.8 by 40.3 centimeters, have been thinned and marouflaged onto new panel supports, but the wood grain of their original supports is apparently vertical. They are unlikely, therefore, to have been part of a conventional predella, and it is sometimes assumed that they stood, together with four or more missing scenes, in columns alongside a single vertical image. The rarity of their subjects makes it difficult to find convincing parallels for a proposed reconstruction, but if they were removed from some part of the Yale/Vatican altarpiece, they could be interpreted as a continuation of the iconography of Baptism, another Sacrament, introduced in the spandrels of the frame of the Yale panel. Narrative scenes of a closely comparable format appear in the pinnacles of Giovanni del Biondo's later Cavalcanti altarpiece in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence,[14] the general structure of which mimics that of the Yale/Vatican altarpiece, with the addition of freestanding pediments painted with seraphim and cherubim covering the spandrel areas of the main panel frames. If such a reconstruction is possible, additional Sacraments could be supposed to have been portrayed in the missing predella from the altarpiece, or in some other part of the altarpiece frame, and they would not, then, have been the same size or format as the two panels in Worcester.

Fig. 5. Giovanni del Biondo, *The Sacrament of Communion*, ca. 1370. Tempera on panel, 47.8 × 40.3 cm (18 7/8 × 15 7/8 in.). Worcester Art Museum, Mass., Gift of Margery Williams Adams, inv. no. 2012.81

Fig. 6. Giovanni del Biondo, *The Sacrament of Extreme Unction*, ca. 1370. Tempera on panel, 47.8 × 40.3 cm (18 7/8 × 15 7/8 in.). Worcester Art Museum, Mass., Gift of Margery Williams Adams, inv. no. 2012.82

Only the eventual recovery of additional Sacrament scenes could demonstrate the validity of this hypothesis, but if it should prove to be correct, it would imply that the altarpiece did not necessarily stand in a baptismal chapel but might rather have stood in a chapel with a dedication to all seven Sacraments. Saint John the Baptist might then be assumed to have been accorded a position of prominence to indicate his role as patron of the city of Florence, rather than as originator of the rite of baptism. While it is common to find designated Sacrament chapels in Venetian churches, liturgical practice in Florence does not seem to have provided for chapels nominally reserved for a sacramentary function. It is perhaps worth speculating on the possibility that the Yale/Vatican altarpiece may have been intended for the main chapel in the sacristy of the church of Santa Croce, but no documentation of the original ornament of that altar is known to survive. In 1379 Giovanni del Biondo painted the altarpiece for the choir chapel (the Rinuccini Chapel) of the sacristy, still in situ today.[15] —LK

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La Farina 1843, 19–22; *Museo di pittura e scultura* 1845, 156; Jarves 1860, 42, no. 8; Jarves 1861, pl. B, fig. 4 (engraving); Sturgis 1868, 20–21, no. 5; Brown 1871, 11–12, no. 5; Rankin 1895, 138; Rankin 1905, 7; Sirén 1916a, 47–49, no. 19; Sirén 1916b, 215–17, fig. 7; Kurzwelly 1921, 14:111; Sirén 1921, 97; van Marle 1924b, 520–21, no. 19, fig. 9; Offner 1927a, 18–19, fig. 9; Salmi 1929, 268–69; Berenson 1936, 208; Middeldorf 1956, 172; Offner 1956b, 173; Offner 1960, 50; Berenson 1963, 1:86; Klesse 1967, 365, no. 318c; Offner and Steinweg 1967, 10, 81–86, pl. 19; Seymour 1970, 43–45, no. 26; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 88, 599; Fahy 1974, 284; Boskovits 1975b, 312; Mancinelli 1983, 357; Volbach 1987, 16; Skaug 1994, 1:201; Frinta 1998, 463, 514; Rothe 2003, 156–57, 178, pls. 26–29; Strehlke 2003a, 141–43, fig. 9.5

NOTES

1. See Rothe 2003, 156–57, 178, pls. 26–29.
2. This inscription was read by Ulrich Middeldorf and Enzo Settesoldi (recorded in Offner and Steinweg 1967, 84n4) as SA[CRIFICA]BERIS DEO, with no correspondence to a biblical text.
3. Wilhelm Suida isolated eight paintings and christened their author the "Master of the Rinuccini Altarpiece"; see Suida 1905, 45–50. The following year, Osvald Sirén recognized this artist as Giovanni del Biondo; see Sirén 1906b, 322, 328.
4. Sirén 1916a, 48–49; and Sirén 1916b, 216–17, fig. 7.
5. van Marle 1924b, 520–21, no. 19, fig. 9.
6. Offner 1927a, 18–19; Offner 1956b, 173; and Offner and Steinweg 1967, 10, 81–86, pl. 19.
7. Sirén 1916a, 49; Sirén 1921, 97; and Seymour 1970, 43–45, no. 26.

8. Boskovits 1975b, 312.

9. Skaug 1994, 1:201.

10. Offner and Steinweg 1967, 81–82.

11. D'Achiardi 1929, 5, nos. 104–5, pls. 21–22.

12. Offner and Steinweg 1967, 93–95, pl. 21; sale, Sotheby's, New York, June 8, 2007, lot 216.

13. Offner and Steinweg 1967, 29–30, pl. 3. The Worcester panels were formerly in the Chalandon collection in Lyon, France; the Frank C. Smith collection in Worcester, Mass.; and the collection of Dr. and Mrs. Carlisle Adams in Charlotte, N.C.

14. Inv. no. 8606. Offner and Steinweg 1969, 107–14, pl. 25; and Daniela Parenti, in Boskovits and Parenti 2010, 56–63.

15. Offner and Steinweg 1969, 77–83, pl. 20.

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

Artist	Attributed to Giovanni del Biondo, Florence, documented 1356–99
Title	*Scene from the Legend of Saint John Gualbert*
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
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 on 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 Saint John Gualbert's vermillion 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 *bifore* 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 of 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 stately demeanor of Saint John Gualbert 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 continue 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 Fredericksen 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 di Pietro 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. 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 Gerini suggests a date closer to the end of Giovanni del Biondo's career, ca. 1390. —LK

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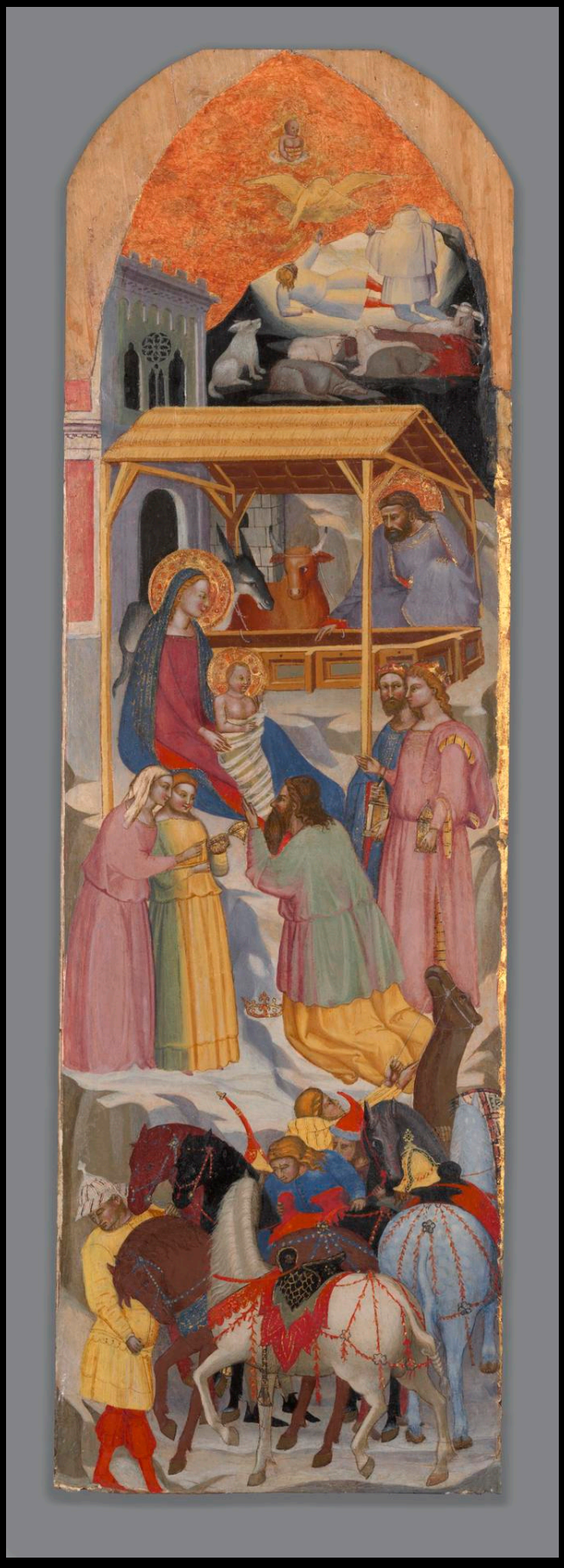
Jarves 1860, 44, no. 26; Sturgis 1868, 38–39, no. 30; Brown 1871, 16, no. 30; Rankin 1895, 142, fig. 30; Venturi 1901–40, 7, pt. 1: 27; Rankin 1905, 9; Sirén 1909a, 325, pl. 1; Sirén 1916a, 77–78, no. 30; van Marle 1927b, 86; Venturi 1931, 1: pl. 144; Berenson 1932a, 214; Venturi 1933, 1: pl. 137; Steegmuller 1951, 295; Berenson 1963, 68; Seymour 1970, 137–38, 314, 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. Jarves 1860, 44, no. 26; Sturgis 1868, 38–39, no. 30; Brown 1871, 16, no. 30; and Sirén 1909a, 325, pl. 1, fig. 3.
4. Venturi 1901–40, 7, pt. 1: 27; van Marle 1927b, 86; Venturi 1931, 1: pl. 144; and Venturi 1933, 1: 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*

Artist	Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, Florence, documented 1369–1415
Title	*The Adoration of the Magi*
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 wood 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.

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

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

Discussion

Fig. 3. *The Adoration of the Magi*, *Annunciatory Angel*, and *Virgin Annunciate*, 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 James Jackson 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 *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. Baroncelli Chapel, 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 figure 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 di Ser Cenni, *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 antiphonary in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, usually placed before the San Donato in Polverosa commission.[16]

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

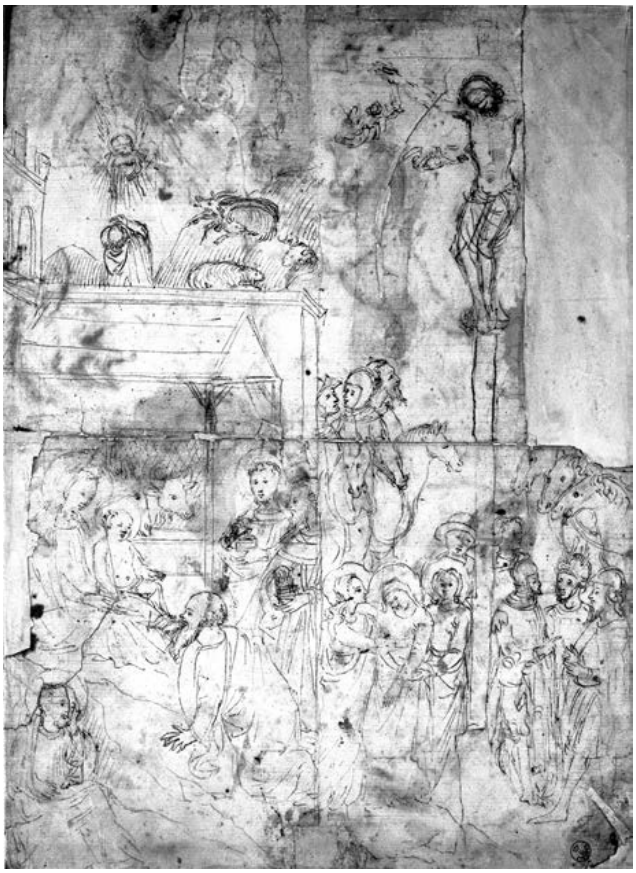


Fig. 7. Florentine School, *The Adoration of the Magi and the Crucifixion*, ca. 1390. Pen and ink on paper. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampi degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 22E, recto

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 collection[18] 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 Saint 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 recently been 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; Jarves 1861, pl. E, fig. 17 (engraving); Sturgis 1868, 28–29, no. 15; Brown 1871, no. 15; Rankin 1895, 143; Rankin 1905, 8, no. 15; Sirén 1914b, 273–74, fig. 5; Sirén 1916a, 41–42, no. 15; Sirén 1917, 1:227–29, 2: pl. 193; van Marle 1924b, 514–16; Offner 1927a, 17, figs. 8–8a; Berenson 1932a, 238; Coletti 1942, 470; Berenson 1963, 1:215; Boskovits 1968a, 279–89, 291n21, fig. 8; Seymour 1970, 34–36, 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 (1217/21–1274), 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, Florence, 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 more information, see Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, *The Annunciation*, note 8.
2. de Voragine 1993, 1:40; see also 1:80.
3. Rankin 1905, 8, no. 15.
4. Sirén 1914b, 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.
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, 279–89, 291n21, fig. 8; and Boskovits 1975b, 290.
13. Seymour 1970, 34–36, no. 20a.
14. Laurence 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/antiphonary-2/. For the most recent detailed discussion of the Baltimore antiphonary, 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 thereafter; 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, Bellini, and Brunetti 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, Bellini, and Brunetti 1978, xvi; and Bellini, in Bellosi, Bellini, and Brunetti 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*

Artist	Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, Florence, documented 1369–1415
Title	*Annunciatory Angel* and *Virgin Annunciate*
Date	ca. 1380
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	Diam. each 13.6 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 wood 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
of Tolentino, and St Jerome
Follower of NICCOLÒ DI PIETRO GERINI

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

Artist	Master of the Misericordia(?), Florence, third quarter 14th century
Title	*Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Nicholas, Margaret of Antioch(?), John the Baptist, and Dorothy; The Crucifixion*
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 James Jackson 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 Giottino, 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 elements 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 forms of the Christ Child are incompatible with the strongly built, hard-edged physiognomic types with square jaws, more closely dependent on Giottesque 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 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, 63.5 × 34.3 cm (25 × 13 1/2 in.). Location unknown

Fig. 2. Master of the Misericordia, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints; The Crucifixion*, 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; Sirén 1908c, 193–94, pl. 3, fig. 1; Sirén 1909b, 197; Sirén 1914c, 330, fig. 4; Sirén 1916a, 43–44, no. 16; Sirén 1917, 1:277; Offner 1927a, 17–18; Berenson 1932a, 332; Berenson 1963, 1:132; Seymour 1970, 47–48, 307, no. 29; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 81, 599; Fahy 1974, 283; Boskovits 1975b, 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 1952, cols. 601–2, no. 176, fig. 692.
2. Jarves 1860, 46, no. 38; Sturgis 1868, 39, no. 31; Brown 1871, 16, no. 31; and Rankin 1905, 9.
3. Sirén 1908c, 193–94, pl. 3, fig. 1.
4. Sirén 1914c, 330, fig. 4.
5. Sirén 1916a, 43–44; 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.
9. Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 81, 599.
10. Boskovits 1975b, 411.
11. Everett Fahy, Luciano Bellosi, and Carl Strehlke, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery; and Chiodo 2011, 82n236.
12. Note, January 12, 2004, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
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 1975b, 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. Inv. no. 1890 n. 9805; Chiodo 2011, 81, 304–11, pls. 50–52. For a more in-depth discussion of the panel in the Accademia, 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	*The Annunciation*
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

This 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 d'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, London[9]—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 *Transit of the Virgin* in the Galleria Nazionale, Parma (fig. 2), attributed by Offner to a follower of the painter but now recognized as among his earliest efforts and dated between 1370 and 1375.[10] Other elements, such as the strong chiaroscuro and more angular, narrower features,

recall the later *Entombment* in the church of San Carlo dei Lombardi, Florence (fig. 3), datable on circumstantial evidence around 1381–83.[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 Transit of the Virgin; The Assumption of the Virgin*, ca. 1370–75. Tempera and gold on panel, 244 × 201 cm (96 × 79 1/8 in.). Galleria Nazionale, Parma, inv. no. 431

Fig. 3. Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, *The Entombment and the Resurrection*, 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 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 Canticle 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 Saint 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; Sirén 1916a, 55–56, no. 21;

Offner 1921c, 239; van Marle 1924b, 314; Offner 1927a, 3; Berenson 1932a, 395; *Exhibition of Italian Paintings* 1933, 11; *Preliminary Catalogue of Paintings and Sculpture* 1941, 70; Berenson 1963, 1:160; Klesse 1967, 205, no. 78; Seymour 1970, 58–60, no. 40; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 81, 599; Boskovits 1975b, 410; Offner and Maginnis 1981, 78

NOTES

1. Sirén 1916a, 55–56.
2. Offner 1921c, 239; and Offner 1927a, 3.
3. Offner and Maginnis 1981, 78.
4. Seymour 1970, 58–60, no. 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* 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 the *Lignum vitae* of Saint Bonaventure (1217/21–1274) 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, Florence, 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 more information, see Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, *The Adoration of the Magi*, note 1. For a full discussion of the Accademia panel and its iconography, see Boskovits 1987a, 82–121. A miniature Christ Child is also included in Andrea di Nerio's signed *Annunciation* in the Museo Diocesano d'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 Barlondi, in Boskovits and Parenti 2010, 129–31, no. 24 (with previous bibliography).
13. Fitzwilliam Museum, University of 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://hvrd.art/o/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."

CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN
JACOPO DI CIONE – 1372

Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, *The Coronation of the Virgin with Saint Anthony Abbot, Saint James Major, and Four Angels*

Artist	Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, Florence, documented 1368–1414
Title	*The Coronation of the Virgin with Saint Anthony Abbot, Saint James Major, and Four Angels*
Date	ca. 1390–1400
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	70.9 × 52.2 cm (27 7/8 × 20 1/2 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz
Inv. No.	1959.15.2

Provenance

Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz (1887–1957), Sands Point, Long Island, N.Y., by 1945

Condition

The panel, of a vertical wood grain, was cut out of its original frame, thinned to a depth of 1 to 1.5 millimeters, and marouflaged onto a walnut support, which was then cradled (fig. 1). It has been truncated at the bottom, but despite damage to the gilding and gesso along the other edges, the composition otherwise appears to be complete. A split or seam runs the full height of the panel, 30 centimeters from the right edge, and a second, minor split has appeared in the upper part of the panel, 16.2 centimeters to the right of the first, apparently caused by a seam in the walnut backing board. Neither has resulted in significant paint loss or deformation of the picture surface. The gold ground is evenly abraded throughout. Orange pigment over the gold that once defined a textile covering for a low-backed throne or bench on which Christ and the Virgin are seated and which extends a short distance beneath their feet is almost entirely lost, leaving only small remnants in the sgraffito and punched decoration of the gold in that area. Similarly, yellow pigment that contrasted with the sgraffito rays of gilding defining the aureole of light around them, within the mandorla of seraphim and cherubim, is largely lost. The faces and hands of all the figures are worn to their preparatory layers. The pigments of the draperies are, by comparison, well preserved, having suffered from scattered flaking losses, exaggerated and enlarged in the 1959–60 cleaning at Yale (fig. 2), but they are relatively free of abrasion damages. Flaking losses are larger and more numerous near the bottom of the composition, where the craquelure is also broad and damaged from rubbing. A large total loss—exposing gesso, linen, and fragments of wood—at the lower right may have been caused by water damage.

Fig. 1. *The Coronation of the Virgin with Saint Anthony Abbot, Saint James Major, and Four Angels*, out of its original frame

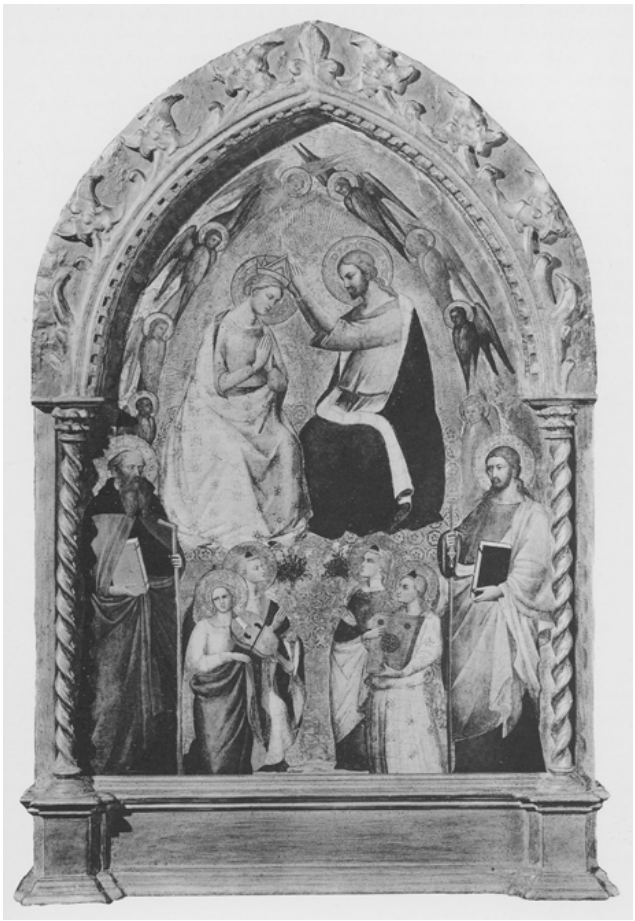


Fig. 2. *The Coronation of the Virgin with Saint Anthony Abbot, Saint James Major, and Four Angels*, ca. 1959

The original tympanum of the frame, approximately 9 centimeters wide, is preserved independently of the painted panel and retains the full original thickness of the support: 3.5 centimeters. Its blue background has been repainted and the applied acanthus decoration regilt, but the carving is intact, and some original gilding is in evidence. A channel cut into the sight edge of the arch was meant to receive a freestanding pierced arcade of cusped moldings. The alternating red and blue decoration of the dentils on the sight edge of the arch is original. The original capitals of the framing colonettes were salvaged and reused, but the present colonettes, imposts, sides, and bottom of the frame are all modern.

Discussion

The original appearance of this panel is difficult to ascertain in its present condition. The radical intervention following its transfer to Yale has affected the legibility of most of the heads of the figures and the elaborately decorated background. An impression of the painting's former visual impact and luminous palette can be

garnered from Lionello Venturi's description of it when it was still in the Rabinowitz collection:

> The Saviour and His Mother set in a mandorla and surrounded by cherubim and seraphim are seen against the radiant light of Paradise. . . . The coloring is brilliant. In spite of diversity the correspondence of tones is complete: blue is the color of the cloak of Christ and the lining of the cloak of the Madonna; the cloak of the Madonna is white embroidered with gold and blue, and so is the lining of Christ's cloak. Both have red robes. The drapery is red and gold. The angels wear bright green, yellow, white, red and pink. St. Anthony has a black robe and cowl, though this black is somewhat highlighted by the cloak's olive tone and the red of the book. Corresponding to St. Anthony's black robe and cowl is the blue of the robe of St. James, but his cloak is pink with a yellow lining. His book is black. All these colors show up against the gold background, which unites them in the same way that gold unites precious stones.[1]

The image conforms to the "celestial" type of Coronation—with Christ and the Virgin suspended above the ground rather than seated on a clearly structured throne—that became popular in Florentine painting in the third quarter of the fourteenth century. The most notable example is Jacopo di Cione's monumental version of 1372/73 for the Florentine Zecca,[2] which provided a prototype for numerous versions on a smaller scale, painted as independent devotional panels or included in the center of small altarpieces.[3] In these scenes, the heavenly sphere in which the Coronation takes place is often emphasized, as in the present instance, by a line of cherubim and seraphim arranged in a half mandorla around the figures of Christ and the Virgin, while kneeling angels and two or more standing saints occupy the level below them. In the Yale panel, two kneeling angels each hold a vase of lilies, and two others play a medieval fiddle and psaltery. Anchoring the composition are the standing figures of Saint Anthony Abbot on the left and Saint James Major on the right. Conceived as an independent object, the painting was originally enclosed in a tabernacle frame with a base probably containing the coats of arms of the patron(s) and possibly an inscription or other small images.

Highlighting its dependence on the models of Jacopo di Cione, Venturi published the Yale *Coronation* as a work of that artist. This attribution was maintained by Charles Seymour, Jr., who catalogued the panel as a product of Jacopo di Cione's workshop with a date around 1375.[4]

Richard Offner was the first author to recognize a relationship between the Yale panel and the production of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, and he included it among those images he tentatively categorized as "Gerini, Workshop."[5] The Gerini attribution was taken up by Burton Fredericksen and Federico Zeri and by Miklós Boskovits, who listed the Yale panel among the artist's autograph works, placing its execution between 1385 and 1390.[6] Luciano Bellosi and Carl Strehlke subsequently reiterated Boskovits's opinion.[7] Most recently, Ada Labriola, who accepted Boskovits's chronology, included the Yale *Coronation* in a group of small-scale paintings that she dated in close proximity to the artist's 1387 altarpiece with the Baptism of Christ in the National Gallery, London:[8] a little-known panel with Saints Benedict, Christopher, and Catherine of Alexandria in the Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, Germany; a *Virgin and Child* in the Denver Art Museum; a predella with the Adoration of the Magi in the Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; and a predella with the *Crucifixion*, formerly on the art market in London.[9]

Notwithstanding the difficulty of judging the present state of the Yale *Coronation*, the Gerinesque elements of the composition and its debt to the London *Baptism* (fig. 3), universally assigned to the painter, remain self-evident. Beyond generic comparisons, however, the distinctions between the Yale picture and other panels on the same scale within the artist's large and not entirely homogenous oeuvre are approximate at best. The elongated proportions of the Yale figures and the tight execution evident in pre-restoration photographs (see fig. 2) can be loosely related to paintings such as the Altenburg predella, as suggested by Labriola, although the rational handling of details, the books held by the Yale saints, presents a marked contrast to the spatial inconsistencies of that panel, possibly indicating a more accomplished hand in the same workshop. More closely related to the Yale *Coronation* is the Berlin fragment, but perhaps even stronger analogies are to be found in the two predella scenes by Gerini, showing the martyrdoms of Saints James and Philip, presently inserted into the arbitrarily reconstructed polyptych on the high altar of Santa Croce, Florence (fig. 4).[10] Equally comparable is a predella panel with the Crucifixion formerly in the Piero Tozzi collection, Florence, that in 2003 reappeared on the art market in London.[11] Generally dated after the London *Baptism*, these works represent a more advanced phase of Niccolò's activity, in the last decade of the fourteenth century.[12] —PP

Fig. 3. Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, *The Feast of Herod* (detail of the predella of *The Baptism of Christ* altarpiece), 1387. Tempera and gold on panel. National Gallery, London, inv. no. NG579.5

Fig. 4. Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, *The Martyrdom of Saint Philip*, 1390–1400. Tempera and gold on panel, 30 × 48 cm (11 7/8 × 18 7/8 in.). Santa Croce, Florence

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Venturi 1945, 7–8, pl. 4; "Recent Gifts and Purchases" 1960, 53; Seymour 1961, 54; Seymour 1970, 49, 308, no. 31; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 81, 601; Boskovits 1975b, 412; Offner and Maginnis 1981, 83; Ada Labriola, in Boskovits and Parenti 2005, 87

NOTES

1. Venturi 1945, 7–8.
2. Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 456.
3. Offner 1947, 250; and Meiss 1951a, 43–44.
4. Seymour 1970, 49, no. 31.
5. Offner and Maginnis 1981, 83.
6. Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 81, 601; and Boskovits 1975b, 412.
7. Luciano Bellosi, verbal communication, 1987; and Carl Strehlke, unpublished checklist of Italian paintings at Yale, 1998–2000, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
8. Ada Labriola, in Boskovits and Parenti 2005, 87.
9. Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, Germany, inv. no. 64; Denver Art Museum, inv. no. 1955.109, https://www.denverartmuseum.org/en/object/1955.109; Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 1112; and sale, Sotheby's, London, December 16, 1980, lot 111. The *Crucifixion* predella is actually not by Gerini. It last appeared for sale at Christie's, London, July 10, 1987, lot 98, with a more convincing attribution to Spinello Aretino, suggested by Everett Fahy.
10. The scenes were originally located below Gerini's *Virgin and Child with Saints Philip and James*, now in the main compartment of the Santa Croce high altarpiece. All three panels were in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, in the eighteenth century. In 1869 they were transferred to the Opera di Santa Croce and integrated into the present monumental polyptych, arbitrarily reconstructed with fragments of various authorship and origin. Niccolò's predella panels were placed below the figures of Saints Augustine and Gregory from a different complex by Giovanni del Biondo. See Marcucci 1965a, 112–13, no. 71.
11. Sale, Sotheby's, London, July 10, 2003, lot 29.
12. The Santa Croce predella scenes were first attributed to the artist by Richard Offner, who dated them between 1392 and 1401; see Offner 1921c, 238. The same chronology was proposed in Marcucci 1965a, 112. For Miklós Boskovits, in Boskovits 1975b, 406, they were executed around 1395–1400. The *Crucifixion* was first identified by Offner as "Gerini, School" and listed as being in the Tozzi collection in 1940; see Offner and Maginnis 1981, 84, fig. 157. Boskovits subsequently published the panel, by then in the Drey collection, New York, among the artist's late autograph production, between 1405 and 1410; see Boskovits 1975b, 412.

Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, *Madonna of Humility*

Artist	Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, Florence, documented 1368–1414
Title	*Madonna of Humility*
Date	ca. 1400
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall, excluding modern extensions at top and bottom: 134.4 × 64.0 cm (52 7/8 × 25 1/4 in.); picture surface: 108.5 × 55.0 cm (42 3/4 × 21 5/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.26b

Provenance

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

Condition

The *Madonna of Humility* is painted on a panel of a vertical wood grain, 3.7 centimeters thick and not cradled, comprising three planks: a wide central plank measuring 52.5 centimeters in width flanked by two narrower lateral planks, each approximately 6 centimeters in width. Two large iron nails on each side of the panel secure the lateral planks to the central plank. The panel has been trimmed by an indeterminate but probably small amount at each side, beginning at the height of the second acanthus crocket in the framing arch and extending straight to the base. The top edge of the arch is undisturbed; the bottom edge of the panel is covered by a later capping strip made of old wood. One minor split has opened at the bottom of the panel, 24 centimeters from the left edge. Two later battens are slotted into dovetailed channels, 23.3 and 89 centimeters from the bottom, on center. The predella and pilaster bases attached to the panel across the bottom are apparently original, but they were refashioned to follow the slight convex warp of the panel and have been entirely resurfaced. The top molding, 2.7 centimeters deep, of the framing arch, including the decorative acanthus crockets, is also original but was removed and reapplied, having been regilt and provided with a new blue background. The top-center crocket and the lowest crocket on either side, directly above the capital imposts, are recarved. The spiral colonettes on both sides are modern.

The picture surface is imperfectly visible through a thick layer of old, discolored varnish and discontinuous remnants of possibly tinted glazes. The gold ground is unevenly abraded, exposing the bolus underlayer, especially near the periphery of the arched top. Two damages—to the left of the Virgin's halo and at the right edge of the Christ Child's halo—have been repaired, and a split above the Child's halo, 16 centimeters from the right edge and not visible on the reverse, interrupts the gilded surface. Surface irregularities, 63.5 centimeters from the bottom on the right (near the Virgin's hand) and left (at the Virgin's shoulder), could indicate the presence of nail heads securing a batten or hinges, but no evidence of nails is visible on the reverse. Similarly, a line of damages across the width of the panel, 15 centimeters from the bottom, could be the result of nail heads, but nothing is visible at that level on the reverse. The red of the Virgin's dress is heavily abraded, in some areas exposing the gesso ground, which reads confusingly as highlights. The blue of the Virgin's robe has been extensively retouched. The

faces of both figures are relatively well preserved, although flesh tones, especially in the Child's torso, have been abraded and inpainted around flaking losses. The Child's feet and the Virgin's left hand are well preserved, as is the red paint and sgraffito decoration of the cushion on which the Virgin is seated.

Discussion

This panel and the related *Six Saints; Annunciatory Angel* and *Crucifixion; Virgin Annunciate*, presently displayed as three separate elements, were formerly joined together into a tabernacle with folding wings (fig. 1), first described in the 1860 catalogue of the James Jackson Jarves collection as "a magnificent triptych, uncommon from its size and condition, with the arms of the noble Vecchietti Family of Florence, now extinct."[1] In the center was the Madonna of Humility, shown seated on a bright-red cushion, now partly obscured by the spiral colonettes that were added at a later date. The Christ Child points to a goldfinch perched on her finger, a traditional gesture indicating His foreknowledge of the Passion and Crucifixion. The inner arch enclosing the figures as well as the pilaster bases and predella are original, as are the coats of arms: on the left base, of the Vecchietti of Florence (azure with five ermines argent); on the right, of the Ciuffagni of Florence (checkered gold and red). Sometime in the nineteenth century, the two shutters were attached by modern hinges—replacing the original metal strap ones—to a new outer frame enclosing the panel of the Virgin and Child. On the left was the wing with three pairs of standing saints, arranged on different planes to fill the vertical field: Saints James Major and John the Baptist in the foreground, followed by Saints Bernard of Clairvaux and Philip the Apostle (often incorrectly identified as John the Evangelist), and then Saints Anthony Abbot and Dorothy. In the compartment above them is the Annunciatory Angel. On the right was the Crucifixion with Mary Magdalen kneeling at the foot of the Cross and the Virgin Annunciate above.

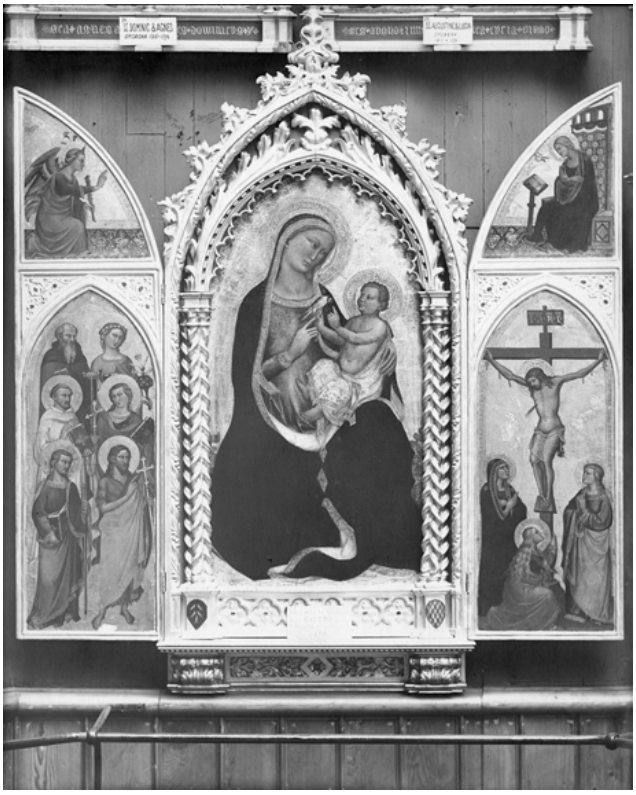


Fig. 1. *Madonna of Humility*; *Six Saints (James Major, John the Baptist, Bernard of Clairvaux, Philip, Anthony Abbot, and Dorothy)*; *Annunciatory Angel*; and *The Crucifixion; Virgin Annunciate*, ca. 1900

Attributed to an unknown painter from the school of Giotto in the earliest catalogues of the Jarves collection, the triptych was first associated with Niccolò di Pietro Gerini or his shop by Osvald Sirén.[2] Sirén, who emphasized the "coarse and clumsy" qualities of the Virgin, nevertheless considered it "among the best works produced in Gerini's studio" and compared it specifically to a group of images by a presumed assistant of the artist, since viewed as products of Gerini's late career: the *Virgin and Child* on the high altar of Santa Croce, Florence; the dated 1404 triptych in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence (fig. 2); and the *Assumption of the Virgin* triptych now in the church of San Francesco, Arezzo. In the 1916 catalogue of the Jarves Collection at Yale, Sirén revised his opinion, however, and assigned the present work to Lorenzo di Niccolò—a painter then thought to be the son and pupil of Gerini.[3] Since then, the attribution of the tabernacle and its individual components has shifted between Gerini, Lorenzo di Niccolò, and Spinello Aretino. All three artists are known to have collaborated with one another on several commissions around the turn of the fourteenth century, sometimes leading to confusion over their respective oeuvres.

Fig. 2. Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Anthony Abbot and John the Baptist and Saints Lawrence and Julian*, 1404. Tempera and gold on panel, 183 × 285.6 cm (72 × 112 1/2 in.). Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 8610

Richard Offner, who inserted the Yale triptych among the paintings in Gerini's "Immediate Following," was the first author to draw a distinction between the execution of the *Madonna of Humility* and the two wings, comparing the Virgin to the "lower central compartment" of the 1375 polyptych in Santa Maria all'Impruneta (Florence) and the wings to the work of Lorenzo di Niccolò.[4] While acknowledging a division of hands and accepting Gerini's authorship of the Virgin, Bernard Berenson confined the participation of an assistant to the left wing, for which he invoked the names of both Spinello Aretino and Lorenzo di Niccolò.[5] The involvement of two separate personalities was questioned by Everett Fahy in his unpublished notes on some of the Yale pictures, where he gave the whole structure to Lorenzo di Niccolò.[6] This attribution was tentatively accepted by Charles Seymour, Jr., who dated the work to around 1400, noting, however, that the laterals appeared to be by a different hand than the central panel and that "there is no sure indication that the wings and the central panel were originally together."[7] The same doubts concerning the pertinence of the wings to the complex were expressed by Miklós Boskovits, who nevertheless echoed Berenson and listed the triptych as a possible joint effort between Gerini and Spinello Aretino, responsible for the left wing, and proposed a date between 1395 and 1400.[8] Angelo Tartuferi[9] singled out this work as evidence of the ongoing collaboration between Gerini and Spinello around the turn of the century, beyond their documented involvement in the execution of the 1401 polyptych for Santa Felicita in Florence.[10] While most subsequent scholarship embraced Gerini's authorship of the *Madonna of Humility*, the distinction of hands and the relationship between that panel and its laterals have remained a subject of debate. Luciano Bellosi attributed the standing saints to Lorenzo di Niccolò,[11] whereas Carl Strehlke, in an unpublished checklist of the Italian paintings at Yale, assigned both wings to Spinello Aretino. In the most recent discussion of the Yale triptych, Stefan Weppelmann accepted Boskovits's division of hands and inserted the left wing in his catalogue of Spinello's oeuvre but categorically denied any relationship between the Yale *Madonna of Humility* and the two wings, proposing that the latter originally

flanked a different, hitherto-unidentified panel by Gerini.[12]

Notwithstanding Weppelmann's arguments to the contrary, there is no clear physical evidence that the Yale panels were not originally part of the same structure. Although recent X-ray examination has confirmed the absence of hinges on the *Madonna of Humility*, it is still possible, as suggested by Irma Passeri, that the three panels were connected by a different framing system, alluded to by the ambitious nineteenth-century reconstruction.[13] The creation of a separate frame encasing the *Madonna* might imply that the panel was originally contained within some other, most likely fixed structure, like a stone or marble-and-wood tabernacle, to which the wings were attached.

Fig. 3. Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, *The Crucifixion*, ca. 1400. Tempera and gold on panel, 81.5 × 39 cm (32 1/8 × 15 3/8 in.). Kunstmuseum Bern, Switzerland, inv. no. 887

Stylistically, there is no reason to question the relationship between the *Virgin and Child* and the right wing with the *Crucifixion*, both of which are consistent with Gerini's late production around 1400. The somewhat mechanical quality of the Virgin and the robust, curly-haired Christ Child bear close comparison, as observed by Sirén, to the 1404 altarpiece in the Accademia (see fig. 2) but also show analogies with the slightly earlier *Virgin and Child with Saints John the Baptist and Zenobius* in the same museum, most recently dated between 1395 and 1400,[14] suggesting a chronology between these two works. Similarly, the Yale *Crucifixion* takes its place among other small images of the Crucified Christ between standing mourners by Gerini, such as the wing fragment in the Kunstmuseum Bern, Switzerland (fig. 3), nor is it far removed from the artist's *Crucifixion* fresco in the Migliorati Chapel in San Francesco, Prato, generally placed around 1400.

Although the two wings are clearly part of the same original complex, as evidenced by their identical size, punch marks, and decorative elements, the standing saints in the left wing—whose original appearance can be gauged from photographs preceding the panels' "cleaning" (fig. 4)—have less in common with Gerini's dour approach than with Spinello Aretino's essentially decorative, Late Gothic sensibility. While Weppelmann compared the Yale figures to those in Spinello's frescoes in the sacristy of Santa Croce, executed in collaboration with Gerini, more compelling analogies may be found in the slightly later banner for the Confraternity of Saint Mary Magdalen in Borgo Sansepolcro (fig. 5). This work, inserted by Boskovits into the same phase of Spinello's activity as the Yale panels, between 1395 and 1400,[15] provides close comparisons for some of the saints' facial types. The playfully smiling angels surrounding Mary Magdalen in the banner are immediately recognizable in the features of the Yale Saints Dorothy and Philip, who also share the same coy glances and tilted heads.

Fig. 4. *Six Saints (James Major, John the Baptist, Bernard of Clairvaux, Philip, Anthony Abbot, and Dorothy)*, ca. 1900 (detail of fig. 1)

Fig. 5. Spinello Aretino, *Saint Mary Magdalen Holding a Crucifix* (detail), ca. 1400. Tempera and gold on canvas, 176.5 × 120 cm (69 1/2 × 47 1/4 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of the family of Francis M. Bacon, inv. no. 13.175

The contemporary date of execution of the three panels and the documented association between Gerini and Spinello around 1400, while not conclusive evidence, strongly bolster the notion of their inclusion in the same unit. The size and complexity of the proposed tabernacle structure point to a family altar or funerary chapel inside a church or monastic setting, presumably located in Florence or its surrounding region, judging from the arms of the Vecchietti and Ciuffagni below the *Madonna of Humility*. The Vecchietti, whose arms appear on the left, the heraldic side usually reserved for the groom, were among the oldest and most prominent Florentine families—their social position and political influence, as well as sober lifestyle, highlighted by contemporary sources, beginning with Dante (*Divine Comedy*, *Paradiso* 15.115–17). Since at least the thirteenth century, they held the patronage of the collegiate church of San Donato, also known as San Donato dei Vecchietti, in the *quartiere* of Santa Maria Novella.[16] A provenance from San Donato dei Vecchietti is doubtful, however, given the absence of a representation of the bishop-saint Donatus in any of the panels. But one cannot exclude another religious establishment with ties to the Vecchietti, whose territorial possessions extended beyond the walls of the city. It is

conceivable, on the other hand, that the tabernacle was commissioned by a member of the bride's family, the Ciuffagni. Less renowned than the Vecchietti but equally distinguished, the Ciuffagni were one of the preeminent merchant families residing in the parish of the Cistercian church and monastery of San Frediano, in the *quartiere* of Santo Spirito.[17] While the choice of saints in the left wing—none of whom are accorded special prominence—may simply allude to the names of one or both patrons, the inclusion of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux could reflect the Ciuffagni family's connection to San Frediano and the Cistercian order. The elaborate tabernacle might have been commissioned by the wealthy Ciuffagni widow of a Vecchietti to decorate a chapel in San Frediano or in another, possibly female, religious establishment affiliated with the Cistercian order. Based on the inclusion of the Magdalen at the foot of the Cross in the image of the Crucifixion, Weppelmann—who discussed only the two wings—proposed a provenance from Santa Maria Maddalena in Borgo Pinti, a community of penitential nuns (*convertite*), who at this date were under the jurisdiction of the Badia of San Salvatore a Settimo, the most important Cistercian foundation in Florence.[18] With some qualifications, this hypothesis remains valid.[19] —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 43, no. 18; Jarves 1861, pl. D, fig. 12 (engraving); Sturgis 1868, 34–35, no. 22; Brown 1871, 15, no. 22; Rankin 1895, 142; Rankin 1905, 8; Sirén 1908c, 194, pl. 3, fig. 2; Sirén 1916a, 71–72, no. 26; Offner 1921c, 239; van Marle 1924b, 643; Berenson 1932a, 303, 396; Berenson 1963, 1:160; Klesse 1967, 319, no. 244a; Seymour 1970, 52–54, nos. 36a–c; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 81, 599; Boskovits 1975b, 411, 438–39; Offner and Maginnis 1981, 83; Tartuferi 1983, 8, 18n34; Weppelmann 2011, 267–69, no. 60

NOTES

1. Jarves 1860, 43, no. 18.
2. Sirén 1908c, 194, pl. 3, fig. 2.
3. Sirén 1916a, 71–72, no. 26.
4. Offner 1921c, 239.
5. In the 1932 edition of his lists, Berenson listed the triptych under Gerini's name, specifying that the Virgin and the right wing with the Crucifixion were by Gerini, while the left wing was "by Spinello Aretino with assistance of Lorenzo di Niccolò." However, in the same volume, he did not mention Spinello's participation when listing the wing under Lorenzo di Niccolò nor did he include it with Spinello's oeuvre, possibly implying a change of opinion during the writing of the text; see Berenson 1932a, 303, 396. In the 1963 edition, Lorenzo di Niccolò is listed as the author of the left wing and sole collaborator of Gerini in the execution of the triptych; see Berenson 1963, 1:160.
6. Everett Fahy, unpublished notes, ca. 1965, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
7. Seymour 1970, 53.
8. Boskovits 1975b, 411, 438–39.
9. Tartuferi 1983, 8, 18n34.
10. Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 8468.
11. Luciano Bellosi, verbal communication, 1987, recorded in the curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
12. Weppelmann 2011, 267–69, no. 60.
13. Irma Passeri, email to Laurence Kanter, July 6, 2021, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
14. Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 439; Federica Baldini, in Boskovits and Parenti 2010, 132–35, no. 25.
15. Boskovits 1975b, 439.
16. See D'addario 1970. For the church of San Donato dei Vecchietti, demolished in the nineteenth century, see Richa 1756, 159–67.
17. Porta Casucci 2009, 235–36n25.
18. In 1321 some of the Cistercian nuns from San Donato a Torri in Polverosa, outside Florence, were sent to join the nuns from Santa Maria Maddalena, who then took on the Cistercian habit. See Richa 1754, 300–313; and Repetti 1843, 544–45.
19. It is puzzling that Weppelmann (in Weppelmann 2011, 269) should cite the well-known Carmelite church of Santa Maria del Carmine as one of the "principal" Cistercian monasteries in Florence, neglecting to mention San Frediano or the Badia a Settimo, the first foundations of the order in the city. His assertion that the light-colored cloak worn by Saint John the Baptist relates to the white habit of the Cistercian order is also without foundation.

Spinello Aretino, *Six Saints (James Major, John the Baptist, Bernard of Clairvaux, Philip, Anthony Abbot, and Dorothy); Annunciatory Angel*

Artist	Spinello Aretino, Arezzo, ca. 1350–1411
Title	*Six Saints (James Major, John the Baptist, Bernard of Clairvaux, Philip, Anthony Abbot, and Dorothy); Annunciatory Angel*, One of Three Panels from a Tryptich
Date	ca. 1400
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 141.5 × 37.9 cm (55 3/4 × 14 7/8 in.); *Six Saints*: picture surface: 86.5 × 33.0 cm (34 1/8 × 13 in.); *Annunciatory Angel*: picture surface: 40.5 × 32.0 cm (15 7/8 × 12 5/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.26a

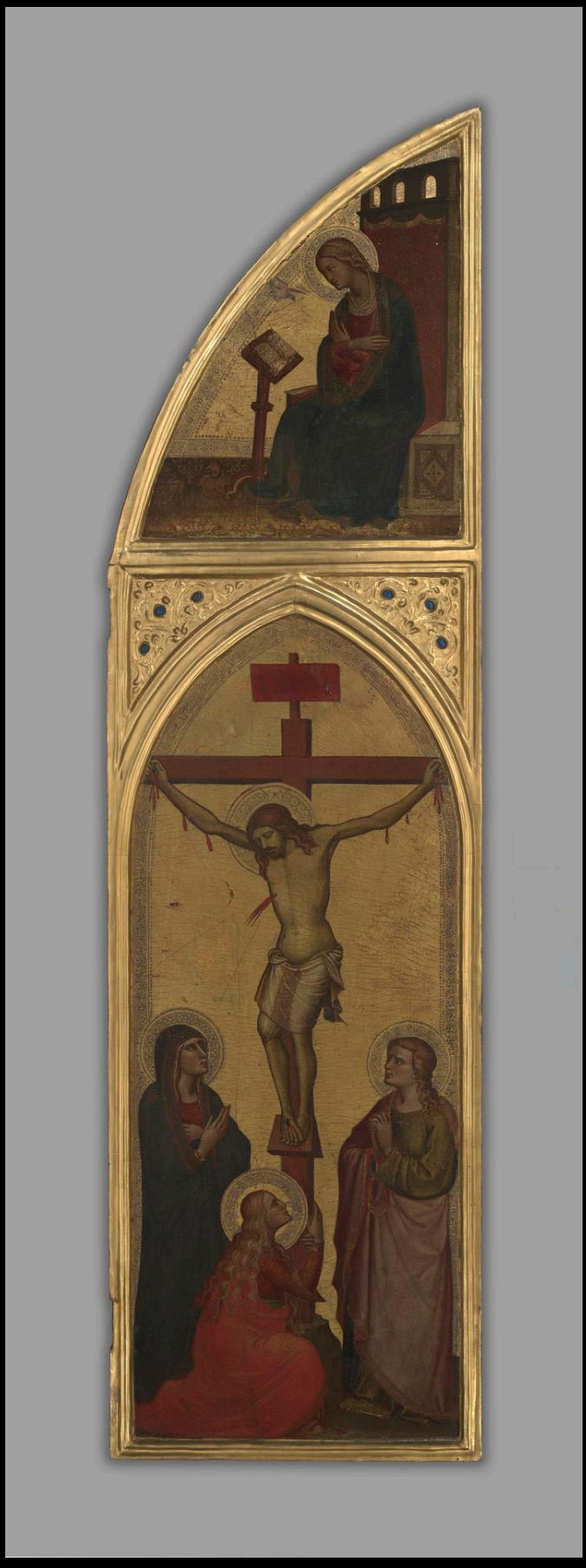
For more on this painting, see Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, *Madonna of Humility*.

Condition

The *Six Saints* and *Annunciatory Angel* are painted on a panel of a vertical wood grain, 1 centimeter thick with a 9-millimeter-thick engaged molding applied to the front and modern engaged moldings 4.5 millimeters thick applied to the reverse. A minor split has opened at the bottom of the panel, 11.5 centimeters from the right edge. Six nail heads aligned horizontally, approximately 14.5 centimeters from the bottom edge, indicate the placement of an original strap hinge, further evidence of which is hidden by the modern surface on the reverse of the panel. A single nail head in the center of the panel, 87 centimeters from the bottom edge, indicates the placement of the second hinge. The panel was "test-cleaned" (in the words of Charles Seymour, Jr.)[1] by Andrew Petryn at an unknown date. Abrasions to the gold ground have exposed bolus and gesso layers along the prominent horizontal craquelure. The face of Saint Dorothy has been nearly effaced. Shadows in the faces of Saints Philip and James, in the beard of Saint Anthony, and in the robes of Saint James were more aggressively cleaned by Petryn, in places exposing gesso underlayers. The robes of Saint John the Baptist were only partially cleaned, leaving a gray residue of old varnish and overpaint, especially along the mordant gilding of the hem and in the red lining of the Baptist's cloak. Saint Anthony's habit also retains some broken passages of old overpaints and varnish. The modern gilding of the engaged moldings and of the spandrels was removed only on the left half of the panel.

NOTES

1. Seymour 1970, 53. Contrary to the claims advanced by Seymour, there is no evidence that "the wings have been shaved back radically in section" or that the engaged moldings on the obverse are modern.



Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, *The Crucifixion; Virgin Annunciate*

Artist	Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, Florence, documented 1368–1414
Title	*The Crucifixion; Virgin Annunciate*
Date	ca. 1400
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 141.5 × 38.7 cm (55 3/4 × 15 1/4 in.); *The Crucifixion*: picture surface: 86.5 × 34.0 cm (34 1/8 × 13 3/8 in.); *Virgin Annunciate*: picture surface: 41.0 × 33.0 cm (16 1/8 × 13 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.26c

For more on this painting, see Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, *Madonna of Humility*.

Condition

The *Crucifixion* and *Virgin Annunciate* are painted on a panel of a vertical wood grain that varies in thickness between 2.5 and 2.7 centimeters, including original engaged frame moldings on the front and modern applied moldings on the reverse; the main panel support appears to be approximately 1.4 centimeters thick. An irregular split runs the full height of the panel, roughly 15 centimeters from the left edge. All the front moldings and the spandrel have been regilt. A line of three nail heads, 15.5 centimeters from the bottom of the panel, indicate the placement there of an iron strap hinge, any further evidence of which is hidden by the modern (i.e., nineteenth century) paint and moldings on the reverse. The gilding and paint surfaces have been abraded throughout, and extensive pinpoint flaking losses have been liberally retouched. A larger damage caused by a knot in the panel has been repaired in the right half of the titulus of the Cross, as have losses to the gold ground at either side of Christ's torso.

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

Artist	Agnolo Gaddi, Florence, documented 1369–died 1396, or Lorenzo Monaco, Florence, active by 1388–ca. 1424/25
Title	*Saints Julian, James Major, and Michael*
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 wood 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 Major, and Michael,* ca. 1900

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

Discussion

Following initial generic attributions to Taddeo Gaddi[1] or, more vaguely and dismissively, to an unknown Giottesque painter,[2] the Yale *Saints Julian, James Major, 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 (see fig. 5), 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 (see Fra Angelico, *Two Scenes from the Legend of Saint Michael*). 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 Major, 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 Pinacoteca Vaticana,[9] but he found no other fragments of the main tier of the altarpiece.

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 Major, 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.[10] He recently advanced an alternative proposal for *Saints Julian, James Major, and Michael*, linking it with a panel in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., representing the Coronation of the Virgin (fig. 4).[11] 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

Fig. 3. Agnolo Gaddi, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Eight Angels* (Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, 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)

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

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.

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.[12] 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,[13] three pinnacles,[14] and the main tier of this altarpiece[15] 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 Major, and Michael* are the main panels of the Nobili altarpiece now in Berlin (fig. 5). 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. The exceptional quality of each of the fragments of this altarpiece, first published by Zeri, is regularly adduced to support their attribution to Lorenzo Monaco.[16] Only Luciano Bellosi has seriously doubted this attribution, and although generally ignored, his objections deserve to be considered more seriously.[17] 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 London[18]) and the scenes from its predella (in Berlin and Santa Barbara, California[19]), to the *Agony in the Garden* in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence,[20] is coherent and persuasive and argues on the whole for an attribution to Lorenzo Monaco for the Yale *Saints Julian, James Major, and Michael*. —LK

Fig. 5. Lorenzo Monaco, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints John the Evangelist, John the Baptist, James Major, and Bartholomew*, 1387–88. Tempera and gold on panel, 118 × 207 cm (46 1/2 × 81 1/2 in.). Bode-Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 1039 (on loan to the Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 44, no. 25; Sturgis 1868, 34, no. 21; Brown 1871, 14, no. 21; Rankin 1895, 140; Rankin 1905, 8; Sirén 1916a, 51–53, no. 20; van Marle 1924b, 573; Offner 1927a, 3, 20–21; Wulff-Berlin 1929, 174n2, 176, 188–89; Venturi 1931, 1: pl. 51; Berenson 1932a, 214; 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; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 76, 599; Boskovits 1975b, 298, 301; Cole 1977, 73, 76; Ladis 1992, 329, 333n20, fig. 12; Leonard 2003b, 16–17, fig. 4; Rothe 2003, 177–81, figs. 10.1–.3; Boskovits 2016, 133, fig. 2

NOTES

1. Sturgis 1868, 34, no. 21; Brown 1871, 14, no. 21; and Rankin 1905, 8.
2. Rankin 1895, 140.
3. Sirén 1916a, 51–53, no. 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; 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.
8. Gronau 1950a, 44–47, pl. 26/fig. 6, pl. 27/fig. 7.
9. Inv. no. 528.
10. 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.
11. Boskovits 2016, 133.
12. Gronau 1950b, 183–88, 217–22; Zeri 1964c, 554–58; and Zeri 1965, 3–9, 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.
13. Indianapolis Museum of Art, inv. no. 2004.160A–D, https://collections.discovernewfields.org/artwork/75564?fromSearch=true; and Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 1138.
14. Fondazione Francesco Federico Cerruti, Castello di Rivoli, Turin, inv. no. CC.17.P.GAD.1387.A26.
15. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 1039.
16. Zeri 1965, 3–9, 11.
17. 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.

18. Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, inv. nos. 1890 nn. 8604–5; and Courtauld Institute, London, inv. no. P.1966.GP.272, https://gallerycollections.courtauld.ac.uk/object-p-1966-gp-272.

19. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu 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.

20. 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	*Portrait of Bernardo di Cino Bartolini Benvenuti de' Nobili and Four of His Sons: Bartolomeo, Carlo, Benedetto, and Alamanno*
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 Beheaded, Santa Maria degli Angeli, Florence, to 1799/1808; private collection, France; sale, Jean-Mar Delvaux, Paris, June 30, 2010; Richard L. Feigen (1930–2021), New York, 2010

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 at the left and right edges, 1 centimeter wide, 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 Beheaded 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 Major (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, which 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 Beheading of John the Baptist, the Banquet of Herod, and Salome Presenting the Head of John the Baptist to Herodias*, 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 Major Liberating Hermogenes*; *The Beheading of Saint James Major*, 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 Four of Her Daughters*, 1387–88. Tempera and gold on panel, 27.5 × 21.9 cm (10 7/8 × 8 5/8 in.). Alana Collection, Newark, Del., 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, Del., 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 Major, and Bartholomew (see Agnolo Gaddi or Lorenzo Monaco, *Saints Julian, James Major, and Michael*, fig. 5), 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. 7), 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

Fig. 7. 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

framing pilasters, now divided between the Clowes Collection at the Indianapolis Museum of Art (fig. 8) and the Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (fig. 9), were added by the present author in a lecture at the Fondazione Roberto Longhi in 2012 and published by Dillian Gordon in 2020.[8] The present author 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. 9. 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, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 1138

Fig. 8. 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

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 by, and executed by Lorenzo Monaco, graduated (so to speak) from 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 (fig. 10) are typically Florentine, there is no precedent in Italy for the group donor portraits at either end of the predella.[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

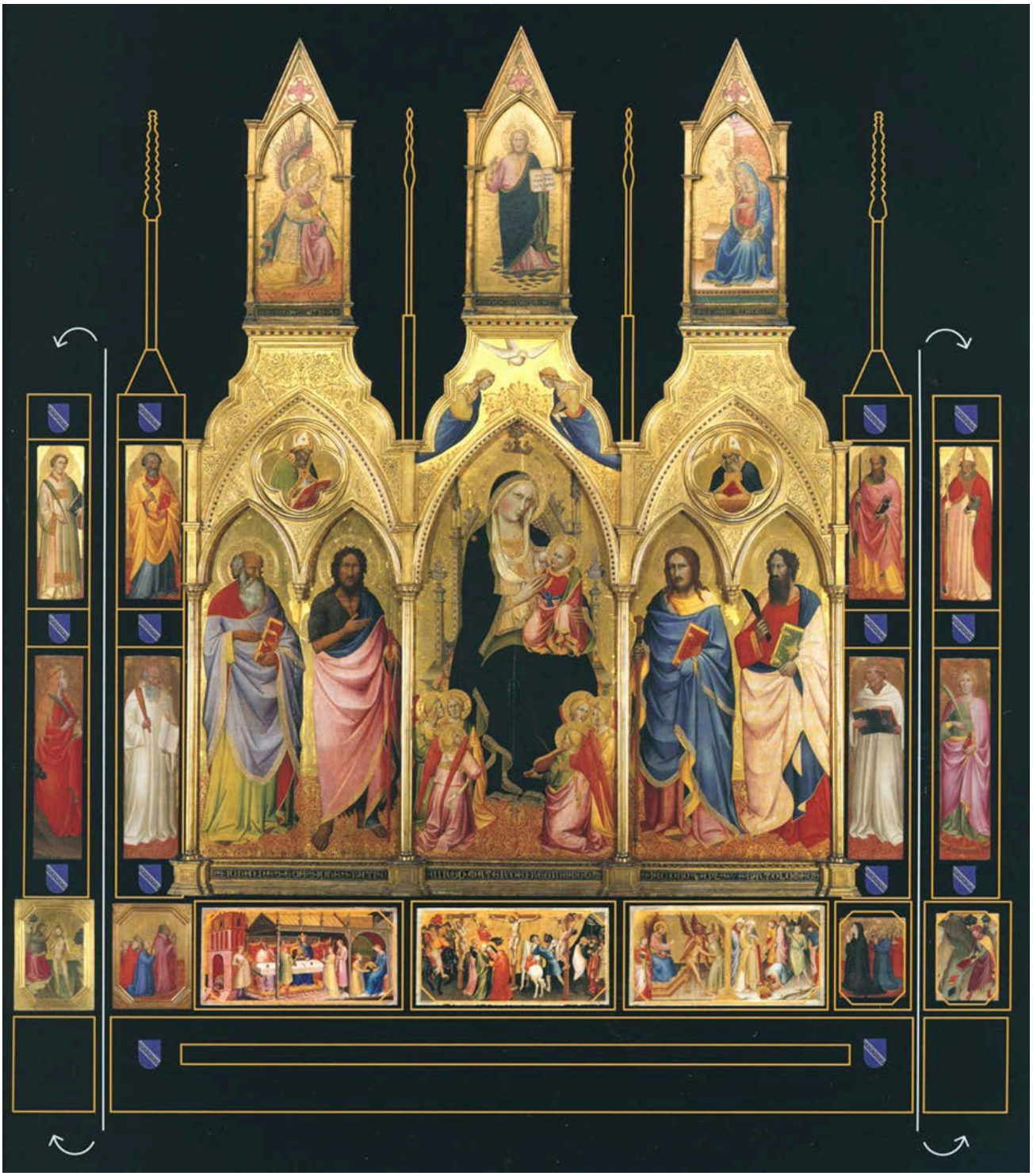


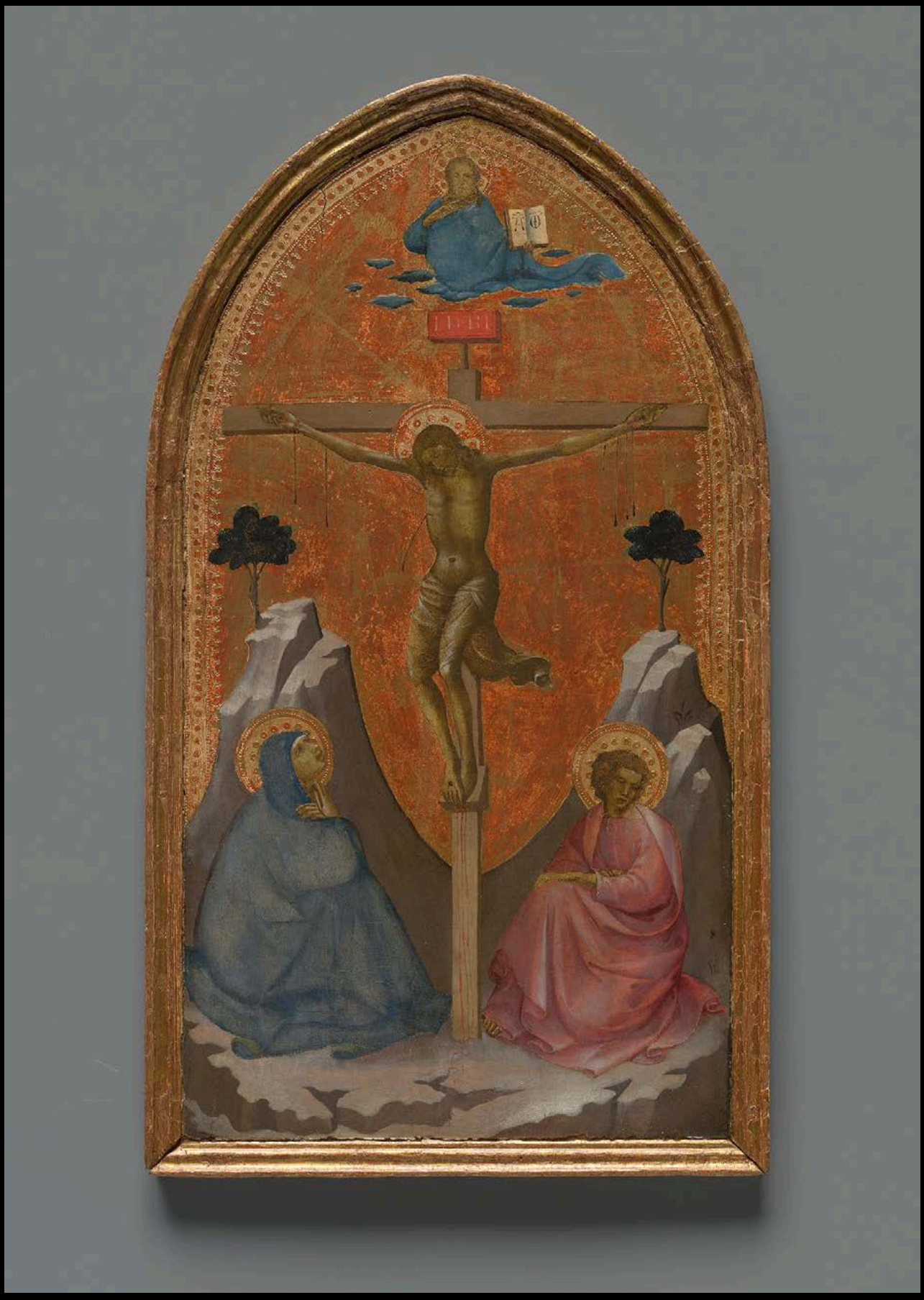
Fig. 10. Reconstruction of the *Nobili Altarpiece*. From: Dillian Gordon, "The Nobili Altarpiece from S. Maria degli Angeli, Florence," *Burlington Magazine* 162, no. 1402 (January 2020): 15

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 1964c, 554–58.
6. Boskovits 1975b, 133, 348; and Cole 1977, 75, 84–87.
7. Skaug 2004b, 245–57.
8. Gordon 2020, 15, 18–19. 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 1964c, 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 with the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist*

Artist	Lorenzo Monaco, Florence, active by 1388–ca. 1424/25
Title	*The Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist*
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 with the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist* 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 Sienese 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, Jr.'s inexplicable assignment to an independent follower of Lorenzo Monaco.[5]

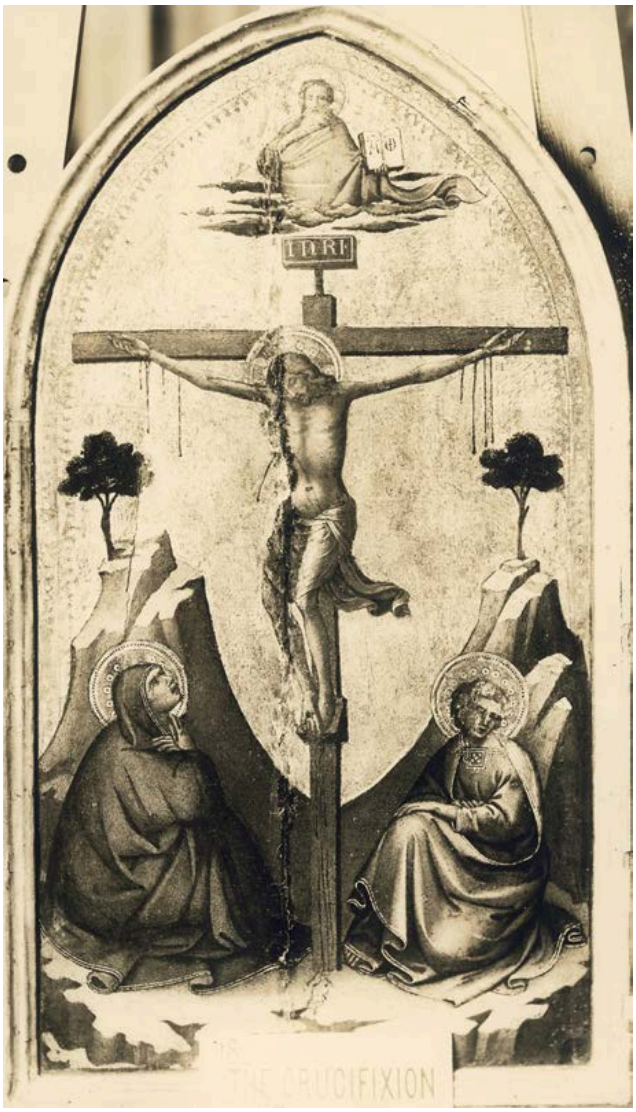


Fig. 1. *The Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist*, ca. 1901

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 with the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist*, ca. 1915

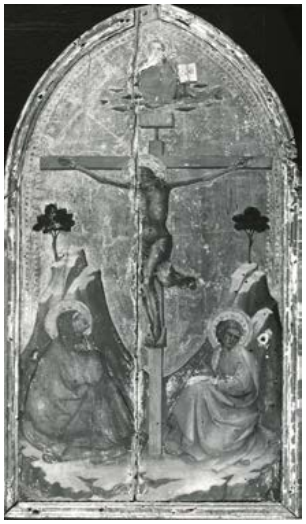


Fig. 3. *The Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist*, ca. 1968

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 Thorvaldsens 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 Crucifixion with 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 Národní Galerie, Prague,[16] and the *Agony in the Garden* and *Three Marys 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 master[18]): 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; Venturi 1901–40, 7, pt. 1: 14–15; Perkins 1905, 76; Rankin 1905, 8; Sirén 1905, 91, 102, 142, 189, pl. 34; Berenson 1909b, 153; Sirén 1909a, 325, pl. 1, fig. 1; Sirén 1916a, 67–69, no. 24; van Marle 1927b, 145–48; Offner 1927a, 5, 21–22, fig. 12; Suida 1929b, 23:392; Venturi 1931, 1: pl. 42; Berenson 1932a, 300; Venturi 1933, 1: 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; Garland 2003b, 59–60, fig. 3.5; 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.
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 1975b, 350.
7. Skaug 2006, 54.
8. Inv. no. 1943.4.13, https://purl.org/nga/collection/artobject/12111.
9. Inv. no. 1.
10. Inv. no. SK-A-3976, https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/SK-A-3976.
11. Inv. no. 1890 n. 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 speculated 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	*The Crucifixion with the Penitent Magdalen and Saints*
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 much of its original painted surface, was possibly conceived as an independent devotional panel or reliquary tabernacle. The deep, round cavity in the 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 with the Penitent Magdalen and Saints* 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 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 the 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, 305, no. 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, 305, no. 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	*The Stigmatization of Saint Francis*
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 wood 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

Fig. 1. Lorenzo Ghiberti(?), *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, ca. 1398–1405. Tempera and gold on panel, 32.7 × 33 cm (12 7/8 × 13 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

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 *Martydom of Saint Lawrence* (fig. 1) and a *Martyrdom of Saint Blaise* (fig. 2) in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes, France, 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.

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, in the Lanckoroński Collection at the Wawel Royal Castle, Kraków, Poland (fig. 3), and the other the Adoration of the Magi, in the Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin, Ohio (fig. 4)—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 in Florence (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, Kraków, Poland, Lanckoroński Collection, 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

Fig. 5. Lorenzo Ghiberti, *The Annunciation*, ca. 1405–10. Parcel gilt bronze. North Door, Baptistery, Florence

Revisiting his earlier studies of Mariotto di Nardo in 1975, Boskovits added three more predella panels to the Oberlin and Lanckoroński 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 Lanckoroński 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 Lanckoroński panels, only 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 Lanckoroński 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 (see fig. 5) on the north door of the Baptistery cited by Boskovits, Maria Skubiszewska compared the Oberlin panel (see fig. 4) to the *Adoration of the Magi* relief on the north doors (fig. 6),[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. 6. Lorenzo Ghiberti, *The Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1405–10. Parcel gilt bronze. North Door, Baptistery, Florence

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. Attributed to 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; Sirén 1916a, 67, 69, no. 25; Boskovits 1968b, 22, 27, 30n15; Seymour 1970, 165, 317, 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 the Oberlin and Lanckoroński panels 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 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, in 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	*Scenes from the Legend of Saints Cosmas and Damian*
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 also 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

This 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 James Jackson 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* in the Perkins Collection at the Sacro Convento di San Francesco at Assisi (fig. 1).[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 MCCCCIIII" (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 coincidental or 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 in 1834 by testamentary bequest from "Maestro Giovanni di Maestro Jacopo da San Miniato" 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 MCCCCIIII."[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 is instead probable 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 Diocesano d'Arte Sacra, San Miniato al Tedesco (Pisa). 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. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 45, no. 33; Sturgis 1868, 41, no. 36; Brown 1871, 16, no. 36; Rankin 1895, 142; Rankin 1905, 9; Sirén 1909a, 325, pl. 1, fig. 2; Sirén 1916a, 75–76, no. 29; Berenson 1932a, 332; Kaftal 1952, col. 293, no. 77I; Berenson 1963, 1:132; Seymour 1970, 54–55, 309, 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., said that the painting was restored by Hammond Smith in 1915 but not cleaned since. He spoke 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; and Rankin 1905, 9.
3. Sirén 1909a, 325, pl. 1, fig. 2; and Sirén 1916a, 75–76, no. 29.
4. Zeri 1988, 26–27, no. 5.
5. Zeri 1988, 26–27, no. 5.
6. Chiodo 2008, 83.
7. Chiodo 2008, 83. See also Belinda Bitossi, in Ciardi et al. 2013, 90–91.
8. A fragmentary predella with scenes from the life of John 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.

S CS AVGVS TINVS
S CA LVCIA VIRGO

Lorenzo di Niccolò di Martino, *Saints Augustine and Lucy; Two Evangelists*

Artist	Lorenzo di Niccolò di Martino, Florence, active 1392–1412
Title	*Saints Augustine and Lucy; Two Evangelists*
Date	ca. 1410
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	*Saint Augustine*: overall 110.2 × 32.5 cm (43 3/8 × 12 3/4 in.); picture surface: 77.7 × 32.5 cm (30 5/8 × 12 3/4 in.); *Saint Lucy*: overall 110.7 × 31.2 cm (43 5/8 × 12 1/4 in.); picture surface: 77.7 × 31.2 cm (30 5/8 × 12 1/4 in.); *Two Evangelists*: Diam. each 7.5 cm (3 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.27

For more on this painting, see Lorenzo di Niccolò di Martino, *Saints Agnes and Dominic; Two Evangelists*.

Lorenzo di Niccolò di Martino, *Saints Agnes and Dominic; Two Evangelists*

Artist	Lorenzo di Niccolò di Martino, Florence, active 1392–1412
Title	*Saints Agnes and Dominic; Two Evangelists*
Date	ca. 1410
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	*Saint Agnes*: overall 110.5 × 30.7 cm (43 1/2 × 12 1/8 in.); picture surface: 76.9 × 30.7 cm (30 1/4 × 12 1/8 in.); *Saint Dominic*: overall 110.4 × 32.7 cm (43 1/2 × 12 7/8 in.); picture surface: 77.0 × 32.7 cm (30 1/4 × 12 7/8 in.); *Two Evangelists*: Diam. each 7.5 cm (3 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.28

Provenance

Convent of San Salvi, near Florence; James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

These two panels and the related *Saints Augustine and Lucy; Two Evangelists* are all of a vertical wood grain and retain their original thickness of 2.2 (*Saints Augustine and Lucy*) or 2.4 (*Saints Agnes and Dominic*) centimeters. They all retain their original carved and pastiglia tympanum moldings, but these have been regilt, except for the tondo in each. The two pairs of panels have both been built into simulations of their original framing, all the vertical members of which are modern, as are both predellas. A modern batten screwed tightly across the bottom of each pair has provoked a minor split in all four panels, in each case rising some 20 centimeters from the bottom edge, roughly on center. Evidence of an original batten approximately 9 centimeters wide is preserved at the top of each panel, immediately below the tympanum, secured in each case by two nails, 79 centimeters from the bottom edge and situated so that they would be hidden by the applied spandrel moldings on the front of the panel. Saint Augustine and Saint Dominic show evidence of applied spiral colonettes once affixed to their outer edges—left on *Saint Augustine*, right on *Saint Dominic*—whereas the lack of such evidence on the other six edges implies that the panels were separated from each other and from the missing central panel, either by corbels only or by freestanding colonettes.

Saints Augustine and Lucy were cleaned sometime after 1970 by Andrew Petryn, who also made a partial attempt to dismantle their frame, presumably in response to Charles Seymour, Jr.'s belief that both panels were covered by "a deeply ingrained grime layer . . . with considerable repainting over that."[1] Saints Agnes and Dominic were not cleaned, despite having been judged to be "very similar as to condition."[2] The latter pair are, in fact, in nearly flawless condition. The gold ground is beautifully preserved, other than a modern repair where the central corbel was once attached. The paint surface is also beautifully preserved, with the exception of minor flaking damage in the red book held by Saint Dominic. Saints Augustine and Lucy retain some brilliance of color in blues and greens, but the highlights have been

forcefully removed from the left side of Lucy's robe, and all the shadows in the flesh tones have been harshly abraded. Saint Augustine's white gloves were "removed," surviving only as forms outlined on a gesso preparatory layer, although the white of his miter and along the edge of his book are both intact. Glazes covering Saint Lucy's jar and the orphrey on Saint Augustine's cope are lost. The painted roundels in the tympana of the panels with Saints Lucy and Augustine have been severely abraded, whereas they are relatively well preserved in the other two. Two painted triangular shapes with incised outlines cropped at the right edge of Saint Lucy, 26 and 28 centimeters from the bottom edge, are undoubtedly fragments of the seat and cushion of a throne projecting from the missing central panel. Identical painted shapes are cropped at the left edge of Saint Agnes, 28 and 30 centimeters from the bottom edge.

Discussion

Acquired by Yale from the James Jackson Jarves collection with a generic attribution to Orcagna, this pair of saints and the related *Saints Augustine and Lucy; Two Evangelists* were recognized by Osvald Sirén in 1908 as the work of Lorenzo di Niccolò,[3] an attribution that has not since been questioned and that was demonstrated by Erling Skaug and Mojmír Frinta on the basis of punch tool marks in the decoration of their gold grounds.[4] Clearly mature works by Lorenzo di Niccolò, the Yale panels were painted not earlier than the first decade of the fifteenth century and possibly toward the end of that decade. They demonstrate the powerful influence of Lorenzo Monaco's early style on Lorenzo di Niccolò at this closing stage of the latter's career. The figure of Saint Dominic is so near in type and handling to the figures in Lorenzo Monaco's San Gaggio altarpiece, and to his contemporary manuscript illuminations, as to beg the question of the two artists' possible collaboration at some point in their careers or of Lorenzo di Niccolò's direct access to Lorenzo Monaco's workshop drawings or pattern books. Skaug noted that Lorenzo Monaco's Prato polyptych was tooled and decorated with Lorenzo di Niccolò's punches and in his manner, possibly as a collaborative or subcontracted effort.[5] The Prato polyptych is commonly dated close to the supposed year of Lorenzo di Niccolò's death (1412), presumably only shortly after the execution of the Yale *Saints*. Although it cannot be documented, it is possible that, around this time, the two artists did indeed work together in some fashion.

In first publishing the correct attribution for *Saints Agnes and Dominic* and *Saints Augustine and Lucy* in 1908, Sirén noted that they were originally lateral panels of an altarpiece. He was unable to identify the missing central panel of the structure from which they came, nor has the scanty subsequent literature addressing the Yale *Saints* advanced any suggestions to recognize their missing companion among the known panels commonly attributed to Lorenzo di Niccolò. One painting closely related to them in style is a fragmentary *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Martello collection, Florence, which was, however, associated by Miklós Boskovits with lateral panels portraying Saints Eustace and James Major and Saints Anthony Abbot and Julian in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Brussels.[6] If this reconstruction is correct, another candidate for the center panel of the Yale altarpiece might be the *Virgin and Child Enthroned* in the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen (fig. 1),[7] which is related to the Yale *Saints* in style, format, and the decoration of its gold ground. It is also the only currently known painting of this subject by Lorenzo di Niccolò in which the edges of the seat and cushion of the Virgin's throne are cropped at the edges of the panel in such a fashion that they might be imagined to have continued onto the surfaces of the contiguous panels in the altarpiece. The Copenhagen panel might, however, be marginally too large to have stood between the Yale panels. Currently, it measures 124.5 by 56.5 centimeters, even though it has been cut out of its original frame and lacks the pinnacles still intact in the Yale panels. The Copenhagen panel retains on its reverse evidence of a horizontal batten with a nail approximately 93 centimeters up from the bottom edge of the panel. Similar nails centered on a batten mark on the reverse of the Yale panels occur 79 centimeters from the bottom, suggesting that if they are to be reconstructed as parts of a single complex, the Yale panels have been cropped by some 14 centimeters at the bottom, which is possible but not demonstrable.

Fig. 1. Lorenzo di Niccolò di Martino, *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, ca. 1410. Tempera and gold on panel, 124.5 × 56.5 cm (49 1/8 × 22 1/4 in.). Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, inv. no. 1749

Russell Sturgis, Jr., reported an unsubstantiated provenance from the convent of San Salvi for the Jarves, now Yale, panels,[8] but since San Salvi was used in the mid-nineteenth century as a depot for the collection of artistic property removed from suppressed churches and monasteries throughout the Florentine region, the notice sheds no meaningful light on the paintings' origins. On the grounds of iconography alone, it would be reasonable to presume that the commission for the altarpiece of which the Yale panels formed part came from a female Dominican convent; Saints Dominic and Augustine are frequently paired in Dominican imagery, as the Dominican order followed the Augustinian Rule, while Saints Lucy and Agnes occupy positions of honor directly flanking the missing central image. If such a convent were in Florence, the most likely candidate would be the church and convent of Santa Lucia di Camporeggi in via di San Gallo. This church was founded, according to Walter Paatz, by Augustinian nuns dedicated to Saint Agnes and was later transferred to the possession of Dominican penitential tertiaries, who did not, however, occupy the property until 1441, at least three decades after Lorenzo di Niccolò's altarpiece was finished.[9] While the establishment of the Dominican *mantellate* or penitential tertiaries in Santa Lucia in 1441, at the insistence of the archbishop (later saint) Antonino, and their assignment for spiritual guidance to the brothers at San Marco is well documented, there is some confusion over the identity of the original occupants of the church. According to Giuseppe Richa, the congregation of Saint Agnes from Borgo San Lorenzo was not a community of Augustinian nuns but a loose reunion of female "hermits" or recluses who were organized and presented with the rule of Saint Augustine in the middle of the thirteenth century by the Dominican preacher Peter of Verona, later Saint Peter Martyr. In 1285 these penitential lay sisters petitioned the chapter of Florence Cathedral, in the absence of a sitting bishop, for permission to build a new oratory within the walls of Florence, and in 1286 they were granted the property in the parish of San Lorenzo, on which, after several years of unsuccessful litigation, they finally built the convent of Santa Lucia di Camporeggi, also known as Santa Lucia in via di San Gallo. By 1436 the congregation had dwindled to only two elderly sisters, and the premises of Santa Lucia were reassigned to the Carmelites, who, in turn, renounced their claim a mere four years later.[10] Records are not known to exist proving Dominican spiritual oversight for the sisters of Saint Agnes, but given the legend of their founding and the fact that the remnants of the congregation were reassigned in 1436 to the Dominican convent of Santa Caterina delle Ruote (Santa Caterina al Mugnone), it seems likely that they were indeed Dominican and that the altarpiece in their church contained images of precisely the four saints portrayed in the Yale panels by Lorenzo di Niccolò. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 45, nos. 27–28; Jarves 1861, pl. D, figs. 14–15 (engravings); Sturgis 1868, 36; Brown 1871, nos. 23–24; Rankin 1895, 141; Sirén 1908c, 193; Sirén 1916a, 71–73, nos. 27–28; Berenson 1932a, 303; Berenson 1963, 1:123; Klesse 1967, 205, 294, nos. 78a, 202a; Seymour 1970, 49–51, nos. 33–34; Fremantle 1975, 397, no. 810; Skaug 1994, 1:275; Frinta 1998, 211, 288, 500

NOTES

1. Seymour 1970, 50.
2. Seymour 1970, 50.
3. Sirén 1908c, 193.
4. Skaug 1994, 1:275; and Frinta 1998, 211, 288, 500.
5. Skaug 1994, 1:275.
6. Inv. nos. 6595–96; Boskovits 1985b, 76–77.
7. Olsen 1961, 69–70, pl. 5b.
8. Sturgis 1868, 36.
9. Paatz and Paatz 1940–54, 2:602.
10. Richa 1759, 355–60. See also Benvenuti Papi 1987, 49.

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

Artist	Lippo d'Andrea, Florence, 1370/71–before 1451
Title	*Saints Louis of Toulouse and Clare*
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 there and 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, 1370/71–before 1451
Title	*Saints Elizabeth of Hungary and Anthony of Padua*
Date	ca. 1400–1405
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver 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 treatment to which the related *Saints Louis of Toulouse and Clare* panel was subjected 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 marbleized 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 marbleized 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, Caprigliola—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 and 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, 306, 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, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Albert of Trapani and Peter and Saints Paul and Anthony Abbot*; *The Annunciation*

Artist	Lippo d'Andrea, Florence, 1370/71–before 1451
Title	*Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Albert of Trapani and Peter and Saints Paul and Anthony Abbot*; *The Annunciation*
Date	ca. 1413–20
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall 206.0 × 237.5 cm (81 1/8 × 93 1/2 in.); center panel: overall 206.0 × 74.0 cm (81 1/8 × 29 1/8 in.); picture surface: 163.0 × 73.0 cm (64 1/8 × 28 3/4 in.); left panel: overall 192.0 × 81.5 cm (75 5/8 × 32 1/8 in.); picture surface: 142.0 × 81.0 cm (55 7/8 × 31 7/8 in.); right panel: overall 192.0 × 82.0 cm (75 5/8 × 32 1/4 in.); picture surface: 143.0 × 80.6 cm (56 1/4 × 31 3/4 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.22

Inscription

on base of the modern frame, S[AN]C[TU]S ALBERTUS. S[AN]C[TU]S PETRUS APOSTOL[US]. ANNO DOMINI MCCC[C]XX DIE XV APRILIS. S[AN]C[TU]S PAULUS. S[AN]C[TU]S ANTONIUS ABBAS.

Provenance

Convent of Santa Maria delle Selve, Lastra a Signa (Florence); James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The three main panels of the altarpiece, all of a vertical wood grain, have been cut out of their engaged frame moldings, waxed, cradled, and reinserted into a modern frame that incorporates the original tympanum moldings, regessoed and regilt. The lateral panels have both been thinned to a depth of 2 centimeters; the central panel retains its original thickness of 3 centimeters. The predella and all the vertical members of the frame, including the spiral colonettes dividing the three compartments, are modern. Repairs over nail holes at the top of the halo of each saint and on either side of the Virgin at the level of her cheeks indicate the placement of a cross batten at this height. No evidence of a corresponding cross batten occurs along the bottoms of the panels, which, together with the truncation of the angels in the central compartment, indicates the loss of at least 6 centimeters, probably more, at this edge. A split in the central compartment extending the full height of the panel and running through the Virgin's right hand as well as minor splits through the kneeling angels have provoked local losses in the paint surface, now retouched. Three less prominent splits appear in the left panel and one appears in the right panel. The gold ground has been evenly abraded throughout, more so along the profile of the arches in all three panels and in the haloes of the Virgin, the Christ Child, and Saint Peter. The paint surface

generally is well preserved, with the conspicuous exception of the Virgin's blue robe, which is much deteriorated and was retouched in a stipple technique by Andrew Petryn in a cleaning of 1950–52. The flesh tones of the Virgin are worn. Red-lake glazes in Saint Paul's robes have been lost, and his silver sword is restored with red paint simulating exposed bolus. The angels in the central compartment and the draperies in the left compartment are exceptionally well preserved. The three tympanum roundels—measuring, from left to right, 25.5, 22, and 24.5 centimeters in diameter—have been less abraded than the paint surfaces in the panels below them, but prominent splits, vertical in the right tympanum and roundel and diagonal in the center, have not been repaired.

Discussion

The central compartment of this large triptych shows the enthroned Virgin supporting a lively, robust Christ Child, Who holds a bird in His left hand and raises His right in blessing. The presence of holes on either side of the Virgin's and Child's heads indicates where crowns were formerly affixed to the painted surface. Kneeling at the base of the raised marble throne are two music-making angels; the one on the left plays a lute, the other a fiddle. The Virgin is seated on a white brocaded cushion with gold tassels, against a bright red cloth of honor decorated with an intricate gold pattern. She wears a blue cloak lined with green over a gold-embroidered white tunic. The Child is swaddled in a blue cloth with gold edging and a pink-and-green blanket with yellow highlights and gold trim. In the left compartment is the Carmelite saint Albert of Trapani (ca. 1240–1307), identified by the white-and-gray Carmelite habit and lily. He is accompanied by Saint Peter, who occupies the position of honor on the Virgin's right and is dressed in a blue tunic and glowing yellow cape. On the Virgin's left is Saint Paul, enveloped in an amethyst-colored cape lined in bright orange. Next to him is Saint Anthony Abbot, accompanied by his traditional attribute of a black pig at his feet. In the three pinnacle roundels are the Annunciatory Angel, the Blessing Redeemer, and the Virgin Annunciate. At an unknown date, the three panels were all cut at the bottom and inserted into a nineteenth-century frame. Pasted onto the back of the picture is the label of the nineteenth-century Florentine "gilder, glazer and seller of antique frames" Riccardo Alfani, who may have been responsible for the earliest restorations (fig. 1). Inscribed on the modern base but obscured by grime are the saints' names and the purported date of completion, April 15, 1420. The year was reported as 1370 by James Jackson Jarves but later corrected to 1420 by Osvald Sirén.[1] There is no technical or documentary evidence to support the assertion by Charles Seymour, Jr., that "it is virtually certain" that the inscription, which is never mentioned in the earliest records of the painting predating Jarves's purchase, replicates one that had been on the original frame.[2]

Fig. 1. Detail of the reverse of the *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Albert of Trapani and Peter and Saints Paul and Anthony Abbot*; *The Annunciation*, showing the Riccardo Alfani label

The first indication of the triptych's provenance was provided by Jarves, who stated that it came from "the suppressed convent of San Martini [*sic*] alle Selve, at Signa, near Florence."[3] Seymour, who did not recognize the name of the convent as reported by Jarves but acknowledged that the presence of Saint Albert suggested a Carmelite commission, proposed that it may have been executed for the famous church of Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence, consecrated in 1422, and transferred to Signa at a later date.[4] As intuited by Miklós Boskovits, however, Jarves had most likely conflated the name of the Carmelite convent of Santa Maria delle Selve, located in the woods above Lastra a Signa, with that of the nearby parish church of San Martino at Gangalandi in Lastra a Signa.[5] Boskovits tentatively proposed that the circumstances of the commission for the Yale triptych might be related to the renewed importance of the Selve community after 1413, when it became the center of the Observant Carmelite reform movement. Linda Pisani subsequently confirmed that the Yale altarpiece had been removed from Santa Maria delle Selve by connecting this work to an unspecified nineteenth-century inventory that listed the presence in that church of a Giottesque triptych with Saints Peter, Paul, Albert, and Anthony Abbot.[6] Pisani followed Seymour, however, in surmising that the

work had been originally commissioned for the Florentine motherhouse of Santa Maria del Carmine.[7]

Although still debated in some of the most recent literature,[8] the intended location of the Yale altarpiece was conclusively established by Gioia Romagnoli in 2005, in a detailed study of Santa Maria delle Selve from its foundation in 1344 to its suppression in 1808.[9] Among the documents consulted by Romagnoli was an 1818 inventory compiled by the parish priest of San Martino a Gangalandi, who had been placed in charge of the suppressed convent the previous year. The prelate described a painting located in the chapter room of Santa Maria delle Selve in the following terms: "A picture . . . in tempera representing the Madonna of the Snow accompanied by Saints Peter, and Paul, Saint Anthony Abbot and Saint Dominic: it is commonly believed that all these images belong to one of the early schools [of painting] and especially that of Giotto."[10] As noted by Romagnoli, there is little doubt that the "Giottesque" altarpiece in the chapter room is the Yale triptych. That the inventory's author should have confused the rarer image of Saint Albert with more familiar representations of Saint Dominic—traditionally shown with the same attribute of a lily and in similar monastic robes—is perhaps confirmation that there was not, at the time, a legible inscription identifying the saints and that the triptych was already missing its original predella. According to archival sources, the "sides" of the altarpiece—presumably the ends of the predella—bore the arms of the Lotti family, residents in San Iacopo Oltrarno in Florence.[11] Sometime in the second half of the fourteenth century, the Lotti had acquired the patronage of the convent's chapter room, where they erected a small chapel and located their family tombs.[12] The presence of Saint Peter in the position of honor to the Virgin's right in the Yale triptych, as persuasively argued by Romagnoli, may indicate that the work was commissioned for this chapel by Piero Lotti (born 1365), who would have paid homage to his father, Paolo Lotti, by the inclusion of the latter's name-saint opposite his own.

Since Sirén's placement of the Yale altarpiece at the head of a group of images he attributed to Ambrogio di Baldese,[13] subsequently recognized as products of a later hand christened "Pseudo-Ambrogio di Baldese,"[14] the present work has been a benchmark in the reconstruction of this painter's career. Following Serena Padovani, who first proposed identifying the artist with Lippo d'Andrea, the date "1420" inscribed on the altarpiece's frame has been generally regarded as one of the few fixed points in his chronology. The relevance of the date was further highlighted by Megan Holmes, who pointed out that it coincided with a declaration by the Carmelite general chapter in 1420 that "in every convent an image of Beato Alberto with rays should be painted."[15] In light of these circumstances, the altarpiece's location in the chapter room of Santa Maria delle Selve, where the most important gatherings of the congregation were held, takes on added significance. It is possible, however, that the later inscription, the authenticity of which remains in question, merely commemorated the 1420 edict, especially given the likely existence of earlier paintings of Saint Albert in the same convent. By the end of the fourteenth century, in fact, the cult of Saint Albert, promoted immediately after his death in 1307, had already spread from his native Messina to other parts of Sicily and Italy. Carmelite efforts to gain recognition for a modern founder-figure who could rival Saints Francis and Dominic in stature soon led to petitions for Albert's canonization, starting at the general chapter meeting of 1375 in Le Puy-en-Velay, France. Further petitions to the pope were signed at the general chapters held in Brescia in 1387 and in Santa Maria delle Selve in 1399. By then, Albert, though not officially canonized until 1457, was already revered as a saint in Tuscan communities. A 1391 inventory from Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence records the presence in the church of an ivory casket with the relics of "Sancti Alberti" and of a gilt copper and enamel tabernacle with the relics of "Santo Alberto da Trapani, formerly a brother of Santa Maria del Carmine."[16] The earliest surviving representation of Saint Albert, frescoed by Taddeo di Bartolo around 1406–8 in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico, already shows the fully developed iconographic type, with halo, lily, and book, as depicted in the Yale altarpiece, indicating that comparable images already existed in ecclesiastical settings and had been unofficially sanctioned by the order well before the 1420 edict.[17]

Fig. 2. Lippo d'Andrea, *Saint Michael*, ca. 1416. Tempera and gold on panel. Museo Diocesano d'Arte Sacra, San Miniato al Tedesco (Pisa)

Stylistic considerations alone suggest an earlier chronology for the Yale triptych than recorded in the later inscription. The most reliable point of reference for the dating of the altarpiece is the series of works executed by Lippo d'Andrea around 1416 for the church of San Domenico in San Miniato al Tedesco, near Pisa. Assigned to the Pseudo-Ambrogio di Baldese by Federico Zeri, the frescoes on the interior of the facade of San Domenico were first tentatively attributed to Lippo d'Andrea by Padovani, who also recognized the artist's hand in a panel with Saint Michael from the same church (fig. 2).[18] On the basis of comparisons with the Yale triptych, Padovani dated both commissions to the same moment in the artist's activity, around or slightly earlier than 1420. Sonia Chiodo subsequently refined this chronology with the publication of a 1416 document referring to Lippo d'Andrea as the author of another, stylistically homogeneous set of frescoes in the main chapel of San Domenico, thereby confirming the artist's identity.[19] Like the Yale altarpiece, the artist's production for San Domenico reflects a progressive softening of the austere monumentality of his earlier frescoes in Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence, while retaining the same predilection for delicate tonalities and brilliant pastels, derived from Agnolo Gaddi. The physiognomic types in the Yale altarpiece are still closely related to the Carmine frescoes, as demonstrated by a comparison of the Virgin and Child with the corresponding figures in one of the lunettes outside the Carmine sacristy chapel (fig. 3) or by the often-noted affinities between the Yale Saint Albert and the figure of Saint Cyril in the Nerli Chapel (fig. 4). The undisputable analogies between the Nerli Chapel and Yale figures prompted Chiodo to significantly postpone the completion of that cycle, traditionally associated with a 1402 document, to just before the Carmine's consecration in 1422.[20] Such comparisons, on the contrary, only seem to confirm the earlier chronology of the present work. The commission should perhaps be viewed less in relation to the 1420 edict than to the Selve's decision, in 1413, to embrace the observant reform, becoming the de facto spiritual center of the order. The event, of momentous importance for the community and its patrons, would account for the inclusion of Anthony Abbot, the hermit saint, alongside the Lotti family's name-saints and Saint Albert—as a reminder of the order's mythical past on Mount Carmel.[21] A general time frame for the altarpiece's execution between around 1413 and 1420 seems plausible.

Fig. 3. Lippo d'Andrea, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1415–20. Fresco. Outside sacristy chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence

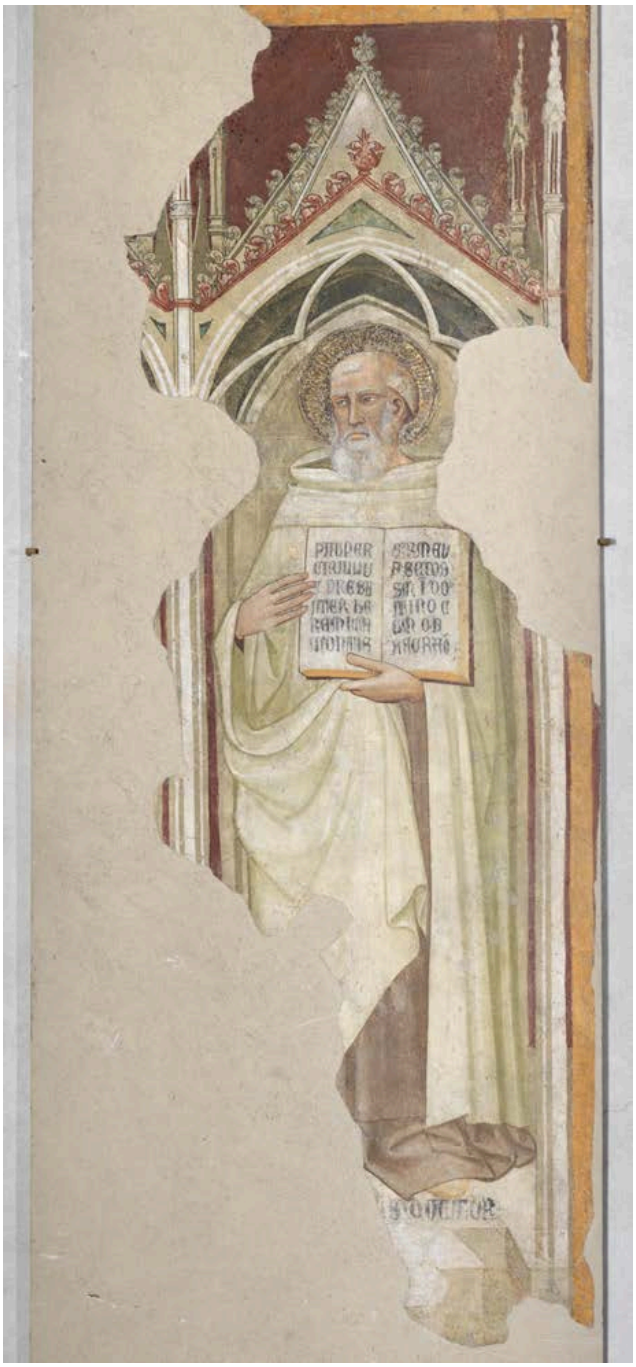


Fig. 4. Lippo d'Andrea, *Saint Cyril*, ca. 1415–20. Fresco. Nerli Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence

The issues surrounding the Yale altarpiece suggest a greater scrutiny of Lippo d'Andrea's chronology and the not-entirely homogeneous body of works currently gathered under his name. Aside from the confusion that still persists between his oeuvre and that of the entirely distinct personality of Ventura di Moro, the evaluation of the artist's personality has thus far failed to take into account the participation of assistants in his workshop, in

what appears to have been a large and busy enterprise active throughout Tuscany. Most discussions of the Yale triptych have tended to overlook the qualitative differences in the execution of its various parts, which are evident upon close examination. Some of these discrepancies were already highlighted by Sirén, and later emphasized by Seymour, who went so far as assigning the work to four different painters.[22] In an unpublished report to the Yale University Art Gallery, Everett Fahy singled out the figures of Saints Paul and Anthony Abbot as much finer in quality than the rest of the painting, writing that he "would be inclined to see the stylistic differences in the triptych as a result of more than one artist at work."[23] Fahy's opinion was echoed by Carl Strehlke in his unpublished checklist of Italian paintings at Yale, in which the altarpiece was labeled "Lippo d'Andrea and Workshop." While the distinctions between the saints in the lateral compartments are not always clear, it is almost impossible to ignore the contrast between the careful handling and finish of the two elegant angels kneeling at the base of the Virgin's throne and the more relaxed approach to the Annunciatory Angel in the pinnacle above. The tightly drawn features and nuanced modeling of the two angels also depart from the flatter, more generalized forms that define the other two roundels and, to a certain degree, the Virgin and Child. The identity of this undoubtedly more accomplished collaborator in Lippo's workshop remains, for the moment, unknown. —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 46, no. 37; Jarves 1861, pl. F, fig. 18 (engraving); Sturgis 1868, 29–30, no. 16; Brown 1871, 13–14, lot 16; Rankin 1895, 140; Sirén 1909a, 326, pl. 2, fig. 2; Sirén 1916a, 57–62, no. 22; van Marle 1927b, 87; Offner 1927a, 19–20, fig. 11; Berenson 1932a, 195; Procacci 1933, 240n3, 242; Pudelko 1935, 84, 88; Kaftal 1952, cols. 13–14, no. 6a, fig. 15; *Rediscovered Italian Paintings* 1952, 20–21; Hess 1955, no. 70b; Berenson 1963, 1:219; Seymour 1970, 112–14, no. 77; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 599; Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 18, no. 9, fig. 9; Gardner von Teuffel 1977, 54nn90, 92, fig. 19, reprinted in Gardner von Teuffel 2005, 28–29n92, fig. 19; Serena Padovani, in *Tesori d'arte antica* 1979, 55–56; Boskovits 1987b, 51–52, 62n20, fig. 6; Brown 1988, 234, no. 676, fig. 676; Guidotti 1992, 3:134–35; Kanter 1994, 149n1; Holmes 1999, 39, 252n55, figs. 31–32; Pisani 2001, 8, 10, 33n29, fig. 12; Chiodo 2002, 1, 10–11, fig. 1; Rowlands 2003, 82, 105n208, fig. 70; Staderini 2004, 261; de Vries 2004, 108, 199–200, fig. 247; Sonia Chiodo, in Boskovits and Parenti 2005, 106, 108, fig. 1; Romagnoli 2005, 71–73, pl. 15; Chiodo 2008, 87–88; Katherine Smith Abbott, in Smith Abbott et al. 2009, 88–89, no. 7; Linda Pisani, in Caioni 2011, 88, 93, fig. 1; Gardner von Teuffel 2015, 19, fig. 20; Gardner von Teuffel 2018, 174–75, 177–78, 186n7; Emilia Ludovici, in Hollberg, Tartuferi, and Parenti 2020, 98; Daniela Parenti, in Hollberg, Tartuferi, and Parenti 2020, 89, 95

NOTES

1. Jarves 1860, 46, no. 37; and Sirén 1909a, 326, pl. 2, fig. 2. In a visit to the Yale University Art Gallery on January 5, 1930 (recorded in the curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery), Raimond van Marle noted that the date could be read as either MCCCLXX (1370) or MCCCCXX (1420) but was more probably 1420.
2. Seymour 1970, 114.
3. Jarves 1860, 46.
4. Seymour 1970, 114.
5. Boskovits 1987b, 62n20.
6. Pisani 2001, 33n29.
7. It should be noted, in this context, that there is presently no indication on the back of the Yale panels of an inscription referred to by Pisani (in Pisani 2001, 33n29) recording the altarpiece's removal from the Selve.
8. Gardner von Teuffel 2018, 174–75.
9. Romagnoli 2005, 72–73, pl. 15.
10. Quoted in Romagnoli 2005, 72.
11. Unfortunately, Gioia Romagnoli does not transcribe or note the date of the document in question, cited as Archivio di Stato, Florence, Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal governo francese, 253, Santa Maria delle Selve, no. 46, *Scritture II* (the items in "253" apparently cover the period from 1392 to 1808); see Romagnoli 2005, 72–73, 88n289.
12. The Lotti arms, as pointed out in Romagnoli 2005, are still visible above the door to the chapter room and in the later furnishing still in situ. The Lotti held the patronage until the family's extinction in the seventeenth century.
13. Sirén 1916a, 58–62.
14. van Marle 1927b, 87.
15. Holmes 1999, 39.
16. Holmes 1999, 39, 251–52n51.
17. Gardner von Teuffel 2018, 176 (with previous bibliography). Taddeo di Bartolo's image in Siena was reportedly accompanied by the following inscription, now no longer visible: "SANCTUS ALBERTUS ORDINIS SANTE MARIE DE MONTE CARMELO."
18. Serena Padovani, in *Tesori d'arte antica* 1979, 55–56.
19. Chiodo 2008, 87–88.

20. Chiodo 2002, 10–11.

21. The relevance of the figure of Saint Anthony Abbot in the Yale altarpiece was pointed out by Christa Gardner von Teuffel (in Gardner von Teuffel 2018, 178), although the author, who appears to have been unaware of Romagnoli's study, associated the work with a commission from Santa Maria del Carmine.

22. Sirén 1916a, 58; and Seymour 1970, 114.

23. Everett Fahy, unpubllished report, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.

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

Artist	Lippo d'Andrea, Florence, 1370/71–before 1451
Title	*Two Scenes from the Legend of Saint Michael*
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 centimeter, 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 Aretino[1]—or to have been executed by the school of Spinello[2] or in the manner of Spinello[3]—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, New York, 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 Boskovits[5] and endorsed in written communications by Everett Fahy (1978), Luciano Bellosi (1987), and Carl Strehlke (1998). The evident justification for this attribution was

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 (Pisa)

demonstrated 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 (Pisa) (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 Major 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 (Agnolo Gaddi or Lorenzo Monaco, *Saints Julian, James Major, and Michael*), a predella panel showing the Apparition of Saint Michael at Mont-Saint-Michel and the Miracle of the Bull at Monte Gargano (Fra Angelico, *Two Scenes from the Legend of Saint Michael*), 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 Vaticana[10]—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, France (fig. 4). Close in style to the *Adoration of the Magi* (see fig. 3) 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, France, 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 (see fig. 2), 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 (also known as San Domenico), 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; Sirén 1916a, 63–64, no. 23; Gronau 1950a, 41–47, pl. 25/fig. 4, pl. 27/fig. 7; Kaftal 1952, cols. 740–41, no. 218(6), fig. 834; Seymour 1970, 36–37, 306, 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, no. 218(6), fig. 834. Kaftal incorrectly listed the painting as in the collection of Maitland Griggs, New York.
5. Boskovits 1975b, 298.
6. Katherine Smith Abbott, in Smith Abbott et al. 2009, 38–39, 82–83, fig. 10. Smith 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 d'Arte Sacra, San Miniato al Tedesco (Pisa). 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 1932c, 177. The painting was last recorded at sale at Sotheby's, New York, January 26, 2006, lot 269.
13. Inv. no. 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, *The Story of Rinaldo da Montalbano, or the Four Sons of Aymon*

Artist	Florentine School, first quarter 15th century
Title	*The Story of Rinaldo da Montalbano, or the Four Sons of Aymon*
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, had 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 French versions of the story.[5] At the left, the four sons of Aymon (Amone in Italian) kneel before Emperor Charlemagne and his barons. In 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 confidant 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 top 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 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 recounted in some detail in the texts, 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 century[7] 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* (fig. 1), 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 Museum 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]

Fig. 1. Master of Charles III of Durazzo, *The Conquest of Naples by Charles III of Durazzo*, 1402. 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, inv. no. 07.120.1

Despite Miklós 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 Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence,[14] 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. 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. 2), illustrating Boccaccio's poem *Il 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 complete chest of unknown whereabouts, recorded in old Brogi photographs preserved in the Fototeca Zeri, where they are filed as "Anonimo Fiorentino, XIV/XV secolo" (fig. 3). 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 for both 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 Marczell von Nemes collection and subsequently with the dealer Bohler in Munich.[17]

Fig. 2. Florentine School, *Scenes from Boccaccio's "Il ninfale fiesolano,"* ca. 1415–20. Tempera and gold on panel, 28.9 × 126.5 cm (11 3/8 × 49 3/4 in.). Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, Maine, Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, inv. no. 1961.100.1

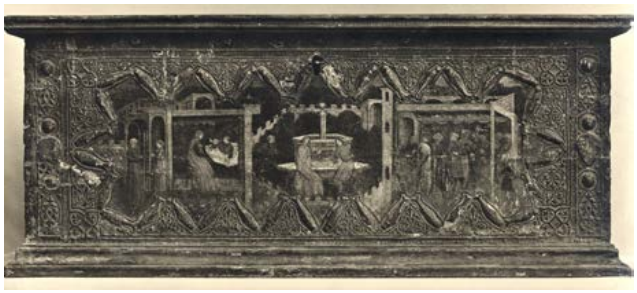


Fig. 3. Florentine School, *Cassone with Scenes from a Legend*, ca. 1410–20. Tempera and gold on panel. Location unknown

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 Ninfale," 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, 314, no. 96; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Watson 1985–86, 154; Boskovits 1991b, 47n14; Callmann 1995, 65

NOTES

1. Schubring 1926, 252–53.
2. Seymour 1970, 138, no. 96.
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, recorded in the curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
7. Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600.
8. Schubring 1926, 252–53; Seymour 1970, 138, no. 96; Watson 1985–86, 154; and Callmann 1995, 65.
9. Note recorded in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York.
10. Fahy, cited in Boskovits 1991b, 47n14.
11. Boskovits 1991b, 47–48n14.
12. Fahy 1994, 231–43. For the Master of San Martino a Mensola, see also Ladis 1992, 323–34; and Bellosi 1985a, 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 Miziołek 2002, 443–69; and Sbaraglio 2010a, 104–13.
13. "Al gruppo così riunito, sostanzialmente omogeneo anche se i singoli numeri spesso sono fortemente deturpati da rifacimenti"; Boskovits 1991b, 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 Miziołek (in Miziołek 2002, 8n6, 34–37, 63–66, pls. 14, 16–17, 27a) and Lorenzo Sbaraglio (in Sbaraglio 2010a, 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 Mocciola (in Mocciola 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, Callmann associated this chest with the present one, along with one formerly in the collection of Sir George Nelson; sale, Sotheby's, London, December 2, 1964, lot 94.

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

Artist	Florentine School(?), ca. 1410
Title	*Desco da Parto with the Amorous Hunt*
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 wood 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, blonde 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 the 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 blonde 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 (see Florentine School, *The Story of Rinaldo da Montalbano, or the Four Sons of Aymon*, 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 (see Florentine School, *The Story of Rinaldo da Montalbano, or the Four Sons of Aymon*). Comparisons with the Metropolitan Museum cassone, with its robust, coarse figure 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

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Venturi 1945, 19–20; "Recent Gifts and Purchases" 1960, 53; Seymour 1961, 20–21, 54; Seymour 1970, 135–37, no. 93; Watson 1970, 77–81, 159, 161–62, 166–67, 281–82, no. 20, pl. 19; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 601; Vertova 1973a, 159; Watson 1979, 93–95, 105, pl. 78; Friedman 1989, 165; Boskovits 1991b, 47n14; Miziołek 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 De Carli 1997; and Musacchio 1999, 59–89. 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 1991b, 47n14.

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

Artist	Florentine School, ca. 1420–25
Title	*The Agony in the Garden*
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, Jr., 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 of his partnership with Bicci.

Fig. 1. *The Agony in the Garden*, ca. 1900

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

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

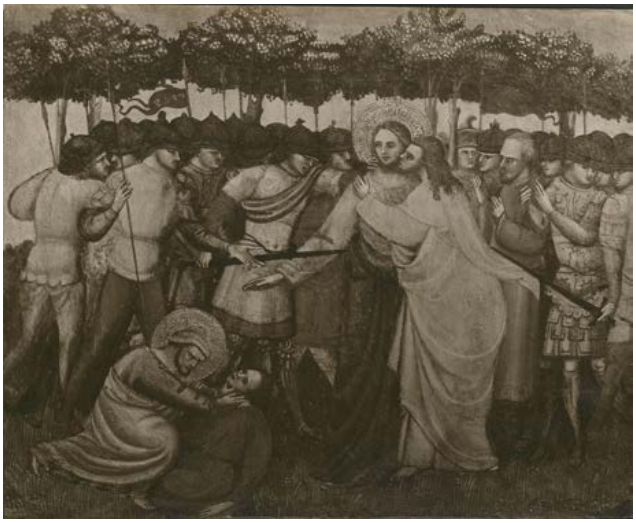


Fig. 4. Florentine School, *The Betrayal of Christ*, ca. 1420–25. Tempera and gold on panel, 30.8 × 35.2 cm (12 1/8 × 13 7/8 in.). Location unknown

In the most recent discussion of the Yale *Agony in the Garden*, Andrea Staderini, who reiterated the attribution to Stefano d'Antonio, convincingly 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 given to 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, Settignano, was labeled by Bernard Berenson as "Bicci di Lorenzo."[7] To Staderini's reconstruction may be added a fourth predella scene, with the Resurrection (fig. 5). It, too, is known only from a photograph at Villa I Tatti, where it was tentatively filed by Berenson under Giovanni del Biondo and Giovanni Bonsi.[8] That all four images are the product of the same hand 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.[9]

Fig. 5. Florentine School, *The Resurrection*, ca. 1420–25. Tempera and gold on panel, 28 × 39 cm (71.1 × 15 3/8 in.). Location unknown

Less persuasive is the proposed link between the reconstructed predella and the production hitherto assembled under the name of Stefano d'Antonio. Notwithstanding the precarious condition of some of the panels, comparisons between them and the scenes below Bicci's Walters *Annunciation* and below the *Saint Lawrence* in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence (fig. 6)—currently assigned to Stefano d'Antonio by most authors[10]—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 Smithsonian *Descent from the Cross* (see fig. 3), in particular. Moreover, absent from the Yale *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 (see fig. 4), such as 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. 6. 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 × 99 cm (5 1/8 × 39 in.). Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 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, all 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,[11] painted around 1400, to the 1414 *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (fig. 7). 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. 7. Lorenzo Monaco, *The Adoration of the Magi* (detail of the 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 four surviving scenes, 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* (see fig. 4) and on the right by the Smithsonian *Descent from the Cross* (see fig. 3), followed by the *Resurrection* (see fig. 5). It is also not out of the question that the four 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.[12] 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.[13] —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, 313, no. 88; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 192, 599; Zeri 1976c, 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, no. 29.

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.

4. Federico Zeri, in Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 192, 599; and Zeri 1976c, 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. A handwritten note by Berenson on the verso for the photograph reads "with Giovanni del Biondo. Giovanni Bonsi?" The only indication of the painting's location is "Roma." The present author is very grateful to Christopher Daly for directing her to this image.

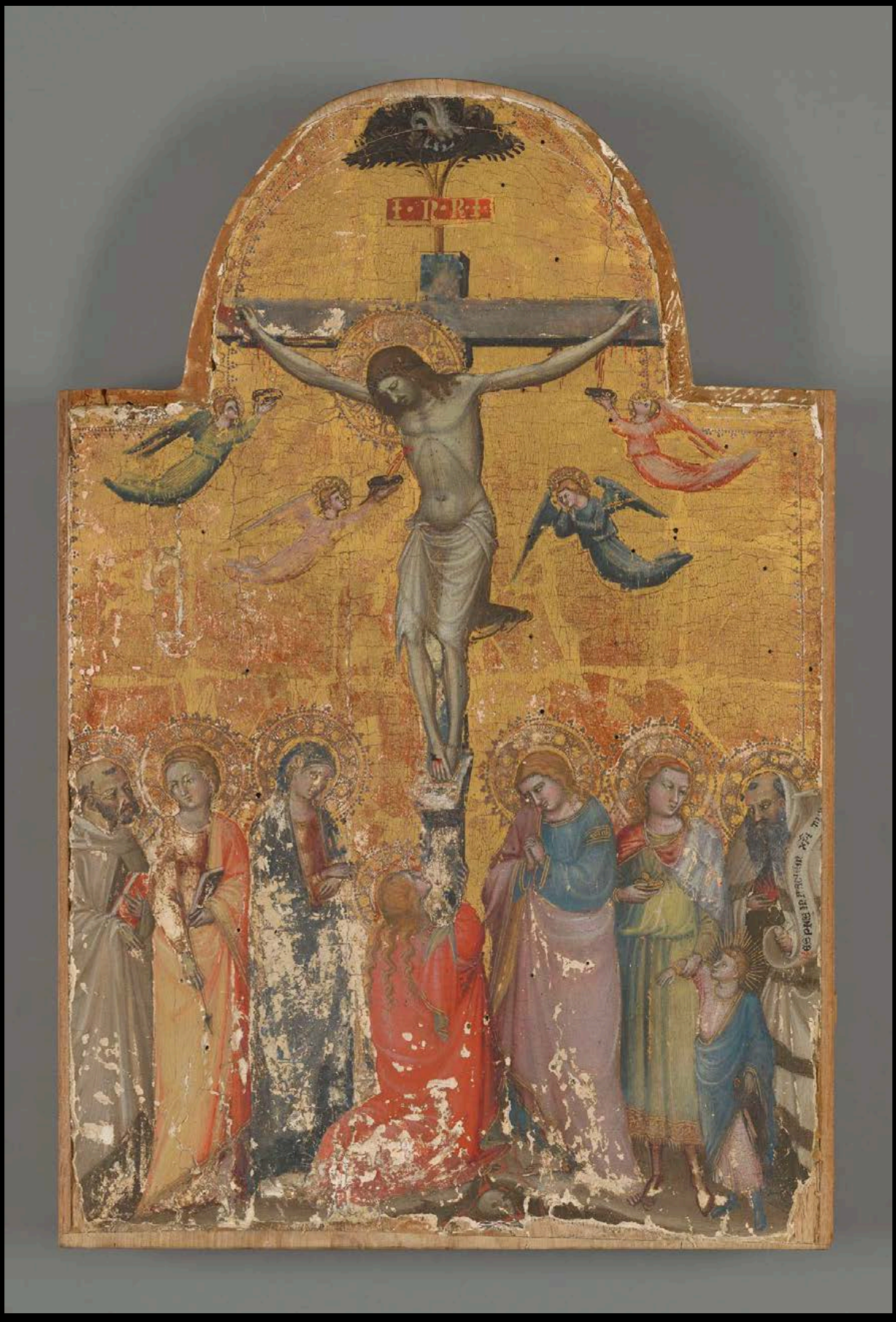
9. The dimensions of the *Resurrection* recorded on the back of the I Tatti photograph, 28 by 39 centimeters, are virtually identical to those of the Yale panel. The other two panels do not share exactly the same measurements, but it is clear that the Smithsonian *Descent from the Cross*, like the Yale 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.

10. Despite documentary evidence, effort to isolate Stefano's contribution in works produced under the banner of Bicci's *compagnia* are not always conclusive. Werner 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.

11. Inv. no. 1890 n. 438.

12. 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 the Last Supper, the Capture of Christ, and the Lamentation.

13. 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	*The Crucifixion with Saints and the Penitent Magdalen*
Date	ca. 1430
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall, excluding modern capping strips: 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]

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. Modern capping strips, applied to all the margins, vary in width from 5 millimeters to 10 millimeters. 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 preserved, although currently dulled by a gray synthetic varnish.

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 83:10: "[PROTECTOR NOSTER ASPICE DEUS ET] RESPICE IN FACIEM CHRISTI TU[I]" ([Behold, O God our protector: and] look on the face of thy Christ). 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 panel 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]

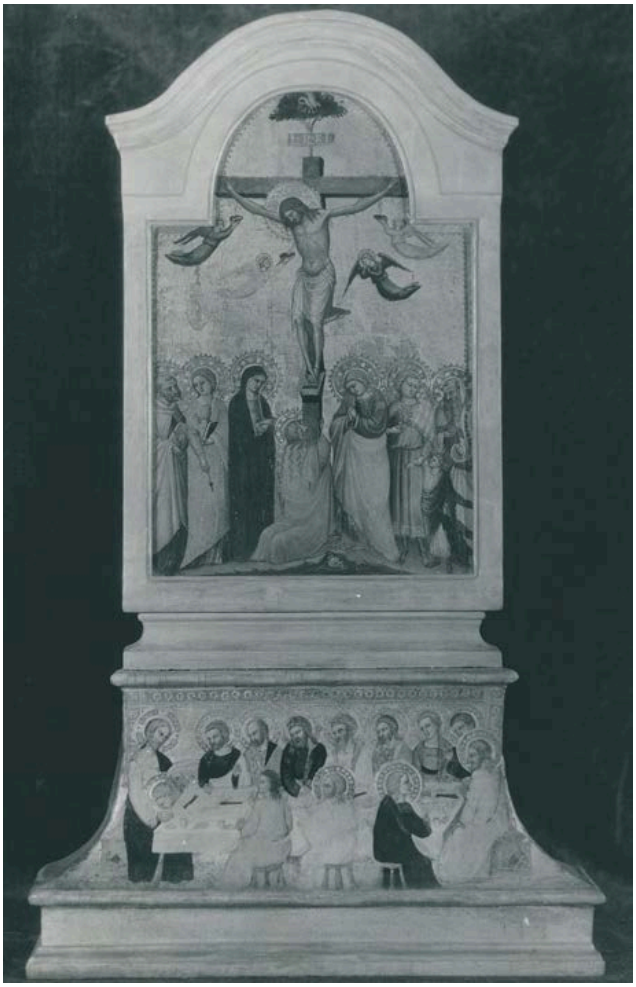


Fig. 1. *The Crucifixion with Saints and the Penitent Magdalen*, with *The Last Supper* below, ca. 1938

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) 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, Lippi's 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 present 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, 305, 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 Lippo d'Andrea, *Virgin and Child Enthroned between Saints Albert of Trapani and Peter and Saints Paul and Anthony Abbot*; *The Annunciation*.
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. 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. 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, 578–79); 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 Lippi'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: Lippo d'Andrea, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Albert of Trapani and Peter and Saints Paul and Anthony Abbot; The Annunciation*.
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 describes 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 notes 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	*Pilaster Fragment with Saint Catherine of Alexandria*
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 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 distinguish both of those images, still reminiscent of fourteenth-century models, are 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 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 a 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 the two 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, 174–75, no. 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; 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	*Virgin and Child in Glory with Saint John the Baptist, Saint Peter, and Two Angels*
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), 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 bolus 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.

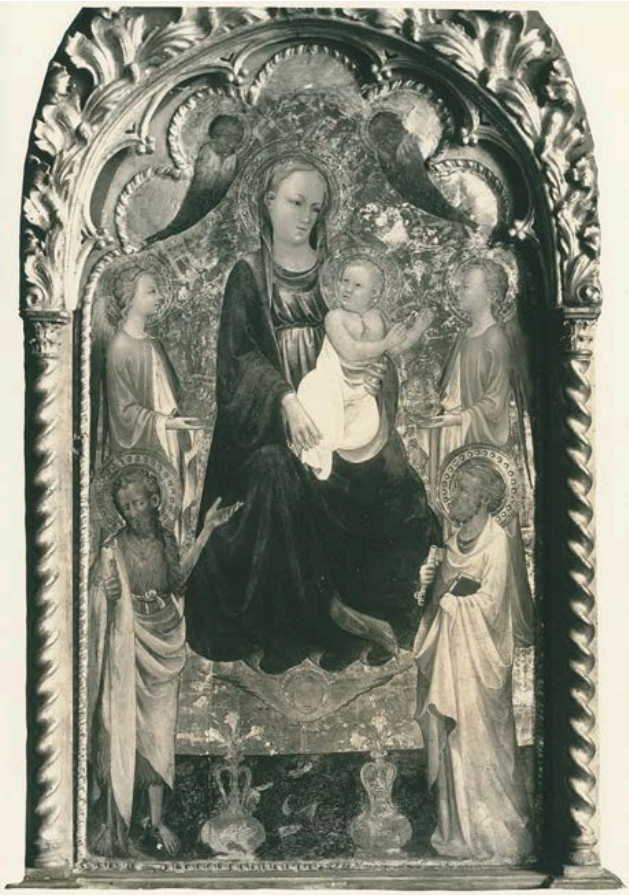


Fig. 1. *Virgin and Child in Glory with Saint John the Baptist, Saint Peter, and Two Angels*, before 1958

Fig. 2. Detail of the reverse of the *Virgin and Child in Glory with Saint John the Baptist, Saint Peter, and Two Angels*, showing Alfonso 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 unfailingly 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 with 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 1430s[6]—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 d'Arte Sacra 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 Gherardo 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 with 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 d'Arte Sacra, San Miniato al Tedesco (Pisa)

Fig. 4. Gherardo Starnina, *Virgin and Child in Glory with Saints John the Baptist and Nicholas*, ca. 1405–10. Tempera and gold on panel, 104.5 × 58.2 cm (62 1/4 × 41 1/8 in.). Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 441

Fig. 5. Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, *Virgin and Child in Glory with Saints John the Baptist, James Major, Nicholas, and Paul*, 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 1927b, 56, fig. 32; Berenson 1932a, 494; Frankfurter 1937, 30; Berenson 1963, 1:193; Seymour 1970, 173–74, 317, no. 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 Gottica [*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. no. 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 the curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
3. Inv. nos. 1890 nn. 8460, 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 1927b, 56, fig. 32; Berenson 1932a, 494; Berenson 1963, 1:193; and Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600.
5. Seymour 1970, 174, no. 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*, inv. no. 608, is illustrated in Torriti 1977, 294, fig. 367.
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

IC·XC·

"Pseudo-Dietisalvi di Speme," *The Crucifixion with the Penitent Magdalen*

Artist	"Pseudo-Dietisalvi di Speme," Siena, active last third 13th century
Title	*The Crucifixion with the Penitent Magdalen*
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

Inscription

on Cross, •IC•XC•

Provenance

Unidentified church near Siena; James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The panel was thinned to a depth of 8 millimeters and cradled in 1930 and cleaned in 1954. It is constructed of two horizontally grained boards with a seam 37 centimeters from the bottom edge. 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, with repairs to losses along the seam to the left of the figure of Christ. 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 with a gesture of declamation, proclaiming to his companions that "truly this was the Son of God" (Matt. 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, Jr.'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 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 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 products 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 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, Siena;[11] the frescoes in the crypt of Siena Cathedral;[12] 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 the *Madonna del Voto* 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 from the Badia Ardegna 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*, 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 *biccherne* 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 *biccherne* and "Guidesque" production, suggesting instead more persuasive comparisons with contemporary Sienese manuscript illumination.[17]

Recognizing some of these 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.

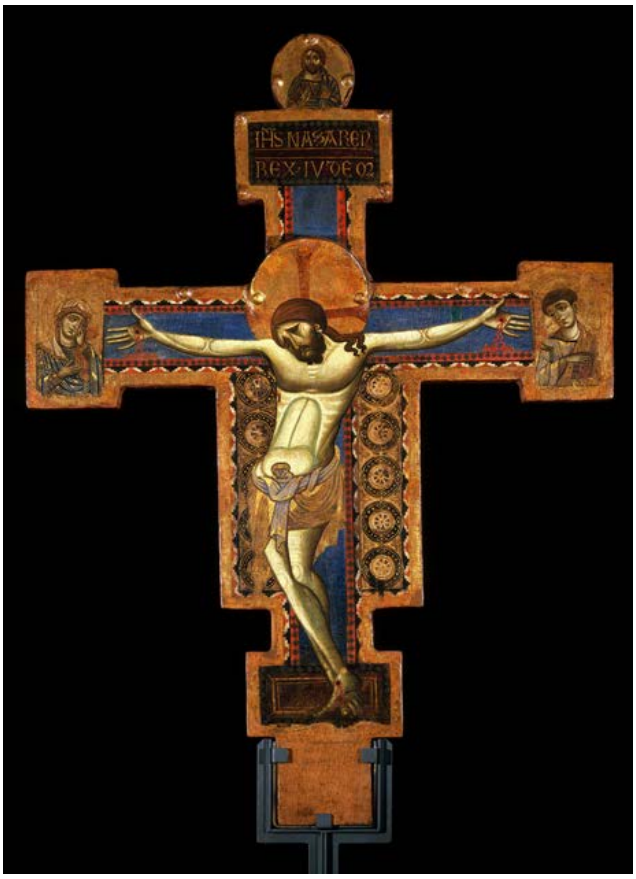


Fig. 3. Attributed to Giunta Pisano, *Double-Sided Processional Cross*, ca. 1250. Tempera and gold on panel, 133 × 83 cm (52 3/8 × 32 5/8 in.). Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, inv. no. 2325

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 body[20] 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, mirrored in 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*. — PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 42, no. 12; Jarves 1861, 114, pl. A, fig. 3 (engraving); Sturgis 1868, 24–25, no. 11; Brown 1871, 12, fig. 11; Rankin 1905, 7; Sirén 1915, 277–79, fig. 1; Sirén 1916a, 7–9, no. 2; Sirén and Brockwell 1917, 110; van Marle 1920a, 270; Weigelt 1922, 284; Offner 1927a, 2, 37, fig. 26; Berenson 1932a, 268; Edgell 1932, 33; Berenson 1936, 231; Garrison 1949, 116, no. 298; Meiss 1951a, 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; Gloria Kury Keach, in Seymour et al. 1972, 12, no. 3, figs. 3a–b; Offner and Maginnis 1981, 2, 37, fig. 26; Sullivan 1985, 41, 43n25, fig. 19; Derbes 1989, 195, 197, 202n29, fig. 14; Bellosi 1991a, 7–9, 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 2003b, 39; Foskolou 2011, 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, 7–9, 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 7 and the more weakly executed Dossal 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. 1890 n. 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, N.J. (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 et al. 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 instead to reflect the efforts 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 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. John, in John, Manzke, and Penndorf 2001, 107.

16. Maginnis 2002, 472, 485n1.

17. Anna Maria Giusti, in Chelazzi Dini 1982, 37–38, no. 1, asserted categorically that the 1270 *biccherna* bore "no relationship" to the "Guidesque current" that in those years was taking hold in Sienese 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 *biccherne* 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, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. M 580), first attributed to the artist by Giusti; see Giusti 1974, 275–78.

18. Weigelt 1922, 284.

19. Maria Laura Testi Cristiani noted the iconographic connection between this representation and the *Crucifixion* images 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 Pèleo Bacci but rejected by Miklós Boskovits and Angelo Tartuferi, see, most recently, Lorenzo Carletti, in Burresi 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.

Attributed to Ugolino di Nerio, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Saints*

Artist	Attributed to Ugolino di Nerio, Siena, documented 1317–27
Title	*Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Saints*
Date	ca. 1305–10
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	118.3 × 75.5 cm (46 5/8 × 29 7/8 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz
Inv. No.	1959.15.17

Provenance

Silvio Griccioli, Abbazia di Sant'Eugenio, Munistero, Siena, by 1897; Dan Fellows Platt (1873–1937), Englewood, N.J., by 1912; Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz (1887–1957), Sands Point, Long Island, N.Y., by 1945

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical grain, was thinned to a depth ranging from 1.5 to 2.3 centimeters and mounted on a later auxiliary support 1.5 centimeters thick. It comprises three planks, averaging 16, 42.5, and 16 centimeters in width, originally reinforced by battens applied to the reverse and engaged frame moldings on the obverse, all of which are missing. The seams between the planks are now open, the gap on the left ranging from 2 to 6 millimeters and on the right averaging 2 millimeters, although widening to 5 millimeters near the upper edge due to losses from insect damage. A prominent split runs the full height of the central plank, beginning at the bottom edge just to the left of center and rising on a slight diagonal toward the left. A minor split has opened parallel and to the right of this, occasioned by a knot in the panel at the level of the Virgin's shoulder. Extensive insect damage has been revealed beneath the missing engaged frame moldings around the full periphery and beneath missing linen, gesso, and preparatory layers along the panel seams, especially that on the left. The gilding and paint surfaces have been severely abraded, exposing large areas of gesso preparation and, in the flesh tones, *verdaccio* underpaint. Areas of complete loss—to the right of the throne, through the Virgin's left elbow, and along the right portion of the throne platform—were enlarged and cleaned to the level of the wood support by Andrew Petryn in 1968, a treatment that also left large patterns of exposed gesso visible through the broad craquelure of the Virgin's blue robe (fig. 1). Many of these were reduced with *tratteggio* inpainting by Irma Passeri in a treatment of 2006–7, but the larger complete losses have necessarily been left open.[1] The two saints painted alongside the throne at the left are reasonably well preserved; those on the right have effectively been obliterated.

Fig. 1. *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Saints*, ca. 1968

Discussion

The *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Saints* was brought to the attention of scholars by Bernard Berenson in 1897, when he listed it in the first edition of his *Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance* as the work of Duccio.[2] Its inclusion in the great 1904 exhibition in Siena of Sienese art as "maniera di Duccio" brought it further notoriety,[3] and it has figured prominently in most general studies of early Sienese painting since. Except for Berenson—who made no distinction between the work of Duccio and that of his followers in the first or second editions of his lists and who identified no Ducciesque painters there as individual personalities—no scholar has ventured to associate the painting directly with Duccio, and opinions regarding its authorship have varied widely. The first scholar to investigate systematically the spread of Duccio's influence was Curt Weigelt, who rejected an attribution for the Yale painting to Duccio, calling it instead a possible early work by Segna di Bonaventura, the more esteemed of only two overtly Ducciesque painters then recognized by name—Ugolino di Nerio being the other.[4] F. Mason Perkins did not advance a specific attribution for the painting, although he felt certain that it must date from the first decade of the fourteenth century, and he did not hesitate to pronounce it "undoubtedly the most important Ducciesque painting at present in America" once it had entered the Dan Fellows Platt collection.[5] He did suggest that a fragmentary head of the Magdalen acquired in 1915 by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 2), with an attribution to Segna, might be a later work by the same hand[6]—possibly the only two surviving works by a gifted but otherwise unknown artist. Raimond van Marle recognized the evident community of style linking the Platt and Boston paintings but also how distinct they were from Segna's signed or securely attributed works.[7] Weigelt, returning to the argument in 1930, explicitly rejected any association between the Boston and Platt paintings.[8]

Fig. 2. Ugolino di Nerio, *Saint Mary Magdalen*, ca. 1320. Tempera and gold on panel, 36.5 × 24.8 cm (14 3/8 × 9 3/4 in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Mrs. Walter Scott Fitz, inv. no. 15.952

All discussion of the *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Saints* published after 1930 has been heavily inflected by the observations of George Harold Edgell, who was inclined to accept van Marle's estimation of the painting

but noted that its subject, the Madonna nursing the Christ Child, became common in Sienese painting only after Ambrogio Lorenzetti's prototype (fig. 3) and that, therefore, "the work is not so early as it seems. It is quite possible that the artist was a close follower of Segna, working in the old manner, but actually a contemporary of the younger Lorenzetti and accustomed to the popularization of the motive. Though the painting looks earlier, there is nothing to prevent its having been done as late as 1340 or even 1345."[9] From this point forward, the problem of the painting's attribution was no longer deemed consequential, as it was universally considered a work of 1330 or later, and the task of distinguishing among the followers of Segna di Bonaventura (the only Ducciesque painters known to have been active at so late a date) was scarcely worth the effort. Recording the picture as Segna or his circle,[10] Niccolò di Segna,[11] or the "Master of the Grosseto Madonna"[12] was tantamount to looking at little more than its subject. Even that limited focus of attention evaporated following the drastic cleaning of the painting at Yale in 1968 (see fig. 1), after which the *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Saints* effectively disappeared from the literature of Sienese trecento painting. Luciano Bellosi saw it in storage at the Yale University Art Gallery in 1987 and expressed his opinion that it was the work of Segna di Bonaventura, but this opinion did not appear in print until 2003. In his extended introduction to the exhibition catalogue *Duccio: Alle origini della pittura senese*, Bellosi suggested that Duccio's influence on his younger contemporaries in Siena was immediate and overwhelming, citing as evidence, among other works, the Yale *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, which he assigned to Segna as possibly his earliest surviving effort, painted still within the last decade of the thirteenth century.[13]

Fig. 3. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Madonna del Latte*, ca. 1325. Tempera and gold on panel, 96 × 49.1 cm (37 3/4 × 19 3/8 in.). Museo Diocesano, Siena

A meaningful discussion of the authorship of the *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Saints* depends, in the first instance, on estimating its likely date of execution. Doing so on the basis of iconographic evidence is scarcely reliable. Not only is it unclear that Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Madonna del Latte* (see fig. 3) is the earliest example of its type, as opposed to the earliest surviving example, but also the novelty of Ambrogio's painting lies not in its subject but in the manner of its presentation, portraying the Virgin half length and emphasizing the realistic torsions of a very lively Christ Child. Other fourteenth-century Sienese versions of the *Madonna del Latte* theme combine the naturalism of Ambrogio's vision with the motif of the Virgin of Humility, showing the Mother and Child seated informally on the ground. As James

Stubblebine observed (without drawing the logical consequences from his observation), the specific iconography of the Yale panel—the *Madonna Lactans* enthroned—is a thirteenth-century type that does not recur in the fourteenth century. On this basis alone, it should be conceded that a date for the Yale painting later than the thirteenth century or, at most, in the first decade of the fourteenth century is unlikely. Combined with the archaic motif of diminutive saints stacked against the gold ground to either side of the Virgin's throne and the frontal presentation and marble architecture of the throne itself, a date for the painting within ten years on either side of 1300 seems all but certain.

Reinforcing this impression is the fact that all, or nearly all, Virgins painted in Siena in the thirteenth century were provided with a red cap covering their hair, which was replaced sometime around the year 1300 with a preference for a white veil that quickly became normative for representations of the Mother of God. The Yale *Virgin*, to all appearances, is portrayed with neither the cap nor the veil, which would be all but unique among Sienese paintings of this period. There is, however, some evidence that in its original state the Virgin in the Yale painting was provided with a white veil. The unpainted band crossing the top of the Virgin's pink dress below her throat shows traces of underdrawing delineating folds of fabric that can best be interpreted as the ends of such a veil crossing below her outer robe at that point. The veil itself, therefore, was probably painted over the blue lining of her cowl and must have been destroyed by the abrasive cleaning of the paint surface. Once a white veil became the accepted standard for representations of the Virgin and Child, the area of the picture surface it was to occupy was left in reserve so that the white could be painted directly on top of the white gesso ground, and no expensive blue pigment would be wasted by being covered over. That the Yale *Virgin* does not follow this practice implies a date for it in a transitional moment, before the white veil became an established motif, presumably within the first decade of the fourteenth century. The Master of Città di Castello, for example, in his *Virgin and Child* formerly in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Siena[14] (now reunited with the lateral panels of the same altarpiece in the Pinacoteca Nazionale there[15]), persuasively dated around or shortly before 1307 by Alessandro Bagnoli, painted a diaphanous white veil on top of the blue of the Virgin's robe, as he did in two later *Virgins* in Copenhagen (see Master of Città di Castello, *Saint John the Baptist*, fig. 3) and Siena (see Master of the Gondi Maestà, *Virgin and Child*, fig. 5). The practice is otherwise uncommon.

While it is likely therefore to be true, as Bellosi contends, that the Yale *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Saints* is a highly precocious work of art, it is less certain that it can be ascribed to one of Duccio's earliest followers, least of all to Segna di Bonaventura. Attributing the Yale painting to Segna seemed more promising when its earlier restorations had given it an artificially linear appearance (fig. 4). Comparison of any of the forms in the painting as it appears today to those in any signed or securely attributed painting by Segna (see Master of the Gondi Maestà, *Virgin and Child*, fig. 3) reveals a conceptual gulf not bridgeable by its supposed identification as the artist's earliest effort. Segna, for example, employs a system of arranging drapery folds that can best be described as crystalline or prismatic, with sharp-angled twists and breaks recalling the traditional decorative patterns of his duecento predecessors. The draperies in the Yale painting, on the other hand, swell and undulate in gentle curves; the hems are foreshortened convincingly where they ripple and turn back on themselves, in the manner introduced by Duccio and otherwise mastered only by the most accomplished of Duccio's younger followers. The heads of Segna's figures are smaller in proportion to their bodies, longer and narrower in shape, and harder in drawing than the heads in the Yale painting, which more closely resemble, in all respects, the same features in early works by Ugolino di Nerio, particularly paintings such as the Boston *Magdalen* (see fig. 2), as had indeed been recognized as long ago as 1920. Segna projects hands, arms, and shoulders flat against the picture surface, working as much as possible parallel to the picture plane, whereas the spatial devices, effects of modeling, and narrative gestures incorporated in the Yale painting recall, even more than they do the *Magdalen* fragment in Boston, the sources of the latter painting within Duccio's own workshop output.

Fig. 4. *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Saints*, ca. 1950

Two paintings among those commonly acknowledged in modern scholarship as the work of Duccio relate more closely than any others to the Yale *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Saints*: the center panel of Polyptych 28 in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, and the *Virgin and Child with Angels* in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia (fig. 5). It might be reasonable to suppose either that the Yale painting was executed close in date to these two—a date that is not independently documentable but that is by general consensus fixed at ca. 1300–1305—or that it was painted shortly after this date, by an artist who had emerged from Duccio's studio at about that time. Both possibilities may be supported by the fact that the Yale painting also reflects the spatial and compositional conceits, though not the figure types or proportions, of such earlier paintings by Duccio as the triptych at Hampton Court, London,[16] while it betrays no awareness of the later innovations of that master. Above all, it bears no evidence of familiarity with the principal figures of the Siena Cathedral *Maestà* of 1308–11, a painting that left its mark on all artists in Siena for nearly two full centuries after its completion. Only the absence of chrysography enlivening the surface of the Virgin's blue robe may be said to relate the figures of the Yale painting to those in works from the second decade of the fourteenth century or later, but it is impossible to be categorically certain that the Yale painting never had mordant gilt decoration of this kind on its presently damaged surface. It cannot be overstated that the extent and severity of the abrasions suffered by this painting over the years render unlikely the possibility of arriving at a firm, incontestable attribution for it. To an unusual degree, the problem of an attribution in this case can be formulated as a function of dating. The earlier (that is, closer to 1300) one is inclined to date the painting, the more one is forced inevitably to consider it a product of Duccio's own workshop. As its dating is permitted to slip forward toward 1310, the possibility increases of seeing in it the work of Duccio's most gifted follower, Ugolino di Nerio, who seems to have emerged from his master's studio at precisely that moment.

Fig. 5. Duccio di Buoninsegna, *Virgin and Child with Angels*, ca. 1300–1305. Tempera and gold on panel, 95.5 × 63.8 cm (37 5/8 × 25 1/8 in.). Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia, inv. no. 29

Evidence of a substantial engaged frame secured to the border of the panel along all sides suggests that the Yale *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Saints* was intended from the first to function as a freestanding object, not as a part of a larger multipanel complex. Although it is considerably smaller in size, its composition varies little from those of a number of single-panel altarpieces painted by Sienese artists in the last two decades of the thirteenth century and the first decade of the fourteenth century, including the eponymous works by the Badia a Isola Master and the Master of Città di Castello; severely damaged works related to the latter of these two painters in the National Gallery, London, and the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.;[17] and, supposedly, Duccio's lost *Maestà* painted in 1302 for the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena. Presumably, the identities of the diminutive saints painted alongside the Yale Virgin's throne might once have aided in more narrowly circumscribing a function and possibly a provenance for the painting, but in their present condition, only one of these, at the lower left, is positively identifiable: Saint Mary Magdalen. Charles Seymour, Jr., proposed identifying the bishop saint above this figure as Saint Ambrose, interpreting the object held in his hand as a flagellum; this is possible.[18] Less certain are his tentative proposals to read the nearly obliterated figures on the right as Saints James Minor and Mary of Egypt. The presence of two female saints may imply an origin for the painting in a female monastic establishment. —LK

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Berenson 1897, 140; Heywood and Olcott 1903, 341–42; Ricci 1904, 308, no. 36; Berenson 1909a, 163; Weigelt 1911, 190n1; Perkins 1913b, 38–39; Perkins 1920a, 199, 201; van Marle 1924a, 142–43; Weigelt 1930, 73, 96; Berenson 1932a, 523; Edgell 1932, 64; Venturi 1945, 7, 11, pl. 111; Meiss 1951a, 146n58; "Recent Gifts and Purchases" 1960, 54; Seymour 1961, 7, 10–11, 55; Berenson 1968, 1:393; Seymour 1970, 87–89, no. 62; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 601; Gloria Kury Keach, in Seymour et al. 1972, 38–39, no. 29, figs. 29a–b; Stubblebine 1979, 1:97, 154, 172, 2: fig. 506; Mazzoni 2001, 101–4; Bellosi 2003a, 131; Kanter 2010b, 46–59, 63–65; Aronson, McClure, and Passeri 2017, 126–27

NOTES

1. For an account of this treatment, see Aronson, McClure, and Passeri 2017, 126–27.
2. Berenson 1897, 140.
3. Ricci 1904, 308, no. 36.
4. Weigelt 1911, 190n1.
5. Perkins 1913b, 38–39; and Perkins 1920a, 199.
6. Perkins 1920a, 199.
7. van Marle 1924a, 143.
8. Weigelt 1930, 73, 96.
9. Edgell 1932, 64.
10. Berenson 1968, 1:393; and Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 601.
11. Venturi 1945, 7, 11, pl. 111; and Seymour 1961, 10–11, 55.
12. Stubblebine 1979, 1:97, 154, 172, 2: fig. 506.
13. Bellosi 2003a, 131.
14. Inv. no. 24.
15. Inv. nos. 29–32.
16. Inv. no. RCIN 400095, https://www.rct.uk/collection/400095/triptych-crucifixion-and-other-scenes.
17. National Gallery, London, inv. no. NG565, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/master-of-the-albertini-master-of-the-casole-fresco-the-virgin-and-child-with-six-angels; and National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., inv. no. 1961.9.77, https://purl.org/nga/collection/artobject/46176.
18. Seymour 1970, 88.

Master of Monte Oliveto, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Six Angels*

Artist	Master of Monte Oliveto, Siena, active ca. 1315–ca. 1335
Title	*Virgin and Child Enthroned with Six Angels*
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	*The Crucifixion*
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 lower-right corner corresponds to a similar partial hole in the lower-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 chrysogony 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, *Scenes from the Life of the Virgin; The Coronation of the Virgin and Six Standing Saints*, 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, inv. no. 41.190.31bc

following its previous treatment in 1915. Seymour 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 Sienese 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 each side 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 Sienese 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 Enthroned with Six Angles*

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

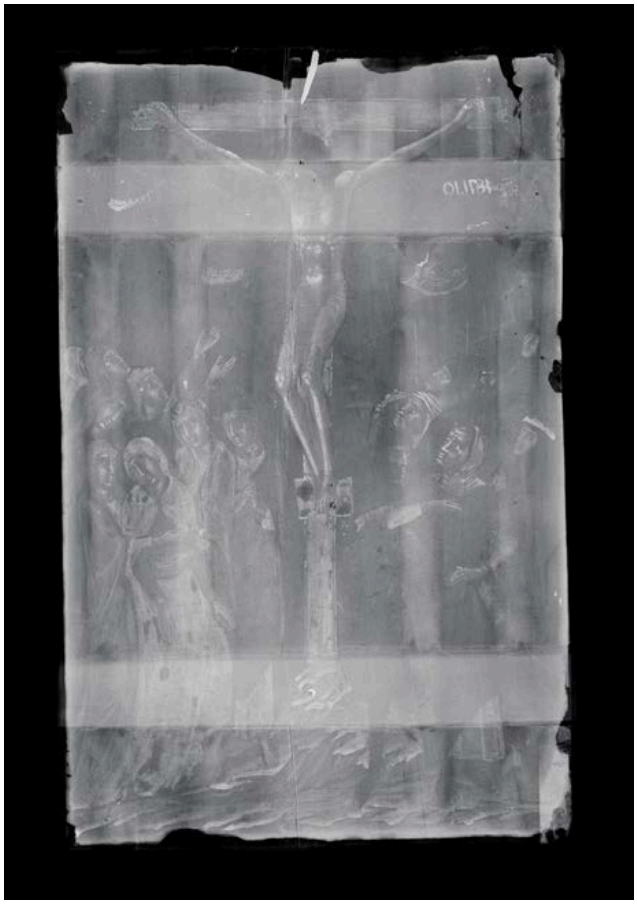

Fig. 3. X-radiograph of *The Crucifixion*

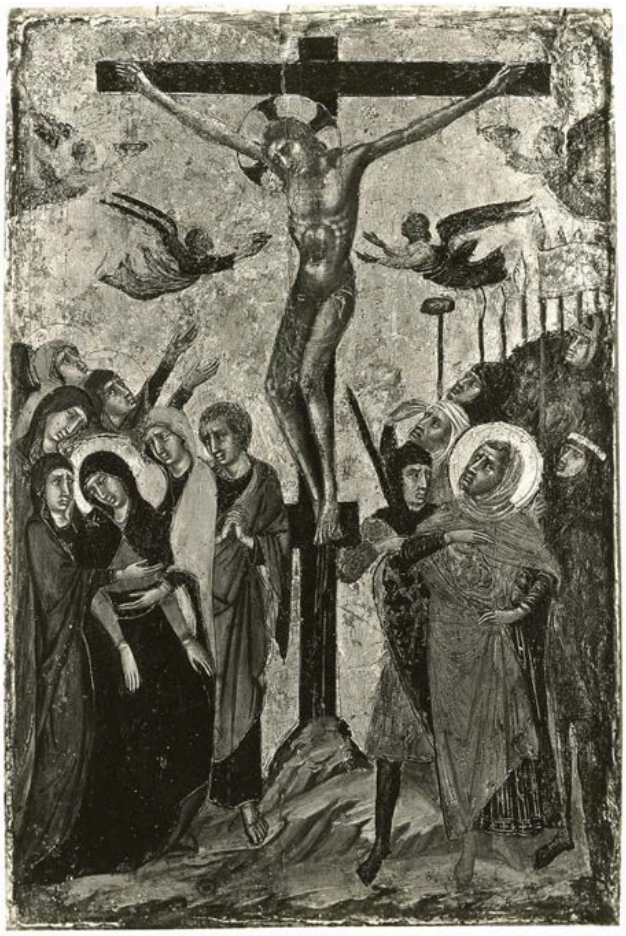

Fig. 4. *The Crucifixion*, before 1967

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Jarves 1860, 44, no. 21; Sturgis 1868, 27–28; Brown 1871, 13, no. 14; Rankin 1895, 139–40; Perkins 1905, 76; Rankin 1905, 8; De Nicola 1912b, 147; Sirén 1916a, 31–33, no. 10; Offner 1927a, 4, 38, fig. 27; Venturi 1931, 1: 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, 310, 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 1973a, 159–60; Zeri 1976c, 1:36; Stubblebine 1979, 1:94–95; Pope-Hennessy and Kanter 1987, 2, 4; Garland 2003b, 58, 61, figs. 3.3–.4; Kanter 2010b, 59–65

NOTES

1. Jarves 1860, 44, no. 21.
2. De Nicola 1912b, 147; and Brandi 1933, 176.
3. Seymour 1970, 71, 73, 310, nos. 49a–b; and Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 43, no. 34.
4. Brandi 1951, 141n23; and Stubblebine 1979, 1:94–95.

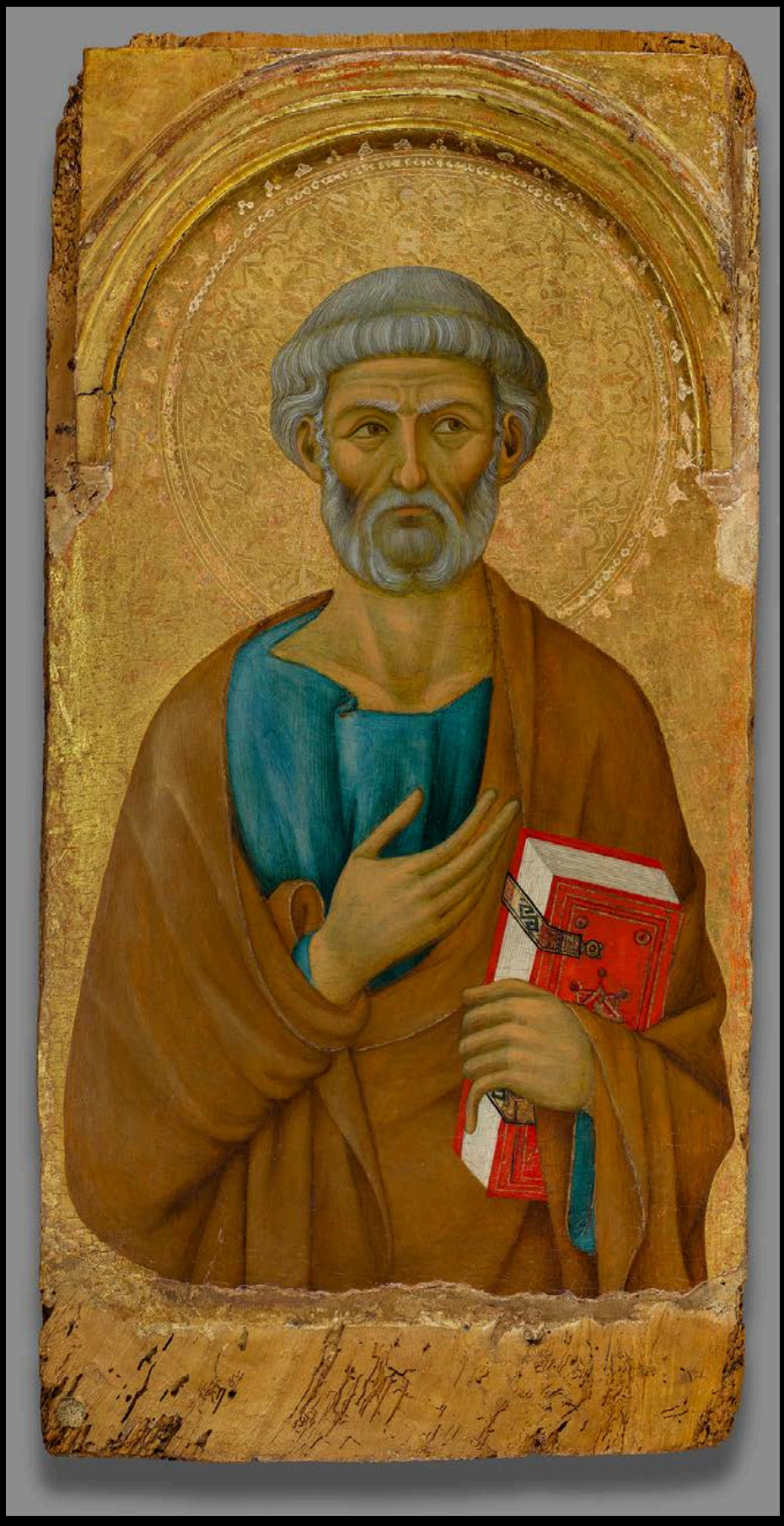
5. James Stubblebine (in Stubblebine 1979, 1:100) recognized the derivation of several scenes on the panels in figure 1 from prototypes on Duccio's cathedral *Maestà* of 1308–11 but did not acknowledge this as a *terminus post quem* for the Master of Monte Oliveto's early career. He furthermore assumed 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 supposititous 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 Museum 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. Brigitte Klesse (in Klesse 1967, 328) listed 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, New York, 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	*Saint Peter*
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	*Saint John the Baptist*
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 Lanckoroński 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 Lanckoroński *Saint Francis*, as did Federico Zeri, who added a related figure of Saint Anthony of Padua in the collection of the Museo Civico 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 Lanckoroński 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 Lanckoroński *Saint Francis* is largely, if not entirely, modern repaint.

A further note of dissension in this proposed reconstruction involves Fehm's assertion that a *Virgin and 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 Lanckoroński *Saint Francis* as both are unlike the *Saint John the Baptist*.

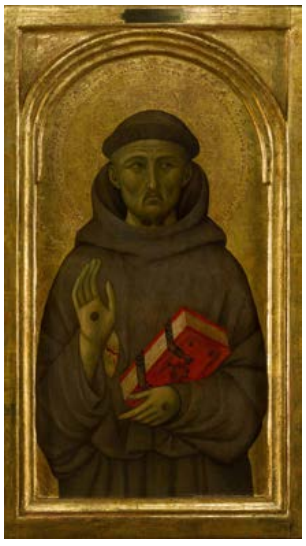


Fig. 1. Master of Città di Castello, *Saint Francis*, ca. 1310–15. Tempera and gold on panel, 68 × 37.3 cm (26 3/4 × 14 5/8 in.). Wawel Royal Castle, Kraków, Poland, Lanckoroński Collection, inv. no. 7901

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 Civico Amedeo Lia, La Spezia, inv. no. 150

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.). Statens Museum for 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 pentaptych—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.

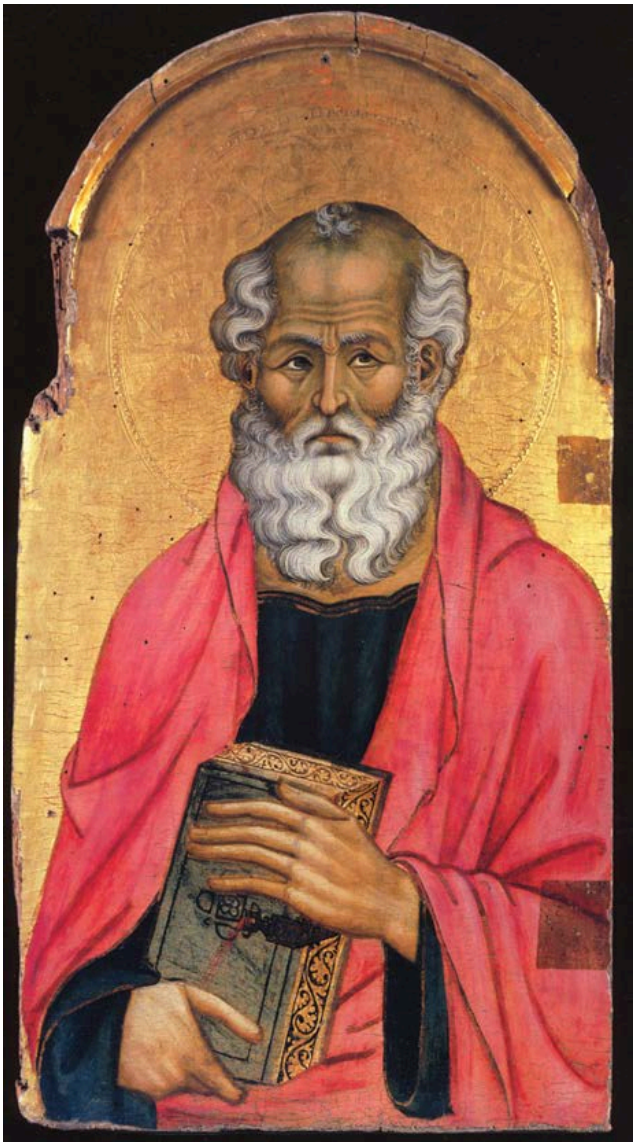


Fig. 4. Master of Città di Castello, *Saint John the Evangelist*, ca. 1310–15. Tempera and gold on panel, 59.2 × 31.5 cm (23 1/4 × 12 3/8 in.). Salini Collection, Castello di Gallico, Asciano

It has hitherto escaped notice that the "Griggs altarpiece" is more likely to have been a heptaptych than a pentaptych. 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, near Asciano (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, Lanckoroński, 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 lining 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 heptaptych 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, Staatliche Museen zu 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 original provenance of the heptaptych 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 there is no scholarly consensus on whether this hypothetical late career might have occurred in the first, second, third, or even fourth decade of the fourteenth century. 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, Guido di Nerio, and Muccio di Nerio.[16] 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

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van Marle 1926b, 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, nos. 59–60; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 44–45, no. 37, figs. 37a–c; Zeri 1976a, 1:8–10; Torriti 1977, 66; Stubblebine 1979, 1:88–89; Cannon 1994, 60–62, pl. 53; Zeri and De Marchi 1997, 193–94; Freuler 2001, 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 2022, 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 1926b, 4, fig. 5.
4. Offner 1926, 5–7.
5. See Alessandro Bagnoli, in Bagnoli et al. 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, 1:8–10.
8. Maria Skubiszewska, in Skubiszewska and Kuczman 2010, 144–46.
9. De Marchi 2022, 63.
10. Zeri 1976a, 1:9–10.
11. Cannon 1994, 60–62, pl. 53.
12. Bagnoli, in Bagnoli et al. 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).
16. De Marchi 2022, 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	*Virgin and Child*
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 F. 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 Robert 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 Sienese 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] Curt 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 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 Gabrielle 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*, ca. 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 1311 of the *Maestà* in Siena Cathedral, being instead dependent on works such as the Perugia *Madonna* (ca. 1300–1305) (see Attributed to Ugolino di Nerio, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Saints*, fig. 5) 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

Fig 4. X-radiograph of the *Virgin and Child*

of the picture field, toward the right—is also found only in a small number of other Sienese 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.[13] 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 Miklós 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."[14] 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).[15] 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. 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*, ca. 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, inv. no. 1975.1.24

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Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1903–14, 3:28n1; 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. Robert Langton Douglas, in Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1903–14, 3:28n1; 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 Miklós Boskovits (in 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. Inv. no. 583.
14. Cateni 1986, 63–66. For the Goodhart Ducciesque Master, see Pope-Hennessy and Kanter 1987, 6–7 (with previous bibliography).
15. Alessandro Bagnoli, 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, 497) 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 by 1317–ca. 1350
Title	*Saint John the Evangelist*
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 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 these areas, 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. 1960

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 Martini[2] 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 (figs. 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-Achenbach 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; *Saint Elizabeth of Hungary* (fig. 8), in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan; and *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 in 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 in 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. 9. Lippo Memmi, *Saint Agnes* and *Saint Anthony of Padua*, ca. 1330. Tempera and gold on panel, each 41.3 × 19.1 cm (16 1/4 × 7 1/2 in.). Frick Art and Historical Center, Pittsburgh, inv. no. 1970.83

Fig. 7. Lippo Memmi, *Saint Clare*, ca. 1330. Tempera and gold on panel, 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. 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, 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

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 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

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, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 1067

attribution universally accepted in the various monographs dedicated to that artist since its discovery. Although the panel is 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 d'Arbia *Virgin*, however, do not align with those on the reverse of the Griggs *Saint John the Evangelist*, making this reconstruction problematic.[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.). San Giovanni Battista, Lucignano d'Arbia (on loan to the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena)

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 Cathedral[23] 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, seguitò 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),[31] 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, 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 to either 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, Staatliche Museen zu 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.

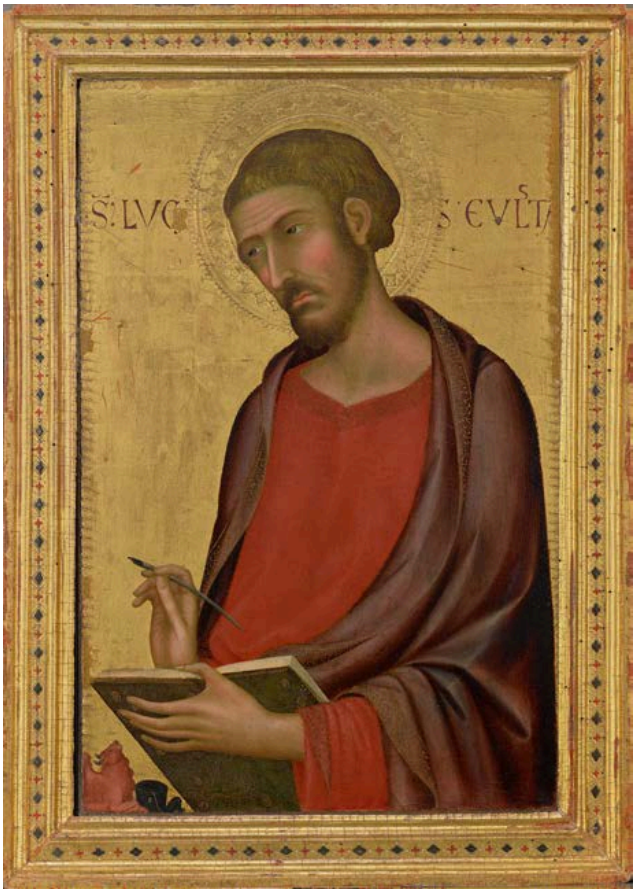

Fig. 16. Simone Martini, *Saint Luke*, 1326. Tempera and gold on panel, 67.5 × 48.3 cm (26 5/8 × 19 in.). J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, inv. no. 82.PB.72

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 1901–40, 8:424; Sirén and Brockwell 1917, 126, no. 47; van Marle 1920b, 24; van Marle 1924a, 173, 184–86; van Marle 1929b, 308, 310n1; Venturi 1931, 1: pl. 56; Berenson 1932a, 534; Venturi 1933, 2: pl. 70; Berenson 1936, 459; Comstock 1939, 275–77; McCall and Valentiner 1939, no. 237; *Arts of the Middle Ages* 1940, no. 52; "Griggs Collection" 1944, 3; Venturi 1945, pl. 16; Comstock 1946, 50; "Drawings and Paintings" 1946, 2; "Picture Book Number One" 1946, fig. 17; Zeri 1952, 321; Steinweg 1956, 167; Volpe 1960, 157n10; Coor-Achenbach 1961a, 127–33; Shapley 1966, 49; Berenson 1968, 1:269; Bologna 1969, 335n7; Seymour 1970, 90–93, no. 64; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Fahy 1974, 283–84; De Benedictis 1974, 8; Mallory 1974, 187–88; Mallory 1975, 18–20; Caleca 1976, 53; De Benedictis 1976, 7–8; Caleca 1977, 70; Maginnis 1977, 289; Torriti 1977, 54–56; Meiss 1977, 139; Michel Laclotte, in Ressort 1978, 19; De Benedictis 1979, 93; Shapley 1979, 1:331; Zeri and Gardner 1980, 50–52; Christiansen 1982a, 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, 166nn22, 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 1901–40, 8:424.
2. Venturi 1931, 1: pl. 56; Berenson 1932a, 534; Venturi 1933, 2: pl. 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, no. 64.
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 1961a, 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 recorded 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 d'Arabia *Virgin* and the *Saint Francis* and *Saint Louis of Toulouse* in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena.
23. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. nos. 1890 nn. 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 Saint Massima (formerly thought to be Saint 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 2006b, 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. See Kanter and Marciari 2010, 42–48, no. 13.

32. Caleca 1976, 52; Caleca 1977, 60; 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	*Saint John the Evangelist*
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 York[1]

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 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

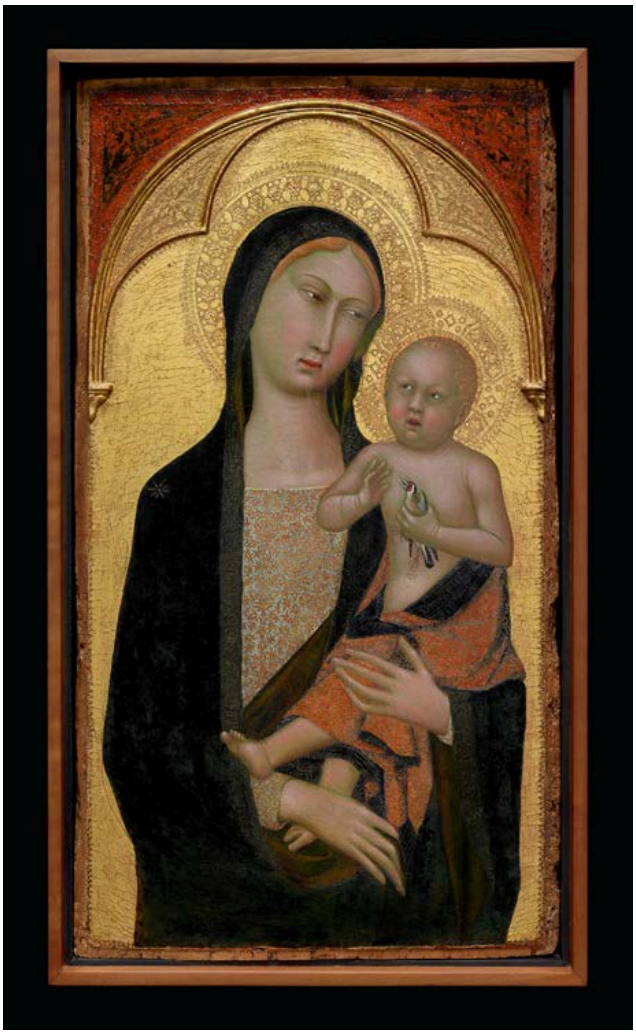


Fig. 1. Lippo Memmi, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1350. Tempera and gold on panel, 81.6 × 45.1 cm (32 1/8 × 17 3/4 in.). Houston Museum of Fine Arts, The Edith A. and Percy S. Straus Collection, inv. no. 44.564

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, Staatliche Museen zu 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 instead reveals 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; 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 1996a, 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 1996a, 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 Bruschettini, 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. For more on the Cascina Alta polyptych, see Lippo Memmi, *Saint John the Evangelist*, note 30.
10. Kanter 1994, 95–97.

Pietro Lorenzetti, *Saints Andrew and James Major, and a Prophet*

Artist	Pietro Lorenzetti, Siena, documented 1305–45
Title	*Saints Andrew and James Major, and a Prophet*
Date	1327–29
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	*Saint Andrew*: 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.); *Saint James Major*: 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.); *Prophet*: 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 Major, both 3 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 Major*, 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. 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,

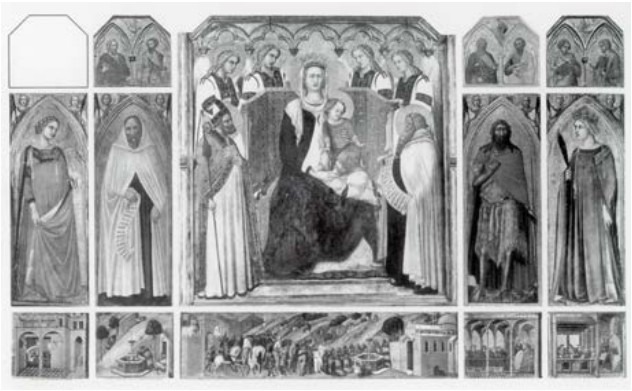


Fig. 1. Reconstruction of the *Carmine Altarpiece*. From: Chiara Frugoni, ed., *Pietro e Ambrogio Lorenzetti* (Florence: Le Lettere, 2002), 64

unrepaired, interrupts 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] Joseph Crowe and Giovannni 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. MCCCXXVIIII'" (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*, before 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 it 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 Sienese 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 Cesare 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 *Saints* 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 far 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 Sienese 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 far 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 1957b, 38; "Recent Gifts and Purchases" 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 1974b, 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 Castelnuovo 1986, 2:591; Cannon 1987, 19; Frugoni 1988, 8; Volpe 1989, 135, 148–49, no. 116; Kenney 1992, 133; De Benedictis 1994; 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 Major* remains unidentified.
2. Della Valle 1785, 209–10, later transcribed by Milanesi 1854–56, 1:193–94, no. 39; and Bacci 1939b, 83–86, 88–89, docs. 7, 9.
3. Romagnoli 1835, 2: fols. 359–60.
4. Inv. nos. 83–84. See Milanesi 1852, 14–15.
5. Milanesi 1854–56, 1:194.
6. Ettore Romagnoli (in Romagnoli 1835, 2: 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 later confusion and speculation about two different works in the same church. It is likely, as noted by Pèleo Bacci (in Bacci 1939b, 42), that the writer was working from distant memory or on the basis of flawed hearsay.
7. Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1864–66, 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. See DeWald 1920, 73–76; and DeWald 1930, 9–11, 18–19. Regarding the inscribed date of the altarpiece, sometimes reported as 1328, DeWald (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 1939b, 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 1939b, 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 1974b, 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 1974b, 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 1939b, 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 1974b) 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	*The Charity of Saint Martin*
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 James Jackson 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 Sienese painting during the second half of the fourteenth century.[10]

Fig. 1. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *The Charity of Saint Nicholas*, ca. 1342–44. Tempera and 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 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 (fig. 5) clearly excised from the tympanum or spandrel of a gilded frame, 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. 6).

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, Cambridge, Mass., Gift of Edward W. Forbes, inv. no. 1953.203

Fig. 4. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Saint Elizabeth of Hungary*, ca. 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

Fig. 6. Reconstruction of the *Piccola Maestà* altarpiece

Discoursing on the seminal role played by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the promulgation of naturalistic motifs in Italian, specifically Sienese, 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 1897, 252; Perkins 1905, 74, 76; Rankin 1905, 146; Sirén 1916a, 35–36, no. 11; van Marle 1920b, 81–82; Offner 1927a, 4–5, 38, fig. 28; 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 Thiébaut 1981, 195; Kenney 1992, 133; Gilbert 1997–98, 31–41; Muller 1999, 216–18, 223; 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; and Berenson 1897, 252.
6. Berenson 1932a, 534; and Berenson 1936, 459.
7. Sirén 1916a, 35–36, no. 11.
8. van Marle 1920b, 81–82; and 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, 216–18, 223.
13. Inv. nos. 1890 nn. 8348–49, 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. Gilbert 1997–98, 40n12. The inventory reads: "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); quoted in Torriti 1990, 78n1.
19. Muller 1999, 217.
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	*Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels*
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 wood grain, retains its original thickness of 1.9 centimeters. It comprises 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 also destroyed gilding 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 DeWald[5] inserted the Yale *Virgin and Child*, then with the New York branch of Durlacher, in his reconstruction of the so-called Ovile Master—named after a *Virgin and Child* in the church of San Pietro Ovile, 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 Ovile 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 Ovile 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 Ovile Master was reiterated in Lionello 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 alternatingly assigned to "Ugolino Lorenzetti" and the Ovile 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 Charles Seymour, Jr., catalogued it under "Master of the Ovile 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"/Ovile 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 by shared framing elements and structural details as much as by stylistic comparisons. 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 at the Castello di Gallico, 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 *Virgin and Child Enthroned* 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 John G. Johnson Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art[24]—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

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

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, 1: pl. 71; Berenson 1932a, 295; Venturi 1933, 2: pl. 88; Berenson 1936, 253; Shorr 1954, 159, pl. 24 Siena 4; Shapley 1966, 54–55n3; Berenson 1968, 1:435; Seymour 1970, 86–87, 311, no. 61; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 133, 600; Charles Seymour, Jr., in 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, 111; 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 Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 8. Seymour 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, inv. no. 19937, 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, University of Oxford, "Salisbury and 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.

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://hvrd.art/o/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, 1: pl. 71.

8. Meiss 1931, 376–97; and Meiss 1936a, 113–36.

9. Berenson 1932a, 295; Berenson 1968, 1:435; and Seymour 1970, 86–87, no. 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.

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. Burresi 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; and sale, Sotheby's, New York, February 6, 2025, lot 306. 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. Linda Pisani (in Pisani 2020, 129–30) noted 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. cat. 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, *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	*Saint Francis, the Mourning Virgin, Christ on the Cross, the Mourning Saint John the Evangelist, and Saint Dominic*
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), 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 figurated 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 figurated 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 early twentieth-century gilding.

Fig. 1. Detail of *Saint Francis, the Mourning Virgin, Christ on the Cross, the Mourning Saint John the Evangelist, and Saint Dominic*, 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 Nazionale 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” work[3] 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 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, *The 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] 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 Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza 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 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 a 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 figurated 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 figurated 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 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 1928c, 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, 311, no. 54; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 113, 289, 390, 395, 600; Fehm 1973a, 15, 31n31; Muller 1973, 16, 18, 21n33, fig. 8; Vertova 1973a, 159–60; 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, pls. 40–41, figs. 14.1–.4

NOTES

1. Perkins 1924b, 15n.
2. Richard Offner, February 1924, expertise, recorded in the curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
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. Zeri, letter to Norris.
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. Gabriele Fattorini (in Fattorini 2021, 37–56) argued that this polyptych was instead painted for the Vallombrosan abbey of San Michele in Passignano, not in Siena.
15. Inv. no. 1978.46, https://www.museothyssen.org/en/collection/artists/tomme-luca-di/adoration-magi.
16. Inv. no. 61.44.3, https://www.famsf.org/artworks/the-crucifixion-56706.
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 Harvard Art Museums, 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 (in 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. Zeri, letter to Norris.

Luca di Tommè, *The Assumption of the Virgin*

Artist	Luca di Tommè, Siena, documented 1356–89
Title	*The Assumption of the Virgin*
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 × 60.0 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 wood 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—are 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 Sienese 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.[9] 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.[10]

Fig. 1. Luca di Tommè and Niccolò di Ser Sozzo, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints John the Baptist, Thomas, Benedict, and Stephen (Umiliati Altarpiece)*, 1362. Tempera and gold on panel, 191 × 297 cm (6 ft. 3 1/4 in. × 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)[11]—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.[12] 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.[13] 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, 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, fig. 6 (engraving); Sturgis 1868, 40–44; Brown 1871, 16, no. 35; Rankin 1895, 142–43; Perkins 1905, 76; Rankin 1905, 9; Berenson 1909b, 141; Perkins 1909a, 41–42; Mather 1914, 967; Sirén 1916a, 37–38, no. 12; van Marle 1920b, 144–45; Perkins 1920b, 288; DeWald 1923, 54n24; Mather 1923, 86, fig. 54; van Marle 1924a, 481, fig. 313; Offner 1927a, 4–5, 38–39, figs. 29–29a; Cecchi 1928, 148, pl. 223; Comstock 1928c, 58–59; Perkins 1929, 23:427; "Handbook" 1931, 28; van Marle 1931a, 170; Venturi 1931, 1: 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 1951a, 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; Bucci 1965, 59n2; Klesse 1967, 259, 407, nos. 151k, 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, 78–80, 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; van Os 1984, 46–47, fig. 18; Fehm 1986, 1, 26–30, 85–88, no. 15, pls. 15.1–.5; 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, fig. 6 (engraving); 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, https://collections.mfa.org/objects/30919, and https://collections.mfa.org/objects/30921.
4. MS Capitoli 2; see Perkins 1905, 76.
5. Berenson 1909b, 141.
6. Perkins 1909a, 41–42.
7. Sirén 1916a, 37–38, no. 12.
8. van Marle 1934, 512; Toesca 1951, 594–97, fig. 525; Bucci 1965, 59n2; and Rotili 1968–69, 2:17.
9. Zeri 1958b, 3–16.
10. van Os 1984, 46–47, fig. 18; and Palladino 1997, 34–35, fig. 25.
11. Brandi 1932, 223–36.
12. Meiss 1951a, 21–24, fig. 21.
13. Palladino 1997, 34–35, fig. 25.

Luca di Tommè, *Virgin and Child with a Goldfinch*

Artist	Luca di Tommè, Siena, documented 1356–89
Title	*Virgin and Child with a Goldfinch*
Date	ca. 1365–70
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	65.6 × 47.3 cm (25 7/8 × 18 5/8 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"; 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, 2013

Condition

Fig. 1. Reverse of the *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-centimeter-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.

Fig. 2. *Virgin and Child with a Goldfinch*, during cleaning in 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 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.

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 current 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 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 in the small triangular patch above the Virgin's left shoulder, below the two overlapping haloes—and what appears to be sgraffito granulation simulating a textile pattern atop gilding and bolus—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, University of Oxford (figs. 3–4).[1] The rounded and heavily shaded features of the two apostles are a 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] and 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 Mojmír 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 (see Luca di Tommè, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, fig. 1), 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 Lanckoroński 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 Lanckoroński panels suggest a 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. Piero Torriti (in Torriti 1977, 435) listed these paintings as "lost" ("non rintracciato"). Corentin Dury has kindly informed the present author that they are now displayed at the Museo d'Arte Sacra della Val d'Arbia in Buonconvento.

Master of Panzano, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Victor and Ansanus*

Artist	Master of Panzano, Siena, active last quarter 14th century
Title	*Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Victor and Ansanus*
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 1924[1]

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 disengaged along the top due to the warp of the panel support.

Fig. 1. *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Victor and Ansanus*, before 1958

The paint surface is unevenly preserved. It is in exceptionally good condition in most of the hands, in the 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; The 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 Seggiano;[5] 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 work;[7] 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 Major and Anthony Abbot; Saints 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 Sienese 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 Major, 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 Hearst Castle at San Simeon, California, 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. If the panel were contained within a larger structure, these engaged moldings would have served as transitional profiles to the larger frame outside them. Also, the selection of Saints Victor and Ansanus 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 intervals[15]) 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 1928c, 60, 62; Perkins 1929, 23:427; *Exhibition of Italian Primitive Paintings* 1930, no. 20; Venturi 1931, 1: pl. 71; Brandi 1932, 234n1; Berenson 1936, 269; Klesse 1967, 406, no. 393; Berenson 1968, 1:225; Seymour 1970, 81–82, 310, no. 55; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 50–51, no. 43, figs. 43a–c; Muller 1973, 16–18, 21n31, fig. 6; Vertova 1973a, 159–60; De Benedictis 1979, 88; Fehm 1986, 154, no. 55; Frinta 1998, 231, 374

NOTES

1. F. Mason Perkins (in Perkins 1924b, 15n) described the painting, already in the Maitland 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 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 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 Logan Berenson to 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. Now in storage at the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena. Formerly Archbishop Downey collection, Liverpool, England; Fehm 1986, 139, no. 45.

7. Fehm 1986, 141, no. 46.

8. Fehm 1986, 147, no. 49.

9. Berenson 1930–31b, 352.

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	*Virgin Annunciate*
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 V / IRGO CON / CIPIET / ET PARIET / FILIUM / ET VO[CABITUR NOMEN EIUS EMMANUEL]

Provenance

Charles Butler (1821–1910), Warren Wood, Hatfield, Hertfordshire, 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 and its inscription held in the Virgin's left hand 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. In 1932 Bernard Berenson listed the painting as by Paolo di Giovanni Fei and as in the Dan Fellows 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, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist (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 Yale panel 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 Grifi 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 LWL-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 1382[11] 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, 310, 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 1979a, 382, figs. 28–29; Christiansen 1982a, 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 1982a, 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, 150) 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 e Diocesano d'Arte Sacra, Montalcino, inv. nos. 25, 31, 41.
12. Museo Civico e Diocesano d'Arte Sacra, Montalcino, inv. nos. 37, 40; Museo Diocesano d'Arte Sacra, Montalcino.

ECCE AGNUS DEI QUI

Taddeo di Bartolo, *Saint John the Baptist*

Artist	Taddeo di Bartolo, Siena, ca. 1362–1422
Title	*Saint John the Baptist*
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 of 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.

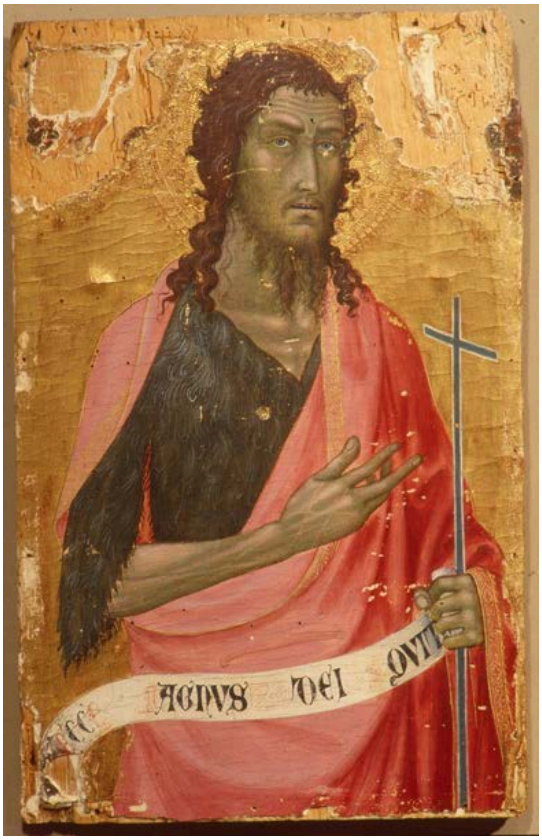


Fig. 1. *Saint John the Baptist*, after 1967

NOTES

1. Only the *Saint John 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*

Artist	Taddeo di Bartolo, Siena, ca. 1362–1422
Title	*Saint Jerome*
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 6 centimeters from the left edge and the other 8 centimeters from the right 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-centimeter-wide strip of regilding covers both lateral edges of the panel. The paint and gilded surfaces, which were not subjected to cleaning by 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 Getty Museum 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 left of a central image of the Virgin and Child, and Saint Jerome on the right. 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 Collegarli, 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 Collegarli 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 Berenson[6]—she concluded that the Yale panels, like the Collegarli altarpiece, bore no allegiance to a specific Sienese 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 e Diocesano d'Arte Sacra, 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, France (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-Campiglia[9] and Casassi (fig. 4) families in Pisa—showed no traces of the art of Barnaba da Modena and were still inherently tied to Sienese tradition.

Fig. 1. Taddeo di Bartolo, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Sebastian, Paul, John the Baptist, and Nicholas of Bari (Collegarli 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 Enthroned with Saints Gherardo of Villamagna, 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 Sienese painters' guild—the Collegarli 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 Collegarli 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 Collegarli 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 Sienese 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 (fig. 5), in particular, offers a concrete precedent for the sensitive handling of the Yale image.[13] The obvious debt to such works—more than to any other Sienese prototype—suggests a plausible chronology for the Yale *Saints* and the closely related Avignon altarpiece in the years immediately preceding the execution of the Collegarli altarpiece rather than after it, at a time when Taddeo was possibly already active in his native city and engaged in commissions in Sienese territory, before leaving for Pisa.

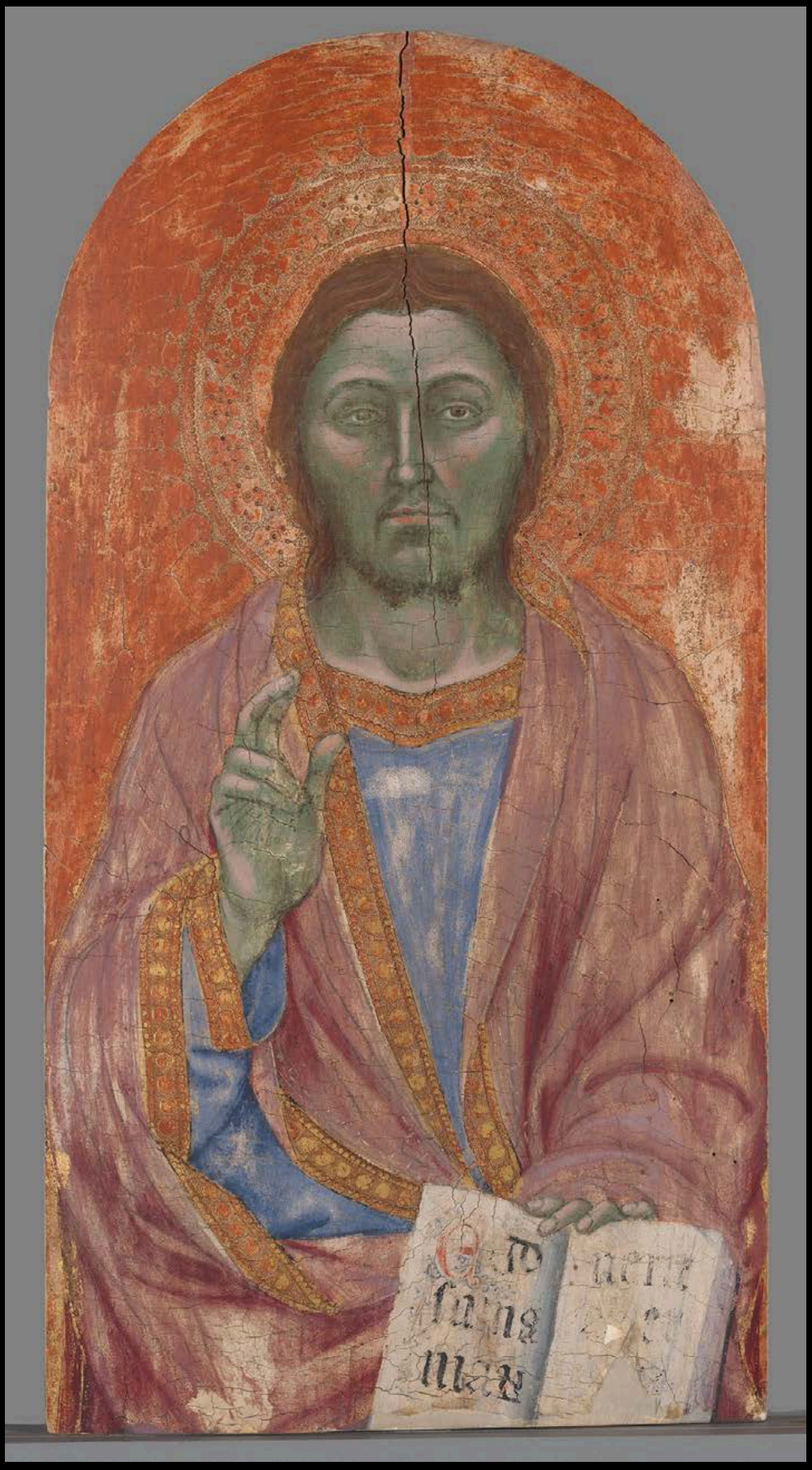
No other works by Taddeo that might reasonably be associated with the Yale *Saints* have hitherto been identified. The original framing structure of the panels, which were clearly cut at the top and bottom, is uncertain. Although Solberg argued that they were most probably included in a polyptych with 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

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Berenson 1932a, 552; Berenson 1936, 474; Perkins 1938, 32:396; 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; Algeri 1992, 42, fig. 30; Solberg 1992b, 13–18, figs. 2–3; Freuler 1994, 414n18; Frinta 1998, 300, no. Gh19; Szafran and Khandekar 2003, 108–19, 152–53, 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 Giorgio 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, lot 1264, 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 Collegarli altarpiece a predella fragment with saints in Philadelphia (Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, inv. no. cat. 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 F. Mason Perkins, in Perkins 1938, 32:396.
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	*The Blessing Redeemer*
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]

Provenance

Edward Hutton (1875–1969), England; 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 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.

Discussion

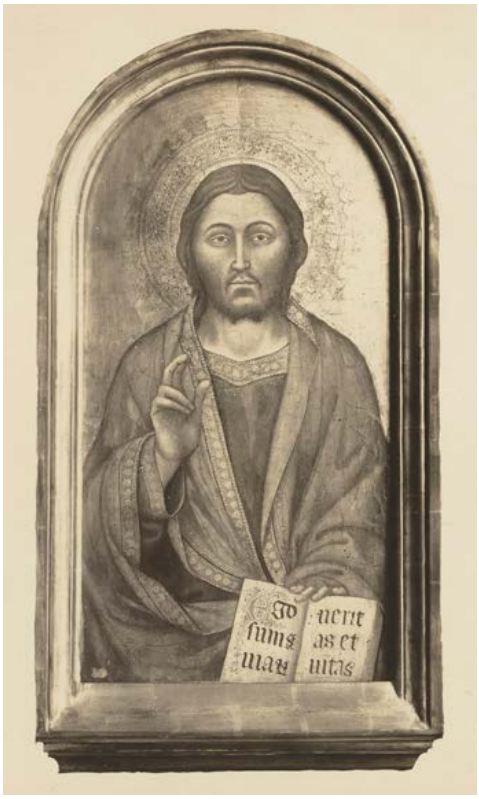


Fig. 1. *The Blessing Redeemer*, before 1967

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 Mary Magdalen, John the Baptist, and Clare of Assisi 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 Peter, Anthony of Padua, and Herculanus 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]

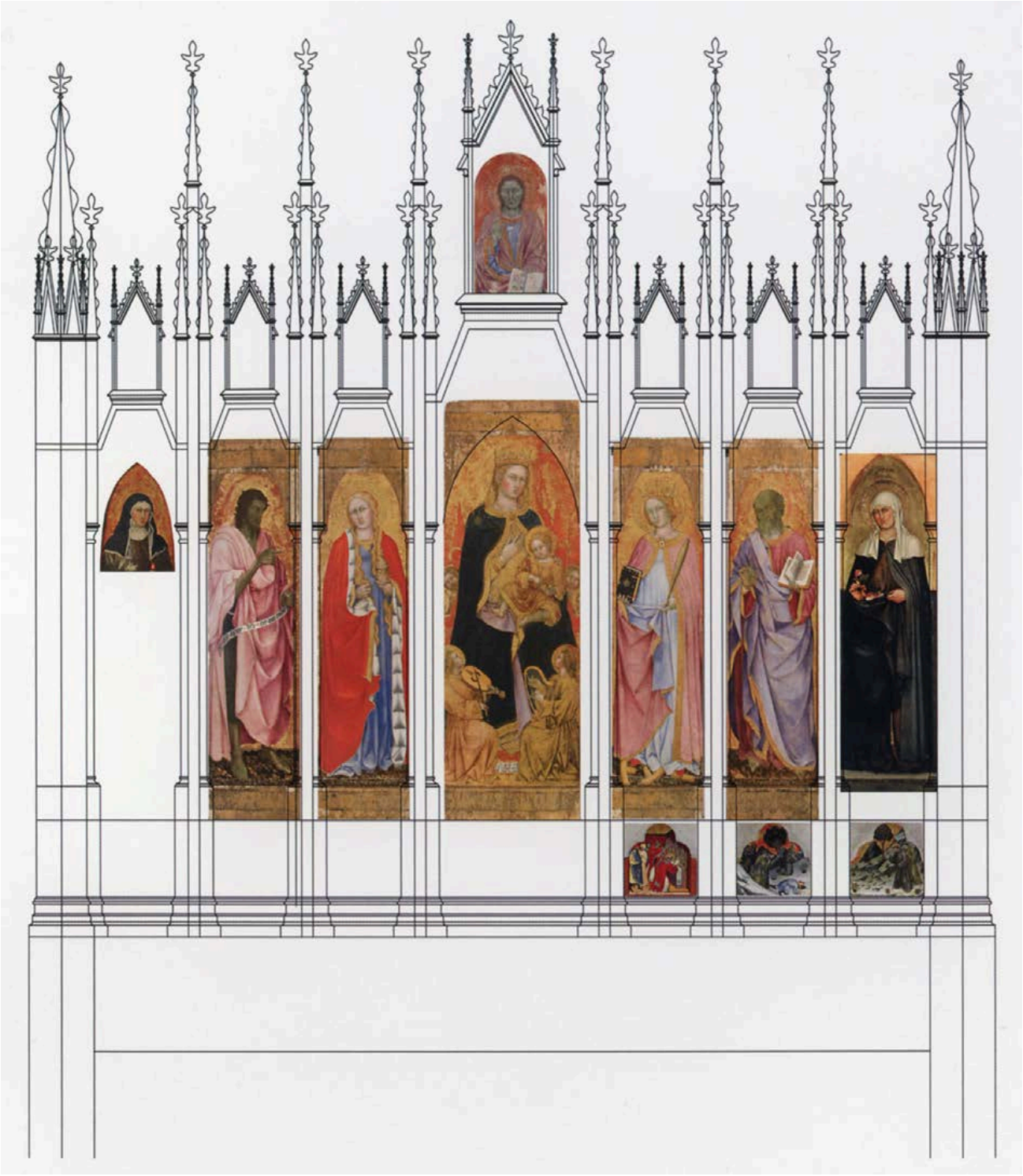


Fig. 2. Reconstruction of the Perugia polyptych (front). From: Gail E. Solberg, *Taddeo di Barolo*, exh. cat. (Milan: Silvana, 2020), fig. 286

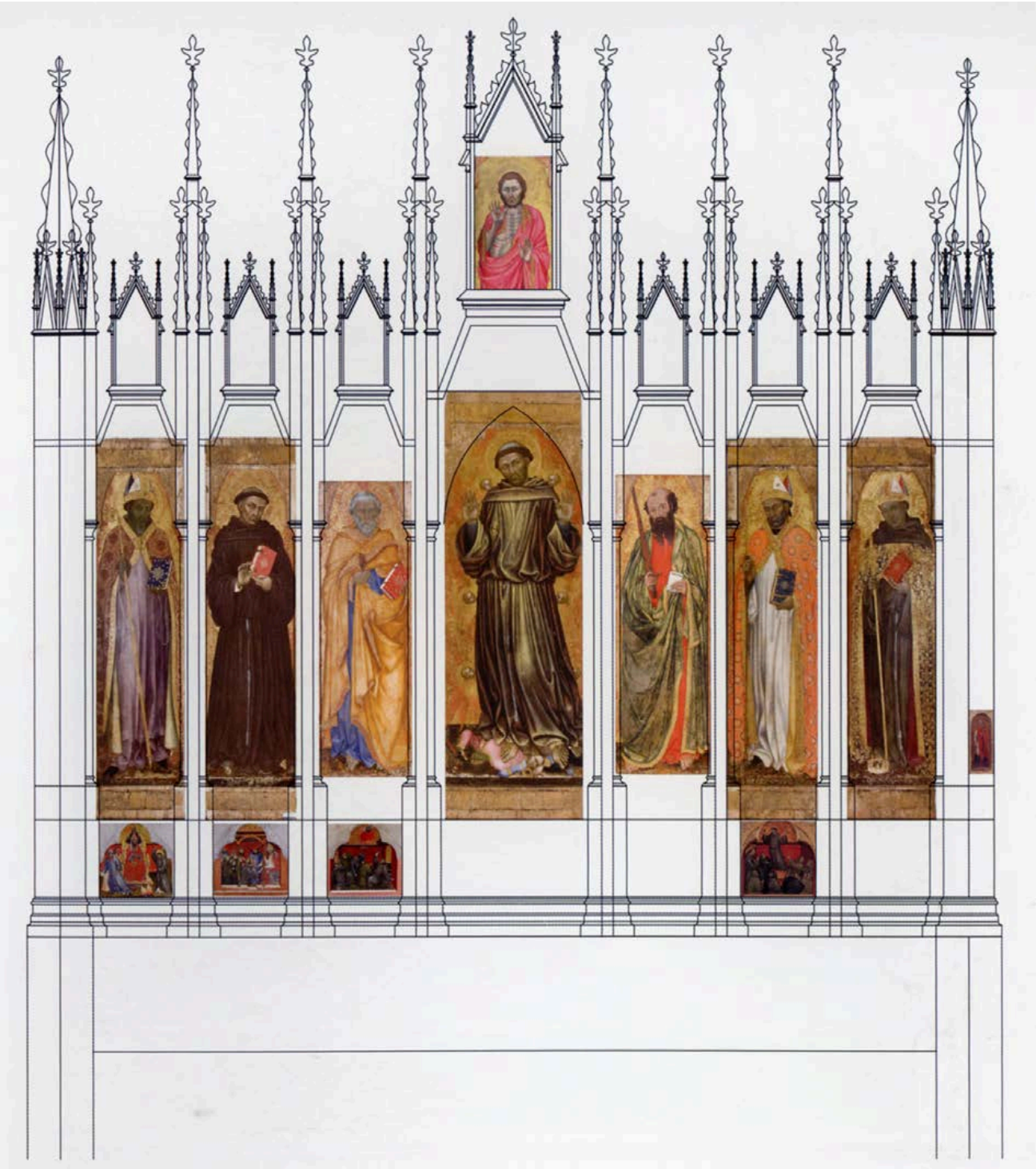


Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the Perugia polyptych (back). From: Gail E. Solberg, *Taddeo di Barolo*, exh. cat. (Milan: Silvana, 2020), fig. 287

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:

- Perkins Collection, Museo del Tesoro della Basilica di San Francesco, Assisi, *Saint Elizabeth of Hungary*;
- Museo Diocesano, Gubbio, *Saint Clare of Assisi*;[10]
- Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia, *Virgin and Child*; *Saint John the Baptist*; *Saint Mary Magdalen*; *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*; *Saint John the Evangelist*;[11]
- Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia, *Saint Francis Trampling the Vices*; *Saint Herculanus*; *Saint Anthony of Padua*; *Saint Louis of Toulouse*; *Saint Constantius*;[12]
- Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia, *Saint Paul*;[13]
- Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia, *Saint Peter*;[14]
- Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia, *The Redeemer Displaying His Wounds*;[15]
- Landesmuseum, Hannover, Germany, 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*;[16]
- Collection of Dr. J. H. van Heek, Huis Bergh Castle, 's-Heerenberg, the Netherlands, *Saint Francis Appearing at Arles*;[17]
- Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, *Saint Sebastian*.[18]

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).[19] 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.[20] 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.

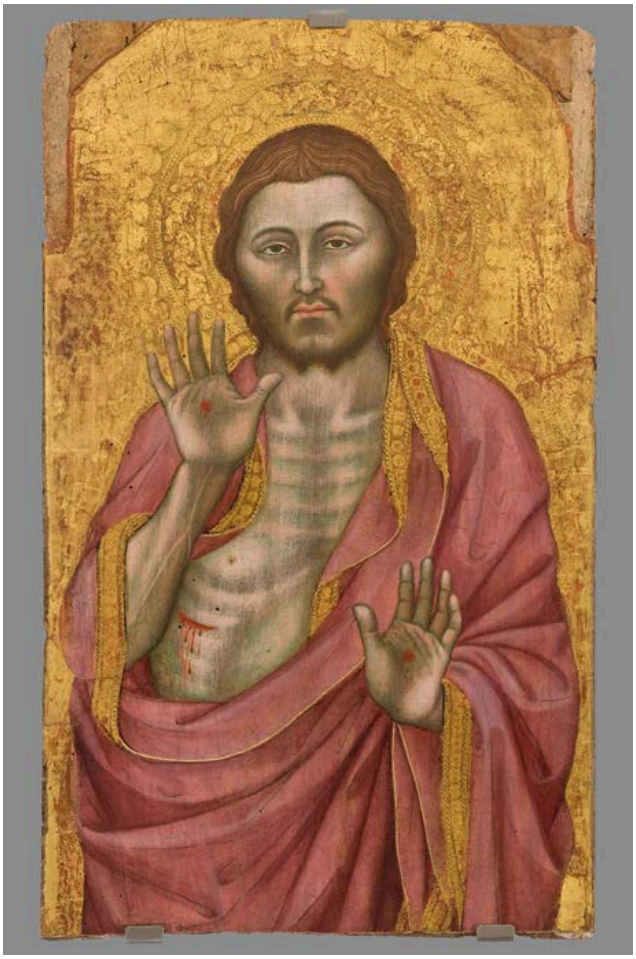


Fig. 4. Taddeo di Bartolo, *The Redeemer Displaying His Wounds*, 1403. Tempera and gold on panel, 64 × 37 cm (25 1/4 × 14 5/8 in.). Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia, inv. no. 135/1072

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 polytpych 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 in 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.[21] —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

van Marle 1931a, 172, pl. 10; Berenson 1932a, 552; Berenson 1936, 474; Perkins 1938, 32:396; Symeonides 1965, 235, pl. 80a; Berenson 1968, 1:420; Seymour 1970, 96, 312, 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, Caglioti, Carrara, 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 in 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. Inv. no. DP007S3N005.
11. Inv. no. 66.
12. Inv. no. 62.
13. Inv. no. 63.
14. Inv. no. 64.
15. Inv. no. 135/1072.
16. Inv. no. KM 307a–f.
17. Inv. no. 3354.
18. Inv. no. 36.
19. A full account of the technical examination of the two panels can be found in Solberg 1992b, 22–23.
20. van Os 1974, 120–21.
21. 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, *The Lamentation over the Dead Christ*

Artist	Martino di Bartolomeo, Siena, active 1389–1434
Title	*The Lamentation over the Dead Christ*
Date	ca. 1400
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	117.0 × 78.3 cm (46 1/8 × 30 7/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.70

Provenance

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

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, has been thinned to between 5 and 9 millimeters in depth and cradled. It comprises four planks approximately 22.5, 21, 26, and 9.5 centimeters wide, from left to right, and it has been cropped across the top, where a 9-centimeter-tall addition of old wood completes the profile of the ogival arch. A triangular insert, 37 centimeters tall and 4.7 centimeters wide, compensates a loss of wood at the bottom-left corner. The two seams separating the first, second, and third planks are slightly open, provoking minor losses to the surface. The painting was aggressively cleaned by Andrew Petryn at an unknown date after 1970, which involved scraping away nearly the entirety of the Virgin's blue mantle, heavily abrading the Magdalen's red dress, and gouging out smaller local losses through the shadows in the gray robe of the Holy Woman standing at the left. The gold is heavily worn. Irregular losses across the bottom of the panel may be due to water damage, and the original pastiglia cusps defining the upper profile of the composition were probably shaved away before James Jackson Jarves acquired the painting in the 1850s. Much of the figural group in the right half of the painting is beautifully preserved.

Discussion

The size and subject matter of this work suggest that it was probably conceived as an independent panel, possibly intended to decorate a commemorative altar or funerary chapel. The subject, usually described as a Deposition, represents, in effect, an unusual conflation of the theme of the Pietà, as developed by Sienese trecento painters, with that of the Lamentation over the Dead Christ. The motif of the Virgin seated on the ground with the body of her dead Son in a seated position on her lap, a segment of the Cross visible in the background, made its first appearance in Sienese painting around the middle of the fourteenth century, in the work of the so-called Master of the Pietà, an artist sometimes thought to have received his formation in Simone Martini's Avignonese workshop. The iconography, related to that of the Simonesque Madonna of Humility—with the Dead Christ replacing the nursing infant—is rare outside Siena and appears almost exclusively in small panels for private devotion. Aside from Cecco di Pietro's version in the central compartment of a polyptych dated 1377 in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, the earliest representations on a monumental scale are confined primarily to Angevine Naples. One of the foremost Giottesque painters in Naples,

Roberto d'Oderisio, executed no fewer than three large, independent compositions of the Pietà based on the Sienese prototype—in addition to a fourth, smaller version—two of which were probably intended to be inserted into sepulchral monuments.[1] The Yale picture departs from the iconic nature of these examples, however, by the addition of narrative elements derived from scenes of the Lamentation, such as the mourning figures surrounding Christ and the Virgin and the fragment of the ladder leaning against the Cross. Mary Magdalen, in the foreground, dressed in red, supports Christ's arm, as Saint John the Evangelist gently lifts up His head and the two grieving Marys look on in anguish behind them.

Listed by James Jackson Jarves as a work of Puccio Capanna,[2] the Yale *Lamentation* was first described by Joseph Crowe and Giovanni Cavalcaselle, who saw it when it was still in Florence, as having "altogether the character of the works of Antonio [Veneziano]."[3] Subsequent nineteenth-century scholars reiterated this attribution, although William Rankin, while noting a relationship to Antonio's frescoes in the Camposanto, Pisa, emphasized the cruder execution of the Yale panel.[4] In 1909 Osvald Sirén described the picture as "of no great artistic value" and rejected the association with Antonio Veneziano in favor of the Pisan painter Cecco di Pietro.[5] He later revised this opinion, however, and compared the stiff execution, heavy black contours, and caricatural figure types to Bolognese painting, tentatively proposing the name of Michele di Matteo da Bologna—an attribution that was not taken up by Raimond van Marle, who included the panel in Cecco di Pietro's oeuvre.[6] In the most detailed examination of the *Lamentation* to date, Richard Offner echoed Sirén's negative judgment, referring to the painting's "crudities of execution," but dismissed any association with the Bolognese school and attributed the painting to Giovanni di Pietro da Napoli, a mysterious painter known primarily for his collaboration with Martino di Bartolomeo on several important Pisan commissions between 1402 and 1404.[7] According to Offner, the Yale painting displayed "clear and direct" analogies with the only signed work by Giovanni di Pietro, the *Crucifixion* from the convent of San Domenico in Pisa, painted on cloth and dated 1405 (fig. 1). Although separated from each other chronologically, Offner specified, the two images were united by the same "insistent deficiencies," yielding "about an equally small degree of aesthetic energy."[8]

Fig. 1. Giovanni di Pietro da Napoli (and Martino di Bartolomeo?), *The Crucifixion with Saint Francis and Two Kneeling Donors*, 1405. Tempera on cloth, 288 × 208 cm (113 3/8 × 81 7/8 in.). Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, inv. no. 4917

While some scholars continued to emphasize the Yale panel's relationship to Cecco di Pietro's production,[9] Offner's attribution to Giovanni di Pietro da Napoli was embraced by Bernard Berenson and, with some caution, by Charles Seymour, Jr.[10] The latter noted that, if by Giovanni di Pietro, the image had to predate the artist's Pisan activity, suggesting a date around 1400. Subsequent mentions of the *Lamentation*, however, have hinged on the relationship between Giovanni di Pietro da Napoli and Martino di Bartolomeo in Pisa, and on differing perceptions of the influence of one painter over the other during this period. Federico Zeri, Carol Montfort Molten, and Ada Labriola included the panel among Martino's production, albeit leaving open the possibility that it might be another collaboration between the two artists.[11] Gabriele Fattorini followed Offner and placed the Yale painting among Giovanni di Pietro's rare independent efforts, nevertheless noting that the figures of mourners betrayed "traces of a coexistence with Martino."[12]

As noted in past studies, attempts to build a coherent group of works around the personality of Giovanni di Pietro da Napoli have been hampered by the paucity of surviving documentary or visual evidence related to his activity, outside of the brief collaboration with Martino di

Bartolomeo. Although his name suggests a Neapolitan origin, he is first mentioned in a Lucchese document dated July 3, 1397, which lists him and the goldsmith Bartolomeo di Marco di Rinalduccio Arcomanni da San Miniato as witnesses to the association, or *compagnia*, between the local artists Alessio and Giuliano di Simone and the Sienese banner painter Benedetto di Giovanni da Siena.[13] It is possible that around this time the artist first came in contact with Martino di Bartolomeo, then residing in Pisa but also active in Lucca, where he executed a prestigious series of illuminations for the choir books for the Duomo around 1394–95. The next reference to Giovanni di Pietro dates from April 17, 1402, when he and Martino, both living in the same parish in Pisa, were engaged to paint a major polyptych for the high altar of the Hospital Church of Santa Chiara.[14] The fact that Giovanni di Pietro is mentioned first in the contract document, and that it is stipulated that he is to paint "with his own hand" all the major figures in the altarpiece, has led most scholars to assume that he was the elder master and perhaps the head of their joint business venture. Between 1402 and August 1404, when the Santa Chiara polyptych was installed, Giovanni di Pietro and "Martino suo compagno" were paid for various other works for the same institution, all of which are either unidentified or lost. Giovanni's signed *Crucifixion*, which is dated 1405 Pisan style—and therefore executed, as noted by Fattorini, sometime between March 25, 1404, and March 25, 1405[15]—is the last record of his activity. After this date, Giovanni di Pietro's name disappears from the documents. It is generally assumed that the partnership with Martino was dissolved when the latter returned to Siena, sometime before April 1405.[16]

Based on the Santa Chiara altarpiece, scholars have generally identified as products of the artists' *compagnia* several other important Pisan commissions from the same period, the execution of which reflects a similar conflation of formal elements derived from Martino di Bartolomeo with a hard, graphic idiom attributed to the intervention of Giovanni di Pietro. Chief among these is a polyptych with the Virgin and Child and full-length saints, also from the convent of San Domenico, now divided between the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, and the Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.[17] Although the Berlin predella scenes have been unanimously assigned to Martino, the authorship of the Pisa *Virgin and Child* has been the subject of divergent opinions. While earlier scholarship tended to assign it to Martino, more recent studies have identified the hand of Giovanni di Pietro in this compartment, as well as in the two lateral saints on the left. The same debate has characterized discussions of another painting from San Domenico, showing the Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine and a Kneeling Donor, formerly dated April 1404.[18] The attribution of this image has variously shifted from Giovanni di Pietro to Martino to both artists working together.

Although the signature in the Pisa *Crucifixion* (see fig. 1) was viewed by Offner as a touchstone for assessing the personality of Giovanni di Pietro, some of the figures in that work appear so closely bound to the vocabulary of Martino di Bartolomeo as to suggest his direct involvement in its execution. The profile of the mourning Saint John the Evangelist, in particular, is virtually indistinguishable from that of Martino's figures in the Berlin predella and in the *Annunciation* panels in the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge (fig. 2).[19] It is not unlikely that the *Crucifixion*, like the painters' other two commissions for San Domenico, was also a product of their *compagnia*, possibly the last one before its dissolution and Martino's return to Siena.

Fig. 2. Martino di Bartolomeo, *The Annunciation*, 1402–4. Tempera and gold on panel, 35.8 × 48.2 cm (14 1/8 × 19 in.). Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, inv. no. 553

The conflation of elements that characterizes all of the above works is less evident in the Yale *Lamentation*, which seems more homogeneously indebted to the expressive and formal vocabulary of Martino di Bartolomeo. The emotionally charged content of this image, reminiscent of the overwrought drama of Northern *Vesperbild* sculptures, and the representation of naturalistic details, such as the rows of white teeth visible through parted lips, provide a stark contrast to the schematic approach and frozen quality generally associated with Giovanni di Pietro. The hard outlines and graphic emphasis on the individual folds of skin and bone

structure, as well as the deep chiaroscuro—heightened, in this instance, by the current state of the panel—are not inconsistent with Martino's earliest independent efforts, as reflected in the Lucca choir books and in the frescoes for the oratory of Saint John the Baptist in Cascina (Pisa), dated 1398. The Cascina frescoes (figs. 3–4), in particular, provide close comparisons for the facial morphology and deeply etched features of the Yale mourners, suggesting a date for the *Lamentation* not far removed from this commission—preceding Martino's signed and dated 1403 altarpiece from the Spedale dei Trovatelli in Pisa and his partnership with Giovanni di Pietro.[20] Like the Cascina frescoes, the *Lamentation* betrays the artist's debt during this early period of his formation to the culture of the Camposanto frescoes and the influence of artists such as Spinello Aretino and Antonio Veneziano. A possible Pisan provenance for the Yale panel is suggested by the proposed identification of this work with a *Deposition from the Cross* reported to have been in the collection of Dr. Jacopo Balatresi in Pisa in 1846.[21] The dimensions of that image, cited by Francesco Bonaini, correspond closely to those of the Yale painting.[22] —PP

Fig. 3. Martino di Bartolomeo, *Saint Anthony Abbot*, 1398. Fresco. Oratory of Saint John the Baptist, Cascina (Pisa)

Fig. 4. Martino di Bartolomeo, *Saint Christopher*, 1398. Fresco. Oratory of Saint John the Baptist, Cascina (Pisa)

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 44, no. 19; Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1864–66, 1:491; Sturgis 1868, 41–42, no. 37; Rankin 1895, 142; Rankin 1905, 9, 18, no. 37; Sirén 1909b, 197; Sirén 1916a, 179–80, no. 70; van Marle 1925, 258; Offner 1927a, 42–43, fig. 35; Offner 1927b, 80n6; Kauffmann 1935, 184n634, pl. 36; Steegmuller 1951, 294; Berenson 1968, 1:182; Seymour 1970, 59, 61, 309, no. 41; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 122, 600; Anne-Marie Doré, in *L'art gothique siennois* 1983, 304; Montfort Molten 1992, 42–43, 187–88, no. 34; Ada Labriola, in Filieri 1998, 204; Fattorini 2016, 40, 59n17, fig. 15

NOTES

1. These are now in the Museo Regionale Agostino Pepoli, Trapani; and the church of Santa Maria della Pietà, Naples.
2. Jarves 1860, 44, no. 19.
3. Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1864–66, 1:491.
4. Rankin 1895, 142.
5. Sirén 1909b, 197.
6. Sirén 1916a, 179–80; and van Marle 1925, 258.
7. Offner 1927a, 42–43.
8. Offner 1927a, 42.
9. Kauffmann 1935, 184n634.
10. Berenson 1968, 1:182; and Seymour 1970, 61.
11. Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 122, 600; Montfort Molten 1992, 42–43, 187–88, no. 34; and Ada Labriola, in Filieri 1998, 204.
12. Fattorini 2016, 40.
13. On Benedetto di Giovanni da Siena, active in Lucca between 1366/67 and 1403 and engaged mostly in painting on cloth, see Concioni, Ferri, and Ghilarducci 1994, 304–8.
14. Milanesi 1854–56, 2:8–12. For the polyptych, see Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, inv. no. 4903.
15. Fattorini 2016, 44.
16. According to documents, by April 18, 1405, Martino was already engaged in the execution of lost frescoes for the chapel of San Crescenzio, in the Sienese Duomo; Milanesi 1854–56, 2:31.
17. Inv. no. 1663; and inv. nos. 1105–7, respectively.
18. Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, inv. no. 1668.
19. These panels have sometimes been associated with the Santa Chiara polyptych, but the likelihood of their having been the pinnacle of that complex was dismissed by Gabriele Fattorini on technical grounds; see Fattorini 2016, 41.
20. For the Trovatelli altarpiece, see Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, inv. no. 4898. It is worth pointing out that although the distinctive leaf-and-vine motif in the haloes of the Yale painting, which appears throughout Martino's association with Giovanni di Pietro, has been interpreted as evidence of a joint commission (see Montfort Molten 1992, 43), it also recurs in Martino's independent Sienese production (see, for example, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 120).
21. Anne-Marie Doré, in *L'art gothique siennois* 1983, 304.
22. Bonaini 1846, 57n1: "Una Deposizione di Croce posseduta dal sig. Dotto. Jacopo Balatresi, alta due braccia e un quinto, e larga un braccio e sette soldi." As noted by Carol Montfort Molten, a *braccio* is approximately 21 to 22 inches, or 53 to 56 centimeters; see Montfort Molten 1992, 187n2.

Martino di Bartolomeo, *Saint Mary Magdalen* and *Saint Francis*

Artist	Martino di Bartolomeo, Siena, active 1389–1434
Title	*Saint Mary Magdalen* and *Saint Francis*
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 1/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Andrew F. Petryn, B.F.A. 1943
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 2013; Estate of Andrew F. Petryn

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 Sienese 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 for both Sienese 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 Sienese 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 element 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 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 REFERENCE

Fehm 1986, 161

NOTES

1. Fehm 1986, 161.
2. Frinta 1998, 484, no. L48.

ego sum lu
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Martino di Bartolomeo, *The Blessing Redeemer*

Artist	Martino di Bartolomeo, Siena, active 1389–1434
Title	*The Blessing Redeemer*
Date	ca. 1410
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver 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 wood 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 of Art, 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 *Blessing 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

Fig. 1. Martino di Bartolomeo, *Virgin and Child with the Blessing Christ; Saint Peter with Saint James Major; and Saint Anthony Abbot with a Deacon Saint*, ca. 1415/20. Tempera and gold on panel. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gift of Samuel L. Fuller, inv. no. 1950.11.1a–c

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.

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 Sienese 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]

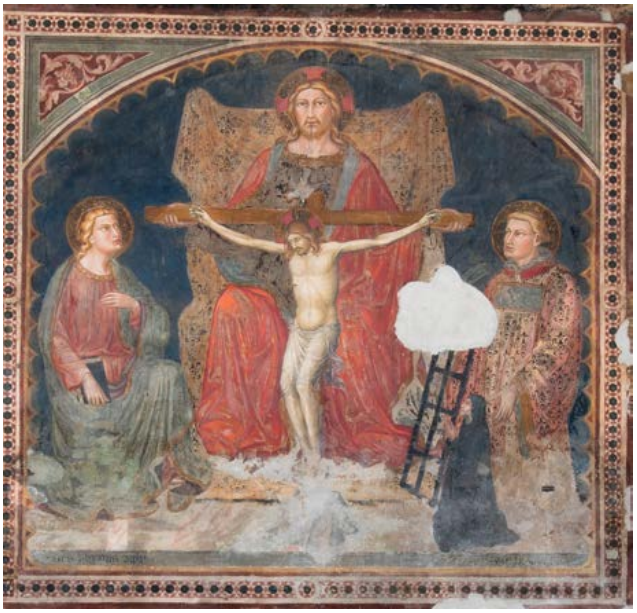

Fig. 2. Martino di Bartolomeo, *Holy Trinity with Saints Philip and Lawrence*, ca. 1410. Fresco. Santa Maria della Scala, Siena

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 Sienese figurative vocabulary that would characterize Martino's production into the next decade. The elegant, serene countenance of the Pinacoteca *Saint James Major* is closely related to that 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 Major 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 Montfort 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 quite plausible. Both works clearly precede the execution of the Washington triptych (see fig. 1), 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, 311, 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, 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 cited 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 noted that the artist was commissioned to paint a *Last Judgment*, now lost, for that organization, to fulfill a 1372 bequest; see Romagnoli 1835, 4: fol. 46. In 1413 Martino was paid for unspecified work on the clockface of the hospital. See Milanesi 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. Montfort Molten cited 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.
8. The Washington triptych has been convincingly dated around 1415/20 by Miklós Boskovits; see Boskovits 2016, 254–61, no. 28.

Benedetto di Bindo(?), *Bust of a Deacon Saint*

Artist	Benedetto di Bindo(?), Siena, documented 1409–17
Title	*Bust of a Deacon Saint*
Date	ca. 1410
Medium	Fresco
Dimensions	32.0 × 59.3 cm (12 5/8 × 23 3/8 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Maitland F. Griggs, by exchange
Inv. No.	1945.250

Provenance

Henri François de Saint-Levé d'Aguerre (1859–1931), Paris;[1] Alphonse Kann (1870–1948), Paris; sale, American Art Association, New York, January 7, 1927, lot 28; Brummer Gallery, New York, 1927

Condition

The roughly rectangular section of fresco and mural substrate has been set into a larger (33.7 × 63.7 cm) masonry surround. The surface is scratched and extensively abraded, and a coating of grime is preserved beneath an opaque, discolored layer of varnish. Punched areas meant to simulate gilding may originally have been painted an ochre yellow, only miniscule fragments of which survive.

Discussion

This fresco fragment shows the bust of a young saint, wearing a dalmatic that identifies him as a deacon. The figure, painted against a blue background, has lost most of its original details and coloration, although some of the flesh tones are still visible in the head, along with small traces of an orange or pink pigment in the tunic. The image, truncated at the top and bottom, possibly depicted the saint full-length, inside a multilobed arch. A certain sophistication in approach is suggested by the elaborate punchwork used to evoke the embroidered borders of the dalmatic as well as by the concern with the perspectival foreshortening of the arch on the right side.

The fragment, overlooked by most art-historical scholarship, first appeared in the 1927 sale of the Alphonse Kann collection, where it was listed as "Simone Martini (Attributed to)." Charles Seymour, Jr., who cited the traditional attribution to Simone Martini and earlier French provenance as possible indicators of a papal commission in Avignon, France, catalogued it as "Sienese school (following of Simone Martini?)," with a date in the middle of the fourteenth century.[2] The Sienese attribution was maintained by Federico Zeri, who listed the image in his files as the product of an anonymous Sienese painter active in the second half of the fourteenth century.[3] Carl Strehlke, in an unpublished checklist of the Italian paintings at Yale, discerned links with the style of Lippo Vanni and proposed a date in the mid-1300s, whereas Laurence Kanter tentatively labeled the fragment as a work of Benedetto di Bindo.[4]

If the association with Simone Martini seems far-fetched, a Sienese provenance cannot be discounted. What little may be garnered of the morphological characteristics of the figure, along with the handling of detail such as the soft folds of cloth in the saint's collar, calls to mind some

of the production of the last generation of fourteenth-century Sienese painters, influenced by Bartolo di Fredi and Taddeo di Bartolo. While it is impossible to advance precise comparisons, suggested analogies with the work of Benedetto di Bindo, especially as represented by his work on the reliquary cupboard for Siena Cathedral, completed in 1412 (fig. 1), are not unreasonable. None of the known surviving fresco commissions by Benedetto di Bindo, however, are sufficiently similar to the Yale fragment to lead to a definitive attribution, nor do they include the same unusual and extensive punched decoration. In the absence of other identifiable remains from the same cycle, and in light of the fragment's condition, the question of its authorship must, for the moment, remain unresolved. —PP

Fig. 1. Benedetto di Bindo, *Two Scenes from the Legend of the True Cross* (details from reliquary cupboard doors), 1412. Tempera and gold on panel. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

American Art Association 1927, lot 28; "Recent Accessions" 1946, 2; Seymour 1970, 90, 311, no. 63; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 601

NOTES

1. According to Joseph Brummer in a letter to the Gallery, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery. A descendant of the oldest French nobility, Henri François de Saint-Levé d'Aguerre appears to have been both a collector and dealer, mostly of early medieval and Renaissance sculpture and works of art. He is cited on several occasions in relation to objects acquired by Joseph and Ernest Brummer; see Brummer Gallery Records, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Following Henri's death in 1931, the dealing business was conducted by his son, Guillaume de Saint-Levé (1893–1971). Their residence and/or business address is recorded on a note card in the Brummer files at the Metropolitan Museum, under "d'Aguerre, Henry [later crossed out and overwritten with Guillaume] de Saint-Levé / 90 Avenue Kléber/ Paris."
2. Seymour 1970, 90, no. 63.
3. Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna, inv. no. 7389.
4. Curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.

Other Tuscan Schools

Giuntesque Painter, *Saint Mary Magdalen*

Artist	Giuntesque Painter, Pisa, active second third 13th century
Title	*Saint Mary Magdalen*
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 wood 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 ochre 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. 1970

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, Jr., 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 Sienese 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 Yale University Art 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 Sienese 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 Sienese 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 Santi Cosma e Damiano 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 at Villa La Pietra, 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

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.). Formerly San Niccolò al Carmine, Siena

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

Saints Cosmas and Damian and more directly dependent on the byzantinizing vocabulary of Giunta Pisano.

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

"Acquisitions—1970" 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://hrvd.art/o/231795.

6. Inv. no. 105.

7. See Lorenzo Carletti, in Burresi and Caleca 2005, 122–23, no. 13 (with previous bibliography).

Master of Saints Flora and Lucilla, *Saint Flora*

Artist	Master of Saints Flora and Lucilla, Tuscany, active first quarter 14th century
Title	*Saint Flora*
Date	ca. 1310
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 90.5 × 55.5 cm (35 5/8 × 21 7/8 in.); picture surface: 70.8 × 49.2 cm (27 7/8 × 19 3/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.203

For more information on this painting, see Master of Saints Flora and Lucilla, *Saint Lucilla*.

Inscription

on base of frame, SCA FLORA

Provenance

Badia delle Sante Flora e Lucilla, Arezzo(?); Francesco Lombardi and Ugo Baldi, Florence, by 1845; Robert Nevin, Rome; sale, Galleria Sangiorgi, Rome, April 22–27, 1907, lot 34; Giuseppe Volterra, Florence, to 1930; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York

SCA LUCILLA

Master of Saints Flora and Lucilla, *Saint Lucilla*

Artist	Master of Saints Flora and Lucilla, Tuscany, active first quarter 14th century
Title	*Saint Lucilla*
Date	ca. 1310
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 91.0 × 55.0 cm (35 3/4 × 21 5/8 in.); picture surface: 71.0 × 49.0 cm (28 × 19 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1946.13

Inscription

on base of frame, SCA LUCILLA

Provenance

Badia delle Sante Flora e Lucilla, Arezzo(?); Francesco Lombardi and Ugo Baldi, Florence, by 1845; Robert Nevin, Rome; sale, Galleria Sangiorgi, Rome, April 22–27, 1907, lot 34; Dr. Hans Wendland, Lugano, Switzerland, by 1926; Edward Hutton (1875–1969), London, 1930–37; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York

Condition

The *Saint Lucilla* and the related *Saint Flora* from the same altarpiece are executed on panels of a vertical wood grain varying in thickness from 3.5 to 4 centimeters, and each comprises a single large plank with a smaller triangular addition nailed and glued to it. In the *Saint Flora*, this addition tapers from 4.5 centimeters wide at the bottom to 2.5 centimeters wide at the top and is attached to the left side (viewed from the front) of the main plank. In the *Saint Lucilla*, the addition measures 4 centimeters wide at the top and extends 69 centimeters down the right side of the main plank. The spandrel moldings on both panels are 12 millimeters thick and of a horizontal wood grain, with 13-millimeter-thick capping moldings added at the top. The predella across the bottom of both panels is 2.5 centimeters thick. The predella and spandrels on the *Saint Lucilla* were removed and reattached with modern screws by Gianni Marussich in 1998; those on the *Saint Flora* are undisturbed. The reverse of *Saint Flora* shows discoloration from the attachment of a 12-centimeter batten, which was secured by two nails driven into the panel, back to front, 49 centimeters from the bottom edge and positioned at 5 centimeters and 28.8 centimeters from the left edge. Traces of a corresponding batten are not preserved on the reverse of the *Saint Lucilla*, which does, however, retain a single nail, 50 centimeters from the bottom edge and 2 centimeters from the left edge.

Both *Saint Flora* and *Saint Lucilla* were aggressively cleaned by Andrew Petryn in 1966–67, exaggerating preexisting abrasion and leaving losses exposed. These were addressed in a treatment by Patricia Garland in 1998, who touched out all the losses along the raised edges of the craquelure as well as larger losses resulting from knots or splits. In the *Saint Flora*, two large knots in the panel broke the surface of the gilding above the saint's right shoulder and of the paint around her right hand. The left capital is repaired, the lettering of the saint's name has been reinforced, and the predella moldings have been repaired and overgilt. Losses in the saint's

cheek and left shoulder have also been filled and repainted. In the *Saint Lucilla*, a split through the saint's face has been retouched, as have minor losses in the saint's left arm and to the right of her halo. Three large knots visible in the back of this panel have not disturbed the paint surface. Gilding losses in the frame have been repaired, except for the bottom molding, which is a repair made from old wood and has been left as it was in 1967, stripped of all surface ornament. The painted spandrels of both panels are in beautiful condition.

Discussion

This panel and the related one also in Yale's collection (see Master of Saints Flora and Lucilla, *Saint Flora*) portray the early Christian martyr saints Flora and Lucilla, dressed in the nun's habit of the Benedictine order and identified by inscriptions at the base of their frames. Decorating the upper corners of both panels are roundels with half-length figures of angels. Judging by the frames and the position of the angels, the saints were originally the laterals of a dismembered altarpiece, possibly a triptych, with Saint Flora on the left and Lucilla on the right. The two images are first recorded in 1845 in the collection of the Florentine dealers Francesco Lombardi and Ugo Baldi, who listed them as works of Buonamico Buffalmacco.[1] They subsequently appeared together in the 1907 sale of the Robert Nevin collection in Rome, where they were attributed to the Umbro-Sienese school around 1300. In 1930—by which time the *Saint Flora* was in the Maitland Griggs collection, New York, and the *Saint Lucilla* in the Edward Hutton collection, London—Richard Offner recognized that a panel with the Virgin and Child in the Charles Loeser collection, Florence (fig. 1), significantly reduced from its original dimensions, was the central element of the original structure.[2] Based on the depiction of the two Yale *Saints* as Benedictine nuns, Offner proposed that the altarpiece had been commissioned for the Badia delle Sante Flora e Lucilla in Arezzo—a suggestion later bolstered by the early provenance of the Loeser *Virgin* from an Aretine collection.[3] "But for the very un-Florentine feature of the plain round molding," Offner classified the three panels as typically Florentine, stating that, although Giottesque in design, the drawing and other formal details belonged "exclusively to the Pacinesque following of the Saint Cecilia Master."[4] He went on to refine this assessment by drawing a clear distinction between the artist of these panels, whom he identified as an "Associate of Pacino di Bonaguida," and Pacino himself: "Although this master resembles Pacino in conventions of type and feeling, the analogies would seem to be due to common origin and close association rather than to formative influence. The Associate of Pacino is more archaistic, and inclines to amplify the scale of his figures, a tendency which Pacino reverses in his known works."[5] These qualities, perhaps indicative of an older personality, led Offner to situate what he called the "Griggs-Loeser-Hutton Polyptych" before Pacino's production in his *Corpus of Florentine Painting*.

Fig. 1. Master of Saints Flora and Lucilla, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1310. Tempera and gold on panel, 69.4 × 52 cm (27 3/8 × 20 1/2 in.). Museo di Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, Loeser Collection, inv. no. MCF-LOE 1933-20

Offner's assessment of the Loeser and Yale panels was reflected in the 1937 catalogue of the *Mostra giottesca*, where the paintings were exhibited together for the first time as "Manner of Pacino di Bonaguida," a label subsequently revised by Giulia Brunetti to "Master Close to Pacino."[6] In 1968, in a seminal article on Aretine painting, Pier Paolo Donati expanded on Offner's analysis by emphasizing the superior quality of these images vis-à-vis Pacino's work and situating the anonymous painter, christened "Master of Saints Flora and Lucilla," within a specifically Aretine Giottesque school of painting of the first decades of the trecento.[7] Donati enlarged the artist's oeuvre by attributing to the same hand a fresco of the Man of Sorrows in the church of San Domenico, Arezzo,

and a predella scene with the Voyage of Mary Magdalen in a private collection and thus defined the outlines of a consciously archaizing personality strongly influenced by Giotto's earliest examples, who was perhaps a slightly older contemporary of Gregorio and Donato d'Arezzo. According to Donati, the Yale/Loeser altarpiece was the most accomplished of the artist's efforts and slightly predated Gregorio and Donato's first known work, the dated 1315 triptych in the Collegiata di Santo Stefano, Bracciano (Rome). The dignified presence of the Yale and Loeser figures, Donati pointed out, was indicative of the artist's debt to Giotto's Badia Polyptych, while revealing an equal awareness of the more archaic culture of the *Virgin and Child* of San Giorgio alla Costa and the frescoes in the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi.

Donati's arguments were only partially accepted by Mario Salmi, who reasserted the affinity between the Yale/Loeser fragments and the style of Pacino and wrote that the anonymous painter, if indeed Aretine by birth, would seem "at least to have completed his formation in Florence."[8] The Florentine and Pacinesque components were also emphasized by Charles Seymour, Jr., who catalogued the Yale pictures as "Florentine School (style of Pacino di Bonaguida?)," with a tentative date around 1310, but added that the cleaning of the Yale panels in 1966–67 had purportedly made it "apparent" that they were executed by different hands.[9] Of the two, the *Saint Flora* seemed to him closer to the style of Pacino's workshop but even nearer to the Saint Cecilia Master (see Master of Saint Cecilia, *Virgin and Child*). Other authors, however, followed Donati in highlighting the Giottesque elements of the anonymous master's idiom. Carlo Ragghianti referred to the Yale/Loeser complex as evidence of the influence of "Giotto's style around 1300" on Florentine painting of the first decade of the fourteenth century,[10] while Arno Preiser attributed the Yale *Saints* to a "follower of Giotto," around 1310.[11] Luciano Bellosi, who accepted Donati's conclusions, cited the Master of Saints Flora and Lucilla as proof of the far-reaching impact of the Assisi frescoes.[12]

In his 1987 edition of the *Corpus*, Miklós Boskovits dismissed the possibility of the involvement of two different artists in the execution of the Yale panels and identified the same hand in a heavily repainted *Virgin and Child* formerly on the art market in London.[13] While preserving the label "Associate of Pacino," Boskovits acknowledged Donati's study in his introduction to that volume and referred to the author of these works as a painter "probably from Arezzo."[14] Except for the removal from this artist's oeuvre of the *Voyage of Mary Magdalen* predella panel—recognized by Boskovits as a work of Gregorio and Donato d'Arezzo[15]—subsequent scholars have unanimously embraced Donati's profile of the Master of Saints Flora and Lucilla as a rare but key figure in the development of early fourteenth-century painting in Arezzo. Most recently, Roberto Bartalini extended the artist's activity into the third decade of the fourteenth century and added to his work a fresco of the Crucifixion in the church of San Domenico, Arezzo, proposing that this image, heavily influenced by Pietro Lorenzetti, represented a further evolution of the master's style in response to the Sienese painter's presence in Cortona and Arezzo.[16]

Today, the Giottesque qualities that characterized the original complex are perhaps more evident in the Loeser *Virgin and Child* (see fig. 1) than in the Yale *Saints*, whose appearance is the result of multiple campaigns of zealous restoration. As noted by past authors, the single most important point of reference for the Loeser *Virgin*, whose "majesty of design" and "sense of bulk" were already highlighted by Offner in 1927,[17] is Giotto's early work in Assisi. Specific comparisons for the Virgin, as well as for the Yale figures, however, are to be found less in the frescoes of the Upper Church, to which they were compared by Donati, than in the later efforts of Giotto and his workshop in the Lower Church, datable on circumstantial evidence within the first decade of the fourteenth century.[18] That the author of the present panels may have been intimately familiar with Giotto's vocabulary at this moment, rather than merely inspired by it, is suggested by the possible identification of his hand among the various collaborators involved in the decoration of the Magdalen Chapel—an enterprise viewed by most modern scholarship as primarily the result of multiple assistants working under the master's direction.[19] Several of the subsidiary figures, like the female saints painted on the chapel's north wall and on the intrados of the south wall (figs. 2–3), reflect, in fact, a virtually identical, idiosyncratic approach to Giottesque models, characterized by a powerful monumentality combined with a coarser, more vernacular interpretation of individual features and forms—as in the rendering of the clawlike hands and excessively long thumbs. The Loeser *Virgin*, in particular, whose unusual orange- and saffron-colored dress and inner cloak echo the palette of the frescoes, seems sister to the tambourine-playing figure in the Magdalen Chapel identified by an inscription as Miriam (fig. 4).

Fig. 2. Assistant of Giotto (Master of Saints Flora and Lucilla?), *Female Saint*, ca. 1307–8. Fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi

Fig. 3. Assistant of Giotto (Master of Saints Flora and Lucilla?), *Female Saint*, ca. 1307–8. Fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi

Fig. 4. Assistant of Giotto (Master of Saints Flora and Lucilla?), *Miriam*, ca. 1307–8. Fresco. Magdalen Chapel, Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi

The anonymous artist's possible activity in Assisi would account for the unusual design and decoration of the framing elements around the Yale panels. In her proposed reconstruction of the original structure, envisioned as a gabled pentaptych, Monika Cämmerer-George, followed by Donati, traced its origin to Sienese Ducciesque

prototypes and the example of the Badia Polyptych.[20] Yet, none of those works include the most distinctive feature of the present panels: the medallions with half-length angels painted in the spandrels between the arches. This innovative decorative solution harks back directly to the frescoed altarpiece of the Virgin and Child with Saints Nicholas and Francis in the Saint Nicholas Chapel at Assisi (fig. 5), whose compositional relationship to the Yale *Saints* has been overlooked by scholars. The pronounced similarities between the architectural structure of the painted triptych and the framing elements of the Yale panels—whose shape mirrors that of the arches enclosing the Assisi saints—strongly suggest that the image in Assisi may have served as direct inspiration for the design of the dismembered altarpiece.

Fig. 5. Workshop of Giotto, *Virgin and Child with Saints Nicholas and Francis*, ca. 1300–1301. Fresco. Chapel of Saint Nicholas, Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi

The precise circumstances that led to the commission of this important work, probably intended for the high altar of the Badia delle Sante Flora e Lucilla, cannot be ascertained. Given the links between the various Benedictine communities in Tuscany and elsewhere, however, one cannot exclude the possibility that Giotto's own earlier activity for the Florentine Badia may have played a role in the choice of a painter from one of his workshops in Assisi. Notwithstanding efforts to link the altarpiece to local artistic production, it represents a unicum within the developments of Aretine painting of the first decades of the fourteenth century. Although attributed to the same hand, what little remains of the *Man of Sorrows* fresco in the church of San Domenico reflects a blander personality, less insistently Giottesque in its aspirations, while the intensely expressive *Crucifixion* on the same walls, even allowing for a considerable lapse of time in execution, seems too far removed from the austerity of the present images. Likewise, the *Virgin and Child* formerly on the art market, listed by Boskovits as the only other work by this master, appears to have more in common with the production of Gregorio and Donato d'Arezzo.[21] If it seems convenient for now to preserve the sobriquet "Master of Saints Flora and Lucilla" in reference to the author of the Yale and Loeser panels, it is with the understanding that, rather than being representative of an archaizing tendency in Aretine Giottesque painting, the personality of this artist is inextricably tied to the *cantiere* of the Lower Church in Assisi. —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Collection de tableaux anciens 1845, 8, no. 7; Galleria Sangiorgi 1907, 13, lot 34; Offner 1930a, 6; Offner 1930b, 215–20, add. pls. 1–3; *Mostra giottesca* 1937, 50, nos. 135–36; Giulia Brunetti, in Sinibaldi and Brunetti 1943, 419, nos. 131–32; "Drawings and Paintings" 1946, 2; Cämmerer-George 1966, 74–76; Donati 1968, 13–14; Ragghianti 1969, 72; Seymour 1970, 29–32, nos. 13–14; Salmi 1971, 80, 91n17; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600–601; Preiser 1973, 204; Bellosi 1985b, 146n76; Boskovits 1987a, 73–81, pls. 1, 3–4; Droandi 2000–2001, 359–60; Bartalini 2005, 16, 18, figs. 7–8; Calnan 2008

NOTES

1. The collection was located on the second floor of a building (no. 1696bis) in Piazza dei Pinti. According to the English amateur artist, dealer, and collector William Blundell Spence, author of an "anonymous" insider's guide to Florence with "hints for picture buyers," Ugo Baldi was considered "the first restorer in Florence of paintings in distemper" and had a studio on the *lungarno*, near the Palazzo Corsini; Spence 1847, 37.
2. Offner 1930b, 215–20; and Boskovits 1987a, 73–81.
3. Boskovits 1987a, 73, 76.
4. Offner 1930b, 215; and Boskovits 1987a, 73.
5. Offner 1930a, 6n1; and Boskovits 1987a, 73n1.
6. *Mostra giottesca* 1937, 50, nos. 135–36; and Giulia Brunetti, in Sinibaldi and Brunetti 1943, 416–19, nos. 130–32.
7. Donati 1968, 12–15.
8. Salmi 1971, 80, 91n17.
9. Seymour 1970, 29–32, nos. 13–14.
10. Ragghianti 1969, 72.
11. Preiser 1973, 204.
12. Bellosi 1985b, 146n76.

13. Sale, Christie's, London, May, 21, 1971, lot 183; see Boskovits 1987a, 554–55, add. pl. 1.

14. Boskovits 1987a, 11.

15. Boskovits 1984, 20–21n41.

16. Bartalini 2005, 16–18.

17. Offner 1927b, 7.

18. The Saint Nicholas Chapel, founded by Cardinal Napoleone Orsini to house the tomb of his brother Gian Gaetano Orsini, was probably built after the death of the latter in 1294 and its decoration completed by 1306, when it was already being officiated. The frescoes of the later Magdalen Chapel, commissioned by Teobaldo Pontano, bishop of Assisi, are usually dated after Giotto's Paduan sojourn and in relation to a notarial act of January 4, 1309, in which the painter Palmerino di Guido, then a resident of Assisi, is recorded as returning a loan underwritten by himself and Giotto. For a summary of the literature, see Boskovits 2000, 82–86; and, more recently, Romano 2010, 584–96; and Cooper 2013, 29–47.

19. While the 1309 document (see note 18, above) is generally regarded as evidence of Giotto's intermittent presence in Assisi, the consensus is that he only intervened sporadically in the decoration of the Magdalen Chapel. The number and identification of the other personalities involved in the enterprise, however, remain a subject of much debate. Serena Romano has argued for a sophisticated business model that allowed Giotto to supervise from afar the activity of perhaps temporary local workshops engaged by him in the completion of his projects; see Romano 2010, 593. On the subject of Giotto's workshop or workshops, see, most recently, Tartuferi 2017.

20. Cämmerer-George 1966, 74–76.

21. While cautiously restating Bokovits's attribution, Isabella Droandi (in Droandi 2002) recognized the especially close relationship between the ex–art market painting and a *Virgin and Child* by Gregorio and Donato in the church of the Santissima Trinità, Viterbo. The face and hands of the Viterbo *Virgin*, Droandi pointedly noted, could be "almost superimposed" ("sembrano quasi sovrapponibili") over the ex–art market *Virgin*.

Pisan or Ligurian(?), *Saint Catherine of Alexandria; Saint Lawrence*

Artist	Pisan or Ligurian(?), last quarter 14th century
Title	*Saint Catherine of Alexandria; Saint Lawrence*
Date	last quarter 14th century
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 154.0 × 37.5 cm (60 5/8 × 14 3/4 in.); *Saint Catherine*: picture surface: 97.5 × 35.0 cm (38 3/8 × 13 3/4 in.); *Saint Lawrence*: picture surface: 27.5 × 19.2 cm (10 7/8 × 7 5/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.253

For more information on this painting, see Pisan or Ligurian(?), *Saint Nicholas of Bari; Saint Anthony of Padua.*

Pisan or Ligurian(?), *Saint Nicholas of Bari; Saint Anthony of Padua*

Artist	Pisan or Ligurian(?), last quarter 14th century
Title	*Saint Nicholas of Bari; Saint Anthony of Padua*
Date	last quarter 14th century
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 155.4 × 41.0 cm (61 1/8 × 16 1/8 in.); *Saint Nicholas*: picture surface: 97.0 × 32.4 cm (38 1/4 × 12 3/4 in); *Saint Anthony*: picture surface: 27.3 × 19.7 cm (10 3/4 × 7 3/4 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.252

Provenance

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

Condition

Both this panel and the related *Saint Catherine of Alexandria; Saint Lawrence*, have a vertical wood grain and are 1.3 centimeters thick, and neither has been thinned or cradled. *Saint Catherine* was radically cleaned in 1968. *Saint Nicholas* has not been cleaned; its reverse is impregnated with wax, obscuring evidence of original structural supports that might be present there. It has developed two partial splits rising from the bottom, one 12.2 centimeters from the right edge and 18 centimeters long, the other 26.5 centimeters from the right edge and 35 centimeters long. The panel with Saint Catherine has a minor split at the bottom, 13.5 centimeters from the left edge and rising only 4.5 centimeters. That panel appears to have had three battens affixed to it: one approximately 6 centimeters wide, trimmed along the bottom edge of the panel; one approximately 7 centimeters wide, 53 centimeters above the lower batten; and one of the same width, 54 centimeters above the center batten. The surface of the reverse between the battens appears to have been coated with paper or parchment beneath a thin application of gesso. The engaged frame moldings on the front of the panel are wood, much deteriorated from insect damage, 1 centimeter deep along the left side and bottom and 1.3 centimeters deep along the gable. The molding along the right side is missing; the molding along the left side overhangs the edge of the panel to cover the seam that once joined it to the adjacent center panel of the altarpiece. The 8-millimeter-thick molding defining the ogival arch above the head of Saint Catherine is molded in gesso or stucco. On the panel with Saint Nicholas, the frame moldings applied cross-grain are wood; the vertical moldings and the ogival arch are molded in gesso or stucco (except for the capitals and bases, which are carved). The fixed molding along the left edge of the panel indicates that *Saint Nicholas* was originally the left-most lateral of the altarpiece; the molding along the right edge is missing.

The paint surface of the *Saint Nicholas* is dulled by a thick and heavily discolored varnish but is essentially in very good condition, except for the lower 14 centimeters, which are eighteenth- or nineteenth-century restorations in oil defining the pavement, the saint's shoes, and his

white surplice. The gilt hem of his cope directly bordering this area is largely repaired, as is a hole in the saint's left upper arm, but retouching otherwise is confined to inpainting small flaking losses. The *Saint Catherine* has similarly suffered extensive losses along its lower 14 centimeters, obliterating the saint's feet and the lower part of her dress. This panel also exhibits large losses where the nails securing the central batten were excavated and removed, as well as in the martyr's palm and in the elbow of Saint Lawrence in the gable, where flaking losses were enlarged by harsh cleaning. The red lining of Saint Catherine's cloak is heavily abraded, as are the blue shadows in draperies—where a modulating glaze seems to have been removed—and the skin tones throughout, where shadows have been worn to the priming layer. The gold ground in this panel is evenly abraded, with larger losses around punch strikes sunk deep in the thicker-than-usual gesso substrate.

Discussion

This standing saint and the related *Saint Catherine of Alexandria; Saint Lawrence* were once the laterals of an unidentified altarpiece. Based on the figures' glances and slight turns of the heads, coupled with differences in the design and application of the frame moldings on each panel, it is probable that Saint Nicholas of Bari originally stood on the left end of the structure, while Saint Catherine of Alexandria stood on the right of the central compartment. The representation of Saint Nicholas of Bari conforms to the traditional Byzantine type, without a bishop's hat and holding a book and crozier. He wears a red chasuble decorated with the episcopal pallium over a gilt-edged blue dalmatic and a white tunic. In the pinnacle above him is a saint in Franciscan habit holding a book, most likely Saint Anthony of Padua. Saint Catherine of Alexandria, identified by her usual attributes, the crown and wheel of martyrdom, wears a yellow mantle brocaded in gold and lined in red over a tunic of the same color. Above her is a deacon saint dressed in a red dalmatic, one hand raised in blessing, the other supporting a Eucharistic cup. He is probably Saint Lawrence, who is traditionally identified by the grill of his martyrdom but sometimes also holds a chalice filled with wafers—a reference to the legend that he saved the holy cup used at the Last Supper from Roman seizure.[1]

The two panels, acquired by Maitland Griggs sometime before 1925, have been largely ignored by modern scholarship. According to notes in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York, Richard Offner discussed them in a lecture at the Griggs residence on January 19, 1925, when he referred to them as products of the fifteenth-century Florentine School, "out of the tradition of Bernardo Daddi." Bernard Berenson first published the *Saint Catherine* panel in his 1932 volume of Italian paintings, under Martino di Bartolomeo, but he omitted both works from his subsequent lists.[2] The attribution to Martino di Bartolomeo was tentatively taken up by Charles Seymour, Jr., who proposed a date around 1415.[3] Burton Fredericksen and Federico Zeri cited the attribution to Martino di Bartolomeo, although Zeri classified the panels in his photo archive among anonymous fifteenth-century Ligurian works.[4] Based on some of the punchwork, derived from Francesco Traini, Mojmír Frinta referred to the Yale *Saint Nicholas* as "Pisan (or Genoese?)."[5]

Fig. 1. Cecco di Pietro, *Saint Nicholas of Bari* (detail of the Agnano Polyptych), ca. 1377–86. Tempera and gold on panel. Palazzo Blu, Pisa

The disparate opinions and some of the perplexities elicited by the Yale panels are undoubtedly due to their unique quality, from the peculiarity of some of the framing elements to the figural style. Efforts to insert them in the oeuvre of Martino di Bartolomeo are

unconvincing and unsubstantiated by comparison with any of the master's surviving production. Beyond technical correspondences, the most pertinent analogies are those with Pisan painting. As well as employing some of the same punch marks, the figure of Saint Nicholas, in particular, appears modeled on images painted by Francesco Traini and his contemporaries and by a later generation of Pisan artists, such as Cecco di Pietro (documented 1364–99) (fig. 1). The representation of *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* holding a diminutive wheel in her hand is also iconographically indebted to Trainesque examples. Absent from both panels, however, is the subtlety of execution of Traini's immediate followers. Cecco di Pietro's production in the late 1370s and 1380s, although distinguished by a more incisive, hard-edged approach, provides perhaps the most relevant point of reference for the Yale panels, but a localization in Ligurian territory, with its artistic dependance on Pisan models, cannot be ruled out.[6] —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Berenson 1932a, 333; Seymour 1970, 83, 311, nos. 57–58; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Frinta 1998, 41, 419, nos. Aa13, Aa15b, Jd51

NOTES

1. The saint is shown stepping on a grill and holding a large chalice filled with Communion wafers in a triptych by Lorenzo Monaco and his workshop in the Museé du Petit Palais, Avignon, France, inv. no. M.I.430.
2. Berenson 1932a, 333.
3. Seymour 1970, 83, nos. 57–58.
4. Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna, inv. nos. 23463–64.
5. Frinta 1998, 41, no. Aa15b.
6. It is worth speculating whether the unusual choice to show Saint Lawrence with the attribute of a chalice might be related, in this instance, to Genoese devotion to the Eucharist and the *sacro catino*, the glass dish in the cathedral of Saint Lawrence that was identified with the Holy Chalice by Jacobus de Voragine, archbishop of Genoa from 1292 until his death in 1298. See Müller 2007, 93–104.

Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani, *Saint Lucy Enthroned with Six Angels*

Artist	Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani, Pistoia, documented 1366–98
Title	*Saint Lucy Enthroned with Six Angels*
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; 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 wood grain, has been thinned to 11 millimeters, cradled, and waxed. It comprises 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, arranged in two columns of three each, one to the left and one to the right of the present panel (fig. 1). 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 *Saint Lucy* dossal

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 [are] 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, 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.

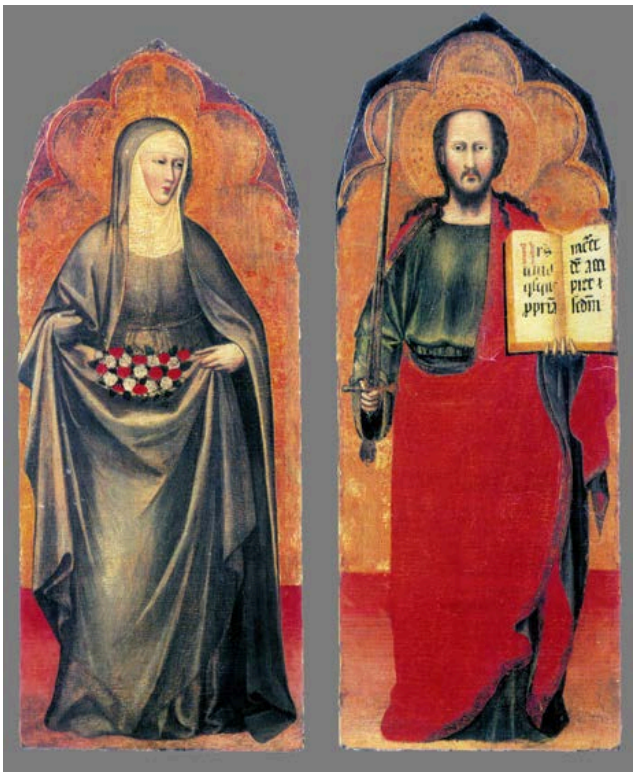

Fig. 7. Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani, *Saint Elizabeth of Hungary* and *Saint Paul*, ca. 1385–90. Tempera and gold on panel, each 102 × 41 cm (40 1/4 × 16 1/8 in.). Location unknown

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 State 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, 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 1930–31a, 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 1985a; 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 1930–31a, 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 1930–31a, 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 1930–31a, 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	*Two Deacon Saints*
Date	ca. 1389
Medium	Tempera and gold on canvas, transferred from panel
Dimensions	overall 126.0 × 66.9 cm (49 5/8 × 26 3/8 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

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 cm), top (4 cm), and right (3.5 cm) 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 modestly abraded. A prominent canvas weave is visible throughout the picture surface from the pressure of the transfer.

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 5-centimeter strip of new gold. Alternatively, at least one of the two saints could be the deacon 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 images retain most of their original paint surface and elaborate punchwork. Still noteworthy are the delicate palette and lavish decoration of the saints' 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 Gherardo 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. Except for an unpublished opinion of Everett Fahy, who proposed the name of Giovanni di Bartolomo 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 Kunsthaus 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 Enthroned with Saints and the 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 Enthroned* (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 Enthroned with Saints and the Recling Eve, and the Crucifixion*, 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 Lucchese 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 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 images.[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 altarpiece at Moriano Castello.[20] Unfortunately, the transfer to canvas of the Yale panels precludes a comparison of their carpentry construction to that of the Castiglione Garfagnana *Madonna*, 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.[21] 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.[22] —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

van Marle 1927b, 198, fig. 132; Berenson 1963, 1:140; Seymour 1970, 50, 53, 309, 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 Gherardo Starnina, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. nos. 20.1855a–b, https://collections.mfa.org/objects/35898 and https://collections.mfa.org/objects/31851. 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 1927b, 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 Miklós 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." 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, 346. 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 1961a, 220.
19. Linda Pisani, November 10, 1996, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery; and 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 Pisani, in Filieri 1998, 192–93, 198–99, nos. 13, 16.
20. For this work, see Pisani, in Filieri 1998, 194–95, no. 14.
21. Trenta 1822, 31.
22. 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

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Elemosina di Forte and Marino di Elemosina, *Double-Sided Processional Cross*

Artists	Elemosina di Forte, Umbria, documented 1289–1312, and Marino di Elemosina, Umbria, documented 1309–10
Title	*Double-Sided Processional Cross*
Date	ca. 1305
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall, excluding mounting peg and bead extensions: 50.3 × 37.6 cm (19 3/4 × 14 7/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.238

To view the back of the cross, use the arrows beside the image at left.

Provenance

Art market, Paris, 1926; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York

Condition

The cross is composed of two pieces of wood, lap-joined perpendicular to each other. Each piece is 2.4 centimeters thick, with the painted surface of each recessed approximately 3 millimeters on both faces. Both pieces exhibit a moderate convex warp, forcing open the seams at the lap join—vertical on the obverse, horizontal on the reverse—but not resulting in significant losses of paint or gilding. The gilding overall is well preserved, although it is worn to the gesso on many of the raised moldings, especially in the lower half of the cross, and it is locally patched with powdered gold around the kneeling figures at the bottom. Losses to blues and reds have been inpainted on both sides of the cross, while flesh tones are largely intact, except for the kneeling saint (Francis?) on the obverse, whose head is entirely a modern invention. The angel's wings on the obverse have also been retouched. The rapid application of white highlights in the draperies on the reverse are almost perfectly preserved. The red on the outer sides of the cross is also well preserved, as are most of the mordant gilt lozenges painted atop it, but where the gilding has flaked away, the residues of glue binder have decayed to black.

Discussion

This double-sided processional cross is painted on both faces with closely related but not identical images of the Crucified Christ. On both the obverse and reverse, full-length standing figures of the mourning Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist fill the left and right lateral terminals, respectively, and a half-length mourning angel is seen in the upper terminal. On the obverse, the angel faces left, toward the Virgin; on the reverse, the angel faces right, toward the Evangelist. The Virgin on both sides of the cross wears a dark blue cloak over a red dress; on the obverse, she crosses her arms over her chest, while on the reverse she clasps her hands before her. Saint John wears a red cloak over a light blue robe. On the obverse of the cross, he holds a book of his Gospels in his left hand and touches his right to his chest; on the reverse, his head

rests on his right arm in a gesture of consuming grief. The angels, both front and back, wear violet cloaks over blue tunics, considerably lighter on the obverse than on the reverse. The bottom of the cross on both sides is filled with a kneeling figure in a Franciscan habit, looking up to adore the Crucified Christ: on the reverse, a woman in a Clarissan habit, who may be presumed by her halo to represent Saint Clare; on the obverse, a severely damaged friar, again with a halo, who may be presumed to be Saint Francis.

Each of the three upper terminals of the cross is shaped as a trilobe extension of the basic cross form. The bottom of the cross repeats the lateral lobes of these extensions but tapers to a straight, flat termination at the very bottom, where the cross was affixed by a peg to a processional pole. The outermost lobe at the top and sides and the two lobes at the bottom are decorated with geometric roundels of blue and red in imitation of enamel or *verre églomisé.* These five roundels are identical on both faces of the cross. The background of the cross is gilt and enlivened with an engraved spiraling rinceau motif. Each projecting lobe at the terminals, the two lobes at the bottom, and the four corners of the projecting rectangle marking the center of the cross are further embellished by the attachment of crystal beads nailed to the outside of the cross. It is not clear whether the beads presently attached to the cross (two are missing, one at each of the extreme lateral lobes) are original, but if not, they certainly imitate forms originally attached in these locations. The obverse and reverse faces of the cross are edged with a thin projecting molding, gilded continuously with the background. The outer edge is painted red and decorated with a running pattern of mordant gilt rhombuses around its entire periphery.

Attributed by Richard Offner to the Sienese school when it was purchased by Maitland Griggs in 1926,[1] the cross was first recognized by Bernard Berenson as dependent instead on the polyglot stylistic culture of the so-called Cantiere d'Assisi,[2] the Roman, Florentine, Umbrian, and Transalpine teams of artists engaged primarily during the last two decades of the thirteenth century on the fresco and stained-glass decoration of the Upper Church at the basilica of San Francesco in Assisi. Berenson specifically assigned it to an immediate follower of the Roman painter Pietro Cavallini, and nearly all subsequent discussion of the cross has focused on clarifying its relationship to the style of either Cavallini or his Tuscan contemporary at Assisi, Cimabue. In 1949 Edward Garrison recognized the similarities between this cross and a more elaborate processional cross of similar size in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia (figs. 1–2), labeling their author the "Processional Cross Master" and characterizing him as North Umbrian.[3] The Perugia cross represents the Crucifixion on the obverse, with Roman soldiers in the apron, damaged full-length figures of the mourning Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist in the terminals, and two diminutive Franciscan saints kneeling in adoration at Christ's feet. The reverse portrays the Flagellation, with executioners filling the apron, two mourning angels in the terminals, and a half-length figure of a bishop saint at the foot of the cross.

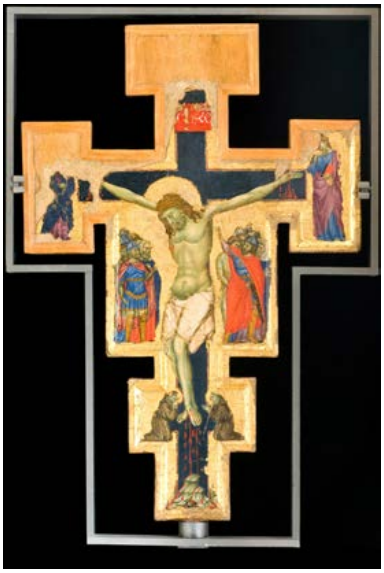

Fig. 1. Master of the Gubbio Cross, *Double-Sided Processional Cross* (obverse), ca. 1290. Tempera and gold on panel, 55.8 × 38 cm (22 × 15 in.). Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia, inv. no. 74

Fig. 2. Master of the Gubbio Cross, *Double-Sided Processional Cross* (reverse), ca. 1290. Tempera and gold on panel, 55.8 × 38 cm (22 × 15 in.). Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia, inv. no. 74

Carlo Volpe, in 1968–69, accepted Garrison's argument relating the Yale and Perugia paintings, as have nearly all subsequent authors.[4] Volpe also added a third work to the group: a monumental painted cross in the Museo Civico at Gubbio (fig. 3), on the basis of which the Yale cross has been known in all recent literature as by the Master of the Gubbio Cross. While this attribution has come to be universally accepted, scarcely two scholars have agreed on the exact outlines of such an artist's personality or whether he might be identifiable as a stage in the career of another, better-known painter active in Perugia or Assisi in the years around 1300. All scholars, however, agree that the Yale and Gubbio crosses must be later works than the cross in Perugia. The Perugia cross reveals a closer reliance on the style and figure types of the frescoes in the Upper Church of the basilica of San Francesco, especially those attributed to the so-called Master of the Capture of Christ, an artist tentatively identified by Giordana Benazzi with the Master of the Gubbio Cross.[5] It incorporates a Gothic figure of Christ whose lively and elegant silhouette derives from a type popularized in Umbria by Giunta Pisano and Cimabue. While Christ is shown with a single nail transfixing both feet, these are still splayed in opposite directions as they had been in earlier paintings, where each foot was shown pierced by a separate nail. The Yale and Gubbio crosses, instead, adopt a Giottesque model that became normative only after the turn of the century, in which Christ's feet overlap in the same direction, forcing His knees forward in a spatially more realistic, less decorative manner. Accordingly, where the Perugia cross is generally dated

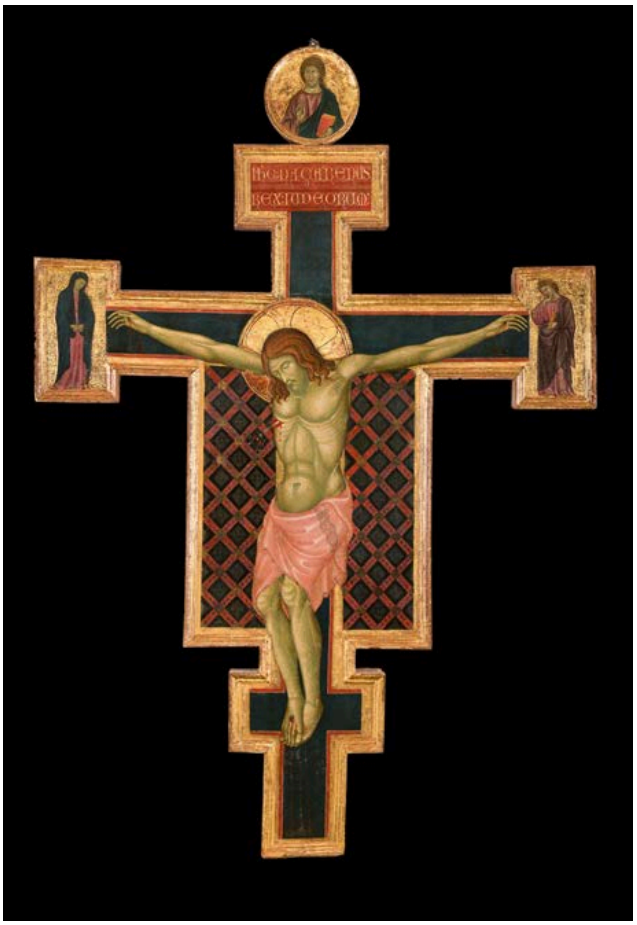

Fig. 3. Master of the Gubbio Cross, *Cross*, ca. 1310. Tempera and gold on panel. Museo Civico, Gubbio

ca. 1290 or slightly earlier,[6] the Yale cross is dated as late as ca. 1310 or even 1320 in some studies.

Alessandro Conti was the first author to advance a substantive proposal for identifying the Master of the Gubbio Cross with another known artist and amalgamating their two oeuvres.[7] Responding to an observation put forward earlier by Roberto Longhi, that miniaturists in Perugia forged a visual language widely imitated by monumental painters there,[8] Conti proposed as an example that the artist identified by Longhi as the "Primo Miniatore Perugino"—author of a series of illuminations in the choir books from San Domenico in Perugia, now preserved in the Biblioteca Augusta there—was probably the same as the Gubbio Cross Master. Conti's suggestion has been accepted *in totum* only by one subsequent writer, Marina Subbioni,[9] but it has formed the basis for discussions by numerous authors who reject the identification. In a variant of the argument, Filippo Todini identifies three distinct hands at work on the San Domenico choir books, a Primo Miniatore Perugino, a Secondo Miniatore Perugino, and a third artist whom he

identifies as Marino da Perugia (Marino di Elemosina di Forte, documented 1309–10).[10] For Todini, the Secondo Miniatore Perugino, not the Primo Miniatore, is sufficiently similar in style to the Gubbio Cross Master that the two artists might be one. Elvio Lunghi rejects both these contentions.[11] He identifies only two hands among the San Domenico choir books. One, the Primo Miniatore Perugino, is decidedly archaic and was probably of an older generation than the other. For Lunghi, the second artist is an amalgamation of Todini's Secondo Miniatore and Marino da Perugia, presumably working on the project over a long arc of time, beginning with the reconsecration of the expanded church of San Domenico in 1304 and concluding at an unknown date prior to 1321. In that year, the Feast of Corpus Domini was officially embraced by the Dominican order, but it is not included among the original texts in these choir books. Lunghi, furthermore, advances a hypothetical identification of the Primo Miniatore Perugino as Marino da Perugia's father, Elemosina di Forte da Perugia (documented 1289–1312). This proposal was seconded by Marta Minazzato, who pointed out that both Marino and Elemosina are cited as painters and as miniaturists in documents.[12]

At the heart of these disagreements lie two separate issues: a divergence of opinion over interpretation of the twenty-six fully illuminated initials remaining in the thirteen volumes of the San Domenico choir books (plus three initials now in the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice, removed from a missing fourteenth volume[13]) and differing views of the plausibility of linking the coloristic exuberance and narrative fantasy of manuscript illumination with the conventional formulas and restricted palette of larger panel paintings. Allowing for the possibility of overlap between the art forms, as is in any event implied by the few surviving documentary notices, it remains difficult to establish criteria for assessing similarity between them. The defining characteristics of Umbrian Gothic miniature painting, beginning with the Primo Miniatore Perugino (Elemosina di Forte?), are the remarkable freedom and originality of its spatial innovations, its narrative complexity and creativity, and above all its distinctive decorative vocabulary. All these qualities are conspicuously lacking in the three painted crosses associated with the Master of the Gubbio Cross: painted crosses, by definition, follow well-rehearsed formulas and rely for their efficacy on immediately recognizable compositional conventions.

It has not been noted anywhere in the extensive literature treating this question that the Yale cross is the work of two different artists: the obverse is not painted by the same hand as the reverse. Although they follow closely similar cartoons and were undoubtedly conceived in tandem, the obverse is painted in a much coarser technique, with shorter figural proportions and more expressive character traits. The feathers of the angel's wings are painted using large unresolved daubs of color with thick impasto, whereas on the reverse they are more smoothly blended into each other. Christ's hair on the obverse is a pattern of thick alternating strokes of dark red and brown, covering His head like a cap viewed nearly in full profile. On the reverse, it is a smoothly modeled field of auburn, parted at the center and falling naturalistically at the shoulders, permitting Christ's head to be viewed more nearly in three-quarter profile. Christ's rib cage and abdomen are also more smoothly modeled on the reverse, avoiding the stark contrasts of color that make the obverse seem more archaic. The greatest contrast between the two sides is visible in the draperies of the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist: sharp, angular contrasts of light and shade on the obverse; on the reverse, fluidly painted lines of highlight rendered as saturate, high-key color against deeper local color. The artist responsible for the obverse of the Yale cross appears to be the same painter responsible for the double-sided processional cross in Perugia (see figs. 1–2), whereas the painter of the reverse of the Yale cross is demonstrably the same as the author of the larger painted cross in Gubbio (see fig. 3). Except through the Yale cross, the Gubbio and Perugia crosses do not establish a strong link between each other.[14]

In light of this distinction of hands, the contentions that the Master of the Gubbio Cross might be the Primo Miniatore Perugino (Conti, Subbioni) or that he might instead be the Secondo Miniatore Perugino (Todini) both require closer scrutiny. Connections to the work of the Secondo Miniatore—in particular, the *Lord's Supper in an Initial A* in Antiphonary H of the San Domenico choir books (fig. 4) or the *Martyrdom of Saints Peter and Paul in an Initial* S in Antiphonary F (fig. 5)—are entirely to be found among the forms and patterns on the reverse of the Yale cross. These are, in fact, sufficiently striking to imply that the two painters might indeed be the same. On the other hand, links to the work of the Primo Miniatore—such as the *Ascension in an Initial P* in the Fondazione Giorgio Cini (fig. 6)—are restricted to the obverse of the Yale cross, and, once again, these are striking. The coincidence of the same two artists being engaged together on distinct collaborative projects might lend circumstantial support to Lunghi's proposals that the Secondo Miniatore Perugino is actually an early stage in

the career of Marino di Elemosina and that the Primo Miniatore and he were father and son. While it is reasonable to believe that the series of fourteen choir books at San Domenico required a considerable span of time to complete, it is equally reasonable to assume that the two faces of the Yale cross were painted all but simultaneously. If the identification of the two artists as Elemosina and Marino di Elemosina is correct, it would follow that the Yale cross should be dated close to 1304, certainly earlier than 1313, the hypothetical date of a signed panel by Marino in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia, representing the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saint Paul, Saint Peter Celestine, and four angels.[15] By that time, the style of Marino di Elemosina had matured beyond the stage at which it could be confused with the hypothetical Secondo Miniatore Perugino. A counterproposal to identify the Primo Miniatore Perugino, and therefore also the Master of the Gubbio Cross, as the Eugubine painter Palmerino di Guido[16] was rejected, apparently correctly, by Linda Pisani in favor of a tentative association of this documented assistant of Giotto with the so-called Maestro Espressionista di Santa Chiara.[17] —LK

Fig. 4. Secondo Miniatore Perugino, *The Lord's Supper in an Initial A*, ca. 1310. Tempera, gold, and silver on parchment. Biblioteca Augusta, Perugia, inv. no. MS 2785, fol. 44v

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Berenson 1932a, 141; "Griggs Collection" 1944, 3; Garrison 1949, 25, 178, no. 448; Bologna 1964, 96; Berenson 1968, 1:83; Santi 1969, 36; Seymour 1970, 99–101, nos. 70a–b; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Boskovits 1973, 11–12, 34nn45–46, 71, fig. 27; *Cleveland Museum of Art* 1974, 139; Donnini 1975, 8–9, fig. 9; Manuali 1982, 8–11; Corrado Fratini, in Castelnuovo 1986, 2:605; Todini 1989, 1:123; Kenney 1992, 132; Daniela Parenti, in Bon Valvassina and Garibaldi 1994, 89; Santanicchia 1998, 73; Garland and Mention 1999, 32–35, fig. 1; Laurence Kanter and Pia Palladino, in Kanter and Morello 1999, 82–83, 85–86, no. 8; Dean 2001, 13, 20–21, no. 3; Drabik 2001, 119–21, no. 21; Subbioni 2006, 102, 104; Toscano 2012, 210; Marzia Sagini, in Pierini 2016, 140; Giordana Benazzi, in Benazzi, Lunghi, and Neri Lusanna 2018, 51–52, 56, 182, 184, 186, fig. 2; Mirko Santanicchia, in Benazzi, Lunghi, and Neri Lusanna 2018, 188

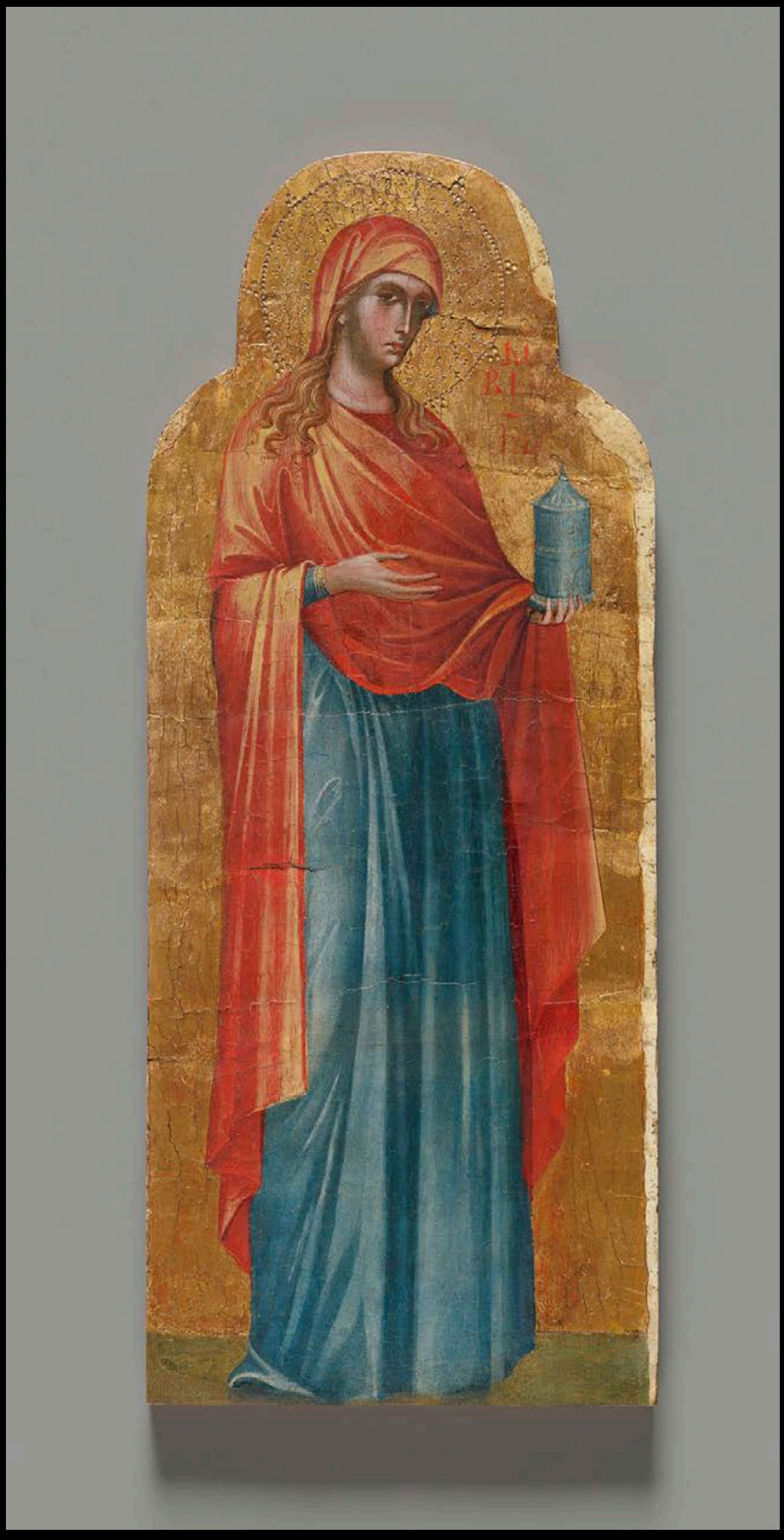
NOTES

1. Verbal opinion, recorded in Seymour 1970, 101.
2. Berenson 1932a, 141.
3. Garrison 1949, 25.
4. Lectures at the Università di Bologna in the academic year 1968–69, cited in Boskovits 1973, 11–12.
5. Giordana Benazzi, in Benazzi, Lunghi, and Neri Lusanna 2018, 52.
6. Daniela Parenti, in Bon Valvassina and Garibaldi 1994, 89; and Marzia Sagini, in Pierini 2016, 140.
7. Conti 1981, 71n37.
8. Longhi 1966, 3–17.
9. Subbioni 2006, 102.
10. Todini 1982, 218–22.
11. Lunghi 1991, 43–68; Lunghi 2004a, 730–32; and Lunghi 2004b, 783–86.
12. Marta Minazzato, in Medica and Toniolo 2016, 220.
13. Inv. nos. 22072–73, 22075; see Minazzato, in Medica and Toniolo 2016, 215–20.
14. Mirko Santanicchia correctly doubted that the Perugia and Gubbio crosses were by a single artist, but the majority of writers on this topic have not agreed with his observation; see Santanicchia 1998, 73–74.
15. Inv. no. 14; see Lunghi 1994, 108–11.
16. Subbioni 2006, 104.

Fig. 5. Secondo Miniatore Perugino, *The Martyrdom of Saints Peter and Paul in an Initial S*, ca. 1310. Tempera, gold, and silver on parchment. Biblioteca Augusta, Perugia, inv. no. MS 2787, fol. 116r

Fig. 6. Primo Miniatore Perugino, *The Ascension in an Initial P*, ca. 1305–10. Tempera, gold, and silver on parchment. Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice, inv. no. 22072

17. Linda Pisani, in Pierini 2016, 176–85.



Paolo Veneziano and Workshop, *Saint Mary Magdalen*

Artist	Paolo Veneziano and Workshop, Venice, active by 1333–58/62
Title	*Saint Mary Magdalen*
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*.

Inscription

to the right of the saint, in red paint, MA / RIA / M[AGDALENA]

ECCE
AGNV?
TOEI·
ECCE
QVI T
OLIS
PEC
ATA

Paolo Veneziano, *Saint John the Baptist*

Artist	Paolo Veneziano, Venice, active by 1333–58/62
Title	*Saint John the Baptist*
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

Inscription

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

throughout 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 York[9]—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 Pedrocco 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 eliminated 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

The debatable claim of a possible common provenance aside, Zeri and Gardner's association of the Yale *Saints* with the Metropolitan Museum *Virgin* is unconvincing on stylistic grounds alone.[12] Whereas the latter picture partakes of the fully developed Gothicism of the signed and dated 1347 Carpineta Madonna in the Museo Diocesano, Cesena[13]—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 points of reference for the Yale *Magdalen* and *John the Baptist* are the hieratic lateral figures in the 1333 altarpiece with the Transit 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, *The Transit of the Virgin with Saints Francis of Assisi and Anthony*, 1333. Tempera and gold on panel, 112 × 77 cm (44 1/8 × 30 3/8 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

Fig. 4. Paolo Veneziano, *The Blessed Leone Bembo and Scenes from His Legend*, 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

emphasized by Pallucchini, who pointed to the identical figure types with "pin point eyes, highlighted nose, down-turned 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]

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 the 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 with 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, 7, 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, no. 27; Zeri and Gardner 1973, 47; Kenney 1992, 134; Frinta 1998, 128; Marchi 2000, 35, 51n42; Pedrocco 2003, 211; Rullo 2014

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-Vavalà, "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://hvrd.art/o/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. Gloria 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 (in Zeri and Gardner 1973, 49), 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." 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. Pedrocco 2003, 176–77, no. 18.

14. Inv. no. 1927.19.6a, https://worcester.emuseum.com/objects/29796/saint-john-the-baptist. The triptych is currently divided between the Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts; the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., inv. no. 1939.1.143, https://purl.org/nga/collection/artobject/284; 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 polytpych (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; see Pallucchini, in Bettini, Furlan, Mariacher, 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-Vavalà; see Sandberg-Vavalà 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 Marisa 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 *pale 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, *Scenes from the Lives of Christ and Saint John the Baptist*

Artist	Follower of Pietro da Rimini, Romagnole, active second quarter 14th century
Title	*Scenes from the Lives of Christ and Saint John the Baptist*
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 wood 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 (fig. 1). 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. 2), 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. *Scenes from the Lives of Christ and Saint John the Baptist*, before 1965

Fig. 2. Reverse of *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 backs of the main compartment and both wings are decorated with a black vine-and-clover motif painted against a red background (see fig. 2).

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 (see fig. 1)—the painted surface was completely abraded in large areas and 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.

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 figure types with impossibly long necks, pinched features, and pointed chins that inhabit the Yale triptych—more clearly recognizable in premodern restoration photographs (see fig. 1)—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* (detail), 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 name piece 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] 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

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Jarves 1860, 42, no. 10; Sturgis 1868, 19, no. 4; Brown 1871, 11, no. 4; Rankin 1895, 138; Rankin 1905, 7; Sirén 1916a, 29–30, no. 9; van Marle 1924c, 298, fig. 151; Offner 1927a, 41–42, figs. 34, 34a–b; Garrison 1949, 131, no. 345; Seymour 1970, 106–7, no. 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.
2. van Marle 1924c, 298, fig. 151; and Offner 1927a, 41–42.
3. Garrison 1949, 131, no. 345.
4. Seymour 1970, 106–7, no. 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 Kunsthaus 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. NG6503, 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).

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Coronation of the Virgin*

Artist	Giovanni Baronzio, Rimini, active ca. 1320–50
Title	*The Coronation of the Virgin*
Date	ca. 1335–45
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 93.7 × 59.7 cm (36 7/8 × 23 1/2 in.); picture surface: 88.3 × 57.5 cm (34 3/4 × 22 5/8 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz
Inv. No.	1959.15.14

Provenance

Spink and Son Galleries, London, 1927;[1] Richard M. Hurd, New York, to 1945; sale, Kende Galleries at Gimbel Brothers, New York, October 29, 1945, lot 27; Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz (1887–1957), Sands Point, Long Island, N.Y.

Condition

The panel support, thinned to a depth of 1.3 centimeters or less, has been marouflaged into a larger panel support and heavily cradled. The wood grain of the original panel runs on a diagonal from upper left to lower right. The top of the panel has been cropped through the halo of the central angel and rebuilt. Two major splits or seams have opened at 21 and 32 centimeters from the left edge, measured along the bottom of the composition. Repaints along these splits and retouches of flaking losses in the darker draperies are completely masked by a thick, opaque varnish that obscures the entire surface. The sgraffito decoration of Christ's red tunic is beautifully preserved, but it is not possible to judge how much of the chrysogony decorating His robe and the Virgin's robe is original and how much is reinforcement. Shadows and folds in the cloth of honor have been reinforced and flattened, and gilding in the haloes has been locally repaired. More extensive repaints are in evidence across the bottom of the panel.

Discussion

The panel, possibly the centerpiece of a larger complex and presently inserted into a modern neo-Gothic frame, has been significantly compromised by overall retouching, executed at an unknown date before it entered Yale's collection.[2] The Coronation of the Virgin is represented according to the Riminese formula developed by Giuliano da Rimini in a polyptych now in the Museo della Città di Rimini, which shows Christ and the Virgin seated on an invisible throne against a lavishly decorated cloth of honor held up by angels. Giuliano's version, however, follows Venetian models in its depiction of a regal Christ holding a scepter in His left hand and crowning the Virgin with His right, whereas the present image is indebted, rather, to Giottesque Tuscan examples, with a more humble, bare-headed Christ placing the crown on His mother's head with both hands. The celestial dimension of the event is underscored by the profusion of decorated surfaces. Still discernible beneath layers of old varnish are the gold striations over the tunic of Christ and over the mantles of both Christ and the Virgin and the elaborate geometric designs incised over the Virgin's dress. Although now largely repainted, the

cloth of honor in the background must have shared a similar pattern of alternating geometric shapes in paint and sgraffito, comparable to that in Giuliano's polyptych and in later Riminese examples.

When it first appeared on the art market in London in 1926, the Yale *Coronation* was described in an expert opinion as "an authentic and characteristic work by Giovanni Baronzio da Rimini,"[3] and in 1932 it figured among the more than forty paintings assigned to the artist by Bernard Berenson.[4] The attribution to Baronzio was accepted by Mario Salmi and reiterated, albeit with some reservations, by Cesare Brandi and Luigi Coletti.[5] Following the reassessment of Baronzio's activity and the separation of his personality from that of other Riminese painters, the Yale *Coronation* became one of only a handful of pieces still included in his autograph production. In his fundamental study on Riminese painting, Carlo Volpe listed the work alongside only two other images he gave to the artist in addition to the signed and dated 1345 polyptych in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino (fig. 1): a panel with scenes from the life of Christ in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,[6] and a polyptych in the church of San Francesco a Mercatello sul Metauro, in the Marche.[7] According to Volpe, who compared the tooling of the haloes to that of the Mercatello polyptych, the *Coronation* reflected Baronzio's technical as well as formal vocabulary, although full confirmation of its authorship, Volpe emphasized, could come only from a direct examination of the painting, which by that date was known to most scholars only from photographs. Volpe's analysis was overlooked by Charles Seymour, Jr., who catalogued the *Coronation* as "School of Rimini" and tentatively associated it with the works then gathered under the label "Master of the Life of Saint John the Baptist"[8]—a group later recognized by Miklós Boskovits as the product of an early phase of Baronzio himself.[9] Subsequent discussions of the Yale *Coronation*, even when confined to a passing reference, have implicitly concurred with Volpe's assessment and unanimously inserted the painting among the artist's mature efforts.

Notwithstanding its present condition, most aspects of the Yale *Coronation* conform to the formal and decorative idiom of Baronzio as reflected in the body of works currently ascribed to his hand. The heavy figural proportions and flattened profiles, characterized by rounded jaws and pointed chins, are closely related to those in the 1345 polyptych in Urbino, whereas the ornate surfaces and type of sgraffito decoration, as well as the earth-tone palette—as much as can be surmised of it from the present state of the panel—most nearly recall the ornamental vocabulary employed by the artist in the scenes from the life of Saint John the Baptist in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., which were recently dated by Boskovits to an earlier moment in his career, around 1335 (fig. 2).[10] It is difficult to ascertain the extent to which certain features of the Yale *Coronation*, like the heavily outlined profiles and sharp definition of draperies, are the result of later reinforcements, but these elements seem consistent with the gradual evolution of Baronzio's style in the last decade of his activity. The elaborate punchwork design in the figures' haloes, as noted by Volpe, finds its nearest counterpart in the Mercatello polyptych, traditionally dated around the same moment as the Urbino altarpiece. The Mercatello polyptych is nevertheless distinguished from the Yale *Coronation*—as well as from the Urbino altarpiece—by a greater elongation of the figures and slackness of execution, viewed by Volpe as the result of the intervention of assistants. Within the limits imposed by its present condition, it seems most prudent for now to place the execution of the Yale *Coronation* at an intermediate phase in the artist's career, following the execution of the scenes from the life of the Baptist and preceding the Urbino polyptych. —PP

Fig. 2. Giovanni Baronzio, *The Baptism of Christ*, ca. 1335. Tempera and gold on panel, 48.8 × 41.2 cm (19 1/4 × 16 1/4 in.). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection, inv. no. 1939.1.131

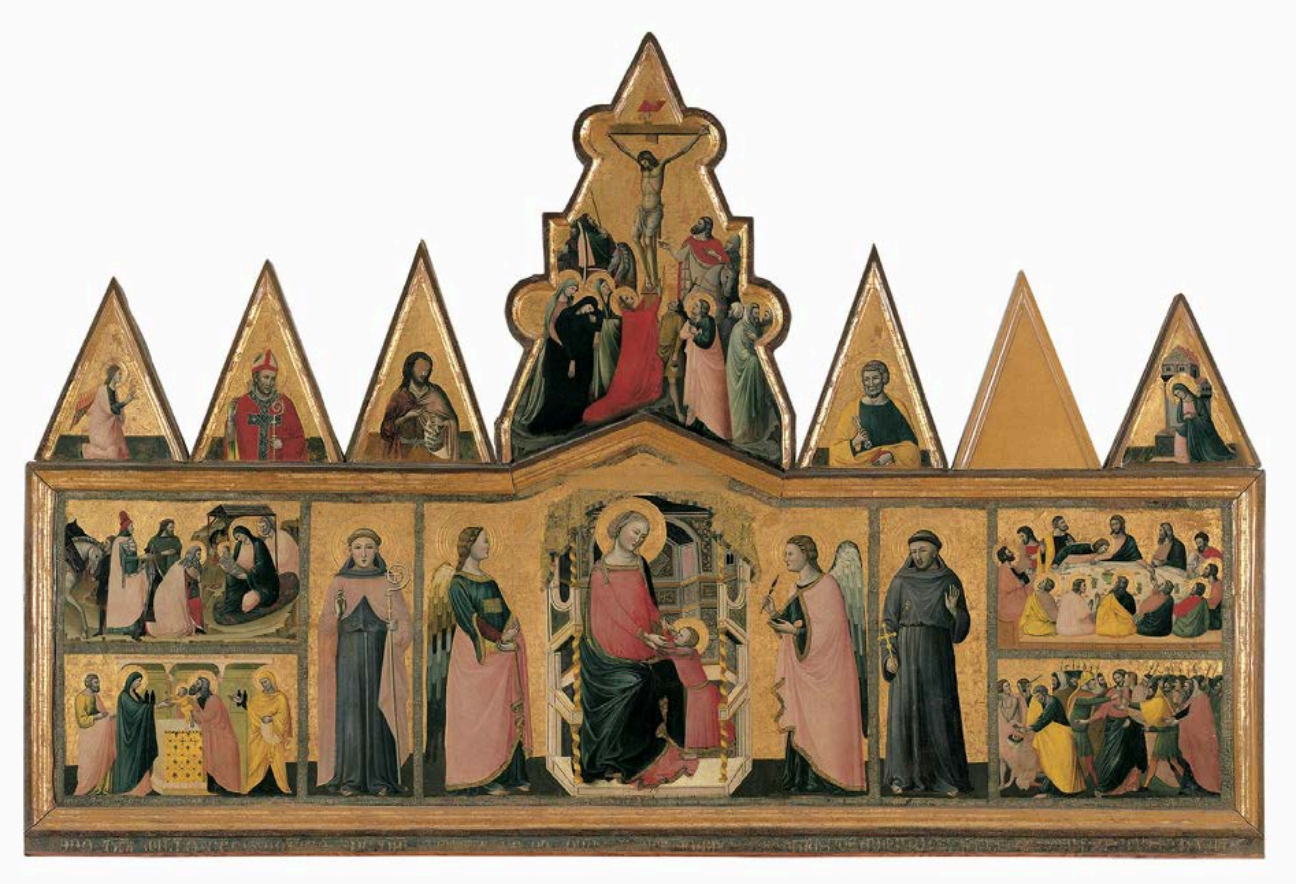

Fig. 1. Giovanni Baronzio, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Louis of Toulouse and Francis and Scenes from the Life of Christ*, 1345. Tempera and gold on panel, 143 × 241 cm (56 1/4 × 94 7/8 in.). Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino, inv. no. 1990 D15

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Berenson 1932a, 44; Salmi 1932–33, 194; Brandi 1935, xxxii, 215, fig. 145; *Italian Primitives* 1937, no. 4; Kende Galleries 1945, 60–61, lot 27; Coletti 1947, 69n20; "Recent Gifts and Purchases" 1960, 53; Seymour 1961, 7, 55; Volpe 1965, 43, 83, no. 78, fig. 209; Berenson 1968, 1:363, 2: fig. 194; Seymour 1970, 107–8, no. 75; Vertova 1973a, 160; Fahy 1974, 285; Andrea Bacchi, in Castelnuovo 1986, 2:555; Boskovits 1988b, 15; Freuler 1991, 132; Benati 1992; Daniele Benati, Benati 1995b, 30, 56n3, 264; Benati 2008, 32, 35n47

NOTES

1. According to Kende Galleries 1945, 60.
2. A 1928 photograph by Mortimer Offner (Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna, inv. no. 28089; and Frick Art Reference Library, New York), executed for its then owner, Raymond Hurd, shows the painting in substantially the same condition in which it is found today, but it is not possible to judge whether it had by then already been marouflaged and cradled.
3. G. P. Konnody, London, cited in Kende Galleries 1945, 60, lot 27.
4. Berenson 1932a, 44.
5. Salmi 1932–33, 194; Brandi 1935, xxxii, 215, fig. 145; and Coletti 1947, 69n20.
6. Inv. no. 09.103, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/435607.
7. Volpe 1965, 41–43.
8. Seymour 1970, 107–8, no. 75. As pointed out by the reviews of Luisa Vertova (in Vertova 1973a, 160) and Everett Fahy (in Fahy 1974, 285), Seymour's statement that "the change of attribution from Baronzio to school of Rimini is in line with recent scholarship on Baronzio" is puzzling at best. Volpe's study is omitted from discussion, nor is it included in the scant bibliography that accompanies the entry.
9. Boskovits 1988b, 15.
10. Boskovits 2016, 159–61, nos. 18–19.

Pseudo-Dalmasio, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Angels*

Artist	Pseudo-Dalmasio, Bologna, active second quarter 14th century
Title	*Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Angels*
Date	ca. 1340–45
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	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 C*rucifixion* 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*, ca. 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 reconstructed 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 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 his 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, 103–5, no. 72; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; David Arnheim, in Seymour et al. 1972, 38, no. 28; Castagnoli 1978, 98; Daniele Benati, in Castelnuovo 1986, 1:220, fig. 332, 2:567; Benati 1994; Stefano Tumidei, in *Italies* 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, 1927, 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, 103–5, no. 72.
11. Inv. no. 284, https://www.pinacotecabologna.beniculturali.it/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 Ressort 1978, 62n7.
12. Bellosi 1974, 84; and Bellosi 1977a, 24.
13. See Daniele Benati, in Castelnuovo 1986, 1:220, 2:567; Benati 1994; Volpe 2004, 9; and Strehlke 2004, 108.
14. Highlighting the uncertainties that characterize the debate, Benati (in Castelnuovo 1986) and Carl Brandon Strehlke (in Medica 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 *Flagellation* 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 2007. Panella proposed 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	*The Crucifixion*; *The Coronation of the Virgin*; *Christ between the Twelve Apostles*
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
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. 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; and 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

The 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. On the right of the panel, 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 Akademie der bildenden Künste, 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. *The Crucifixion*; *The Coronation of the Virgin*; *Christ between the Twelve Apostles*, at the time of 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* 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; The 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), *The Coronation of the Virgin*, 1382. Tempera and gold on panel. Opera Pia Zoni, Bologna

By the time the 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 it 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 these works, however, defined by a repetition of motifs and figure 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 Crucifixion scene in the Yale panel, and especially the figure of Saint John the Evangelist, to the Crucifixion in a devotional triptych by Simone in the Ashmolean Museum, University of 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), *The 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 panel 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; "Recent Gifts and Purchases" 1960, 53; Seymour 1961, 54; Volpe 1967, 88, fig. 24; Seymour 1970, 102–3, no. 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 Gozzadina, Giovanni's only child, the Gozzadini family line was extinguished. In 1905, after a protracted legal battle over the terms of Gozzadina'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 Bollini 2019, 245–328.
2. Gozzadini 1851, 117n216.
3. Inv. no. A 31. See Gozzadini 1851, 117–18n216.
4. Inv. nos. 1941.156–.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 Roberto Longhi (in Longhi 1946, reprinted in Longhi 1978, 41), see Jean Cadogan, in Cadogan 1991, 252.
9. Seymour 1970, 102–3, no. 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, 200–202, nos. 27, 69–60.
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 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	*Mourning Virgin*
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 wood 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]

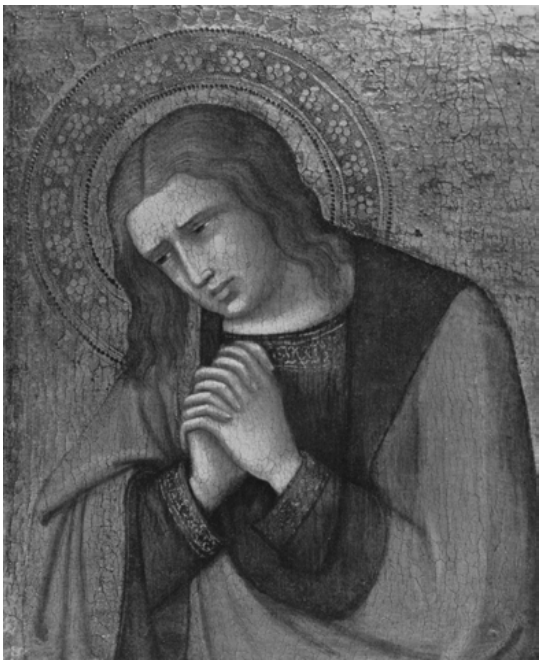

Fig. 1. Barnaba da Modena, *Mourning Saint John the Evangelist*, ca. 1375–80. Tempera and gold on panel, 30.5 × 25.4 cm (12 × 10 in.). Location unknown

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 ex–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 ex–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 Sorrows[8] 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 ex–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 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, 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, 77, 79, 310, 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, 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, 77, 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, 179, 219.
8. Seymour 1970, 79; 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. The current location of the Genoa *Virgin and Child* is unknown, but it is recorded in a contemporary copy in the Kress Collection at the Benton Museum of Art at Pomona College, Claremont, Calif.

Volume 2: 1420–1490

The Florentine School

The Sienese School

Other Schools

The Florentine School

Giovanni dal Ponte, *The Garden of Love*

Artist	Giovanni dal Ponte, Florence, 1385–1437/38
Title	*The Garden of Love*
Date	ca. 1425–30
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 51.2 × 167.4 cm (20 1/8 × 65 7/8 in.); picture surface: 40.4 × 149.6 cm (15 7/8 × 58 7/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A., 1896
Inv. No.	1943.217

Provenance

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

Condition

The panel support, of a horizontal wood grain, ranges in thickness from 1.4 to 4 centimeters and exhibits a slight convex warp. It comprises one large plank with the addition of a 5-centimeter-wide board across the bottom that appears to be an old repair, secured to the main plank with four walnut butterfly wedges. Three more walnut butterfly wedges repair a prominent split originating at the right edge of the panel and reaching nearly half its full length. The top molding of the frame, approximately 10 centimeters of the right molding, and 43 centimeters of the left molding are original; the bottom molding and the lower extensions of both lateral moldings are modern repairs. The original cutout for the lock hasp, measuring 10 by 9.5 centimeters, centered at the top margin of the panel on the reverse, has been filled with later wood, probably at the same time as the addition of the bottom strip. A later hasp, measuring 14 by 11 centimeters, was affixed to the reverse at the top margin, 70 centimeters (on center) from the left edge of the panel. The keyholes from both hasps have been filled and repainted. The gilding and paint surface are severely abraded throughout—above all, in areas of green pigment. Prominent losses occur along the split at the lower right, along a broad horizontal scratch through the legs of the two figures at the left of the fountain, and in the feet of the seated musicians and a dancer at the far left of the composition.

Discussion

The panel, once the front of a cassone, has received scant attention in the literature, no doubt due to its present condition. Beyond affecting the appreciation of its artistic merits, the irreparable damage from past interventions has compromised an accurate reading of the composition. Paul Watson referred to the panel only sporadically in his studies on the Garden of Love in early Renaissance Tuscan art, mentioning it in the company of other works, mostly *deschi da parto* (birth trays), that celebrated the theme, beginning with the earliest known example in the Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai, France (fig. 1). The Yale version, at present best understood through comparisons with old photographs (fig. 2)—although these already reveal modern retouching—contains all the essential components of the allegorical Garden of Love: a flowery meadow bounded by trees; a fountain at its center; and groupings of elegant couples who dance, listen to music,

and crown one another with flowers.[1] These elements evoke the courtly atmosphere of chivalric romance found in the love lyrics of early troubadours and encapsulated by Guillaume de Lorris's *Roman de la rose* (ca. 1230)—a work whose influence is traceable in the writings of Dante, Francesco Petrarch, and Giovanni Boccaccio.[2] Echoing Lorris's poem, Boccaccio described the garden as a place where "beauty, nobility, and worth, charming words, the very mould of virtue, and highest happiness dwell with love . . . there fulfilled are worldly dreams, and their sweetness is seen, and felt."[3]

Fig. 1. Florentine School, *Desco da Parto with the Garden of Love*, ca. 1380. Tempera and gold on panel, Diam. 50 cm (19 5/8 in.). Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai, France, inv. no. 1089a

Fig. 2. *The Garden of Love*, 1943

Watson's study highlighted the importance of the *Roman de la rose* among the multiplicity of sources that contributed to the development of the theme. His analysis of the Yale *Garden of Love*, however, did not fully explore the relevance of the poem as a source for some of the unique features that distinguish this composition from traditional representations of the subject as formulated by the Douai *desco da parto*. In contrast to the iconic character of that work and other images related to it, the Yale *Garden of Love* appears to follow a loose narrative structure that traces the progression of love from an awareness of its delights (in the garden) to the awakening of desire (at the fountain) and final attainment of the beloved—in a sequence of images that closely evokes the ekphrastic descriptions of the young Lover's journey in the *Roman de la rose*. Paralleling the didactic aspect of the poem and borrowing elements that are specific to Lorris's tale, the painting may be read as an allegorical lesson or reminder addressed specifically to a patrician Florentine groom about the proper conduct he should follow according to the conventions of courtly love.[4]

Foremost among the more unusual aspects of the Yale panel is the large flock of birds—now only partially visible—swooping and swirling together in the golden sky while carrying inscribed scrolls in their beaks. Aside from a few fragments of words, the inscriptions are no longer legible, but it may be presumed that they originally provided a poetic commentary on the painting. Watson, who remarked on the exceptional quality of the bird motif, related it to the Elysian imagery of Latin poetry. Medieval chivalric literature, however, is replete with ornithological references, where nightingales, in particular, take on the role of "singers of love" and champions of Venus in debates about the nature of love.[5] In the *Roman de la rose,* the young narrator/Lover's first experience of the garden is defined by the "heavenly" sound of countless varieties of birds, whose names are individually listed by the author; they are singing "amorous lays and courtly airs" throughout the garden, luring the listener like a siren song and filling him with immense joy. The God of Love himself, we are told, is "entirely covered with birds," and nightingales flutter around his head.[6] The message-carrying birds in the Yale panel immediately situate the image within the realm of love defined by the *Roman de la rose*. On the extreme left of the panel, two women stand in the background of an idyllic scene of music and dance. As in the Douai birth tray, a fashionably dressed trio, composed of a woman between two men, dances with interlocked hands to the music provided by two elegantly attired performers.[7] A young woman seated on the ground delicately plucks the strings of a harp—the instrument of Venus—accompanied by an equally stylish young man playing a lute. She wears a rose-colored dress with fur cuffs and red sleeves; he is

dressed in a fringed silver tunic with gold trim over red tights. As noted by Watson, the beautiful clothes of all the participants and the elegant rhythms of the dancers capture the leisurely atmosphere that was viewed by medieval poets as conducive to love.[8] These qualities are personified by the characters in the *Roman de la rose*, where the lovely Lady Idleness lets the Lover into the garden, informing him that it belongs to a gentleman named Pleasure: "Pleasure and his followers, who live in joy and happiness, often come to amuse themselves and enjoy the shade of this place. Indeed, Pleasure is doubtless already there, listening to the song of the nightingales, thrushes, and other birds. He enjoys himself there and relaxes with his followers, for he could never find a finer spot or a fairer place in which to enjoy himself. And I assure you that Pleasure's companions, whom he takes with him in his train, are the fairest people to be found anywhere."[9] Presiding over the gathering alongside Pleasure is his mistress, Lady Joy, who leads the dancers in song with her beautiful voice. A "mirthful lady" called Courtesy graciously invites the Lover to join in the dance, which is also attended by the God of Love in the company of Beauty.

As in other depictions of the Garden of Love, the focus of the Yale picture is the Fountain of Love. In this instance, it is an imposing octagonal marble structure that dominates the composition and defines the narrative, marking the transition from the pleasures of the garden to the discovery of sensual love. Rising from its center is a column that was originally surmounted by the standing figure of a naked Cupid; although the painted surface has mostly disappeared, the outlines incised in the gold background show that his left arm was extended outward, possibly clutching a bow and/or arrows. Standing to the left of the fountain and dipping his hands in the waters of love is a tall man wearing a red *berretta*, or cap, and an ermine-lined *lucco*—the floor-length crimson gown traditionally worn by fifteenth-century Florentine upper-class men after the age of eighteen.[10] The prominence accorded this figure would appear to suggest that he may represent the young patrician groom for whom the chest was commissioned. Opposite him, on the other side of the fountain, is a knight with a hawk, a common medieval trope for sexual attraction that also appears in the Douai *desco*.[11] Here, however, the knight does not merely stand in proximity to the fountain but appears to be gazing directly into it—one hand lifted in shock or surprise, the other carrying the hawk. The detail evokes the illustrations in illuminated manuscripts of the *Roman de la rose* (fig. 3), where the Ovidian pool of Narcissus is conflated with the image of the Lover looking into the Fountain of Love and falling under the spell of Cupid: "For Cupid, Venus's son, sowed here the seed of love which covers the whole spring; here he set his nets and snares to trap young men and maidens, for Love wants no other birds. Because of the seed that was sown here, this spring was rightly called the Spring of Love, and many have spoken of it in many places, in books and romances."[12] In the poem, the fountain becomes an elaborate visual metaphor for the awakening of erotic desire and the transformative power of love; looking into the water's depths, the young Lover sees two marvelous crystals that reflect every part of the garden in wonderous detail, including a rose bush that he had not previously noticed, whereupon he is suddenly seized by an overwhelming impulse to pluck one of its flowers.[13] The God of Love, who has been stalking him through the garden, then immediately strikes the Lover with his arrows, making him his prisoner; the young man gladly surrenders to the god and agrees to become his "liegeman," swearing to obey his "commandments."[14]

Fig. 3. French illuminator, *Young Man at the Fountain of Love*, ca. 1400. Tempera on parchment. Biblioteca de la Universitat de València, MS 0387, *Roman de la rose*, fol. 12r

In the Yale panel, the progress from infatuation toward the attainment of the beloved is represented to the right of the fountain, where three ladies are seated on the grass weaving garlands of flowers, traditional tokens of love; in the *Roman de la rose*, as noted by Watson, Pleasure wears a chaplet of roses made for him by Joy, "for pleasure and for love."[15] Closing the composition are two young women crowning the young men kneeling before them with garlands, a recurrent motif throughout medieval literature and art, signifying the acceptance of the Lover's suit.[16] The unusual trio of seated women recalls a similar grouping, usually identified as a representation of Emilia and her companions gathering flowers, in a *desco da parto* by Mariotto di Nardo in Stuttgart, Germany, illustrating Boccaccio's *Teseida*.[17] Watson viewed the motif within the context of classical and medieval numerology, as a depiction of love itself or of the different phases of love.[18] Three garlanded women, two of whom play musical instruments, kneel before the figure of Venus in Giovanni di Paolo's marriage box in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, dated 1421 (see Giovanni di Paolo, *Annunciate Virgin*, fig. 7); they were identified by Millard Meiss as the Three Graces but have also been viewed as a depiction of the betrothed flanked by her attendants.[19] In the Yale panel, there is a clear intent to relate the trio to the events on the other side of the fountain, for one of the seated women is undoubtedly the same garlanded maiden shown playing the harp. Her precise identity, however, remains unclear. Among the beautiful women in the garden of the *Roman de la rose*, Lady Joy stands out as the faithful sweetheart of Pleasure, her melodious voice unsurpassed by all others; her hair, "blond and shining," is braided with gold thread and crowned with a magnificent gold-embroidered chaplet unlike any other.[20] The virtues of joy and courtesy, along with an undivided heart, musical skills, dancing, and elegant attire, head the long list of commandments issued by the God of Love in the *Roman de la rose*. Since "words are less difficult to recall when they are brief," Lorris explains, they can be succinctly summarized for the benefit of the young Lover as: "Anyone who wishes to make Love his master must be courteous and free from pride, elegant and light-hearted and esteemed for his generosity."[21]

The Yale *Garden of Love* was acquired by Maitland Griggs in Florence in 1927 with an attribution to Giovanni dal Ponte, endorsed by both Bernard Berenson and Paul Schubring.[22] Since then, the authorship of the painting has never been questioned, although its precarious state has hindered any meaningful discussion of its place in the artist's oeuvre. Watson, following Charles Seymour, Jr., proposed a date around 1430, based on a supposed dependence of the seated harpist on the musician in a *desco* by Bartolomeo di Fruosino dated 1428, formerly in the New-York Historical Society.[23] The figures are not identical, however, and both conform in their pose to other representations of seated women playing the harp in medieval manuscripts and model books. In his discussion of Giovanni dal Ponte's activity as a *cofanaio*, or cassone painter, Lorenzo Sbaraglio argued more persuasively for an earlier chronology.[24] According to Sbaraglio, the execution of the present work fell "a few years" after that of a cassone front with scenes from Boccaccio's *Teseida* in the Museo Amedeo Lia, La Spezia (fig. 4), tentatively associated with a 1422 payment to the artist.[25] The same author subsequently catalogued the Yale panel with a date between 1425 and 1430.[26]

Fig. 4. Giovanni dal Ponte, *Stories from Boccaccio's "Teseida,"* ca. 1420–25. Tempera on panel, 55 × 159 cm (21 5/8 × 62 5/8 in.). Museo Amedeo Lia, La Spezia, inv. no. 282

As pointed out by Sbaraglio, the correspondences between the Lia painting and the Yale *Garden of Love* extend beyond the shared courtly atmosphere and palette to include similar figure types and idiosyncratic details—like the vortex of folds formed by the sleeve of the falconer's dress, which mimics that of one of the characters in the first episode of the Lia panel. Indeed, it is through the Lia cassone that one gains a sense of the original appearance of the Yale panel. Its exquisite quality and the liveliness of the composition are still discernible in the fastidious attention to precious details in the figures' clothing and in the energetic movements of the dancers and lunging poses of the two young women on the right side of the panel. It is not clear to what extent the unified picture field, more consistent with Giovanni dal Ponte's other cassoni, is an indicator of a later date. The increased breadth of the composition and recession in depth of the solidly constructed fountain argue in favor of a slightly more sophisticated approach, while the looser drawing technique and dynamic folds of cloth seem to more nearly

anticipate the artist's fully developed mature style. Notwithstanding these distinctions, the Yale panel, like the Lia picture, certainly predates the monumental, eccentric qualities of Giovanni's efforts in the fourth decade, as defined by the triptych in the abbey of Santa Maria in Rosano (Florence), dated 1434, and as reflected in other cassone paintings, such as the *Garden of Famous Lovers* in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris (fig. 5), and the pair in Madrid and ex-Bardini Collection.[27] The relative chronology of Giovanni's production before 1430, however, remains unsettled. The absence of securely documented works aside from the *Marriage of Saint Catherine* in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, purportedly dated 1421, has resulted in often radically divergent opinions.[28] Like the Lia picture, the Yale *Garden of Love* may be grouped with those works that reflect an intermediate phase of the painter's career between 1420 and 1430, when his approach is consistent with the Late Gothic idiom of contemporary masters, such as Rossello di Jacopo Franchi (see Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, Pilaster Fragment with Saint Catherine *of Alexandria* and Rossello di Jacopo Franchi, *Virgin and Child in Glory with Saint John the Baptist, Saint Peter, and Two Angels*) and Paolo Schiavo (see Paolo Schiavo, *The Realms of Love*).

Fig. 5. Giovanni dal Ponte, *The Garden of Famous Lovers*, ca. 1430–35. Tempera and gold on panel, 42 × 146 cm (16 1/2 × 57 1/2 in.). Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, inv. no. P1765

The possibility cannot be excluded that the present work, like the Lia panel, might relate to one of the cassoni executed in Giovanni dal Ponte's workshop in the 1420s and recorded in documents. The list of the artist's patrons comprises some of the most notable names in Florentine society, such as the Bardi and the Strozzi—cosmopolitan, educated members of the ruling elite who would have been familiar with the courtly atmosphere evoked by the *Roman de la rose* through intermediary sources or perhaps even a copy of the original text.[29] A candidate for the present commission could be Matteo di Simone degli Strozzi (1397–1435), who is listed in the 1427 *catasto* as owing money to the artist for a pair of chests.[30] A distant cousin but close family friend and protegé of Palla Strozzi, Matteo had been educated among the leading humanists of the period and was known for his intellectual and literary ambitions and diplomatic skills.[31] Since Matteo's own children were still infants in 1427, the cassone pair must have been intended for an unidentified female relative. The absence of any coats of arms on all of the surviving cassone paintings attributed to the artist, however, and the fact that the documents do not mention the subjects represented on the chests preclude any firm conclusions. —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

"Notes of the Month" 1928, 66; Berenson 1932a, 250; Berenson 1963, 1:91; Seymour 1970, 152, 154, 315, no. 106; Watson 1970, 67–72, 290–91, no. 28, pl. 26; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 91, 600; Watson 1979, 64–66, 68, 70, 72, 78, 103, pl. 55; Callmann 1995, 33, 63, no. 110; Sbaraglio 2007, 35, 45n17, figs. 3–4, 6; Sbaraglio 2010b, 82n21; Lorenzo Sbaraglio, in Sbaraglio and Tartuferi 2016, 207, no. 51; Soldani 2016, 63, 68n2

NOTES

1. Watson 1970, 61–62.

2. The most comprehensive discussion of the impact of the *Roman de la rose* on thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italian authors remains Benedetto Foscolo 1910. More recently, Luciano Rossi (in Rossi 2006, 201–19) highlighted the poem's influence on Boccaccio, in particular. The earliest known Italian versions of the *Roman de la rose* are a late thirteenth-century shorter poem called *Il fiore* and an amatory lyric named *Detto d'amore*, both of which have been attributed to Dante. These works espouse the ideals of courtly love spelled out by the God of Love in the *Roman de la rose*, but they do not constitute an exact translation of the poem and do not contain any allusion to Lorris's Fountain of Love. *Il fiore* is based primarily on the second half of the *Roman*, composed by Jean de Meun some forty years after Lorris's text. See Dante 2021. These adaptations suggest that the *Roman de la rose* was already in circulation in Italy by the last quarter of the thirteenth century and that it enjoyed some favor in literary circles. In 1339 Petrarch presented a copy of the poem to Guido Gonzaga, duke of Mantua.

3. Boccaccio, *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine*, quoted in Watson 1979, 73.

4. The narrator/dreamer/Lover in the poem, it bears noting, is a young man in his "twentieth year, at the time when Love claims his tribute from young men"; *Romance of the Rose* 1994, 3. As argued by Frances Horgan, Lorris's poem "can be read as a kind of textbook, in which the Lover's adventures illustrate the theoretical manual for courtly lovers dictated by the God of Love." The author himself, she notes, "is at pains to stress the didactic aspect of his work. He introduces it as 'the Romance of the Rose, in which the whole art of love is contained,' and

insists, when he comes to the commandments of the God of Love, that 'anyone who aspires to love should pay attention, for the romance now improves'"; *Romance of the Rose* 1994, xiii–xiv. Lorris consciously situates his text in the tradition of medieval treatises on love, exemplified by the twelfth-century *De arte honesta amandi* (The Art of True Love).

5. See Oulmont 1911, 13–16.

6. *Romance of the Rose* 1994, 11–12, 15.

7. According to Watson, the dance formation in these works reflects fairly closely some of the actual dances of the early Renaissance, in which the participants, usually a lady and two men, interweave in patterns suggestive of "courtship, coquetry, pursuit, and capture"; Watson 1979, 68.

8. Watson 1979, 29.

9. *Romance of the Rose* 1994, 11.

10. For the social connotations of class and privilege represented by this formal dress, see Cotton 1966, 353–68.

11. See Friedman 1989, 157–83.

12. *Romance of the Rose* 1994, 25.

13. *Romance of the Rose* 1994*,* 24–26. No other segment of Lorris's poem has elicited as much discussion as the Fountain of Narcissus/Fountain of Love; generations of critics have tried to explain the relevance of Narcissus to the Lover's own experience, parsing the text for the symbolic meaning of the two crystals at the bottom of the spring. For a summary of previous literature and a postmodern discussion of this passage in terms of medieval theories of visual perception and semantic interpretation, see Nouvet 2000.

14. *Romance of the Rose* 1994, 30–31.

15. *Romance of the Rose* 1994, 14, cited by Watson 1970, 72.

16. Watson refers to the drawings of a man and a woman crowning their respective lovers with garlands in a famous fourteenth-century model book in the Morgan Library and Museum, New York (inv. no. II, 2–25, fol. 14r, https://www.themorgan.org/collection/model-book/14), now attributed to the circle of Tommaso da Modena; see Watson 1979, 68–69. The image also appears in fourteenth-century ivories and marriage boxes; see Watson 1979, pls. 22, 27.

17. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Germany, inv. no. 2693, https://www.staatsgalerie.de/de/collection/object/105FC6EF4176687A358C82A2621E2BAD; and De Carli 1997, 82–83, no. 10.

18. Watson 1979, 69, 148n35; he quoted a medieval Latin refrain that states, "Three are the steps of love and triple is its grace: the first finds, the second nourishes, the third clinches the work."

19. Meiss 1936b, 137–38; and Dóra Sallay, in Seidel, Caglioti, Carrara, et al. 2010, 416–17, no. E.28. Around the rim of the box runs an inscription that reads: "Let him who wishes to live happily behold this person [Venus] to whom love [*amore*] and the other gods are subject 1421"; Meiss 1936b, 137n2.

20. *Romance of the Rose* 1994*,* 13–15.

21. *Romance of the Rose* 1994, 34. It is worth wondering whether a version of this tenet was contained in the inscriptions of the Yale panel, as a befitting commentary on the painting.

22. According to Griggs, February 1928, recorded in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York.

23. Watson 1979, 146n10; and Seymour 1970, 152, 154, no. 106. The *desco* last appeared in a sale at Sotheby's, New York, January 27, 2011, lot 119.

24. Sbaraglio 2007, 35.

25. The Lia cassone, Sbaraglio proposed, might be one of a pair of chests commissioned by the Florentine merchant Ilarione de' Bardi for the marriage of his niece Costanza to Bartolomeo di Ugo degli Alessandri, for which the artist received payment on March 25, 1422; Sbaraglio 2007, 35, 44n8. For this work, see also Lorenzo Sbaraglio, in Sbaraglio and Tartuferi 2016, 108–9, no. 18.

26. Sbaraglio, in Sbaraglio and Tartuferi 2016, 207, no. 51.

27. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, no. 2844, https://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obra-de-arte/las-siete-artes-liberales/89d9f351-fff6-4141-9efc-d5ea2951b488. The ex-Bardini panel, formerly in a private collection, last appeared on the art market in New York; see Christie's, New York, April 14, 2016, lot 129.

28. Inv. no. 1139, https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/8676/. The fragmentary inscription below the *Marriage of Saint Catherine*, as reported by Sbaraglio (in Sbaraglio 2010b, 66), reads: "[Q]UESTA TAVOLA AFATTA FARE LAPO DI TOMASO COREGIAIO PER RIMEDIO DELL . . . XI ADI XXIIII DI [LUGLIO]" (This painting was made on behalf of Lapo di Tommaso leathermaker [*corregiaio*] for the benefit of . . . XI on the 24th of [July]). The two surviving digits of the year " . . . XI" could plausibly be read as 1411, 1421, or 1431. Following Andor Pigler's reading of the date as 1421 (Pigler 1968, 1:554–55), the Budapest panel has generally been considered the earliest fixed point in the artist's career (Sbaraglio 2010b, 63–86 [with previous bibliography]), but the stylistic and circumstantial evidence is not conclusive.

29. Based on the evidence provided by musical history, David Fallows concluded that "French remained a vital courtly language in many parts of northern Italy at least until 1450"; Fallows 1989, 441. Around 1375, Benvenuto da Imola complained of the number of Italians, particularly the nobility, who affected to learn French, and by 1457, Galeazzo Maria Sforza could write to his father requesting the key to the French books in the castle library, adding that he himself preferred to

read Latin but that French could be read aloud in company and "give everyone pleasure"; see Fallows 1989, 431. Although these anecdotes are confined to northern Italian courts, it may be presumed that an understanding of written French, at least, was not uncommon among the educated Florentine elite and/or humanist class.

30. Horne 1906, 171, 179; and Sbaraglio 2007, 45n8. In 1427 Giovanni dal Ponte had entered into a partnership with the painter Smeraldo di Giovanni (1366–1444), but the exact nature of their collaboration is not known, and no works have hitherto been attributed to Smeraldo's hand. Since the contract drawn up by the two artists stated that Smeraldo was to receive only 35 percent of the profits, it is generally assumed that he held a secondary position in the workshop, as decorator. See, however, Sbaraglio 2007, 44n6.

31. Fabbri 2019. Matteo, who was an intimate friend of Palla's son Lorenzo, was instrumental in arranging the latter's marriage to Alessandra de' Bardi, daughter of Bardo de' Bardi. The betrothal ceremony, which took place on May 23, 1428—when Alessandra was only eleven years old—consolidated the alliance between the two largest and wealthiest anti-Medici lineages in Florence; see Gregory 1981, 111–12.

ECCE AGNVS

Giovanni dal Ponte, *Saint John the Baptist; The Crucifixion* and *Saint James Major; The Resurrection*

Artist	Giovanni dal Ponte, Florence, 1385–1437/38
Title	*Saint John the Baptist; The Crucifixion* and *Saint James Major; The Resurrection*
Date	ca. 1430
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	*Saint John the Baptist; The Crucifixion*: 127.3 × 33.0 cm (50 1/8 × 13 in.); *Saint James Major; The Resurrection*: 126.0 × 32.4 cm (49 5/8 × 12 3/4 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz
Inv. No.	1959.15.7a–b

Provenance

Osvald Sirén (1879–1966), Stockholm, by 1916;[1] F. Kleinberger Galleries, New York, 1916; sale, F. Kleinberger Galleries, New York, January 23, 1918, lot 64; Mrs. Alfred Nathan, New York;[2] French and Company, New York, by 1935;[3] Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz (1887–1957), Sands Point, Long Island, N.Y., 1943

Condition

Both panels, of a vertical wood grain, were thinned to a depth of approximately 9 millimeters, mounted on an auxiliary support, and cradled prior to their arrival at Yale. The overall dimensions for the panel with Saint John the Baptist include veneer capping strips applied all around its perimeter and incorporated into the paint surface. Similar strips surrounding the panel with Saint James Major were removed during an aggressive cleaning by Andrew Petryn in 1967, at which time losses at the top and at the lower-right corner were excavated to beneath the layer of the wood support, as were losses along two major splits, 11.5 and 20 centimeters from the left edge, and along several minor splits. Cavities housing the nails that secured iron strap hinges, aligned at 16 and 69.5 centimeters from the bottom edge, were also excavated during this campaign. In addition to these complete losses and further scattered losses at the left edge of the panel and in the left half of the saint's halo, the paint surface of the *Saint James* has been severely abraded and all the mordant gilt decoration lost. The composition has been truncated by at least 1 centimeter on the left, where the band of punched decoration along the margin is incomplete, and possibly more on the top and right, judging from the cropping of figures in the scene of the Resurrection in the lunette. The panel with Saint John the Baptist was left uncleaned in 1967 and is reasonably well preserved, revealing only modest abrasion beneath a heavily discolored synthetic varnish. One major and several minor splits are visible in this panel but have not resulted in significant paint loss. Hinge nails, aligned at 18.5 and 63.5 centimeters from the bottom edge, are visible as minor disturbances in the level of the paint that covers them. Local losses at the lower left and at the peak of the lunette have been repainted. Some flaking of the green leaves of the tree behind the Baptist at the right has occurred where they overlap the gold ground. Flesh tones in the Crucifixion scene in the lunette are well preserved.

Discussion

As indicated by the traces of hinges attaching them to the central structure, these two panels were once the wings, or doors, of an unidentified tabernacle. The saints decorated the inner faces of the wings and would have been visible when the tabernacle was open. On the left was Saint John the Baptist, standing against a rocky outcrop with the traditional attributes of a reed cross, a camel skin, and a baptismal bowl at his feet. He wears a light gray mantle with pink lining over a long hair garment. In his left hand is a scroll inscribed with the words "ECCE ANGNUS[*sic*] D[E]I" (Behold the lamb of God). His right hand points up to the Crucifixion scene in the demilunette above. In contrast to the spare representations of Christ on the Cross that usually occupy this small area, the present Crucifixion, as was noted by Lionello Venturi,[4] incorporates multiple iconographic details that increase its symbolic and dramatic value: the mourning Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist; the three angels collecting Christ's blood in Eucharistic plates; the sun and the moon, with their cosmological and theological implications;[5] the pelican, a symbol of Christ's sacrifice, in its nest above the Cross (no longer visible); and the blessing hand of God the Father. On the right shutter, stripped of its original glazes and defaced by modern intervention, is Saint James Major, identified by the pilgrim's staff and the book with a scallop shell. He stands on a pink marbleized floor and is dressed in a light blue tunic and a rose-colored cloak with gold trim and yellow lining. Above the saint is the Resurrection of Christ. Lying or crouching before the closed marble tomb—sealed shut with red wax—are three soldiers in yellow and red armor. They have just been awakened from their sleep and look up in awe at the miraculous apparition of the risen Christ, who floats above the tomb holding the banner of the Resurrection with its red cross.

The two wings were formerly owned by Osvald Sirén, who first published them in 1917 with an attribution to Giovanni dal Ponte.[6] Catalogued as works of Giovanni dal Ponte by Venturi[7] in the only extensive discussion of them to date, they have been listed in the corpus of the artist by all subsequent scholars. As in the case of other works by Giovanni dal Ponte, however, their dating has fluctuated by as much as two decades, from as early as 1410 to 1425–30.[8] Although the relative chronology of the artist's oeuvre remains fluid, hampered by a scarcity of documented or dated works, the Yale *Saints* appear to be later than the *Garden of Love*, also in the Yale University Art Gallery. The loose, calligraphic idiom and approximative treatment of the figures approach those images generally placed by current scholarship between the late 1420s and early 1430s. The *Saint John the Baptist*, in particular, recalls the stolid figure types flanking the *Coronation of the Virgin* (fig. 1) in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, and the slightly later *Annunciation* (fig. 2) in the Badia of Santa Maria a Poppiena in Pratovecchio-Stia (Arezzo).[9] All three works certainly precede the dated 1434 *Annunciation* in the abbey of Santa Maria in Rosano, which includes the more animated, eccentric type of Baptist associated with the painter's last efforts. A date for the Yale *Saints* around 1430 seems reasonable. —PP

Fig. 1. Giovanni dal Ponte, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, ca. 1425–30. Tempera and gold on panel, 208.5 × 215.6 cm (82 1/8 × 84 7/8 in.). Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 458

Fig. 2. Giovanni dal Ponte, *The Annuciation*, ca. 1430–34. Tempera and gold on panel, 150 × 182 cm (59 × 71 5/8 in.). Badia di Santa Maria a Poppiena, Pratovecchio-Stia (Arezzo)

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Sirén and Brockwell 1917, 42–43, no. 14, fig. 14; Perkins 1921a, 148; van Marle 1927b, 86; Venturi 1945, 17–18; "Recent Gifts and Purchases" 1960, 54; Seymour 1961, 16–17; Berenson 1963, 1:91; Seymour 1970, 152–53, nos. 105a–b; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 91, 600; Lorenzo Sbaraglio, in Sbaraglio and Tartuferi 2016, 207, no. 50

NOTES

1. Kleinberger Galleries, stock card, no. 15.107, Kleinberger Galleries Records, Watson Library Digital Collections, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, F-15107, https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll23/id/6242.

2. According to information provided by French and Company in a letter dated April 25, 1935, recorded in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York.

3. See note 2, above.

4. Venturi 1945, 17.

5. Personifications of the sun and the moon on either side of the Cross are common in medieval representation of the Crucifixion but become rarer by the fifteenth century. The motif is already found in early Christian art in the West as a symbol of Christ's cosmic sovereignty. Following Saint Augustine (A.D. 354–430), scholastic theologians construed the moon on the left of the Cross as the Old Testament and the sun on the right as the New. See Schiller 1972, 109.

6. Sirén and Brockwell 1917, 42–43.

7. Venturi 1945, 17–18.

8. Seymour 1970, 152–53, nos. 105a–b; and Lorenzo Sbaraglio, in Sbaraglio and Tartuferi 2016, 207, no. 50.

9. The Accademia *Coronation* is dated 1425–30 by Sbaraglio (in Sbaraglio and Tartuferi 2016, 194, no. 23) and Federica Baldini (in Hollberg, Tartuferi, and Parenti 2020, 77–81, no. 15). Angelo Tartuferi (in Sbaraglio and Tartuferi 2016, 150–53, no. 37) dated it ca. 1430 and placed it before the Poppiena *Annunciation*. Writing in the same volume, Annamaria Bernacchioni dated the Poppiena triptych between the end of the third decade and beginning of the fourth decade, whereas Sbaraglio suggested 1430–35. See Bernacchioni, in Sbaraglio and Tartuferi 2016, 148–49, no. 36; and Sbaraglio, in Sbaraglio and Tartuferi 2016, 211, no. 59.

Paolo Schiavo, *The Realms of Love*

Artist	Paolo Schiavo, Florence, 1397–1478
Title	*The Realms of Love*
Date	ca. 1425–35
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall, including added strip at top: 39.0 × 146.7 cm (15 3/8 × 57 3/4 in.); painted surface: 36.8 × 146. 7 cm (14 1/2 × 57 3/4 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.67

Provenance

Possibly Prince Cosimo Maurizio Conti (died 1855), Florence;[1] James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The panel support, of a horizontal wood grain, was thinned to a depth of 13 millimeters and cradled in 1929–30. The cradle was removed in 1998 by Gianni Marussich, who filled the splits and four dovetail batten channels (not original) in the back of the panel with sectional wood inserts, following the horizontal grain of the support. Three splits, all running diagonally downward—one beginning at the right edge, 16 centimeters from the bottom, and two at the left edge, 25 centimeters and 19 centimeters from the bottom—have provoked losses in the paint surface. A strip of old wood approximately 1.8 centimeters wide is attached to the top of the panel; it is not clear if this is original to its construction or an old repair. The bottom edge of the composition is marked by an engraved line with polished gesso extending perhaps 4 millimeters beyond the picture surface, suggesting the likelihood that the panel did not originally have engaged moldings but was inserted into an independent frame. There is no indication of "closure" at the left or right of the composition, and it must be concluded that it has been reduced by some indeterminate, if probably minimal, amount in length.

The paint surface is abraded overall but remarkably well preserved relative to other cassone panels. Percussion damages and scratches are more densely concentrated in the left half of the composition than in the center or at the right. Gilding has been abraded, revealing spots of bolus preparation, and silver-leaf decoration is almost entirely lost. The flesh tones and reds are very well preserved, the greens are unexpectedly well preserved, and most other colors have suffered chiefly in darker passages, which were vigorously abraded in a cleaning by Andrew Petryn in 1966–67.[2] This cleaning also removed all old retouching along the splits and removed the white clouds that were scattered across the sky.[3] Losses from the splits and from scratches were inpainted by Andrea Rothe during a treatment in 1998, as were numerous flaking losses throughout the blue pigments.

Discussion

The subject of this panel, originally the front of a cassone, or wedding chest, has baffled scholars since its first appearance on the art market in the nineteenth century. The complex narrative, centering around two lovers,

unfolds in a luscious meadow, the Garden of Love, surrounded by trees with a range of gray hills in the background. The story begins on the left with a flying Cupid shooting an arrow into the hearts of two victims below him: a young woman seated between two female companions on a podium beneath a lavender-colored tent; and a young man dressed in bright red attire, who kneels with arms crossed in a gesture of adoration before her. His beloved wears an elegant silver robe—now worn to its dark orange bolus—and is flanked on her right by a blonde-haired maiden surrounded by brilliant gold rays and on her left by a lady clad in resplendent cloth of gold. At the left edge of the composition, possibly the same two lovers hold hands. The man looks down toward a small crouching dog, a symbol of marital fidelity. Before them, other elegantly dressed couples and maidens engage in lively dance to the tune of two shawm-playing musicians seated above them in a tree. Dividing the composition in half is a narrow stone arch. Escorted by the blonde maiden with golden rays, the two lovers are led through the archway by the gold-clad lady, who now wears a laurel crown. They seem to have entered another part of the same garden, dominated by a Fountain of Love, which is presided over by Cupid, with bow and arrows in hand and now seated in the sky on a throne of black eagles and gold lions. Gathered around the fountain is a diverse group of characters. On the left, wearing laurel crowns and holding books, are the fourteenth-century poets Petrarch and Boccaccio, shown in recognizable profile and wearing bright red, and Dante, dressed in blue, who turns to face them while resting his hand on the fountain's edge.[4] Next to Dante is a woman wearing red who dips her hand in the water. On the other side of the fountain is a group of six figures, including a queen with her back turned to the viewer, an emperor in armor and ermine-lined cloak who also places his hand in the water, a soldier wearing the victor's wreath, and a woman singing and playing a psaltery. Symbolizing the universality of love, they all look up toward the fountain's ruler. Arranged on different planes in the hills behind them are two mythical episodes of frustrated passion derived from Homer and from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In the first, closest to the arch, the god Apollo, clad in gold and surrounded by rays, chases the nymph Daphne, who escapes by transforming into a laurel bush; directly above, the adulterous lovers Venus and Mars are caught in the net cast by her spurned husband, Vulcan. Unfolding on the other side of the hills, beyond Cupid's realm, is the conclusion of the story that began on the left side of the composition. At bottom right, the young woman, still accompanied by her female companions, extracts Cupid's arrow from her breast before her adoring suitor. At top right, she is shown leaving in a chariot driven by the blonde maiden surrounded by golden rays, as her abandoned lover reaches toward her. As if having come to terms with his fate, the rejected lover is subsequently seen lounging in a barren landscape at the edge of the composition, in a meditative pose recalling the full-length figures that sometimes decorated the inner lids of marriage chests.

No precedents for the pattern of scenes or sequence of events depicted in this cassone are known. The panel was the point of departure and focus of Paul Watson's foundational 1979 volume on the theme of the Garden of Love in early Renaissance Tuscan art, which remains the most coherent analysis of its subject matter.[5] Characterized by Watson as "the most complex amatory allegory to survive from the early Quattrocento in Tuscany,"[6] the Yale panel combines ancient and contemporary literary sources in an elaborate visual commentary on the nature of love and female virtue. Watson tentatively titled the image *The Realms of Love*, in recognition of the importance accorded the god of love, Cupid, who presides over all the events unfolding below him.[7] Key to the understanding of the work, Watson observed, is its relationship to another cassone front, in the Springfield Museum of Fine Arts (now the Michele and Donald D'Amour Museum of Fine Arts), Massachusetts (fig. 1), first identified as a pendant to the Yale chest by Ruth Kennedy.[8] The Springfield panel, which shares many of the same compositional features and landscape elements with the Yale painting and is identical in size and palette, illustrates the story of Diana and Callisto as told in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Remarkable for its adherence to the original text, it depicts the salient episodes of the myth, centered on the punishment of Diana's favorite nymph, Callisto, after she has been seduced and impregnated by Jupiter. Cast out by the goddess, Callisto is transformed into a bear by a jealous Juno and almost killed by her son, Arcas, until Jupiter intervenes and transforms both of them into constellations. The exact correspondences between the figure of Diana in the Springfield chest and that of the radiant maiden who accompanies the lovers in the Yale panel confirm that they are one and the same person. Clothed in an identical silver dress and distinguished by the same mane of blonde hair and divine rays, the goddess of chastity is here presented as defender of female virtue. After following the lovers into the Garden of Love, Diana stands witness to the removal of love's arrow by the beloved, who will be carried away in the same chariot driven by the goddess in the forests of the

Springfield chest—covered in red cloth and pulled by two white stags, symbols of her virginity and purity. As noted by Watson, the final episodes of the *Realms of Love* establish Diana's ultimate victory over Cupid, the supremacy of chaste love over fiery passion.[9] As in the Springfield chest, where the predatory god Jupiter is entirely clad in red and gold, the red outfit of the rejected lover embodies the flame of desire, ultimately extinguished in favor of a more virtuous form of love, represented by Diana.

Fig. 1. Paolo Schiavo, *Diana and Callisto*, ca. 1425–35. Tempera and gold on panel, 38 × 150 cm (15 × 59 in.). Michele and Donald D'Amour Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Mass., inv. no. 1962-01

Although no single literary source accounts for the multiplicity of references in the *Realms of Love*, its themes, Watson pointed out, are reflected in a lengthy allegory on the nature of love written in Florence between 1390 and 1397 by the Sienese exile Jacopo del Pecora da Montepulciano and titled *Fimerodia* (Famous Song of Love).[10] Dedicated to the author's young friend Luigi di Manetto Davanzati, the poem is inspired by Luigi's infatuation with a certain virtuous Florentine lady named Alessandra dei Bardi and is intended as a cautionary tale on the supremacy of spiritual over sensual love. The text, replete with borrowings from Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio—who head the list of Florentine notables celebrated by the author in a description of the Chariot of Fame—concludes with Alessandra's call to Diana for aid in resisting Cupid's onslaught. When there ensues a dispute between Venus and Diana for possession of Alexandra, Jupiter intervenes to resolve the issue and decides in favor of Diana: "This Alessandra," the god decrees, "must be of Diana's band, to follow her; nor will Venus have dominion over her."[11]

The *Fimerodia* sheds much light on the final climactic episodes of the *Realms of Love*, where the pursued lady chooses to follow Diana, while her lover remains behind "to contemplate the implications of her act."[12] At the same time, as noted by Watson, other elements of the composition appear derived directly from a more famous text, the *Amorosa visione* (Amorous Vision) of Boccaccio, which was reportedly singled out as a source for the Yale chest by Frank Mather, Jr.[13] Included in Boccaccio's poem, a marvelous dream journey recounted by a lover/narrator, is a beautiful woman crowned with laurel and referred to as "donna gentile" (noble lady), who first appears standing next to Cupid and acts as a guide for the protagonist. As convincingly argued by Watson, she could be the gold-clad lady who, along with Diana, witnesses Cupid striking the two lovers in the first section of the *Realms of Love* and then leads them through the archway into Cupid's realm, raising her left hand over her eyes as if to protect them from the brilliant vision before her. Watson does not dwell on the precise meaning of this figure, whose role in Boccaccio's poem has long been debated by scholars. According to some authors, however, she represents the voice of both virtue and reason who throughout the text tries to steer the errant lover in the right course.[14] At the end of the poem, she pushes the reluctant lover/narrator to choose between one of two doors, urging him to join his beloved by passing through the narrow door of virtue, which he had previously avoided—a threshold perhaps alluded to by the stone gateway in the Yale chest. An even more specific allusion to the *Amorosa visione* lies in the representation of Cupid, which conforms in every detail to Boccaccio's description: "I saw a great lord of wonderful aspect seated on two eagles . . . he kept his feet on two lion cubs, who made the green meadow their lair. . . . Without comparison his beauty was and he had two great wings of gold upon his shoulder, rising to their full height. In one hand he held an arrow of gold and another of lead . . . holding in his left hand a bow whose power many have felt, and for the worse."[15]

As in most marriage chests, an integral component of the imagery chosen for the Yale and Springfield panels is their morally edifying message. Presumably addressed primarily to the groom, Watson concluded, the *Realms of Love* would have reminded the young lover of the difference between lasting marital love and wanton passion, whereas the fate of Callisto in the Springfield cassone warned the bride of the consequences attached to unchaste behavior. Linking both images is the virtuous figure of Diana, role model for both parties.[16] The ambitious nature of this iconographic program and the unique quality of the Yale composition suggest that the elaboration of these themes involved the direct participation of an erudite advisor or patron fully conversant with a range of ancient and contemporary sources beyond those usually depicted on other surviving chests. Perhaps not coincidentally, aside from the work's didactic intent, it is poetry itself that is celebrated by the artist in the remarkable grouping around the Fountain of Love. On the left is one of the earliest surviving representations of the Florentine literary triad of Dante,

Petrarch, and Boccaccio, the so-called three crowns of the Italian language.[17] On the right, identified by the instrument in her hands, is the ancient Greek poetess Sappho, included by Petrarch in his *Triumph of Love* and celebrated by Boccaccio as the inventor of lyric poetry: "This girl did not hesitate to strike the strings of the cithara and bring forth melody."[18] Despite the absence of the coats of arms that normally would have decorated the two chests, it seems fair to surmise that they were commissioned by a person of some renown in Florentine humanist circles or someone closely affiliated with them.

The Yale cassone was acquired by James Jackson Jarves as an early work of Gentile da Fabriano. The attribution was categorically rejected by William Rankin, who emphasized the painting's "feeble execution" and distinctly Florentine character and classified it as an "*atelier* work of Masaccio's school."[19] The exquisite quality and decorative refinement of the image were better appreciated by Osvald Sirén, who referred to the work as "a masterpiece of its kind, full of poetical sentiment" and assigned it to "an intimate follower of Gentile," influenced by Florentine painting but active in the Marches between about 1420–40.[20] Sirén identified the same hand in four predella fragments with the Visitation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Flight into Egypt in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (figs. 2–5), which had been previously catalogued by Bernard Berenson as the product of a Marchigian painter working in Florence, most likely Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino.[21] Richard Offner[22] acknowledged the relationship between the Yale cassone and the Philadelphia predella fragments but regarded both works as quintessentially Florentine. Citing a variety of influences on the Yale panel but focusing on that of Masolino in particular, Offner tentatively inserted the work in his reconstruction of the personality of Paolo di Stefano Badaloni, known as Paolo Schiavo—a then still relatively unknown figure, mentioned by Giorgio Vasari as a follower and imitator of Masolino. Offner qualified his opinion by noting that the "superior inspirations . . . the absorbing illusion, the charm [of the Yale panel] might give us pause, endangering the security, such as it is, of the suggested attribution, not so far, however, as to nullify it."[23] Any lingering doubts as to Schiavo's authorship were immediately dispelled by Roberto Longhi, however, who had independently come to the same conclusion and also recognized Schiavo's hand in the Springfield chest, then in the De Burlet collection in Berlin, observing that both were among the finest efforts of the artist's maturity.[24] Most subsequent scholars embraced Offner's and Longhi's attribution, even if pausing to note the qualitative differences between the Yale and Springfield panels and the rest of the artist's production. For Charles Seymour, Jr., who regarded the Yale chest as one of the masterpieces of early fifteenth-century secular painting in Florence, the visually engaging composition and subtleties of modeling appeared incompatible with Shiavo's own hand, leading him to provisionally advance the possibility that the commission might have been executed by a more talented follower in the artist's workshop.[25] Likewise, those elements that had prompted Offner to refer hyperbolically to a "super-Paolo" in reference to the Yale chest led Ellen Callmann to completely revise the traditional attribution to Schiavo or a follower in favor of Masolino[26]—a proposition that was dismissed by subsequent authors, who reiterated the attribution to Schiavo.

Fig. 2. Paolo Schiavo, *The Visitation*, ca. 1425–35. Tempera and gold on panel, 22.5 × 30.2 cm (8 7/8 × 11 7/8 in.). Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, 1917, inv. no. cat. 124

Fig. 3. Paolo Schiavo, *The Nativity*, ca. 1425–35. Tempera and gold on panel, 22.5 × 32.4 cm (8 7/8 × 12 3/4 in.). Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, 1917, inv. no. cat. 125

Fig. 4. Paolo Schiavo, *The Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1425–35. Tempera and gold on panel, 22.5 × 32.4 cm (8 7/8 × 12 3/4 in.). Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, 1917, inv. no. cat. 126

Fig. 5. Paolo Schiavo, *The Flight into Egypt*, ca. 1425–35. Tempera and gold on panel, 22.5 × 30.2 cm (8 7/8 × 11 7/8 in.). Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, 1917, inv. no. cat. 127

Although Longhi[27] had placed their execution in the 1430s, most modern scholars, following Offner[28] and Miklòs Boskovits,[29] have dated the Yale and Springfield chests around 1440 or slightly later. An earlier chronology was advanced by Carl Strehlke,[30] however, who identified the fragments in Philadelphia that had been related to the Yale chest by Sirén and Offner as the predella of a triptych with the Annunciation in the Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche

Museen zu Berlin (fig. 6), and suggested that all these paintings predated the artist's earliest signed work, a fresco of the Virgin and Child with Saints in San Miniato al Monte, Florence, purportedly executed in 1436.[31] Longhi had already dated the Philadelphia panels in the 1420s based on their iconographic debt to the predella of Gentile da Fabriano's Strozzi altarpiece, executed in 1423,[32] whereas Boskovits situated the four fragments between 1430 and 1435, but he considered the Berlin *Annunciation* an earlier work, from 1425–30.[33] Federico Zeri, who endorsed the altarpiece's reconstruction, proposed a broader time frame between 1425 and 1435.[34] The delineation of Schiavo's activity in this decade, from around the first appearance of his name in the 1427 Florentine tax records to his work in the *collegiata* of Castiglione Olona, unanimously dated in the mid-1430s, is still unresolved. Aside from the Philadelphia/Berlin altarpiece, the only other painting by Schiavo that seems plausibly datable to the same moment as the Yale and Springfiled chests is the recently restored fresco of the *Madonna of Humility* in the church of San Martino a Vespignano, in Vicchio di Mugello, which was dated by Longhi in the 1430s[35] but identified by Boskovits as among the artist's most precocious efforts from between 1425 and 1430, contemporary to the Berlin *Annunciation*.[36]

Fig. 6. Paolo Schiavo, *The Annunciation*, ca. 1425–35. Tempera and gold on panel. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 1136

As was first pointed out by Sirén and Offner, and later reiterated by Watson, the Philadelphia predella scenes show significant points of contact with the Yale and Springfield chests. The four scenes—three of which are organized against a similar hilly backdrop—share the same blonde figure types and an identical approach to landscape and architectural elements. The *Visitation* (see fig. 2), in particular, includes a young maiden in contemporary dress and flowing hair who cannot but bring to mind the image of Diana in the two chests, while the profile of the Virgin is comparable to that of several of the other female figures in the Yale panel. Even more persuasive comparisons may be drawn between the Yale chest and the Berlin *Annunciation* (see fig. 6), which contains identical figure types and reflects a similar concern with descriptive and decorative details. While the relative chronology of these works remains fluid, their unifying characteristics point to a definitive *terminus ante quem* for their execution in the mid-1430s. By the time of the 1436 San Miniato fresco, the sensitive handling of individual features and graceful elegance that distinguishes these images has already been replaced by the stiffer, less nuanced approach that will become more typical of the artist. These earlier efforts, as argued by past scholars, clearly reflect Schiavo's debt to Masolino, although they never approach the spatial and formal sophistication of the older master. Notwithstanding the difference in scale, a comparison between the simplified, childlike rendering of landscape elements in the Yale and Springfield panels and the ambitious mountainous backdrops painted by Masolino in Castiglione Olona should alone suffice to dispel any confusion between the two personalities. These qualifications aside, the inventiveness of the composition, narrative ingenuity, and preciously decorated surfaces of the Yale painting reveal the artist at the height of his technical abilities, and possibly already at the head of an active workshop—a circumstance that could account for some of the modest but telling differences in quality of execution that have sometimes been discerned between the present chest and its companion in Springfield. —PP

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Jarves 1860, 49–50, no. 59; Sturgis 1868, 42–45, no. 38; Brown 1871, 17, no. 38; Rankin 1895, 146–47; Rankin 1906, 288; Rankin 1907b, 340–41; Sirén 1916a, 171–75, no. 67; van Marle 1927a, 304; Offner 1927a, 22–27, figs. 13–14; Longhi 1928b, 36, reprinted in Longhi 1968, 23; van Marle 1928, 574; Berenson 1932a, 195; van Marle 1932, 430–31; Pudelko 1936, 47; Kennedy 1938, 203n26; Longhi 1940b, 188n25, reprinted in Longhi 1975, 59n25; Berenson 1963, 1:166; Seymour 1970, 142–45, no. 101; Watson 1970, 134–40, 303–4, pls. 36, 36a–c; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 599; Fahy 1974, 284; Watson 1979; Boskovits 1995, 335; Callmann 1995, 41, no. 25; Callmann 1999b, 42–49, figs. 1–2, 9–11; Kirkham 1999, 1:127, no. 46; Dean 2001, 32–33, no. 9; Pisani 2002, 203n47; Strehlke 2004, 383; Daniela Parenti, in Boskovits and Parenti 2005, 162; Simmoneau 2007, 44n4, 54, fig. 6; Kirkham 2015, 468, 479

NOTES

1. According to James Jackson Jarves, the panel came from "the gallery of the Prince Conti"; see Jarves 1860, 7. This is undoubtedly the same "Prince Conti" referred to by the English painter and dealer William Blundell Spence (1814–1900) as the former owner of two panels by Justus of Ghent, formerly in the ducal palace at Gubbio and now in the National Gallery, London, inv. nos. NG 755–56. Spence, who was in possession of the panels by 1857, sold them to the National Gallery in 1866, at which time he stated in a letter to the museum's director, William Boxall, that he had bought them from "the heirs of the Principe Conti in Florence." The prince, Spence stated, had purportedly acquired the paintings in Urbino "soon after the French left Italy." See Fleming 1979, 576n65. The prince in question was most likely Cosimo Maurizio Conti, who was awarded the title of Principe of Trevignano by Pope Gregory XVI in 1835. The Conti family, originally from Livorno, was admitted into the ranks of Tuscan nobility in the eighteenth century. Cosimo, who died childless, named as his universal heir his sister's son, Gino Ginori (1836–1907), who took on the title of Prince of Trevignano after his uncle's death in 1855 and added the Conti family name to his own. See Buonafalce 1995, 99–100n6 (where Cosimo's death is reported incorrectly as 1835, most likely through an editorial oversight). The Yale panel, like the National Gallery paintings, could have been acquired from the same Florentine heirs of Cosimo, presumably the Ginori-Conti.

2. The photographs published by Charles Seymour, Jr., (in Seymour 1970, 142) record the state to which the work was reduced by Petryn.

3. Andrea Rothe (in a report in the conservation files, Yale University Art Gallery) suggested that these were removed with an ammonia-based solvent and recorded an undocumented supposition that Petryn stripped lead white from most fourteenth- and fifteenth-century panels at the Gallery, as he did not believe it was used in the period.

4. That the group represents the three Florentine poets was already recognized by nineteenth-century sources (see Jarves 1860, 50), but Frank Mather, Jr., (in Mather 1912, 121) was the first author to suggest that the artist had intended to distinguish them by their individual features, derived from illustrations in manuscripts.

5. Watson 1979. On the theme, see also Giovanni dal Ponte, *The Garden of Love*.

6. Watson 1979, 103.

7. Watson 1979, 18.

8. The Springfield panel first appeared on the art market in the nineteenth century, when it was listed in the 1847 Ottley sale at Foster and Son, London, lot 32; see Foster and Son 1847, 30. It was subsequently included in the 1857 Manchester exhibition, where it was listed in the possession of John P. Boileau and attributed to Filippo Lippi; *Catalogue of the Art Treasures* 1857, 17, no. 62. In 1885 it was in the collection of Francis G. M. Boileau, in Wydenham, Norfolk, England; Royal Academy of Arts 1885, 45, no. 212, also catalogued as Filippo Lippi. By 1928 it had been acquired by Charles A. De Burlet in Berlin and was attributed by Roberto Longhi to Paolo Schiavo; Longhi 1928b, 36. In 1934 the panel belonged to N. Beets in Amsterdam and was included in an exhibition of Italian paintings at the Stedelijk Museum; see *Italiaansche kunst in nederlandsch bezit* 1934, 110, no. 352. In a postcard sent to the Yale University Art Gallery on January 4, 1935, Kennedy alerted the then director, Theodore Sizer, to the Amsterdam show and noted that the *Story of Callisto* was "clearly a companion piece to your Garden of Love" (curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery). In the following months, the painting, which in the meantime had been acquired by the dealer A. S. Drey in New York, was offered for sale to the Gallery, which eventually decided not to go through with the purchase. The work was acquired by the Springfield Museum of Fine Arts in 1962. Ellen Callmann (Callmann 1995, 47–48) is the only author to have questioned whether the Yale and Springfield panels originally constituted a set, but her doubts are unfounded.

9. Watson 1979, 117–18.

10. Watson 1979, 118–19. On Jacopo da Montepulciano and for a fuller discussion of his poem, see the introduction to the 1992 Italian edition by Mauro Cursietti: Jacopo da Montepulciano 1992, 7–28.

11. Watson 1979, 119.

12. Watson 1979, 119.

13. His opinion is cited in Rankin 1907b, 341.

14. See Gil-Osle 2010, 99.

15. Watson 1979, 110.

16. On the double nature of Diana in Boccaccio's poetry, where she is the virginal huntress who also helps the lover learn to love chastely, see Saiber 2013, 112. As noted by the author, the goddess was also worshipped by women who sought to become pregnant or wanted protection in childbirth. Diana's attributes of fertility and midwifery are noted by Boccaccio in his *Genealogia deorum gentilium.*

17. Kirkham 2015.

18. Boccaccio, *De claris mulieribus*, as cited by Watson 1979, 114.

19. Rankin 1895, 147; and Rankin 1907b, 341.

20. Sirén 1916a, 173.

21. Berenson 1913, 72–75.

22. Offner 1927a, 24–25.

23. Offner 1927a, 27.

24. Longhi 1928b, 36.

25. Seymour 1970, 144–45.

26. Callmann 1999b, 42–49.

27. Longhi 1940b, 188n25

28. Offner 1927a, 27.

29. Boskovits 1995, 335–36.

30. Strehlke 2004, 383. The connection between the Philadelphia panels and the Berlin triptych was first noted by Keith Christiansen, verbal communication to Carl Strehlke, May 17, 1984, cited in Strehlke 2004, 387. The Berlin *Annunciation* was recognized as a work of Paolo Schiavo by Offner (in Offner 1927a, 25).

31. The fresco is signed "PAUL[U]S DEISTEPHFANI MEPINSIT" (Paolo di Stefano painted me). According to nineteenth-century sources, it was signed and dated "1426," but by the time Georg Pudelko was writing (Pudelko 1936, 47), the date was only partially legible and was transcribed by him as "MC . . . XXVI," which he tentatively interpreted as 1436. The fragmentary inscription is no longer visible, but most modern authors have taken the date 1436 to be consonant with the style of the fresco; see Boskovits 1995, 334, 340n21.

32. Longhi 1940b, 188n25. For the Strozzi altarpiece, see Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 8364, https://www.uffizi.it/en/artworks/adoration-of-the-magi.

33. Boskovits 1995, 333–34.

34. Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna, nos. 11817, 11821–24.

35. Longhi 1940b, 188n25. Published by Ugo Procacci (in Procacci 1932, 350–51) as a work by the best of Masolino's followers during his activity in Castiglione Olona, the fresco was first attributed to Schiavo by Pudelko (Pudelko 1936, 47).

36. Boskovits 1995, 336. A *Virgin and Child* formerly in the Galletti collection, Florence (now Fondazione CR Firenze), may also have been executed in the same period as the Yale chest and the works here gathered around it, but judging from photographs, its condition precludes a definitive assessment. The panel was published as a work of Schiavo by Longhi (in Longhi 1940b, pl. 70b), who compared it specifically to the Springfield chest, with a date in the 1430s. Boskovits (Boskovits 1995, 336) placed it around 1430–35, contemporary to the Philadelphia predella fragments. The *Madonna of Humility* in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (inv. no. 557), assigned to the same early period as the Yale chest by Strehlke (in Strehlke 2004, 383), was dated by Boskovits as late as 1450–55 (Boskovits 1995, 333). A more probable date in the 1440s is supported by circumstantial as well as stylistic evidence; see Chen 2017, 693–96.

Fra Angelico, *Two Scenes from the Legend of Saint Michael*

Artist	Fra Angelico, Florence, ca. 1395–1455
Title	*Two Scenes from the Legend of Saint Michael*
Date	1418
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 42.5 × 90.8 cm (16 3/4 × 35 3/4 in.); picture surface: 35.1 × 83.5 cm (13 7/8 × 32 7/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.213

Provenance

Cavalliere Masi, Capánnoli, near Pontedera; Achillito Chiesa (1881–1951), Milan; Vicomte Bernard d'Hendecourt (1874–1928), Paris, by 1921; sale, Sotheby's, London, May 8, 1929, lot 112; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1929

Condition

The panel support, of a horizontal grain, comprises a single plank and retains its original thickness of 3.5 centimeters. Original engaged moldings are preserved at top and bottom, but the panel has been cut at left and right. A slight barb along the edge of the picture surface and beveled cuts at the ends of the engaged moldings imply that engaged pilaster bases once enclosed both lateral edges. Three cross-grain battens, each approximately 7 centimeters wide, were once affixed to the reverse. Three nails, aligned vertically, that secured the central batten are still embedded in the panel beneath the strip of punched and gilt decoration that divides the two scenes. Discolorations of the wood and glue residue about 3 centimeters wide at either end on the reverse indicate that half a batten is missing at both edges. Square cavities were cut into the panel to receive the nails driven in, front to back; the heads were recessed within the cavities and then covered with wood plugs, linen, and gesso. Three half-cavities are now exposed at both edges: these are missing their plugs but were never covered with linen or gesso, as they were concealed by the applied pilaster bases.

The gilded and painted surfaces were heavily abraded in a cleaning of 1960–61, leaving large areas of exposed bolus, gesso, and wood substrate visible in both frame moldings and exposing a circular area of total loss near the top edge of the central dividing strip. It is possible that a shield with a coat of arms or some other freestanding decorative device was once affixed to the panel at this point. The landscape in the right scene was harshly scrubbed, removing dark tones throughout the rock forms and reducing the faces of the three figures standing at the left to underpaint. Drapery forms and colors are much better preserved. The green of the water in the scene at left was treated with equal severity, breaking the transitions from light to dark progressing from the bottom (front) to top (back) of the water and erasing several painted fish that were once visible there; the latter can still be detected with infrared reflectography. Glazes that once defined the angel's wings are missing, as are most of the drawn features in the faces of all the figures. The church facade at the far left is relatively intact.

Discussion

This painting portrays two scenes rarely encountered in Italian art. At the right is a miracle associated with the first apparition of Saint Michael the Archangel, as told in the fourteenth-century compendium of the lives of the saints, the *Golden Legend*, written by Jacobus de Voragine. A rich man, who "had sheep and cattle beyond counting," grazed his herds on the flanks of Mount Gargano, in Apulia. It happened one day that

> one bull separated himself from the rest and climbed to the top of the mountain. When . . . the bull's absence was discovered, the landowner mustered a band of his people to track it up the mountain trails, and they finally found the animal standing in the mouth of a cave at the top. The owner, annoyed at the bull for having wandered off alone, aimed a poisoned arrow at it, but the arrow came back, as if turned about by the wind, and struck the one who had launched it. This dismayed the townsmen, and they went to the bishop and asked him what he thought of the strange occurrence. Saint Michael appeared to the bishop and said: "Know that it was by my will that the man was struck by his arrow. I am the archangel Michael, and I have chosen to dwell in that place on earth and to keep it safe." . . . The bishop and the townspeople formed a procession and went to the cave, but, not presuming to enter, stood around the entrance, praying.[1]

The second apparition of Saint Michael, portrayed at the left in the Yale panel, occurred at Mont Saint Michel on the Normandy coast. This mountain on which Saint Michael ordered his church to be built, according to de Voragine,

> is surrounded on all sides by the ocean, but twice on the saint's feast day [October 16] a path is opened to allow the people to walk over. One such day, when a large throng was crossing to the church, it happened that a woman who was pregnant and close to her time went with them. Then the tide came in with a rush, and the crowd, terrified, made for the shore, but the pregnant woman could not move fast enough and was caught by the waves. The archangel Michael, however, kept her unharmed, in such a way that she brought forth her son in the welter of the sea and nursed him there in her arms. Then the waters again opened a path for her, and she walked joyfully ashore with her child.[2]

When it was part of the Masi collection at Capánnoli, the predella now at Yale was built into a large neo-Gothic frame beneath a *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Eight Angels* by Agnolo Gaddi. Photographs of it in this configuration (fig. 1) appear in publications well into the 1930s, but the two paintings had been separated either by the time the larger panel reached the Achillito Chiesa collection in Milan, sometime before 1921, or while they were in the Chiesa collection. When Tancred Borenius published the predella, it had been sold to the Vicomte Bernard d'Hendecourt in Paris;[3] the *Virgin and Child* remained in the Chiesa collection until 1926, later passing into the collection of Alessandro Contini Bonacossi.[4] It is now exhibited as part of the Contini Bonacossi bequest at the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence.[5] The subsequent critical history of the Yale panel was entirely predicated on this association, even though it was evidently a nineteenth-century pastiche. Scholars limited themselves to opinions of whether the panel was by Agnolo Gaddi himself,[6] by a follower then known alternatively as the "Compagno d'Agnolo" or Gherardo Starnina,[7] or by an unknown Florentine contemporary of Agnolo Gaddi.[8]

Fig. 1. Agnolo Gaddi, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Eight Angels* (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*

Based on its having been found together with the Contini *Virgin and Child*, Hans Gronau proposed a reconstruction of the original altarpiece of which the two panels would have formed part, which he supposed was dedicated to Saint Michael the Archangel.[9] His reconstruction included two further predella panels with scenes from the legend

Fig. 2. Agnolo Gaddi, *Virgin and Child with Saints Benedict (or John Gualbert?), Peter, John the Baptist, and Minias*, ca. 1390. Tempera and gold on panel, 222 × 300 cm (87 3/8 × 118 7/8 in.). Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. Contini Bonacossi 29

of Saint Michael—another panel at Yale, now recognized to be the work of Lippo d'Andrea (see Lippo d'Andrea, *Two Scenes from the Legend of Saint Michael*), and one at the Pinacoteca Vaticana.[10] He identified one of two hypothetical lateral panels from the main tier of the altarpiece in a fragment showing half-length figures of Saints Julian, James Major, and Michael, also at Yale, painted either by Agnolo Gaddi or Lorenzo Monaco (see Agnolo Gaddi or Lorenzo Monaco, *Saints Julian, James Major, and Michael*). Bruce Cole rejected this reconstruction on the grounds that another proposal had been advanced for identifying the lateral panels originally belonging to the Contini *Virgin and Child*, showing full-length standing figures of Saints Benedict (sometimes said to be John Gualbert), Peter, John the Baptist, and Minias, now framed together with the Contini Madonna at the Uffizi (fig. 2).[11] Miklós Boskovits also rejected Gronau's reconstruction on the basis of the wide stylistic disparity among the panels, no two of which appear to be by the same artist.[12] He continued, however, to maintain a connection between the Contini *Virgin and Child* and the Yale predella and therefore also rejected the proposed association of the former with the standing saints now joined to it at the Uffizi.[13] Following these two negative judgments, and the disastrous cleaning to which the Yale predella was subjected in 1960–61, no further research on the problem appeared in print until the panel was loaned to the Museo del Prado, Madrid, in 2019. On that occasion, the catalogue entry by Carl Strehlke summarized a hypothesis for attribution and reconstruction developed over the preceding three years by Irma Passeri and the present author.[14]

There is no stylistic basis for associating the Yale predella with the work of Agnolo Gaddi that could justify its fortuitous connection to the Contini *Virgin and Child*. Gaddi's preference for full-face or profile heads, his tendency to arrange narratives either parallel to the picture plane or along carefully plotted orthogonals, and his utter disregard for diminishing the scale of his figures to reflect their distance in space behind the picture plane are all incompatible with the composition of the right-hand scene of the Yale panel. The crowd of figures moving back up the hill path in this scene, defining an elegant S curve, with a great number of bodies and heads seen from behind, demonstrates a command of spatial illusion not to be found in the work of any fourteenth-century Florentine painter. The fully modeled volumes of the figures, with persuasively accurate contrasts of highlight and shadow, and the highly naturalistic details of dress, ornament, and architecture in both scenes of the Yale panel are not encountered at this level of sophistication until the second decade of the fifteenth century—specifically in paintings attributed to the early career of Fra Angelico. The drawing of the faces in the crowd on the right, revealed through thinning layers of paint, resembles that in several drawings attributed to the young Fra Angelico.[15] The church surrounded by a fortified wall and tower behind them may be a record of the actual shrine of Saint Michael on Monte Gargano as it then appeared, or it may be an invention of Angelico's; the same building, seen from the opposite side, appears in an illustrated pilgrimage roll dated 1417 that was painted, in part, by him (fig. 3).[16] In both instances, the structural integrity of the building reveals Angelico's optical, empirical approach to rendering architecture, as opposed to the emblematic structures painted by his predecessors and contemporaries. Also typical of Angelico's practice—throughout his career—are such seemingly inconsequential devices in the Yale panel as the horizontal break in drapery folds where they rest upon shoes, a means for the artist to indicate that a figure is bending forward, and the gratuitous curling folds at the hems of garments that reveal a brief glimpse of the cloth lining, painted in a complementary color. The tender gestures of the mother protecting her baby by wrapping him in her cloak and of the Archangel leading her ashore by gently cradling the back of her head are uniquely characteristic of Angelico's narrative sensibilities.

The appearance of punch tool impressions from a halo beneath the paint surface of each scene in the Yale panel—now distinctly visible only in raking light, beneath the figure of the newborn child in the left scene and beneath the archer's forward hand in the right scene—

Fig. 3. Fra Angelico, *Brother Petrus de Cruce Being Attacked by Wolves on Mount Gargano and by Snakes near Bari*, 1417. Pen and wash on parchment, 25.7 × 13.6 (10 1/8 × 5 3/8 in.). Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., inv. no. 1990M-16

coupled with irregularities in the gesso preparatory layer led to the realization that both of the scenes of Saint Michael were painted atop earlier scenes that bore no relation to them. Scraping marks in the gesso, tapering and becoming shallower as they approach the edges of the painted field, indicate that these earlier scenes had been scraped away from the center outward, taking pains to preserve the gilded frame moldings, the decorative gold band dividing the two scenes, and portions of the gilt "sky" in the left scene, on which fragmentary incised crenellated walls or towers indicate that it had once been bordered by a landscape of hills and architecture. This, in turn, prompted the recognition that the alternative architectural forms visible along the left edge of the left scene are a palimpsest rather than a pentimento. As buildings in this configuration seem to have no role in the Miracle at Mont Saint Michel, and as no figure requiring a halo is involved in the narrative of the Miracle of the Bull on Mount Gargano, it is necessary to conclude that the original scenes were altered to change their subjects completely rather than merely to refine their compositions. Physical clues are insufficient to discern the subjects of the original effaced scenes, but a series of documents culminating in a payment to Fra Angelico in February 1418—the earliest-known documents referring to a painting by him—provides a plausible hypothesis. On August 17, 1412, the painter Ambrogio di Baldese accepted a commission to produce an altarpiece for the chapel of San Giovanni Decollato (Saint John Beheaded) in the church of Santo Stefano al Ponte, Florence. The chapel had been endowed by a bequest from Giovanni di Alamanno Gherardini over thirty years earlier, but the commission for its altarpiece was placed only belatedly by the Captains of Orsanmichele—a charitable institution dedicated to Saint Michael the Archangel and charged with the testamentary execution of Florentine estates. Payments to Ambrogio di Baldese for work on this altarpiece are registered between 1415 and 1417, with final payment ("per residuo solutionis picture dicte cappelle") disbursed on April 6 of the latter year.[17] Less than nine months later, on January 28, 1418, Guido di Pietro, the future Fra Angelico, was paid five florins for further unspecified work on the altarpiece ("pro parte solutionis tabule altaris")—work that he had finished by February 15, when he received an additional seven florins as final payment ("pro residuo solutionis tabule altaris dicte cappelle quam fecit").[18]

Sonia Chiodo's discovery of the remains of the *Saint John the Baptist* altarpiece originally painted for the Gherardini Chapel in Santo Stefano al Ponte (fig. 4) has proven to be the first tangible evidence for association of the historical Ambrogio di Baldese—a painter otherwise known from numerous documents but no works of art—with a body of painted work: that of the artist formerly known as the Master of the Straus Madonna.[19] Since no trace of Angelico's intervention could be detected within that altarpiece, however, her proposal for this identification was not universally or even widely accepted. Boasting a sixteenth-century provenance from the Gherardini family and including among its crowd of figures the three saints most intimately tied to the commission—Saint Stephen, patron of the church, in the position of honor at the Virgin's right; Saint John the Baptist, patron of the chapel and name-saint of the donor;

and the rarely portrayed Saint Michael, patron of the Confraternity of Orsanmichele—the association of the altarpiece with the document seems incontestable. The objection that Angelico's style at any period of his career bears no relationship to that of the Straus Master/Ambrogio di Baldese is rendered moot by the payment to Ambrogio di Baldese in April 1417 specifying that it is final, precluding any necessity to look for a professional connection between him and Angelico. It is more productive to speculate that Angelico was paid in January and February of the following year to change Ambrogio di Baldese's painting, possibly to make it more fitting to the patrons who oversaw its execution: the Captains of Orsanmichele. As their patron, Saint Michael the Archangel, appears only inconspicuously among the saints in the main tier of the altarpiece, it is likely that Angelico was asked by them to change two predella scenes—possibly originally commemorating either Saint Stephen or Saint John the Baptist, or both—to episodes from the legend of Saint Michael. The width of each scene in the Yale predella (40.3 cm on the left, 39.8 cm on the right) is to within one centimeter the same as the width of each of the lateral panels in the altarpiece discovered by Chiodo. Whether Angelico might have been asked to alter two further scenes in the other half of the predella or its central scene must remain an open question, pending the discovery of suitable candidates attributable either to his hand or to the Master of the Straus Madonna/Ambrogio di Baldese. —LK

Fig. 4. Ambrogio di Baldese, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Eight Saints; The Annunciation; The Crucifixion*, 1415–17. Tempera and gold on panel, 150 × 228 cm (59 × 89 3/4 in.). Santa Croce, Greve in Chianti

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

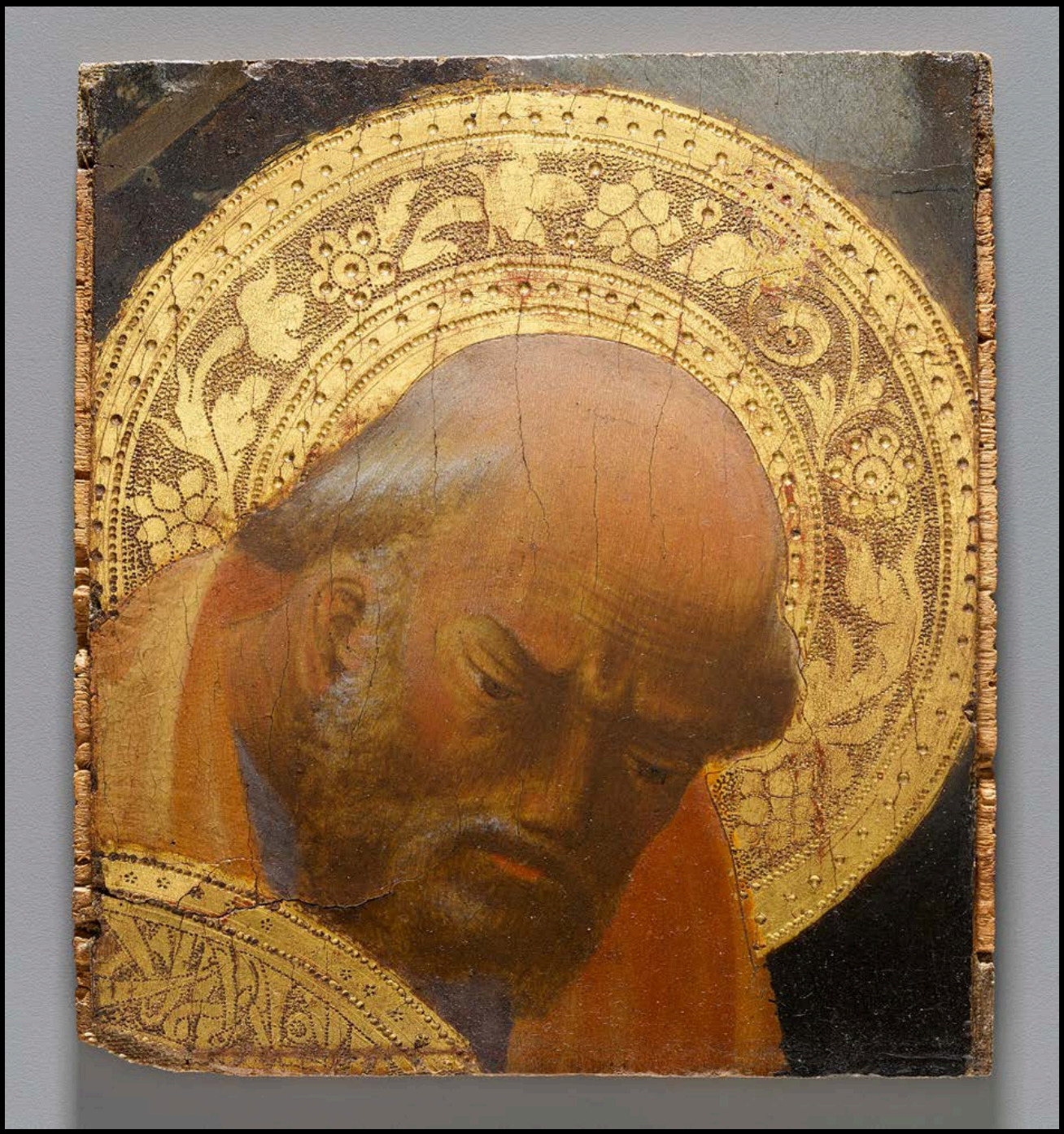
Borenius 1921, 154; van Marle 1924b, 573–74n2; Sotheby's 1929, 16, lot 112, fig. 112; Wulff-Berlin 1929, 172–73, 189, fig. 7; *Exhibition of Italian Primitive Paintings* 1930, no. 13; Berenson 1932a, 242; Salvini 1935, 293; Comstock 1946, 47–48, no. 3; "Picture Book Number One" 1946, fig. 6; Gronau 1950a, 41–47, pl. 23/fig. 1, pl. 25/fig. 3, pl. 27/fig. 7; Berenson 1963, 1:68, pl. 336; Seymour 1970, 38–39, 41, no. 23; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 76, 600; Boskovits 1975b, 298, 301; Cole 1977, 72, 76; Volbach 1987, 39–40; Johannes Roll, in Duston and Nesselrath 1998, 234–35; Carl Brandon Strehlke, in Strehlke 2019, 98–99, no. 10

NOTES

1. de Voragine 1993, 2:201–2.
2. de Voragine 1993, 2:202.
3. Borenius 1921, 154.
4. American Art Association 1926, no. 52.
5. Giovanna Ragionieri, in Caneva et al. 2018, 70.
6. Salvini 1935, 293; Comstock 1946, 47–48, no. 3; Gronau 1950a, 41–47, pl. 23/fig. 1, pl. 25/fig. 3, pl. 27/fig. 7; Berenson 1963, 1:68, pl. 336; Seymour 1970, 38–41, no. 23, fig. 23; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 76, 600; and Boskovits 1975b, 298, 301.
7. Borenius 1921, 154; van Marle 1924b, 573–74n2; and Wulff-Berlin 1929, 172–73, 189, fig. 7.
8. Cole 1977, 72, 76.
9. Gronau 1950a, 42.
10. Inv. no. 528.
11. Cole 1977, 76.
12. Boskovits 1975b, 298, 301.
13. Boskovits and Gaudenz Freuler prefer to link the Uffizi *Saints* with a *Virgin and Child Enthroned* formerly in the Heinz Kisters Collection, Kreuzlingen (sold at Sotheby's, New York, February 1, 2018, lot 3). The Kisters *Virgin and Child* is an early work by Agnolo Gaddi, probably painted in the 1370s, while the Uffizi *Saints*, which do seem compatible with the Contini *Virgin and Child*, are mature works from ca. 1390. See Freuler 1991, 203–5, nos. 76–77; and Sotheby's 2018, lot 3.
14. Carl Brandon Strehlke, in Strehlke 2019, 98–99, no. 10.
15. See Laurence Kanter, in Kanter and Palladino 2005, 13–19; and Pia Palladino, in Kanter and Palladino 2005, 40–47, nos. 5a–e.
16. See Pia Palladino, in Kanter and Palladino 2005, 42.
17. Chiodo 1998, 48–77, esp. 68.

18. Chiodo 1998, 69. These documents were first published, in less complete form, in Cohn 1956, 218–20.

19. For a thorough summary of the extensive literature concerning the Master of the Straus Madonna, see Alice Chiostrini, in Hollberg, Tartuferi, and Parenti 2020, 123–24. Documents for Ambrogio di Baldese, who enrolled in the Arte dei Medici e Speziali in 1372 and who died in 1429, can be found in Colnaghi 1986, 13–14. It has been objected (see Alice Chiostrini, in Chiostrini and Maugeri 2023, 78–83) that the cults of three of the bishop saints included in the Greve altarpiece—Eufrosino, Giusto, and Donato—are localized to the Chianti, and therefore that this painting was never intended for Santo Stefano al Ponte. The objection is invalid. According to Cecilia Frosinini (as kindly communicated to the author by Carl Strehlke in a message of May 22, 2024), the conservator's report for the altarpiece establishes that the inscription across the base of each bishop's miter is a later addition of possibly the seventeenth century. Presumably these inscriptions were added to adapt the painting's iconography to a new context when it was moved out of Santo Stefano.



Fra Angelico, *Saint Joseph*(?)

Artist	Fra Angelico, Florence, ca. 1395–1455
Title	*Saint Joseph*(?)
Date	ca. 1419–20
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 19.4 × 17.5 cm (7 5/8 × 6 7/8 in.); picture surface: 19.4 × 16.9 cm (7 5/8 × 6 5/8 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Richard L. Feigen, B.A. 1952
Inv. No.	2018.69.1

Provenance

Private collection, England(?); sale, Sotheby's, London, October 18, 1995, lot 50; Richard L. Feigen (1930–2021), New York, 1995

Condition

The panel support, of a horizontal wood grain, has been thinned to a depth of 1 centimeter but not cradled. It exhibits a moderate convex warp. A knot at the lower left has resulted in a visible disturbance of the paint surface in the area of the halo cropped at the bottom edge of the picture field but has not resulted in any loss of paint or gilding. The gilding is well preserved but for a minor repair in Saint Joseph's halo. The paint surface is evenly and lightly abraded throughout, with small flaking losses inpainted at the profile of the saint's head and beneath his chin. A long horizontal scratch across the bottom of the composition, 4 millimeters from the lower edge, was caused by a later framing system.

Discussion

Nothing is known of the collecting history of this panel before its appearance at public auction in London in 1995. A label formerly on the reverse, written in English (presumably indicating an earlier twentieth-century, if not nineteenth-century, presence in an English collection), ascribes the painting to Simone Martini. It was catalogued by Sotheby's in 1995 as the work of Giovanni di Francesco Toscani, at the suggestion of Everett Fahy.[1] Toscani was, at that time, understood to be the author of a group of pictures formerly brought together under the rubric "Master of the Griggs Crucifixion."[2] That group of paintings has recently come to be recognized as heterogeneous, and several of them, including the artist's name-piece, the *Crucifixion* in the Griggs collection, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 1), have been separated from Toscani's work and reassigned to the young Fra Angelico.[3] It is with this second group of paintings, works by Fra Angelico, that the Yale *Saint Joseph*(?) belongs, as was recognized independently by Carl Strehlke, Michel Laclotte, Diane Cole Ahl, and the present author, in letters to its then owner, Richard Feigen. The painting was exhibited in New York in 2005 and in New Haven in 2010 as by Fra Angelico.[4]

Fig. 1. Fra Angelico, *The Crucifixion*, ca. 1419–20. Tempera and gold on panel, 63.8 × 48.3 cm (25 1/8 × 19 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Maitland F. Griggs Collection, Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, 1943, inv. no. 43.98.5

The Yale *Saint Joseph*(?) is distinguished by its scale from nearly all other attributions to Angelico in the earliest part of his career. It has thus far been possible to recognize his hand in works earlier than the high altarpiece from San Domenico, Fiesole (ca. 1419–21), only in small-scale narrative panels and drawings, and in three Virgin and Child compositions that do not provide a direct point of comparison. When Strehlke first attributed the *Saint Joseph*(?) to Fra Angelico, therefore, he was tempted to suggest that this might be a fragment of the one altarpiece documented from Angelico's early career, painted for the Gherardini Chapel in Santo Stefano, Florence, for which payments to Angelico were received in January and February 1418. This suggestion gained no traction, however, in part because the dedication of the chapel to the Beheaded Saint John the Baptist could not be reconciled with a plausible reconstruction of the subject of the fragment. Sonia Chiodo's proposal to identify the Gherardini altarpiece with a pentaptych by the Master of the Straus Madonna (who is, on this basis, to be recognized as Ambrogio di Baldese, also named in documents of payment for decorating the chapel between 1415 and 1417) now at Santa Croce at Greve in Chianti, must now be recognized as correct (see Fra Angelico, *Two Scenes from the Legend of Saint Michael*, fig. 4).[5] Angelico's contribution to this project was confined to a late-stage alteration of its iconography, as confirmed by the discovery of a predella panel also at Yale (see Fra Angelico, *Two Scenes from the Legend of Saint Michael*).

Two suggestions for reconstructing the original subject of the Yale fragment were advanced in the 2005 exhibition catalogue from New York. There, the present author deduced that the full composition is likely to have been horizontal in format, following the grain of its panel support, and it may therefore have represented the Lamentation over the Dead Christ, in which case the Yale fragment could portray either Nicodemus or Joseph of Arimathea.[6] Strehlke instead suggested that it is a fragment of an Adoration of the Magi and that the elderly male figure is Saint Joseph. In favor of the latter suggestion is the presence of a straight green-brown bar cutting diagonally across the upper-left corner of the painting, which is perhaps to be interpreted as the edge of the roof covering the shed in which the Christ Child was born. The pseudo-Kufic decoration enlivening the halo cropped at the bottom-left corner of the painting may also support this proposal, as Angelico usually reserved these patterns for the decoration of the Virgin's halo only. Angelico treated the subject of the Adoration of the Magi numerous times over the course of his prolific career; in all but two of these, the figure of Saint Joseph is oriented in the opposite direction to the figure in the Yale fragment. This is not in itself an argument against the proposal, and the earlier of the two exceptions, a valve of a diptych probably painted around 1425 (formerly in the collection of Marczell von Nemes in Munich, current location unknown),[7] may provide a rough template for reconstructing the missing portions of the present work. Angelico never precisely repeated a composition at any time in his career, but the general relation of the figures to each other in these paintings may have been similar. The second iteration of the composition in this orientation appears on one of the four reliquaries for Santa Maria Novella, Florence, probably painted shortly after 1430, but this is a much more complex and spatially ambitious rendering that is likely to have borne only a tangential relationship to the Yale fragment.[8]

Whatever the subject of the painting, it remains difficult to envision its original format or purpose. It is far too large to have been part of a predella, where horizontal supporting planks are usually encountered. Tuscan altarpieces of this period were rarely if ever wider than they were tall, and domestic paintings of this scale and

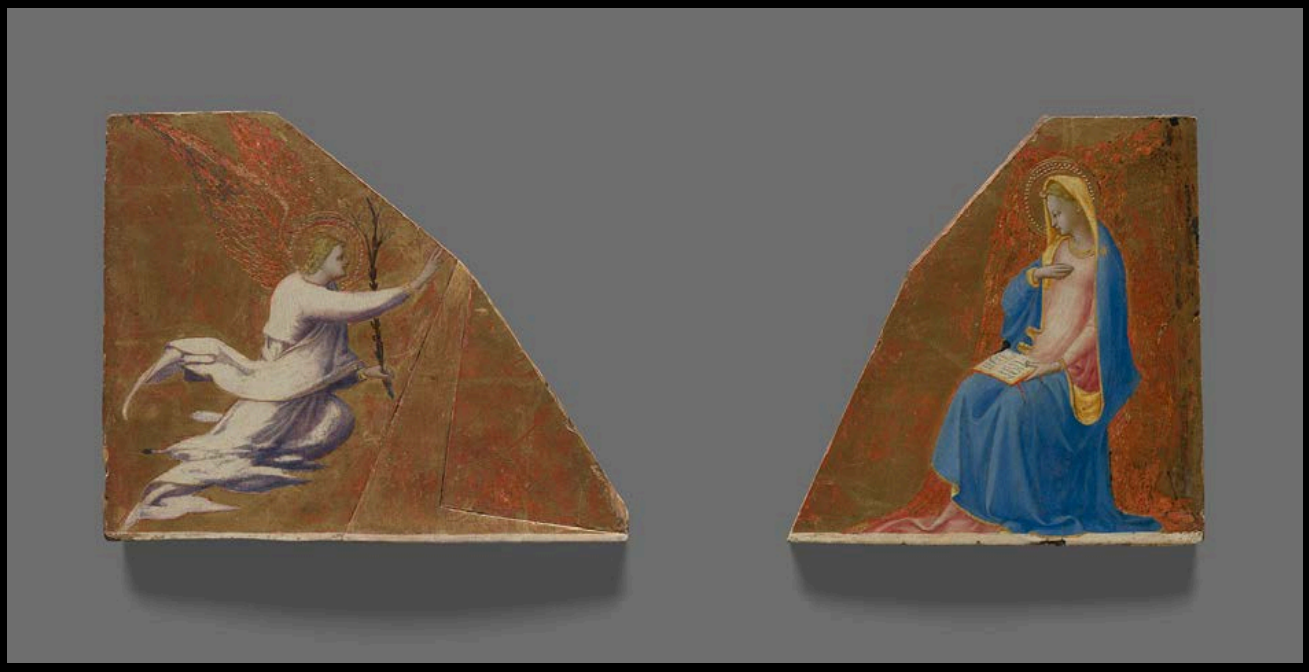
presumed subject are commonly found only in the second half of the fifteenth century. It could have been part of the furnishings of a lay or ecclesiastical interior, as was doubtless the case with Angelico's early *Thebaid* panel in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence,[9] but if so, no relevant *comparanda* are known, nor have other fragments that may have come from the same source been discovered. It is equally difficult to ascertain its date with confidence, as dating any painting from the first full decade of Angelico's career is inferential and based on comparisons to other works of uncertain date. The closest correspondence in figure type, drawing of the features, and modeling of the volumes in the Yale *Saint* occur in the main panels of the high altarpiece from San Domenico, Fiesole, with allowance, on the one hand, for the better state of preservation of those panels and, on the other, for the frontal and hieratic presentation of those figures and their less emotive presence. The San Domenico panels are generally dated around 1421, based on the circumstances of the construction history of the convent and the likely sequence of events leading to Angelico's residence in the community there. Recent proposals anticipate the beginning of work on the altarpiece to 1419.[10] As it is not possible to be either more precise or in any degree certain about this chronology, assigning a range of possible dates to the Yale fragment around 1419–20 seems prudent. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Feigen 2000, 10–11; Kanter 2001, 37n6; Laurence Kanter, in Kanter and Palladino 2005, 24–25, no. 4; Hood 2006, 148; Laurence Kanter, in Kanter and Marciari 2010, 73–75, no. 21

NOTES

1. Sotheby's, London, sale cat., October 18, 1995, lot 50.
2. See Bellosi 1966b, 44–58, for the conflation of these two personalities.
3. Luciano Bellosi, in *Arte in Lombardia* 1988, 196–97; Boskovits 1994, 365–68; and Strehlke 2019, 110–11.
4. Laurence Kanter, in Kanter and Palladino 2005, 24–25; and Laurence Kanter, in Kanter and Marciari 2010, 73–75, no. 21.
5. Chiodo 1998, 48–79. Alice Chiostrini's objection to Chiodo's proposition (see Alice Chiostrini, in Chiostrini and Maugeri 2023, 78–83) has been shown to be invalid. See note 19 in Fra Angelico, *Two Scenes from the Legend of Saint Michael*.
6. Laurence Kanter, in Kanter and Palladino 2005, 24–25.
7. Illustrated in Kanter and Palladino 2005, 100, fig. 60.
8. Museo di San Marco, Florence, inv. no. 276. A thorough and excellent discussion of the four reliquaries from Santa Maria Novella is found in Silver 2018. An alternate view of their relative chronology is expressed by the present author in Kanter and Palladino 2005, 148–51.
9. Inv. no. 1890 n. 447, https://catalogo.uffizi.it/it/29/ricerca/detailiccd/1185128.
10. Strehlke 2019, 116–29.



Fra Angelico, *The Annunciation*

Artist	Fra Angelico, Florence, ca. 1395–1455
Title	*The Annunciation*
Date	ca. 1421–22
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	a (*Annunciatory Angel*): 18.3 × 15.2 cm (7 1/4 × 6 in.); b (gilded fragment): 9.8 × 8.0 cm (3 7/8 × 3 1/8 in.); c (*Virgin Annunciate*): 18.3 × 17.7 cm (7 1/4 × 7 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz
Inv. No.	1959.15.6a–c

Provenance

Albertini collection, Pistoia;[1] Sir Charles Townley, England, 1877;[2] Sarah Maude Peto Crossley (1847–1938), Burton-Pynsent, Yeovil, Somerset, England;[3] Koetser Gallery, New York, May 1939;[4] E. and A. Silberman Galleries, New York, 1940; Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz (1887–1957), Sands Point, Long Island, N.Y., ca. 1944

Condition

The three fragments (fig. 1), cut from two panels with a vertical wood grain, all retain their original thickness of 1.7 centimeters and remnants of painted porphyry decoration with a white border on their reverses, better preserved in fragment c, the *Virgin Annunciate*, than in the other two. Fragment a, the *Annunciatory Angel*, and fragment b, a wedge of gilding, were cut from a single panel and were reconstructed with a plywood inlay in 2000 to an approximation of their original demilunette shape by Mark Aronson; their combined dimensions are now 18.3 by 22.4 centimeters. The back (left) edge of the Angel is slightly beveled away from the picture surface and is likely to be original. The back (right) edge of the Virgin has been trimmed, but a lightly engraved line running the full height of the panel 3 millimeters from its right edge suggests that little or no surface of the image has been lost. Gilding on this panel has been lightly abraded, and oil glazes originally modeling the tooled cloth of honor covering the back of the Virgin's throne are lost. The paint surface is beautifully preserved. Gilding on the panel with the Angel and on the wedge has been lightly abraded. The paint surface of the Angel is well preserved, but oil glazes covering his wings have been lost, and the purple shadows of his draperies have faded.

Fig. 1. *The Annunciation*, ca. 1999

Discussion

Originally two demilunettes that formed the upper section of a pair of tabernacle wings, these panels were cut to geometrically irregular shapes to enable their reconstruction as a single rectangular scene of the

Fig. 2. *The Annunciation*, ca. 1959

Annunciation sometime before they entered the Rabinowitz collection (fig. 2); presumably, they had been rebuilt in this form from at least the time of their appearance in the Towneley collection, if not earlier. Except for an attribution to Fra Filippo Lippi assigned to them by Lionello Venturi[5] and under which they were exhibited at the E. and A. Silberman Galleries in 1955, they have always been considered within the circle of painters around Fra Angelico in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Charles Seymour, Jr., initially called them "Unknown Florentine" but compared them to the Griggs *Crucifixion* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (see Fra Angelico, *Saint Joseph*(?), fig. 1), a painting that has subsequently come to be recognized as an early work by Fra Angelico.[6] Rethinking that relationship later, in 1970 Seymour suggested the name of Domenico di Michelino, who at the time was regularly confused with Zanobi Strozzi and adduced as a label for a variety of Angelico-related styles.[7] Seymour specifically compared the Yale *Annunciation* to the predella of the Prado *Annunciation* altarpiece, another painting now recognized as a masterpiece of Fra Angelico's early career.[8] Federico Zeri listed the *Annunciation* only as "Florentine school, fifteenth century," while Flora Clancy followed Seymour's formula of "Follower of Angelico, ca. 1440."[9] Miklós Boskovits[10] was the first to propose attributing the paintings directly to Fra Angelico, suggesting that the Angel and the Virgin might have formed the pinnacles of triptych wings of which another fragment was a *Nativity* in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts.[11] This attribution was followed by Giorgio Bonsanti and the present author.[12] The latter, however, rejected an association with the Minneapolis *Nativity* on the grounds of incompatible dimensions and proposed an alternative reconstruction that was later confirmed by technical evidence.

The relationship of the three fragments to each other and their approximate original dimensions are indicated by the painted decoration of their reverses: a fictive porphyry field with painted white border (fig. 3). The Virgin, which was trimmed at the right and left, currently measures 17.7 centimeters in width but was once at least 20 centimeters wide. The Annunciatory Angel has been more aggressively cropped, but its reconstruction with the triangular section of unpainted gilding—the painted arches on the reverses of the two fragments are continuous—results in a panel 22.4 centimeters wide. These dimensions correspond to those of a pair of tabernacle wings now in the collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, portraying Saints Francis and a bishop saint in the left wing (52.7 × 23.2 cm) and Saints John the Baptist and Dominic in the right wing (53.7 × 21 cm) (fig. 4). The Getty panels have painted reverses (fig. 5) identical to those of the Yale panels, and the painted white margins of the Getty panels trimmed across their upper edges continue along the lower edges of the Yale panels. X-radiographs of the four panels show that the vertical wood grain of their supports is continuous across the two pairs. Judging from the varying widths of the white painted margins in the Getty panels, they, too, have been trimmed somewhat in width, especially along their inner edges, resulting in a total width for the two wings of approximately 46 centimeters, or slightly more, when folded closed. Their total original height is more difficult to estimate, given the cropping of the Yale panels above and a similar loss at the bottoms of the Getty panels. Hinge scars on the reverses of the latter are situated less than 1 centimeter from the lower edge of each, suggesting the loss of as much as 5 centimeters of wood along this edge. An original height for the full tabernacle may be estimated, therefore, as 80 centimeters or perhaps slightly greater. The painted surface of Angelico's tabernacle in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, which dates only slightly earlier than the Getty and Yale panels, is probably the correct size to have stood between them, but the frame of that painting is original and indicates that it never had folding wings.[13]

Fig. 3. Reverse of *The Annunciation*

Fig. 4. Fra Angelico, *Saint Francis and a Bishop Saint*; *Saint John the Baptist and Saint Dominic*, ca. 1421–22. Tempera and gold on panel, 52.7 × 23.2 cm (20 3/4 × 9 1/8 in.) and 53.7 × 21 cm (21 1/8 × 8 1/4 in.). J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, inv. no. 92.PB.111

Fig. 5. Reverses of *Saint Francis and a Bishop Saint* and *Saint John the Baptist and Saint Dominic*

When first proposing the connection between the Getty and Yale panels, the present author suggested a date for them of ca. 1424, based on their relationship to the predella of the high altarpiece from San Domenico in Fiesole and, to a lesser extent, the San Pietro Martire altarpiece, both then thought to date from about that time.[14] Persuasive arguments have since been advanced to consider the San Domenico altarpiece as a work possibly begun as early as 1419 and completed by 1421, with its predella among the last of its sections to have been painted.[15] The dating of the San Pietro Martire altarpiece is dependent on that of the San Domenico altarpiece and has consequently been advanced to ca. 1421–22. The Getty/Yale triptych must also have been painted in about 1421 or 1422, although Angelico's chronology over the first decade and a half of his career is based entirely on relative comparisons: precise dating for any work by him prior to 1430 is inferential. More important, however, than pinpointing the year of execution of the triptych is the recognition that it must be exactly contemporary to one of the most beautiful, and puzzling, works ever painted by Fra Angelico, the *Virgin and Child with Twelve Angels* (fig. 6) in the Städel Museum, Frankfurt. The unusual rectangular format of this panel has frustrated efforts to reconstruct its original function or the type of structure of which it might have formed part. It has never been adduced as a candidate for the center panel of the Getty/Yale triptych due to its smaller dimensions (37.5 × 29.7 cm), but recent technical examination of its support might suggest that a consideration of this possibility is appropriate.

Fig. 6. Fra Angelico, *Virgin and Child with Twelve Angels*, ca. 1421–22. Tempera and gold on panel, 37.5 × 29.7 cm (14 3/4 × 11 3/4 in.). Städel Museum, Frankfurt, inv. no. 838

The panel support of the Frankfurt painting has a horizontal grain, which, as Carl Strehlke has observed, is routinely encountered in Tuscan painting of this period in panels that are wider than they are tall.[16] He concluded, therefore, that the panel (although not the picture surface, which preserves a barb from its original frame moldings) must have been cropped on the left and right. The amount cropped would have been substantial if the original format of this panel was horizontal: as the panel also preserves evidence of frame moldings trimmed away at top and bottom, its original height would have been at least 40 centimeters, and its width would have been greater than that, very possibly equal to the combined width of the Getty and Yale panels: about 46 centimeters. In such a case, it would be necessary to explain the more than 16 centimeters difference between the overall width of the panel and its painted surface. One possible explanation would be that the painting was embedded in the center of a reliquary tabernacle, and as is typical in many such structures, the reliquary cavities flanking the painted image were created by frame moldings projecting forward of the main panel support.[17] This hypothesis could also explain the dowel pegs embedded in the panel at top and bottom, attaching it to a base or painted predella and a tympanum. The latter could have housed further reliquary cavities and, potentially, an image of the blessing God the Father, completing the Annunciation imagery in the hypothetical wings. It may not be coincidental that three of the four reliquaries painted by Fra Angelico for San Marco after 1424 are similar in the width of their painted surfaces to the Frankfurt panel and in the overall dimensions of their frames to the combined dimensions of the Getty/Yale wings.[18]

In his own reconstruction of the original format of the Frankfurt panel, Strehlke argued for the possibility that it might have served as a sacrament tabernacle at San Domenico, Fiesole, while admitting that it is uncertain what form such a tabernacle might have taken, as they do not become common liturgical fixtures in Florence until after 1450. If it might instead have formed part of a portable reliquary tabernacle, Strehlke's arguments for a likely provenance from San Domenico are nevertheless compelling. In his discussion of the Getty panels, the present author suggested a tentative identification for the bishop saint in the left wing as Saint Zenobius and, consequently, a possible identification of the original patron as Fra Giovanni di Zanobi Masi.[19] Masi was a founding member of the Dominican Observant community at San Domenico in Fiesole in 1419, transferring later to San Marco in Florence where, according to Giuseppe Richa, he commissioned the four reliquary tabernacles from Fra Angelico in or after 1424. Although entirely speculative, it remains possible that the Yale *Annunciation*, Getty *Saints*, and Frankfurt *Virgin and Child with Twelve Angels* are the surviving remains of his initial patronage of Fra Angelico, predating the creation of the four painted reliquaries now divided between the Museo di San Marco and the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.[20] —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Venturi 1945, 15–16, pl. 8; *Exhibition of Paintings* 1955, 15; "Recent Gifts and Purchases" 1960, 53; Seymour 1961, 18–19, 54; Seymour 1970, 132–34, no. 91; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 601; Flora Clancy, in Seymour et al. 1972, 54–55, no. 47, figs. 47a–d; Boskovits 1976a, 38, 41, 50n27, 52n41; Boskovits 1983, 11–24; Kenney 1992, 134; Bonsanti 1998, 115; Kanter 2001, 13–39; Laurence Kanter, in Kanter and Palladino 2005, 95–98, no. 17

NOTES

1. According to dealer's record.
2. According to Seymour 1970, 134. There is, however, no Sir Charles Townley recorded in the generation that would have been alive in 1877. This may be Colonel Charles Towneley

(1803–1876) of Towneley Hall, Burnley, Lancashire, whose grandfather, Charles Towneley (1737–1805), was resident in Florence and Rome from ca. 1765. Colonel Charles Towneley was an avid collector of Roman antiquities—a gallery at the British Museum, London, is named for him—and it may have been he who first owned the Angelico. The family were prominent Catholic landowners in the north of England.

3. This identical provenance chain, Albertini—Townley—Crossley, is recorded for the *Portrait of a Young Man* by Marco Basaiti, sold at Sotheby's, New York (January 25, 2011, lot 102), and the *Portrait of a Lady in Profile* attributed to Baldassare d'Este (*From Borso to Cesare d'Este* 1984, 64, no. 6, pl. 6, lent by Wildenstein and Co.).

4. According to a photograph in the Richard Offner Photo Archives, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.

5. Venturi 1945, 15–16, pl. 8.

6. Seymour 1961, 18–19, 54.

7. Seymour 1970, 132–34.

8. Inv. no. P000015/002, https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/scenes-from-the-life-of-the-virgin/7da17107-db99-4819-b73c-f5cb0b26915a.

9. Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 601; and Flora Clancy, in Seymour et al. 1972, 54–55, nos. 47a–d.

10. Boskovits 1976a, 38, 41, 50n27, 52n41; and Boskovits 1983, 11–24.

11. Inv. no. 68.41.8, https://collections.artsmia.org/art/1680/the-nativity-fra-angelico.

12. Bonsanti 1998, 115; Kanter 2001, 13–39; and Laurence Kanter, in Kanter and Palladino 2005, 95–98.

13. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, the Netherlands, https://www.boijmans.nl/en/collection/artworks/3860/madonna-and-child-with-two-angels.

14. Kanter 2001, 13–39.

15. See Strehlke 2019, 116–29.

16. Strehlke 2019, 130–32.

17. See Williamson 2018, 41–55. Although several of the Sienese examples cited here are constructed in the fashion outlined, none of them includes folding wings. Evidence is incomplete as to whether any, such as the *Madonna of Humility* by Andrea di Bartolo in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (inv. no. 1939.1.20.a, https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.160.html), might once have done so.

18. See Nathaniel Silver, in Silver 2018, 150–79, nos. 1–4. The frame on the first of the reliquaries, the so-called *Madonna della Stella*, is the only original frame of the four, but all three of the reliquaries still in San Marco retain sufficient fragments of their original structure to estimate their overall dimensions. The chronology of these four works proposed by Silver is based on iconographic, not stylistic, considerations. An alternative proposal was formulated by the present author in Kanter and Palladino 2005, 147–51; and with slight variations in Kanter 2018a, 408–10.

19. Laurence Kanter, in Kanter and Palladino 2005, 97–98, no. 17.

20. Museo di San Marco, Florence, inv. no. 1918 nn. 274–76; and Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, inv. no. P15W34, https://www.gardnermuseum.org/experience/collection/11697.

Fra Angelico, *The Vision of Pope Innocent III*; *Saints Peter and Paul Appearing to Saint Dominic*

Artist	Fra Angelico, Florence, ca. 1395–1455
Title	*The Vision of Pope Innocent III*; *Saints Peter and Paul Appearing to Saint Dominic*
Date	ca. 1453–54
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	33.7 × 42.0 cm (13 1/4 × 16 1/2 in.)
Credit Line	Edwin Austin Abbey Memorial Collection
Inv. No.	1937.343

Provenance

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

Condition

The panel support, of a horizontal grain, retains its original depth of 3 centimeters. It comprises two sections of poplar with a half-lap join: the left section is 17 centimeters long, and the right is 33 centimeters long, with an overlap of 8 centimeters between them. A split in the left panel 8.5 centimeters from the top and one in the right panel 5.5 centimeters from the bottom are visible as open cracks in the paint surface, as is the vertical seam between the two sections (17.2 centimeters from the left edge). A secondary split visible on the surface of the right panel 12 centimeters from the top was generated from one of the eleven nails that secure the lap join. These are arranged in two columns, seven on the left and four on the right; all have provoked paint losses, the largest clustered around three nails at the bottom of the left panel. A rectangular area approximately 3 by 11 centimeters along the bottom edge of the right panel, beneath the kneeling figure of Saint Dominic, has been reduced to a layer of polished gesso. The gilding and paint surfaces throughout are heavily abraded, above all in dark colors and in the sky. The architectural forms are better preserved, although a prominent graffito reading "NP" has been scratched into the facade of Saint Peter's Basilica at the right. No barb is visible along any of the four edges, but a fillet of gold at the left edge of the panel indicates that the picture surface has not been cropped at that side, while engraved lines along the top and bottom margins suggest that these, too, may be substantially complete.

Discussion

Two separate scenes from the life and early ministry of Saint Dominic (1170–1221) are represented within the undivided pictorial field of the panel. The first is the vision of Pope Innocent III (r. 1198–1216) following Dominic's petition in 1215 to grant approval of a rule for a new order of mendicant preachers. Initially reluctant, Innocent had a dream of Dominic supporting the crumbling Lateran Basilica, which persuaded him to embrace the new order. Innocent is shown in the middle distance at the center of the panel, asleep beneath a tented hanging within an open doorway at the top of a flight of steps in a turreted and crenellated building

meant to represent the papal apartments at the Vatican. At the left is his dream vision: Dominic, the black cloak of his habit thrown back over his shoulders to free his arms for the task, strains forward and, with his outstretched arms, holds up the collapsing flank of the Lateran. Cracks in the receding facade and in the clerestory of the building (easily confused with actual splits in the panel support and losses in the paint surface) indicate its perilous condition. Not represented here is the approval of the rule: Innocent died before the document could be formally ratified, and the task fell to his successor, Honorius III (r. 1216–27), in 1216. Following this, Dominic, at prayer in Saint Peter's Basilica at the Vatican, had a vision of Saints Peter and Paul presenting him with a staff and a book and instructing him to go forth and preach. This episode, which came to be emblematic of the Dominican order's charge as missionaries and teachers, is portrayed at the right of the panel, where Saint Dominic, kneeling in lost profile with half figures of Saints Peter and Paul floating above his head, is seen inside the basilica through an open door in its facade.

Unpublished before Charles Seymour, Jr.'s catalogue, where it was described as by a close follower or associate of Fra Angelico,[1] the severely abraded condition of this painting, resulting both from historic damages and an excessively harsh cleaning at Yale in 1967, have resulted in its being ignored in most of the extensive literature on the artist until very recently. Seymour acknowledged that the complexity of the composition and accomplishment of the drawing "indicated a commission of high quality and importance" but declined to press further with comparisons to other works by Angelico or by artists in his circle. Whereas Seymour concluded that "the possibility of Angelico's own hand is conceivable, but at present far from provable," John Pope-Hennessy demurred, stating that "in its present state the panel is unattributable, but seems to date from the sixth decade of the century."[2] This observation devolved in part upon the contention that "in so far as it is dependent on Fra Angelico [it] recalls . . . the related panel of the predella at Cortona, not that in the Louvre" and must therefore date after the 1440s. The painting was not again discussed in scholarship until its inclusion in the 2005 Fra Angelico exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. There it was recognized as a wholly autograph work by Angelico from the very end of his career and as part of a predella of conspicuous size and significant ambition of which at least two, possibly three, other fragments survive.[3]

The predellas at the Museo Diocesano, Cortona, and the Musée du Louvre, Paris, referenced by Pope-Hennessy are both dedicated to a complete cycle of scenes from the life of Saint Dominic. The earlier, more complex, and more accomplished of them, at the Louvre, stands beneath Angelico's altarpiece of the Coronation of the Virgin, probably painted in the early 1430s for a side altar in the church of San Domenico at Fiesole, Angelico's home convent. It begins with the same two scenes portrayed on the Yale panel but separated into individual compartments framed by gilt borders. In the first scene (fig. 1), Pope Innocent III, who appears to be sleeping behind parted curtains in a chamber beneath the Castel Sant'Angelo, occupies a much greater portion of the compositional plan. Dominic, at the left, is pushing energetically against the slightly tilted facade of a church. Although the scene incorporates a typically astonishing wealth of descriptive detail, it scans with an almost conventional narrative rhythm when compared to the remarkably inventive solution of the limited, steeply recessive space in the Yale panel, where Dominic's pose leads the eye dramatically back to Innocent, rather than balancing him with a contrapuntal movement in the other direction. The scene of Dominic's vision in the Louvre predella (fig. 2) is a tour-de-force perspectival view of the colonnaded interior of a classical basilica, replete with a central vault painted blue with gilt stars, a line of suspended oil lamps, and two apse chapels with gilt polyptychs standing on the altars, which, in turn, are covered with embroidered silk altar cloths. In the Yale panel, the scene is reduced to minimum narrative essentials, with a daring view through a door cut into a large white marble facade, the latter enlivened by delicately drawn pilaster, stringcourse, and entablature moldings. The implied narrative premise of the composition is that the viewer is standing just outside the doorway as a participating witness to Dominic's vision. In the Cortona predella, probably painted in the 1440s by an assistant of Angelico (Benozzo Gozzoli?), these two scenes (fig. 3) more closely follow the model of the Louvre predella, simplified to eliminate much of the descriptive detail but not enriched with either spatial or psychological depth.

Fig. 1. Fra Angelico, *The Dream of Pope Innocent III* (detail of the predella of the *Coronation of the Virgin* altarpiece), ca. 1430–32. Tempera and gold on panel. Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. 314

Fig. 2. Fra Angelico, *The Vision of Saint Dominic* (detail of the predella of the *Coronation of the Virgin* altarpiece), ca. 1430–32. Tempera and gold on panel. Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. 314

Fig. 3. Assistant of Fra Angelico, *The Dream of Pope Innocent III and the Vision of Saint Dominic* (detail of the predella of the Cortona altarpiece), ca. 1440–45. Tempera and gold on panel. Museo Diocesano, Cortona

The composite structure of the support of the Yale panel, with an added piece of wood lap-joined and nailed on to extend it at the left, implies that it occupied the leftmost position in its complete predella. Such a conclusion is also supported by comparison of its painted subjects to the predellas in Paris and Cortona, where the same scenes appear at the extreme left, first in narrative sequence. Remnants of a gilt margin at the left of the painted field in the Yale panel might, therefore, have bordered the framing pilaster base at this end of the altarpiece, rather than demonstrating that gilded strips divided the scenes of the predella from each other. The absence of such a margin at the right edge could either confirm that the successive scenes of this predella were not divided by gilt borders or imply that the Yale panel has been cropped short of such a border at the right. If the latter were true, it is possible that as much as five centimeters were cropped at the right edge, restoring which would result in the doorway being centered within the facade of Saint Peter's Basilica.

In both the Paris and Cortona predellas, the scene following the vision of Saint Dominic recounts the miracle of Saint Dominic raising Napoleone Orsini, nephew of Cardinal Stefano Orsini, who had died when his horse fell into a ditch while he was riding. If this scene occurred in the predella of which the Yale panel formed part, it is not known to survive.[4] A counterpart to the scene following it in both the Paris and Cortona predellas (figs. 4–5), the Disputation of Saint Dominic and the Miracle of the Book, does survive. The same size (34.3 × 46.4 cm) as the Yale panel, or as the Yale panel may be presumed to have been if it has been cropped, closely related to it in style and, like it, heavily damaged (although in this case extensively restored), it is certainly part of the same predella. Published in the 2005 exhibition catalogue from an old photograph and as of unknown location, the panel itself was rediscovered in a private collection and included in the exhibition after the catalogue was printed (fig. 6). In this scene, Dominic, at the far left, gives to a Catharist heretic in Montréal, France, a book in which he had written out his arguments against the sect's false beliefs. The heretic brought the book to his fellows, who urged him to throw it into the fire: if it burned, their doctrines would be proven true; if it did not, they would follow those of the Church as preached by Dominic. Three times they threw the book into the fire, and three times it rose unharmed from the flames, to the astonishment and consternation of the six men gathered around it.

Fig. 4. Fra Angelico, *The Disputation of Saint Dominic and the Miracle of the Book* (detail of the predella of the *Coronation of the Virgin* altarpiece), ca. 1430–32. Tempera and gold on panel. Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. 314

Fig. 5. Assistant of Fra Angelico, *The Disputation of Saint Dominic and the Miracle of the Book* (detail of the predella of the Cortona altarpiece), ca. 1440–45. Tempera and gold on panel. Museo Diocesano, Cortona

Fig. 6. Fra Angelico, *The Disputation of Saint Dominic and the Miracle of the Book*, ca. 1453–54. Tempera and gold on panel, 34.3 × 46.4 cm (13 1/2 × 18 1/4 in.). Private collection

Following the Miracle of the Book in both the Louvre and Cortona predellas is a scene of Saint Dominic and his companions fed by angels in the convent of San Sisto Vecchio in Rome (figs. 7–8). When not enough bread could be found to feed the forty friars in the community, Dominic enjoined the brothers to divide what there was among themselves. As they prepared to dine on these tiny morsels, two angels appeared with aprons full of bread, which they placed on the table before Dominic. A version of this scene (fig. 9)—measuring 35 by 47.7 centimeters and clearly belonging to the Yale predella—is preserved in the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Germany. Although even more severely damaged than the Yale panel, it is at least as sophisticated in its narrative construction. The spare setting of the convent refectory contrasts markedly with the accumulation of gratuitous architectural detail in the Louvre predella and even more strikingly with the implausible outdoor setting employed in the Cortona predella. In the Stuttgart panel, the artist has focused on

Fig. 7. Fra Angelico, *The Miracle of the Loaves* (detail of the predella of the *Coronation of the Virgin* altarpiece), ca. 1430–32. Tempera and gold on panel. Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. 314

the human drama of the event and imparted a sense of divine or miraculous consequence by relying on light rather than line to define details and by imposing a crystalline, almost balletic symmetry on his composition. It is probable that when it was well preserved, few works from Angelico's late career rivaled this one for the sophistication of its conception and execution.

Fig. 8. Assistant of Fra Angelico, *The Miracle of the Loaves* (detail of the predella of the Cortona altarpiece), ca. 1440–45. Tempera and gold on panel. Museo Diocesano, Cortona

Fig. 9. Fra Angelico, *The Miracle of the Loaves*, ca. 1453–54. Tempera and gold on panel, 35 × 47.7 cm (13 3/4 × 18 5/8 in.). Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Germany, inv. no. 3118

The Yale predella could have concluded with a now-missing scene of the Death of Saint Dominic, as do the predellas in Paris and Cortona, or the Stuttgart *Miracle of the Bread* could have been its final scene, as might be suggested by the fragment of a gilt border preserved along its right edge. It was suggested in the 2005 New York exhibition that the center of the predella might have been occupied by a Passion scene, echoing the presence of a Man of Sorrows at the center of the Louvre predella, and it was proposed to identify that scene with a Crucifixion and nine saints (fig. 10) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. This identification was rejected subsequently by Gerardo de Simone.[5] Admittedly problematic, though perhaps not for the reasons adduced by de Simone, including the duplication of subject with a wall hanging portrayed in the background of the Stuttgart panel, inclusion of the Met *Crucifixion* in this reconstruction is not impossible but cannot be regarded as straightforward. If it did accompany the *Saint Dominic* panels, the overall length of the predella would have been approximately 240 centimeters, a size equaled in Angelico's entire career only by the predella to the high altarpiece for San Marco in Florence. If it did not, and the complete predella comprised either five scenes from the life of Saint Dominic or four scenes and a slightly smaller center panel (as at the Louvre), its total length would still have been close to 230 centimeters. Its monumental scale and its iconography, focused on the founder of the order, strongly suggest that it stood on the high altar of a major Dominican establishment. One proposal raised in the 2005 exhibition was that the predella could have been part of the altarpiece of the Annunciation that Giorgio Vasari claimed to have seen in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, in Rome, the convent at which Angelico passed his final

years and in which he was buried in February 1455.[6] Although no trace of such an altarpiece survives and no documentation has come to light proving that it might have been commissioned from Angelico, the proposal was accepted enthusiastically by de Simone. De Simone adduced as additional evidence of a Roman provenance the resemblance of the door moldings through which is seen the vision of Saint Dominic in the Yale panel to those designed by Bernardo Rossellino for Santo Stefano Rotondo in Rome in 1453. Further, assuming the graffito monogram scratched into the facade of Saint Peter's in the Yale panel to be original and deliberate, he interpreted its conjoined N and P to signify *Nicolaus Pontifex*, for Nicholas V, Angelico's patron, who was responsible for transferring the seat of papal authority from the Lateran to the Vatican. Accordingly, de Simone dated the predella between 1453 and 1454—which is completely plausible on stylistic grounds—and acknowledged it as one of Angelico's last works, indeed, one of the few works surviving from the last years of the artist's career. —LK

Fig. 10. Fra Angelico, *The Crucifixion*, ca. 1453–54. Tempera and gold on panel, 34 × 50.2 cm (13 3/8 × 19 3/4 in.); set in panel: 40 × 54 cm (15 3/4 × 21 1/4 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913, inv. no. 14.40.628

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Seymour 1970, 114–15, 312, no. 78; Pope-Hennessy 1974, 229, fig. 88; Laurence Kanter, in Kanter and Palladino 2005, 217–21; Gerardo de Simone, in Zuccari, Morello, and de Simone 2009, 230–31; de Simone 2017, 206–7

NOTES

1. Seymour 1970, 114–15, no. 78.
2. Pope-Hennessy 1974, 229.
3. Laurence Kanter, in Kanter and Palladino 2005, 217–21.
4. See Laurence Kanter, in Kanter and Palladino 2005, 221n3: a fragmentary copy, measuring 23.3 by 18.1 centimeters, of the right third of the scene of the Raising of Napoleone Orsini from the Cortona predella was exhibited in Stuttgart in 1950. See *Frühe italienische Tafelmalerei* 1950, 50, fig. 80. The subsequent history of this panel is unrecorded, its present whereabouts are unknown, and from the photograph in the Stuttgart catalogue it is not possible to judge either its condition or its authorship.
5. Gerardo de Simone, in Zuccari, Morello, and de Simone 2009, 230–31; and de Simone 2017, 206–7.
6. Vasari 1878–85, 2:516.

Zanobi di Benedetto di Carroccio degli Strozzi, *Saints Zenobius, Francis, and Anthony of Padua*

Artist	Zanobi di Benedetto di Carroccio degli Strozzi, Florence, 1412–1468
Title	*Saints Zenobius, Francis, and Anthony of Padua*
Date	ca. 1448–50
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	76.7 × 47.5 cm (30 1/4 × 18 3/4 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.31

Provenance

San Salvi(?), Florence;[1] James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical grain, has been thinned to a depth of 1 centimeter and cradled. It comprises three planks, 20.5, 18.5, and 8 centimeters wide, left to right; the leftmost plank is 5 millimeters wider at the bottom than it is at the top. The two panel joins have separated slightly, but neither gap has provoked any measurable paint loss. A minor split extends 5 centimeters from the top of the panel through the halo of Saint Francis, nearly on center. The panel was regilt before entering Yale's collection in 1871, but the new gold and any original gold or bolus it may have covered were scraped away in a cleaning by Andrew Petryn in 1967, leaving only roughly scratched gesso. Slivers of original gold can be seen beneath the profiles and along the edges of the robes of all three figures, and islands of original gilding survive in the haloes, surrounded by broad stretches of exposed bolus. The halo of Saint Zenobius is 2 centimeters smaller in diameter (13.5 cm) than those of the other two saints (15.5 cm) and lacks the undecorated central disk that features in the latter. A barb of gesso and paint is visible along the bottom and right edges of the picture surface, while small losses at the upper-left and -right corners suggest the positioning of corbels or capitals that might have supported an arched top to the panel. No pattern of damage survives at the top center that might indicate whether this arch was single or double. The paint surface is well preserved, though lightly and evenly abraded. Minor losses, chiefly in Saint Zenobius's book and index finger and in the robes of Saints Zenobius and Francis, were retouched by Anne O'Connor during a treatment in 2003. The only significant loss, at the top of Zenobius's miter, was not reconstructed.

Discussion

Three full-length saints standing on a variegated marble pavement and turned three-quarters to the viewer's left are ranged one behind the other, looking intently before them and slightly upward. The leftmost figure, notionally in front of the other two saints, is a bishop in a white surplice; over this, he wears a green cope lined with red. He holds a blue book in his left hand, while his right hand, presumably holding a crozier, is cropped at the left edge of the panel. He is identifiable as Saint Zenobius, patron saint of Florence, by the large red fleur-de-lis glazed onto the gilt morse fastened at his breast. Behind him stand

two Franciscans: Saint Francis, dressed in a brown habit, the marks of the stigmata visible on his hands and feet and a small gold processional cross held lightly in his right fingertips, and Saint Anthony of Padua, wearing a gray habit and holding a bright red flame in his left hand.

The Yale panel is evidently the right lateral panel of a modest-sized altarpiece. The companion lateral from the left side of the altarpiece was recognized in the early years of the twentieth century by Robert Langton Douglas as a painting of Saints John the Baptist, Lawrence, and Nicholas of Bari then in the Sidney collection at Richmond, England, now in the Hyde Collection at Glens Falls, New York (fig. 1). The two panels correspond closely in size and exactly in format; the three saints in the Hyde panel are turned toward the viewer's right, the Baptist gesturing at and Saints Lawrence and Nicholas looking toward the subject of the missing central panel of the complex, presumably a Virgin and Child Enthroned. The latter was identified in 2005 by Pia Palladino as a panel in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (fig. 2). The lining of Saint Zenobius's cloak, cropped at the left edge of the Yale panel, appears along the right edge of the painting in Saint Petersburg, while the extended ends of the red carpet beneath the Virgin's throne in that painting appear on the pavement at the left and right edges of, respectively, the Yale and Hyde panels. The background of the Hermitage *Virgin and Child* is overpainted black (probably covering the head of Saint Zenobius's crozier), and a 1938 photograph of the Hyde panel shows that its background, too, had been overpainted black before a more recent cleaning revealed its present, modern gilding.[2]

Fig. 1. Zanobi Strozzi, *Saints John the Baptist, Lawrence, and Nicholas of Bari*, ca. 1448–50. Tempera and gold on panel, 76.2 × 47.3 cm (30 × 18 5/8 in.). Hyde Collection, Glens Falls, N.Y., The Hyde Collection Trust, 1952, inv. no. 1971.29

The Hermitage panel was largely unknown to art-historical literature prior to 2005. The lateral panels at Yale and in the Hyde Collection were known under a variety of attributions, reflecting the then-prevalent attitudes toward all works emerging from the workshop and following of Fra Angelico. Catalogued by James Jackson Jarves and Russell Sturgis, Jr., as by Angelico,[3] the Yale panel was published repeatedly by Osvald Sirén,[4] followed by Richard Offner,[5] as by Andrea di Giusto, an imitator of Angelico to whom was assigned a large and heterogeneous array of works varying widely in quality. These works had in common among them only that they were less close to Angelico's style than were those of another follower who was at that time identified as Zanobi Strozzi. The latter group of paintings, in turn, have nearly all come to be recognized as early works by Fra Angelico, quite distinct from Strozzi's documented production as a miniaturist, but his name clung to the majority of them until as recently as the 1970s. Bernard Berenson isolated a distinct body of work, including the Yale panel, within the large category once labeled "Andrea di Giusto," and maintaining its divergence from both the known works of Andrea di Giusto and the presumed works of Zanobi Strozzi, he labeled them as by Domenico di Michelino.[6] Federico Zeri later realized that Domenico di Michelino could not have been their author, but respecting the integrity of Berenson's grouping, he rebaptized the artist the "Pseudo-Domenico di Michelino."[7] Roberto Longhi, unwilling to acknowledge any contention of Berenson's, selected a different name-piece for the same group, coining the pseudonym "Master of the Buckingham Palace Madonna," a proposal adopted by Seymour.[8] Attempts by Mario Salmi and Licia Collobi Ragghianti to reconcile Berenson's Domenico di Michelino group with the historical personality of Zanobi Strozzi

Fig. 2. Zanobi Strozzi, *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, ca. 1448–50. Tempera and gold on panel, 89 × 42 cm (35 × 16 1/2 in.). State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, inv. no. 135

were marred by those authors' persistence in believing that the early works by Angelico that had traditionally been labeled as Zanobi Strozzi were an integral part of the combined oeuvre.[9] An essential step forward was made possible by the pioneering views of Angelico's early career published by Miklós Boskovits in the 1970s,[10] but it was only in 1998, with the discovery of a crypto-signature on one of his paintings in the National Gallery, London,[11] that a clear image of Zanobi Strozzi as a panel painter emerged, revealing him to be more or less identical with the artist who had previously been discussed as Domenico di Michelino, the Pseudo-Domenico di Michelino, or the Master of the Buckingham Palace Madonna.[12] Both parallel investigations—into the work of Fra Angelico and Zanobi Strozzi—have been pursued vigorously since, following exhibitions in New York (1994, 2005), Milan (2001), Florence (2003), and elsewhere.[13]

When the Yale and Hyde panels were reunited at the *Fra Angelico* exhibition in New York in 2005, it was suggested that minor but closely similar damages at their upper-left and -right corners might have been caused by the removal at those points of corbels from framing arches. The altarpiece was reconstructed in a format loosely related to that of Fra Angelico's Guidalotti polyptych in Perugia, and like that structure, it was presumed to have been completed by a narrative predella. Two of the three panels of such a predella were identified: a *Nativity* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 3), and an *Adoration of the Magi* in the National Gallery, London (fig. 4). These two panels are, to within one centimeter, the same widths as the Hermitage and Yale panels, respectively, beneath which they would once have stood. The missing third panel of the predella has not yet come to light. Its subject is likely to have been the Annunciation, but any other scene from the infancy of Christ or the life of the Virgin is at least theoretically possible as well.

Fig. 3. Zanobi Strozzi, *The Nativity*, ca. 1448–50. Tempera and gold on panel, 18.7 × 43.5 cm (7 3/8 × 17 1/8 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 1983.490

Fig. 4. Zanobi Strozzi, *The Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1448–50. Tempera and gold on panel, 19 × 47.4 cm (7 1/2 × 18 5/8 in.). National Gallery, London, inv. no. NG582

The 2005 exhibition catalogue assigned to the five panels of this reconstructed altarpiece a date of ca. 1435–40, based on two related threads of logic.[14] The composition of the Hermitage panel, with the Christ Child standing frontally on the Virgin's lap, holding a globe before Him in His left hand and blessing with His right, is based on that of the center panel of Fra Angelico's *Linaiuoli Tabernacle* of 1433–36.[15] It was assumed that this span of years represented not only a *terminus post quem* but also a *terminus a quo*, since this was the period of Strozzi's closest collaboration with Angelico. Furthermore, passages in the two predella panels in London and New York, specifically the ring of angels at the top of the latter and the Virgin, Child, and Saint Joseph at the right of the former, were judged to be of sufficient quality to indicate the possible direct intervention of Fra Angelico in their design or painting. If this were true, it would also argue for a period of execution before Angelico's transfer from Fiesole—where the two artists lived near each other and worked in the same studio spaces—to San Marco in Florence around 1442. It did not, however, take sufficiently into consideration the internal development of Zanobi Strozzi's style. The Hermitage panel bears no meaningful resemblance to Strozzi's earliest-known images of the Virgin and Child, the so-called Buckingham Palace *Madonna* and the *Virgin and Child with Four Saints* formerly in the Alana Collection, Delaware, now in the Museo Soumaya, Mexico City, nor does it relate to the Santa Maria Nuova altarpiece by Strozzi, datable on the basis of documents to 1434–39.[16] The latter, like the Hermitage panel, also borrows its imagery from Angelico's *Linaiuoli Tabernacle*, but the result is far less classicizing, with flatter and more simply drawn forms, a shallower sense of space, and a brighter, more artificial palette.

The predella panels, for all their evident quality, are entirely the invention and work of Zanobi Strozzi; it would be misleading to tie their dating to biographical events in Fra Angelico's life. The types, mannerisms, and actions of the retinue of the Magi at the left of the London panel (see fig. 4) recall the figures in Strozzi's predella scenes relating the legend of Saints Cosmas and Damian, painted for the Annalena altarpiece now in the Museo di San Marco, Florence.[17] Although many scholars believe that altarpiece to be a work by Fra Angelico from the early 1430s, it was correctly observed by John Pope-Hennessy that the predella scenes cannot precede those in Angelico's predella to the San Marco high altarpiece of 1441–44, on which their compositions are closely modeled.[18] The coarse simplification of action, blunting of detail, and misunderstanding of both spatial relationships and narrative nuance in them must represent a dependence upon, rather than a preparatory stage leading up to, the San Marco predella. A case has been made on iconographic as well as formal grounds for considering the Annalena altarpiece a work carried out by Zanobi Strozzi, presumably over Angelico's designs, during one of the Dominican artist's two absences from Florence, after 1445 or after 1452.[19] The later of these two time spans would account for the adoption, in the background of the altarpiece, of architectural solutions developed by Angelico only after 1445, in his frescoes in the Cappella Niccolina at the Vatican.

It is precisely in this period—after 1445—that documents concerning Strozzi's practice as a manuscript illuminator become plentiful and the development of his painting style can be charted with some accuracy. Among the San Marco choir books, for example, for which Strozzi received payments between 1446 and 1454, the images most closely related to the figure types in the Yale, Hyde, Hermitage, Metropolitan Museum, and London panels are those in *Gradual A* (fig. 5), painted by Strozzi between September 1448 and March 1449.[20] Also related to these panels are the four cut-out illuminations from a Benedictine breviary now divided between the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 6); the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, in Cologne, Germany; the Cini Foundation, in Venice; and a private collection, for which Strozzi received payment in 1450.[21] It is reasonable to assume that this narrow window, the years between or around 1448 and 1450, is a far more likely period in which to place the execution of the Yale altarpiece than any period significantly earlier or significantly later.

Fig. 5. Zanobi Strozzi, *Christ Blessing the Apostles in an Initial M*, 1448–49. Tempera and gold on parchment, 63 × 46.5 cm (24 3/4 × 18 1/4 in.). Museo di San Marco, Florence, inv. no. 515, fol. 58r

Fig. 6. Zanobi Strozzi, Fragment from a Breviary with *King David in Prayer in an Initial B*, 1450. Tempera and gold on parchment, 14.2 × 13.5 cm (5 5/8 × 5 3/8 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection, inv. no. 1975.1.2470

The presence of Saints Francis and Anthony of Padua in the Yale panel makes a Franciscan provenance for the altarpiece all but a certainty, while the prominence closest to the Virgin's throne of Saints Zenobius and John the Baptist, both patrons of Florence, argues for a Franciscan establishment in that city. The reputed provenance of the Yale panel from the church of San Salvi, formerly an Augustinian monastery, must at best be incidental. San Salvi, secularized during the Napoleonic suppressions of ecclesiastical and monastic property, was used through the nineteenth century as a collection-point depot for works of art removed from churches and confraternities throughout the Florentine district. As the provenance from San Salvi is unconfirmed, it is at least notionally possible, as well, that the record was a mistaken transcription for San Salvatore, a Franciscan convent on the hill below San Miniato al Monte in Florence, for which Zanobi Strozzi also painted the signed altarpiece of the Annunciation now in the National Gallery, London.[22] Saints Lawrence and Nicholas at the left of the Hyde panel must, in some combination, refer to the name and patronymic of the unknown donor or to the dedication of the chapel in which the altarpiece stood. —LK

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Jarves 1860, 47, no. 41; Sturgis 1868, 46; Venturi 1901–40, 7, pt. 1: 28–29n5; Sirén 1909a, 326, pl. 2, fig. 1; Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1903–14, 4:64–65n2; Sirén 1916a, 79–80, no. 31; Offner 1927a, 5; Berenson 1932a, 365; Berenson 1963, 1:68; Seymour 1970, 159, 316, no. 113; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 599; Kettlewell 1981, 19; Laurence Kanter, in Kanter and Palladino 2005, 242–45, no. 44b

NOTES

1. Recorded in Seymour 1970, 159.
2. For the Hyde panel, see Christie's, London, April 8, 1938, lot 66; photograph by A. C. Cooper, London, no. 109509.
3. Jarves 1860, 47, no. 41; and Sturgis 1868, 46.
4. Sirén 1909a, 326, pl. 2, fig. 1; and Sirén 1916a, 79–80.
5. Offner 1927a, 5.
6. Berenson 1932a, 365; and Berenson 1963, 1:68.
7. Zeri initially accepted Berenson's attribution to Domenico di Michelino (Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 599) but later adopted for this artist the epithet Pseudo-Domenico di Michelino that had been coined in 1948 by Roberto Longhi. See Longhi 1948b, 162; and Zeri 1974a, 92.
8. Seymour 1970, 159, no. 113. Longhi renamed the artist the Master of the Buckingham Palace Madonna in 1953, as reported by Michel Laclotte, in Laclotte 1956, 68.
9. Salmi 1950, 75–81, 146–56; and Collobi Ragghianti 1950, 17–27, 454–73.
10. Boskovits 1976a; and Boskovits 1976b, 30–54.
11. Inv. no. NG1406, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/zanobi-strozzi-the-annunciation.
12. Gordon 1998, 517–24.
13. Carl Brandon Strehlke, in Kanter et al. 1994; Di Lorenzo et al. 2001; Scudieri and Rasario 2003; and Kanter and Palladino 2005. Confusion between Angelico and Strozzi, both as miniaturists and panel painters, persists, but the general outlines of their separate careers are now fairly firm.
14. Laurence Kanter, in Kanter and Palladino 2005, 242–45, no. 44b.
15. Museo di San Marco, Florence, inv. no. 879.
16. The Buckingham panel is part of the Royal Collection, inv. no. RCIN 400039, https://www.rct.uk/collection/400039/the-madonna-of-humility-with-angels. The Museo Soumaya panel is inv. no. 58917; see Aldo Galli, in Boskovits 2009a, 209–13. The Santa Maria Nuova altarpiece is discussed in detail in Scudieri and Rasario 2003, 124–44.
17. Inv. no. 1890 nn. 8493–94.
18. Pope-Hennessy 1974, 211.
19. Pope-Hennessy 1974, 211; and Kanter, in Kanter and Palladino 2005, 229.
20. For *Gradual A*, see Scudieri and Rasario 2003, 173–79.
21. Pia Palladino, in Medica and Toniolo 2016, 175–77 (with previous bibliography).
22. National Gallery, London, inv. no. NG1406, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/zanobi-strozzi-the-annunciation.

Apollonio di Giovanni, *The Shipwreck of Aeneas*

Artist	Apollonio di Giovanni, Florence, 1415/17–1465
Title	*The Shipwreck of Aeneas*
Date	ca. 1460
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall 49.5 × 163.5 cm (19 1/2 × 64 3/8 in.); picture surface: 38.1 × 146.7 cm (15 × 57 3/4 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.34

For more on this painting, see Apollonio di Giovanni, *Aeneas at Carthage*.

Provenance

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

Condition

The panel support, of a horizontal wood grain, has been reduced to a depth of 1.5 centimeters, waxed, and cradled. It comprises two planks with a seam 25 centimeters from the top edge, butt-joined, glued, and reinforced by the application of 1.5-centimeter-thick engaged frame moldings on all four sides. A split in the lower panel runs diagonally from approximately 4 centimeters below the seam at the right edge, tapering to the seam near the center of the composition. Both the seam and the split are visible from the front, but neither is open nor has either generated serious paint loss. The paint surface has suffered percussion damage typical of cassone fronts but is in unexpectedly good condition overall, despite a vigorous cleaning in 1951. Gilding of decorative details is well preserved, but the silver of the dolphins pulling Neptune's chariot and of the armor of some of the sailors has been lost. A broad area to the right of center near the top, including the scene of a lion attacking a hind(?), is restoration. The gray of Aeolus's cave has been reinforced, and the pink draperies throughout are missing modulating lake glazes. The white of many of the ships' sails is broken, exposing underlying gesso. Blues and greens, above all in the water and in the foliage of the trees, were extensively restored in an opaque medium with visible diagonal strokes in a treatment of 1995 by Marlene Worhach. The blue of Juno's robes at the left and of the winds of Aeolus are beautifully preserved, as are the yellows and lake glazes of Venus's robes at the right.

MASTER OF THE JAMES CANON

Apollonio di Giovanni, *Aeneas at Carthage*

Artist	Apollonio di Giovanni, Florence, 1415/17–1465
Title	*Aeneas at Carthage*
Date	ca. 1460
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall 49.8 × 161.9 cm (19 5/8 × 63 3/4 in.); picture surface: 38.5 × 146.5 cm (15 1/8 × 57 3/4 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.35

Provenance

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

Condition

The panel support, of a horizontal wood grain, has been reduced to a depth varying from 1.3 to 1.7 centimeters, cradled, and waxed. Like its companion panel (see Apollonio di Giovanni, *The Shipwreck of Aeneas*), a 1.5-centimeter-thick engaged frame molding along all four sides is original but has been regessoed and regilt. There is no visible seam joining planks in the support, but numerous diagonal splits are visible through the paint surface and have been repaired with old repaints. Unlike its companion panel, this painting was not cleaned in 1951 and is in remarkably good condition. Losses are confined to the usual percussion damages suffered by cassone panels in general. The gilt decoration is beautifully preserved.[1]

Discussion

This panel and its pair (see Apollonio di Giovanni, *The Shipwreck of Aeneas*) represent a compendium of scenes drawn primarily from the first book of Virgil's *Aeneid*. At the upper-left corner of the latter panel, Juno, wearing a gold hat and vest over a blue dress and identified by her name inscribed before her—"GVNONE"—descries the ships of Aeneas and his retainers escaping the sack of Troy (1:55–74). Immediately below, she approaches Aeolus, god of the winds, seated before his cave with the inscription "EVLO." Juno begs him for a storm to destroy the Trojan fleet (1:95–109). Aeolus obeys his queen and releases the winds (1:117–30), symbolized by an army of blue giants blowing horns and brandishing swords alongside the rocky isle of his cave and by three disembodied blue heads with puffed cheeks and streaming hair. These are variously labeled "AESTALE," "LIBECIO," "TR[AMONTALE]," "GRECHO," "SOLO.O," "LEVANTE," "MEZODI," and "PONENTE," all names of the winds. Completing the left half of the panel is the destruction wreaked by the winds upon the fleet (1:144–76): masts snapped, sails torn, men thrown overboard, ships foundering. To the right of center, Neptune, riding a chariot drawn by a pair of dolphins and accompanied by the inscription "NET/U[NO]," stills the winds (1:177–220), directly addressing two of them—the east wind and the west wind (1:186), here portrayed as blue heads labeled "EVRO" and "ZEFIRO," facing him calmly and without puffed cheeks. Behind the chariot of Neptune, Aeneas and his companions, in the few boats that survived the tempest, come safely to harbor on the coast of North Africa, where they find a spring of fresh

water surrounded by seats carved in the stone (1:221–37). Aeneas, wearing a golden robe and a gold hat with blue band, and Achates, wearing a rose-colored robe and gold hat, both identified by inscriptions with their names, set out to explore the coast and, at the far right of the composition, encounter Venus disguised as a huntress (1:441–73). In answer to his question, Venus tells Aeneas that he has landed in Libya, that the rest of his fleet is safe although scattered, and that he should follow the path to meet Queen Dido in Carthage, whose history she tells him (1:474–572). Only as she turns to leave, at the top right of the painting, does Aeneas recognize her as his mother, the goddess Venus, inscribed "VENERE" (1:573–80). Though these are seemingly minor episodes within the overall drama of the composition, the artist has taken some pains to follow Virgil's descriptions closely, showing Venus clad in a short hunting dress, her knees bare, and holding a bow, while she speaks with Aeneas (1:451–55), but:

> . . . when she turned,
> her neck was glittering with a rose brightness;
> her hair anointed with ambrosia,
> her head gave all a fragrance of the gods;
> her gown was long and to the ground; even
> her walk was sign enough she was a goddess
> (1:573–78).[2]

The narrative continues in the present panel, but in less orderly fashion than it had in the first. At the left and occupying nearly a third of the composition is the hunt of Aeneas, an event that, in the poem, preceded Aeneas's encounter with Venus. Having climbed a promontory to search for any sign of his other ships, Aeneas instead sees three stags leading a large herd through the valley. He shoots seven of these, one for each of his surviving crews, and brings them back to the encampment as food for his exhausted men (1:251–70). It was after this feast that Aeneas and Achates, exploring alone, met Venus in the woods and were urged by her to continue to Carthage. The goddess hid them within a dark cloud so that they were invisible on their arrival. Upon seeing Carthage, Aeneas marvels at the wealth and industry of the city as he watches its construction (1:601–20)—portrayed to the right of center in the Yale panel—and declaims, "How fortunate are those / whose walls already rise" (1:619–20), foreshadowing the eventual founding of Rome by his descendants. In the center of the panel is the temple of Juno at Carthage, decorated with scenes from the Trojan War (1:632–97). Aeneas and Achates enter, still hidden within the cloud, and watch as Queen Dido receives an embassy from the remainder of the Trojan fleet that had washed up elsewhere on the shores of Libya (1:720–32), symbolized by a small vignette at the left of center in the panel, below the scene of Aeneas's hunt. The Trojans and their spokesman, Ilioneus, plead for shelter and for license to search for their lost commander, Aeneas (1:735–90). Dido graciously assents (1:791–815), and Aeneas, standing in the right bay of the temple, reveals himself when his mother dispels the cloud in which she had cloaked him (1:825–58).

At the far right of the panel is a visual coda inserted presumably as a gloss on Aeneas's vision of the construction of Carthage. In Book 7 of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas and his chief captains, having finally arrived in Italy and disembarked on the shores of the Tiber, rest on the grass and feast on fruit heaped on platters made of wheat cakes, as they had been instructed by Jove (7:135–40). Still hungry after this repast, they devour the wheat cakes as well, prompting Ascanius, Aeneas's son, to joke that "we have consumed our tables, after all" (7:147), fulfilling the prophecy of his grandfather Anchises that the time had come to found their city. Above the circle of Trojans seated on the lawn is another of the omens prophesied to foretell the location of the new city: "A huge white sow stretched out upon the ground together with a new-delivered litter of thirty suckling white pigs . . . that place will be the site set for your city" (3:508–11, 8:52–57). Above this is a full vision of Rome as it would look in the fifteenth century, including the Castel Sant'Angelo outside the city walls, the Pantheon, Trajan's Column, and the Capitoline Hill.

Distinguished for their enviable state of preservation, for the quality of their execution, and for still being together as a pair, these two cassone panels have long been objects of special attention among historians for their detailed recapitulation of Virgil's narrative poem. They were attributed to Paolo Uccello by James Jackson Jarves and Russell Sturgis, Jr.[3] William Rankin was the first to group them together with two others in the Jarves collection—assigned by their owner variously to Piero della Francesca (Apollonio di Giovanni, *The Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*) and Dello Delli (Apollonio di Giovanni, *A Tournament in Piazza Santa Croce*)—as the work of a single, unknown Florentine painter.[4] Mary Logan Berenson agreed that these four paintings were by a single hand, whom she characterized as emerging from the workshop of Francesco Pesellino.[5] She noted that the illuminations in a Virgil manuscript in the Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence (fig. 1),[6] are identical to these in conception and detail, and she grouped with them another pair of cassone fronts in Hannover, Germany (see Paolo Uccello, *A Battle of Greeks and Amazons (Theseus*

and Hippolyta or Achilles and Penthesileia?); Allegories of Hope and Justice; Reclining Nude, fig. 6), the subjects of which she did not recognize. The connection to the Riccardiana Virgil was acknowledged by Osvald Sirèn, who did not venture to name the artist responsible.[7] Paul Schubring used this group of works as the basis for coining the name "Dido Master," having noted that the Hannover cassoni also recounted episodes from the story of Aeneas and Dido at Carthage.[8] His further attributions to this Master, however, were somewhat erratic and based more on iconography than style. They were reviewed and rationalized by Richard Offner, who renamed the painter more expansively the "Virgil Master," characterizing him as "the most fashionable and finished of all Florentine cassone-painters."[9] Offner also added several religious paintings to this workshop's production, while Bernard Berenson enlarged the corpus of cassone panels further and renamed the artist the "Master of the Jarves Cassoni," perhaps a tacit acknowledgment of Offner's claim that the Yale panels "reveal him more adequately here than anywhere else."[10]

Fig. 1. Apollonio di Giovanni, *Illustrated Aeneid*, ca. 1460–65. Tempera on parchment. Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, cod. 492, fol. 62r

Historical identification of this painter variously named the Dido Master, Virgil Master, or Master of the Jarves Cassoni occurred in 1944, when Wolfgang Stechow associated a cassone panel recently acquired for the Allen Memorial Art Museum at Oberlin College in Ohio with an entry in the account book, covering the years 1446–63, from the Florentine workshop jointly operated by Marco del Buono and Apollonio di Giovanni.[11] The Oberlin panel (fig. 2) represents a battle of Greeks and Persians and incorporates the arms of the Rucellai and Vettori families among its decorative details, permitting its identification with a commission recorded in the account book commemorating the marriage in 1463 of Pietro di Francesco Vettori and Caterina di Giovanni Rucellai.[12] Stechow recognized that the Oberlin panel and a companion to it that had been destroyed during the German air bombardment of Bath, England, could both be attributed to the artist responsible for the Jarves *Aeneid* panels and the Riccardiana Virgil, establishing that painter's identity as either Marco del Buono or Apollonio di Giovanni.

Fig. 2. Apollonio di Giovanni, *Xerxes's Invasion of Greece*, 1463. Tempera, gold, and silver on panel, 41.2 × 154.3 cm (16 1/4 × 60 3/4 in.). Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Ohio, R. T. Miller Jr. Fund, inv. no. 1943.293

A key to resolving this last question was offered by Ernst Gombrich in 1955, when he published a Latin epigram of the Florentine poet Ugolino Verino (1438–1516), composed between 1458 and 1464, that included the lines:

> Once Homer sang of the walls of Apollo's Troy burned on Greek pyres, and again Virgil's great work proclaimed the wiles of the Greeks and the ruins of Troy. But certainly the Tuscan Apelles Apollonius now painted burning Troy better for us. And also the flight of Aeneas and the wrath of iniquitous Juno, with the rafts tossed about, he painted with wondrous skill; no less the threats of Neptune, as he rides across the high seas and bridles and stills the swift winds. He painted how Aeneas, accompanied by his faithful Achates, enters Carthage in disguise; also his departure and the funeral of unhappy Dido are to be seen on the painted panel by the hand of Apollonius.[13]

Gombrich assumed that Verino was not directly describing the Yale cassone fronts—from which some scenes mentioned by the poet are omitted—but rather some large painted panel, possibly a *spalliera* panel, that resembled them. As hard evidence, therefore, the epigram is circumstantial rather than conclusive, but that Apollonio is to be credited as the head artist of the workshop does not seem to be contradicted by any other available information and has been universally adopted in all subsequent literature. At the same time, it might be wondered whether, in fact, Verino's description could apply directly to the Yale panels. The missing scenes could have been portrayed on backboards or *spalliere* now lost but originally part of the chests of which the Yale panels decorated the fronts: on the first, above the panel depicting *The Shipwreck of Aeneas*, the burning of Troy and the flight of Aeneas with Ascanius, Anchises, and the household gods; on the second, above the present panel

depicting Aeneas at Carthage, the departure of Aeneas and the death of Dido. It has always been assumed that Verino's reference to "the painted panel by the hand of Apollonius" implies that all the scenes he mentions appeared together in a single continuous narrative. The text, however, if taken literally, only mentions the departure of Aeneas and funeral of Dido in "the painted panel." It is certainly possible that the other scenes occurred on associated panels. Absent the evidence of Verino's epigram, such a possibility would also explain the oddity of having omitted the climactic final scene from so detailed a narrative as is found on the Yale cassoni in favor of a tangentially related vision of the founding of Rome.[14]

Proposals for dating of the Yale panels, subsequent to their recognition as works by Apollonio di Giovanni, have invariably been based on assumptions regarding the date of the Riccardiana Virgil and Verino's epigram. Schubring thought the Riccardiana manuscript had to have been completed by 1452 at the latest, as he felt that the scene it included of the building of Carthage recorded the unfinished state of the Palazzo Medici, then under construction in Florence.[15] Gombrich debunked this idea and pointed out that the scribe of the manuscript as identified in its colophon, Niccolò d'Antonio de' Ricci, was born in 1433, making it unlikely that he wrote this text before the late 1450s.[16] A *terminus ante quem* for the manuscript is established by the death of Apollonio di Giovanni in 1465, and Gombrich thought that date might also be taken as a plausible *terminus a quo*, on the assumption that a possible explanation for the illuminations being left incomplete was interruption of their progress by the demise of the artist. For Gombrich, the Yale panels probably preceded the Riccardiana manuscript, as the latter "copied" the motif of the winds blowing to the right without the narrative justification of the episodic arrangement of scenes on the cassone front. Although discounted by Ellen Callmann,[17] this observation is telling: while the two works are certainly close in date, it seems more likely that the cassone panels preceded rather than followed the manuscript. There is only one securely dated work by Apollonio di Giovanni known—the cassone front at Oberlin College (see fig. 2)—so firm comparatives for establishing a chronology on stylistic grounds do not exist. There is, however, no reason to believe categorically that the Yale cassone fronts cannot be late works by the artist, and dating them ca. 1460 is entirely reasonable in view of the scant circumstantial evidence available.

A potential anchor for dating the panels more precisely may be provided by two decorative devices, repeated in alternation and without variance, on the bulwarks of the galleys in the *Shipwreck of Aeneas* panel. These undoubtedly stand as references to coats of arms, one of which, nebuly argent and sable, could represent the Pitti family of Florence. Six marriages in the Pitti family are recorded in Apollonio di Giovanni's account book: nos. 27 ("figliuola di Stoldo Rinieri, maritata a Salvestro di Ruberto Pitti"); 28 ("figliuola di Ruberto di Buonaccorso Pitti, maritata a Dante da Castiglione") in 1446; 41 ("figliuola di Ruberto Pitti, maritata a Bernardo di Bernardo Ambruogi"); 55 ("figliuola di Giovanni di Iacopo de' Pitti, maritata a Ruberto degli Albizzi"); 147 ("figliuola di Luca Pitti, a Francesco di Stefano Segni"); and 173 ("figliuola di Madonna Caterina da Rimini, a Giovanni di mess. Giovanni Pitti").[18] The second possible coat of arms on the *Shipwreck of Aeneas* panel, argent and azure, a scorpion gules, does not correspond to that of any of the families mentioned in the first five of this list of Pitti marriages. The last, no. 173, which is the final entry in the account book and therefore presumably datable 1463, is too imprecise to associate with a specific family or known coat of arms and is also for a smaller-than-usual fee. It is possible that Apollonio's work continued past this date and, if the heraldry is reliable, that the Yale cassoni were executed between 1463 and the artist's death in 1465, but that is purely speculative. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 49, nos. 57–58; Sturgis 1868, 50–51, nos. 43–44; Brown 1871, 18, nos. 43–44; Rankin 1895, 146; Logan 1901, 335; Rankin 1905, 10, nos. 43–44; Rankin 1906, 288; Rankin 1907a, 131–32; Rankin 1907b, 340; Rankin 1907c, 64; Rankin 1908, 382; Schiaparelli 1908, 284; Hülsen 1911, 4–10, 13–17, 19; Bombe 1912, 217; Hülsen 1912, 468–72, 475–76; Mather 1914, 968; Sirén 1916a, 87–89, nos. 34–35; Schubring 1923a, 31–32, 85, 113, 254, 274, nos. 223–24, pl. 48; Schubring 1923b, 241–42; D'Ancona 1927, 258, 261–62 (1871.34 only); Offner 1927a, 6, 27–30, figs. 17–20; van Marle 1928, 548–54; Salmi 1929, 272; Berenson 1932a, 347; "Pagan Imagery in Renaissance Art" 1942, 1–2; Stechow 1944, 14–17; "Picture Book Number One" 1946, fig. 13 (1871.34 only); "Meister der Dido-Truhe" 1950, 79; *Rediscovered Italian Paintings* 1952, 32–33 (1871.34 only); Vagaggini 1952, 14; Gombrich 1955, 17–19, 23–24; D'Ancona 1962, 23–25; Berenson 1963, 1:18; Robinson 1963, n.p.; Scherer 1964, 185–86, 212, 241; Stechow 1967, 8; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, 564; Virgil 1969, 15–18; Callmann 1970, 1–2, 4–5, 9–10, 13–14, 21, 23, 25–26, 37–40, 44–46, 79–80, 82–84, 97, 107, 115–16, 189–91; Seymour 1970, 119–23, nos. 81–82; Watson 1970, 1, 225–26, 238; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 599; Wendy Gifford, in Seymour et al. 1972, 19, no. 10; Callmann 1974, 1–3, 7, 11, 19–20, 22–23, 33, 41, 47–48, 54–55, 62, 68; Krautheimer 1980, 288, fig. 223 (1871.35 only); Baudille 1981,

224–26; Forte 1982, 4–5; Guidoni 1983, 364, fig. 275 (1871.35 only); Schiaparelli 1983, 81n233; Callmann 1992, 525; Kenney 1992, 135; Morrison 1992, 34–35; Callmann 1996, 228; Brancia di Apricena 2000, 116 (1871.35 only); Bollati 2004, 44 (1871.34 only); Miziołek 2006, 60; Francesca Pasut, in Boskovits 2009a, 35nn3, 10 (1871.35 only); Chong 2009, 72, fig. 44 (1871.34 only); Alessio Formolo, in De Marchi and Sbaraglio 2015, 131 (1871.34 only)

NOTES

1. Contrary to the fears expressed by Charles Seymour, Jr., the condition of this panel is not "probably worse than its companion." Its surface is not "extensively repainted," and the "gilt of the 'pictures' represented in the central temple" is not "completely renewed." See Seymour 1970, 123.
2. Translations throughout by Allen Mandelbaum, in Virgil 1971.
3. Jarves 1860, 49; and Sturgis 1868, 50–51.
4. Rankin 1895, 146.
5. Logan 1901, 335.
6. Misindentified by Logan as Biblioteca Magliabecchiana, Florence.
7. Sirén 1916a, 87–88.
8. Schubring 1923a, 31–32, 85, 113, 254; and Schubring 1923b, 241–42.
9. Offner 1927a, 6, 27–30.
10. Berenson 1932a, 347, quoting Offner 1927a, 6. Berenson ignored Offner's attributions to this painter of any religious images, one of which was in his own collection and which he persisted in believing was by a follower of Pesellino.
11. Stechow 1944, 4–23. The account book (Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, MS Magliabechiano 37, cod. 305) had been discovered by Heinrich Brockhaus, who called it to the attention of Aby Warburg. Warburg made a copy of the text, which he provided to Schubring for publication; Schubring 1915, 420–37. An emended version of the text is included in Callmann 1974, 76–81.
12. The connection of the cassone panel to the document had been noted by Schubring, who, however, knew the cassone only from its description in the catalogue of the Toscanelli sale (Sambon's, Florence, April 9–23, 1883) and could not, therefore, judge its style; see Schubring 1915, 111.
13. Gombrich 1955, 17.
14. Ellen Callmann presented documentary evidence that Apollonio painted *spalliera* backboards for cassoni at least as early as 1459 and that these became increasingly fashionable in the 1460s and 1470s; see Callmann 1988, 5–18.
15. Schubring 1915, 430–37.
16. Gombrich 1955, 19.
17. Callmann 1974, 11.
18. Callmann 1974, 77–81.

Apollonio di Giovanni, *A Tournament in Piazza Santa Croce*

Artist	Apollonio di Giovanni, Florence, 1415/17–1465
Title	*A Tournament in Piazza Santa Croce*
Date	1462–63
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	45.4 × 153.4 cm (17 7/8 × 60 3/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.33

Provenance

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

Condition

The panel support, of a horizontal wood grain, was thinned and cradled sometime after 1915, and the cradle was removed in an undocumented treatment around 1998. A major split runs the length of the panel, approximately 23 centimeters from the bottom edge, while three partial splits occur at 13, 27, and 32 centimeters from the bottom edge. Paint loss along the major split has been retouched, while the smaller splits have provoked very little damage to the paint surface. A cutout for the lock mechanism of the original chest, measuring 2.3 by 6.2 centimeters, is excavated into the depth of the panel at its top, 74.5 centimeters from the left edge. Percussion damage to the paint surface within an arc of approximately 30 centimeters from this cutout is typical of this class of object, but the surface otherwise has suffered relatively few losses. Silver-leaf decoration has oxidized, but gilt details throughout are exceptionally well preserved. The painting was described by Charles Seymour, Jr., in 1970 as "not cleaned."[1] It is presently covered by a thick and heavily yellowed varnish that both obscures retouching of local losses and blunts the clarity of details in the composition.

Discussion

The painting depicts a tournament or joust in the Piazza Santa Croce—a rare example of a Florentine cassone front illustrating a contemporary event rather than an allegorical subject, a chivalric romance, or a scene from classical mythology or ancient history. The unfinished facade of the church of Santa Croce is seen at the left: Donatello's gilt-bronze statue of Saint Louis of Toulouse is installed in a niche above the central portal, with four adoring angels, presumably frescoed, around it and the arms of the Parte Guelfa at its feet. The same arms, accompanied by larger shields bearing the arms of the city of Florence (the Croce del Popolo), appear over each of the side portals. Extending across the back is a wooden stand to accommodate six judges and a notary recording the names of the contestants and the results of their jousts, erected in front of a line of palaces including those of the Corsi, the Ricoveri, the di Ridolfi, and the Alberti—from the windows of which groups of elegantly dressed ladies (at the far left and far right) and gentlemen lean on expensive carpets to watch the proceedings below. Filling the length of the panel across its center is a melee of mounted knights tilting in pairs or being prepared by their pages and esquires for upcoming events and, at the rear, a workbench with a carpenter and a smith repairing broken lances and arms. The jousting area is closed off in

front by a line of wooden palings. A smattering of well- but not expensively dressed spectators stand on benches or stools or look through peepholes to catch a glimpse of the tournament beyond. A mounted nobleman at the left carries a large banner emblazoned with an emblem of Time: a naked, winged figure striding across two clouds, holding an hourglass up to the sun. In a corresponding position at the right of the composition is another noble carrying a banner traditionally interpreted as the goddess Fortuna but more likely to be an emblem of Love.[2] To the left of the latter is visible the top of a gilded triumphal cart surmounted by Venus holding her son's bow and standing on an orb wreathed in flames.

Like the three other cassone or cassone-like paintings in the James Jackson Jarves Collection now attributable to Apollonio di Giovanni (see *The Shipwreck of Aeneas*, *Aeneas at Carthage*, and *The Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*), the *Tournament in the Piazza Santa Croce* has figured prominently in the extensive literature on Florentine domestic decoration and has appeared under a range of different names. James Jackson Jarves and Russell Sturgis, Jr., assigned it to Dello Delli, a name applied in the nineteenth century to numerous cassone paintings on the strength of Giorgio Vasari's assertion that this artist was famous for perfecting the art form.[3] William Rankin initially did not question this classification[4] but subsequently described the painting as "Uccellesque"[5] before finally coming to agree with Mary Logan Berenson's assessment that this and Jarves's *Aeneid* scenes and *Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* were all by one artist, a follower of Francesco Pesellino.[6] Frank Mather, Jr., did not venture an attribution for the painting, while Osvald Sirén followed the opinion of Paul Schubring, who, in disagreement with Logan, created a separate artistic identity with the Yale panel as the eponymous work, a Master of the Tournament of Santa Croce, to whom he assigned half a dozen loosely related compositions.[7] Richard Offner and Bernard Berenson emphasized the unity in style among the four cassone fronts at Yale, the former labeling them as by the Virgil Master (after the *Aeneid* scenes) and the latter the Master of the Jarves Cassone.[8] That the work of this painter should be associated with the workshop jointly operated by Apollonio di Giovanni and his partner Marco del Buono was first established by Wolfgang Stechow, whose observations were subsequently refined by Ernst Gombrich, who suggested that Apollonio was the practicing head of the shop and the artist chiefly responsible for its output.[9]

The main contribution of Schubring to the study of the Yale *Tournament in the Piazza Santa Croce*, aside from his creation of a separate artist responsible for it, was his proposal to identify the joust depicted as one ordered by the Signoria of Florence to celebrate the arrival of Pope Eugenius IV and his entourage—including the patriarch of Constantinople and the Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaeologus—in 1439, on the heels of the Council of Ferrara earlier that year. This suggestion was accepted by Sirén and Stechow, who both dated the painting to 1439, whereas it was doubted by Aby Warburg and Gombrich, who noted that no pope, emperor, or Byzantine patriarch appears in the scene and that the Piazza Santa Croce was used annually as the setting for tournaments.[10] Schubring's contention that the figure of Saint Louis of Toulouse portrayed above the central portal of the church recorded a lost fresco by Bicci di Lorenzo that occupied that position prior to the transfer there of Donatello's gilt bronze statue from Orsanmichele, sometime after 1451 and before 1459, permitted a relatively early dating for the scene. Thus, for Ellen Callmann, who focused on the unresolved perspective of the composition, the painting could be considered an early work by Apollonio and his assistants, datable to the mid-1440s.[11] Seymour instead considered the Yale panel a late work, possibly emerging from the artist's studio after Apollonio's death in 1465, and suggested that the image of Saint Louis of Toulouse might as easily refer to Donatello's statue as to some undocumented painted precursor.[12] This contention was adopted and expanded by Patricia Lurati, who advanced further arguments for identifying the tournament as one celebrated on April 29, 1459, in honor of the arrival in the city twelve days earlier of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, son of the duke of Milan, sent by his father as an escort to the newly elected pope Pius II Piccolomini, processing from Rome to Mantua in hopes of organizing a crusade against the expansionist policies of the Turkish Empire.[13]

Aside from elaborate excursive interpretations of various details in the painting as allegorical references to a Medici/Sforza alliance that underpinned the 1459 joust, Lurati called attention to the presence, at the right of the scene, of the triumphal cart surmounted by a statue of Venus, which she identified as the one drawn through the city on the night of May 1, 1459, the first time such a *trionfo d'amore* was instituted as part of a tournament. Additionally, she noted that the combatant on a brown charger unseating his opponent in the foreground below the judges' pavilion at the center of the composition is accompanied by the inscription "ANTONIO B," possibly indicating Antonio Boscoli, who is recorded as the victor of the 1459 joust. She then enumerated several links

between the Boscoli and the Pazzi, who were at that time ardent Medici supporters and, with the Medici, prominent patrons of the 1459 tournament. As a conclusion, she proposed that among the clients listed in Apollonio di Giovanni's account book after 1459, it is the Pazzi who are the most likely to have requested a work commemorating the familial and political references enshrined in the scene that decorates the Yale cassone panel and that, by extension, it may have been the front of one of the pair of chests ordered from Apollonio to celebrate the marriage in July 1463 of Giovanni di Antonio de' Pazzi and Beatrice di Giovanni Borromeo, heiress of a Milanese banking fortune closely allied to the Medici. In the absence of the arms of either the Pazzi or the Borromeo, these connections are indirect and inductive, but in the aggregate, they are plausible, as is Lurati's further contention that a painted cassone lid by Apollonio di Giovanni in the Eskenazi Museum of Art at Indiana University, Bloomington (fig. 1), featuring an image of two putti riding dolphins and bearing the arms of the Pazzi and the Borromeo, may have originated from the same chest as the Yale panel. —LK

Fig. 1. Apollonio di Giovanni, *Two Putti Riding Dolphins*, 1462–63. Tempera on panel, 53.7 × 182.9 cm (21 1/8 × 72 in.). Eskenazi Museum of Art, Indiana University, Bloomington, inv. no. 75.37

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 49, no. 55; Sturgis 1868, 52, no. 45; Brown 1871, 19, no. 45; Rankin 1895, 146; Logan 1901, 335; Rankin 1905, 10, no. 45; Rankin 1906, 288; Rankin 1907a, 131; Rankin 1907b, 340; Sarre 1907, 505; Rankin 1908, 382; Schiaparelli 1908, 285; Breck 1912, 133; Mather 1914, 969; Schubring 1915, 108, 253–54; Sirén 1916a, 83–85, no. 33; Borenius 1922, 109; Schubring 1923c, 316; Offner 1927a, 6, 27–30; van Marle 1928, 548–54; Erdmann 1929, 285, 291–92, figs. 38a–c, 39a–e; Salmi 1929, 272; "Handbook" 1931, 29; van Marle 1931d, 146; Berenson 1932a, 347; Wackernagel 1938, 189; Paatz and Paatz 1940–54, 1:700n671; "Pagan Imagery in Renaissance Art" 1942, 2; Stechow 1944, 17, 20; "Picture Book Number One" 1946, 15, nos. 1–3, fig. 11; "Dido Meister" 1950, 79; Gombrich 1955, 21–22, 24; Janson 1957, 48n1; Ketchum 1961, 160–61; Shapiro 1962, 48–49; Berenson 1963, 1:18; Elsen 1967, 132–34, figs. 160–62; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, 561; Mercer 1969, 96, pl. 104; Callmann 1970, 2, 5–7, 9–10, 129, 186–89; Seymour 1970, 116–19, no. 80; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 599; Callmann 1974, 1, 62–63; Rizzatti 1976, 14–15; Scalini 1979, 16–17, 21; Schiaparelli 1983, 82n243, 84n257; Scalini 1987, 38–39; Callmann 1988, 8; Kenney 1992, 135; Morrison 1992, 42, 47n61; Pacciani 1992, 124–25, 176–77; Callmann 1996, 2:228; Randolph 2002, 197–98; Lasansky 2004, 146, fig. 140; Belozerskaya 2005, 238–39; Musacchio 2008, 41, 43, fig. 26; Wegner 2008, 24, 26–27, 50; Francesca Pasut, in Boskovits 2009a, 32; Lurati 2010, 256–57; Lurati 2012, 35–71; Martelli and Palmieri 2023, 12

NOTES

1. Seymour 1970, 116.
2. For example, Osvald Sirén (in Sirén 1916a, 83) described the figure as sitting in a boat. Ernst Gombrich (in Gombrich 1955, 24n1) corrected this description to a figure sitting in a meadow looking at a gilded cage enclosing a fettered youth and holding a key in her lap. Although Gombrich did not interpret the symbolism, Patricia Lurati (in Lurati 2012, 41, 57nn72–73) did not hesitate to view this as an allegory of love.
3. Jarves 1860, 49; Sturgis 1868, 52; and Vasari 1878–85, 2:148–49.
4. Rankin 1895, 146.
5. Rankin 1906, 288.
6. Rankin 1907a, 131; and Logan 1901, 335.
7. Mather 1914, 969; Schubring 1915, 108, 253–54; Sirén 1916a, 83, 85; and Schubring 1923c, 316.
8. Offner 1927a, 6, 27; and Berenson 1932a, 347.
9. Stechow 1944, 5–21; and Gombrich 1955, 16–34.
10. For Warburg's remarks, see Gombrich 1955, 21n2.
11. Callmann 1974, 62–63.
12. Seymour 1970, 118–19.
13. Lurati 2010, 256–57; and Lurati 2012, 35–71.

Apollonio di Giovanni, *The Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*

Artist	Apollonio di Giovanni, Florence, 1415/17–1465
Title	*The Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*
Date	ca. 1460–65
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	44.5 × 150.5 cm (17 1/2 × 59 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.36

Provenance

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

Condition

The panel, of a horizontal wood grain, has been cut to the barb of its frame on the top, left, and bottom sides, thinned to a depth of 1.2 centimeters, waxed, and cradled. There is no barb on the right edge, where the paint surface has been cut at the edge of the panel. There are no visible seams to suggest that the construction may be more than a single plank. Two prominent splits have opened in the panel at the right edge, 14 and 27.5 centimeters from the top, and one has opened at the left edge, 16 centimeters from the top. The paint surface is very lightly abraded and scratched but in far better condition than is usually found among panels presumed to have come from cassoni. The left half of the panel was cleaned by Andrew Petryn in an undocumented treatment between 1970 and 1972, revealing deep and deliberate scraping, sometimes following the outlines of a single color. The right half of the panel remains uncleaned. Old retouching on this side of the panel is confined to the robe of the figure at the far-right edge, where it is interrupted by the splits in the panel; to the garland over the central vault of the temple; and to limited passages in the vaulting of the temple ceiling. Copper glazes defining shadows on the garlands at the sides of the temple are intact. There is no evidence of a keyhole or of damage from keys banging against the front of the panel.

Discussion

The story of the meeting between King Solomon and the queen of Sheba (in southern Arabia) is recounted in the Old Testament, in the first book of Kings (10:1–13):

> Now when the queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Solomon . . . she came to test him with hard questions. She came to Jerusalem with a very great retinue, with camels bearing spices, and very much gold, and precious stones; and when she came to Solomon, she told him all that was on her mind. And Solomon answered all her questions; there was nothing hidden from the king which he could not explain to her. And when the queen of Sheba had seen all the wisdom of Solomon, the house that he had built, the food on his table, the seating of his officials, and the attendance of his servants, their clothing, his cupbearers, and his burnt offerings which he offered at the house of the Lord . . . she said to the king, “The report was true which I heard in my own land of your affairs and of

> your wisdom, but I did not believe the reports until I came and my own eyes had seen it; and behold, the half was not told me; your wisdom and prosperity surpass the report which I heard. . . . Then she gave the king a hundred and twenty talents of gold, and a very great quantity of spices, and precious stones. . . . And King Solomon gave to the queen of Sheba all that she desired, and whatever she asked besides what was given her by the bounty of King Solomon. So she turned and went back to her own land, with her servants.[1]

The story came to be treated in Christian Europe as a prefiguration or antetype for the Journey and Adoration of the Magi. In Renaissance Florence, where the Feast of the Magi (January 6) was commemorated with a parade of special magnificence, the meeting between King Solomon and the queen of Sheba assumed the status of a canonical Old Testament episode and was included by Lorenzo Ghiberti among the later reliefs cast for the north doors of the Baptistery, the so-called Gates of Paradise (fig. 1). It also assumed a special significance within the standard imagery celebrating marriage rituals in mid-fifteenth-century Florence, no doubt as an augury of good fortune promised by the union of bride and groom.

Fig. 1. Lorenzo Ghiberti, *The Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, 1425–52. Parcel gilt bronze. East Door (Gates of Paradise), Baptistery, Florence

The critical history of the present painting has run largely parallel to that of the *Aeneas* cassone panels from the James Jackson Jarves Collection (see Apollonio di Giovanni, *The Shipwreck of Aeneas* and Apollonio di Giovanni, *Aeneas at Carthage*). It was distinguished from them by Jarves and Russell Sturgis, Jr.,[2] who thought the pair had been painted by Paolo Uccello but this panel by an artist working in the style of Piero della Francesca. Mary Logan Berenson,[3] followed in part by William Rankin and Frank Mather, Jr.,[4] grouped the three paintings together as by a single hand emerging from the orbit of Francesco Pesellino, while Osvald Sirèn separated them again.[5] Although Sirèn felt that the three paintings were by two unknown artists who were "so closely related in style . . . that we must assume that they kept a workshop together and possibly cooperated in some paintings," he insisted that "the two men should not be treated as one artist, as some critics have tried to do." Paul Schubring maintained Sirèn's sense of a distinction among the works, attributing the first two to his "Dido Master" and the present panel to a so-called Cassone Master.[6] Richard Offner merged the three works once again into a single personality, whom he christened the "Virgil Master," and Bernard Berenson listed all three under his label "Master of the Jarves Cassoni."[7]

Following Wolfgang Stechow's identification of the Dido, Virgil, or Jarves Cassoni Masters with the workshop of Apollonio di Giovanni and Marco del Buono,[8] it has been customary to discuss these three panels in the Jarves Collection, together with a fourth representing a Tournament in the Piazza Santa Croce, as all emerging from Apollonio's studio, possibly at different dates and with differing degrees of participation by assistants. In such discussions, the most outspoken of which are those of Charles Seymour, Jr., and Ellen Callmann,[9] the Yale *Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* is, with some consistency, dismissed as an inferior workshop variant of several other compositions of the same subject by Apollonio, the best known of which is in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 2).[10] Other examples are recorded in the collection of Lord Crawford at Balcarres, Scotland,[11] formerly in the collection of Ellen Callmann,[12] formerly in the Woodward and Butler collections,[13] and in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.[14] Callmann thought that only three of these—the Boston example, the painting formerly in the Woodward and Butler collections, and her own—were directly related to Apollonio di Giovanni in style or quality. In Seymour's case, an even more negative impression may in part have been fueled by a radical misunderstanding of the condition of the Yale painting, which he characterized, mistakenly, as "fair only at best. The entire surface appears to be coarsened and dulled with repaints and the gilding that meets the eye is all evidently modern."[15]

Fig. 2. Apollonio di Giovanni, *The Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, ca. 1460–65. Tempera and gold on panel, 46.8 × 178.5 cm (18 3/8 × 70 1/4 in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Bequest of Mrs. Harriet J. Bradbury, inv. no. 30.495

Not only is the Yale *Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* exceptionally well preserved, but it is also preserved in a manner entirely atypical of cassone panels in that it bears no evidence of a keyhole or a cutout to house a lock mechanism, and it shows none of the standard signs of heavy usage to which cassoni were subject. It is, furthermore, unusually although not unprecedentedly large for a standard cassone panel. Clearly cut on its right edge, which is missing the barb of paint present around all three other sides and where the garland-bearing putto atop the temple portico is cropped in half, it may be presumed to be missing as much as 32 centimeters of its original length, restoring which would return the carefully centralized perspective of the temple to the center of the composition and result in a panel approximately 182 centimeters long. This size is more typically encountered among *spalliera* panels (the painted wainscotting elements or backboards sometimes exhibited above cassoni) than cassone fronts: while the Boston *Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* (see fig. 2) is 176 centimeters long, the average size of cassone panels emerging from Apollonio's shop is between 140 and 150 centimeters. Assuming that the Yale panel was originally a *spalliera* rather than a cassone front would also explain its fortunate state of preservation as well as the unusually large scale on which the figures in it are painted. Finally, although the argument sounds circular, it could also explain its centralized composition. In versions of the story Apollonio di Giovanni painted for cassone fronts, the right half of the composition depicts the Temple and the meeting of the two protagonists; the left half shows the arrival in Jerusalem of the queen's retinue. Callmann has shown that not all the commissions recorded in Apollonio's account book were necessarily for painted cassone fronts and that, from at least 1459, he is documented painting *spalliere* as well.[16] Although she did not draw a connection between that fact and the physical attributes of the Yale *Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, nor indeed identify any other likely *spalliere* among Apollonio's surviving work, it is inevitable to conclude that such was the original function of the Yale panel.

When it appeared on the front of painted cassoni, the Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba was usually paired with a subject apparently invented by cassone painters: the Journey of the Queen of Sheba. Three such pairs survive from Apollonio's workshop: the *Meeting* in Boston (see fig. 2) may be connected with a *Journey* in the Birmingham Museum of Art, Alabama (fig. 3); the *Meeting* in the Crawford collection at Balcarres is paired with a *Journey* in the same collection;[17] and the *Meeting* formerly in the Woodward and Butler collections was probably paired with a *Journey* formerly in the Merton collection at Maidenhead Thicket.[18] One other version by Apollonio of the Journey of the Queen of Sheba is known, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[19] It cannot be paired with a known panel of the *Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, but its existence implies that at least one such panel must be lost. It is not possible to say whether, as a *spalliera* meant to be situated above a cassone, the Yale panel, too, was once accompanied by a similar panel representing the *Journey*, nor is it possible to speculate what might have been the subjects of a pair of cassoni above which such a pair could have been installed. —LK

Fig. 3. Apollonio di Giovanni, *The Journey of the Queen of Sheba*, ca. 1460–65. Tempera and gold on panel, 43.2 × 176.2 cm (17 × 69 3/8 in.). Birmingham Museum of Art, Ala., Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, inv. no. 61.95

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 51, no. 61; Sturgis 1868, 65, no. 69; Brown 1871, no. 69; Rankin 1895, 146; Logan 1901, 335; Rankin 1906, 288; Rankin 1907a, 131, 132; Schiaparelli 1908, 284; Mather 1914, 968–69; Sirén 1916a, 91–92. no. 36; Schubring 1923a, 267, pl. 42; Offner 1927a, 6, 27–30, fig. 21; van Marle 1928, 551; Salmi 1929, 272; Berenson 1932a, 347; "Pagan Imagery in Renaissance Art" 1942, 2; Stechow 1944, 17; "Meister der Dido-Truhe" 1950, 79; Gombrich 1955, 21; Berenson 1963, 1:18; Robinson 1963, n.p.; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, 561; Callmann 1970, 2, 4–5, 9–10, 21–22, 40, 76, 79, 81–82, 88–90, 137; Seymour 1970, 123–26, no. 83; Watson 1970, 225; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 599; Ostoia 1972, 79–80, fig. 7; Callmann 1974, 66; Meiss 1974, 1:218, 2: fig. 726; Watson 1974, 126; Schiaparelli 1983, 81n236; Morrison 1992, 29–30

NOTES

1. This text is repeated with little variation in 2 Chronicles 9:1–13.
2. Jarves 1860, 51; and Sturgis 1868, 65.

3. Logan 1901, 335.
4. Rankin 1906, 288; and Mather 1914, 968–69.
5. Sirén 1916a, 91.
6. Schubring 1915, 267.
7. Offner 1927a, 27–29; and Berenson 1932a, 347.
8. Stechow 1944.
9. Seymour 1970, 123–26; and Callmann 1974, 66.
10. Kanter 1994, 152–54, no. 40.
11. van Marle 1928, 562–63, figs. 336–37; and Callmann 1974, pl. 152.
12. Sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 29, 2016, lot 404.
13. Callmann 1974, pl. 148.
14. Inv. no. 7852-1862, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O109299/the-meeting-of-king-solomon-cassone-apollonio-di-giovanni/; see Callmann 1974, pl. 154.
15. Seymour 1970, 124.
16. Callmann 1988, 5–18.
17. Callmann 1974, pl. 151.
18. Sale, Christie's, London, December 2, 1977, lot 32.
19. Inv. no. 23.252, https://collections.mfa.org/objects/32013/journey-of-the-queen-of-sheba; see Kanter 1994, 152, no. 39.

Paolo Uccello, *The Triumphal Entry into Rome of Titus and Vespasian(?)*

Artist	Paolo Uccello, Florence, 1397–1475
Title	*The Triumphal Entry into Rome of Titus and Vespasian(?)*
Date	ca. 1430–35
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall 47.6 × 133.2 cm (18 3/4 × 52 1/2 in.); picture surface: 41.5 × 127.1 cm (16 3/8 × 50 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Richard L. Feigen, B.A. 1952
Inv. No.	2015.17.1

Provenance

Sale, Christie's, Milan, November 25, 2011, lot 23; Richard L. Feigen (1930–2021), New York, 2011

Condition

The panel support, of a horizontal wood grain and 3.5 centimeters thick, comprises two planks of poplar with a seam rising on a slight diagonal from right to left, beginning 26 centimeters from the top at the right edge and ending 24 centimeters from the top at the left edge. The seam is very slightly open at either end of the panel. The right edge of the panel also shows two partial splits, 8.5 and 34.1 centimeters from the top. All of these have resulted in minimal paint loss. A 7.5-centimeter-wide cutout for a lock mechanism has been excavated in the depth of the panel at the center of the top edge, and a keyhole is visible, cut through the panel surface, 61.5 centimeters from the right edge. A barb along all four edges of the paint surface and exposed wood outside of the barb indicate the removal of engaged frame moldings, while mitered incisions at each corner from the original fitting of these moldings suggest that the panel in its present format is complete, unless it were missing lateral extensions that may have contained coats of arms. The painting and gilt surfaces show wear typical of cassone panels, with overall abrasion and scattered local losses due to percussion damage, clustered more densely within a 30-centimeter radius of the keyhole. The sky is particularly difficult to read because of flat, discolored retouches and exposed gesso, confusing the transitions from light blue near the horizon to deeper blue at the top. All the silver decoration of the armor and horse trappings has been repainted with a thick emulsion of silver pigment, with the exception of a single helmet at the right edge of the composition, which reveals the degree of wear to which all the silver must have been subjected but also the subtlety of form it still revealed before overpainting.

Discussion

While portrayals of classical Roman military triumphs are not uncommon on painted cassoni in the fifteenth century, this cassone front is unusual in representing two separate processions in a single scene. At the left, a youthful general with long blond hair, wearing a full suit of (silver) armor and resting his hand on a baton of authority, is enthroned beneath a canopy atop a cart processing to the right. The cart is drawn by two white horses ridden by pages with the word "ROMA"

embroidered in pearls on the brims of their hats. In front of the general's cart, two oxen are yoked to a wagon bearing three elderly bearded prisoners and a gilded statue of a young, winged god resembling Eros; lettering around the base of the statue is now illegible. The oxen are preceded by a cavalcade of mounted knights who, having reached a rocky outcrop in the center of the panel, turn backward into depth, following a path that winds among the hills. Further along this path are glimpses of infantry, more treasure-laden carts, pairs of oxen, and mounted knights entering the gate of a walled city—presumably Rome—at the top center of the panel. On the right is a similar procession directed to the left, toward the center of the panel, featuring another general in full armor enthroned beneath a canopy, displaying his sword rather than a baton. A line of captives ranging in age and possibly of both sexes encircles the foot of the throne. A knight in the cavalcade leading the cart holds a large banner with a red circle on a dark blue field but with no legible device in the circle. This procession, too, winds back through the landscape toward the same walled city in the distance.

Paul Schubring recorded two other cassone fronts that portray a double triumph like this one, identifying both as representing the entry of the emperor Vespasian and his sons, Titus and Domitian, into Rome in A.D. 71, following the sack of Jerusalem by Titus the previous year.[1] Flavius Josephus and Dio Cassius recount that the Roman Senate, exceptionally, declared the double triumph, recognizing that Vespasian began the suppression of the Judean revolt under the emperor Nero and Titus completed it during his father's reign. If the Yale panel is the Triumph of Titus and Vespasian, it is difficult to know which armored general is meant to be Vespasian and which Titus—who succeeded Vespasian as emperor in A.D. 79—unless they are instead meant to represent Titus and his brother, Domitian, who, in turn, succeeded Titus as emperor in A.D. 81. Either way, literal adherence to Josephus's description of the triumph was not the artist's concern, as none of the spoils of war refer specifically to the Temple of Jerusalem or any of the treasures depicted on the Arch of Titus in Rome, dedicated by Domitian in A.D. 81. to memorialize his brother's achievement and consolidate his own claim to authority.

The Yale panel also stands apart from other images of military triumphs on cassone fronts in that at least one complete and two partial replicas of it are known, all originating from different artist's studios. The complete replica, attributable to the workshop of Apollonio di Giovanni and Marco del Buono, was formerly in the collection of Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn (fig. 1).[2] Measuring 40.7 by 120 centimeters, this panel accurately copies nearly every detail of the composition of the Yale panel. It differs only in simplifying the elegant draftsmanship and coloration of the original, suppressing the spatial function of landscape details, and altering the profile of buildings rising above the battlemented walls of the city in the background (specifically, in the area directly below the keyhole in the front of the original chest). So exact is the copy that it is necessary to assume that the artist of the Williams-Wynn panel had direct access to the Yale panel, either in the home of its original owner or as a member of the workshop in which it was painted. The partial replicas both occur on cassone fronts attributable to Giovanni di Ser Giovanni, called Lo Scheggia: one formerly in the collection of Franklin Mott Gunther and Louisa Facasanu, in Washington, D.C. (fig. 2),[3] the other in the Musée National de la Renaissance in Écouen, France (which copies the double triumph motif, as Schubring had noted).[4] In the former, the vignette of the right-hand triumphal cart with sword-bearing general and a ring of bound captives, the two white horses pulling it and their riders turning backward, and the soldier/attendant bending over to adjust his leggings in front of the cart are reproduced—in reverse and at the left of the adapted composition. The dwarf(?) riding an exotic if difficult to identify animal cropped at the left edge of the Yale panel reappears in the former Gunther-Facasanu panel as well, transposed to the center of the procession. Here, the borrowings are sufficiently generic to suggest that the artist could have been working with a drawing for or after the original, rather than relying on direct access to the painted source, and yet they are specific enough to leave no doubt that they rely directly on this prototype. The same drawing could have been used to create the Écouen cassone front, in which both carts and their horses, again reversed, are adapted, as is the detail of a page bending to fasten his leggings. This figure is otherwise an inexplicable addition to the narrative.[5]

Fig. 1. Apollonio di Giovanni, *The Triumph of Titus and Vespasian*, ca. 1450–60. Tempera and gold on panel, 40.7 × 120 cm (16 × 47 1/4 in.). Location unknown

Fig. 2. Giovanni di Ser Giovanni, called Lo Scheggia, *Roman Triumph*, ca. 1450–60. Tempera and gold on panel, 40 × 145 cm (15 3/4 × 57 1/8 in.). Location unknown

The attribution of the Yale panel to Paolo Uccello was made by the present author (verbally) at the time of its sale in 2011 and confirmed by Everett Fahy.[6] Although recent scholarship has acknowledged oblique documentation that Paolo Uccello was involved in painting cassone fronts, it has been reluctant to admit any such painted panels to his accepted oeuvre.[7] This reticence is unnecessary. Six surviving cassoni, possibly seven, not only reflect motifs and compositional conceits deriving from Uccello's better-known monumental works but also are painted with a level of technical skill and conceptual sophistication that is typical of his works alone among all fifteenth-century Florentine painters. The six cassoni that may be attributed without hesitation to Uccello are:

- *The Battle of Aeneas and Turnus at Latium*, Seattle Art Museum (see Paolo Uccello, *A Battle of Greeks and Amazons; Allegories of Hope and Justice; Reclining Nude*, fig. 6);
- *The Story of Camilla*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours, France (see Uccello, *Battle of Greeks and Amazons*, fig. 7);
- *The Battle of Metaurus*, private collection, England (see Uccello, *Battle of Greeks and Amazons*, fig. 8);
- *The Banquet of Aeneas and Dido*, Landesmuseum, Hannover, Germany (see Uccello, *Battle of Greeks and Amazons*, fig. 10);
- *A Battle of Greeks and Amazons (Theseus and Hippolyta or Achilles and Penthesileia?)*;
- the present panel.

The first five of these are late works by Paolo Uccello, painted after 1460. A seventh panel, representing the first episodes in the story of Susannah and the Elders, in the Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon, France, is earlier than all but the present panel. Its attribution, however, is vigorously contested.[8]

Among the bases for attributing the present panel to Paolo Uccello may be listed the free invention of the canopies adorning the two triumphal carts and the perfect radial foreshortening of their structures and of the plumes in helmets among the accompanying cavalry. Although similar devices appear in cassoni from other workshops, none reaches the level of geometric creativity and precision evident here. This is true as well of the sophisticated rendering of the battlemented city walls and towers and of the floriated decoration on the edges of the pyramid within the city; an identical form appears also in the background of Uccello's frescoes in the Cappella dell'Assunta in Prato (ca. 1433–34). The turn of horses and oxen backward into space and the particular tonal gradations of the palette with which they are rendered, relying on the juxtaposition of contrasting planes of light and dark colors, are reminiscent of the Sir John Hawkwood monument (1436) in Florence Cathedral or the San Romano battle scenes.[9] Other oddities frequently encountered in Uccello's work and rarely found elsewhere are the solecisms of horses with both near legs raised simultaneously—an idiosyncrasy for which the artist was criticized by Giorgio Vasari[10] but which must have been deliberate and was, in all likelihood, tongue in cheek. The peculiar animal ridden by a small figure at the left edge of the composition is an exact duplicate of one of the beasts at the top of the throng in the fresco of the Creation in the Chiostro Verde at Santa Maria Novella, Florence (fig. 3), and the facial types of the captives in both carts recur in numerous early works by Uccello, notably in the Quarate predella of ca. 1435.[11] Such features argue not only for an attribution to Uccello but also for a date within the decade of the 1430s, close to the beginning of the artist's career but, perhaps more significantly, at the start of the tradition of painting scenes from Roman history on wedding cassoni. It is quite possible that this panel represents a prototype for a fashion in domestic decoration that endured in Florence nearly to the end of the fifteenth century. —LK

Fig. 3. Paolo Uccello, *The Creation* (detail), ca. 1430. Fresco. Chiostro Verde, Santa Maria Novella, Florence

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Unpublished

NOTES

1. Baron Lazzaroni, Paris, and Musée de Cluny, Paris, now Musée National de la Renaissance, Écouen, no. E. Cl. 7509, as *The Reconciliation of Romulus and Titus*; see Schubring 1915, no. 122, pl. 22, and no. 128, pl. 25, respectively. The Écouen panel converts the subject from a triumphal entry to the reconciliation by suppressing all military emblems, including weapons and carts of prisoners.

2. Sale, Sotheby's, London, June 30, 1965, lot 14. This provenance stems from the record in the Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna, inv. no. 13818. It is unclear whether the reference is to Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn (1891–1949), 8th Baronet; Sir Robert William Herbert Watkin Williams-Wynn (1862–1951), 9th Baronet; or Sir Owen Watkin Williams-Wynn (1904–1988), 10th Baronet.

3. Sale, Sotheby's, New York, June 12, 1975, lot 95; recorded in the Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna (inv. no. 13804) as subsequently in a private collection in Geneva. See Bellosi and Haines 1999, 97, recording an attribution by Everett Fahy.

4. See note 1, above.

5. Several opinions attempting to justify the inclusion of this figure are reported by Karinne Simonneau, in Erlande-Brandenburg, Simonneau, and Benoît 2004, 46–49, no. 6. None of these account for its being a direct copy of the Yale panel, which was not known at the time.

6. Everett Fahy, letter, November 1, 2014, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.

7. See, for example, Minardi 2017, 305, 345–46, 348n69, 349nn150–52.

8. Inv. no. M. I. 533. This panel was attributed by the present author to Uccello and separated from its presumptive companion at the Musée du Petit Palais, inv. no. M. I. 534, representing the concluding episodes of the story of Susannah and the Elders and painted by Domenico di Michelino; Kanter 2000a, 15–16. The attribution to Uccello was accepted by Miklós Boskovits but changed by Fahy to Zanobi Strozzi (both opinions are recorded in Laclotte and Moench 2005, 192) and by Andrea Staderini to an unknown follower of Fra Angelico (Staderini 2010, 118, 121, fig 4).

9. National Gallery, London, inv. no. NG583, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/paolo-uccello-the-battle-of-san-romano; Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 479, https://www.uffizi.it/en/artworks/battle-of-san-romano; and the Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. MI 469, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010065339.

10. Vasari 1878–85, 2:212: "Se Paolo non avesse fatto che quel cavallo muove le gambe da una banda sola, il che naturalmente i cavalli non fanno, perchè cascherebbono . . . sarebbe questa opera perfettissima" (And if Paolo had not made that horse move its legs on one side only, which naturally horses do not do, or they would fall . . . this work would be absolutely perfect). Translation from Vasari 1912–14, 2:137.

11. Museo Diocesano di Santo Stefano al Ponte, Florence.

Paolo Uccello, *A Battle of Greeks and Amazons (Theseus and Hippolyta or Achilles and Penthesileia?); Allegories of Hope and Justice; Reclining Nude*

Artist	Paolo Uccello, Florence, 1397–1475
Title	*A Battle of Greeks and Amazons (Theseus and Hippolyta or Achilles and Penthesileia?); Allegories of Hope and Justice; Reclining Nude*
Date	ca. 1460–70
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall (chest): 88.9 × 196.9 × 73.7 cm (35 × 77 1/2 × 29 in.); front panel, painted surface: 41.0 × 163.8 cm (16 1.8 × 64 1/2 in.); left panel, painted surface: 40.8 × 52.4 cm (16 × 20 5/8 in.); right panel, painted surface: 41.0 × 52.7 cm (16 1/8 × 20 3/4 in.); interior of lid, painted surface: 52.8 × 170.5 cm (20 3/4 × 67 1/8 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of the Associates in Fine Arts
Inv. No.	1933.61

Provenance

Cornelia, countess of Craven (1877–1961), Coombe Abbey, near Coventry, Warwickshire, England; Stora, Paris, by 1929; Marie Sterner Galleries, New York

Condition

The front and sides of the chest are each composed of two horizontal planks of poplar, 3.8 centimeters thick, to which are nailed and glued 1-centimeter-thick moldings framing the painted centers. The corner joins of the chest are original and undisturbed, but the corner pilasters applied to the front, the scale-decorated base molding, and the entablature molding on all sides are modern, probably nineteenth- or early twentieth-century repairs. Two large splits are visible in the lower plank of the front panel, passing from the left edge through the large ship at anchor and from the right edge through the small group of figures fighting before the walls of the city. The left end panel has four splits visible through the paint surface, while three partial splits in the right end panel have not disrupted the paint surface. The framing moldings on all three sides were regilded over original gilt surfaces in an early restoration, and the hinges of the lid—which is original to the chest (see fig. 3)—were replaced with modern hinges.

Cleaning of the chest by Sydney Nikolaus in 2016–18 removed severely discolored layers of varnish as well as oil-paint reinforcements over nearly all the silver-leaf armor and much of the landscape in the front panel, revealing extensive abrasion but few areas of major loss, other than the usual pattern of nicks and dents encountered in cassone panels. Abrasion is less pronounced in the end panels, both of which have more numerous flaking losses associated with movement of the wooden support. The interior of the lid had been cleaned separately from the rest of the chest by Nancy Krieg in 1984, when it was believed not to be integral to the original structure. Cleaning revealed overall abrasion and

minor local losses but also that the upper half of the "sky" background on which the nude reclines is gesso preparation only: all pigment is missing from this area. Inpainting for loss compensation on all four panels is minimal and intended to enhance the legibility of forms without masking original materials.

Discussion

This chest, discussed with some frequency in modern contextual literature but less well known in specialized art-historical studies, was acquired for the Yale University Art Gallery in 1933 through the agency of Maitland Griggs. Writing shortly afterward, the museum's director, Theodore Sizer, explained:

> There are five typical examples of Florentine quattrocento cassone painting in the Jarves Collection. Unfortunately all of these panels were taken from the chests and inappropriately framed before this collection came to Yale sixty-six years ago. Although they can be advantageously studied as polite examples of easel painting—which they are not—their original function and their proper relation to the chests they once so appropriately and delightfully adorned cannot be demonstrated.
>
> It was with this in mind that the *Associates in Fine Arts at Yale* acquired a typical mid-fifteenth century Florentine cassone with elaborately painted panels *in situ*.

That the primary, if not exclusive, value of the chest to the collection was as an illustration of context—a pedagogical prop—was made clear in Sizer's concluding remarks:

> The name of the spirited Florentine painter of this chest is unknown. In this connection it is interesting to note that a pair of panels in the Jarves Collection, catalogued by the art critic, James Jackson Jarves, as the work of Paolo Uccello, changed by Osvald Sirén to a "Florentine Painter of about 1450," and labelled in the Gallery as the "Virgil Master," are now referred to by Bernhard Berenson in his *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance* as by the "Master of the Jarves Cassone." Possibly this recent gift of the Associates may some day receive an equally interesting attribution.[1]

Previously, the chest had attracted no scholarly attention other than a brief mention by Tancred Borenius, who did not offer an attribution for it.[2] He suggested that the subject of its main panel (fig. 1) might be the battle of Heraclius and Chosroes, comparing it to one of a pair of panels formerly in the Georges Chalandon collection, Lyon, France (fig. 2), thought to portray that subject, and he remarked on the exceptional rarity of its painted lid (fig. 3).[3] Charles Seymour, Jr., repeated the scant information presented by Borenius, while Ellen Callmann observed only that the outside of the lid is one of only four extant examples to retain a painted textile decoration on its uppermost portion.[4] She believed, however, that the lid was too small for the body of the chest and did not belong to it.

Fig. 1. *A Battle of Greeks and Amazons (Theseus and Hippolyta or Achilles and Penthesileia?)* (front panel of the cassone)

Fig. 2. Domenico di Michelino, *The Battle of Theseus and the Amazons*, ca. 1450. Tempera and gold on panel, 42.9 × 148.9 cm (16 7/8 × 58 5/8 in.). Indianapolis Museum of Art Galleries at Newfields, Martha Delzell Memorial Fund, inv. no. 62.164

Fig. 3. *Reclining Nude* (top interior panel of the cassone)

In her 1995 article on subjects from Boccaccio in Florentine cassone painting, Callmann amplified her belief that the Yale chest was reconstructed and partially modern.[5] Calling it simply "Florentine, 1460s," she accepted Paul Watson's identification of the subject of the painted front of the chest—followed also by Vittore Branca, Cristelle Baskins, and Susan Wegner—as the battle of Theseus with the Amazon queen Hippolyta, taken from Boccaccio's *Teseida*, Book 1.[6] According to Callmann,

> The moment here depicted is when the Greeks, having won a toehold on the shore, besiege the Amazon capital. The central emphasis is on two mounted protagonists who are in direct confrontation and are

possibly meant to be Theseus and Queen Hippolyta. No such encounter, however, is described by Boccaccio who relates only that Theseus fights and kills many Amazons (1.73–78).[7]

Callmann supported this identification by referring again to the ex-Chalandon panel mentioned by Borenius, now in the Indianapolis Museum of Art (see fig. 2). This panel clearly does represent the battle described by Boccaccio in the *Teseida*, with the Amazons pouring in overwhelming numbers from the walls of their city in Scythia and the Greeks constrained to fight from their ships. Gaudenz Freuler mistakenly identified the Indianapolis cassone as the battle of Greeks and Amazons before the walls of Troy, when Achilles defeated the Amazon queen Penthesileia, on the grounds of having identified its pendant from the Chalandon collection as another Trojan War scene: the rape of Helen.[8] Callmann, with greater probability, identified the subject of the second Chalandon panel not as relating to the Trojan War but as the meeting of Theseus and Hippolyta, an interpretation confirmed by Margaret Franklin.[9]

While there can be no doubt that the subject of the Yale cassone is a battle between Greeks and Amazons—the mounted warriors issuing from the city at the right wear long dresses over their armor and wield bows rather than swords or lances—there are several difficulties with interpreting the scene as the confrontation between Theseus and Hippolyta. According to Boccaccio, the Greeks were overwhelmed by the Amazons and forced to fight from their ships, many of which were burned or sunk before Theseus rallied his warriors. In the cassone, the Greek army has established an encampment (visible in the background at the left) and fights with cavalry directly in front of the walls of the city. The queen of the Amazons, furthermore, is probably to be identified as the figure in a gold dress on a white horse leading the charge of her armies in the center foreground, directly below the keyhole of the chest. She confronts a knight in black (formerly silver) armor, who sits astride a rearing white horse and threatens her with a sword. The same figure in a gold dress, now carrying a bow, is seen again at the lower right of the scene, being driven back toward the city gates in retreat, with a handful of her companions. Four knights threaten this group, the foremost of whom, brandishing a sword, is not the same warrior who faced the queen on horseback. It is possible that this is Achilles, not Theseus, and the battle is in defense of Troy rather than the Amazon capital. After the death of Hector, the armies of Queen Penthesileia rode to the defense of the Trojans and pushed the Greek armies back nearly to their ships. Achilles's late arrival to the battle turned the tide, forcing the Amazons back to Troy, where he killed Penthesileia. The Amazon queen turning back to stand against the young knight at the right of the cassone may represent the unfolding of that final contest.[10] Franklin disputes this interpretation, noting both that Penthesileia's was only one of several armies fighting in defense of Troy and that, in the *Teseida*, Theseus ultimately forced the Amazons to retreat within the walls of their city.[11] Either interpretation requires the artist to have overlooked or downplayed salient details of the original texts, which is far from implausible for a fifteenth-century cassone painter.

Allegorical figures are not commonly encountered on the end panels of Renaissance cassoni: Baskins cites examples in the Courtauld Institute of Art, London, and the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, in addition to the present chest.[12] On the right end panel of the Yale cassone (fig. 4), Justice follows the form in which she was conceived by Piero del Pollaiuolo among the enthroned Virtues painted for the Mercanzia in Florence nearly contemporary to this chest, or in the slightly earlier relief by Luca della Robbia mounted in the ceiling of the chapel of the cardinal of Portugal in the church of San Miniato al Monte. She holds in her right hand a sword, emblem of her authority or power, and in her left a globe of the Earth, emblematic of the extent of her dominion, rather than the more usual symbol of a pair of scales. The figure seated in profile with her hands clasped before her in the left end panel (fig. 5) was identified by Borenius, followed by Sizer and all later writers, as Faith, presumably an extrapolation from her apparent attitude of prayer.[13] The standard attributes of Faith—a cross and chalice—are absent, however, and it is more likely that this figure is meant to symbolize Hope, who is usually shown with her hands joined in prayer, as in Antonio del Pollaiuolo's figure from the Mercanzia *Virtues* or in representations of the Seven Virtues by Pesellino (and Lo Scheggia).[14] The crown depicted against the sky background in the Yale panel is not a standard emblem of any of the cardinal or theological Virtues, although it does appear in Giotto's grisaille allegory of Hope in the Arena Chapel.[15] It is possible that the crown is included here as an allusion to the text of Proverbs 12:14, which states that a good wife is a crown to her husband.

Fig. 4. *Allegory of Justice* (right end panel of the cassone)

Fig. 5. *Allegory of Hope* (left end panel of the cassone)

Publishing an image of the Yale cassone in 2005, Everett Fahy recorded an attribution for it to Apollonio di Giovanni, although he had earlier proposed that the lid might have been painted by Andrea di Giusto.[16] Only in 2008, while the chest was being prepared for loan to an exhibition at Bowdoin College, in Brunswick, Maine, was it recognized that the structure of the cassone was not a pastiche, assembled from unrelated parts of different chests. On that occasion and during subsequent cleaning by Nikolaus (2016–18), it was determined that the front and end panels were painted by a single artist and that the same hand was responsible for a cassone panel representing scenes from the *Aeneid* in the Seattle Art Museum (fig. 6). The Seattle cassone, which was attributed to Paolo Uccello by Fahy, had, like the Yale cassone, formerly been identified as representing scenes from Boccaccio's *Teseida*.[17] The present author argued instead that it portrayed the landing of Aeneas's fleet on the shores of the Tiber and the subsequent battle with King Turnus of Latium and his allies, Messapus and Camilla, at the head of her army of Volscian warriors. A pendant to the Seattle panel in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Tours, France (fig. 7), representing the preceding episodes in the story of Camilla, was also correctly attributed by Fahy to Paolo Uccello.[18] Comparisons with these works and with the recently rediscovered cassone panel of the battle of Metaurus (fig. 8)[19]—Uccello's masterpiece in this genre of domestic painting—definitively establishes the attribution of the Yale chest. The reclining nude on the interior of the lid of the Yale chest may instead be compared to two paintings recently given to Uccello but probably to be identified as products of his workshop, possibly painted by his son, Donato di Paolo: a *Virgin and Child with Two Angels* formerly in the Carl Hamilton collection, New York, and a *Virgin and Child in a Landscape* (fig. 9) in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.[20]

Fig. 6. Paolo Uccello, *Scenes from the Aeneid*, ca. 1470. Tempera and gold on panel, 41 × 156.2 cm (16 1/8 × 61 1/2 in.). Seattle Art Museum, Samuel H. Kress Collection, inv. no. 61.173

Fig. 7. Paolo Uccello, *The Story of Camilla*, ca. 1470. Tempera and gold on panel, 43 × 157 cm (16 7/8 × 61 3/4 in.). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours, inv. 1953-2-1

Fig. 8. Paolo Uccello, *The Battle of Metaurus*, ca. 1465–70. Tempera, gold, and silver on panel, 42.8 × 162.3 cm (16 7/8 × 63 7/8 in.). Private collection

Fig. 9. Follower of Paolo Uccello, possibly Donato di Paolo, *Virgin and Child in a Landscape*, ca. 1470. Tempera on panel, 165.1 × 43.5 cm (65 × 17 1/8 in.). J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Gift of J. Paul Getty, inv. no. 70.PB.44

The figural and compositional similarities between these panels and the Yale cassone not only confirm their identity of authorship but also are sufficiently compelling to argue for a general similarity of date. Heraldry within the Seattle and Tours paintings indicate that the chests they once decorated were commissioned to celebrate the wedding of Francesco d'Antonio Antinori and Francesca di Tommaso Soderini in 1470. The other chests are not firmly datable, but comparison to works by Uccello confidently situated in proximity to the Seattle and Tours panels—above all, the predella in the Museo Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino (ca. 1468), the *Hunt in the Forest* in the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (ca. 1465–70),[21] or the *Saint George and the Dragon* (1465) in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris[22]—indicates that a date within the decade of the 1460s, probably in the second half of that decade, is highly likely for the Yale cassone as well.[23]

No overt heraldic references are embedded among the decorative motifs within the battle scene on the front of the Yale cassone, as they are in the Seattle and Tours panels or in another cassone front by Paolo Uccello in the Landesmuseum, Hannover, Germany, representing scenes from the *Aeneid* (fig. 10).[24] It is possible that coats of arms were once attached to the corner pilasters of the chest, which, in their present state, are modern restorations. It is, however, also possible that a disguised heraldic device, similar to the stags' heads in the Tours cassone symbolizing the arms of the Soderini family, may have been incorporated into the battle scene. If the battle can be identified as that between Achilles and Penthesileia before the walls of Troy, which occurred in the tenth year of the war, there is no reason for the galley at the left to be depicted in full sail while it is empty of crew. A billowing sail was the impresa of the Rucellai family, and it is known from the *Zibaldone* of Giovanni Rucellai that among the possessions in the family palazzo were paintings by Paolo Uccello.[25] It was argued by the present author that these might have been cassone paintings and may possibly have been a pair of panels in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, bearing the devices of the Rucellai and the Medici, probably commissioned as part of the trousseau of Nannina di Piero di Cosimo de' Medici on the occasion of her marriage to Bernardo Rucellai in 1466.[26] These panels were painted in Uccello's workshop but are not autograph works by the master. It is equally possible that the Yale cassone and its still-missing companion chest may have been the works referenced by Giovanni Rucellai. —LK

Fig. 10. Paolo Uccello, *Scenes from the Aeneid*, ca. 1460–70. Tempera, gold, and silver on panel, overall 63.2 × 184.5 cm (24 7/8 × 72 5/8 in.). Landesmuseum, Hannover, Germany, inv. no. KM 309.

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Borenius 1929, 6, figs. 3–5, 7; Sizer 1934, 24–25; Seymour 1970, 140–41; Callmann 1974, 28n17, fig. 217; Watson 1985–86, 162; Baskins 1988, 35; Branca 1988, 99; Callmann 1995, 37; Fahy 2005, 8; Baskins 2008, 100n6; Wegner 2008, 21, 22n20, 23–24, 50, 100n6; Franklin 2010, 13–20; Kanter 2010a, 114–17; Capretti 2015, 91, 93, fig. 3; Franklin 2016, n.p.; Compton 2021, 63–67, 84n51, 85nn57, 60, 86n61

NOTES

1. Sizer 1934, 24–25.
2. Borenius 1929, 6.
3. Borenius knew the Chalandon cassoni from their reproduction in Schubring 1915, 283, nos. 281–82, pl. 64. In that source, Paul

Schubring also catalogued three painted lids showing reclining female nudes: 258, no. 157, pl. 30 (collection of Lord Crawford at Balcarres, Scotland); 264, no. 185, pl. 38 (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. 4639-1858, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O132970/cassone-unknown/); and 284, no. 290, pl. 69 (Somerset collection, Eastnor Castle, Herefordshire, England).

4. Seymour 1970, 140–41; and Callmann 1974, 28n17.

5. Callmann 1995, 37.

6. Watson 1985–86, 162; Branca 1988, 99; Baskins 1988, 100n6; and Wegner 2008, 23, 50.

7. Callmann 1995, 37.

8. Freuler 1991, 244–47.

9. Franklin 2010, 14, 19n8.

10. Kanter 2010a; and Compton 2021.

11. Franklin 2010, 19n8.

12. Courtauld Institute of Art, London, inv. no. F.1947.LF.4; and Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, inv. no. 46.13.1. See Baskins 2008, 100n6.

13. Borenius 1929, 6; and Sizer 1934, 24–25.

14. Birmingham Museum of Art, Ala., inv. no. 1961.102, https://www.artsbma.org/collection/seven-virtues/; and Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona, inv. no. 64967, https://www.museunacional.cat/en/colleccio/seven-virtues/anton-francesco-dello-scheggia/064967-000, respectively. See Baskins 2008, 96–103; and Freyhan 1948, 68–86.

15. See Lange 2015, esp. 81–92. See also Lange 2022a, esp. figs. 1.15–.16, 1.19–.20, 2.9, 4.29, and 5.3–.4; and Lange 2022b.

16. Fahy 2005, 8; and Fahy, opinion, reported by Carl Strehlke, 2002, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.

17. Fahy's opinion is recorded in Ishikawa 1997, 53–54.

18. For a discussion of the subject of the Seattle cassone front and its pendant in Tours, the identification of their patron and date, and a defense of their attribution to Paolo Uccello, see Kanter 2000a, 11–20.

19. Berenson 1932b, 524–28, 530–31; and Kanter 2000a, 15. The painting reappeared at auction at Sotheby's, London, July 28, 2020, lot 23, and is now in a private English collection.

20. Minardi 2017, 318–20. Minardi rejected the attribution to Uccello of any cassone panel, but his estimation of the quality of these two Virgin and Child compositions relative to that of the cassoni discussed here should be reversed. Equally, his rejection of the profile portrait at the Isabella Stuart Gardner Museum (inv. no. P27W58, http://gardnermuseum.org/experience/collection/12396/) as a work by Uccello is unsustainable.

21. Inv. no. WA1850.31, https://collections.ashmolean.org/object/373613.

22. Inv. no. MJAP-P 2248, https://www.musee-jacquemart-andre.com/en/works/saint-george-and-dragon.

23. Dating of the Jacquemart-André *Saint George* follows the discovery by James Beck of a document likely to relate to it. His argument that the *Saint George and the Dragon* in the National Gallery, London (inv. no. NG6294, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/paolo-uccello-saint-george-and-the-dragon) must postdate the Paris painting is fallacious, based on a presumptive development in Uccello's mastery of three-dimensional illusion rather than a demonstrable preference in his late career for more mannered compositions. See Beck 1979, 1–5.

24. Decorative elements in this painting may refer to the Nasi and Pollini families of Florence, but this cannot be confirmed, and a union between these families has not yet been discovered.

25. Perosa 1960, 24.

26. Inv. nos. PE 87, http://collections.lesartsdecoratifs.fr/scene-de-bataille-0; and PE 88, http://collections.lesartsdecoratifs.fr/scene-de-triomphe. See Kanter 2000a, 20n6.

Zanobi di Migliore(?), *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels*

Artist	Zanobi di Migliore(?), Florence, documented 1453–died 1475
Title	*Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels*
Date	ca. 1455–59
Medium	Tempera on panel
Dimensions	overall 84.5 × 56.2 cm (33 1/4 × 22 1/8 in.); picture surface: 83.5 × 53.9 cm (32 7/8 × 21 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.222

Provenance

Alexander Nesbitt, Esq. (1817–1886), London; sale, Christie's, May 19, 1887, lot 180; Henry Wagner (1840–1926), London, by 1925; sale, Christie's, January 16, 1925, lot 64; Robert Langton Douglas (1864–1951), London, 1925; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1925

Condition

The panel support has been neither thinned nor cradled, retaining its original thickness of 2.4 to 2.8 centimeters. A barb along all four edges of the paint surface indicates that it has not been altered in size, although it has lost its original engaged frame moldings. Two splits in the panel, rising from the bottom edge approximately one-quarter the height of the image, have resulted in minor discreet paint losses in the Virgin's blue robe. It was noted by Charles Seymour, Jr., that the painting had been liberally retouched before entering the collection at Yale.[1] It was partially cleaned by Andrew Petryn in 1968 and more fully cleaned and retouched in 2000/2001 by Anne O'Connor. The second cleaning (fig. 1) revealed minimal abrasion but extensive flaking losses, through the red dresses of the Virgin and the angel at the right of the throne and along two vertical swaths of the Virgin's blue robe: one following the shadow in the deep fold between her knees and one, longer and more extensive, running from her right knee along the profile of her robe to the pavement. These correspond to no structural flaws in the panel and may have resulted from old water damage. The Virgin's face has been rubbed and has suffered from flaking losses, but the paint surface is otherwise well preserved. The mordant gilt decoration on the hems of the Virgin's and angels' robes is largely intact.

Fig. 1. *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels*, ca. 2000

Discussion

This painting first came to scholarly attention at the sale of Henry Wagner's collection in London in 1925, where it bore an improbable attribution to Gentile da Fabriano. It may have been first associated with the Master of the Castello Nativity—an artistic personality isolated by Bernard Berenson in 1913[2]—by Robert Langton Douglas, who purchased the painting at the Wagner sale. A label currently pasted on the back of the panel listing its two previous owners ascribes it to the Master of the Castello Nativity. It was published under that attribution by Raimond van Marle,[3] presumably on the advice either of Douglas or of Berenson himself, who included it in his lists of 1932, 1936, and 1963.[4] This attribution, which has been challenged only by Lionello Venturi, who gave the picture to the Master of San Miniato, deserves closer scrutiny.[5]

In his original compilation of works assigned to the Master of the Castello Nativity, Berenson asserted that the author of this group of paintings, primarily devotional images of the Virgin and Child, was an unknown Florentine artist active in the third quarter of the fifteenth century.[6] He devised the conventional name for the Master from the most important member of the group: a relatively large *colmo* (tabernacle) depicting the Nativity or the Virgin Adoring the Christ Child, formerly in the Medici villa at Castello and now exhibited at the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence (fig. 2). That painting retains its original frame, which is described in seventeenth-century inventories as bearing the arms (no longer legible) of Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici and his wife, Lucrezia Tornabuoni, and which can therefore be dated sometime between their marriage in 1444 and Piero's death in 1469. This range can be further delimited to the last decade of that span by the painting's evident dependence on the composition of Filippo Lippi's altarpiece of the Nativity from the Palazzo Medici (now Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin[7]), of 1459. The core works attributed to the Master of the Castello Nativity all show a greater or lesser degree of dependence on Filippo Lippi in their style and, frequently, in borrowed motifs. Chiara Lachi, author of a doctoral thesis and the only published monograph on the artist, contended that the Master of the Castello Nativity first appeared as an independent painter as early as the mid-1440s and could be individuated before that among Lippi's workshop assistants.[8]

Fig. 2. Master of the Castello Nativity, *The Castello Nativity*, ca. 1460–69. Tempera and gold on panel, 213 × 98 cm (8 7/8 × 38 5/8 in.). Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, inv. no. 171

For Lachi, the Yale painting must be considered among the earliest works by the Master of the Castello Nativity, datable to the late 1440s, alongside the Master's only large-scale commission, an altarpiece depicting the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Giusto and Clemente, now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Prato (fig. 3). The Prato altarpiece, which was first attributed to the Master of the Castello Nativity by Richard Offner in 1933,[9] was removed from the high altar of the parish church of Santi Giusto e Clemente at Faltugnano near Prato. A document of 1450 recording the dispersal of small sums "per aiuto d'una tavola d'altare facta di nuovo in decta Chiesa" (for help with an altarpiece made recently in that

church) has been interpreted as indicating a *terminus ante quem* for its execution, although it has also been objected that the amounts involved are far too small to be confidently associated with an altarpiece.[10] Accepting an early date, Lachi suggested that the patron of the altarpiece may have been the rector of the church, ser Francesco di Stefano Ranaldeschi, who enjoyed the rights of *jus patronatus* there until his death in 1457. Carl Strehlke argued that the altarpiece must follow more closely the probable trajectory of the artist's career, which he felt clustered around his name-piece in the 1460s. He proposed that the patron of the altarpiece was either a member of the Vinaccesi family, who held *jus patronatus* of the church between 1457 and 1468 or, more likely still, Gino di Lando Bonamici, whose arms are found in Santi Giusto e Clemente and who was awarded patronage there and of the nearby church of Santi Vito and Modesto in Soffignano or Susignano in 1468 by Pope Paul II, in recognition of the considerable sums Bonamici had committed to spend on the church's restoration and embellishment.[11]

Fig. 3. Zanobi di Migliore(?), *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Giusto and Clemente*, ca. 1455–57. Tempera and gold on panel, 175 × 164 cm (68 7/8 × 64 5/8 in.). Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Prato, inv. no. 171

Pivotal to this difference of opinion is the hybrid, stylistically inconsistent nature of many of the works within the corpus of paintings generally accepted as by the Master of the Castello Nativity. One group of paintings, solidly if uninventively based on Filippo Lippi's example,

Fig. 4. Master of the Castello Nativity, *Virgin and Child with Four Angels*, ca. 1453–57. Tempera and gold on panel, 86 × 62 cm (33 7/8 × 24 3/8 in.). Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. RF 1506

have been (probably correctly) recognized by both Lachi and Strehlke to relate so closely to the Master's eponymous work that they are likely to be datable along with it to the 1460s, possibly extending into the early 1470s. A more inventive and original group of compositions—such as an extraordinary *Virgin and Child with Four Angels* in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (fig. 4)—was associated by Lachi, again probably correctly, with a hypothetical period of collaboration with Francesco Pesellino in the 1450s. The same author scattered a heterogeneous body of work between that period and a presumptive apprenticeship with Filippo Lippi in the 1440s. This last group includes the Faltugnano altarpiece (see fig. 3), the Yale painting, and another of the masterpieces attributed to this painter, a *Madonna of Humility* in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo in Pisa (fig. 5). For Lachi, the dating of this group is anchored by the documentation for the Faltugnano altarpiece before 1450.

Fig. 5. Zanobi di Migliore(?), *Madonna of Humility*, ca. 1455–57. Tempera and gold on panel, 126 × 72 cm (49 5/8 × 28 3/8 in.). Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, inv. no. 4919

It is, however, impossible to believe that the architectural sophistication of the Faltugnano altarpiece, the spatial clarity of its compositional organization, or the witty originality of such devices as the marble angels serving as caryatids for the Virgin's throne could have been conceived independently by so imitative a painter as the Master of the Castello Nativity at so early a date as the 1440s.[12] The narrative complexity and spatial ingenuity of the four known panels from the predella of this altarpiece are also difficult to imagine without the previous example of Pesellino's predella compositions of the 1450s.[13] Furthermore, the flat, vacant expressions of the figures and the stiff linearity of their execution is strikingly at odds with the coloristic virtuosity, rigorously consistent lighting, and faultless foreshortening of all the details of the setting, leading to the suspicion that this work, too, is collaborative and that its intelligent design may be due to Pesellino, not to the Master of the Castello Nativity. Such a collaboration must explain the luxurious surface effects and aggressive novelty of the composition of the Pisa *Madonna of Humility* (see fig. 5) as well. Neither it nor the Faltugnano altarpiece can logically be datable earlier than the mid-1450s.

Lachi, accepting that the Master of the Castello Nativity must have collaborated with Pesellino at some point in his career—in her estimation, sometime after leaving Filippo Lippi's workshop—noted that, in 1453, Pesellino entered into a partnership, or *compagnia*, with two other painters, Piero di Lorenzo di Pratese and Zanobi di Migliore.[14] She defended a claim that the former might be the Master of the Castello Nativity since a certain "Piero di Lorenzo" appears among the names of artists working alongside Filippo Lippi on the Maringhi *Coronation of the Virgin* in 1441.[15] As Piero di Lorenzo di Pratese is known to have been born between 1410 and 1414, antedating the beginnings of his career to the 1440s or even earlier would not be exceptional, but Lachi's thesis has not been universally accepted. Annamaria Bernacchioni advanced evidence that the Piero di Lorenzo named in Lippi's shop was a gilder, not a painter, and therefore could not be the same person as Piero di Lorenzo di Pratese.[16] The identification of the Master of the Castello Nativity, however, does not depend on a putative appearance within the workshop of Filippo Lippi. The recurrent type of round-faced and summarily rendered figure found in several of Lippi's works of the 1440s bears only a generic resemblance to independent paintings by the Master of the Castello Nativity: they are not attributable to him but were undoubtedly inspirational for him. The identification of Piero di Lorenzo di Pratese with the Master of the Castello Nativity or, following Bernacchioni, with the artist conventionally known as the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino is entirely based on circumstantial but not demonstrable argument.[17]

An alternative proposal by the present author[18] that one of Pesellino's *compagni*, either Piero di Lorenzo di Pratese or Zanobi di Migliore, was probably the artist responsible for two panels from an altarpiece triptych in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, showing Saint Sylvester Enthroned (fig. 6) and the Baptism of Constantine (fig. 7), as well as a related panel of the Crucifixion in the Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon, France,[19] has not elicited comment in the literature. Reconstructing the Hermitage triptych as having been completed by Pesellino's three predella panels showing

episodes from the life of Saint Sylvester,[20] the author supposed the works could be dated to the period of the *compagnia*, between 1453 and 1457, and also assigned responsibility for the Hermitage and Avignon panels to the Master of the Castello Nativity, based on the repetition of figural idiosyncrasies—specifically the pinched facial features with close-set eyes, upturned nose, and pursed lips—that characterize some of the latter's works. This identification was too broad, however. Those features are undeniably similar but only occur in a limited number of works attributed to the Master of the Castello Nativity, above all in the Faltugnano (see fig. 3), Pisa (fig. 5), and Yale panels. Not only would this observation reinforce an argument for dating those paintings after 1453, but also it may indicate grounds for suggesting they could be the work of Pesellino's second-named partner, Zanobi di Migliore. No signed or fully documented works survive by Zanobi di Migliore, who is known to have left the partnership with Pesellino sometime before 1457 and to have emigrated from Florence to Bologna in 1459.[21] An altarpiece of the Virgin Adoring the Christ Child with Saints Bernardino and Anthony Abbot in the Pinacoteca Communale in Bologna (fig. 8), bearing the Bentivoglio arms quartered with Sforza on the pilaster bases of its original tabernacle frame, has been credibly attributed to Zanobi di Migliore.[22] This painting, redolent of both Emilian and Florentine cultural influences, bears more than a casual relationship in its figure style to the Yale and Pisa paintings.

Fig. 6. Zanobi di Migliore(?), *Saint Sylvester Enthroned with the Kneeling Emperor Constantine*, ca. 1453–57. Tempera and gold on panel, 174 × 87 cm (68 1/2 × 34 1/4 in.). State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, inv. no. 2442

Fig. 7. Zanobi di Migliore(?), *The Baptism of Constantine*, ca. 1453–57. Tempera and gold on panel, 157 × 73 cm (61 7/8 × 28 3/4 in.). State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, inv. no. 2443

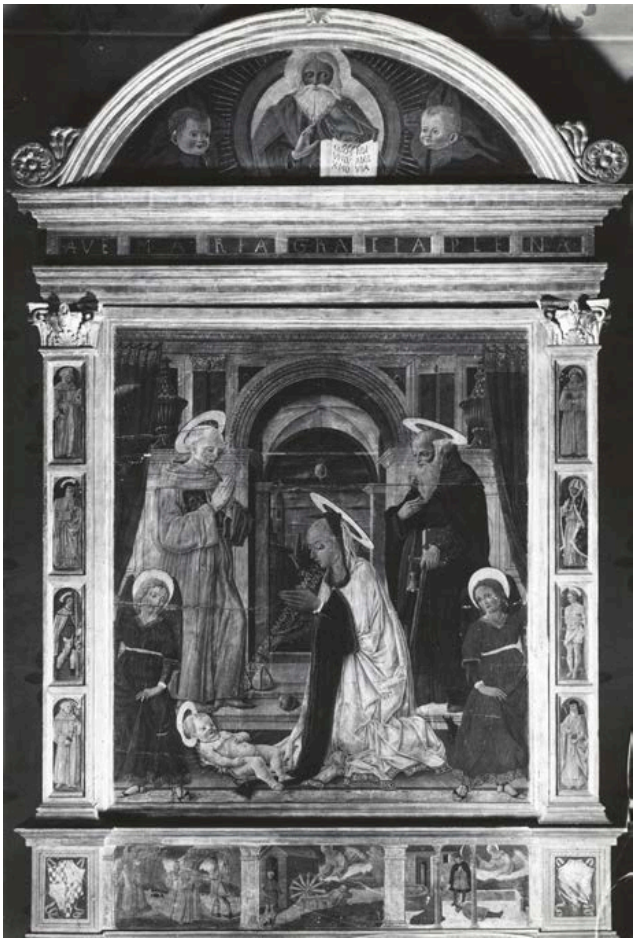

Fig. 8. Zanobi di Migliore(?), *Virgin Adoring the Christ Child with Saints Bernardino and Anthony Abbot*, ca. 1460–70. Tempera and gold on panel, 220 × 160 cm (86 5/8 × 63 in.). Collezioni Comunali d'Arte, Bologna, inv. no. 198

If the Pisa and Faltugnano panels are indeed the work of Zanobi di Migliore in collaboration with Francesco Pesellino, it would be reasonable to propose a date for them shortly after 1453, certainly earlier than 1457. If this were so, another painting probably to be considered alongside them as attributable to Zanobi di Migliore might be the *Virgin and Child Enthroned* in Dresden, Germany (fig. 9), generally attributed to Pesellino. Unlike these, the Yale panel shows no obvious indication of Pesellino's active participation, either in its design or in its execution: the design of the Yale painting is ambitious, although by comparison to the Faltugnano altarpiece somewhat tentative, while its execution is uniformly flat and uninspired—in some passages, such as the faces and hands of the two angels, insipid. It could very well represent Zanobi's output after leaving the *compagnia* with Pesellino and Piero di Lorenzo di Pratese and could therefore plausibly be dated from sometime before 1457 to not later than 1459. A possible *terminus a quo* might be adduced by the resemblance of the decorative inlays of

the Virgin's throne to motifs employed by Luca della Robbia in the enamel terracotta frame of the tomb of Bishop Benozzo Federighi, installed in San Pancrazio in Fiesole in 1458 or 1459 (moved to Santa Trinita, Florence, in the eighteenth century). The resemblance is not so close as to predicate a dependence of one upon the other, but they are both equally unlike any other Florentine architectural precedents. —LK

Fig. 9. Pesellino and Zanobi di Migliore(?), *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, ca. 1453–57. Tempera and gold on panel, 69.8 × 46.9 cm (27 1/2 × 18 1/2 in.). Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden, Germany, inv. no. 7A

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

van Marle 1929a, 300, 305; *Exhibition of Italian Primitive Paintings* 1930, no. 3; Venturi 1931, pl. 190; Berenson 1932a, 343; Berenson 1936, 280; Lipman 1936, 113; Valentiner 1937, 535, fig. 40; Kennedy 1938, 12; Salmi 1938a, 243–44, fig. 24; Sizer 1945, 3; Hess 1955, no. 85; Berenson 1963, 1:142; Seymour 1970, 160, 316, no. 114; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Lachi 1995, 62–63, 100

NOTES

1. Seymour 1970, 160, no. 114.
2. Berenson 1913, 17–19.
3. van Marle 1929a, 300.
4. Berenson 1932a, 343; Berenson 1936, 280; and Berenson 1963, 1:142.
5. Venturi 1931, pl. 190.
6. Berenson 1913, 17–19.
7. Inv. no. 69, https://id.smb.museum/object/864730.
8. Lachi 1995, 15–21.
9. Offner 1933, 177–78.
10. Matteo Mazzalupi, in De Marchi and Gnoni Mavarelli 2013, 176–79, accepted a date before 1450 for the Faltugnano altarpiece. Carl Brandon Strehlke, in Strehlke 2004, 279, did not, believing the altarpiece to be as much as two decades later in date. Keith Christiansen, in Christiansen 2014, 399–402, offered no opinion on dating.
11. Strehlke 2004, 278, cites the date as "1469 modern style"; Matteo Mazzalupi, in De Marchi and Gnoni Mavarelli 2013, 177–78, retains the date 1468 as recorded in the document.
12. Gigetta Dalli Regoli, in Dalli Regoli 1988, 29, called attention to reflections of the throne in the Faltugnano altarpiece appearing in works by Neri di Bicci of the later 1450s (see Szépűvészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. 1228 [63]) and 1460s.
13. For the predella panels, see National Gallery, London, inv. no. NG3648, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/master-of-the-castello-nativity-the-nativity; Philadelphia Museum of Art, inv. nos. 24–25, https://philamuseum.org/collection/object/101990, https://philamuseum.org/collection/object/102005; and Cassa di Risparmio di Prato.
14. The documents from the Florentine Tribunale di Mercanzia concerning this *compagnia* were published by Pèleo Bacci; see Bacci 1941, 364–65.
15. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 8352, https://catalogo.uffizi.it/it/29/ricera/detailiccd/1187616/.
16. Cited in Di Lorenzo 2005, 290–93. Bernacchioni and Megan Holmes offered an alternative thesis that Piero di Lorenzo di Pratese may be one of the hands in the workshop identified by modern scholarship as the "Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino." See Bernacchioni 1992, 171–80; and Holmes 1999, 270n135.
17. For the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, see Yale University Art Gallery, inv. nos. 1871.43, https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/301; and 1943.225, https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/45030.
18. Laurence Kanter, in Kanter and Palladino 2005, 287.
19. Inv. no. 20199.

20. Worcester Art Museum, Mass., inv. no. 1916.12, https://worcester.emuseum.com/objects/6232/a-miracle-of-saint-silvester?ctx=719d54f021ccbf8f4cd063b94c3f9ecc5bf4e733&idx=0; and Galleria Doria Pamphilij, Rome.

21. Filippini and Zucchini 1968, 168–69. Zanobi di Migliore had transferred to Bologna with his family (his wife, five children, and sister-in-law) by March 29, 1459, and matriculated in the painters' guild there on October 12, 1461. He is named in Bolognese documents at intervals through December 1468. Presumably, he returned to Florence at some date after that, as he is mentioned in Neri di Bicci's *Ricordanze* on February 17, 1475, when Neri was called upon to arbitrate a dispute between Zanobi di Migliore, "dipintore tra' Pellic[i]ai," and Bernardo di Giovanni Rustichi over the price of "certe ispalliere da forzieri detto Zanobi aveva dipinte a detto Bernardo" (certain *spalliere* [painted backing boards] from chests that he said Zanobi painted for the said Bernardo). Zanobi died sometime that year, as he is described as *quondam* (former [i.e., deceased]) in the matriculation of his son Bartolomeo in the painters' guild of Bologna.

22. Filippini 1933, 419–23.

AVE·MARIA·GRATIA·PLENA

Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, *Virgin and Child with Two Angels*

Artist	Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, Florence, active second half 15th century
Title	*Virgin and Child with Two Angels*
Date	ca. 1455–60
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall, including anthemion extensions on the frame but excluding modern bottom finial: 129.2 × 71.5 cm (50 7/8 × 28 1/4 in.); picture surface: 76.6 × 44.5 cm (30 1/4 × 17 1/2 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.225

Provenance

Comte de Bourges(?);[1] Kleinberger Galleries, Paris; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, by 1924

Condition

The panel support, measuring 96 by 60.8 centimeters, is 2.2 centimeters thick and has been neither thinned nor cradled. It comprises three vertical planks, approximately 10, 38, and 13 centimeters wide, from left to right, to which the original frame moldings, 2.6 centimeters deep, are applied. The predella moldings attached at the bottom of the support are 6.5 centimeters deep, and beneath them is affixed an antependium carved from a separate piece of wood, measuring approximately 20 by 59 centimeters. Two splits near the lower-right edge of the support are visible through the paint surface, but the principal losses to the paint surface, especially among the figures, are due to solvent damage. Gilding and the painted background are both in an excellent state, while the flesh tones throughout are nearly obliterated and the Virgin's blue robe is leached of pigment. The other draperies have suffered from numerous small flaking losses and minor scratches. The painting has a dry, "parched" surface from a synthetic varnish applied during an aggressive cleaning in 1957–58.

Discussion

There has been, and can be, no debate over the inclusion of this and the following three paintings (*Virgin and Child with Saint Catherine and Four Angels*, *Virgin and Child with Three Angels*, and *Virgin and Child with an Angel*) within the large group of works catalogued under the conventional names of Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino or the Lippi-Pesellino Imitators. Nearly all of the more than two hundred images now associated with those names share a common vocabulary of motifs assembled, cut-and-paste fashion, from a selection of cartoons or *patroni* either inherited or copied from the workshops of Fra Filippo Lippi and Francesco Pesellino. They also share a distinctive linear approach to drawing and a generally high-key, little-modulated palette that cannot be confused with the output of any other Florentine artist's studio in the second half of the fifteenth century. Within the group can be found a pronounced variance of quality, however, leading to disagreements over whether one artist or a *compagnia* of painters should be assigned responsibility for the entire output, and a gradual introduction of motifs

derived from other sources, principally works by Filippino Lippi but also by Leonardo da Vinci and Antonello da Messina—confirming that the studio remained productive through and possibly beyond the end of the century.

The first scholar to attempt to isolate the personality of an artist possibly responsible for these paintings was Bernard Berenson, who assembled a nucleus of them in his *Florentine Painters of the Renaissance* under the name Pier Francesco Fiorentino, an artist known from signed altarpieces found in several provincial centers between San Gimignano and Pisa.[2] Over the next two decades, this designation was accepted in scattered publications that added an increasing number of examples to the group, until 1928, when F. Mason Perkins drew attention to a disparity between the monumental paintings signed by Pier Francesco Fiorentino and the numerous domestic tabernacles, chiefly portraying the Virgin and Child with varying numbers of attendant angels or saints, that were being attributed to him.[3] Acknowledging the core integrity of Berenson's research, Perkins adopted a name of convenience—the "Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino"—for the domestic tabernacles, and this name was "canonized" when it was incorporated by Berenson in the 1932 edition of his lists.[4] Federico Zeri, in 1958, suggested applying a more taxonomically descriptive name to the group—"Lippi-Pesellino Imitators"—by way of emphasizing the likelihood that they are not the product of a single personality but probably instead represent the labor of a large commercial enterprise.[5] Both names can be found in current scholarship, even within studies that argue for a single artistic vision guiding a populous workshop.

Attempts to establish the historical identity of the artist who might have headed this workshop have focused on two outstanding possibilities. Creighton Gilbert suggested that the artist Riccardo, given the epithet "delle Nostre Donne" (of the Madonnas) in Benedetto Dei's list of painters active in Florence in 1470, could have been the so-called Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, and he associated this name with the documented Riccardo di Benedetto di Niccolò di ser Rucco da Rondinaia (active 1457–87).[6] This suggestion has met with very little positive response, as any number of workshops in late quattrocento Florence could be said to deserve an appellation of this sort. A counter proposal that the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino might instead be the Piero di Lorenzo di Pratese who is documented as a commercial partner of Francesco Pesellino from 1453 until the latter's death in 1457 was first raised by Anna Maria Bernacchioni in 1992 and has been argued more fully by Megan Holmes and others.[7] This proposal has the merit of rationalizing the artistic sources of much of the imagery employed by the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, but it requires a certain amount of free historical invention, as Piero di Lorenzo died in 1487 and the workshop in question appears to have continued in operation past that date.

The present painting was first attributed to the artist then known as Pier Francesco Fiorentino in 1926, by Gustave Soulier, and this self-evidently correct assessment has been followed by every author to have cited it since then.[8] It follows the general practice of the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino studio in being based closely on a composition by Francesco Pesellino of the Virgin and Child with three angels, known as the *Pratt Madonna*, now in the Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio (fig. 1). Holmes inventoried thirty-six examples of paintings by the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino that include one or more of the figures taken from this prototype. In the Yale panel, the principal figures of the Virgin and Child are repeated virtually without alteration, faithful even to the patterns of folds in their draperies, except that the Virgin lacks the jeweled collar that she wears in the Toledo painting. Two of the three angels are also reproduced, although with slightly greater variation in their costume and with the angel at the right positioned higher and closer to the Virgin's shoulder. The foreground angel from the Toledo painting has been suppressed; the rectangular format of the original converted to a narrower, arched-top profile; and the burnished gold ground replaced by a hedge of roses against a blue sky, a device that appears frequently in paintings from the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino workshop and a germinal version of which is included in the *Pratt Madonna* by Pesellino.

Fig. 1. Francesco Pesellino, *Virgin and Child with Three Angels (Pratt Madonna)*, ca. 1455. Tempera on panel, 72.4 × 54 cm (28 1/2 × 21 1/4 in.). Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio, Purchased with funds from the Libbey Endowment, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey, inv. no. 1944.34

Despite its disfiguring abrasions, the present painting must be recognized as one of the highest-quality examples of the entire Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino group and possibly one of the earliest. Another version of the composition, at the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (fig. 2), which shares the color changes introduced in the Yale painting but retains the third angel and rectangular format of Pesellino's model, bears a date of 1459 inscribed on its reverse, the only fixed date known on any of the paintings from this workshop. While the outlines of the figures were in both cases transferred by mechanical means, the underdrawing, too easily visible in the present state of the Yale painting, is freer and more confident here than in the Uffizi version or in any but a small handful of other works by this artist, while some passages of modeling (now sadly impaired) recall the accomplishment of works by Pesellino and his studio, like the *Virgin and Child with a Swallow* shown before a marble niche, in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, or its replica in the Keresztény Múzeum, Esztergom, Hungary.[9] Following the hypothesis that the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino might have been Piero di Lorenzo di Pratese and that the latter was responsible for assisting Pesellino in producing paintings like the Gardner and Esztergom *Virgins*—which, it should be admitted, is a plausible theory, not a certainty—it is at least possible that paintings like the Yale tabernacle might have been further works created by him alone before his partnership with Pesellino was dissolved at the death of the more talented painter in 1457.

Fig. 2. Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, *Virgin and Child with Three Angels*, 1459. Tempera and gold on panel. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 486

The frame of the present painting is original and of a type—with a sloping frieze painted with gold stars on a blue field and sporting anthemion decorations at the spring of the arch on either side and at its apex—frequently encountered on other works by the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino as well as on domestic tabernacles from other Florentine artists' studios in the second half of the fifteenth century. The well-preserved coats of arms in the antependium and at either end of the predella have not been identified. They do not represent any recorded Florentine family or corporation and might

be presumed to indicate a provincial, probably Tuscan origin: no evidence has yet emerged suggesting that the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino worked exclusively for Tuscan clients, although there is a presumption that this might have been the case. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Soulier 1926–27, 96; van Marle 1931c, 447; Berenson 1932a, 451; "Pesellino's Masterpiece" 1945, n.p.; Berenson 1963, 1:173; Seymour 1970, 169, 317, no. 122; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Holmes 2004, 69n44; Christopher Daly, in De Marchi and Civettini 2022, 44

NOTES

1. According to a label on the reverse, which may possibly be a fictitious provenance supplied by Kleinberger Galleries. The reverse also bears a stamp of the Austrian Bundesdenkmalamt, dating after 1918.
2. Berenson 1900, 132–34; and Berenson 1909b, 166–72.
3. Perkins 1928, 188–89.
4. Berenson 1932a, 449–52.
5. Zeri 1958b, 16–21.
6. Gilbert 1988, 202.
7. Anna Maria Bernacchioni, in Gregori, Paolucci, and Acidini Luchinat 1992, 160–61; and Holmes 2004, with previous bibliography. See also Zanobi di Migliore(?), *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels*.
8. Soulier 1926–27, 96.
9. Respectively, inv. no. P16w11, https://www.gardnermuseum.org/experience/collection/11745; and inv. no. 55.187, https://www.keresztenymuzeum.hu/collections.php?mode=work&wid=67&page=0&vt=.

Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino and Desiderio da Settignano, *Virgin and Child*

Artists	Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, Florence, active second half 15th century, and Desiderio da Settignano, Florence, 1429/30–1464
Title	*Virgin and Child*
Date	ca. 1460–65
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on stucco
Dimensions	41.9 × 34.1 cm (16 1/2 × 13 3/8 in.)
Credit Line	Purchased with a gift from Nina Griggs
Inv. No.	2006.231.1

Provenance

Probably Leopold Koppel (1854–1933), Berlin; probably Else Koppel Klotz (died 1950), Berlin and Pontresina, Switzerland; Leopold Hugo Paul Klotz (1909–1993), New York; Ruth Klotz (formerly Baroness von Riedel), New York, 1993; Estate of Ruth and Leopold Hugo Paul Klotz; sale, Christie's, New York, September 28, 2006, lot 131

Condition

The relief, which has been backed with a new plaster support, has six prominent diagonal breaks visible across its surface. The most prominent of these runs the full width of the relief, from the Virgin's right shoulder through her hands and the Child's left shoulder to the sash at His waist. Another runs parallel to this through the Virgin's right forearm and cuff to the Child's left hand. Smaller breaks run from the right edge of the relief above the Child's halo to His right hand; from the bottom edge through the Child's foot to His arm; from the bottom edge below the Virgin's right arm to her hands; from the top edge through the Virgin's scarf; and from the right edge to the Virgin's chin. Most of these have resulted in minor paint loss, but larger losses and discolored retouching are visible in the Virgin's hands; at the bottom edge below the Virgin's elbow; at the Virgin's waist near the Child's left hand; and in the Child's sash. Other than these areas of total loss, the paint surface is in an exceptionally fine, unabraded state, with much of its original impasto intact. The Virgin's halo, originally silver gilt, has oxidized to black. The mordant gilt rays emanating from it, as well as the mordant gilding of the Child's halo, are intact but obscured by an opaque varnish coating the surface.

Discussion

Cast in stucco in exceedingly shallow relief, the Virgin faces three-quarters to the right, her hands clasped in adoration of her Child. She wears a red dress covered by a blue cloak, with a white cloth and transparent veil over her blond hair. The Christ Child, seated at the right on a cushion notionally resting on the frame ledge, is portrayed in full left profile, playing with His mother's veil and left sleeve. He wears a short white tunic belted with a blue-green sash. The background of the relief is painted blue (now degraded to black) over silver gilding, with the Virgin's halo left in reserve as a silver disk around her head, surrounded by sgraffito silver rays that radiate outward, nearly to the edges of the relief.

This relief is among the best preserved of more than two dozen known replicas of a composition attributed to Desiderio da Settignano, or sometimes to his brother, Geri da Settignano (1422/24–1462/69). The composition, the invention of which must date to the early 1450s (see Neri di Bicci, *Virgin and Child*), is often referred to as the Alberti Madonna, after a supposed marble original in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (fig. 1).[1] The marble, however, is a nineteenth-century pastiche created by Giovanni Bastianini (1830–1868), as was already rumored before that gifted sculptor's death, when the relief appeared on the art market in Paris in 1865.[2] It incorporates Bastianini's characteristic and, in this case, inappropriate imitations of models by Antonio Rossellino for his figure types;[3] a misunderstanding of fifteenth-century fashion in the design of the decorative panel across the Virgin's chest; and an anachronistic exaggeration of perspectival details in the rendering of the Virgin's veil and, above all, in the projection of the tassled cushion on which the Christ Child is seated. Bastianini took as his prototype for the Alberti marble a pigmented stucco relief acquired by the Berlin Museums in 1842 (or another cast from the same mold) which shows the two-figure group of the Virgin and Child substantially as they appear in the Yale relief but with the addition of two modeled cherub heads filling the background at upper left and upper right (fig. 2).[4] Nearly all the other stuccoes omit the cherubs but repeat the Virgin and Child with only minor variations that do not seem to reflect Desiderio's revisions to his own composition but rather the decorative concerns of the independent painters' studios responsible for their polychromy.

The present relief was assumed to have been painted and gilt by Neri di Bicci when it was acquired for the Yale University Art Gallery in 2006. At that time, it was conventionally supposed that all the surviving reliefs of the "Alberti" type were produced in the workshop of Neri di Bicci, based on the frequency with which his *Ricordanze* note the sales of low-relief gesso casts of the Virgin and Child. In fact, only eight known examples can be attributed to Neri di Bicci; the others are to be ascribed to at least two, possibly more, different artists. One of these other artists was recognized as the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino (also known by the variant descriptor "Lippi-Pesellino Imitators") by Giancarlo Gentilini in 2007, when he associated that name with two examples of the "Alberti" composition formerly on the art market.[5] The Yale relief was first directly attributed to the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino by Giada Petrillo, in an email communication of January 3, 2014, and this attribution is correct. There are seven known versions of the "Alberti" relief pigmented by the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino:

Fig. 1. Giovanni Bastianini (after Desiderio da Settignano), *The Alberti Madonna*, ca. 1860–65. Marble, 41.4 × 34.3 cm (16 1/4 × 13 1/2 in.). Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. 66-1866

Fig. 2. Desiderio da Settignano, *The Alberti Madonna*, ca. 1450–55. Polychromed stucco, 42 × 34 cm (16 1/2 × 13 3/8 in.). Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. I.88

Fig. 3. Desiderio da Settignano and Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, *The Alberti Madonna*, ca. 1470. Polychromed stucco, 41.6 × 36 cm (16 1/8 × 14 1/8 in.). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon, France, inv. no. E-500/142

- (a) Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon, France (fig. 3);[6]
- (b) the present relief;
- (c) Sotheby's, Amsterdam, 2006;[7]
- (d) formerly art market, Florence;[8]
- (e) formerly Volpi collection, Florence;[9]
- (f) Semenzato, Venice, 2002;[10]
- (g) formerly(?) Museum Folkwang, Essen.[11]

All seven of these reliefs share several features that do not recur in reliefs pigmented in other artists' workshops. Most conspicuous are the haloes of the Virgin, rendered flat against the background of the relief rather than projected in foreshortening, and the specific shape of the translucent veil that falls across her forehead, covering a red band holding her blonde hair in place. The seven share a general conformity in rendering the dress of the two figures but otherwise display minor variations in decorative details. Only two of the seven reliefs (e and f) appear to provide a gilt halo for the Christ Child. Two reliefs (d and e), both preserved with their original tabernacle frames, are extended at the top with an arched addition containing a Dove of the Holy Spirit. The best-preserved paint surfaces among the group appear to be those on the Lyon relief, the Yale relief, and the relief sold at Semenzato in Venice in 2002 (a, b, and f). The most delicately painted, and possibly the earliest of the series, is the Yale relief, which is also the only relief with a silver-gilt background rather than gold.

Assigning a chronology to paintings by the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino is an intuitive and approximate exercise, as only one out of more than two hundred known works by him can be precisely dated (fig. 4). Assessing the polychromed stucco reliefs emerging from this studio—examples of a composition invented by Antonio Rossellino (fig. 5) have also been attributed to the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino[12]—is more difficult still. None of them retain traces of underdrawing used to transfer or elaborate the cartoons on which they were based, as this function was supplied by the cast matrix; it is frequently the vitality or slackness of the underdrawing that establishes relative dating within a group of works based on the repetition of a single cartoon. It is mere speculation to suggest that the studio may have begun this type of work around 1460, when a notable decline in the frequency of Neri di Bicci's sales of stucco reliefs might indicate that his previous monopoly of this market was challenged by another producer. The delicacy of the application of paint on the Yale relief and the precision of its silver-gilt decoration argues for its not having been executed as late as 1470, but the range of dates proposed here, ca. 1460–65, must be understood as entirely hypothetical. —LK

Fig. 4. Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, *Virgin and Child with Three Angels*, 1459. Tempera and gold on panel. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 486

Fig. 5. Antonio Rossellino and Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, *Virgin and Child,* ca. 1470–80. Polychromed stucco. Currier Museum of Art, Manchester, N.H., inv. no. 1941.3

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Art for Yale 2007, 205; Kanter 2018b, 79, fig. 57

NOTES

1. Pope-Hennessy 1964, 1:142–43.
2. Foresi 1868, 64–66.
3. Comparison to the marble relief of the Virgin and Child at the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, inv. no. 517, incorrectly catalogued there as by Antonio Rossellino (see Androsov 2008, 26–28, no. 8), reveals it and the Alberti relief in the Victoria and Albert Museum to be by the same hand: Giovanni Bastianini.
4. Schottmüller 1913, 56–57, no. 128.
5. Giancarlo Gentilini, in Bormand, Paolozzi Strozzi, and Penny 2007, 197. The two reliefs mentioned by Gentilini are nos. e and f in the list in the present entry; see notes 10–11.
6. Jullian 1945, 131–32, no. III-85.
7. Middeldorf 1978, 80, fig. 5.2; Angelo Tartuferi, in Boskovits 1991a, 88, gave it as formerly Berlin, private collection. Claudia Kryza-Gersch kindly informed the present author that this was the collection of Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherr von Bissing (1873–1956).
8. Fototeca Zeri, Foundation Federico Zeri, Bologna, inv. no. 11577.
9. American Art Association 1916, no. 710; this relief was inventoried in 1978 by the Soprintendenza dei Beni AA. SS. di Firenze (Antonio Paolucci) in Gambassi Terme as property of the Church.
10. Sale, Semenzato, Venice, September 21, 2002; Gentilini 2008, 12–13, fig. 2.
11. For this object's association with Essen, see the archival photo at https://www.bildindex.de/document/obj20552438?medium=mi04627a08.
12. "Autograph" versions of this relief are also to be found at the Ospedale degli Innocenti, Florence, reproduced in Bellosi 1977b, 226–27, no. 5, figs. 8–9; and the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, inv. no. 899. The relief was reproduced by Giovanni Bastianini in at least three marble examples and dozens of replicas in stucco, terracotta, cartapesta, and wood; see note 3, above.

Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, *Virgin and Child with Saint Catherine and Four Angels*

Artist	Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, Florence, active second half 15th century
Title	*Virgin and Child with Saint Catherine and Four Angels*
Date	ca. 1465–70
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall, including lateral anthemion extensions on frame but excluding a modern extension at top and a modern finial at bottom: 146.0 × 94.7 cm (57 1/2 × 37 1/4 in.); picture surface: 90.6 × 54.4 cm (35 5/8 × 21 3/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.43

Provenance

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

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, is 3 centimeters thick and uncradled. It is composed of three planks measuring 19, 29, and 26.5 centimeters in width, from right to left, to which are applied the moldings defining the sloping sight edge of the frame, 3.5 centimeters thick, and additional top moldings, 2.5 centimeters thick. The base moldings of the frame and the antependium are separate elements, carved from horizontally grained sections of wood. The top anthemion attachment is a modern replacement, as is the bottom finial of the antependium. The entire structure was partially and harshly cleaned in a treatment by Andrew Petryn of 1965–66 that stripped all original surfaces off the right half of the frame, exposing the wood support on the lower right and preparatory layers of gesso and color elsewhere. The rope molding eliding between the paint surface and the sight edge of the frame was also removed at that time, except for the section lining the arched top of the composition. The gold ground and rose hedge background of the painted scene are well preserved, but the paint surface otherwise is severely abraded. Patches of old discolored varnish remain on the darkened blue draperies at the Virgin's shoulders and on her left cuff.

Discussion

Following uncritical repetition by Russell Sturgis, Jr., and William Rankin of James Jackson Jarves's attribution for this painting to Fra Diamante, which was, in any event, a generally accurate gauge of its style, Bernard Berenson listed it in the second edition of his *Florentine Painters of the Renaissance* as by the artist he identified as Pier Francesco Fiorentino.[1] The group of paintings he assembled around this name was always acknowledged to be coherent but was later recognized not to be by the artist who left this signature on a series of altarpieces in the territory of San Gimignano, leading F. Mason Perkins to coin the epithet Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino.[2] Perkins's correction was subsequently embraced by Berenson and is still largely in vogue today.[3] A variant descriptor, "Lippi-Pesellino Imitators," was coined by Federico Zeri in 1958 to indicate a more precise stylistic orientation for the group and a less positive assertion that

it is the product of a single artist.[4] Both terms are used interchangeably to refer to the same paintings.[5]

Although its style and handling are typical of paintings in the exceptionally large group of works attributable to the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, the Jarves tabernacle is unusual among them both for its scale and for its composition. Megan Holmes has demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of paintings in this group derive the principal figures of their compositions from perhaps a dozen prototypes identifiable as works either by Filippo Lippi or Francesco Pesellino.[6] The main group of the Virgin, the Christ Child, and the angel supporting Him in the Jarves tabernacle, however, appears in only one other work by the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, a smaller and somewhat later panel in the Courtauld Gallery in London (fig. 1), formerly in the Gambier-Parry collection at Highnam Court. The painting in London, which is the same width as the Yale panel but considerably less tall and rectangular rather than arched, retains the angel partially visible at the left of the composition, derived from Pesellino's *Pratt Madonna* in Toledo, Ohio,[7] but omits the two heads of angels visible over the Virgin's right shoulder and the bust-length figure of Saint Catherine at the lower left, while also converting the rose-hedge background of the Yale painting to a star-filled "sky." The Saint Catherine in the Jarves tabernacle reappears, similarly positioned and cropped in the same fashion, in only one other painting by the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, a *Virgin and Child with Angels* in the Szépűvészeti Múzeum, Budapest (fig. 2), which is otherwise based on Filippo Lippi's *Medici Madonna* in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence.[8] A fragmentary panel in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, England (fig. 3), shows the bust of Saint Catherine only, without a halo or her attribute of a spiked wheel, although the repainted background of this painting may be masking both details. A second version of this painting is in the Kröller-Müller collection at Otterlo, the Netherlands.[9]

Fig. 1. Lippi-Pesellino Imitators, *Virgin and Child with Two Angels*, ca. 1470. Tempera and gold on panel, 73.3 × 55 cm (28 7/8 × 21 5/8 in.). Courtauld Gallery, London, inv. no. P.1966.GP.17

Fig. 2. Lippi-Pesellino Imitators, *Virgin and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist, Saint Catherine of Alexandria, and Four Angels*, ca. 1470. Tempera and gold on panel, 99 × 60.5 cm (39 × 23 7/8 in.). Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. 50.752

Fig. 3. Lippi-Pesellino Imitators, *Saint Catherine*, ca. 1475 Tempera on panel, 36.8 × 30.2 cm (14 1/2 × 11 7/8 in.). Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, England, inv. no. 2797

The source paintings from which the *Virgin and Child* group and the *Saint Catherine* are derived have been lost but are sometimes presumed to have been works by Filippo Lippi. In the case of the *Saint Catherine*, this presumption is justified, as the drawing of details and the general arrangement of features recall late works by Lippi, such as the Munich *Virgin and Child* of the 1460s (fig. 4). The curious detail of the jeweled braid curled at the back of Saint Catherine's head is copied literally from the Munich painting, an unusual instance of the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino changing the iconography of one of his borrowed cartoons. The Virgin and Child group, including the supporting angel, reappear in at least two other paintings not attributable to the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, both of whereabouts unknown. One, which includes a landscape background similar to those found in paintings by the Master of the Johnson Nativity, was attributed to a follower of Filippo Lippi by Gemma Landolfi;[10] the other was attributed to Alesso Baldovinetti by Ruth Wedgewood Kennedy.[11] The composition of the latter is reversed relative to the Jarves and Courtauld paintings, and available photographs suggest that its repainted condition might preclude accurate attribution. The format of the Courtauld painting, furthermore, strongly recalls that of a sculptural relief rather than a painted model. While that may be an accident of its being cropped to a rectangular picture field and provided with a neutral background, it is equally possible that the missing prototype for all these paintings was a sculpture. The Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino is presumed to have worked with models by Desiderio da Settignano[12] and Antonio Rossellino, and he could well have collaborated with other sculptors, too.

The frame on the Jarves tabernacle is original and, despite its barbarous partial cleaning in 1965–66, a distinguished example of its type. The coat of arms in its antependium has not been identified. It does not correspond to those of any known Florentine family or corporation. —LK

Fig. 4. Fra Filippo Lippi, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1460/65. Tempera and gold on panel, 76.9 × 54.1 cm (30 1/4 × 21 1/4 in.). Bayerische Staatsgemäldegalerie, Munich, inv. no. 647

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 52, no. 66; Sturgis 1868, 60, no. 61; Brown 1871, 20, no. 61; Rankin 1895, 148; Berenson 1901, 134; Sirén 1916a, 119–20, no. 43; Berenson 1932a, 451; Berenson 1963, 1:173; Seymour 1970, 167–68, 317, no. 120; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 599; Walker Art Gallery 1977, 1:174; Holmes 2004, 69n44; Christopher Daly, in De Marchi and Civettini 2022, 44

NOTES

1. Sturgis 1868, 60; Rankin 1895, 148; Jarves 1860, 52, no. 66; and Berenson 1901, 134.
2. Perkins 1928, 188–89.
3. Berenson 1932a, 451.
4. Zeri 1958a, 18.
5. See, for example, Yale University Art Gallery, inv. no. 1943.225, https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/45030.
6. Holmes 2004, 40–41.
7. Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio, inv. no. 1944.34, http://emuseum.toledomuseum.org/objects/54741/madonna-and-child-with-saint-john. See also Yale University Art Gallery, inv. no. 1943.225, https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/45030.
8. Inv. no. 1890 n. 1598, https://www.uffizi.it/en/artworks/lippi-madonna-and-child-with-two-angels.
9. Inv. no. KM 103.596.
10. Landolfi 1988, 301, 306n35, fig. 257.
11. Kennedy 1938, 95, fig. 90.
12. See, for example, Lippi Pesellino Imitators and Desiderio da Settignano, *Virgin and Child*.

Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, *Virgin and Child with Three Angels*

Artist	Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, Florence, active second half 15th century
Title	*Virgin and Child with Three Angels*
Date	ca. 1470
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall, excluding modern anthemion extensions to frame and repair at bottom of antependium: 94.0 × 52.2 cm (37 × 20 1/2 in.); picture surface: 63.7 × 33.9 cm (25 × 13 3/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.226

Inscription

on frame, GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO ET IN TERRA PAX HOMINIBUS BONAE VOLUNTATIS

Provenance

Edward Hutton (1875–1969), London; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1923

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, is 2 centimeters thick, to which a cove molding, also 2 centimeters thick, and a capping strip, 1.2 centimeters thick, have been attached to form the frame. A base molding, also affixed to the backing board, measures 2 by 53 centimeters and is 5 centimeters deep. Beneath this, the antependium, measuring 11.6 by 50.4 centimeters, is fashioned from a separate piece of wood. A major split runs the full height of the backing board, 13 centimeters from the left edge, and is open on the front of the panel, though it has caused only minor flaking losses at the waist of the leftmost angel and in the blue background. The flesh tones throughout the painting are heavily abraded, while the gilding of the haloes is well preserved. A synthetic varnish applied during a cleaning of 1957–58 has left the surface with a dry, grayed appearance. The frame preserves its original surface, including the red-glaze reveal lettering in its *cassetta*, except that the top molding has been regilt to match the modern anthemion decorations applied to it.

Discussion

In a letter dated April 27, 1923, Richard Offner recommended this painting to Maitland Griggs as a worthwhile acquisition on the order of the *Virgin and Child Enthroned* attributed at the time to the Master of the Castello Nativity that Griggs had recently purchased (see Zanobi di Migliore(?), *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels*). He referred to it—and again in a letter of May 31, 1923,[1] acknowledging that Griggs had indeed bought the painting from its owner, Edward Hutton—as by the artist Bernard Berenson had identified as “Pier Francesco Fiorentino,” an identification that has not been questioned in any published sources since then, even though the names attached to Berenson’s group of works have varied.[2] In keeping with the standard practice of this artist, now referred to either as the Pseudo-Pier Francesco

Fiorentino or more inclusively as the Lippi-Pesellino Imitators, the composition is a cut-and-paste derivation of sources, in this case two works by Filippo Lippi. The Virgin is a replica, cropped to half-length and slightly reduced in scale, of the same figure in Lippi's *Adoration* altarpiece painted for the private chapel in the Palazzo Medici in 1459 (now in Berlin),[3] while the Christ Child and the three angels around Him are all copied from the center panel of the altarpiece Lippi painted for Alfonso of Aragon, king of Naples, in 1458. The original of that painting is lost. It was commissioned from Lippi by Giovanni de' Medici as a gift for the king and is known to have been completed and delivered to Naples by May 1458. Its appearance is recorded in a sketch by Lippi included in a letter addressed to Giovanni de' Medici in Florence in July 1457. The wings of the altarpiece, portraying Saints Michael and Anthony Abbot kneeling in landscapes, are preserved in the Cleveland Museum of Art, where a full-scale replica of the center panel by the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino is also kept (fig. 1).[4]

At least seventeen versions of this composition by the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino are known.[5] In addition to the present panel, these include eight in public collections:

- Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts;[6]
- Museo Horne, Florence;[7]
- Städel Museum, Frankfurt (fig. 2);
- Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille, France;[8]
- Musée Grobet-Labadié, Marseille, France;[9]
- Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection;[10]
- Hermitage, Saint Petersburg;[11]
- Kunsthaus, Zürich.[12]

Eight additional versions whose present whereabouts are unknown include paintings that appeared at auction at:

- Semenzato, Florence, February 19, 2003, lot 208;[13]
- Sotheby's, London, March 28, 1979, lot 229;
- Sotheby's, Milan, November 20, 2007, lot 14;[14]
- Christie's, New York, June 4, 1986, lot 128;[15]

Fig. 1. Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, *The Adoration of the Christ Child*, ca. 1470. Tempera and gold on panel, 95 × 53 cm (37 3/8 × 20 7/8 in.). Cleveland Museum of Art, Holden Collection, inv. no. 1916.802

and paintings at one time in the Pacini collection in Florence; with Frascione in Florence; with Volterra in Florence; and with Ugo Jandolo in Rome.

Most of these combine the Virgin from Lippi's Medici/Berlin altarpiece with the Christ Child and angels from the lost Naples altarpiece, although some abbreviate the number of angels, and one, formerly with Ugo Jandolo in Rome, introduces an additional figure: the young Saint John the Baptist appearing in profile at the lower right of the scene. Most of these replicas are rectangular in format and of these, two (Museo Horne, Florence; and Städel Museum, Frankfurt) are more elaborate than the others in

Fig. 2. Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, *The Adoration of the Christ Child*, ca. 1475. Tempera and gold on panel, 63.8 × 49.2 cm (25 1/8 × 19 3/8 in.). Städel Museum, Frankfurt, inv. no. 1089

substituting a painted rose hedge for a solid blue or, in a few cases, gold background. Three—those appearing at Sotheby's, London; Sotheby's, Milan; and Christie's, New York—follow the arched-top format of the Yale painting and, like it, include the Dove of the Holy Spirit within the arch. The second of these three, appearing at auction in Milan on November 20, 2007, is slightly smaller (80 × 49.5 cm overall) than the Yale version, suppressing the angel at the lower left, but includes the same inscription of the Gloria and Ave Maria in the lining frieze of its frame.

Like the other three paintings by the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino at Yale (see Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, *Virgin and Child with Two Angels*; Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, *Virgin and Child with Saint Catherine and Four Angels*; and Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, *Virgin and Child with an Angel*), the present work preserves its original frame. Unlike the others, it may be possible to identify the coat of arms painted in the antependium beneath it. Holmes suggested that the dexter side of the shield, showing a black eagle astride a green chalice on an argent ground, might be a reference to the Arte dei Vinattieri in Florence, the guild of wine merchants, at one time associated with the innkeepers' guild and responsible for regulating gaming and drinking hours within the city. This is possible if the arms have been retouched or if some liberties were taken with the official arms of the guild, which are argent, a chalice gules, without an eagle. Similarly, the sinister side of the shield may indicate the Rati family of Florence if some liberties were permitted in rendering. The Rati arms are dexter, gules, three roses argent; and sinister, argent, three roses gules. These devices and colors appear at the right of the Yale shield but above and below each other rather than side by side. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Exhibition of Italian Primitive Paintings 1930, no. 27; van Marle 1931c, 435; Berenson 1932a, 451; Berenson 1963, 1:173; Rossi 1966, 141; Seymour 1970, 168, 317, no. 121; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Laurence Kanter, in Kanter 2018b; von Gaertringen 2004, 269; Holmes 2004, 69n44, 70n54; Christopher Daly, in De Marchi and Civettini 2022, 44

NOTES

1. Both letters are in the curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
2. For more on this artist, see Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, *Virgin and Child with Two Angels*; and Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, *Virgin and Child with Saint Catherine and Four Angels*.
3. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 69, https://id.smb.museum/object/864730/die-anbetung-im-walde.
4. Inv. no. 1964.150, https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1964.150. For the historical details of the commission, see Ruda 1993, 194–99, 442–44.
5. Megan Holmes cites ten versions known to her, but she does not list them; see Holmes 2004, 40.
6. Inv. no. 1943.109, https://hvrd.art/o/230290.
7. Inv. no. 62.
8. Inv. no. P797.
9. Inv. no. 105.
10. Inv. no. cat. 40, https://philamuseum.org/collection/object/102176.
11. Inv. no. 4160, https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/digital-collection/29474.
12. Inv. no. 1625.
13. Previously Sotheby's, New York, January 22, 1976, lot 113.
14. Possibly identical with a painting formerly in the collection of Carl Hamilton, New York.

15. Formerly collection of Raymond Hurd.

Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, *Virgin and Child with an Angel*

Artist	Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, Florence, active second half 15th century
Title	*Virgin and Child with an Angel*
Date	ca. 1470
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall, including all members of original frame: 106.0 × 60.0 cm (41 3/4 × 23 5/8 in.); picture surface: 63.0 × 47.2 cm (24 3/4 × 18 5/8 in.)
Credit Line	Yale University Art Gallery
Inv. No.	1943.355

Provenance

Unknown

Condition

The frame and picture moldings are all affixed to a backing board with a vertical wood grain measuring approximately 89 by 51 centimeters and retaining its original thickness of 2.6 centimeters, which provides the support for the painted surface as well. A seam approximately 12 centimeters from the left edge of this board is open along its full length, dividing the picture field into two fragments. The frame moldings are preserved in their entirety but have been scraped down to the carved wood layers. The gold in the picture field is well preserved, as are some areas of the paint surface, especially the white draperies. The blacks are badly consumed, and flesh tones vary from well preserved to severely abraded. The blonde hair of all three figures is original.

Discussion

The history of this painting before it arrived at Yale is unknown. It was discovered in 1943 during the registration of works of art in the bequest of Maitland Griggs and assumed to have been part of his estate, but it was unaccompanied by any paperwork relating to its having been part of his collection. Charles Seymour, Jr., confirmed that it belonged to Griggs, but he did not include it in his 1970 catalogue *Early Italian Paintings in the Yale University Art Gallery*, and it is not listed in Burton Fredericksen and Federico Zeri's *Census of Pre-Nineteenth-Century Italian Paintings in North American Public Collections*.[1] It was assigned its current accession number retroactively but was never given a credit line.

The composition is a reduction of the most frequently encountered group among all the paintings associated with the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino.[2] The three figures are each truncated versions of their counterparts in the altarpiece painted by Filippo Lippi for the chapel of the Medici Palace in Florence, now in the Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (fig. 1). Megan Holmes counted 44 paintings of this type among the 167 works that she studied by the Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino;[3] Christopher Daly's more recent list of attributed works numbers 220 separate entries but does not identify or enumerate the sources they reproduce.[4] The copies range from a full-scale replica of the complete

altarpiece (now installed in the Palazzo Medici, Florence) to reductions of various sizes, formats (including tondi), and numbers of figures, sometimes adding figures borrowed from other sources. The Yale painting is unique among the group in its inclusion of a peeled pomegranate, a symbol of the Resurrection, at the feet of the Christ Child.

Fig. 1. Filippo Lippi, *The Adoration of the Christ Child* (Medici Chapel altarpiece), ca. 1455–60. Tempera on panel, 129.5 × 118.5 cm (51 × 46 5/8 in.). Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 69

The apparent range in dates for the many examples of this composition is wider than that for any other composition emerging from this studio, presumably beginning almost concurrently with Lippi's original, around 1460, and possibly continuing until nearly the end of the fifteenth century. There is, in practice, no means of dating individual examples with confidence, but the Yale painting seems to fit comfortably near the middle of the sequence of these images. A date close to 1470 is a reasonable approximation. The frame in which the Yale painting is contained is original but has been stripped of any original gilt or painted surfaces. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Holmes 2004, 52, 55–56, 69n44, figs. 19–20; Christopher Daly, in De Marchi and Civettini 2022, 44

NOTES

1. Seymour 1970; and Fredericksen and Zeri 1972.
2. For more on this artist, see the following entries: Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, *Virgin and Child with Two Angels*; Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino and Desiderio da Settignano, *Virgin and Child*; Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, *Virgin and Child with Saint Catherine and Four Angels*; and Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, *Virgin and Child with Three Angels*.
3. Holmes 2004.
4. Christopher Daly, in De Marchi and Civettini 2022.

Neri di Bicci, *The Charity of Saint Nicholas of Bari*

Artist	Neri di Bicci, Florence, 1419–1492/93
Title	*The Charity of Saint Nicholas of Bari*
Date	1456–57
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 31.5 × 30.5 cm (12 3/8 × 12 1/8 in.); picture surface: 23.1 × 23.2 cm (9 1/8 × 9 1/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.39

Provenance

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

Condition

The panel, of a horizontal grain, is 1.5 centimeters thick. It was cradled and waxed by Charles Durham at the Fogg Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1928 and cleaned again by Andrew Petryn in 1952. The present engaged frame is modern. The paint surface has been evenly abraded and the faces of all the figures retouched. Paint loss is otherwise minimal.

Discussion

The story of the charity of Saint Nicholas of Bari, shortly preceding his investiture as bishop of Myra, is recounted in the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine:

> After the death of his parents [Nicholas] began to consider how he might make use of his great wealth, not in order to win men's praise but to give glory to God. At the time a certain fellow townsman of his, a man of noble origin but very poor, was thinking of prostituting his three virgin daughters in order to make a living out of this vile transaction. When the saint learned of this, abhorring the crime he wrapped a quantity of gold in a cloth and, under cover of darkness, threw it through a window of the other man's house and withdrew unseen. Rising in the morning, the man found the gold, gave thanks to God, and celebrated the wedding of his eldest daughter. Not long thereafter the servant of God did the same thing again. . . . Some little time later Nicholas threw a double sum of gold into the house.[1]

Neri di Bicci has conflated the successive moments of the story into a single emblematic image. At the left, the young and expensively dressed saint—his fashionable red tunic hemmed in ermine—stretches on his toes to throw a ball of gold through the window of the impoverished nobleman's house. Inside are two balls of gold already lying on the ground, as though all three had been bestowed at once. The nobleman, dressed in blue at the right, and his eldest daughter look down at the gold in surprise and gratitude, suggesting their having risen in the morning (also implied by the light in the blue sky at the far left), as described in the text. The other two daughters remain asleep, one sitting on a low stool and the other on the ground alongside her father's bed, presumably to underscore the family's penury as well as to set the scene of the charity at night.

Since its first publication by James Jackson Jarves in the 1860 catalogue of his collection, the *Charity of Saint Nicholas of Bari* has been recognized as a typical work by Neri di Bicci.[2] Jarves did remark that "on account of the archaic character of this little painting, several critics attribute it to Cimabue, to whose figures these bear considerable resemblance in design"; this eccentric observation appears nowhere else in print. For William Rankin, the *Charity* was an "insignificant panel,"[3] while Osvald Sirén thought it "one of Neri di Bicci's most refined and attractive creations."[4] It elicited little more than acknowledgment of its existence in subsequent references to it. A note on the photograph of the painting in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York, records that, in 1941, Jan Leyda associated it with two panels of similar size formerly in the Toscanelli collection at Pontedera, near Pisa, showing further miracles of Saint Nicholas: *Saint Nicholas Calming a Tempest at Sea* (fig. 1) and *Saint Nicholas Preventing the Execution of Three Innocent Soldiers* (fig. 2).[5] The reconstruction of these three panels as fragments of a single predella was repeated in 1970 by Charles Seymour, Jr.,[6] who, however, did not mention a second opinion recorded in 1965 at the Frick Art Reference Library that the predella might have stood beneath a triptych by Neri di Bicci in the church of San Lorenzo a Miransù at Rignano sull'Arno, near Florence (now Villa di Castiglionchio, Pontassieve), showing the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Nicholas of Bari and Lawrence.

Fig. 1. Neri di Bicci, *Saint Nicholas Calming a Tempest at Sea*, 1456–57. Tempera and gold on panel, 23.5 × 23.5 cm (9 1/4 × 9 1/4 in.). Location unknown

Fig. 2. Neri di Bicci, *Saint Nicholas Preventing the Execution of Three Innocent Soldiers*, 1456–57. Tempera and gold on panel, 23.5 × 23.5 cm (9 1/4 × 9 1/4 in.). Location unknown

The San Lorenzo a Miransù triptych is scarcely large enough to have counted three scenes from the legend of Saint Nicholas of Bari among its predella panels, especially if a corresponding number of scenes from the legend of Saint Lawrence, patron of the church, once accompanied them. Even more difficult to reconcile is the style of the works. The triptych is painted in Neri's earliest style, before he assumed the direction of his father's workshop, and has reasonably been dated between 1447 and 1453.[7] The Yale panel and its companions formerly in the Toscanelli collection (all the figures in the tempest scene, except Saint Nicholas at the top, have been repainted and cannot be judged stylistically) are somewhat later works, easily recognizable as Neri di Bicci free from most of the influence of Bicci di Lorenzo. It is far more likely that a series of entries in Neri's account books, the *Ricordanze*, might relate to the commission of which they were part. On April 26, 1456, six citizens of Poggibonsi, a town in the Valdelsa near the border between the Florentine and Sienese territories, ordered an altarpiece from Neri di Bicci for the chapel of the Confraternity of San Niccolò in their parish church. The altarpiece—for which the parties agreed upon a price of 260 lire—was to be three braccia (roughly 175 cm) square; with its frame, cornice, and predella, it was to measure 3 5/6 braccia (224 cm) wide and 5 braccia (290 cm) tall. It was to portray the Virgin and Child with two or three saints on either side; the identities of the saints were unspecified. The predella was to show three stories of Saint Nicholas of Bari with an image of two flagellants at either end.[8] Neri ordered the panel and frame for this altarpiece from Giuliano da Majano on May 26, 1456. Having shown Giuliano a drawing of what he wanted, Giuliano asked for a payment of 60 lire, and Neri offered him 50.[9] A year later, on April 14, 1457, Neri's work must have been complete as he renegotiated the price of the altarpiece at 280 lire to cover his increased costs.[10]

The lack of specificity in the *Ricordanze* in naming the saints accompanying the Virgin and Child in the Poggibonsi altarpiece has so far frustrated attempts to identify it. One surviving altarpiece, however, is a prime candidate for this "missing" work: a *Virgin and Child Enthroned* in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (fig. 3). Carl Strehlke has correctly dated this work to ca. 1457 on stylistic grounds and associated it with an entry in the *Ricordanze* commissioning an altarpiece for the church of Santa Maria alla Canonica in Putignano near Greve, in Chianti.[11] That altarpiece, however, was specified as being 4 braccia wide and only 4 2/3 braccia tall, including its frame with cornice and predella; its painted surface would therefore have been wider than it is tall. The Philadelphia panel (165.1 × 163.5 cm) is almost exactly 3 braccia square, the size indicated for the Poggibonsi altarpiece. Among the six saints in the Philadelphia panel, Saint Nicholas occupies the position of honor, kneeling in the foreground on the Virgin's right. The Virgin turns her regard toward him and seemingly offers him the gift of

her Son. If the altarpiece predella was completed by images of confraternity members at either side, as specified in the account book entry, and these were more or less the same size as the Saint Nicholas scenes then, the five compartments would account for a total width of about 155 centimeters—more, if any amount of wood separating the scenes was lost when they were cut apart. While the evidence is not absolutely conclusive, it is probable that the Philadelphia altarpiece along with the Yale *Charity of Saint Nicholas* and its companion scenes were originally part of the commission from the Confraternity of San Niccolò in Poggibonsi in 1456–57. — LK

Fig. 3. Neri di Bicci, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels and Saints Ansanus(?), John the Baptist, Nicholas of Bari, Sebastian, Catherine of Alexandria, and Bartholomew*, 1456–57. Tempera and gold on panel, 165.1 × 163.5 cm (65 × 64 3/8 in.). Philadelphia Museum of Art, inv. no. 1899-1108

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 48–49, no. 53; Sturgis 1868, 60; Brown 1871, 543, no. 62; Rankin 1895, 147; Sirén 1916a, 99–100, no. 39; van Marle 1928, 543; Berenson 1932a, 388; Sizer 1945, 4; Comstock 1946, 48–49, no. 5; "Picture Book Number One" 1946, fig. 10; *Rediscovered Italian Paintings* 1952, 30–31; Berenson 1963, 1:156; Seymour 1970, 165–66, 317, no. 118; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 599

NOTES

1. de Voragine 1993, 1:21–22.
2. Jarves 1860, 48–49, no. 53.
3. Rankin 1895, 147.
4. Sirén 1916a, 100.
5. Both measure 23.5 by 23.5 centimeters and are last recorded (1984) in a private collection in Florence. They appeared in the catalogue of the Toscanelli sale (Galleria Sambon, Florence, April 9–23, 1883, lot 65) as Pesellino and are mentioned with that attribution by Raimond van Marle in 1928, but they were recognized by Richard Offner, also in 1928, as by Neri di Bicci; van Marle, in van Marle 1928, 521n, refered to the second painting only and said it was by a follower of Pesellino. Purchased at the Toscanelli sale by "Zographos" of Athens and from him in 1885 by Joseph Spiridon of Paris, the paintings appeared in the Spiridon sale (Cassirer-Helbing, Berlin, May 31, 1929, lots 21–22) as Florentine school, ca. 1450. In 1944 they were in the collection of Ely Pintsch in Berlin and were offered for sale at Sotheby's, New York, June 11, 1981, lot 28.
6. Seymour 1970, 166.
7. Venturini 1994b, 32, 34n17. For a related but not entirely consonant study of the Miransù triptych, see Thomas 1993, 5–15.
8. Santi 1976, 55–56, no. 111. "Portraits" of flagellant confraternity members were commonly included at the ends of predellas in Sienese altarpieces commissioned by companies of *disciplinati*. See Sano di Pietro's *Adoration of the Magi* in the Yale University Art Gallery's collection: inv. no. 1871.61, https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/322.
9. Santi 1976, 57–58, no. 114.
10. Santi 1976, 72–73, no. 143.
11. Strehlke 2004, 319–23.

Neri di Bicci, *Virgin and Child*

Artist	Neri di Bicci, Florence, 1419–1492/93
Title	*Virgin and Child*
Date	ca. 1460
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 46.8 × 41.9 cm (18 3/8 × 16 1/2 in.); picture surface: 46.2 × 38.9 cm (18 1/4 × 15 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.220

Provenance

Edward Hutton (1875–1969), London; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, by 1924

Condition

The panel, of a vertical wood grain, is 1.5 centimeters thick and has not been cradled. A barb along the left, bottom, and right edges of the paint surface indicates that these are intact as originally designed, although the composition has been cropped within the picture field at the top. A partial split, 10 centimeters long, extends down from the top edge of the panel, 11 centimeters from the right edge. The ultramarine-blue pigment originally comprising the upper section of the sky and the Virgin's outer robe was scraped away at an unknown date: a 1961–62 cleaning by Andrew Petryn left these areas as exposed gesso (the sky was described by Charles Seymour, Jr., as "somewhat rubbed").[1] The green pigment of the festooned garland at the top and sides of the image has oxidized to brown and is largely missing. The paint surface otherwise, aside from local losses in the Virgin's chin and at the front of her dress below her sash, is extremely well preserved. Translucent red glazes used to create the cruciform halo of the Christ Child and to emphasize the highlighting in the Virgin's gold cuffs and collar are intact. Gilding in the haloes is much worn.

Discussion

This painting is one of five made by Neri di Bicci that translate into a two-dimensional image a composition designed by the sculptor Desiderio da Settignano (1429/30–1464) as a low-relief model, numerous gesso casts of which survive. The composition is commonly referred to as the Alberti Madonna, after a supposed marble original in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (fig. 1), which, however, is a nineteenth-century pastiche created by Giovanni Bastianini (1830–1868).[2] Desiderio's design probably dates to the early or mid-1450s, judging from the relative chronology of surviving casts and paintings, the earliest of which seems to be datable around 1456, and by the increasing frequency at about the same time of references in Neri di Bicci's *Ricordanze* to the sale of "Nostre Donne di gesso di pocho rilievo, le quali Nostre Donne sono meze e stanno cholle mani giunte" (Our Ladies in gesso in low relief; the said Our Ladies shown in half-length with their hands joined [in prayer]).[3] While it appears that Neri di Bicci owned his own molds from which were pulled the gesso casts that he painted, gilt, and framed for his own account, his was not the only studio in Florence that profited from replicas made after

Fig. 1. Giovanni Bastianini (after Desiderio da Settignano), *The Alberti Madonna*, ca. 1860–65. Marble, 41.4 × 34.3 cm (16 1/4 × 13 1/2 in.). Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. 66-1866

Fig. 2. Neri di Bicci and Desiderio da Settignano, *The Alberti Madonna*, ca. 1473. Polychromed stucco, 41 × 33 cm (16 1/8 × 13 in.). Pinacoteca Civica F. Podesti e Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Ancona

Desiderio's original model. Slightly more than two dozen of the surviving versions of the relief can reliably be judged to date from the fifteenth century, and the painting and gilding of these can be attributed to at least three different artists' workshops.[4]

Neri di Bicci recorded the commission or sale of scores of gesso reliefs that might be identifiable with the "Alberti" composition by Desiderio, but only eight known versions can be recognized as having been painted and gilt by him:

- (a) Pinacoteca Civica F. Podesti e Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Ancona (fig. 2);[5]
- (b) Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge;[6]
- (c) Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, Germany;[7]
- (d) Musée du Louvre, Paris;[8]
- (e) private collection, Tuscany;[9]
- (f) formerly private collection;[10]
- (g) formerly private collection;[11]
- (h) formerly (1926) Eumorfopoulos collection, London.[12]

To these may be added the five versions that were conceived as paintings but that exactly reproduce the outlines and details of the reliefs:

- (i) Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, France (fig. 3);
- (j) Museo Diocesano, Cremona (fig. 4);[13]
- (k) formerly collection of Count Pukler, Freiham, Munich (fig. 5);
- (l) the present panel;
- (m) formerly collection of Frederick Mont, New York, current location unknown.[14]

There are, in addition, two paintings in which Neri reused the cartoon for the figure of the Virgin only: a *Virgin Reading at a Lectern*, possibly part of an Annunciation group, sold at Butterfield's, San Francisco, November 3, 1993, lot 3501, probably a work of the late 1450s; and a *Virgin and Child* of the later 1470s in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow.[15]

Fig. 3. Neri di Bicci, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1456–57. Tempera and gold on panel, 45 × 36 cm (17 3/4 × 14 1/4 in.). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, France, inv. no. 1646

The five painted versions listed above correspond to each other in all essential details, including the depiction of a "naturalistic" background of sky, shading from dark blue at the top of the composition to light blue at the horizon, enlivened by patterned striations of cloud and small bursts of light rendered in mordant gilding either as star shapes or as rays emanating from the undersides of the clouds. What must be the earliest of them, in Dijon (version i; see fig. 3), probably painted in 1456 or 1457, differs from the others in projecting the Virgin's halo flat against the background. This detail recurs in no other molded or painted example by Neri di Bicci, but it is characteristic of all the known versions of the relief pigmented in the studio of the so-called Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino (see Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino and Desiderio da Settignano, *Virgin and Child*). Only slightly later than the Dijon painting, the panel in Cremona (version j; see fig. 4) is the most ambitious of the series, introducing a set of fictive velvet curtains being pulled aside by two adoring angels to reveal the divine protagonists, a pictorial device that Neri employed in other contexts throughout his career. In this image, the Child's halo follows the nearly vertical alignment used in the Dijon panel and appearing in all the molded reliefs pigmented by Neri, while the Virgin's also adopts the foreshortened form used in all the reliefs. This painting may date to 1459 or 1460, perhaps not coincidentally the period of greatest frequency for citations of low-relief gesso casts of half-length Virgins in the *Ricordanze*. The ex-Pukler painting (version k; see fig. 5) is a close variant of the Cremona painting, probably contemporary to it but of simpler ambition (eliminating the angels and curtains) and lower relative quality.

Fig. 4. Neri di Bicci, *Virgin and Child with Two Angels*, ca. 1459–60. Tempera and gold on panel, 49 × 51 cm (19 1/4 × 20 1/8 in.). Museo Diocesano, Cremona

Fig. 5. Neri di Bicci, *Virgin and Child*. Tempera and gold on panel. Location unknown

The painting now at Yale introduces two variations to this scheme that do not appear in the first three painted images or in any of the molded reliefs. The first of these is a swag of garland framing the two principal figures, serving a similar but more decorative function than the parted curtains in the Cremona version. The second is the realignment of the Child's halo to an angle behind His head, made possible by extending the border of the composition further to the right on that side. Both these variations are closely followed in the ex-Mont panel (version m), a nearly exact replica of the Yale composition and the last of the series of known repetitions of the image. The Yale panel must be datable around or shortly after 1460. It relates closely in style to the *Annunciation* altarpiece now in San Francesco in Arezzo (fig. 6) but originally commissioned by Berto Chorsellini for the church of San Giorgio alla Costa in Florence on June 4, 1460, and for which Neri received payment on January 27, 1461.[16] It can also be compared, although less closely, to the *Coronation of the Virgin* altarpiece now in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, commissioned on May 23, 1461, by Bernardo Salviati for the high altar of San Leonardo in Arcetri, Florence, and paid for on November 14, 1461.[17] The ex-Mont panel is probably to be dated half a decade later, somewhere between 1464 and 1466. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

van Marle 1928, 546; Frankfurter 1937, 30; Berenson 1963, 1:156; Seymour 1970, 166–67, 317, no. 119; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Santi 1976, 157n308; Angelo Tartuferi, in Boskovits 1991a, 87; Laurence Kanter, in *Art for Yale* 2007, 393

NOTES

1. Seymour 1970, 166.
2. Pope-Hennessy 1964, 1:142–43.
3. Santi 1976, 109. This entry is dated March 20, 1459 (n.s.).
4. For an example in the Yale University Art Gallery's collection, see Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino and Desiderio da Settignano, *Virgin and Child*.
5. Costanzi 1999, 17, no. 6; and Marta Onali, in Bellandi 2016, 191–92. This relief is probably to be recognized as one of the group of polychrome stuccoes delivered by Neri di Bicci to Bernabé de' Cingholi on March 10, 1473 (n.s.), and intended to be sold at a fair in Recanati in the Marches; see Santi 1976, 409–10.
6. Inv. no. M.1-1934, https://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/id/object/29637.
7. Inv. no. ZV 1193, https://skd-online-collection.skd.museum/Details/Index/166683.
8. Inv. no. Camp 79, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010089336.
9. Angelo Tartuferi, in Boskovits 1991a, 87–90.
10. Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna, inv. no. 73238.
11. Patrizia Zambrano, in Sabatelli 1992, 30–32, fig. 30.
12. Longhurst 1926, 261.
13. Cavazzini and De Marchi 2021, 110–15.
14. Sale, Fischer, Lucerne, Switzerland, June 16–17, 1967, lot 14.
15. Inv. no. 128.
16. Santi 1976, 144–45, 160.
17. Inv. no. MJAP.P.1824; see Santi 1976, 162–63, 172.

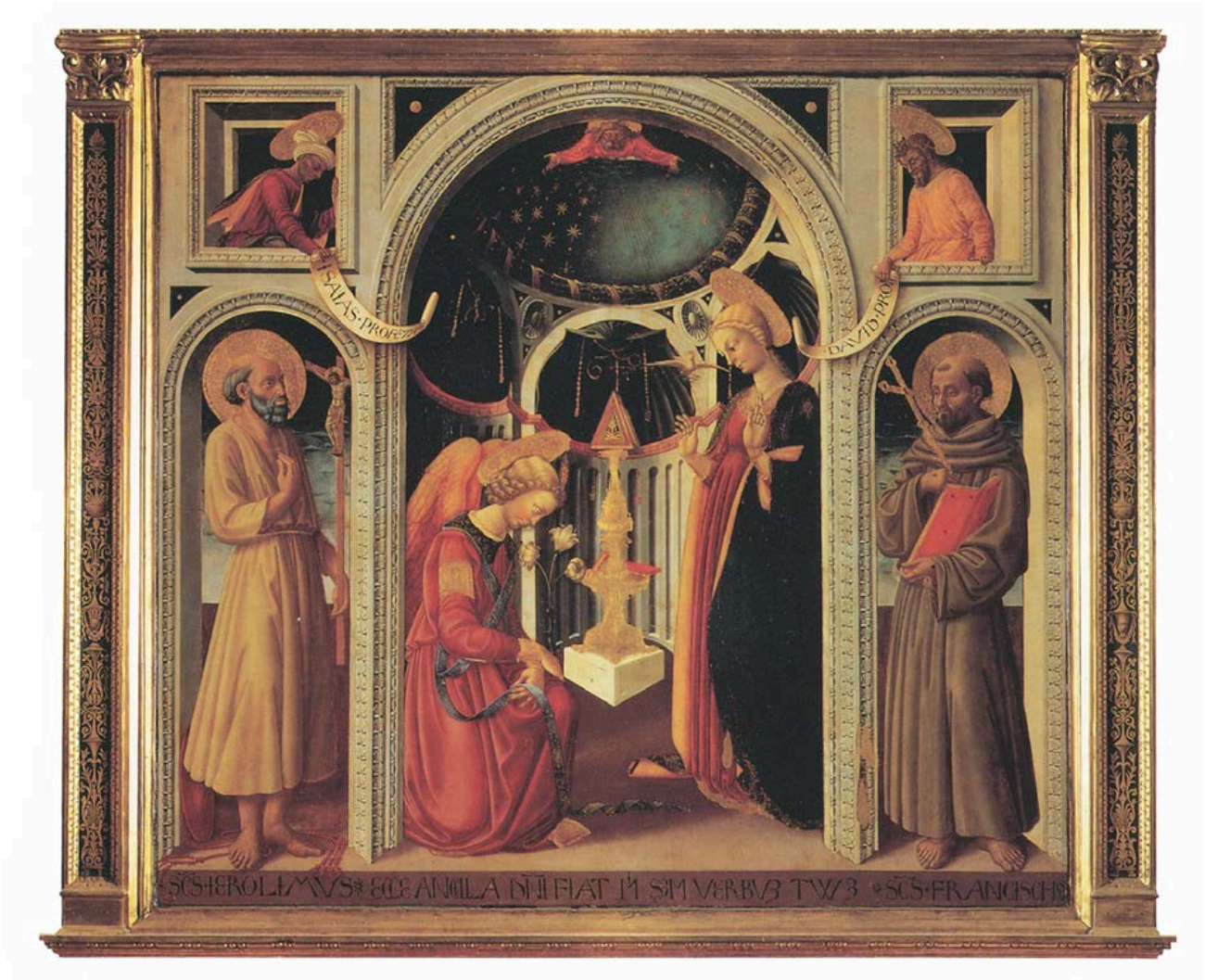

Fig. 6. Neri di Bicci, *The Annunciation*, 1460. Tempera and gold on panel. San Francesco, Arezzo

GRATIA

Zanobi di Jacopo Machiavelli, *Virgin and Child with Two Angels*

Artist	Zanobi di Jacopo Machiavelli, Florence, 1418–1479
Title	*Virgin and Child with Two Angels*
Date	ca. 1465
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	80.9 × 56.4 cm (31 7/8 × 22 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.224

Provenance

Paul Grand, Lyon, France; Edouard Aynard (1837–1913), Lyon, France; sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 1–4, 1913, lot 56; Robert Langton Douglas (1864–1951), London; Dan Fellows Platt (1873–1937), Englewood, N.J.; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, by 1929

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, is composed of two planks of wood joined by a seam 5 centimeters from the right side, the narrower plank joined to the main plank by three large nails driven through the side. The panel retains its original thickness of 3.5 centimeters and has not been trimmed in any dimension: gesso drips from its original preparation are visible on the sides. The paint surface is unevenly preserved. Large sections of the pink and blue draperies and the curtain at the top are in beautiful state, while green pigments throughout have flaked severely, and the (copper resinate?) greenish glaze of the tunic worn by the angel on the right is much degraded. The flesh tones have been abraded, and damage to fingers and hands and to the Christ Child's feet have exposed the gesso priming. Localized damage to eyes, mouths, and the profile of the Child's arm, again all but obliterating the paint layers in those areas, suggest that these features must once have been strengthened or reinforced and that the reinforcements were too aggressively removed, probably by Andrew Petryn during cleaning in 1957–58. Gilding in the curtains, haloes, and the hem of the Virgin's robe is well preserved.

Discussion

The Virgin, shown half length and turned three-quarters toward the viewer, supports her Child standing on a short stone ledge before her at the left. The Child is naked. He draws close to His mother with His left arm wrapped around her neck. His right hand rests at the collar of her dress, and the Virgin gently stretches her left hand forward with a pinch of her veil to cover Him. Behind the Virgin and Child are two small angels adoring the figures in front of them. The angel on the left wears a pink dress slit to the thigh and has green wings. The angel on the right wears a green-glazed dress and has pink wings. Behind them is a hedge of vegetation (now difficult to read due to damage of the green pigments) and a blue sky, all seemingly revealed by a gold damask curtain painted as though parted in the center of the composition and tied back at the upper corners. The haloes are rendered as burnished disks of gold with rims of punched ornament and tightly engraved radial incisions. The Child's

(cruciform) halo is inscribed IHESVS CHRISTVS, outlined by radial incisions, while the Virgin's bears the inscription AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA DOMINUS, similarly outlined. The gilded hem of the Virgin's blue robe is also lettered, with excerpts from hymns of praise. Over her left arm is a quotation from Canto 33 of Dante's *Paradiso* (lines 13–14), the incipit of Saint Bernard's rapturous vision: DONNA, SE' TANTO GRAN[de e tanto vale] CHE QUAL VUO[l grazia] E A TE NORRICORRE. Over her right arm is a fragment of Petrarch's Canzone 366, the concluding song of the *Canzoniere*: [Vergine] BELLA CHE [di sol vestita . . . piac]ESTI SI CHE ['n te sua luce ascose].

This painting, whose attribution to Zanobi Machiavelli has not been questioned since it was first recognized at the Edouard Aynard sale in Paris in 1913, is one of a group of four Virgin and Child compositions by the artist that are frequently discussed together, not only for the similarity of their cartoons but also for their use of Petrarchan texts as decorative motifs. A *Virgin and Child with Two Angels* in the Pallavicini Collection, Rome (fig. 1), is virtually identical to the Yale painting in size (81.4 × 56.7 cm) and figural arrangement, differing primarily in the attitudes of the two angels and in substituting a cloud-streaked sky for the hedge of vegetation in the background. The ledge on which the Christ Child stands is narrower, its forward projection at the right is cropped at the bottom edge of the panel rather than capped by finished moldings within the picture field, and it projects eccentrically backward at the left. The net result of these alterations is to destabilize the pictorial space of the composition, moving the viewing angle further toward the left edge of the painting. The changes also defy the correct rendering of right angles and thereby confuse the function of this architectural prop as a clue to the notional measurement of the painted space.

This eccentricity is emended in a third painting, a *Virgin and Child* in the Museo di Fucecchio (fig. 2), in which the two adoring angels are absent, and the curtain closing off the top is simplified and allowed to extend halfway down the sides of the painting. In this case, the Christ Child is seated on a cushion propped on the forward-projecting arm of a varicolored marble ledge, the orthogonals of which correctly establish the sense of a measurable space occupied by the two figures and, at the same time, shift the viewing angle to the right of center. The final painting in the group, and undoubtedly the latest in the series, now in the Musée du Petit-Palais, Avignon, France (fig. 3), imitates but simplifies the ledge from the Fucecchio version and, with it, the viewing angle from the right. It adapts the cartoon of the Virgin from the Yale and

Fig. 1. Zanobi Machiavelli, *Virgin and Child with Two Angels*, ca. 1465–70. Tempera and gold on panel, 81.4 × 56.7 cm (32 × 22 3/8 in.). Pallavicini Collection, Rome

Pallavicini compositions but turns the Christ Child away from His mother and toward the viewer and deploys the background angels—again, simplified and more childlike than in the Yale and Pallavicini paintings—as *reggifestoni*, dispensing altogether with the motif of the parted curtains. A fifth painting that should be added to this group but that is not referred to in most of the literature is a slightly smaller (68.3 × 47.2 cm) replica of the Yale and Pallavicini paintings in the collection of the Banca Unicredit in Rome (fig. 4).[1] Like the Fucecchio painting, this version omits the attendant angels and simplifies the gestures and attitudes of the Virgin and Child. It also omits the inscriptions on hems and in haloes that distinguish the other four paintings.

Fig. 2. Zanobi Machiavelli, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1470. Tempera and gold on panel, 77.5 × 58 cm (30 1/2 × 22 7/8 in.). Museo di Fucecchio, inv. no. MCF/ART/4

Fig. 3. Zanobi Machiavelli, *Virgin and Child with Two Angels*, ca. 1470–75. Tempera and gold on panel, 73 × 55 cm (28 3/4 × 21 5/8 in.). Musée du Petit-Palais, Avignon, France, inv. no. M.I. 522

Fig. 4. Zanobi Machiavelli, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1475. Tempera and gold on panel, 68.3 × 47.2 cm (26 7/8 × 18 5/8 in.). Banca Unicredit, Rome

It was remarked by Gigetta Dalli Regoli[2] that the Pallavicini, Fucecchio, and Avignon paintings are uniform in their citation of Petrarch's Canzone 366 and distinguished, in this sense, from the Yale painting, which alone of the group refers instead to Canto 33 of the *Paradiso*.[3] Possibly, Dalli Regoli based her observations on Dario Covi's compendium of inscriptions on fifteenth-century paintings[4] rather than on firsthand inspection of the work at Yale; neither she nor Covi recognized that the Yale painting also quotes the same Petrarchan source. Charles Seymour, Jr., does not mention the inscriptions at all.[5] No author has brought forward evidence to suggest that these citations are meant to have a specific iconographic significance. Although this passage from Dante does not recur in other works by Zanobi Machiavelli, it was used by a Florentine contemporary, the Master of the Castello Nativity, to decorate the framing curtain painted in his *Adoration of the Christ Child* in the Museo Civico Giovanni Fattori, Livorno,[6] and later by Botticelli in his Bardi altarpiece from Santo Spirito. If the inscriptions functioned decoratively as erudite substitutions for more commonly encountered Marian hymns, it is unclear whether the erudition should be imputed to the artists or to their patrons (who are unknown, except in the case of Botticelli).

Surviving works by Zanobi Macchiavelli are few, and only two are dated, both within the last two decades of his career. These show Machiavelli to have been profoundly influenced by Benozzo Gozzoli, and it is commonly assumed that the two artists worked together in Pisa in the 1470s and possibly in San Gimignano in the 1460s as well.[7] The signed and dated works also reveal a marked oscillation in quality, varying from stiff but atmospheric and well-modeled interpretations of Gozzoli's compositions that nearly approach the palette and sophistication of Pesellino's altarpieces of the 1450s to dry and almost brittle imitations of Gozzoli's late style. This second group of works includes the dated *Coronation of the Virgin* altarpiece of 1474 in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, France,[8] as well as altarpieces in Pisa and Lucca, leading to a general supposition that Machiavelli became less ambitious and his style less nimble with age and with distance from Florence. Conversely, it is generally assumed that the first group must all be earlier in date, but there is nothing to indicate how much earlier than 1463—the date inscribed on an altarpiece lateral now in Berlin portraying Saint James Major[9]—any other work might be. Mario Salmi sought to fill the undocumented gap of a hypothetical early career, which would have lasted as long as or longer than the artist's better-understood late career, by attributing to him all of the works that had then been isolated by Mary Logan Berenson and christened by her the "Compagno del Pesellino."[10] This proposal has not been adopted by any later scholar: the group of paintings once called Compagno del Pesellino are now generally attributed to the Master of the Castello Nativity, Fra Carnevale, Pesellino himself, or Filippo Lippi.

The few scholars to have discussed the Yale painting by Zanobi Machiavelli assign it a generic date of ca. 1460, but only Federico Zeri has argued this point in any detail.[11] Zeri dated the Pallavicini *Virgin and Child with Two Angels* (see fig. 1) to ca. 1450–55, based on its relationship to contemporary works by Filippo Lippi and Pesellino, and a "*non indifferente*" echo of Domenico Veneziano. The Yale painting, he claimed, must be slightly later because of the landscape background that it includes. Such a background, however, had become common in Florentine painting following its decisive appearance in Fra Angelico's high altarpiece for San Marco (ca. 1440–42). If anything, the greater spatial coherence of the Yale version

of the composition, including the sophistication in rendering the folds of the Virgin's draperies or the projection forward of her three-quarter-profile pose, might argue that it precedes rather than follows the Pallavicini version. Neither of these paintings, however, is likely to be datable earlier than 1460. Despite the impaired legibility of its present condition, the Yale *Virgin and Child* strongly recalls the style of the Berlin *Saint James Major* of 1463, while the pose of the Christ Child and His interaction with His mother are reminiscent of two relief compositions by Luca della Robbia, both datable to the first half of the 1460s: the *stemma* of the Arte dei Medici e Speziali on Or San Michele and the Bliss *Madonna* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.[12] The Livorno *Adoration* by the Master of the Castello Nativity, in which the quotation from Canto 33 of the *Paradiso* that decorates the hem of the Virgin's robe in the Yale painting also appears, is certainly to be dated to the 1460s at the earliest and may have been painted at the end of that decade or at the beginning of the next. Although not subject to proof, it is unlikely that Zanobi Machiavelli anticipated any of these sources. —LK

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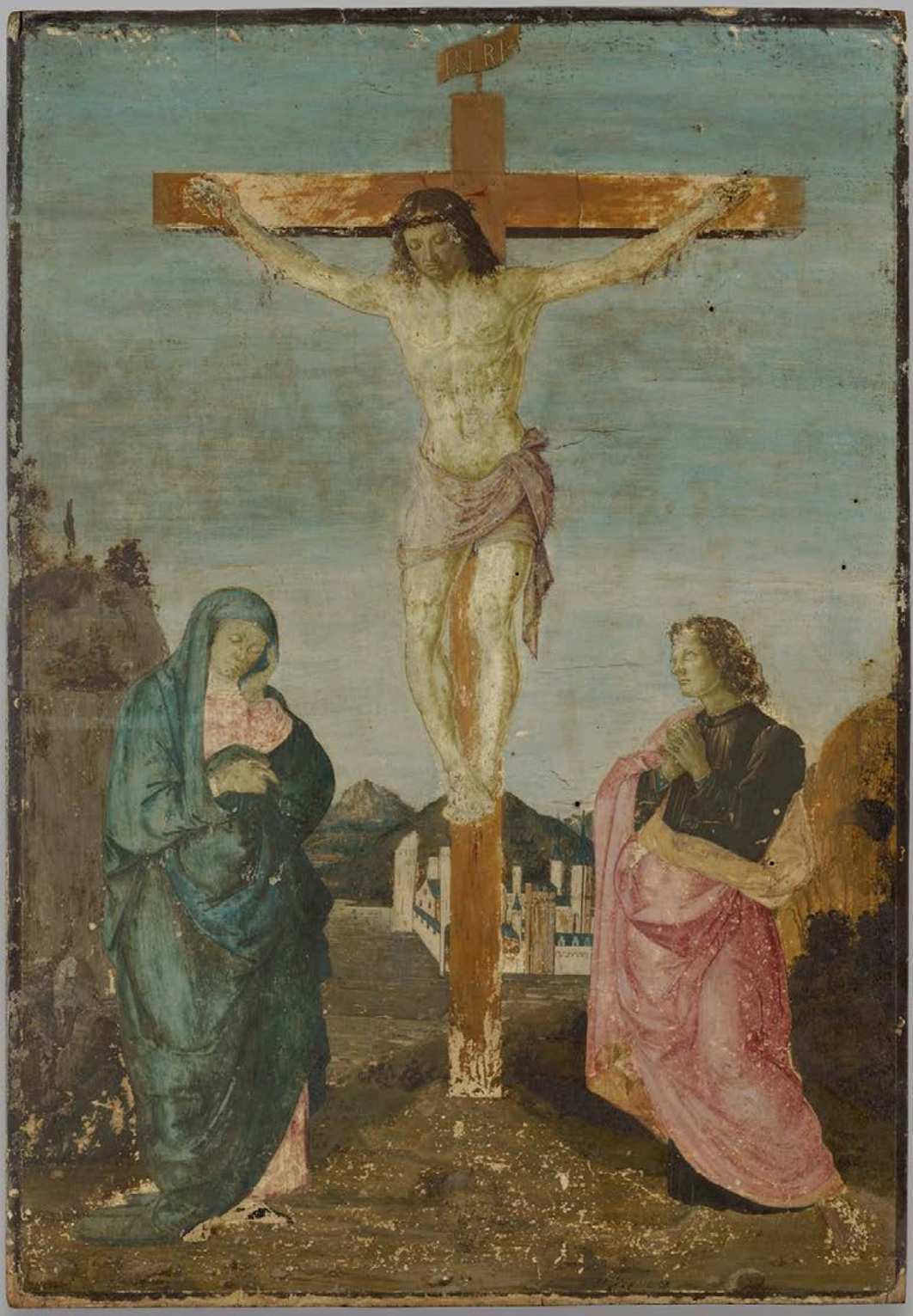
Catalogue de tableaux anciens 1913, 71, no. 56; "Der Kunstmark—Von den Auktionen," 1914, 42; Salmi 1916, 54n1; *Loan Exhibition of Primitives* 1929, no. 22; *Exhibition of Italian Primitive Paintings* 1930, no. 23; Berenson 1932a, 320; Sizer 1945, 7; Berenson 1950, 348–49, fig. 24; Zeri 1955, 280; Zeri 1959, 170; Berenson 1963, 1:125, 2:810; Seymour 1970, 156, 316, no. 109; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Laclotte and Mognetti 1977, n.p., no. 121; Sutton 1979a, 379; Covi 1986, 428–29; Dalli Regoli 1988, 30, 65, 112n21, fig. 40; Dalli Regoli 1991, 213–14; Boskovits 2003, 155n14; Giannini and Baratta 2017

NOTES

1. Christie's, London, May 24, 1991, lot 42.
2. Dalli Regoli 1988, 30, 112n21; and Dalli Regoli 1991, 213–14.
3. See also Giannini and Baratta 2017.
4. Published in facsimile (see Covi 1986), Covi's study was submitted as a doctoral dissertation at New York University in 1958, and a typescript of his inventory/appendix was available from that date at the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz. Covi did not record the inscription on the other side of the Virgin's mantle in the Yale painting.
5. Seymour 1970, 156, no. 109.
6. Salmi 1938a, 217–56; and Lachi 1995, 113–15. The painting (inv. no. Dep. n. 12) incorporates abbreviated citations of lines 1–9 of the Canto. The same lines (13–15) from Canto 33 are recorded as having appeared on a painting by Paolo di Giovanni Fei in the *pieve* di San Maurizio in Siena, in the chapel of the Mannelli family; see Milanesi 1854–56, 1:37.
7. For the few known documents concerning Machiavelli's career, see Poggi 1916, 67–69; and Shaw 2011, 794–96.
8. Inv. no. CA31.
9. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 94A, https://id.smb.museum/object/866020/der-apostel-jakobus-d-ä-.
10. Salmi 1916, 54n1; and Logan 1901, 18–34.
11. Zeri 1959, 170.
12. Inv. no. 67.55.98, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/204722. See Pope-Hennessy 1980, 247, 255, where the *stemma* is dated ca. 1464–65 and the Bliss *Madonna* ca. 1460. The Shaw *Madonna* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (inv. no. 17.1475, https://collections.mfa.org/objects/58905/virgin-and-child?ctx=ae08a866-e691-48bb-aec9-05d08778603f&idx=0) is an autograph replica, with minor variations, of the Bliss *Madonna* and is probably datable very slightly later.


INRI

Biagio d'Antonio, *The Crucifixion*

Artist	Biagio d'Antonio, Florence, 1444/46–1516
Title	*The Crucifixion*
Date	ca. 1485–90
Medium	Tempera on panel
Dimensions	overall 55.4 × 38.5 cm (21 7/8 × 15 1/8 in.); picture surface: 54.3 × 37.3 cm (21 3/8 × 14 3/4 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.51

Provenance

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

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, retains its original thickness of 2.6 centimeters and has been trimmed slightly on the right edge. It is composed of two planks with a seam approximately 16 centimeters from the right edge (viewed from the front). There is no barb of paint or gesso along any of the four edges of the composition, but a scribed line with a thin fillet of black paint outside it circumscribes the full perimeter of the picture field, suggesting that the panel was meant to be inserted into a frame, possibly made of a different material (stone or metal?) rather than designed with engaged frame moldings. Two scribed lines running the full width of the panel on the reverse, one 2.5 centimeters from the top edge and the other 3 centimeters from the bottom, may be original, but if so, their purpose is unclear. The paint surface is heavily abraded, more so in the flesh tones and in the Virgin's blue draperies than through the landscape background or sky. The body of Christ and the left arm of the Cross are virtually obliterated, as are the face and hands of the Virgin. Saint John's face has been reduced to underpaint and visible drawing, while numerous scattered flaking losses interrupt Saint John's rose-colored robe and the foreground around the foot of the Cross.

Discussion

Attributed without comment to Andrea Mantegna by James Jackson Jarves, this *Crucifixion* was returned to the Florentine school by William Rankin who, however, proposed no definite identification for it.[1] Osvald Sirén first called attention to its striking relationship to the work of Andrea del Verrocchio by citing similarities of drawing and detail to several paintings then thought to be by an anonymous but distinctive apprentice in Verrocchio's studio, christened the "Pseudo-Verrocchio."[2] Most of these, although not the Yale *Crucifixion*, were later swept into the ongoing debate over Verrocchio's identity as a painter, and two that had been called out by Sirén as especially close to the Yale panel—a *Virgin and Child* in Berlin and a *Raphael and Tobias* in London[3]—are currently believed to be core works in the small group of paintings accepted as autograph examples of Verrocchio's style.[4] Charles Seymour, Jr., himself the author of a monograph on Andrea del Verrocchio, did not add to this discussion, commenting only that the designation Pseudo-Verrocchio "in recent years has declined in scholarly usefulness."[5] He accepted a suggestion for which he

credited Everett Fahy and listed the painting as "attributed to Biagio d'Antonio."[6] Fahy's attribution ultimately appeared in print in 1976, in the Garland Press edition of his doctoral dissertation written for Harvard University.[7] Although it was not accepted by Federico Zeri, who listed the painting as by Lorenzo di Credi, and was rejected outright by Roberta Bartoli in her monograph on Biagio d'Antonio, Fahy's identification is correct.[8]

It had been observed already by Sirén in 1916 that the preservation of the Yale *Crucifixion* was "far from satisfactory" and by Seymour in 1970 that "rubbing of flesh tones is uneven, revealing technique from lowest layer to finished surface."[9] Presumably it was familiarity either with its previously overpainted state or with the state to which it was reduced by the harsh cleaning of 1960–67, leaving little more than the shadow of an image, that may account for the relative paucity of mentions of this painting in the scholarly literature and that prevented both Zeri and Bartoli from recognizing the logic of Fahy's attribution. Additionally, the composition and figure style of the Yale *Crucifixion* are both radically unlike two paintings of the same subject accepted by Bartoli as works by Biagio d'Antonio and dated by her close to 1480, in relation to the artist's contributions to frescoes by Cosimo Rosselli in the Sistine Chapel (1481–82): a triptych of the Crucifixion with Saints Dominic and Peter Martyr in the Pinacoteca Comunale, Faenza,[10] and a *Crucifixion with the Holy Women and Saint Mary Magdalen* in the Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford (fig. 1).[11] Both of these paintings were relegated by Anna Tambini to the status of workshop products, possibly attributable to a Romagnole assistant of Biagio d'Antonio named in a document of 1476, Nicola d'Antonio.[12] Whether or not the hand responsible can be identified with such precision, removing these paintings from Biagio d'Antonio's oeuvre appears to be correct.

Fig. 1. Workshop of Biagio d'Antonio, *The Crucifixion*, ca. 1490. Tempera and gold on panel, 80.2 × 51 cm (31 5/8 × 20 1/8 in.). Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford, inv. no. JBS 45

That the Yale *Crucifixion*, by contrast, should be assigned to Biagio d'Antonio is evident from a consideration of the figure of Saint John the Evangelist, whose distinctive profile is recognizable in dozens of paintings by Biagio in which he depended upon the drawings by Verrocchio with which he is believed to have executed the altarpiece from San Domenico del Maglio, now in Budapest (fig. 2), on behalf of the older master.[13] The simplicity of the composition, airiness of the landscape, and facial types of the Virgin and Christ (to the extent that the latter can still be read in the painting) do not point to a dating as precocious as the Budapest altarpiece, however, which may have been painted in the early 1470s. They instead beg comparison to an altarpiece by Biagio d'Antonio showing the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints John

the Baptist and Jerome in the Propositura dei Santi Jacopo e Stefano at Gambassi (fig. 3) or to a *Man of Sorrows* (fig. 4) in the Pinacoteca Comunale at Faenza.[14] The latter was dated by Bartoli after 1492, the year in which the Banca del Monte di Faenza, its donor to the Pinacoteca, was founded, although no document indicating when the painting might have become property of the bank has been uncovered. Antonio Corbara preferred a date for the painting close to 1487 on stylistic grounds, and this seems more easily defensible.[15] Similarly, Bartoli dated the Gambassi altarpiece to the second half of the 1490s, but this date should be advanced to the second half of the preceding decade by comparison not only with Biagio's contribution to the Albizzi Tornabuoni *spalliera* cycle of 1487—the *Betrothal of Jason and Medea* in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris[16]—but also with contemporary altarpieces by Piero di Cosimo, Cosimo Rosselli, Filippino Lippi, and others that employ the same architectural screen with three tall arched openings as a backdrop and projecting hexagonal base as a dais to the Virgin's throne.[17] The poses of the two saints in the Gambassi altarpiece and, to a degree, of the Virgin and Saint John in the Yale *Crucifixion* are inspired by the lateral figures in Verrocchio's Pistoia altarpiece, commissioned probably in 1475 and composed between that date and 1478 but completed and delivered by Lorenzo di Credi only after November 1485.[18] While it might be assumed that Biagio d'Antonio had access to the unfinished altarpiece in Verrocchio's studio, there is little reason to believe that it would have exercised a strong influence over him until it was revealed in its fully completed form and installed in the chapel of the Sacrament at Pistoia Cathedral, probably in 1486 or 1487. —LK

Fig. 2. Verrocchio with Biagio d'Antonio(?), *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saint Catherine of Siena, a Holy Bishop, Saint Peter Martyr, Saint Vincent of Ferrer, Saint James Major, and Two Angels* (San Domenico del Maglio altarpiece), ca. 1470. Tempera and gold on panel, 168 × 177.5 cm (66 1/8 × 69 7/8 in.). Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. 1386

Fig. 3. Biagio d'Antonio, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints John the Baptist and Jerome*, ca. 1485–90. Tempera and gold on panel, 181 × 148 cm (71 1/4 × 58 1/4 in.). Propositura dei Santi Jacopo e Stefano, Gambassi

Fig. 4. Biagio d'Antonio, *Man of Sorrows*, ca. 1485–90. Tempera and gold on panel, 87 × 56 cm (34 1/4 × 22 in.). Pinacoteca Comunale di Faenza, inv. no. 176

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 54, no. 81; Sturgis 1868, 56–67; Brown 1871, no. 56; Rankin 1895, 149; Sirén 1916a, 137–38, no. 51; Seymour 1970, 127–28, 313, no. 86; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 599; Fahy 1976, 207; Bartoli 1999, 240

NOTES

1. Jarves 1860, 54, no. 81; Sturgis 1868, 57; and Rankin 1895, 149.
2. Sirén 1916a, 137–38.
3. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 108, https://id.smb.museum/object/871341/maria-mit-dem-kind; and National Gallery, London, inv. no. NG781, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/workshop-of-andrea-del-verrocchio-tobias-and-the-angel.
4. For a summary of opinions and bibliography concerning these two paintings, see Aldo Galli, in Caglioti and De Marchi 2019, 124–27, 134–35. A case was made by David Alan Brown to identify Verrocchio's assistant in the London *Raphael and Tobias* as the young Leonardo da Vinci; see Brown 1998, 51–52. This argument was accepted by the present author (in Kanter 2018b, 64–66), but rejected by Galli (in Caglioti and De Marchi 2019, 134).
5. Seymour 1970, 128.
6. Seymour 1970, 127.
7. Fahy 1976, 207.
8. Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 599; and Bartoli 1999, 240.
9. Sirén 1916a, 137–38; and Seymour 1970, 127.
10. Inv. no. 125.
11. Bartoli 1999, 73–74, 203–4.
12. Tambini 1991, 25n6.
13. For a summary of the extensive literature on this painting, one of only two mentioned by Vasari as the work of Verrocchio, see Bartoli 1999, 186–87. The tendency of most recent scholarship is to regard the painting as datable to the early 1470s and attributable in its entirety to Biagio d'Antonio. Contrary opinions have been expressed by Konrad Oberhuber (in Oberhuber 1978, 63–76), who believed the painting was a largely autograph early work by Verrocchio, and the present author (in Kanter 2018b, 59), who felt that Biagio d'Antonio may have been employed as an assistant on this work but that he does not demonstrate a comparable level of technical or aesthetic accomplishment in any of his independent paintings and therefore must have been working alongside rather than instead of Verrocchio on this commission.
14. Bartoli 1999, 87, 119, 218–19, 227.
15. Antonio Corbara, in Golfieri and Corbara 1943–46, 454.
16. Inv. no. PE 102.
17. Serena Padovani, in Natali 2015, 200–205.
18. For the known documents and complex attributional history of this altarpiece, see Andrea De Marchi and Marco Campigli, in Caglioti and De Marchi 2019, 248–55; and Kanter 2018b, 23–38.

The Sienese School

Andrea di Bartolo, *Virgin and Child with Fourteen Saints*; *The Annunciation*

Artist	Andrea di Bartolo, Siena, active by 1389–died 1428
Title	*Virgin and Child with Fourteen Saints*; *The Annunciation*
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 marbleized 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 Sienese 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 Virgin[8] 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 Sienese 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 Sienese 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 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.

·AVE·MARIA·GRATIA·PLENA·

Stefano di Giovanni, called Sassetta, *Virgin Annunciate*

Artist	Stefano di Giovanni, called Sassetta, Siena, 1392–1450
Title	*Virgin Annunciate*
Date	ca. 1428–30
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall, excluding modern base, central crocket, and returns on framing pilasters: 61.5 × 49.5 cm (24 1/4 × 19 1/2 in.); picture surface: 53.6 × 43.5 cm (21 1/8 × 17 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz
Inv. No.	1959.15.5

Provenance

Robert Langton Douglas (1864–1951), London; Dan Fellows Platt (1873–1937), Englewood, N.J., by 1911–36; E. and A. Silberman Galleries, N.Y.; Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz (1887–1957), Sands Point, Long Island, N.Y., by 1944

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, is 2.8 centimeters thick and appears not to have been thinned. The original engaged frame moldings vary in depth from 4.8 to 6.5 centimeters at the top and measure 3.5 centimeters at the sides. The back of the panel has been painted with a thick gray coating, masking evidence of its carpentry, but a wide split in the front of the panel, 8.5 centimeters from its right edge, may follow a seam between two joined planks at that point. The gilding and paint surfaces are both severely abraded. The elongated shapes of original corbel supports are now revealed as exposed gesso beneath the spring of the framing arch at either side. Silver-leaf decoration in the pavement and beneath the Virgin's draperies survives only as darkly stained bolus. Flesh tones are abraded to green underpaint. There is no record of the treatment that reduced the painting to this state, although it may be inferred that it occurred after 1970 and probably after 1972.[1]

Discussion

From its earliest discovery and its subsequent publication by F. Mason Perkins in 1911, this panel has been universally recognized and admired as one of the rare surviving works by the premier artist of the Sienese quattrocento, Sassetta.[2] Perkins reported that it had been found, presumably by Robert Langton Douglas, heavily overpainted in oils but that it had then been sensitively restored by an "expert hand," assumed, probably correctly, to be Icilio Federico Joni.[3] The restored state (fig. 1)—in which it was known to all scholars through the early 1970s—must have been scarcely less heavily overpainted than its previous condition, though undoubtedly more in an early Renaissance style. Its most recent cleaning was unnecessarily harsh but revealed passages of extreme delicacy and quality in parts of the paint surface. Modern spiral colonettes at either side of the picture field were removed during this cleaning, but the regilding of the frame, the structure of which is original, or other modern additions to it, like the central crocket at the top, were not addressed, exaggerating the

contrast with the severely dilapidated appearance of the painted image.[4]

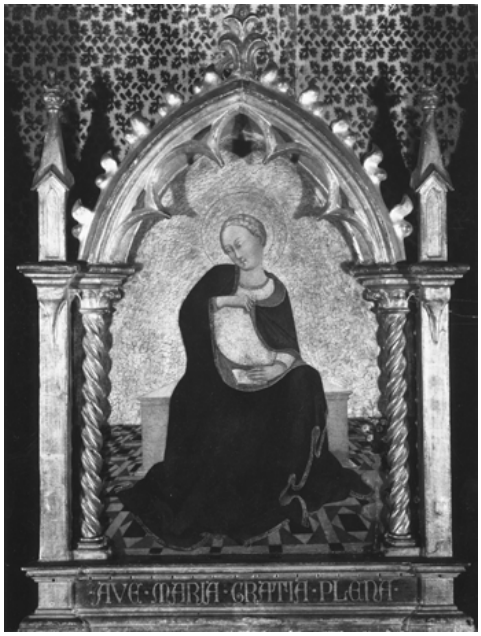


Fig. 1. *Virgin Annunciate*, before 1970

Perkins believed that the painting might originally have functioned as a pinnacle to the *Madonna of the Snows Altarpiece* (fig. 2), documented as having been commissioned for the chapel of Saint Boniface in Siena Cathedral in 1430 and completed by 1432, and he therefore proposed a hypothetical provenance from Chiusdino, where the main panel of that altarpiece was then housed.[5] In 1913 he submitted a brief notice to *Rassegna d'arte* calling attention to an *Annunciatory Angel* by Sassetta in Massa Marittima (fig. 3) that must have been a corresponding pinnacle from the opposite side of the same altarpiece. While the relationship of the *Angel* to the *Virgin* is self-evident, Perkins's opinion that they were fragments of the *Madonna of the Snows Altarpiece* was merely supposition; it was repeated, however, without challenge for the next forty years by all authors, who presumed that a missing central pinnacle representing the Blessing Redeemer might yet be found, as such a figure (although unaccompanied by an Annunciation group) is specified in Sassetta's original contract.[6] Although this reconstruction resurfaced sporadically in subsequent literature,[7] it was contested by Federico Zeri in 1956 on the grounds that the essentially Renaissance, unified field structure of the *Madonna of the Snows* would not have been surmounted by three overtly Gothic pinnacles.[8] Beyond the intellectual incongruity of such a juxtaposition, Zeri contended that the two known pinnacle panels are earlier in style than the *Madonna of the Snows*. Presuming them to be among Sassetta's earliest works, he proposed instead that they formed part of the dispersed altarpiece painted between 1423 and 1426 for the Arte della Lana, most of the surviving fragments of which are today in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena. Adding credibility to this proposal was the fact that two of the small pinnacles from the Arte della Lana altarpiece, representing half-length figures of the prophets Elijah and Elisha (fig. 4), are vaguely similar in shape to the Yale and Massa Marittima pinnacles.

Fig. 2. Stefano di Giovanni, called Sassetta, *Madonna of the Snows Altarpiece*, 1432. Tempera and gold on panel, 240 × 256 cm (94 1/2 × 100 3/4 in.). Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. Contini Bonacossi no. 1

Fig. 3. Stefano di Giovanni, called Sassetta, *Annunciatory Angel*, ca. 1428–30. Tempera and gold on panel, 59.8 × 49.5 cm (23 1/2 × 19 1/2 in.). Museo Diocesano, Massa Marittima

Fig. 4. Stefano di Giovanni, called Sassetta, *Prophet Elisha*, 1423–26. Tempera and gold on panel, 53 × 20 cm (20 7/8 × 7 7/8 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 95

Zeri's argument was in part based on internal visual evidence and in part formulated to accommodate a full-length figure of Saint Anthony Abbot by Sassetta now in the collection of the Monte dei Paschi di Siena (fig. 5), which he and Roberto Longhi had recently discovered in

a private collection in Florence. He wished to identify the *Saint Anthony* as one of two lateral panels to the Arte della Lana altarpiece—the other would have represented Saint Thomas Aquinas—as described in eighteenth-century sources, which also mention *Annunciation* pinnacles.[9] Zeri's argument was based on sound stylistic observations, but it was accepted in full only by Enzo Carli[10] and was dispelled entirely in 1982, when the Musée du Louvre, Paris, acquired a full-length image of Saint Nicholas of Bari by Sassetta (fig. 6) that is obviously a companion to the *Saint Anthony Abbot*. Rejecting any association with the Arte della Lana altarpiece, Claudie Ressort elected to extend Zeri's identification of the Yale and Massa Marittima panels as pinnacles to the newly discovered *Saint Nicholas* and the *Saint Anthony Abbot*.[11] She also accepted John Pope-Hennessy's opinion (in correspondence with her) that the two full-length *Saints* were later works by Sassetta, painted probably after the *Madonna of the Snows Altarpiece* and, together with a fragmentary *Madonna with Cherries* in the Museo archeologico e d'arte della Maremma, Grosseto, possibly remnants of an altarpiece painted for the Petroni Chapel in San Francesco, Siena. Keith Christiansen, acknowledging that the *Saint Nicholas* and *Saint Anthony Abbot* cannot have been part of the Arte della Lana altarpiece but declining to speculate on alternative proposals for their origin, noted that the *Saint Anthony* panel is beveled at its top, tapering to a width too small to have accommodated the Yale or Massa Marittima pinnacles.[12] He returned the pinnacles to the *Madonna of the Snows Altarpiece*, notwithstanding physical evidence[13]—of which he may have been unaware—that the *Madonna of the Snows* did not have conventional pinnacles.

Machtelt Israëls, in her monographic study of the *Madonna of the Snows Altarpiece*, definitively disassociated the Yale and Massa Marittima pinnacles from that structure.[14] Initially, she agreed with Christiansen that they were not pertinent to the Louvre and Monte dei Paschi panels either, concluding that they were probably the "only remnants of an altarpiece of so far unknown provenance." Revisiting the argument in 2010, she advanced evidence that both the Louvre and Monte dei Paschi panels have been trimmed on all sides, that the beveled truncation of the top of the *Saint Anthony* is not original, and that the structure of the composite wood planks of their supports matches that of the Yale and Massa Marittima pinnacles.[15] The conclusion is unavoidable that these four works were painted on continuous wood supports and are parts of a single altarpiece. Israëls agreed with Zeri that they are early works by Sassetta, preceding the *Madonna of the Snows Altarpiece*, but in her estimation, they are not likely to be as early as the Arte della Lana altarpiece. This seems to be correct, as is her observation that they cannot be associated with the *Madonna of the Cherries* in Grosseto, which was painted later in the decade of the 1430s.

Fig. 5. Stefano di Giovanni, called Sassetta, *Saint Anthony Abbot*, ca. 1428–30. Tempera, gold, and silver on panel, 134.6 × 47.8 cm (53 × 19 1/8 in.). Monte dei Paschi di Siena, inv. no. 381486

Two proposals have been advanced to identify the original provenance of the altarpiece of which the Louvre,

Fig. 6. Stefano di Giovanni, called Sassetta, *Saint Nicholas of Bari*, ca. 1428–30. Tempera, gold, and silver on panel, 126 × 44 cm (49 5/8 × 17 3/8 in.). Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. RF 1981 57

Monte dei Paschi, Yale, and Massa Marittima panels formed part. For Israëls, a likely candidate is the Petroni Chapel in San Francesco, Siena, which was described by Fabio Chigi in 1625 as containing an altarpiece signed by Sassetta.[16] Although the surviving panels are not overtly Franciscan in iconography, Israëls argued that the uniformly deteriorated condition of all four fragments might be the result of a fire that ravaged the church in 1655 and that the Petroni altarpiece may have been commissioned by Francesca di Francesco di Spinello Tolomei to commemorate the name-saints of her deceased husband, Niccolaccio di Caterino Petroni, and her son, Antonio Petroni. An alternative suggestion by Roberto Bartalini links the two panels with an altarpiece described by Teofilo Gallacini (1564–1641) in the church of San Niccolò in Siena.[17] Neither work is associated with a date in early sources. To these possibilities, Elena Marta Manzi adds a less probable third: a church in Massa Marittima, where the *Angel* pinnacle, the first of the four fragments to be rediscovered, was recorded as early as 1900.[18] —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Perkins 1911a, 5, fig. 7; Perkins 1912, 196; De Nicola 1913b, 278, pl. 4, fig. Q; Perkins 1913c, 40; Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1903–14, 5:169–70n1; van Marle 1927b, 334–35, fig. 211; Venturi 1931, pl. 111; Berenson 1932a, 512; Edgell 1932, 192, fig. 252; Venturi 1933, pl. 144; Berenson 1936, 440; Pope-Hennessy 1939, 27, 53n69; Venturi 1945, 13–14, pl. 7, fig. 2; Pope-Hennessy 1947, 25; Zeri 1956, 36–39; Carli 1957a, 12; Seymour 1957, 13, fig. 4; "Recent Gifts and Purchases" 1960, 53; Seymour 1961, 22–23, 55; Berenson 1968, 1:386; Seymour 1970, 206–7, 209, no. 156; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 183, 601; Ritchie and Neilson 1972, no. 9; Fahy 1974, 284; Blauwkuip 1980, 13; Claudie Ressort, in Foucart 1983; van Os 1984, 167–68; Keith Christiansen, in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke 1988, 65; Mazzoni 2001, 304–5, 422, fig. 171; Israëls 2003, 60–62, fig. 21; Machtelt Israëls, in Seidel, Caglioti, Carrara, et al. 2010, 232; Alessandro Bagnoli, in Semplici 2015, 77; Manzi 2024, 52–55

NOTES

1. Despite the severity of the cleaning and the radical decision making it entailed, no mention of this treatment can be found in any files at the Yale University Art Gallery. The painting is described by Charles Seymour, Jr. (in Seymour 1970, 207), as "not cleaned," and it does not appear in Seymour et al. 1972.
2. Perkins 1911a, 5, fig. 7.
3. Mazzoni 2001, 304, citing Perkins 1911a, 4.
4. Seymour believed the frame was modern; see Seymour 1970, 207.
5. Seymour confused the provenance of the Yale picture, claiming that it had remained in Italy, "perhaps at Chiusdino" (where it is not, in fact, recorded at any point), until 1936; see Seymour 1970, 207.
6. For the contract, see Israëls 2003, 27.
7. Seymour 1957, 12; Seymour 1970, 209; Ritchie and Neilson 1972, no. 9; and Keith Christiansen, in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke 1988, 65.

8. Zeri 1956, 36–39.

9. The altarpiece was described by the Abate Girolamo Carli, whose text is transcribed by John Pope-Hennessy, in Pope-Hennessy 1939, 6–7, 38n8.

10. Carli 1957a, 12.

11. Claudie Ressort, in Foucart 1983.

12. Keith Christiansen, in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke 1988, 65.

13. Blauwkuip 1980, 13.

14. Israëls 2003, 60–62.

15. Machtelt Israëls, in Seidel, Caglioti, Carrara, et al. 2010, 232.

16. Bacci 1939b, 319.

17. Roberto Bartalini, in Gurrieri 1988, 297. See also Douglas 1903, 275n3. Douglas referred to a manuscript copy of the *Inscrizioni sanesi* (vol. 2, p. 100), shown to him by Fairfax Murray but untraced today, to bolster his attribution to Sassetta of a small painting of the *Virgin and Child* in the rector's quarters at the Manicomio di San Niccolò, then thought to be the work of Sano di Pietro.

18. Manzi 2024, 54.

Master of the Osservanza, *Saint Anthony Abbot Tempted by the Devil in the Guise of a Woman*

Artist	Master of the Osservanza, Siena, active second quarter 15th century
Title	*Saint Anthony Abbot Tempted by the Devil in the Guise of a Woman*
Date	ca. 1440
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 38.5 × 40.3 cm (15 1/8 × 15 7/8 in.); picture surface: 36.8 × 38.8 cm (14 1/2 × 15 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.57

For more on this panel, see Sano di Pietro, *Saint Anthony Abbot Tormented by Demons*.

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain with a moderate convex warp, has been thinned to a depth of 12 millimeters. It comprises two planks: a main plank on the left, measuring 33 centimeters wide at the bottom and 34 centimeters wide at the top, and a narrower plank at the right, measuring 6 centimeters wide at the bottom and 5 centimeters wide at the top. A cradle applied in 1928 by Charles Durham was removed during a structural treatment by George Bisacca at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in 1998, as were marouflaged inserts, 6 centimeters wide across the full length of the panel at the top and 7 centimeters wide at the bottom. These were replaced with aged poplar, oriented in the same grain direction as the main panel. Capping strips of aged poplar 7 millimeters wide were applied along all four edges, those at top and bottom again oriented in the same grain direction as the main panel. The seam between the planks and a deep split 19 centimeters from the right edge (viewed from the front) were repaired with inserted wedges of aged poplar: both are visible as breaks in the paint surface, the latter resulting in minor paint loss in the landscape above the head of Saint Anthony. A barb of gesso and paint is visible along the top edge of the picture field only. The gilding of the saint's halo is worn. The paint surface is, in general, beautifully preserved, although lightly abraded from a vigorous cleaning in 1950–52. Irregular losses occur along the left edge, especially in the side of the chapel in the foreground. These were repainted by Mark Aronson in a cleaning of 1999, at which time it was decided not to remove the reinvented strip of sky concealing a total loss approximately 4 centimeters wide and following the curve of the painted horizon that had been added in 1952 (fig. 1).

Fig. 1. *Saint Anthony Abbot Tempted by the Devil in the Guise of a Woman*, ca. 1952

Sano di Pietro, *Saint Anthony Abbot Tormented by Demons*

Artist	Sano di Pietro, Siena, 1405–1481
Title	*Saint Anthony Abbot Tormented by Demons*
Date	ca. 1440
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 47.9 × 34.7 cm (18 7/8 × 13 5/8 in.); picture surface: 46.7 × 33.6 cm (18 3/8 × 13 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.58

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 1.5 centimeters, waxed, and cradled. A partial split, 15 centimeters from the right edge, has resulted in a large total loss to the paint surface, approximately 16.5 centimeters long and 2.5 centimeters wide, rising from the bottom edge through Saint Anthony's feet (which are a modern invention) to just below the wing of the demon standing above him. Another split, 22 centimeters from the right edge, has resulted in no deformation of the paint surface, while two minor splits, visible through the paint layers 9 centimeters and 3.5 to 4.5 centimeters from the left edge—the first passing through Saint Anthony's head and the second reaching from the hands of the leftmost demon to the top of the panel—are not visible on the reverse. The left, bottom, and right margins of the picture field retain a barb of gesso and paint, and a small section of barb is also visible at the left of the top edge. The gilding and paint surfaces are beautifully preserved, although lightly abraded from a vigorous cleaning in 1950–52. The gold belly and face of the demon to the right of Saint Anthony have been scraped away. They were repainted by Elisabeth Mention in a treatment of 1998, as were local flaking losses in the wings of the same demon, along broad lines of craquelure in the landscape above his club, and in the face and torso of the demon flying in with a snake at the right.

Discussion

No question in the study of Sienese Renaissance painting is as vexed or contentious as the identity of the artist or artists who painted the series of eight scenes from the legend of Saint Anthony Abbot, of which this and the related panel in Yale's collection (see Master of the Osservanza, *Saint Anthony Abbot Tempted by the Devil in the Guise of a Woman*) formed part. The eight scenes, in narrative sequence according to the version of the saint's life popularized by the fourteenth-century Dominican Domenico Cavalca (in his *Vite dei santi padre*), comprise:

- *Saint Anthony Abbot Renouncing His Worldly Goods*, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (fig. 1);
- *Saint Anthony Abbot Distributing His Wealth to the Poor*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (fig. 2);
- *Saint Anthony Abbot Leaving His Monastery*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (fig. 3);

Fig. 1. Sano di Pietro and the Master of the Osservanza, *Saint Anthony Abbot Renouncing His Worldly Goods*, ca. 1440. Tempera and gold on panel, 46 × 32.5 cm (18 1/8 × 12 3/4 in.). Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 63d

Fig. 2. Sano di Pietro and the Master of the Osservanza, *Saint Anthony Abbot Distributing His Wealth to the Poor*, ca. 1440. Tempera and gold on panel, 47.3 × 34.8 cm (18 5/8 × 13 3/4 in.). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection, inv. no. 1952.5.20

- *Saint Anthony Abbot Tempted by the Devil in the Guise of a Woman*;
- *Saint Anthony Abbot Tormented by Demons* (the present panel);
- *Saint Anthony Abbot Tempted by a Porringer of Gold*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 4);
- *The Meeting of Saints Abbot Anthony and Paul*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (fig. 5);
- *The Death of Saint Anthony Abbot*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (fig. 6).

The first two of the series to be brought to public attention were the paintings now at Yale, acquired by James Jackson Jarves sometime before 1859 and exhibited by him in New York in 1860. Jarves thought they were by two different artists and—presumably because of their different shapes and sizes—did not associate them as fragments of a single narrative cycle. *Saint Anthony Abbot Tempted by the Devil in the Guise of a Woman* is listed in all of Jarves's writings and in all the catalogues of his collection as by Sassetta,[1] a designation that was first called into question only in 1940. *Saint Anthony Tormented by Demons* is instead described as by an unknown painter of the Sienese school from the second quarter of the fifteenth century. It was first associated directly with its companion and like it was assigned to Sassetta by Bernard Berenson and F. Mason Perkins.[2] Berenson initially believed that the two panels at Yale formed part of a predella with another scene of the torments of Saint Anthony by Sassetta in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena,[3] notwithstanding the fact that the latter is identical in subject with the Jarves *Saint Anthony Tormented by Demons*. Although this association was discarded by Giacomo de Nicola as early as 1913, traces of it linger in subsequent scholarship[4] and in the date range of 1423–26 assigned to the Yale panels in later editions of Berenson's lists.[5] These dates properly refer to the Siena predella panel, part of the Arte della Lana altarpiece documented as Sassetta's earliest work.

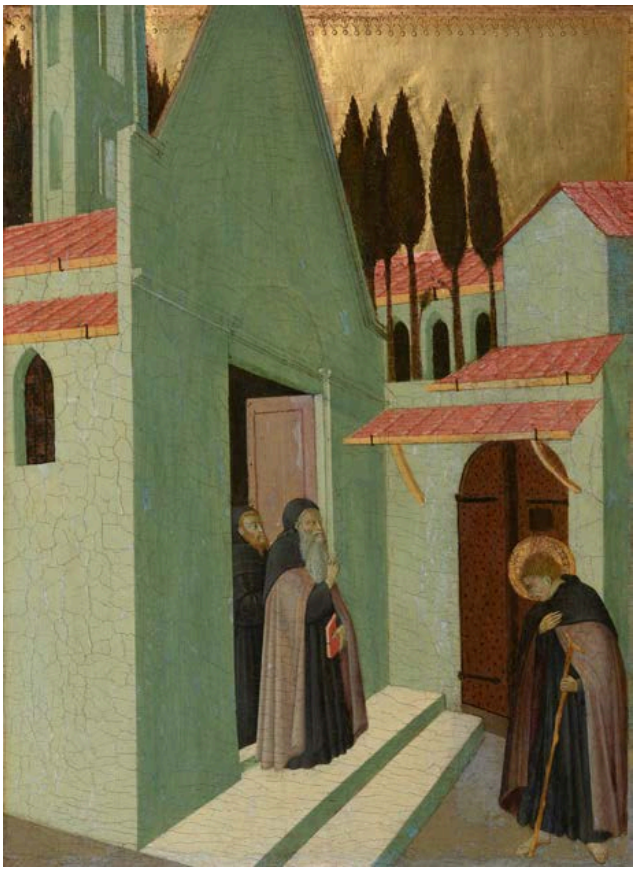


Fig. 3. Sano di Pietro and the Master of the Osservanza, *Saint Anthony Abbot Leaving His Monastery*, ca. 1440. Tempera and gold on panel, 47.2 × 35 cm (18 5/8 × 13 3/4 in.). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection, inv. no. 1952.5.21

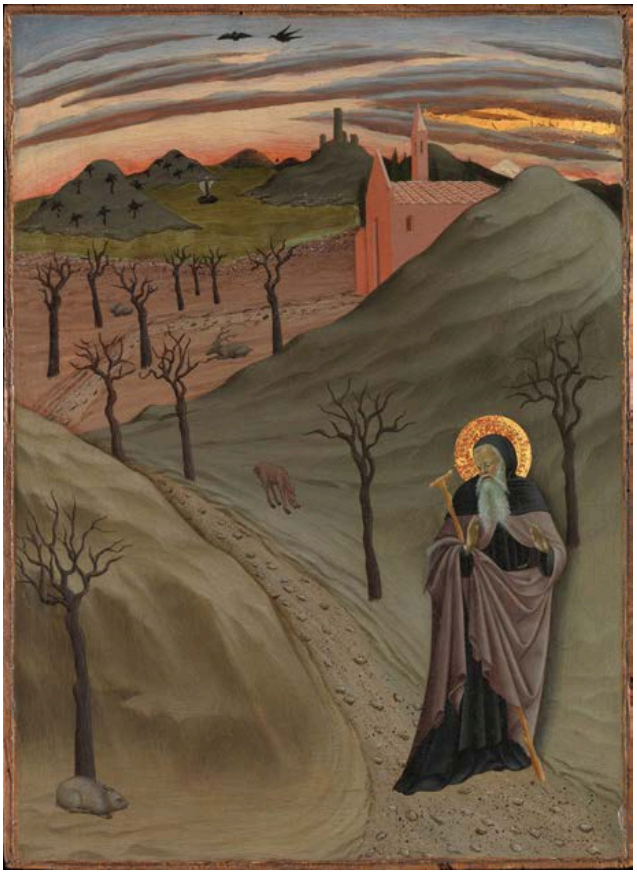


Fig. 4. Sano di Pietro, *Saint Anthony Abbot Tempted by a Porringer of Gold*, ca. 1440. Tempera and gold on panel, 47.6 × 34.6 cm (18 3/4 × 13 5/8 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975, inv. no. 1975.1.27

Reconstruction of the *Saint Anthony* series further progressed with Mary Logan Berenson's publication of a scene of the Temptation of Saint Anthony, then in the collection of Prince Ourusoff in Vienna, now in the Robert Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (see fig. 4).[6] Two panels then in the collection of Dan Fellows Platt in Englewood, New Jersey, now in the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (see figs. 2–3), had been known as early as 1907, when they were attributed to Sassetta by Perkins. He, however, did not correctly identify their subjects—Saint Anthony Distributing His Wealth to the Poor and Saint Anthony Leaving His Monastery—with the result that they were only recognized as parts of the *Saint Anthony* series in 1931, when Ellis Waterhouse linked them and a sixth panel to the three at Yale and in the Lehman Collection.[7] The sixth panel found by Waterhouse, *The Meeting of Saints Anthony Abbot and Paul* (see fig. 5), was then in the collection of the Viscount Allendale and is now reunited with the Platt pictures at the National Gallery of Art. Waterhouse also recognized the initial scene in the narrative sequence, *Saint Anthony Abbot Renouncing His Worldly Goods* (see fig. 1), in Berlin, formerly thought to represent a subject from the life of Saint Francis. A final episode, *The Death of Saint Anthony Abbot* (see fig. 6), was identified by Federico Zeri and first published by Cesare Brandi;[8] this panel, too, is now in Washington at the National Gallery of Art.

Through most of the first half of the twentieth century, the then seven known panels of the *Saint Anthony* series were all considered important examples of Sassetta's narrative style of painting and, with the exception of Berenson, were dated to the 1430s. John Pope-Hennessy, in his early monograph on Sassetta, acknowledged the difficulty of reconciling them with the tendency of that artist's intellectual and pictorial development, as charted in securely documented works on either side of the 1430s, but rather than question the attribution, he posited a self-conscious period of Gothicizing détente in Sassetta's career around the time of the so-called Osservanza altarpiece (fig. 7), which was then believed to be dated 1436.[9] Roberto Longhi responded immediately and

Fig. 5. Sano di Pietro, *The Meeting of Saints Anthony Abbot and Paul*, ca. 1440. Tempera and gold on panel, 47 × 33.6 cm (18 1/2 × 13 1/4 in.). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection, inv. no. 1939.1.293

negatively, suggesting that it was artificial and simplistic to think of the Osservanza triptych, or the related *Birth of the Virgin* altarpiece in Asciano (fig. 8), as evidence of a Gothic phase in Sassetta's career.[10] He proposed instead that these and several works closely related to them should be considered efforts of a different artist, "d'una cultura parallela a quella del Sassetta ma più insistentemente arcaica" (of a culture parallel to Sassetta's but more insistently archaic). Although he did not specifically list the *Saint Anthony* scenes as part of this group, he concluded with an exhortation that some young scholar ought to study the scenes from the life of Saint Anthony in relation to "questo nobile spirito" (this noble spirit). One of his pupils, Alberto Graziani, took up this challenge in a lecture delivered at the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz in 1942, published posthumously in 1948, in which he established a solid critical basis for construction of an independent artistic personality that he christened the "Osservanza Master," as well as for including the *Saint Anthony* panels in this artist's oeuvre.[11]

Fig. 6. Sano di Pietro and the Master of the Osservanza, *The Death of Saint Anthony Abbot*, ca. 1440. Tempera and gold on panel, 37.5 × 39.4 cm (14 3/4 × 15 1/2 in.). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection, inv. no. 1952.5.73

Fig. 7. Sano di Pietro and the Master of the Osservanza, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Ambrose and Jerome*, ca. 1440. Tempera and gold on panel, 208 × 158.5 cm (81 7/8 × 62 3/8 in.). Basilica dell'Osservanza, Siena

Initial response to Longhi's and Graziani's thesis was mixed. Anglo-Saxon scholars, chiefly Berenson and Pope-Hennessy, did not believe that the group of works

Fig. 8. Master of the Osservanza and Sano di Pietro, *The Birth of the Virgin*, ca. 1437–39. Tempera and gold on panel, 220 × 162 cm (87 in × 64 in.). Palazzo Corboli, Museo d'Arte Sacra, Asciano

assembled around the Osservanza triptych was strictly homogeneous, and they strove to retain some degree of Sassetta's agency for several of them.[12] Italian scholars were divided between those who accepted Longhi's arguments in toto and those who, following a suggestion made by Cesare Brandi, believed that this group of paintings probably represented the early career of Sano di Pietro.[13] Charles Seymour, Jr., added an element of technical analysis to the debate when he published macrophotographic evidence that the two *Saint Anthony* panels at Yale were painted by two different artists, but his conclusion that one of the two is likely to have been Sassetta diminished the impact his arguments ought to have made.[14] Aside from an appreciative note by Pope-Hennessy, a confused attempt by Enzo Carli to apply the same analytical technique to other paintings in the Osservanza group, and an endorsement by Keith Christiansen, the contention that the Osservanza Master was not one but two distinct personalities has largely been downplayed or ignored.[15] Miklós Boskovits rejected the hypothesis outright and decisively, writing that "proper art historical evaluation of the Saint Anthony stories must be based on recognition of the stylistic unity of the group. . . . Divergent solutions in the pictorial handling of some details result in differences more apparent than real: that is, they are the kind that one often finds when comparing individual passages of a large altarpiece or fresco cycle. Assistants might sometimes have intervened and variations might also reflect the different moods of a single artist. In the case of the Saint Anthony stories, the general uniformity of the painting style . . . and the consistently fine pictorial conduct argue in favor of execution by a single artist."[16]

Boskovits's summary assessment may be understandable if considering only the four *Saint Anthony* panels in Washington: variation within the figure style among these four scenes is subtle, and the architectural settings in three of them are uniformly complex and competent. This is unequivocally not the case with the two *Saint Anthony* panels at Yale, where it is possible, even without the aid of macrophotographs, to observe striking differences in conception and technique that are incompatible with an attribution to a single artist. In *Saint Anthony Tempted by the Devil*, for example, the stony path of virtue on which the saint stands establishes a sense of pictorial depth by diminishing gradually in width as it meanders back into space. In *Saint Anthony Tormented by Demons*, the same path effectively defeats any impression of recession into depth as it soars flatly up the picture plane. In the first panel, the path is painted with careful striations of gray and cream overlaid with individually delineated rocks and stones; in the second, it is rendered in mauve with crude, hasty slashes of gray wash, a few pointillist pebbles, and random grainy spray from the tip of the artist's brush in the manner of fly-specking.[17] In the first panel, the saint's beard is painted with long, slender, individual strokes of white paint, indicating each separate hair; his fingers are fine and nervous, his nose is thin. In the second, the beard is indicated with a shorthand notation of daubed curls, the nose is bulbous, and the fingers and hands are inflated. The trees in the first panel are of two types, intended to differentiate their relative position in space: Those in the foreground are rendered as reserves of black with individually drawn yellow and green leaves; those in the distance are instead shown as dense clusters with an overall stipple pattern of light and dark. In the second panel, all the trees, regardless of their notional distance from the viewer, are thick, dense forms of green and black, more emblematic than naturalistic in shape. Saint Anthony's hermitage in the *Temptation* is a solidly foreshortened cube, with carefully rendered (and

carefully foreshortened) terracotta roof tiles. In the *Torment*, the monastic building is a facade with no structural integrity whatsoever. It is not possible to maintain that differences such as these can be encompassed within the potential of a single artistic mind and hand. They are an indication of two separate artistic intelligences, trained in separate manual traditions and championing distinctive pictorial ambitions.

Granted the need to understand the oeuvre of the so-called Osservanza Master as embodying the work of more than one artist, it is nevertheless true that the majority of paintings ascribed to this hand are, in fact, by one of them only, not by both. It is also evident that the artist responsible for this majority of the works in question should be identified with the young Sano di Pietro. The lingering difficulty, even for those scholars who recognize the hybrid nature of this body of work, is accepting the corollary fact that it would be Sano, not his still anonymous "partner," who should be considered the head of their joint enterprise. Modern scholarship tends to underestimate the intellectual and artistic value of Sano's long and exceedingly productive career, while at the same time it prizes the values of rational pictorial logic implied in such a painting as the *Saint Anthony Tempted by the Devil*. It is anachronistic, however, to insist that the apparently more cerebral of the two painters must, ipso facto, have been head of the shared studio and chiefly responsible for designing the commissions that issued from it. It is all but certain, for example, that the master of the *Temptation* designed and painted the architectural backdrops in the Berlin *Saint Anthony Renouncing His Worldly Goods* (see fig. 1) and in three of the panels in Washington, *Saint Anthony Distributing His Wealth to the Poor* (see fig. 2), *Saint Anthony Leaving His Monastery* (see fig. 3), and the *Death of Saint Anthony* (see fig. 6).[18] It does not necessarily follow that he was in charge of the full scope of the commission. Only a single panel of the *Saint Anthony* series can be attributed to him exclusively, whereas Sano can be shown to have painted three scenes on his own—*Saint Anthony Tempted by a Porringer of Gold* (see fig. 4); *Saint Anthony Tormented by Demons* (the present panel at Yale); *The Meeting of Saints Anthony and Paul* (see fig. 5)—and to have collaborated on four of the others. Other key works, such as the Volkhamer *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* in the collection of the Monte dei Paschi di Siena, datable to 1432–33, or the *Passion Polyptych* recently reconstructed by Andrea De Marchi and dated by him ca. 1440,[19] can be attributed in their entirety to Sano di Pietro, as can a major portion of the Osservanza triptych (only the left lateral panel is not fully by Sano di Pietro) (see fig. 7) and many of the figures in the Asciano *Birth of the Virgin* (see fig. 8).[20] In this respect, the "Osservanza Master," as he was described by Longhi in 1940 and by Graziani in 1948, effectively *is* Sano di Pietro. The proper art-historical debate should not be quibbling, sometimes with embarrassing incivility,[21] over this question but rather inquiring whether that original reconstruction of an "Osservanza Master" as a distinct artistic personality was accurate.

The Osservanza Master was born as an art-historical concept in an effort to free Sassetta from the baggage of miscellaneous attributions that diminished his revolutionary stature in the early progress of the developing Renaissance style in Italian painting in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. The argument was intended from the outset to be polemical and polarizing, in the sense of categorizing works of art as either progressive or archaizing, Renaissance or counter-Renaissance. It has evolved into a far more nuanced, and historically plausible, reconsideration of the context of Sassetta's work in Siena and a reappraisal of Sano di Pietro's stature and his emergence as a major artist a decade and a half earlier than had previously been understood. It leaves a minor painter—minor in terms of the volume of his output, not of his talent—in search of an effective name, as the eponymous work by which he was formerly known is predominantly by another artist. Elucidating the exact contours of his activity is unlikely ever to achieve scholarly consensus, as so large a percentage of his paintings were collaborative. Proposing to identify him with the historical personality of Vico di Luca (documented 1426–42), a possibility first raised by Graziani, or another artist documented as a collaborator of Sano, Lionardo di Nanni (documented 1428–65), recently identified by Alessandro Bagnoli,[22] must ultimately be acknowledged to be purely speculative. It does seem reasonable to conclude that whoever he was, he did not outlive Sassetta: no paintings plausibly datable past midcentury show any evidence of intervention by him, in any aspect of their creation.[23]

Far less controversial than the identity of the artist once known as the Osservanza Master, but no more susceptible of resolution, have been discussions of the reconstruction and original provenance of the structure from which the eight scenes from the legend of Saint Anthony derive. Waterhouse, who knew seven of the eight scenes, recognized that the punch tooling visible only along the top margins of two of them implied that they were originally oriented one above the other, rather than horizontally as in a conventional narrative predella, and that they probably flanked a full-length carved or painted

image of Saint Anthony, a proposal later confirmed by observation of the vertical wood grain of their supports.[24] He suggested that the first three scenes in narrative sequence (see figs. 1–3), which all show the saint in his youth, would have stood to the left of this central image, while the three scenes in which he appears as an elderly, white-bearded monk (the present panel and figs. 4–5) would have stood to the right. He felt it probable that *Saint Anthony Leaving His Monastery* (see fig. 3) and *The Meeting of Saints Anthony and Paul* (see fig. 5) were placed at the top of their respective columns, as they both have gilded and punched "skies" along their upper margins. He questioned whether the *Saint Anthony Tempted by the Devil* at Yale, which differs in size and shape from the others, might have come from a different structure but concluded that "it is better, for the present, to assume that it belongs to this series as the subject must certainly have been included," placing it in a hypothetical predella beneath the structure, from which two other scenes must be missing. Graziani reversed the sequence, supposing that the narrative proceeded from top to bottom on either side of an image of the seated Saint Anthony, placing the Berlin *Saint Anthony Renouncing His Worldly Goods* (see fig. 1) and the present panel at the top and the Washington *Saint Anthony Leaving His Monastery* and *The Meeting of Saints Anthony and Paul* at the bottom, with the Yale *Saint Anthony Tempted by the Devil* and two missing narrative scenes in a predella beneath.[25] Pope-Hennessy returned to Waterhouse's original proposal but shifted the *Saint Anthony Tempted by the Devil* and the Washington *Death of Saint Anthony Abbot* (see fig. 6), the latter of which had been unknown to Waterhouse, to the top rather than bottom of the columns, to preserve narrative sequence.[26] Christiansen also believed the narrative progressed from bottom to top, but he returned the two horizontal panels to a separate predella beneath the structure, out of strict sequence.[27] Boskovits argued that Graziani's arrangement must have been correct based on the example of earlier vita icons, all of which read from top to bottom with no scenes out of narrative sequence, as would have been the case in Waterhouse's or Christiansen's reconstruction.[28] This view is accepted by De Marchi in the most recent contribution to the debate.[29] It is, however, only possible to accept this reconstruction if the sequence of the present panel and *Saint Anthony Tempted by a Porringer of Gold* (see fig. 4) is reversed. Christiansen published physical evidence, in the form of continuous damage from a knot in their panel supports, that the former stood immediately beneath the latter.[30]

Proposals to identify the missing central panel of the structure have revolved around two principal candidates. Graziani first suggested that a half-length *Saint Anthony Abbot* portrayed reading, in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (fig. 9), painted by the Osservanza Master and closely related in style to the *Saint Anthony* panels, might be a fragment of the center panel of that altarpiece.[31] He assumed that the Louvre panel, whose background gilding is modern, had been cropped on all four sides and that originally it portrayed the saint seated. This proposal was rejected by Pope-Hennessy, Christiansen, and Boskovits, largely due to the saint's being shown not in the conventionally hieratic frontal pose of the main figure in a vita icon but rather turned in three-quarter profile, a pose typically encountered in lateral panels of a polyptych.[32] Pope-Hennessy initially suggested that a full-length *Saint Anthony Abbot* by Sassetta in the collection of the Monte dei Paschi di Siena (see Stefano di Giovanni, called Sassetta, *Virgin Annunciate*, fig. 4) might be the missing center panel to this complex, while arguing for Sassetta's partial responsibility for the *Saint Anthony* scenes.[33] He later withdrew this suggestion, recognizing both that Sassetta was not personally involved in this commission and that the Monte dei Paschi *Saint Anthony* was probably a lateral panel from another altarpiece, in which it would have been accompanied by the full-length *Saint Nicholas of Bari*, then recently acquired by the Musée du Louvre (see Stefano di Giovanni, called Sassetta, *Virgin Annunciate*, fig. 5).[34] De Marchi returned to Graziani's thesis, citing the evidence of X-radiography of the Louvre *Saint Anthony*, made available to him by Elisabeth Ravaud of the Centre de Recherche et de Restauration des Musées de France.[35] According to De Marchi, the Louvre panel shows evidence of dowel holes on its sides that connected it to adjacent panels at both right and left, as well as three nail holes aligned horizontally along the length of panel just above the level of the saint's hands. The latter would have secured a batten across the back of the panel, which, given its position, must have been the middle of three battens running across the bottom, center, and top of the complete structure. The placement of these battens implies that the Louvre panel did originally show the saint seated, not standing, but the presence of dowel pegs is difficult to reconcile with the continuous painted surface of a vita icon. None of the *Saint Anthony* panels shows evidence of dowel pegs on the sides, and X-rays of the present panel show no evidence of nails securing a batten. As this panel occupied either the center or the bottom of the right side of the structure, at least one of the battens should have passed across it.[36]

Fig. 9. Sano di Pietro, *Saint Anthony Abbot*, ca. 1440. Tempera and gold on panel, 73 × 59 cm (28 3/4 × 23 1/4 in.). Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. RF 2470

A final question concerning the *Saint Anthony* panels that has preoccupied scholarship is their possible original provenance. This was not questioned as having been Sienese until Piero Scapecchi noted that the two panels formerly in the Platt collection and now in Washington, D.C. (see figs. 2–3) are recorded in the nineteenth century in the Caccialupi collection in Macerata, in the Marches.[37] Scapecchi also postulated that Jarves may have acquired the two panels now at Yale from the same source, during his visit to Macerata in the 1850s, although such a possibility is nowhere documented in any of Jarves's own catalogues. As Scapecchi was also able to identify the shield of arms appearing in the vaulting of the doorway behind Saint Anthony in the Washington *Saint Anthony Distributing His Wealth to the Poor* (see fig. 2) as those of the Martinozzi family of Siena, a branch of which was established at San Severino Marche, not far from Macerata, he concluded that the original commission must have been Marchigian, not Sienese. Though reiterated by Cecilia Alessi and Scapecchi, only Boskovits has defended this theory with any conviction.[38] Linda Pisani reported that the arms of the Martinozzi of San Severino were different from those of the Martinozzi of Siena,[39] and it is the Sienese arms that appear in *Saint Anthony Distributing His Wealth to the Poor*. The Martinozzi owned patronage rights to altars in San Francesco and Sant'Agostino in Siena, the latter dedicated to Saint Anthony Abbot.[40] Christiansen noted that the pastoral visit of Monsignor Francesco Bossi to this altar in 1575 describes its decoration in vague terms that imply a conventional polyptych rather than a vita icon: "Icona vero erat cum imagine sancti Antonii in tabula et aliis figuris sanctorum auro ornatis" (A true image of Saint Anthony on panel with other figures of saints, ornamented in gold).[41] In support of a possible provenance from this altar, despite this negative evidence, De Marchi observed that in the three scenes in New York and New Haven showing temptations of Saint Anthony, the saint wears the belt of the Augustinian hermits over his black habit and beneath his scapular.[42] If De Marchi's proposal to identify the fragmentary *Saint Anthony Abbot* in the Louvre as the central panel of this complex is correct, it is worth considering the possibility that the complete structure was not of the class of a vita icon but may instead have resembled a structure similar to Giovanni di Paolo's later Pizzicaiuoli altarpiece (1449/61), in which a conventional altarpiece was surrounded by narrative scenes from the life of a saint. Though unusual, possibly unique, such a construction could explain some of the contradictory physical evidence presented by the panels themselves. —LK

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Jarves 1860, 48, nos. 46–47; Jarves 1861, 239–40; Sturgis 1868, 53, 55, nos. 48, 53; Brown 1871, 19, nos. 48, 53; Rankin 1895, 143; Berenson 1903, 180–81; Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1903–14, 5:170; Perkins 1905, 76; Rankin 1905, 10; Berenson 1909a, 246; Logan Berenson 1911, 202–3; De Nicola 1913a, 213–14; Sirén 1916a, 151–54, nos. 57–58; Perkins 1920c, 13–14; Dami 1923–24, 283, 292–93; van Marle 1927b, 318–20; Offner 1927a, 7, 39–40, figs. 30–31; "Handbook" 1931, 26; Venturi 1931, pls. 122–24; Waterhouse 1931, 108, 112–13; Berenson 1932a, 512; Edgell 1932, 192, 194; Venturi 1933, 3: pls. 140–41, under pl. 138; Berenson 1936, 441; Pope-Hennessy 1939, 70–77, 82–83, 85–86, 92nn39 and 43, 115, pl. 12; Longhi 1940b, 188–89; Berenson 1946, 52; Carli 1946, 45; Comstock 1946, 50, no. 7; Graziani 1948, 76, 83–84; Brandi 1949, 79, 83, 255–56, 284, no. 98; Kaftal 1952, cols. 68–71, no. 24(8, 12), figs. 69, 72; *Rediscovered Italian Paintings* 1952, 24–27; Seymour 1952–53, 32–45, 97, figs. 1, 3, 5–6, 8, 10, 12a; Pope-Hennessy 1956, 364–66, 369, figs. 28–29; Carli 1957a, 104–21, pls. 124, 127, 129, 131; Shapley 1966, 142; Berenson 1968, 1:253; Seymour 1970, 208–12, nos. 157–58; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 132, 599; Ritchie and Neilson 1972, no. 10, pl. 2; Ellen Frank, in Seymour et al. 1972, 22–23; Fahy 1974, 283; Shapley 1979, 1:320–21, 322nn2–3, 323n7; Scapecchi 1983, 287–90; Dianne Phillips, in Shestack 1983, 26; Alessi and Scapecchi 1985, 13–37; De Marchi 1987b, 95; John Pope-Hennessy, in Pope-Hennessy and Kanter

1987, 105–9; Keith Christiansen, in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke 1988, 104–23, no. 10d; Christiansen 1990, 207–8; Pope-Hennessy 1991, 256–57; Kenney 1992, 137; Garland and Mention 1999, 38–40; Dean 2001, 13, 30–31, no. 8, fig. 3; Miklós Boskovits, in Boskovits and Brown 2003, 487–89, 492nn16, 22, and 27, 493nn33, 37, and 40, fig. Ig; Falcone 2010, 30; Andrea De Marchi, in Seidel, Caglioti, Carrara, et al. 2010, 267–71, 274; De Marchi 2012, 63–65, fig. 7; Laclotte 2012, 90

NOTES

1. Jarves 1860, 48, nos. 46–47; Jarves 1861, 239–40; Sturgis 1868, 53, nos. 48, 53; and Brown 1871, 19, nos. 48, 53.
2. Berenson 1903, 180–81; and Perkins 1905, 76.
3. Inv. no. 166.
4. De Nicola 1913a, 213–14; and see, for example, Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1903–14, 5:169–70n1.
5. Berenson 1932a, 512; and Berenson 1936, 441.
6. Logan Berenson 1911, 202–3.
7. Waterhouse 1931, 108, 112–13.
8. Brandi 1949, 199n60.
9. Pope-Hennessy 1939, 77.
10. Longhi 1940b, 188–89n26.
11. Graziani 1948, 75–87, esp. 83–84.
12. Berenson 1946, 52; and Pope-Hennessy 1956, 364–70.
13. Brandi 1949, 82–85.
14. Seymour 1952–53, 37–45, figs. 6–12.
15. Pope-Hennessy 1956, 366; Carli 1957a, 110–14; and Christiansen 1990, 207–8.
16. Miklós Boskovits, in Boskovits and Brown 2003, 489.
17. Keith Christiansen (in Christiansen 1990, 207–8) ascribed the lack of definition in the path in this panel to severe abrasion from its most recent cleaning. This is only partly true, accounting for the absence of detail in the upper half of the path. It does not alter the essential difference in technique of execution between this panel and its companion at Yale.
18. The compromised state of *Saint Anthony Leaving His Monastery* (see fig. 3) precludes confident assessment of its figure style, specifically whether the young Saint Anthony was painted, as seems to be the case, by the second artist. The two monks standing in the doorway of the monastery are by Sano di Pietro. Sano was responsible for all the figures in *Saint Anthony Distributing His Wealth to the Poor* (see fig. 2), with the exception of the young saint in the foreground at the right, with his beautifully foreshortened feet and elegant twisting pose. All the figures in the *Death of Saint Anthony* (see fig. 6) are by Sano di Pietro.
19. For the Volkhammer *Lamentation*, see Andrea De Marchi, in Seidel, Caglioti, Carrara, et al. 2010, 258–59, no. C.31. For the *Passion Polyptych*, see Andrea De Marchi, in Seidel, Caglioti, Carrara, et al. 2010, 272–75, no. C.35.
20. The fireplace and burning logs in the Asciano *Birth of the Virgin* (see fig. 8) are a clumsy insertion into the otherwise crystalline spatial logic of the setting in this majestic painting and are undoubtedly due to Sano's intervention. Maria Falcone (in Falcone 2010) published documentary evidence that Sano was paid for the Asciano altarpiece in 1439. As Alessandro Bagnoli notes (in Bagnoli 2024, 104), this does not signify that Sano painted the altarpiece, merely that he was titular head of the artistic partnership.
21. While the tone was set by the tenor of Longhi's remarks during war time, revealing his customary disdain for Anglo-Saxon (i.e., Allied) scholarship and his visceral contempt for Bernard Berenson, in particular, a low point was reached sixty-five years later with Luciano Bellosi's sarcastic, ad hominem attacks in Bellosi 2012, 43–52. On the other hand, it is heartening to see that the catalogue of the 2024 exhibition in Massa Marittima (Bagnoli 2024) is dedicated "Alla memoria di Michel Laclotte, vero amico del Sassetta e del 'Maestro dell'Osservanza'" (To the memory of Michel Laclotte, true friend to Sassetta and the Master of the Osservanza).
22. Bagnoli, in Bagnoli 2024, 105, 111n21. Bagnoli does not suggest that Lionardo di Nanni was the Osservanza Master, merely that Sano had a regular business practice of collaborating with other artists. His solution to the question of identifying the Osservanza Master proceeds from an assumption that the oeuvre originally isolated under that provisional name is homogeneous and represents one of the numerous business partners now confused under the corporate name Sano di Pietro. This approach to studying Sano more closely is long overdue but does not seem to address the core problem of the Osservanza Master's group of paintings.
23. The attempt by Cecilia Alessi and Piero Scapecchi (in Alessi and Scapecchi 1985, 13–37) to identify the Osservanza Master with Francesco di Bartolomeo Alfei (documented 1453–94) has been rejected nearly unanimously in the subsequent literature.
24. Waterhouse 1931, 13.
25. Graziani 1948, fig. 96.
26. Pope-Hennessy, in Pope-Hennessy and Kanter 1987, 106.
27. Keith Christiansen, in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke 1988, 104.
28. Boskovits, in Boskovits and Brown 2003, 487, 492n27.
29. De Marchi 2012.

30. Christiansen 1990, 207.

31. Graziani 1948, 84.

32. Pope-Hennessy 1956, 369; Pope-Hennessy, in Pope-Hennessy and Kanter 1987, 109; Christiansen, in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke 1988, 104; and Boskovits, in Boskovits and Brown 2003, 487, 492n24.

33. Pope-Hennessy 1956, 366, 369.

34. Pope-Hennessy, in Pope-Hennessy and Kanter 1987, 108–9. The *Saint Anthony Abbot* in the Monte dei Paschi collection was first published by Zeri, in Zeri 1956, 36–41. The Louvre *Saint Nicholas* was published by Claudie Ressort and associated with the *Saint Anthony* in Foucart 1983, 8.

35. De Marchi 2012, 68.

36. Although no evidence of batten nails is visible in the X-radiograph of the present panel, a disturbance of the paint surface near the top edge, immediately to the right of the gabled facade of the church, could be due to the movement of a nailhead—although, if so, it is unusually small for a batten nail and difficult to explain why it is not radio-opaque.

37. Scapecchi 1983, 288–89, 290n20.

38. Alessi and Scapecchi 1985, 27, 36n118; and Boskovits, in Boskovits and Brown 2003, 487.

39. Cited in De Marchi 2012, 73n40.

40. Monika Butzek, in Riedl and Seidel 1985, 1.1:218n78.

41. Christiansen, in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke 1988, 105; and Bossi 2019, 277.

42. De Marchi, in Seidel, Caglioti, Carrara, et al. 2010, 267.

Sano di Pietro, *The Martyrdom of Saint Donatus*

Artist	Sano di Pietro, Siena, 1405–1481
Title	*The Martyrdom of Saint Donatus*
Date	ca. 1460
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall 21.4 × 39.0 cm (8 1/2 × 15 3/8 in.); picture surface: 19.8 × 38.6 cm (7 3/4 × 15 1/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.62

Provenance

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

Condition

The panel support, of a horizontal wood grain, has been thinned to 9 millimeters, waxed, and cradled. Two partial splits at the level of the executioner's waist and the bishop saint's thighs emanate from a large knot in the wood, also visible as a vertical check in the foremost red shield of the phalanx of Roman soldiers. The paint surface is beautifully preserved although dulled by a grayed synthetic varnish. Losses are chiefly confined to the edges of the panel, the largest appearing in the two upper corners. The faces of the prefect and soldiers at the left have been scratched, and the gilding of the saint's halo is abraded and broken by flaking losses. The silver-leaf upper and lower margins of the composition have tarnished and are abraded to the red bolus preparatory layer beneath.

Discussion

Like most paintings by Sano di Pietro, the Yale *Martyrdom of Saint Donatus* has a brief and relatively uninformative critical history. It entered the collection with an attribution to Giovanni di Paolo, assigned to it by its previous owner, James Jackson Jarves. F. Mason Perkins distinguished it from the other panel in Jarves's collection given to Giovanni di Paolo, assigning the *Martyrdom* to Pellegrino di Mariano.[1] William Rankin thought it looked closer to Sano di Pietro, and this opinion was seconded by Osvald Sirén.[2] It appears in all editions of Bernard Berenson's lists under Giovanni di Paolo's name,[3] and Joseph Breck also published it as by Giovanni di Paolo, although he observed that, in this case, the artist was approximating the manner of Sano di Pietro.[4] Raimond van Marle, who evidently never saw the painting, included it twice: once as Giovanni di Paolo and once as a follower of Sano di Pietro.[5] Following John Pope-Hennessy's dismissal of the painting as by an anonymous Sienese artist, wrongly ascribed to Giovanni di Paolo, it was referred to consistently as by or in the style of Sano di Pietro (with the exception of Berenson's 1968 lists).[6] Everett Fahy, in his manuscript annotations to Charles Seymour, Jr.'s 1970 catalogue of the Yale collection, recorded the opinion of Creighton Gilbert that a predella panel by Sano di Pietro exhibited at Brandeis University in 1983—lent from the collection of T. S. Hyland, in Greenwich, Connecticut—might be a companion to the Yale panel.[7] This observation was confirmed by Keith Christiansen when the former Hyland panel appeared at auction at Sotheby's, London (fig. 1).[8] The two works are

Fig. 1. Sano di Pietro, *Saint Donatus and the Dragon*, ca. 1460. Tempera and gold on panel, 21.8 × 36 cm (8 5/8 × 14 1/8 in.). Location unknown

very nearly the same size (the ex-Hyland panel measures 21.8 × 36 cm), and both display an identical line of simple dot punches on a silver ground at their upper and lower edges.

The predella panel formerly in the Hyland collection represents an episode in the life of Saint Donatus, a fourth-century bishop of Arezzo. According to the *Golden Legend*, "A certain spring was so polluted that anyone who drank from it died immediately. Saint Donatus, mounted on his ass, was passing that way and purified the water by his prayer, whereupon a frightful dragon burst out of the spring, coiled its tail around the ass's legs, and reared itself up against Donatus. The saint struck the beast with his whip . . . and killed it. He also prayed to the Lord, and all the poison was gone from the spring."[9] In the Hyland panel, the dragon has apparently emerged from the mouth of a cave before a river or pool at the left. Donatus, mounted on a horse rather than an ass and wearing his bishop's miter and a rose-colored cope over a white surplice, swings a knotted whip at the dragon. The two animals and the holy bishop occupy nearly the full height and width of the panel in the foreground. In the Yale panel, a bishop wearing the same colors kneels before an executioner who swings back his sword, its discarded sheath on the ground between his legs. A group of soldiers at the left and a single soldier at the right carry large red shields emblazoned with a scorpion device. The commander of the troop at the left, dressed in blue over his gilded armor, presumably is meant to be the prefect Evadracianus, who ordered the saint's beheading.

A more developed and more colorful version of the story of Saint Donatus and the dragon was included by Sano di Pietro in the predella to his altarpiece of 1476 in the church of Santi Salvatore e Cirino at Badia a Isola, in which, among other minor changes, two bystanders in secular dress are added behind Saint Donatus at the right (fig. 2). The simplified composition of the ex-Hyland panel does not necessarily indicate a later date for it but may imply a less prominent public destination for the original commission. Sano di Pietro's stylistic development was gradual, and his output, following the demands of his patrons, relatively uniform, so assigning specific dates to paintings by him that lack documentation is difficult. Christiansen proposed a date around 1460 for the ex-Hyland panel, and this seems appropriate as well for the Yale *Martyrdom*. The figures in both panels compare closely to those, painted on a similar scale, in Sano's *biccherna* cover of 1457 representing two Servite Blesseds, Giovacchino Piccolomini and Francesco Patrizi (fig. 3). The spare, reduced landscape settings in both panels

recall those in the manuscript illuminations by Sano from the cathedral of Pienza, painted between 1460 and 1462.

Fig. 2. Sano di Pietro, *Saint Donatus and the Dragon* (detail of the predella of the Santi Salvatore e Cirino altarpiece), 1476. Tempera and gold on panel. Santi Salvatore e Cirino, Badia a Isola

Fig. 3. Sano di Pietro, *Biccherna Cover with the Blesseds Giovacchino Piccolomini and Francesco Patrizi*, 1457. Tempera and gold on panel, 45 × 29.8 cm (17 3/4 × 11 3/4 in.). Archivio di Stato di Siena, inv. no. 31

In the Badia a Isola predella (see fig. 2), the story of Saint Donatus is accompanied by three unrelated scenes, each drawn from the legend of the saint portrayed in the altarpiece above it. It is possible, therefore, that if it came from a similar altarpiece, the Yale panel does not represent the martyrdom of Saint Donatus but of another holy bishop. However, the similarity of dress between the bishops in the Yale and ex-Hyland panels suggests the greater likelihood that both are scenes from the story of the same saint, and in that case, the altarpiece in which they were included must have borne a special dedication to Donatus, probably following either the dedication of its church or the name of its locality. No other panels by Sano di Pietro of the same size, style, and marginal decoration as these two have yet been discovered that might have come from the same predella.

Although Sano di Pietro was a highly prolific artist, the number of altarpieces by him disassociated from their predellas and of predella fragments in search of an altarpiece is surprisingly small. Few of these altarpieces include a bishop saint not otherwise specifically identified by an attribute or an inscription who could perhaps be Saint Donatus. One such altarpiece, Polyptych 231 in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, includes a bishop saint invariably identified as Augustine in its rightmost lateral panel. As the figure wears black robes beneath his cope, this identification is probably correct. Another bishop saint conventionally identified as Augustine, from an altarpiece of which only two panels survive, both now in the Kress Collection at the Birmingham Museum of Art, Alabama (fig. 4), is instead dressed in white beneath his vermillion cope and might well have been intended to represent Donatus.[10] The style and dimensions (118.1 × 41.1 cm) of the Birmingham saint are consonant with those of the Yale predella, supporting—although not demonstrating—the possibility of their reconstruction as parts of a single structure. The Birmingham *Saints*, whose backgrounds have been regilt, include half-length figures of the Annunciatory Angel and Virgin Annunciate in their gables. It is unclear whether they originally formed part of a triptych or pentaptych; neither the Virgin and Child that must once have stood between them nor a further pair of saints that might have stood alongside them have been identified.

Aside from his prominence as protector saint of Arezzo, Donatus was the name-saint of numerous churches and small towns throughout Tuscany, including two within the walls of Siena: Sano di Pietro's own parish church and the church of San Michele a Monte San Donato. The latter, now secularized and owned by the Monte dei Paschi di

Fig. 4. Sano di Pietro, *Saint Donatus*(?), ca. 1460. Tempera and gold on panel, 118.1 × 41.1 cm (46 1/2 × 16 1/8 in.). Birmingham Museum of Art, Ala., Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, inv. no. 1961.92

Fig. 5. Sano di Pietro, *Saint Benedict*, ca. 1460. Tempera and gold on panel, 118.4 × 41 cm (46 5/8 × 16 1/8 in.). Birmingham Museum of Art, Ala., Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, inv. no. 1961.91

Siena, was built in the twelfth century and attached to a Vallombrosan monastery, since destroyed. Perhaps significantly, the bishop saint, possibly Donatus, in Birmingham, is accompanied by a full-length figure of Saint Benedict in a dark gray habit (fig. 5), which has suggested to some scholars that "the altarpiece to which the panels belonged may have been commissioned for a chapel or church associated with the Vallombrosan Order."[11] Gaudenz Freuler has, probably correctly, identified seven fragments of an altarpiece by Luca di Tommè that may have been painted for this church shortly after 1350.[12] In his pastoral visit of 1575, Monsignor Francesco Bossi listed nine altars in this church, each provided with a painted altarpiece. He recorded three further altars with paintings in the parish church of San Donato, but none are described in sufficient detail to allow an identification with Sano di Pietro's predella panels.[13] —LK

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Jarves 1860, 48, no. 50; Sturgis 1868, 55, no. 52; Brown 1871, 19, no. 52; Perkins 1905, 77; Rankin 1905, 10; Berenson 1911, 178; Breck 1914, 177, 179–80; Sirén 1916a, 159–60, no. 62; van Marle 1927b, 451–52n2, 527–32n2; Berenson 1932a, 246; Pope-Hennessy 1937, 159, 165n27; Berenson 1968, 1:178; Seymour 1970, 204–5, 320, no. 154; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 182, 599

NOTES

1. Perkins 1905, 76–77. For the other panel in the Jarves collection, see Yale University Art Gallery, inv. no. 1871.59, https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/319.
2. Rankin 1905, 10; and Sirén 1916a, 159–60, no. 62.
3. Berenson 1909a, 178; Berenson 1932a, 246; and Berenson 1968, 1:178.
4. Breck 1914, 177, 179–80.
5. van Marle 1927b, 452n, 532n.
6. Pope-Hennessy 1937, 159, 165n27.
7. See curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
8. Sotheby's, London, July 3, 2019, lot 2.
9. de Voragine 1993, 60.
10. In Roberts 2009, 1:134–35, and in all earlier literature, he is identified as Saint Augustine.
11. Roberts 2009, 1:134.
12. Freuler 1997, 15–32. Although rejected by Freuler, the predella in the Yale University Art Gallery (see Luca di Tommè, *Predella: Saint Francis, the Mourning Virgin, Christ on the Cross, the Mourning Saint John the Evangelist, and Saint Dominic*) was probably part of this altarpiece.
13. Bossi 2018, 108–9, 161–62.

AVE GRATIA PLENA DOMINUS

Workshop of Sano di Pietro, *Virgin and Child with Four Saints and Four Angels*

Artist	Workshop of Sano di Pietro (possibly Master 185), Siena, 1405–1481
Title	*Virgin and Child with Four Saints and Four Angels*
Date	ca. 1460–65
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 60.4 × 45.2 cm (23 3/4 × 17 3/4 in.); picture surface: 53.9 × 39.0 cm (21 1/4 × 15 3/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.254

Provenance

Dan Fellows Platt (1873–1937), Englewood, N.J., by 1923; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, by 1926

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, is 1.6 centimeters thick and has not been thinned nor cut on any side. It preserves its original engaged frame moldings, 8 millimeters thick, and remnants of painted porphyry decoration along its outer top and left edges; the outer right edge preserves an original gesso coating but no evidence of painted decoration. There are two holes for a rope hanging strap pierced at the top center of the back of the panel, and candle burns at the top of the left outer edge and just left of center on the bottom outer edge. The gilding and paint surfaces are heavily abraded. Bolus is visible throughout the gold ground, and all flesh tones are worn to reveal the green preparatory layers underneath. The Christ Child's robe has lost all its painted and glazed decoration, except for a thin strip along the profile of the garment where it overlaps the hands and robe of Saint Jerome. The Virgin's blue robe and green lining have been all but destroyed by solvent damage. By contrast, the Virgin's white veil and the robes of Saints Jerome and Bernardino are well preserved. The painting was cleaned by Andrew Petryn in 1954.

Discussion

The painting shows the Virgin, bust length and turned three-quarters to the viewer's left, holding the Christ Child seated in the palm of her right hand, her left hand supporting His right foot and ankle. The Child wears a gilded robe probably once painted white with a decoration of sgraffito flowers, of which little more than the bolus preparatory layer remains. He holds a goldfinch before Him with both hands and turns back to look out of the composition over His right shoulder. Behind Him at the lower left is Saint Jerome, dressed in cardinal's red and holding a book and quill. Opposite Jerome at the lower right is Saint Bernardino, in a brown Franciscan habit, holding before him a tablet emblazoned with the monogram of Christ, IHS, in a sunburst. Above and behind Saint Jerome at the left is Saint Catherine of Siena, wearing a Dominican habit and holding a spray of flowers. The identity of the saint opposite her on the right is not completely clear, as the attribute he holds is only indistinctly legible. If it is the hilt of a sword, the blade extending down past Saint Bernardino's shoulder, he

could be understood to represent Saint Paul. In other paintings by Sano di Pietro, however, Paul regularly holds his sword turned upward. Precleaning photographs of the Yale panel (fig. 1) show this figure holding a rustic wooden staff with a bell tied to its handle, indicating a probable identity as Saint Anthony Abbot. The heads of four angels, all wearing red diadems, close off the picture field at the top.

Fig. 1. *Virgin and Child with Four Saints and Four Angels*, before 1954

The composition is typical of an exceptionally large class of devotional objects in which Sano di Pietro specialized, producing innumerable close variants but never exact replicas over the last thirty years of his career. These always feature a large, bust-length image of the Virgin holding her Child before her, sometimes filling the entire picture field, sometimes with two or more saints and pairs of angels—always on a smaller scale than the principal figures—crowded around the margins. Compositions in which, as here, the Child is turned to look back out of the painting over His right shoulder are especially numerous, with high-quality examples in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.;[1] the Robert Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 2); the Berenson Collection at Villa I Tatti, Settignano;[2] the Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, Germany;[3] the Art Institute of Chicago;[4] the Christ Church Gallery, Oxford;[5] the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest;[6] and elsewhere. All of these are based on a single cartoon or *patrono*, with minor adjustments to the placement of the Virgin's hands and the Child's feet or hands. In the Altenburg version, the composition is reversed. In some, the Child is occupied with the hem of His mother's cloak; in some, He holds a pomegranate, a symbol of the Passion; and in some, He plays with a goldfinch, symbol of the human soul but also an allusion to the Resurrection.[7] Nearly all are characterized by a high level of craftsmanship and elaborate ornamentation of the gold ground. If the Virgin's halo is lettered rather than simply filled with combinations of punch tools, the inscription is always AVE GRATIA PLENA DOMINUS TECUM (Hail [Mary] full of grace, the Lord is with you).

Fig. 2. Sano di Pietro, *Virgin and Child with Saints Jerome, Bernardino, John the Baptist, and Anthony Abbot and Two Angels*, ca. 1465–70. Tempera and gold on panel, with engaged frame: 74 × 51.8 cm (29 1/8 × 20 3/8 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975, inv. no. 1975.1.42

Regardless of the compositional formula adopted for the Virgin and Child, a singular feature of this class of

paintings by Sano, of which the Yale panel is again a typical example, is the exceptional number of them that include Saints Jerome and Bernardino in the places of honor to the left and right of the principal figures. Over forty examples are known, only a few of which include other saints in addition to these two. This group is roughly evenly divided between those portraying Saint Jerome as a cardinal, as seen here, and those that instead show him dressed as a penitential hermit with a string of beads or a rock in his hand. The latter have been explained as a reference to the cult of Saint Jerome espoused by the Order of the Gesuati in Siena.[8] Sano di Pietro was regularly patronized by the Gesuati, painting three altarpieces for them, but it is difficult to imagine one relatively small monastic order monopolizing his production of private devotional panels for its members, and suggesting so fails to explain why Jerome is inevitably paired with Saint Bernardino. A more likely source for these commissions, though perhaps not an exclusive one, would seem to be the Confraternity of Saint Jerome, established in 1428 by members of the wealthier classes in Siena. In 1443, with an expanded dedication to Saints Jerome and Francis, the society was conceded an oratory chapel beneath the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala opposite the cathedral. Upon the death of Saint Bernardino in 1444, the confraternity aggregated his name to their title,[9] and their religious duties were officiated by friars from Bernardino's community at the Osservanza. A later member of this confraternity, Pietro di Francesco degli Orioli, also produced an unusual number of paintings for private devotion featuring the titular saints of the brotherhood.[10]

The few authors to have mentioned the Yale panel all refer to it as a product of Sano di Pietro's workshop, an evaluation that is no doubt correct but requires some qualification. The facial features of all ten figures in the composition are simplified, almost caricatural reprises of Sano's standard types, but they do not correspond exactly in style to those in any other painting by the artist known to this writer. They are instead directly inspired by the heads painted by Sassetta in his fresco of the Assumption of the Virgin on the Porta Romana in Siena (fig. 3), a work left incomplete by the artist at his death in 1450 and subsequently finished by Sano di Pietro. The punch tools used to decorate the gold ground in the Yale panel were all property of Sano's workshop but are not deployed strictly in his manner: in no other painting by that punctilious artist does the lettering in the Virgin's halo diverge from an orientation following the radius of the nimbus and slip toward a vertical orientation—as do the first five letters of DOMINVS here—and in no other halo by Sano is the final A in PLENA omitted. Wolfgang Loseries has suggested that Sano's habit of forming the G in GRATIA with two confronted half-circles, as here, disappears from securely dated works after 1456, to be replaced by a more conventional capital letter.[11] The precision of this change as a factor in determining the chronology of Sano's work cannot be taken too seriously, but it is doubtless a reliable general indicator of an earlier or later date for any given painting. The Yale panel cannot predate 1461, when Catherine of Siena, portrayed here above Saint Jerome, was canonized, but neither is it likely to have been painted many years after that. All these factors considered together imply that this is not a "standard" example of the output of Sano's workshop but is instead an unusual work by an artist employed perhaps only temporarily with Sano. If this were so, a prime candidate for such an artist would be the so-called Master 185 (see Master 185, *Virgin and Child Enthroned*), who is otherwise not known to have painted any figures on this scale but whose indices of style all tend in this direction. —LK

Fig. 3. Stefano di Giovanni, called Sassetta, *The Assumption of the Virgin* (detail), 1450. Fresco. Porta Romana, Siena

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Gaillard 1923, 203; van Marle 1927b, 532, 527n2; Seymour 1970, 205, 320, no. 155; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 182, 600; Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 8

NOTES

1. Inv. no. 1939.1.274, https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.417.html.
2. Inv. no. P 101.
3. Inv. no. 72 (38).
4. Inv. no. 1933.1027, https://www.artic.edu/artworks/16212/virgin-and-child-with-saints-jerome-bernardino-of-siena-and-angels.
5. See Shaw 1967, 47, no. 32.
6. See Boskovits 2003, 620n8.
7. Inv. no. 1210, http://mfab.hu/artworks/9972/.
8. Boskovits 2003, 617, 620nn10–11. Boskovits's claim that all the versions in which the Christ Child is painted next to Saint Jerome show the latter in hermit's robes is mistaken. See also Wolfgang Loseries, in Boskovits and Tripps 2008, 135, 136nn7–8.
9. Alessi 2003, 29–32. Daniela Gallavotti Cavallero (in Gallavotti Cavallero 1985, 405) reported, perhaps with greater credibility, that the confraternity adopted Saint Bernardino in their title only in 1450, upon his canonization.
10. Laurence Kanter, in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke 1988, 335–37.
11. Loseries, in Boskovits and Tripps 2008, 134.

Sano di Pietro, *The Coronation of the Virgin with Eighteen Saints and Fourteen Angels*

Artist	Sano di Pietro, Siena, 1405–1481
Title	*The Coronation of the Virgin with Eighteen Saints and Fourteen Angels*
Date	ca. 1470–75
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 76.6 × 60.8 cm (30 1/8 × 23 7/8 in.); picture surface: 67.2 × 52.2 cm (26 1/2 × 20 1/2 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.60

Provenance

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

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, comprises three planks: two boards, each approximately 11 centimeters wide, flanking a central board approximately 38 centimeters wide. It has been thinned to a depth of 1 centimeter and was waxed and cradled by Hammond Smith in 1915, but it appears not to have been trimmed along its outer edges, except possibly along the top, where the profile of the panel is slightly irregular. The original engaged frame is missing, but remnants of a barb of gesso along all four sides of the picture field indicate that this has not been altered in size or shape. The seams between the planks are well adhered and have not resulted in any paint loss. Six vertical splits descend a short distance from the top edge, but only the split furthest right—which passes through the wings of the pair of angels in the upper-right corner of the composition and descends as far as the waist of Saint Francis at the bottom right—has provoked any appreciable paint loss. The gilding throughout is beautifully preserved. The paint surface has been abraded from aggressive cleaning, most recently by Andrew Petryn during a treatment of 1958–60, but it is generally in good condition. Terra verde underpainting is strongly visible through some of the flesh tones. Scattered minor losses, principally in the heads of the angels at the top, were discretely inpainted by Anne O'Connor in 2003. The Dove of the Holy Spirit is not painted in a conventional tempera technique and may be a later addition or an early repair: incomplete mordant gilt rays are still partially visible radiating downward from the spot it occupies.

Discussion

The number and frequency of references to the Yale *Coronation of the Virgin* between 1860 and 1932 reflect the popularity of Sienese fifteenth-century paintings with collectors and amateurs before the Second World War, as well as the elevated profile of this painting within that category. The paucity of references to it in the following forty years does not indicate a scholarly change of its status so much as a decline of general interest in the field, further underscored by the complete absence of citations over the past fifty years. In every instance—with the conspicuous and inexplicable exception of Charles Seymour, Jr., who considered it a product of the artist's

workshop[1]—the painting is referred to as an autograph work by Sano di Pietro of distinguished quality. Particular note has been made of its brilliant palette, reminiscent of manuscript illumination, and its animated composition, enlivened by the beautifully executed textile patterns behind and beneath the central figures, Christ and the Virgin, seated side by side on a high-backed throne. Christ places a crown on His mother's head as she joins her hands reverently before her. Below the throne in the foreground are two angels kneeling on an Anatolian carpet, playing a portative organ (left) and a viol (right); a vase of white and red roses stands on the carpet between them. Two pairs of angels peer over the back of the throne, each pair with a music-making angel in red flying above it: that on the left plays a harp, that on the right a lute. The Dove of the Holy Spirit hovers against a blue sky directly in the center of the composition at the top, while six more angels, three on either side, fill out the upper corners of the painted surface.

Sixteen saints stand alongside the throne, four ranks of two on either side. All are painted on a slightly larger scale than the angels but considerably smaller than Christ or the Virgin. Before and below them, in the lower corners of the composition, kneel Saints Bernardino (left) and Francis (right). The first row of saints is all female, two holding martyr's palms and two (on the right) wearing crowns. Above and behind these are the four Fathers of the Church: Saints Jerome and Augustine on the left, Ambrose and Gregory on the right.[2] A fragmentary halo is visible behind and between the latter pair, suggesting that the four figures are meant to be emblematic representatives of the larger order of Confessors, one of the choirs of saints invoked in the hymn "Te Deum Laudamus" recited on the Feast of All Saints. The third row of saints includes Saints John the Evangelist and Peter on the left. The pair opposite them is probably also meant to portray apostles. Although neither bears a distinguishing attribute, the figure furthest right resembles the type usually employed by Sano di Pietro to represent Saint Bartholomew, and the figure alongside him could be Saint Paul. A fragmentary halo appears between both pairs of figures in this row, once again implying that they are meant to be emblematic of the full chorus of apostles and Evangelists. The top row of saints may be prophets and patriarchs; all are elderly and bearded, but none bears an identifying attribute. Partially visible arcs of six more haloes on the right and two on the left suggest a crowd of holy figures completing the court of Heaven in attendance at the scene of the Coronation. Of the conventional orders of saints, only the martyrs are missing. Two of the virgins in the front row carry martyr's palms, but others were probably intended to be suggested by the crowd of partial and overlapping haloes at the back. Conspicuous in their absence are any monastic saints other than the two Franciscans in the foreground and any figure who could plausibly be identified as Saint John the Baptist.

The subject of the Coronation of the Virgin enjoyed "a remarkable increase in popularity" in Siena around the middle of the fifteenth century, "symbolized by the total renewal by Domenico di Bartolo and Sano di Pietro in 1445 of a huge fresco with the Coronation painted by Lippo Vanni in 1352 on the left wall of the Sala del Biccherna of the Palazzo Pubblico" (fig. 1).[3] An altarpiece by Giovanni di Paolo in Sant'Andrea, Siena, is dated 1445, and another in the Robert Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 2), must date shortly afterward. Sano di Pietro painted two monumental versions of the theme. One, an altarpiece now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena (fig. 3), has tentatively been identified with a commission of 1451 for a chapel in the Palazzo Pubblico.[4] It follows closely the composition of Giovanni di Paolo's altarpiece in the Lehman Collection, reproducing even the textile pattern on the cloth of honor lining the Virgin's throne. The other, in Gualdo Tadino, includes smaller kneeling figures of Saint Jerome and the Blessed Giovanni Colombini in the foreground and is dated to 1473.[5] One further example of a Coronation of the Virgin by Sano di Pietro, again in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, was probably designed as the pinnacle to an altarpiece.[6] Painted with a gold ground and a slightly arched top, it includes no ancillary figures, yet the punched margin of the gilding implies that it has not been reduced in size.[7]

Fig. 1. Domenico di Bartolo and Sano di Pietro, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, 1445. Fresco. Sala del Biccherna, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena

Fig. 2. Giovanni di Paolo, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, ca. 1445–50. Tempera and gold on panel, 179.4 × 131.4 cm (70 5/8 × 51 3/4 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975, inv. no. 1975.1.38

Fig. 3. Sano di Pietro, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, ca. 1451. Tempera and gold on panel, 197 × 236 cm (77 1/2 × 92 7/8 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 269

The Yale *Coronation* follows most closely the general composition of the Gualdo Tadino panel of 1473, simplifying its ornament and adding a carpeted platform beneath the feet of Christ and the Virgin nearly identical to that introduced in the 1445 fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico (see fig. 1). The rectangular format of the Yale panel, however, is a novelty, conforming to none of the arched picture fields of its models and recalling instead one of the types of devotional panels showing the Virgin and Child with saints and angels that the artist produced in great numbers. The latter, as a rule, are highly static images, crowding a variable number of half-length or bust-length figures into a limited pictorial space, and they are generally not as large as the Yale panel. Only in unusual cases, such as that of a *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* from the Kress Collection in the Mead Art Museum at Amherst College, Massachusetts,[8] are they animated by a narrative content or conceived on the imposing scale of the Yale panel. In this regard, the Yale *Coronation* bears a casual resemblance to another innovative type of panel produced by Sano di Pietro, a small *anconetta* that combines the content of an altarpiece polyptych with the scale of a private devotional tabernacle. Two particularly fine examples in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, show a Virgin and Child Enthroned surrounded by numerous standing saints in their main rectangular picture fields and, in a mixtilinear gable above, the Crucifixion with, in the one case, the Annunciation (fig. 4) and, in the other, scenes of the Agony in the Garden and the Noli me Tangere.[9] It cannot be ascertained whether the Yale panel might have been completed by a narrative gable. The presence of a barb along its top edge indicates that an engaged molding was applied there, unlike the two *anconette* in Siena. The oddly painted Dove of the Holy Spirit hovering above the scene, however, seems to have been added later, possibly to justify the appearance of golden rays in this area emanating downward from what might, hypothetically, have been a figure of God the Father in an attached pinnacle. —LK

Fig. 4. Sano di Pietro, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints*, ca. 1460. Tempera and gold on panel, 115 × 80 cm (45 1/4 × 31 1/2 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 271

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 47, no. 44; Sturgis 1868, 54, no. 50; Brown 1871, 19, no. 50; Rankin 1895, 143, pl. 7; Berenson 1897, 175; Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1903–14, 5:174; Perkins 1905, 76; Rankin 1905, 10; Berenson 1909a, 239; Sirén 1916a, 157–58, no. 60; Gaillard 1923, 174n1, 204; van Marle 1927b, 521, fig. 332; Offner 1927a, 7; Berenson 1932a, 500; Edgell 1932, 212; Berenson 1968, 1:376; Seymour 1970, 202–4, no. 153; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 181, 599; Vertova 1973a, 160

NOTES

1. Seymour 1970, 202–4, no. 153.
2. Seymour incorrectly identified these as "the four patron bishop-saints of Siena" (Seymour 1970, 204). Luisa Vertova pointed out that the patron saints of Siena—Ansanus, Crescentius, Victor, and Sabinus—are three young martyrs and one elderly bishop, whereas these are a cardinal, two bishops, and a pope (Vertova 1973a, 160). She, unfortunately, identified the papal figure as Saint Clement rather than Saint Gregory.
3. van Os 1990, 158. Henk van Os mistakenly reports the date of Domenico di Bartolo's and Sano di Pietro's work on this fresco as 1455.
4. Cairola and Carli 1963, 204.
5. Museo Civico Rocco Flea, Gualdo Tadino; see Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna, inv. no. 16420.
6. Inv. no. 223.
7. Piero Torriti incorrectly dates this fragment after 1470 and adduces it as an example of the artist's decadence (Torriti 1977, 295). Unusually, the stenciled pattern employed to decorate the cloth of honor on the back and seat of the throne continues without interruption onto the Virgin's draperies. The style of the painting is much closer to that of works from around 1460, and its quality is relatively high.
8. Inv. no. AC 1961.83.
9. For the second example, see inv. no. 273.

Master 185, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Peter and Jerome, Two Angels, and God the Father; Saints Francis and Ansanus with the Annunciatory Angel; Saints Bernardino and Sabinus with the Virgin Annunciate*

Artist	Master 185, Siena, active second third 15th century
Title	*Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Peter and Jerome, Two Angels, and God the Father; Saints Francis and Ansanus with the Annunciatory Angel; Saints Bernardino and Sabinus with the Virgin Annunciate*
Date	ca. 1450–60
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	center panel: overall 57.1 × 23.5 cm (22 1/2 × 9 1/4 in.); picture surface: 46.0 × 20.0 cm (18 1/8 × 7 7/8 in.); left wing: overall 57.1 × 11.7 cm (22 1/2 × 4 1/2 in.); picture surface: 41.3 × 8.1 cm (16 1/4 × 3 1/4 in.); right wing: overall 57 × 12.5 cm (22 1/2 × 4 7/8 in.); picture surface: 42.4 × 8.2 cm (16 5/8 × 3 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Andrew F. Petryn, B.F.A. 1943
Inv. No.	2016.99.19

Provenance

Galerie d'Atri, Paris, by 1940(?);[1] Andrew F. Petryn (1918–2013), New Haven, by 1967(?)[2]

Condition

All three members of the triptych are constructed of panels with a vertical wood grain and retain their original thickness: 2.2 centimeters in the case of the center panel and 1 centimeter in the case of each wing. All three are surrounded by engaged frame moldings 8 millimeters thick and are joined to one another by their original wire hinges. A slight convex warp to the center panel has provoked a minor split 8 centimeters from its right edge at the bottom and has also split the bottom engaged molding. The gilding and paint surfaces in all three panels are beautifully preserved. There are two small losses in the center panel in the front of the dais beneath the Virgin's throne and minor flaking in glazes over the silver leaf and in the shaded right side of God the Father at the top. The figures of Saints Francis and Bernardino are slightly rubbed. Both wings are painted on their reverse with a green-and-white textile pattern that is not original. The back of the center panel is covered with a bluish-green wash that is also not original.

Discussion

This triptych—of a notably fine level of craftsmanship in its carpentry, gilding, and painting, if not of equal merit for its artistic inventiveness—repeats a compositional formula well known in Sienese painting since the fourteenth century. The central panel shows the Virgin and Child Enthroned with two angels holding a crown above the Virgin's head, a grouping loosely reminiscent of Sassetta's *Madonna of Humility* installed in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena in 1438 (see Giovanni di Paolo, *Virgin*

and Child with Saints Bartholomew and Jerome, fig. 1).[3] Full-length figures of Saints Peter and Jerome stand in front of the throne, flanking the Virgin on the left and right, respectively, while a half-length figure of the blessing God the Father appears in a mandorla of engraved lines in the pinnacle of the panel. The wings show two of the patron saints of Siena and two Franciscan saints, turned toward the figures in the center. On the left are Saint Ansanus, carrying a martyr's palm and the Sienese Balzana, with Saint Francis kneeling before him in a pose usually encountered in scenes of the Stigmatization. On the right are Saint Sabinus, holding a banner with a rampant lion in gold on red, symbol of the Capitano del Popolo of Siena, with Saint Bernardino kneeling before him in a pose mirroring that of Saint Francis. The gables of the wings are filled with smaller-scale figures of the Annunciatory Angel and the Virgin Annunciate.

The triptych was first recorded—as formerly in the Galerie D'Atri, Paris—by Federico Zeri in his 1978 review of Piero Torriti's catalogue of paintings in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena.[4] Zeri grouped it and five other works around a modest panel in the Siena Pinacoteca (fig. 1), correcting an effort that had been made forty years earlier by John Pope-Hennessy to identify one of the anonymous followers of Sassetta active in midcentury Siena.[5] Zeri retained the name of convenience coined by Pope-Hennessy, "Master 185," but rejected all but one of his attributions: a triptych formerly in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.,[6] subsequently (1997) in a private collection in Milan,[7] representing the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Michael and Nicholas of Bari. To these, he added another triptych, in the Broglio collection in Paris in 1951, representing the Madonna of Humility with four prophets and Saints Jerome and Thomas Aquinas, as well as two panels also representing the Madonna of Humility that presumably once stood at the centers of similar triptychs: one formerly (1976) in the collection of Heinz Kisters at Kreuzlingen, Switzerland,[8] and the other, at the time, with Luigi Grassi on the London art market. Finally, he included with these paintings, all of which are similar in size and format, two fragments of a cassone front in the Städel Museum, Frankfurt (fig. 2), representing scenes of the Abduction of Helen of Troy.[9] Although Rudolf Hiller von Gaertringen claimed that the Frankfurt panels are extraneous to the group, his argument is based on an unpersuasive dating of the panels three decades too early, invoking comparisons to Florentine cassoni that bear no relation to the development of the genre in Siena.[10] Another cassone front, representing the story of Lucretia, once attributed by Bernard Berenson to Guidoccio Cozzarelli, was correctly recognized by Everett Fahy as a final addition to the corpus of work by Master 185.[11]

Fig. 1. Master 185, *Virgin of Humility with Two Angels*, ca. 1450–60. Tempera and gold on panel, 54 × 27 cm (21 1/4 × 10 5/8 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 185

Fig. 2. Master 185, *The Abduction of Helen*, ca. 1460–70. Tempera on panel, 30.5 × 47.6 cm (12 × 18 3/8 in.). Städel Museum, Frankfurt, inv. no. 1003

All the paintings by Master 185 so far identified are modest in scale and were intended for a domestic market; a suggestion to recognize his hand among the frescoes of secular scenes at the Eremo di Lecceto is unconvincing.[12] The devotional panels—all triptychs or fragments of triptychs—are uniformly refined in their carpentry, their gilding, and their decorative elements, and uniformly unassuming in artistic quality. Their style is entirely dependent on the example of Sassetta, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the artist was an assistant or technician in the latter's workshop. It remains to be determined whether these works represent only the stage in the painter's career that followed Sassetta's death in 1450, whether any of them might have been among the *lavorii rimasti* (unfinished works) noted in Sassetta's estate inventory[13]—and whether other, more ambitious works loosely related to these in style might also be attributable to Master 185 working in Sassetta's studio, over Sassetta's designs and under his guidance. Two candidates in the last category might be the triptychs in the museums in Pienza and in El Paso, Texas (fig. 3)—frequently but mistakenly attributed to the Osservanza Master—that were associated by Berenson with the Frankfurt cassone fragments. In the case of the Yale triptych, there is an exaggerated difference in quality between the wooden poses and stiff draperies of all the painted figures and the calligraphic elegance of the engraved lines defining the flowing draperies of the angels holding a crown above the Virgin's head, sufficient to raise the possibility that the latter might be traced from a drawing by Sassetta or even possibly represent the rudiments of his initial work on the panel. The only punch tool used in this work that can be identified among the impressions catalogued by Mojmír Frinta appears to have belonged to Sassetta.[14] The presence of Saint Bernardino in the right wing of the triptych should argue for a date after that saint's canonization in 1450, but there is some evidence that images of Bernardino as a saint circulated freely in Siena from the time of his death in 1444. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Zeri 1978, 151, no. 6; Torriti 1990, 177

NOTES

1. According to an annotation on the reverse of a photograph of the painting in the Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna, inv. no. 15074.
2. According to a photocopy of a check stub made out to Richard Mills, September 20, 1967; curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
3. Christiansen 1989, 264–68.
4. Zeri 1978, 151, no. 6.
5. Pope-Hennessy 1939, 177–78.
6. Inv. no. 29.6.150.
7. According to a note in the Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna, inv. no. 15070.
8. Sale, Christie's, London, December 9, 1988, lot 5.
9. The other cassone front in Frankfurt is inv. no. 1004.
10. von Gaertringen 2004, 235–43.
11. For the object, see sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 24, 2008, lot 38; and Berenson 1918b, 93–94, fig. 60.
12. Merlini 1999, 110n48.
13. See Pietrasanta 1971, 95–99.
14. Frinta 1998, 259, no. Gb9.

Fig. 3. Possibly Master 185, *The Adoration of the Shepherds with Saints John the Baptist and Bartholomew*, ca. 1440. Tempera and gold on panel, 62.6 × 50.3 cm (24 5/8 × 19 3/4 in.). El Paso Museum of Art, Tex., Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, inv. no. 1961-6/5

Giovanni di Paolo, *Virgin Annunciate*

Artist	Giovanni di Paolo, Siena, 1398–1482
Title	*Virgin Annunciate*
Date	ca. 1425
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	12.5 × 9.2 cm (4 7/8 × 3 5/8 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Richard L. Feigen, B.A. 1952
Inv. No.	2020.75.5

Provenance

Sale, Kunsthaus Lempertz, Cologne, Germany, November 25, 2000, lot 1264a; sale, Sotheby's, London, April 26, 2001, lot 18; Edwin L. Weisl, Jr. (1929–2005), New York; sale, Christie's, New York, April 6, 2006, lot 32; Richard L. Feigen (1930–2021), New York, 2006

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, has been thinned to 5 millimeters but is not cradled. The removal of an engaged frame has exposed the wood of the panel in the upper-left corner. The right edge of the panel has been cropped, leaving only the tips of the punched arcade visible, and no punching is visible along the left vertical edge, which may be presumed to have been cropped even further within the picture field. A vertical split in the panel has provoked small losses of gilding in the Virgin's halo to the left of her cheek and above her head. Retouching of these losses has discolored, as have small fills covering minor losses at the top and bottom edges of the panel. The paint surface is in excellent condition, with the red glazes on the Virgin's dress intact. Flaking losses in her blue robe at her left shoulder, breast, arm, and hip reveal that the robe was painted atop the completed red dress; these losses were lightly touched out with watercolor sometime between 2001 and 2010. Where the blue is not painted over the dress—along the right shoulder and arm, the back profile on both sides, and through the cowl—it is preserved largely intact.

Discussion

This delicate panel was unknown before its appearance at public auction in Cologne, Germany, in 2000, catalogued as "Tuscan Master, ca. 1400," and in London in 2001, catalogued as "Follower of Lorenzo di Bicci." It was first recognized by Pia Palladino, at the time of the London sale of 2001, as an early work by Giovanni di Paolo. Based on its size, shape, the tooling of its gold ground, and the luminous glazing of the Virgin's red draperies, Palladino associated it with a related panel of the Annunciatory Angel in the collection of the Musée du Petit Palais in Avignon, France (fig. 1). The Avignon *Angel*, which measures 13 by 10 centimeters, was identified by Federico Zeri as the pinnacle to the left wing of a portable triptych, where it would have surmounted a half-length figure of Saint James Major, now in the Perkins Collection at the Museo del Tesoro della Basilica di San Francesco, Assisi (fig. 2).[1] Zeri cited a similar figure of Saint Christopher (fig. 3), last recorded in the collection of M. Moratilla in Paris, as a fragment of the corresponding right wing of the triptych.[2] Both the *Saint James Major* and the *Saint Christopher* have been cut to their present sizes (15.2 × 11.5 cm and 16 × 13 cm, respectively) from full-length

Fig. 1. Giovanni di Paolo, *Annunciatory Angel*, ca. 1425. Tempera and gold on panel, 13 × 10 cm (5 1/8 × 4 in.). Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon, France, inv. no. R.F.3799

Fig. 2. Giovanni di Paolo, *Saint James Major*, ca. 1425. Tempera and gold on panel, 15.2 × 11.5 cm (6 × 4 1/2 in.). Museo del Tesoro della Basilica di San Francesco, Assisi, Perkins Collection

figures, which were probably shown standing on tiled or marbleized pavements and beneath ogival or trilobe arches of pastiglia lined with punched decoration along the margins of the gold ground. Allowing for completion of these arches and of the truncated gables of the Avignon *Angel* and the Yale *Virgin*, an original height for the complete wings may be estimated at between 55 and 60 centimeters and a width at approximately 13 to 15 centimeters (the right wing may have been as much as 2 centimeters wider than the left, a difference not infrequently encountered between the wings of intact fifteenth-century triptychs). The missing center panel would then have measured between 50 and 60 centimeters in height and probably 26 to 28 centimeters in width, and it probably represented either the Crucifixion or the Virgin and Child. Comparable complete triptychs from Giovanni di Paolo's early career are to be found at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art[3] and formerly at the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas.[4]

Fig. 3. Giovanni di Paolo, *Saint Christopher*, ca. 1425. Tempera and gold on panel, 16 × 13 cm (6 1/4 × 5 1/8 in.). Location unknown

No likely candidates for the missing center panel had been identified among the surviving early works of Giovanni di Paolo until the discovery in 2023 of a previously unpublished panel representing the Virgin of Humility with four angels and, in its tympanum, the Crucifixion (fig. 4). Formerly in the collections of Mrs. A. E. Goodhart and of Robert Lehman in New York, the panel measures 65.1 by 28 centimeters overall, with a picture surface of 52.1 by 23.2 centimeters.[5] Its elaborate tooled decoration and delicate modeling glazes are fully consistent with those in the Yale, Avignon, and Assisi fragments, and its characteristics of style place it close to the beginnings of Giovanni di Paolo's recognizable career as an artist, again aligned with the Yale, Avignon, and Assisi fragments.

Fig. 4. Giovanni di Paolo, *Virgin of Humility*, ca. 1425. Tempera and gold on panel, overall 65.1 × 28 cm (25 5/8 × 11 in.); picture surface: 52.1 × 23.2 cm (20 1/2 × 9 1/8 in.). Location unknown

Discussing the panels in Assisi and Avignon, Zeri suggested that a date around 1430 or even a few years earlier would not be inappropriate. Michel Laclotte pointed out convincing analogies between these paintings and a group of narrative panels in Siena and Otterlo (fig. 5), then thought to have formed the predella to the Fondi altarpiece of 1436.[6] Palladino accepted both Zeri's and Laclotte's observations, noting, however, that the Siena and Otterlo panels must originate from a different commission than that for the Fondi altarpiece, as they also date from the second half of the 1420s.[7] Dora Sallay proposed a convincing reconstruction of these panels as part of the predella of the Branchini altarpiece of 1427, without, however, mentioning the Assisi/Avignon triptych.[8] For Palladino, the Assisi/Avignon triptych (and, by logical extension, the Yale *Virgin*) most closely resembles the surviving fragments of Giovanni di Paolo's first public commission in Siena, the Malavolti (formerly known as Pecci) altarpiece of 1426, now divided among

the Prepositura at Castelnuovo Berardenga; the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena;[9] the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore;[10] and the Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, Germany.[11] This opinion was seconded recently by Laclotte and Esther Moench.[12] It is possible that the triptych is to be dated earlier than either of these two major commissions of 1426 and 1427, but it is certainly later than Giovanni di Paolo's earliest known works: the *Virgin and Child with Saints Catherine and Dorothy and Two Angels* of ca. 1418 (fig. 6) and the marriage box with a Triumph of Venus, dated 1421 (fig. 7).[13] Despite a pronounced difference of scale, the closest figural analogies for the triptych occur in the small altarpiece showing Christ Suffering and Christ Triumphant in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, dated by Sallay simply "before 1426."[14]

Fig. 5. Giovanni di Paolo, *The Flight into Egypt*, 1427. Tempera and gold on panel, 50 × 50.7 cm (19 5/8 × 20 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 176

Fig. 6. Giovanni di Paolo, *Virgin and Child with Saints Catherine of Alexandria and Dorothy and Two Angels*, ca. 1418. Tempera and gold on panel, 34.6 × 22.6 cm (13 5/8 × 9 1/4 in.). Galerie Giovanni Sarti, Paris

Fig. 7. Giovanni di Paolo, *Marriage Box with the Triumph of Venus*, 1421. Tempera and gold on wood, overall, without handles: H. 14 × Diam. 29.3 cm (5 1/2 × 11 1/2 in.). Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. OA 2517

Portable triptychs in Siena from the last third of the trecento and the opening decades of the quattrocento containing an image of Saint Christopher on one wing are common, though most often he is paired on the other wing not with an image of Saint James Major but rather of Saint Anthony Abbot. Both Saints Christopher and Anthony Abbot were invoked for protection against disease. The latter was known as the healer of men and animals and was the patron of an order of Hospitallers, while an inscription beneath the image of Saint Christopher on a fourteenth-century triptych in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore,[15] where he is paired with a figure of Anthony Abbot, reads, "XPOFORI SANCTI SPETIEM QUICUMQUE TUETUR ILLO NAMQUE DIE NULLO LANGUORE TENETUR" (Whoever contemplates the image of Saint Christopher will not be taken by any illness during that same day). Christopher was also invoked for protection against sudden death and was known as the patron saint of travelers. Saint James Major, the elder brother of Saint John the Evangelist, was the patron and protector of pilgrims and of travelers in general. He is shown in the Assisi panel (see fig. 2) with his standard attribute of a pilgrim's staff, a reference to the popularity, since at least the eleventh century, of his shrine at Compostela in Spain, one of the principal pilgrimage centers of Europe. It is also possible that the pairing of these two saints in the Assisi/Avignon triptych has a more specific meaning. One of Giovanni di Paolo's earliest patrons, Margarita di Branca di Niccolò di Guelfo Branchini, widow of Bartalaccio di Cristoforo Tolomei, founded a chapel in San Domenico in Siena on May 31, 1423, with a dedication to Saints Christopher and James.[16] Giovanni di Paolo's altarpiece for this chapel was completed and signed in 1427, but it is possible that his introduction to the commission may have originated from a far more modest painting made for the donor a few years earlier. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Laclotte and Moench 2005, 110, 236; Andrea de Marchi, in Sarti 2008, 131, 133n6; Dominique Vingtain, in Guiducci and Vingtain 2009; Laurence Kanter, in Kanter and Marciari 2010, 98–100, no. 30

NOTES

1. Cited in Laclotte and Mognetti 1977, 106; and see Zeri 1988, 106.
2. For a graphic reconstruction, see Laclotte and Moench 2005, 236.
3. Inv. no. AC 1996.139.1a–c.
4. See F. Dabell, in *Gold Backs* 1996, 111–17. The Los Angeles triptych was exhibited in Siena in 2010 (see Seidel, Caglioti, Carrara, et al. 2010, no. E.5); its measurements correspond almost exactly with those proposed for the disassembled triptych reconstructed here.
5. The panel was owned by Mrs. Goodhart and by Robert Lehman as the work of an unknown Sienese artist. Gifted by Robert Lehman to Harold Szold, it passed by descent to a grandchild of Szold who offered it for sale in 2023. Identified then by the present author, it subsequently appeared at the 2024 Biennale del Antiquariato in Florence as the property of Galleria Botticelli, accompanied by a commissioned publication by Gaudenz Freuler (Freuler 2024).
6. Laclotte and Mognetti 1977, 106.
7. Pia Palladino, in Kanter and Morello 1999, 114. Miklós Boskovits (in Boskovits and Brown 2003, 326, 331n28) also noted that the Siena and Otterlo predella panels must be works of the 1420s.
8. Dora Sallay, in Seidel, Caglioti, Carrara, et al. 2010, 210–13.
9. Inv. nos. 193 and 197.
10. Inv. no. 37.489, https://art.thewalters.org/detail/7914/four-panels-from-a-predella/.
11. Inv. no. 78.
12. Laclotte and Moench 2005, 110. See also Ada Labriola, in Boskovits and Tripps 2008, 145–50; and Sallay, in Seidel, Caglioti, Carrara, et al. 2010, 206–9.
13. See Andrea De Marchi, in Seidel, Caglioti, Carrara, et al. 2010, 198–99; and Dora Sallay, in Seidel, Caglioti, Carrara, et al. 2010, 416–17. The small tabernacle at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours, inv. no. 63.2.7, published by Andrea De Marchi, in Seidel, Caglioti, Carrara, et al. 2010, 200–201, is not by Giovanni di Paolo and may not be Sienese.
14. Inv. no. inv. 212; see Sallay, in Seidel, Caglioti, Carrara, et al. 2010, 202–3.
15. Inv. no. 37.718; see Zeri 1976b, 1:16.
16. See Sallay, in Seidel, Caglioti, Carrara, et al. 2010, 210–13.

Giovanni di Paolo, *Virgin and Child with Saints Bartholomew and Jerome*

Artist	Giovanni di Paolo, Siena, 1398–1482
Title	*Virgin and Child with Saints Bartholomew and Jerome*
Date	ca. 1445–50
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 53.9 × 41.2 cm (21 1/4 × 16 1/4 in.); picture surface: 47.0 × 34.5 cm (18 1/2 × 13 5/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.255

Provenance

Dr. Cottin, Paris; art market, New York; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1926

Condition

The panel, of a vertical wood grain, retains its original thickness of 2 centimeters but has been waxed and cradled. The engaged frame, 1.5 centimeters thick, is original and undisturbed, other than by lifting at the lower-right corner. Partial splits have developed in the panel at 11, 18.5, and 25 centimeters from the left edge but have resulted in no appreciable paint loss. A disturbance in the panel grain from a knot in the lower-left corner, 12 centimeters from the left edge and 7 centimeters from the bottom, has opened several small cracks in the paint surface. The gold ground is beautifully preserved, with minor repairs to losses along the top edge of the frame on all sides, the sight edge at the top center, and the open miter at the bottom-right corner. Small retouches fill flaking losses along the craquelure above the haloes of the Virgin and Child, to the right of Saint Bartholomew's chin, and along the top half of the right punched margin of the composition. The paint surface is lightly and evenly abraded from an aggressive cleaning of 1953. Small flaking losses have been compensated in the Virgin's blue robe and Saint Bartholomew's gray cloak. Decorative glazes over gold have flaked in the Virgin's left sleeve and at her breast and in Bartholomew's rose-colored robe.

Discussion

There is no published record of this painting before its acquisition by Maitland Griggs in New York in 1926, though he was informed at the time of purchase that it had formerly belonged to a "Dr. Cottin," the Rothschild family physician, in Paris. Richard Offner, in a lecture at the Griggs home in 1927, said that it displayed "the formula of Giovanni di Paolo, but not his style."[1] That same year, it was published by Raimond van Marle as by Giovanni di Paolo but without comment on its possible dating or comparison with other works.[2] Bernard Berenson and Marialuisa Gengaro similarly listed it as by Giovanni di Paolo without comment.[3] John Pope-Hennessy adduced it as a measure of Giovanni di Paolo's interest in Sassetta and as a gauge of the progress of his style after a group of paintings that he associated with the *Madonna of Mercy* altarpiece of 1431 in the church of the Servi in Siena, the signature and date on which had, at

that time, been altered by restoration to read 1436.[4] Cesare Brandi, in a derisive riposte to Pope-Hennessy, dismissed the Griggs painting altogether ("da togliersi recisamente a Giovanni di Paolo"), describing it as only vaguely attuned to the artist's manner.[5] He nevertheless, and confusingly, included it in the summary list of works by Giovanni di Paolo appended to the end of his monograph.[6] Charles Seymour, Jr., also expressed doubt about the autograph status of the painting, qualifying it as a workshop production and as "later than ca. 1436," apparently in acknowledgment of Pope-Hennessy's observations.[7] Everett Fahy, in a manuscript opinion, attributed the painting to Pellegrino di Mariano, but Federico Zeri and Carl Strehlke (in his unpublished checklist of Italian paintings at Yale, where he called it a work of the 1450s) both recognized it as autograph.[8]

Fig. 1. Sassetta, *Madonna of Humility*, 1438. Tempera, gold, and silver on panel, 167 × 97 cm (65 3/4 × 38 1/4 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 325

Beyond a tendency in earlier scholarship to assess Giovanni di Paolo's work by the reductive standards applied to trecento artists, it is difficult to understand the basis for any doubt about this painting's authorship. It is so thoroughly redolent of the forms, palette, technique, and style of Giovanni di Paolo as to leave room only for questioning its date and unusual format. The engaged frame surrounding the painting is original and unaltered, showing no evidence of missing attachments along any side. The continuous profile of the frame—identical along all sides of the painting—implies that the work was always intended to function as a stand-alone object of private devotion, and lacking shutters to close over and protect the central image, it might be assumed to have been painted for a specific context and was not meant to be portable. Its remarkable state of preservation—aside from an aggressive modern cleaning—could suggest that it was inserted into a marble tabernacle surround (which might have had its own protective shutters), similar to that hypothesized for the much larger painting by Sassetta installed in 1438 in the entrance vestibule of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena (fig. 1), a painting that was Giovanni di Paolo's model for the composition—and, loosely, the format—of the Griggs painting.[9]

Sassetta's Palazzo Pubblico painting of 1438 represents the Madonna of Humility, showing the Virgin seated on a cushion placed on the ground, and was the model for several versions of the same theme by other Sienese painters, including Giovanni di Paolo and Sano di Pietro. Giovanni di Paolo imitated the poses of Sassetta's Virgin and Christ Child in two paintings of the Madonna of Humility, one in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 2), datable to the first half of the 1440s, and a replica of that painting perhaps of the 1450s in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena.[10] In both of these paintings, he turned the Child's head to engage more intimately with His mother and altered slightly the position of her hands supporting Him. The figures in the Griggs *Virgin and Child* follow more closely the drawing of those in Sassetta's original, or even closer still that of a small-scale version of the composition by Sassetta now in the Frick Art Museum, Pittsburgh (fig. 3). To accommodate the two standing saints in the Griggs painting, Giovanni di Paolo converted Sassetta's Madonna of Humility to a Madonna Enthroned. Accordingly, he also covered the Virgin's head with the cowl of her blue robe, in keeping with the greater formality of the image, instead of leaving it exposed through the translucent veil binding her hair. Machtelt Israëls has observed that this distinction follows the custom of Sienese women appearing in public only with their heads covered,

Fig. 2. Giovanni di Paolo, *Madonna of Humility*, ca. 1440–45. Tempera and gold on panel, 62 × 48.8 cm (24 3/8 × 19 1/4 in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Maria Antoinette Evans Fund, inv. no. 30.772

Fig. 3. Sassetta, *Madonna of Humility*, ca. 1438–40. Tempera, gold, and silver on panel, 41.9 × 31.8 cm (16 1/2 × 12 1/2 in.). Frick Art Museum, Pittsburgh, inv. no. 1973.29

underscoring the private, intimate nature of Madonna of Humility imagery.[11]

One unusual feature of the Griggs *Virgin* is the heart- or leaf-shaped punch decorating the margin of its gold ground, following the inner profile of its engaged frame, the only recorded instance of this tool in a painting by Giovanni di Paolo.[12] It does appear that this may be identical with a tool used in a number of paintings by Paolo di Giovanni Fei, Taddeo di Bartolo, and Andrea Vanni, including the altarpiece in Santo Stefano alla Lizza (1400) by the latter.[13] Giovanni di Paolo was commissioned to provide a painted predella for that altarpiece sometime around 1450: as the predella includes a scene from the legend of Saint Bernardino, there is disagreement among scholars whether the predella necessarily postdates his canonization in 1450 or simply his death in 1444. There may be no connection between the use of this punch in the Griggs *Virgin and Child* and Giovanni di Paolo's work in Santo Stefano, but the same range of dates may be applied independently to the Griggs painting on stylistic grounds. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

van Marle 1927b, 430, fig. 277; Berenson 1932a, 246; Gengaro 1932, 31; Berenson 1936, 212; Pope-Hennessy 1937, 28–29, 52n70, 173; Comstock 1946, 51–52; Brandi 1947, 71n24, 121; Berenson 1968, 1:178; Seymour 1970, 199, 319, no. 150; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 90, 600; Seymour et al. 1972, 39, no. 30; Frinta 1998, 310, 332

NOTES

1. Frick Art Reference Library, New York, where it is also said that Griggs purchased the painting in New York not Paris. Presumably the painting passed from Cottin to the art market rather than directly to Griggs.
2. van Marle 1927b, 430.
3. Berenson 1932a, 246; Berenson 1936, 212; Berenson 1968, 1:178; and Gengaro 1932, 31.
4. Pope-Hennessy 1937, 28.
5. Brandi 1947, 71n24.
6. Brandi 1947, 121.

7. Seymour 1970, 199.

8. Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 90, 600; for Fahy and Strehlke, see curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.

9. Christiansen 1989, 264–68.

10. Inv. no. 206.

11. Machtelt Israëls, in Seidel, Caglioti, Carrara, et al. 2010, 238.

12. Frinta 1998, 332, no. I125b. Frinta erroneously catalogued the same punch in a painting by Nardo di Cione: *Saint Benedict*, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, inv. no. NM2259, https://collection.nationalmuseum.se:443/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=19319&viewType=detailView. That punch is instead no. 682 in Erling Skaug's catalogue of Florentine punch tools; Skaug 1994, 2: chart 6.10. Skaug records no similar punch in the Baronci triptych by Orcagna, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-C-1608, http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.4883, which Frinta assigns also to Nardo di Cione.

13. Frinta 1998, no. I25a.

Giovanni di Paolo, *Saint Clare Blessing the Bread before Pope Innocent IV*

Artist	Giovanni di Paolo, Siena, 1398–1482
Title	*Saint Clare Blessing the Bread before Pope Innocent IV*
Date	ca. 1450
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 21.6 × 30.2 cm (8 1/2 × 11 7/8 in.); picture surface: 19.6 × 27.9 cm (7 3/4 × 11 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.59

Provenance

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

Condition

The panel support, of a horizontal wood grain with a slight convex warp, has been thinned to between 11 and 13 millimeters and waxed but not cradled. A partial split, approximately on center, runs from the left edge of the panel through the face of Saint Clare and extends as far as the figure of the deacon holding the trailing end of the pope's mantle. Fragments of a barb are visible on all four sides of the composition. The paint surface is beautifully preserved with only light overall abrasion from an energetic cleaning in 1950–52. Small local retouches to discreet flaking losses near the left edge and along the bottom, along a fill in the split, and in the pavement near the pope's extended left foot were added by Elisabeth Mention during a treatment in 1998, as were repairs to the gold in Saint Clare's halo. At that time, unsightly gray fills were added along the outer margins of the panel to raise those areas flush to the picture surface.

Discussion

One of the few paintings in the James Jackson Jarves collection for which the artist was correctly identified by its owner, this scene from the life of Saint Clare has never been the topic of an attributional debate, although its subject was long misunderstood as being a scene from the life of Saint Catherine of Siena. The error was first rectified by John Pope-Hennessy,[1] who recognized the painting's subject as Saint Clare blessing the three loaves of bread, an imaginative conflation of texts derived from Thomas of Celano's official biography of the saint, commissioned by Pope Alexander IV in 1257, and Fra Bartholomew of Pisa's *De conformitate vitae beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Iesu* of 1399.[2] Stopping at Assisi three days before her death in 1253, Pope Innocent IV and his retinue visited the bedridden Clare at the convent of San Damiano, where, according to Thomas of Celano, Clare humbly begged for permission to kiss the pontiff's foot. Fra Bartholomew added that, shortly afterward, the pope asked Clare to bless the meal they were about to eat. She made the sign of the Cross over the prepared loaves of bread, and two audible cracks revealed the sign of the Cross visibly imprinted on each loaf. Giovanni di Paolo shows the saint on her knees before a refectory table set with a white linen cloth. She raises her right hand, two fingers extended in a gesture of blessing, while the pope, attended by a deacon dressed in blue and by two cardinals, recoils in surprise at the sound and the miraculous appearance of the crosses. The scene opens into depth at the left, with a compressed view of the overlapping facades of two conventual buildings.

Recognizing the correct subject of the Jarves panel, Pope-Hennessy also asserted that it formed part of a suite of four predella panels illustrating episodes from the life or posthumous miracles of Saint Clare. The first in narrative sequence (fig. 1) was at that time in the Fuld collection in Frankfurt; subsequently acquired in 1940 by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, it was restituted to the heirs of the Fuld family, sold at Christie's in London in 2019, and is now in a private collection in New York.[3] It represents the investiture of the young Saint Clare by Saint Francis at the shrine of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Assisi. Following this scene in the predella was the Jarves *Blessing the Bread*: a split through the left half of the panel at Yale, just above the center of the composition, continues into the right edge of the ex-Fuld *Investiture*. These two episodes from the life of Saint Clare were balanced on the right side of the predella by two posthumous miracles. The first was a scene of Saint Clare rescuing a shipwrecked crew at sea (fig. 2). Also formerly in the Fuld collection, and sold alongside its companion scene of the investiture,[4] this panel, too, is now in a private collection in New York. The shipwreck scene is one of Giovanni di Paolo's most imaginative and fantastic depictions of a miraculous event and, together with its extraordinary state of preservation, is one of the most compelling images in his entire oeuvre. It was followed in the predella by a scarcely less imaginative but sadly overcleaned panel now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, representing Saint Clare rescuing a child attacked by a wolf (fig. 3). It may be presumed either that further scenes from the life of Saint Clare are missing or that the two known pairs of scenes were separated from each other by a Crucifixion or another scene from the life of Christ, as is typical in the predellas of Sienese altarpieces from the fifteenth century.

Fig. 1. Giovanni di Paolo, *The Investiture of Saint Clare*, ca. 1450. Tempera and gold on panel, 20.6 × 29.2 cm (8 1/8 × 11 1/2 in.). Private collection, New York

Fig. 2. Giovanni di Paolo, *Saint Clare Rescuing a Shipwreck at Sea*, ca. 1450. Tempera and gold on panel, 19.7 × 29.5 cm (7 3/4 × 11 5/8 in.). Private collection, New York

Fig. 3. Giovanni di Paolo, *Saint Clare Rescuing a Child Attacked by a Wolf*, ca. 1450. Tempera and gold on panel, 20.6 × 28.1 cm (8 1/8 × 11 1/2 in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, The Edith A. and Percy S. Straus Collection, inv. no. 44.571

Assuming that the four Saint Clare panels functioned as the predella to an altarpiece, Carl Strehlke accepted a suggestion offered to him by Keith Christiansen that this might have been Altarpiece 191 in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, representing the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Peter Damian, Thomas, Clare, and Ursula (fig. 4).[5] He observed that the works correspond to each other in style and that the widths of the lateral panels in the altarpiece closely approximate those of the individual predella scenes. One other Clarissan altarpiece by Giovanni di Paolo—representing Saint Nicholas Enthroned with Saints Bernardino, Francis, Clare, and Louis of Toulouse—while also related in style is considerably larger (251 cm wide, as compared to 183 cm wide) and less plausible a source for the predella.[6] In both of these altarpieces, Saint Clare stands immediately to the right of the center panel rather than in the conventional place of honor on the left, leading Carolyn Wilson to reject the idea that either might be reconstructed as part of a single complex with the Saint Clare scenes.[7] This convention seems not to have been observed rigidly either by Giovanni di Paolo or his patrons. A predella including four scenes from the life of Saint John the Baptist now in the National Gallery, London,[8] has reasonably been associated with an Augustinian altarpiece at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,[9] in which the Baptist similarly stands on the right. Wilson's alternative suggestion that the scenes may have formed part of a *custodia* or vita retable is unlikely given their size, the horizontal wood grain of their supports, and the apparent continuity of those panel supports.

Fig. 4. Giovanni di Paolo, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Peter Damian, Thomas, Clare, and Ursula*, ca. 1450. Tempera and gold on panel, 225 × 183 cm (88 5/8 × 72 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 191

While the *Saint Nicholas Enthroned* altarpiece may be presumed to have come from the Clarissan convent of San Niccolò in Siena, it is unclear which of the other three Clarissan establishments in Siena—Santa Petronilla, San Lorenzo, or Santa Chiara—might have been the original provenance of the Saint Clare predella or whether it might have been painted for a convent elsewhere in the Sienese territories. Strehlke explained the appearance of the Camaldolese Saint Peter Damian (1007–1072) in the leftmost lateral panel of Altarpiece 191 in Siena (see fig. 4) as a semantic confusion with the early Christian martyr Damian, after whom the church of San Damiano in Assisi was named. This was the church in which Saint Clare first established her order—her followers were initially known as *Damiane* rather than Clarissans—and in which she is portrayed in the Yale predella panel. The apostle Saint Thomas standing alongside him, in the traditional position of honor at the Virgin's right, is undoubtedly a reference to the name-saint of the altarpiece's unknown patron.

Altarpiece 191 in Siena is commonly assumed to be a work of the 1450s and is described by most writers as following shortly after Giovanni di Paolo's dated San Niccolò altarpiece of 1453. Only Miklós Boskovits has

suggested that it might instead precede the San Niccolò altarpiece, and this appears to be correct.[10] Comparison of the Augustinian altarpiece at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, dated 1454, to the San Niccolò altarpiece indicates a development in the artist's style toward the harder abstractions and heavier palette of his late works already beginning at that time. Altarpiece 191, instead, shares some of the softer linearity and lighter chiaroscuro of the Guelfi altarpiece of 1445 in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence.[11] The figure style and projection of space in the Saint Clare scenes also relate more strongly to those in the fragments of the Guelfi predella at the Metropolitan Museum[12] or the *Madonna of Humility* at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,[13] than they do to the London *Saint John the Baptist* predella or the Philadelphia *Miracle of Saint Nicholas of Tolentino*[14] of 1457. There are no dated works by Giovanni di Paolo that fall within the period between 1445 and 1453, so finer judgments of chronology are difficult. Lacking any further external evidence, a date for the *Saint Clare* panels of ca. 1450 is justified but must be understood to be approximate. The date of 1461 assigned to the panels by Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby is to be dismissed as a confusion with Giovanni di Paolo's predella panels with scenes from the life of Saint Catherine of Siena.[15] — LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 47, no. 45; Jarves 1861, pl. F, fig. 19 (engraving); Sturgis 1868, 55, no. 51; Brown 1871, 19, no. 51; Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1903–14, 5:178; Perkins 1905, 76–77; Berenson 1909a, 178; Breck 1914, 177, 179–80; Sirén 1916a, 155–56, no. 59; van Marle 1927b, 448, 452n1; Offner 1927a, 7, 40, fig. 32; Venturi 1931, pl. 130; Berenson 1932a, 246; Gengaro 1932, 11, 29, pl. 1; Venturi 1933, 1: pl. 159; Faison 1936, 13; Pope-Hennessy 1937, 78–79, 91, 109n58, 145n56, 172; Offner 1945, 18–19; Brandi 1947, 84n68; *Rediscovered Italian Paintings* 1952, 28–29; *Verzeichnis der ausgestellten Gemälde* 1964, 53; Berenson 1968, 1:175, 177–78, 180; Seymour 1970, 196–98, no. 148; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 90, 599; Vertova 1973a, 160; Carl Brandon Strehlke, in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke 1988, 204–7, no. 34a; Pope-Hennessy 1988, 17; Kenney 1992, 137; Wilson 1996a, 168–69; Wilson 1996b, 427–29, 432–33n55, 433nn56 and 62, 434nn73 and 74, fig. 15; Roberts, Cole, and Maginnis 2002, 148–51; Miklós Boskovits, in Boskovits and Brown 2003, 334, 336n23; Iris Wenderholm, in Weppelmann 2005, 254–58; Roberts 2009, 2:402–3; Debby 2014, 81–84, pl. 6.

NOTES

1. Pope-Hennessy 1937, 78–79, 109n58, 145n56.
2. Lazzeri 1920, 147–48, 200–201. See Wilson 1996a, 168–69, for a discussion of the iconography and textual sources for the suite of four predella panels illustrating the miracles of Saint Clare.
3. Sale, Christie's, London, December 2, 2019, lot 9.
4. Sale, Christie's, London, December 2, 2019, lot 8.
5. Carl Brandon Strehlke, in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke 1988, 204–7, no. 34a.
6. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 173.
7. Wilson 1996a, 168–69.
8. Inv. nos. NG5451–54, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/giovanni-di-paolo-the-baptism-of-christ-predella-panel.
9. Inv. no. 32.100.76, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/436508.
10. Miklós Boskovits, in Boskovits and Brown 2003, 334, 336n23.
11. Inv. no. 3255.
12. Inv. nos. 1975.1.31, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/458971; and 06.1046, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/436512.
13. Inv. no. 30.772, https://collections.mfa.org/objects/32399/madonna-of-humility?ctx=bd217e73-799f-4c23-a87a-b89934d9ce2f&idx=0.
14. Philadelphia Museum of Art, inv. no. 723, https://philamuseum.org/collection/object/103722.
15. Debby 2014, 81–84.

Matteo di Giovanni, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saint William of Maleval (Guglielmo da Malavalle), a Deacon Saint (probably Saint Stephen), and a Bishop Saint (probably Saint Sabinus)*

Artist	Matteo di Giovanni, Siena, ca. 1430–1495
Title	*Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saint William of Maleval (Guglielmo da Malavalle), a Deacon Saint (probably Saint Stephen), and a Bishop Saint (probably Saint Sabinus)*
Date	ca. 1455–60
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 89.2 × 58.2 cm (35 1/8 × 22 7/8 in.); picture surface: 82.4 × 50.6 cm (32 1/2 × 19 7/8 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Gilbert H. Kinney, B.A. 1953, M.A. 1954
Inv. No.	1975.112

Provenance

Private collection, Florence;[1] Dan Fellows Platt (1873–1938), Englewood, N.J., by 1909;[2] sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, January 9, 1947, lot 25; James Lord (1922–2009), Paris; Wildenstein & Co., New York; Ann Kinney (born 1931) and Gilbert H. Kinney (1931–2020), New York, by 1975

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, is 3 centimeters thick and exhibits a pronounced convex warp. It comprises a center plank, 47 centimeters wide, with narrow planks glued and nailed to it on either side: 4 centimeters wide on the left and 5 centimeters wide on the right. The panels are joined by two modern battens across the reverse and an engaged frame, 3.5 centimeters wide and 1.8 centimeters deep, applied to the front. The vertical sections of the frame are largely original, but the sections of the segmented arch at the top and the cross-grained molding at the bottom are modern; the latter is applied over a 2.7-centimeter-wide addition to the panel repairing extreme worm damage along its lower edge. The gold ground and haloes are modern leaf applied over remnants of original gilding. The paint surface has suffered numerous complete losses and has been extensively repainted but is relatively free of abrasions other than in the Virgin's blue robe. The entire surface is, at present, covered by a yellowed and exceptionally thick, glossy varnish that obscures the tone of all the colors.

Discussion

Other than brief mentions of its existence in the Dan Fellows Platt collection in Englewood, New Jersey, this undeservedly little-known work has appeared only once in the general literature of Renaissance painting. In 1921 F. Mason Perkins vigorously defended an attribution for it to Matteo di Giovanni rather than to Guidoccio Cozzarelli, the name it had been assigned by Bernard Berenson at least since 1909.[3] As Perkins wrote:

> The painting reveals . . . an amount of character and combination of other qualities hardly to be reconciled with Cozzarelli's flaccid and defective art. That Guidoccio could, for instance, have been capable, at any period of his career, of producing so well-balanced and perfectly-spaced a composition as that which we have here, it is difficult to believe. Nor do we discover, in his independent works, any such sureness of design or any such general technical ability as are displayed in this panel. Still again, while Cozzarelli shows himself, in almost all his known paintings, as an exclusive imitator of his chosen master's mature and full-blown style, the picture at Englewood reveals the closest affinities to certain works of Matteo's early and least-known manner.[4]

Raimond van Marle adopted Perkins's conclusions without comment.[5] Berenson continued to insist on an attribution to Cozzarelli in all the editions of his lists, and it was with that identification that the painting entered the collection of the Yale University Art Gallery in 1975. Erica Trimpi did not mention the painting in her dissertation on Matteo di Giovanni, which must be understood as a tacit acceptance of Berenson's attribution for it to Guidoccio Cozzarelli.[6]

Both Perkins and Berenson called attention to the damaged condition of the panel and its character-altering restorations. Perkins claimed to have seen it unrestored,[7] presumably in a state preceding that recorded in a Reali photograph preserved in the Berenson Library, Villa I Tatti, Settignano (fig. 1). That image shows the panel with its still engaged frame moldings. The gold ground had already been renewed, and the Virgin's dress had been heavily overpainted, as had her features and those of the Christ Child. The deacon saint at the right was portrayed with a crown and held a flail in his right hand. At the left, Saint William of Maleval (Guglielmo da Malavalle) wore the iron cross bands on his head that, together with prayer beads and rustic staff, are his distinguishing attributes. The bishop saint kneeling in the left foreground held what appears to be a curry comb in his right hand, suggesting his identification as Saint Blaise. Not only did these free inventions obscure the iconography of the image, but also the blunting effect of the repaints, especially in the Virgin and Child, made Berenson's attribution to Guidoccio Cozzarelli easier to explain. They masked almost entirely the incisive handling of paint—exclusively typical of Matteo di Giovanni—revealed in a cleaning possibly undertaken for Wildenstein & Co. when the painting was briefly in their inventory.

Fig. 1. *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saint William of Maleval (Guglielmo da Malavalle), a Deacon Saint (probably Saint Stephen), and a Bishop Saint (probably Saint Sabinus)*, before cleaning

While the present "cleaned" state of the painting may be said to have clarified some of the confusion introduced by the earlier restoration, it is guilty of having replaced other uncertainties with misinterpretations of its own. The kneeling bishop now holds a feather rather than a curry comb, but this must once have been a martyr's palm. The yellow-and-white form that had been reconstructed as the head of the comb is clearly the upper half of a book, but just as clearly, the book was not meant to be clasped beneath the orphrey of the bishop's cope, as it now appears to be. Saint William has lost his cross-banded headgear, and his rustic staff has been provided, inappropriately, with an elaborate acanthus finial. The misleading folds in the Virgin's mantle have disappeared, but a mordant gilt star has been added to (or revealed on) her right shoulder. The thongs of the flail once held by the deacon saint are now revealed to have been epaulettes attached at both of his shoulders, but the form that had constituted the handle of the flail has now been reconstructed as a knife held in the saint's right hand. Probably this was also originally a martyr's palm, only

vestiges of which remain. The deacon still wears a crown, but this is rendered in new gold, and the top of his head visible above the crown is also modern. There is no indication that these forms follow any remnants of an original design. Probably, the figure was tonsured, and the crown and top of his hair were added as a misunderstanding of damage in that area. Traces of original punch tooling along the gilt margin of the composition survive just above the deacon's left shoulder, as does a stray lozenge-shape punch strike at the level of his ear, which implies the original circumference of his halo was once considerably larger than it is at present. Probably, all the haloes corresponded to or were larger than the area now occupied by the halo of the kneeling bishop.

Neither the bishop nor the deacon carries a defining attribute that could pinpoint his identification, but there is at least a reasonable likelihood that the bishop is meant to be Saint Sabinus (San Savino), one of the patron saints of Siena. The deacon could be interpreted as Saint Stephen if it is assumed that the damage at the top of his head resulted in the elimination of his key attributes: the stones of his martyrdom. The hermit saint at the left is clearly meant to be William of Maleval (Guglielmo da Malavalle), founder of the eremitical order of Guglielmites, although eleven saints in the Roman calendar bear the name William, and their iconographies, especially that of Saint William of Aquitaine, are frequently confused one with another.[8] While William of Maleval was particularly venerated at Castiglion della Pescaia on the Tyrrhenian coast below Grosseto, the Guglielmites were spread throughout Tuscany, western Umbria, and northern Lazio. They were established densely in the Maremma, southwest of Siena, and the most prestigious of the many foundations over which they exercised authority was, from 1291 to 1462, the Benedictine abbey of Sant'Antimo near Montalcino, in the province of Siena.[9]

Considered without the freely invented repairs to lacunae and unnecessary retouching in the principal figures, it is apparent that Perkins's assessment of the painting as an early work by Matteo di Giovanni is correct. It must also be acknowledged, however, that persistent disagreement over the outlines of Matteo di Giovanni's early career necessitates qualification of such an attribution. Matteo is first mentioned as a painter in December 1452, when he is named alongside Giovanni di Pietro—the elder brother of Vecchietta—in a document of payment for gilding and polychromy of a wooden angel carved as part of an *Annunciation* group in the cathedral of Siena. A second payment for this work, registered in January 1453, specified that Matteo and Giovanni di Pietro were partners in a *compagnia*, an official business relationship confirmed in a tax declaration filed later that year. These two artists are still named alongside each other in payments for work in the chapel of Saint Bernardino in Siena Cathedral between 1457 and 1461 but not again after that. The first signed and dated painting by Matteo, a *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Anthony of Padua and Bernardino* now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Siena, appears only in 1460, followed by two altarpieces for the cathedral in Pienza between 1462 and 1465. Some considerable body of work before this must be presumed, either lost or not yet identified, but only a handful of early paintings are commonly discussed as candidates in the scant art-historical literature dedicated to the artist. Chief among these is an altarpiece of the Annunciation in the church of San Pietro Ovile, Siena, frequently associated with documents of 1459 and 1460,[10] and altarpieces in Borgo San Sepolcro and Asciano, both undocumented but generally placed shortly before or after 1460.

Pia Palladino's demonstration that the San Pietro Ovile altarpiece and the *Saint Bernardino* altarpiece of 1460 are both hybrid works makes them definitive indicators of Matteo di Giovanni's style during the period of his *compagnia* with Giovanni di Pietro in the 1450s.[11] The Graziani altarpiece in Borgo San Sepolcro (fig. 2)—comprising the lateral panels and predella that once completed the *Baptism of Christ* by Piero della Francesca now in the National Gallery, London[12]—is frequently considered contemporary to these works, but that contention was based on the mistaken supposition that its predella is also attributable to Giovanni di Pietro. While it is clearly an early work, it more likely follows than precedes the 1460 altarpiece in the Opera del Duomo.[13] The Scotti altarpiece in Asciano (fig. 3), considered a work of ca. 1458 in recent scholarship, is instead closest in style to the Pienza altarpieces and probably dates to the middle years of the 1460s.[14] Assigning it a precise date or using it as a firm point of comparison for other works is complicated, however, by its having been painted in two distinct campaigns. The predella, center panel, left lateral panel, and pinnacles are products of a first campaign, presumably of the early 1460s. Some few years later, probably not later than 1470, the right lateral panel was repainted to change the dedication of the altarpiece from Saint Catherine of Alexandria, whose legend is recounted in the predella, to Saint Bernardino.[15] The pavement in this panel was repainted and the gold ground releafed to cover the wheel of Saint Catherine's martyrdom, still

faintly visible in raking light behind the current figure of Saint Margaret. Sandals once worn by the saint, possibly Philip, now reconfigured as Bernardino, who is barefoot, were also covered over in this campaign but can still be discerned in raking light.[16]

Fig. 2. Matteo di Giovanni, *Graziani Altarpiece*, ca. 1460–62. Tempera and gold on panel, approx. 290 × 360 cm (114 1/8 × 141 3/4 in.). Museo Civico, Sansepolcro

Fig. 3. Matteo di Giovanni, *Scotti Altarpiece*, ca. 1463–70. Tempera and gold on panel, 258 × 210 cm (101 1/8 × 82 5/8 in.). Museo Civico Archeologico e d'Arte Sacra Palazzo Corboli, Asciano

Three undated works of private devotion that can be associated stylistically with these altarpieces are generally featured in discussions of Matteo di Giovanni's early career: two Virgin and Child compositions in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.,[17] and another in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence.[18] All of these are datable to the decade of the 1460s by comparison to the Asciano and Borgo San Sepolcro altarpieces.[19] Three much smaller and simpler paintings of the Virgin and Child are known that must precede these and that together offer a compelling point of context for the Yale *Virgin and Child Enthroned*: a *Virgin and Child with Saints Peter and Paul* in the Museo Horne, Florence (fig. 4); a *Virgin and Child with Saints Jerome and Barbara* (formerly?) in the Museo Civico at Ravenna; and a *Virgin and Child* with no other figures formerly in the collection of Robert Langton Douglas, London (fig. 5).[20] These display the same figure types, spidery rendering of limbs and digits, and nervous brushwork encountered in the Yale painting, all cognate to but more amply developed in Matteo's work at the beginning of the seventh decade of the fifteenth century. There exists no fixed point of reference for determining

dates for Matteo's work in the 1450s. The San Pietro Ovile altarpiece is presumed to be dated ca. 1459, but the documents often associated with it are unspecific.[21] A proposal to attribute a *biccherna* cover of 1452 to Matteo di Giovanni is scarcely persuasive, whereas two other *biccherne* that are stronger candidates for an attribution to Matteo are both dated 1460 and therefore of little use in establishing finer gradations of chronology for the 1450s.[22] Assigning a date of ca. 1455–60 to the Yale *Virgin and Child Enthroned* is, therefore, emblematic rather than a specific indication of the moment in which it must have been commissioned or executed. —LK

Fig. 4. Matteo di Giovanni, *Virgin and Child with Saints Peter and Paul*, ca. 1455–60. Tempera on panel, 45 × 30.5 cm (17 3/4 × 12 in.). Museo Horne, Florence, inv. no. 72

Fig. 5. Matteo di Giovanni, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1455–60. Tempera on panel, 15 × 12 cm (5 7/8 × 4 3/4 in.). Location unknown

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Berenson 1909a, 159; Perkins 1913a, 199; Perkins 1921b, 47, 49, 50n2; Berenson 1932a, 157; Berenson 1936, 136; van Marle 1937, 358; Berenson 1968, 1:98; "Acquisitions 1975", 38, 43

NOTES

1. According to Perkins 1921b, 50n2.
2. Bernard Berenson lists a *Madonna* by Guidoccio Cozzarelli in the Platt collection; see Berenson 1909a, 159. While the title does not correspond exactly to the present picture, the latter is the only painting Platt is known to have owned that Berenson considered a work by that artist.
3. Perkins 1921b, 47, 49, 50n2; and Berenson 1909a, 159.
4. Perkins 1921b, 47.
5. van Marle 1937, 358.
6. Trimpi 1987.
7. Perkins 1921b, 50n2.
8. Kaftal 1952, col. 1032.
9. Corsi 2004, 100–109, esp. 108n20.
10. See note 21, below.
11. Palladino 2002, 49–56.

12. Inv. no. NG665, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/piero-della-francesca-the-baptism-of-christ.

13. The most detailed discussion of this painting is to be found in De Marchi 2002a, 57–75. His conclusion, dating the painting to 1456, is difficult to accept, as is his rejection of Giovanni di Pietro as Matteo's collaborator on the San Pietro Ovile and Saint Bernardino altarpieces.

14. See Alessandro Angelini, in Bellosi 1993a, 126–30. The present author (in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke 1988, 272) described the Asciano altarpiece as a midpoint between the Pienza altarpieces and the *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Angels* of 1470 in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 286.

15. Ludwin Paardekooper observed that the patron of the Scotti altarpiece, Giacomo Scotti, owned *ius patronatus* (right of patronage) over two chapels in the church of Sant'Agostino at Asciano and advanced a proposal that the main panels of the altarpiece came from one, while the predella came from an otherwise lost altarpiece originally in the other; see Paardekooper 2002, 25–26. The testament of Giacomo Scotti, who died in 1470, records the dedication of these two chapels to Saint Bernardino and to the Holy Cross. Presumably, Scotti's veneration of Saint Bernardino, an observant Franciscan, accounts for that saint's having been added to an altarpiece in an Agostinian church. Paardekooper's observation that the style of the predella is later than ca. 1458 is correct but must be applied to the main panels of the altarpiece as well, while the repainting of the right lateral panel may be assigned a terminus a quo of 1470, in relation both to the testament of Scotti and stylistic similarities to the dated *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Angels* of 1470 in Siena (see note 13, above).

16. No other traces of an attribute assist in identifying the underlying figure. Philip and James (Scotti's name-saint) share a feast day and are frequently paired in fifteenth-century paintings, but it is nothing more than supposition that he may originally have been included in this altarpiece.

17. Inv. nos. 1937.1.9, https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.11.html, and 1939.1.297, https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.440.html.

18. Inv. no. 1890 n. 3949, https://catalogo.uffizi.it/it/29/ricerca/detailiccd/1179918/.

19. See Miklós Boskovits (in Boskovits and Brown 2003, 50–12) on the National Gallery paintings, where inv. no. 1937.1.9 is correctly dated ca. 1460–65 and inv. no. 1939.1.297 is assigned a date of ca. 1465–70. The present author (in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke 1988, 273–74) concurred with the dating of the latter but incorrectly asserted that it was the earlier of the two paintings in Washington, D.C.

20. Erica Trimpi described the Horne and Ravenna panels as "among the earliest of Matteo's small Madonnas" and dated them ca. 1460–63; see Trimpi 1987, 141–42, 175–76. She recorded the Ravenna panel as having been stolen in 1973. John Pope-Hennessy, in his unpublished manuscript of a monograph on Matteo di Giovanni completed in 1950, began his catalogue of the artist's works with these two panels and added the third, formerly in the collection of Langton Douglas. Upon Langton Douglas's death in 1951, that painting became the property of his widow, Jean Douglas, who later married the art dealer Joseph Duveen's business partner Edward Fowles. It appeared at auction at Sotheby's, New York, June 17, 1982, lot 23, as property of the estate of Jean Fowles, where it was purchased by Paul F. Walter, reappearing in one of his estate sales (Stair Galleries, Hudson, N.Y., November 15, 2017, lot 1010). It was last recorded in a private collection in Turin but remains unpublished. The face of the Virgin is largely repainted over a near total loss.

21. Two documents recording payments to Matteo di Giovanni and Giovanni di Pietro from the overseers of the Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala on behalf of the church of San Pietro Ovile, without reference to the purpose of the payments, were first published by Pèleo Bacci, who dated both payments 1460; see Bacci 1944, 242–43. Cecilia Alessi (in Alessi 1990, 241, 246n58) published a supposed third document with the date 1458, cited in most of the subsequent literature. Pia Palladino (in Palladino 2002, 55n13) pointed out that this third document is identical with one of the two published by Bacci and is dated 1459, not 1458.

22. The 1452 cover, now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (inv. no. SK-A-3429, https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/20026321) was attributed to Matteo di Giovanni by Luciano Bellosi, in Bellosi 1995, 81–83. The covers of 1460, now in the Archivio di Stato di Siena, were attributed to Vecchietta (inv. no. 32) and Francesco di Giorgio (inv. no. 33) by Laura Cavazzini and Alessandro Angelini, respectively, in Bellosi 1993a, 114–17. Inv. no. 33, representing the investiture as cardinal of Francesco Piccolomini Todeschini, is dated by inscription to the first semester of 1460 and must be slightly earlier than inv. no. 32, representing the coronation of Pius II. Both were painted by Matteo di Giovanni and provide a point of reference for the figure style of the Borgo San Sepolcro altarpiece.

Matteo di Giovanni, *Hercules and Antaeus*

Artist	Matteo di Giovanni, Siena, ca. 1430–1495
Title	*Hercules and Antaeus*
Date	ca. 1480
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	43.5 × 30.5 cm (17 1/8 × 12 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Robert Lehman, B.A. 1913
Inv. No.	1946.317

Provenance

Stefano Bardini (1836–1922), Florence; sale, American Art Association, New York, April 23–27, 1918, lot 447; Richard Ederheimer (1878–1959), New York; Elia Volpi (1858–1938), Florence; Robert Lehman (1891–1969), New York

Condition

The panel support is composed of three vertical boards, approximately 6, 16, and 8 centimeters wide, left to right (viewed from the front), and a horizontal board, 2 centimeters wide, laid across the top of these. The boards have been thinned to a depth of 5 millimeters and cradled. Two baluster-shaped total losses revealing exposed wood extend the full height of the panel, one bisected by the right edge, the other 4 centimeters on center from the left edge. The paint surface has suffered extensive losses along splits in the panel and from scratching, but it is surprisingly little abraded, retaining numerous passages of original impasto. Losses were reconstructed in tratteggio by Irma Passeri in a treatment of 2012–14; large areas of exposed gesso at the bottom and smaller areas along the immediate profile of the balusters were merely toned back. The head of Antaeus is mostly lost, and the coat of arms is interrupted by a split through the upper field and total loss of the bottom field.

Discussion

According to Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 2.5:11) and Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca historica* 4), Hercules encountered the giant Antaeus on his return from securing the apples of immortality in the Garden of the Hesperides, the eleventh of his twelve labors for King Eurystheus. Antaeus, tyrant of Libya and a son of Gaea and Neptune, was invincible while any part of him remained in contact with the earth, his mother. To defeat him, Hercules held him aloft in a strangling grip until he weakened and died. In the Yale panel, Hercules is seen in three-quarter profile from behind, standing in a landscape with his legs braced apart. He crushes Antaeus to his chest while the giant struggles to break his grip. Both figures are portrayed nude. A shield with a coat of arms hangs from a tree in the right middle ground. The composition is closed off at either side by baluster-shaped lacunae, where half-round carved ornament was undoubtedly originally attached directly to the panel support. The right edge of the panel cuts the right baluster almost exactly in half, whereas the outline of the left baluster is preserved nearly whole, the blue sky of the landscape continuing at the upper left, beyond the top half of the baluster. An indistinct dark line at the farthest edge of this extension of the sky suggests that another tree and hanging shield of arms were cropped there.

The size, shape, subject, and heraldic content of this panel suggest that it functioned originally as the end panel of a painted cassone. The coat of arms, previously unidentified but certainly those of the Bellanti of Siena, would thus refer either to the family of the bride or groom in an important marriage alliance and would have been paired with the arms of the other family, either in a scene alongside this one or occupying the opposite end panel of the chest, or both. Following the conventional premise that cassoni were always or nearly always commissioned in pairs, there is a strong presumption that two panels on loan to the Institute for Art History, University of Groningen, the Netherlands, from the Dienst voor's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen (figs. 1–2), may have formed part of the same pair of chests. The Groningen panels, which measure 35 by 17 centimeters each, represent two standing figures of Hercules, in mirror image to each other, holding an armorial shield, one with the arms of the Bellanti—corresponding to those on the Yale panel—and the other with the arms of the Chigi.[1] Allowing for their closer cropping along all four sides, these dimensions reasonably approximate those of the Yale panel, and all three works relate closely in style. The original wood supports of the Groningen panels were lost when they were transferred to new supports, but horizontal splits through both figures imply that the grain direction ran horizontally and therefore that these panels closed off the front face of the chest in their original configuration. The wood support of the Yale panel is of a vertical grain, more likely to have been encountered on the side rather than on the front of the intact chest.

Fig. 1. Matteo di Giovanni, *Hercules with the Bellanti Coat of Arms*, ca. 1480. Tempera on panel, transferred to canvas, 35 × 17 cm (13 3/4 × 6 3/4 in.). Museum Bonnefanten, Maastricht, the Netherlands, inv. no. 1003446

Fig. 2. Matteo di Giovanni, *Hercules with the Chigi Coat of Arms*, ca. 1480. Tempera on panel, transferred to canvas, 35 × 17 cm (13 3/4 × 6 3/4 in.). Museum Bonnefanten, Maastricht, the Netherlands, inv. no. 1003447

The Yale and Groningen panels have been persistently attributed to Antonio or Piero del Pollaiuolo or to an assistant in their joint workshop, a reflexive acknowledgment of the association of that studio with painted episodes from the Hercules legend and with images of heroic male nudes. The Yale panel, furthermore, corresponds closely, in reverse, to the design of the small *Hercules and Antaeus* by Antonio del Pollaiuolo in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (fig. 3). The correspondence is so close as to imply firsthand familiarity with the Uffizi panel, with its supposed model—a large canvas painted around 1460 for the Palazzo Medici in Florence—or, given the correction of the silhouette to suggest a slight rotation along the group's vertical axis, a clay or wax maquette of a type represented by the small bronze now in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (fig. 4).

Fig. 3. Antonio del Pollaiuolo, *Hercules and Antaeus*, ca. 1475. Tempera and oil on panel, 15 × 12 cm (5 7/8 × 4 3/4 in.). Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 1478

Fig. 4. Antonio del Pollaiuolo, *Hercules and Antaeus*, 1475. Bronze, H. 45 cm (17 3/4 in.). Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, inv. no. Bronzi 280

The first scholar to reject an attribution for any of these paintings to the Pollaiuolo studio was Bernard Degenhart, who suggested that the Groningen panels might instead be the work of an anonymous Sienese master, given that both coats of arms portrayed in them are Sienese.[2] An attribution to Matteo di Giovanni was advanced for them in 1988 by the present author, and Andrea De Marchi extended the same attribution to the Yale panel in 1993.[3] In attributing the Groningen panels to Matteo di Giovanni, the present author observed that they were probably to be associated with the only known pair of painted cassone fronts by the artist, two episodes from the legend of Camilla: one in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (fig. 5) and the other formerly in the W. H. Woodward collection, last recorded for sale in 1945.[4] This association should now be extended to the Yale panel as well, which is particularly close in style to the Philadelphia scene of Camilla leading her Volscian army to the aid of the Latins in battle against Aeneas and his Trojan followers. The Philadelphia panel measures 39.7 by 105.7 centimeters, commensurate in height with both the Groningen and Yale panels.

Fig. 5. Matteo di Giovanni, *Camilla and Her Companions in Battle against the Trojans*, ca. 1480. Tempera, gold, and silver on panel, 39.7 × 105.7 cm (15 5/8 × 41 5/8 in.). Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, 1917, inv. no. cat. 111

Robert Langton Douglas, who briefly owned the Groningen panels following the dispersal of the Woodward collection and prior to their sale to Otto Lanz in Amsterdam, proposed an identification of the marriage celebrated by the pairing of their coats of arms as that between Eufrasia di Mariano Chigi and Andrea di Bartolo Meo Bellanti sometime before 1488, the year in which Eufrasia Chigi's dowry was reported to the Sienese tax authorities. While the exact date of this marriage, and presumably of the commission for Matteo di Giovanni's cassoni, has not been discovered, it is unlikely to have occurred earlier than ca. 1480, as the bride's father, Mariano Chigi (1439–1504), founder of the celebrated banking dynasty, was only forty-one in that year, and his oldest son, Agostino, was merely fourteen. The style of the Yale, Groningen (see figs. 1–2), Philadelphia (see fig. 5), and ex-Woodward panels, on the other hand, is consistent with Matteo di Giovanni's work of the late 1470s and early 1480s, a period bracketed by the *Saint Barbara* altarpiece of 1479 in the church of San Domenico in Siena and the *Massacre of the Innocents* of 1482, formerly in the church of Sant'Agostino in Siena and now in the Complesso Museale di Santa Maria della Scala (fig. 6). Retouching of damages in the Groningen panels, however, urges caution in relying on them for a precise dating of the suite of paintings. The coats of arms have been repaired, adding, for example, shading and highlights to the *monti* and star of the Chigi arms not typically encountered in fifteenth-century heraldry. It is at least hypothetically possible that an intrusive intervention converted the three *monti* and star of the Savini family to the later, much better-known six *monti* of the Chigi family. No alliance between the Savini and Bellanti has yet been uncovered. —LK

Fig. 6. Matteo di Giovanni, *The Massacre of the Innocents*, 1482. Tempera, gold, and silver on panel, 236.5 × 236.5 cm (93 1/8 × 93 1/8 in.). Complesso Museale di Santa Maria della Scala, Siena

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Seymour 1970, 173, 317, no. 124; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 601; Timothy Verdon, in Seymour et al. 1972, 47, no. 40; Scalia and De Benedictis 1984, 124; Alessandro Angelini, in Bellosi 1993a, 144; Fahy 2000, 47, 238, no. 397; Wright 2005, 535.

NOTES

1. Bert Treffers, in van Os and Prakken 1974, 100–101.
2. Degenhart 1941, 36.
3. Laurence Kanter, in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke 1988, 283; and Andrea De Marchi, in Alessandro Angelini, in Bellosi 1993a, 144.
4. Sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, November 15, 1945, lot 25; Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna, inv. no. 17293. See Laurence Kanter, in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke 1988, 283.

Benvenuto di Giovanni, *Saint Peter Martyr*

Artist	Benvenuto di Giovanni, Siena, 1436–ca. 1518
Title	*Saint Peter Martyr*
Date	ca. 1470–75
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver(?) on panel
Dimensions	23.7 × 26.4 cm (9 1/2 × 10 3/8 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Robert Lehman, B.A. 1913
Inv. No.	1946.316

Provenance

Satinover Galleries, New York, by 1920; Robert Lehman (1891–1969), New York, 1920

Condition

The panel, of a horizontal wood grain with a moderate convex warp, has been thinned to a depth varying from 4 millimeters at the bottom, 10 millimeters at the center, and 7 millimeters at the top, cradled, and waxed. A prominent split approximately 10.5 centimeters from the bottom edge runs the full length of the panel, with smaller partial splits appearing at 5.5, 15, and 19 centimeters from the bottom edge. The gilding and paint surfaces have suffered minimal abrasion but are interrupted by numerous flaking losses that have been liberally retouched, including regilding over new bolus during a treatment in 1999. The largest losses follow the central split in the panel, but smaller losses, visible in photographs taken after cleaning by Andrew Petryn in 1965–68 (fig. 1), are not restricted to any one area of the panel. The silver knife is entirely an invention of the 1999 restoration, following incisions in the gold ground indicating its original profile, as is the green palm frond held in the saint's right hand.

Fig. 1. *Saint Peter Martyr*, 1967

Discussion

All authors to have considered this painting agree in attributing it to Benvenuto di Giovanni, and those who have discussed its date all place it in the mid-1470s. Burton Fredericksen and Darrell Davisson compared it to Benvenuto's *biccherna* cover of 1474, portraying an Allegory of Good Government,[1] while Charles Seymour, Jr., and Maria Cristina Bandera dated it ca. 1475, relating it to the Montepertuso altarpiece, now in Vescovado di Murlo.[2] John Pope-Hennessy and the present author

Fig. 2. Benvenuto di Giovanni, *Saint Bernardino*, ca. 1470–75. Tempera and gold on panel, 23.8 × 25.7 cm (9 3/8 × 10 1/8 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975, inv. no. 1975.1.53

Fig. 3. Benvenuto di Giovanni, *Saint Francis*, ca. 1470–75. Tempera and gold on panel, 23.5 × 26.7 cm (9 1/4 × 10 1/2 in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Museum purchase funded by Mrs. Harry C. Hanszen, inv. no. 70.36

published five companion panels once framed together with the Yale *Saint Peter Martyr*, arranged in two sets of three, when all six were purchased from the Satinover Galleries by Robert Lehman in October 1920.[3] Each of the six panels portrayed a single figure in an identical bust-length format enclosed within a pastiglia garland. The six panels are:

- *Saint Bernardino*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 2);
- the present panel;
- *Saint Francis*, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (fig. 3);
- *Saint Dominic*, formerly Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City (fig. 4);
- *Salvator Mundi*, formerly Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City (fig. 5);
- *Saint Anthony of Padua*, formerly A. Merriman Pfaff collection.[4]

Fig. 4. Benvenuto di Giovanni, *Saint Dominic*, ca. 1470–75. Tempera and gold on panel, 23.5 × 26 cm (9 1/4 × 10 1/4 in.). Location unknown

Fig. 5. Benvenuto di Giovanni, *Salvator Mundi*, ca. 1470–75. Tempera and gold on panel, 23.8 × 26.4 cm (9 3/8 × 10 3/8 in.). Location unknown

As all six figures are painted on panel supports with a horizontal wood grain, it is generally presumed that together they formed the predella to a large altarpiece. In such a context, the *Salvator Mundi* would invariably occupy a central position, implying that there cannot have been an even number of figures originally and that at least one additional figure is missing. The overall length of such a predella, if only one figure were missing, would have been greater than 180 centimeters, considerably more if allowance is made for wood lost between each figure implied by the cropping of their pastiglia garlands. If more than one figure were missing—possibly an additional set of three, as they were framed in the early twentieth century—the overall length would have been greater than 240 centimeters, possibly as much as 270 centimeters. Carolyn Wilson and Bandera, assuming that only a single figure from the series is lost, suggest that the altarpiece to which this putative predella is likely to have been attached is the Borghesi altarpiece in San Domenico, Siena (fig. 6).[5] This proposal was bolstered by analogies of style—the Borghesi altarpiece is widely presumed to have been painted in the mid- or late 1470s, in any event before 1478—but rested primarily on iconographic considerations, as the predella includes the principle Dominican saints who are notably absent from the main panel of the altarpiece. Both authors additionally propose a series of six full-length standing saints now divided between the collections of the New Orleans Museum of Art and the Samek Art Museum, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, that would have decorated the altarpiece's framing pilasters.[6] Included among these six pilaster figures are a Dominican saint, possibly Saint Thomas Aquinas, the only major Dominican not represented in the predella, and a Sienese Dominican, the Blessed Ambrogio Sansedoni.

Fig. 6. Benvenuto di Giovanni, *"The Bichi Altarpiece,"* as currently reconstructed: *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Angels and Saints Fabian, James Major, John the Evangelist, and Sebastian*, ca. 1473–74. Tempera and gold on panel, 161 × 189 cm (63 3/8 × 74 3/8 in.); *Christ as the Man of Sorrows Supported by Four Angels*, 1483. Tempera on panel, 75 × 195 cm (29 1/2 × 76 3/4 in.). San Domenico, Siena

Although it has not been questioned in recent scholarship, several factors militate against this reconstruction. Chief among these is the presence of three Franciscans among the six known predella figures, outnumbering Dominicans in the series as it is currently preserved. Also, even if allowance is made for only a single missing figure—presumably either another Franciscan or another Dominican—the total width of the predella exceeds the width of the main panel of the Borghesi altarpiece, which is 189 centimeters. Bandera's reconstruction, which allowed for spacing between the pastiglia surrounds of the saints, presumed that the predella extended beneath the framing pilasters, but such a format is unprecedented in Sienese altarpiece design, nor does it form a precedent

for later examples. There is, furthermore, a net distinction of style between the predella figures, correctly associated by Fredericksen and Davisson with Benvenuto's work in the early 1470s, and the pilaster saints, more closely related to paintings by Benvenuto datable to the late 1470s or early 1480s. It should be observed, however, that a similar distinction in style obtains within the Borghesi altarpiece itself. While the main panel is indeed consonant with Benvenuto's paintings of the early or mid-1470s, the lunette compares more effectively with works putatively of the 1480s. As it is also too large for the panel below it and has obviously been cut to fit into this context, it is possible that the lunette is a surviving remnant of Benvenuto di Giovanni's altarpiece for the nearby Bellanti Chapel in San Domenico, on which he is documented as working in 1483.[7] It is at least conceptually possible that the New Orleans/Bucknell pilaster saints also derive from the Bellanti altarpiece and that the Yale panel and its associated predella fragments may instead have been part of the original commission for the Borghesi altar. The only argument for bringing the two series together in a single reconstruction is that none of the Dominican saints is duplicated between them, but there is no possibility of knowing whether the missing panel or panels from the predella might have represented Saint Thomas Aquinas, or Saint Louis of Toulouse (making a Franciscan provenance far more likely than a Dominican one), or another Franciscan or Dominican figure.

Divorced from its lunette, it is no longer necessary to presume that the main panel of the Borghesi altarpiece was painted as late as 1476–78, as is currently maintained. While a document of 1478 may safely be interpreted as indicating a *terminus ante quem* for its execution, the chapel in which it stood was founded in 1467, and the commission for the altarpiece could have been received at any time in the ensuing decade.[8] The figure style and spatial exaggerations within this painting represent a middle term in the evolution of Benvenuto di Giovanni's pictorial vocabulary, between, on the one hand, the altarpieces of the Annunciation in Sinalunga and Nativity in Volterra, both of 1470, and, on the other, the Montepertuso altarpiece of 1475.[9] A date in the first half of the decade would permit greater confidence in accepting the identification of the Yale panel and its companions as part of the Borghesi predella, as Fredericksen and Davisson were correct in noting the relationship between the latter and Benvenuto's dated *biccherna* cover of 1474.[10] The objections noted above, however, remain valid, particularly the objection that so many Franciscan saints are unprecedented in the context of a predella to a prominent altarpiece in a major Dominican establishment. Furthermore, the document of 1478 that cites the Borghesi altarpiece adduces it as a model to be followed by Matteo di Giovanni in his commission for another altarpiece in San Domenico, yet neither that altarpiece nor any other Sienese altarpiece or altarpiece fragment incorporates pastiglia garlands isolating the figures, as in this series. The question must at least be posed whether this series was, in fact, a predella or whether it might have formed part of the architectural decoration in a different, and not necessarily Dominican, context.

No physical clues embedded within the panels themselves offer additional insight into the possible nature of such an alternative context. The combination of Franciscan and Dominican saints might suggest a confraternal rather than ecclesiastical or conventual origin, but no extant models exist in situ that could provide meaningful parallels. Dominican chapter houses were frequently decorated with bust-length or half-length portraits of Dominican saints and blesseds surrounding door or window frames, and such might have been the function of the present series, analogous to portraits of antique or modern heroes that sometimes decorated the cornice moldings in Lombard palaces. Additionally, although it is impossible to know the identity or identities of the saints who might be missing from the series, it may be significant that the principle Sienese Dominican saint, Catherine of Siena, is absent. This may be a function of all the existing saints being male, but it may also be an indication that the series was not intended for a Sienese patron. While Saint Bernardino was Sienese, he was widely venerated throughout Italy. An oratory dedicated to him is one of the chief Franciscan monuments in Perugia, for example, and it is in Perugia rather than Siena that bust-length saints enclosed in painted (although not pastiglia) garlands are encountered at approximately this date. Pietro Perugino's *Saint Peter* (fig. 7) in the Landesmuseum, Hannover, Germany, must be exactly coeval with the Yale *Saint Peter Martyr* and its companions, and it may well have derived from a related series of images. —LK

Fig. 7. Pietro Perugino, *Saint Peter*, ca. 1471–72. Tempera on panel, 66 × 48 cm (26 ×18 7/8 in.). Landesmuseum, Hannover, Germany, inv. no. KM 84

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Berenson 1932a, 77; Berenson 1936, 66; van Marle 1937, 416; Fredericksen and Davisson 1966, 25, 27, 35, fig. 12; Berenson 1968, 1:40; Seymour 1970, 188, 318, no. 140; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 601; Bandera 1974, 8–9, fig. 16; Pope-Hennessy and Kanter 1987, 164; Wilson 1996a, 180–88, fig. 16.3 (panel m); Bandera 1999, 101, 104–6, 228–29, no. 39

NOTES

1. Fredericksen and Davisson 1966, 25.
2. Seymour 1970, 188, no. 140; and Bandera 1974, 8–9, fig. 16.
3. Pope-Hennessy and Kanter 1987, 164.
4. The *Saint Dominic* and *Salvator Mundi* were both sold at Christie's, New York, April 17, 2024, lot 150. The locations of those panels and that of the *Saint Anthony of Padua* are all currently unknown.
5. Wilson 1996a, 180–88, fig. 16.3 (panel m); and Bandera 1999, 101, 104–6.
6. *Saint John the Baptist; Saint Margaret; Blessed Ambrogio Sansedoni*, New Orleans Museum of Art, inv. no. 61.69a, b, c, http://www.noma.org/collection/st-john-the-baptist-st-margaret-the-blessed-ambrose-sansedoni/; and *Saint Jerome; Dominican Saint; Bishop Saint*, Samek Art Museum, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Penna., inv. no. 1961.K.1744A, https://collection.museum.bucknell.edu/Detail/objects/40892.
7. Milanesi 1854–56, 3:79; and Borghesi and Banchi 1898, 330n165.
8. Seidel 1989, 76–83. Seidel's hypothesis was also reported by the present author, in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke 1988, 302, 305, 306n1.
9. Kanter 1994, 203n2. Maria Cristina Bandera (in Bandera 1999, 226) noted a manuscript opinion by the present author that the Borghesi altarpiece should be dated 1473–74. There does not now seem to be any reason to rethink that contention.
10. Fredericksen and Davisson 1966, 25.

Benvenuto di Giovanni, *Virgin and Child with Saints Jerome and Leonard and Two Angels*

Artist	Benvenuto di Giovanni, Siena, 1436–ca. 1518
Title	*Virgin and Child with Saints Jerome and Leonard and Two Angels*
Date	ca. 1475–79
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 74.9 × 43.6 cm (29 1/2 × 17 1/4 in.); picture surface: 69.8 × 38.5 cm (27 1/2 × 15 1/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.256

Provenance

Maccari, Borghetto, Siena; Giuseppe Mazzoni, Siena, ca. 1923; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, by 1925

Condition

The panel support, a single plank with a vertical wood grain, retains its original thickness of 4 centimeters. The lateral edges at the back are both beveled, possibly to accommodate irregularities of the tree trunk from which it was cut. The back is gessoed and painted as fictive marble. Two holes drilled into the top edge and top center of the back held a hanging strap. Engaged frame moldings, 1 centimeter thick, are preserved around three sides of the panel but are missing at the bottom, which is much consumed by wood worm and water(?) damage. The once-elaborate gilding on the panel is abraded and disfigured by large areas of complete loss to the right of center at the top of the composition, at the left side of the Virgin's halo, and through the front of her richly tooled dress. The paint surface was extensively "burned" by caustic solvents, above all in the Virgin's blue mantle and along the edges of raised craquelure in the Christ Child's body, the Virgin's face, and the face of the angel at the upper right. A large knot in the panel beneath the Virgin's forehead has provoked further damage in that area. Although the visual integrity of the image is entirely compromised by the network of losses and exposed gesso and wood, the paint that does survive is rich in color and texture, currently muted by a flat synthetic varnish that lends a parched look to the surface.

Discussion

Writing in his diary, entitled *Giornale dell'antiquario*, on August 23, 1955, the Sienese dealer Giuseppe Mazzoni described how, just over thirty years earlier, his father, Foresto Mazzoni, advised him to visit a farmer named Maccari, who wished to sell all the old furnishings in his home outside the Porta Tufi. The only object of interest Mazzoni found was a grimy panel with an image of the Virgin hanging above a sink in a lavatory, covered in dust and fly specks. Having purchased the picture for seven hundred lire, he brought it to Icilio Federico Joni—well known as a restorer and a forger of early Italian panel paintings—who confirmed Mazzoni's intuition that it was the work of Benvenuto di Giovanni: "He took a liquid and, with extreme delicacy, removed the grease, caressing the painting with a moistened hand, pausing over the nudity

of the Child and the brightness of the angels. . . . A month and a half later Maccari's panel was reborn as an angelic thing."[1] In the event, Joni's intervention (fig. 1) was far more extensive than a simple delicate cleaning of the surface. The painting had been severely compromised by caustic soda damage, subsequently exacerbated by its harsh cleaning at Yale in 1953, but Joni successfully integrated the surprisingly rich surface that did remain, demonstrating a remarkable sensitivity to the nuances of Benvenuto di Giovanni's style—aside from his gratuitous introduction of a fabric pattern to cover losses in the gold ground and his liberal invention in the heads of the angel at the upper right and of Saint Jerome at the lower left.

Fig. 1. *Virgin and Child with Saints Jerome and Leonard and Two Angels*, before 1953

Completed with Joni's restorations, the painting elicited no doubts in the early literature referring to it. Richard Offner, in a 1925 lecture at Maitland Fuller Griggs's home, declared it a fine example of Benvenuto di Giovanni's work.[2] Piero Misciattelli, perhaps misled by the rounded proportions of all the figures, preferred to see it as a work by Girolamo di Benvenuto closely dependent on his father's style, a prime example of the confusion that can arise in distinguishing between the two artists.[3] Bernard Berenson, too, listed the painting as by Girolamo di Benvenuto working in his father's shop,[4] an opinion repeated by Raimond van Marle.[5] Following its cleaning at Yale in 1953, the painting has regularly been recognized as by Benvenuto di Giovanni, although Charles Seymour, Jr., hesitantly referred it to the artist's workshop, and Maria Cristina Bandera consigned it to a catalogue appendix, stating that while Benvenuto's authorship is "probable," dating the picture is problematic.[6] Indeed, few opinions about dating have been ventured. Burton Fredericksen and Darrell Davisson and Serena Gunther suggested the period 1475–78—that is, about the time of Benvenuto's Montepertuso altarpiece of 1475 and before his large triptych in the National Gallery, London (fig. 2), dated 1479.[7] Seymour opted for a date in the following decade, and Carl Strehlke, presumably following the logic of Girolamo di Benvenuto's known period of activity in his father's workshop, suggested a date in the 1490s.[8]

Fig. 2. Benvenuto di Giovanni, *Virgin and Child with Saints Peter and Nicholas*, 1479. Tempera and gold on panel, 171 × 166 cm (67 3/8 × 65 3/8 in.). National Gallery, London, inv. no. NG909.1–.3

Fredericksen and Davisson may have been correct in their assessment of the relationship of the Yale painting to the Montepertuso and London altarpieces, judging from the better-preserved passages in the face of the Virgin and

the remaining traces of modeling in the other five figures. It is the London altarpiece (see fig. 2), removed in the eighteenth century from the church of the Gesù in Orvieto, that provides the closest parallel for the proportions and attitudes of the figures—and even the composition—in the Yale painting, allowing for the evident differences in scale and purpose between the works, suggesting a date for it in the late 1470s. A lack of agreement on this point probably stems in large part from the difficulty of understanding the condition of the Yale painting in available photographs of it and from a confusion inherent within traditional assessments of Benvenuto di Giovanni's career. The Montepertuso altarpiece (1475) and the London triptych (1479) are firmly dated works, but they are commonly thought to be divided from each other by the execution of the Borghesi altarpiece (fig. 3) in San Domenico, Siena, believed to have been painted between 1476 and 1478. The Borghesi altarpiece not only bears no appreciable relationship to the Yale painting, but it has also given rise to conflicting opinions regarding the dating of other small scale works from the middle period of Benvenuto's activity.

The Borgehesi altarpiece had routinely been associated by early writers with a documented notice of Benvenuto di Giovanni being paid for work in the Bellanti Chapel in San Domenico in 1483, and thus provided a fixed point for dating other works in that decade. It was noted, however, by Bandera that the four saints included in the altarpiece do not correspond to the dedication of the Bellanti Chapel to Saints John the Baptist and Anthony, and Max Seidel later argued that the altarpiece was instead painted for the Borghesi Chapel, dedicated to Saints Fabian and Sebastian.[9] Seidel further observed that the Borghesi Chapel altarpiece must have been completed not in 1483 but by 1478 at the latest, when it is cited as a model in the contract for Matteo di Giovanni's altarpiece in the nearby chapel of the German confraternity in Siena, dedicated to Saint Barbara.[10] It has since become a convention to assume that the painting was completed shortly before 1478, although the Borghesi Chapel was founded in 1467, and it is at least logically possible that the altarpiece could have been commissioned anytime within the eleven year span between those dates. The prominence of the Borghesi family in Siena and the magnitude of their investment in this chapel could indeed suggest that it is not logical to assume that the commission might have been delayed as long as ten years.

One problem with assessing the probable date of the Borghesi altarpiece is the stylistically heterogeneous nature of the various fragments associated with it in

Fig. 3. Benvenuto di Giovanni, "*The Borghesi Altarpiece,*" as currently reconstructed: *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Angels and Saints Fabian, James Major, John the Evangelist, and Sebastian*, ca. 1473–74. Tempera and gold on panel, 161 × 189 cm (63 3/8 × 74 3/8 in.); *Christ as the Man of Sorrows Supported by Four Angels*, 1483. Tempera on panel, 75 × 195 cm (29 1/2 × 76 3/4 in.). San Domenico, Siena

scholarly reconstructions. Two sets of full-length and half-length saints (for the latter, see Benvenuto di Giovanni, *Saint Peter Martyr*) frequently identified as the pilasters and predella, respectively, of the missing altarpiece frame must be assignable to two different periods of Benvenuto's career. They have in common nothing more than the occurrence of a selection of Dominican saints among their number. Even more misleading is the relationship of the main panel of the altarpiece to the lunette, representing the Dead Christ supported in His tomb by angels (see fig. 3), associated with it in San Domenico since the early nineteenth century. The lunette has clearly been cut down from a larger structure to match approximately the overall width of the main panel beneath it. It is also evidently a work of the 1480s, much closer in style to the 1491 *Ascension* altarpiece from Sant'Eugenio than is any other work by Benvenuto putatively of the 1470s. The question must be posed

whether the lunette was originally part of another work, possibly of Benvenuto's 1483 Bellanti altarpiece (the rest of which is not known to survive), and was amalgamated instead to the Borghesi altarpiece at a later date. Considering the two panels as stylistically coeval makes it impossible to date either or to relate independent works to the resultant hybrid structure. Separating them, by contrast, enables the main panel to be recognized as a midterm between Benvenuto's altarpieces of the Nativity (in Volterra)[11] and the Annunciation (in Sinalunga),[12] both of 1470, and his Montepertuso altarpiece of 1475, not as a midterm between Montepertuso and London in the second half of that decade. It also enables a date for the Yale panel to be established between 1475 and 1479 without conflicting with any other dated or securely datable works of art.

The extremely compromised condition of the Yale panel has elicited no other discussion of it in the art-historical literature, except for Seymour's mistaken identification of the saint at the right as Saint Peter,[13] presuming that the objects held in his hands are the gold and silver keys always associated with Peter as attributes. The figure, however, is wearing black or dark gray, not Peter's conventional colors of yellow and blue, and the object he holds in his right hand—his left hand supports a book with a red binding—is a pair of iron manacles, not the gold and silver keys. The manacles are an attribute of Saint Leonard, who was infrequently portrayed in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italian painting (see Master of the Yale Dossal, *Virgin and Child Enthroned between Saints Leonard and Peter and Scenes from the Life of Saint Peter*). The patron saint of prisoners, it is likely that his inclusion in this case is a reference to the original patron's name or patronymic. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Misciattelli 1927, 142–43; Berenson 1932a, 253; Berenson 1936, 217; van Marle 1937, 421–22; Fredericksen and Davisson 1966, 27, 35, fig. 13; Berenson 1968, 1:187; Seymour 1970, 188–89, 318, no. 141; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Gunther 1994, 192; Bandera 1998, 30; Bandera 1999, 123, 126, 250–51, no. 18; Mazzoni 2001, 56, 120–28, 410–11

NOTES

1. The full text is quoted in Mazzoni 2001, 124.
2. Lecture notes recorded in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York.
3. Misciattelli 1927, 142–43.
4. Berenson 1932a, 253; Berenson 1936, 217; and Berenson 1968, 1:187.
5. van Marle 1937, 421–22.
6. Seymour 1970, 188–89, no. 141; and Bandera 1999, 250–51.
7. Fredericksen and Davisson 1966, 27; and Gunther 1994, 192.
8. Seymour 1970, 188–89; and Carl Strehlke, unpublished checklist of Italian paintings at Yale, 1998–2000, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
9. Bandera 1974, 9; and Seidel 1989, 79–80.
10. Seidel 1989, 76–89. Seidel's hypothesis was also reported in Laurence Kanter, in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke 1988, 306n1.
11. Bandera 1999, 77, 221, no. 19.
12. Bandera 1999, 81, 221–22, no. 20.
13. Seymour 1970, 188–89.

Benvenuto di Giovanni, *Virgin and Child with Two Angels*

Artist	Benvenuto di Giovanni, Siena, 1436–ca. 1518
Title	*Virgin and Child with Two Angels*
Date	ca. 1485–90
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 106.9 × 66.2 cm (42 1/8 × 26 in.); picture surface: 74.3 × 43.6 cm (29 1/4 × 17 1/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.64

Provenance

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

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, retains its original thickness, varying from 2.8 to 3.5 centimeters. It is composed of five boards: a wide center plank that tapers from a maximum width of 45.5 centimeters at the top to 44 centimeters at the bottom flanked by two boards at the left, 6.5 and 4 centimeters wide, respectively, from left to right, and two boards at the right, 5.5 and 4 centimeters wide, respectively, from left to right. Two iron hanging rings attached by wire loops driven into the top edge of the center plank are original. The paint surface has been evenly abraded from a harsh cleaning of 1960, above all in the flesh tones—where whites and pinks are preserved, but all the glazed shadows are missing—and in the Virgin's blue draperies. Gilding in the angels' haloes is abraded to bolus but elsewhere is well preserved. Red glazes defining the petals of the roses are missing, as are mordant gilt rays around the head of the Virgin. The darker gray pigments in the Dove of the Holy Spirit are pitted with small flaking losses.

Discussion

The most distinguished of the four works by Benvenuto di Giovanni in Yale's collection, this notable painting was assigned to Matteo di Giovanni when it was owned by James Jackson Jarves, but its correct attribution to Benvenuto has not been doubted since it was first proposed by William Rankin in 1895.[1] Writers have been divided between those who believe it to have been painted in the later 1470s,[2] in relation to the altarpieces of 1475 at Montepertuso[3] and 1479 in London (see Benvenuto di Giovanni, *Virgin and Child with Saints Jerome and Leonard and Two Angels*, fig. 2), and those who prefer to date it in the 1480s. Most scholars in the second group discussed it in relation to the Borghesi altarpiece in San Domenico, Siena (see Benvenuto di Giovanni, *Virgin and Child with Saints Jerome and Leonard and Two Angels*, fig. 3), when that painting was thought to be a documented work of 1483.[4] The Borghesi altarpiece is now widely believed to have been painted at least five years earlier, based on documents implying that it was completed by 1478. Maria Cristina Bandera, the first author to have discussed the Yale painting at any length while aware of this new dating for the Borghesi altarpiece, concured in placing it in the later 1470s, accepting the comparisons adduced by both groups of earlier writers.[5] She also highlighted the "modern"

composition of the painting, in which a traditional gold ground is replaced with a naturalistic blue sky and the pronounced symmetry of earlier Sienese devotional paintings of similar subject is exchanged for an asymmetrical arrangement of figures, possibly derived from the example of paintings by Francesco di Giorgio. Not the least remarkable feature of this novel composition is the portrayal of the Christ Child in the guise of a young Roman emperor, seated or reclining against a carved marble plinth and supported by angels bedecked in bands of pearls. The Virgin no longer holds and protects her Child but stands behind Him in adoration, her left hand touching her chest in a gesture of humility, her right hand reaching forward with a book and a rosary that the Child reaches to grasp. At the apex of the arched picture field, the Dove of the Holy Spirit hovers in a skillfully foreshortened ellipsis of light, with pulsing vectors of illumination radiating outward from its edges. The mordant gilt lines of grace that flow downward from the Dove to the Virgin and Child are rendered flat along the picture surface, introducing a visual tension between these affectations of modernity and the conventional origins of Benvenuto di Giovanni's practice, as does the rendering of the gilt cushion on which the Christ Child is notionally seated. The gilded surface of the cushion is delicately tooled to simulate its brocaded texture and the stitching at its edges, and the tassels at its corners are described in painstaking detail, but the cushion is placed well out of contact with any part of the Christ Child's body, defeating the idea that it might be supporting His weight.

That this "new" direction in Benvenuto's art does not represent a détente within the development of his career in the 1470s but is rather a definitive departure at a later moment is indicated by a closer consideration of the style of the painting. Meaningful comparisons to the porcelain delicacy and rounded proportions of the figures in either the Montepertuso (1475) or London (1479) altarpieces are absent here, as are similarities to either the Sinalunga *Annunciation* or the Voterra *Nativity*, both of 1470.[6] The heavier and, at the same time, more elongated proportions of the figures in the Yale painting do find a point of comparison in the Borghesi altarpiece, but only with the angels supporting the figure of the dead Christ in its lunette (fig. 1). It is probable, however, that the lunette—which has been cut to its present shape and size—is not original to this structure and may be a relic of Benvenuto's altarpiece of 1483 painted for the Bellanti Chapel in San Domenico. The same stiffer, grander proportions appear throughout paintings by Benvenuto plausibly dated to the 1480s, such as the series of frescoes from Sant'Eugenio, Siena, now displayed at the Museo Bardini, Florence (fig. 2), and they culminate in the monumental 1491 altarpiece of the Ascension (fig. 3) from Sant'Eugenio. This is clearly the period in which the Yale painting must be situated, but specifying whether it might have been conceived and executed shortly before, contemporary with, or shortly after the 1491 altarpiece is not possible, given the absence of other firmly dated works from the time.

Fig. 1. Benvenuto di Giovanni, *Man of Sorrows Supported by Four Angels* (lunette of the Borghesi altarpiece), 1483. Tempera and gold on panel, 75 × 195 cm (29 1/2 × 76 3/4 in.). San Domenico, Siena

Fig. 2. Benvenuto di Giovanni, *Saint Benedict in Glory*, ca. 1488–91. Fresco. Museo Bardini, Florence, inv. no. 1345 n. 772

Fig. 3. Benvenuto di Giovanni, *The Ascension*, 1491. Tempera and gold on panel, 397 × 245 cm (156 1/4 × 96 1/2 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 434

The unusual silhouette of the panel support of the Yale painting implies an idiosyncratic construction of its original frame, in which most of the outer moldings would have been nailed to it as a backboard, in a manner more commonly encountered among stucco, cartapesta, and terracotta relief sculptures than paintings. Early photographs (fig. 4) show the Yale painting in a tabernacle frame that was removed during the ill-advised cleaning of 1960 and was, apparently, destroyed. There is reason to believe, however, that although repaired and regilt this frame may have been at least in part original. Exposed worm tunnels in the panel support forming a band of damage ranging from 4.0 to 4.5 centimeters wide all around the image indicate the presence there of an engaged molding, glued as well as nailed to the backboard. Such a molding, virtually identical in profile and detail to that seen in photographs of the Yale tabernacle, surrounds the beautifully preserved and only slightly earlier *Virgin and Child* by Benvenuto di Giovanni in the Robert Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (fig. 5), although the structure of that frame was altered when it was cut away from the painted panel to permit cradling of the former. Related and substantially intact frames are preserved on a cartapesta *Virgin and Child* by Francesco di Giorgio formerly in the Lemmers Dansforth collection at Wetzlar, Germany, and now also in the Yale University Art Gallery (see Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Virgin and Child with Angels and Cherubim*) and on a terracotta relief of the Virgin and Child by a follower of Francesco di Giorgio in the Pieve di San Leonardo at Montefollonico.[7] Alessandro Bagnoli has made a case for attributing these frames to the Sienese woodcarver Ventura di Ser Giuliano di Tura, also known as Tura a Pili (documented 1488–1512).[8] While not susceptible of proof, the argument carries a strong degree of plausibility. —LK

Fig. 4. *Virgin and Child with Two Angels*, October 1960

Fig. 5. Benvenuto di Giovanni, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1480–85. Tempera and gold on panel, 70.5 × 46 cm (27 3/4 × 18 1/8 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975, inv. no. 1975.1.54

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 53, no. 78; Sturgis 1868, 57, no. 57; Brown 1871, 20, no. 57; Rankin 1895, 143, pl. 8; Berenson 1897, 134; Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1903–14, 3:118, 5:164; Destrée 1903, 79; Perkins 1905, 77; Jacobsen 1908, 75, pl. 43; Rankin 1908, 381; Berenson 1909a, 148; Burroughs 1910, 250; Sirén 1916a, 163–64, fig. 64; Offner 1927a, 41; Berenson 1932a, 77; Edgell 1932, 253; Berenson 1936, 66; van Marle 1937, 400; Fredericksen and Davisson 1966, 27, 29, 35; Berenson 1968, 1:40, 2: pl. 273; Seymour 1970, 186–87, no. 139; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Bandera 1977, 1:312; Gunther 1994, 192; Bandera 1999, 116–17, 119, 142n231, 232, no. 51

NOTES

1. Rankin 1895, 143, pl. 8.
2. van Marle 1937, 400.
3. Bandera 1999, 89, 224–25, no. 25.
4. Sirén 1916a, 163–64; Edgell 1932, 253; and Fredericksen and Davisson 1966, 27, 29, 35.
5. Bandera 1999, 232.
6. On these two works, see Bandera 1999, 81, 221–22, no. 20; and Bandera 1999, 77, 221, no. 19, respectively.
7. Alessandro Bagnoli, in Bellosi 1993a, 410–13; and Laurence Kanter, in Newbery, Bisacca, and Kanter 1990, 40–41.
8. Bagnoli, in Bellosi 1993a, 410–13. For Ventura di Ser Giuliano, see also Martini 1990, 602–4, 621n11. The classicizing frames surviving on altarpieces by Pietro di Francesco Orioli (died 1496) all repeat the profiles, with minor variations in ornament, of the domestic tabernacles discussed above and might have been produced in Ventura di Ser Giuliano's workshop as well.

Benvenuto di Giovanni, *Desco da Parto with Love Bound by Maidens*

Artist	Benvenuto di Giovanni, Siena, 1436–ca. 1518
Title	*Desco da Parto with Love Bound by Maidens*
Date	ca. 1497–1500
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall 65.2 × 66.3 cm (25 5/8 × 26 1/8 in.); picture surface: 58.5 × 59.4 cm (23 × 23 3/8 in.)
Credit Line	University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves
Inv. No.	1871.65

Provenance

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

Condition

The panel support, of a horizontal wood grain and comprising two planks of approximately equal width, has been thinned to a depth varying between 6 and 12 millimeters. It had been cradled at the Fogg Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1930; the cradle was removed at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, in 2000 and replaced with a more flexible system of braces. A secondary panel measuring 26.8 by 23.2 centimeters, painted with a coat of arms and presumably salvaged from the reverse of the original painting, had been glued to the back of the panel but was separated from it during the treatment of 2000 (fig. 1). All the segments of the original engaged frame are missing, but partial barbs of gesso and paint along all twenty-one sides suggest that the size of the picture field has not been altered. The paint surface has been severely compromised by abrasion from aggressive cleaning by Andrew Petryn in 1960. Major losses have been inpainted along the seam—at the level of the right arm of the maiden in pink—and along a split running through the upper plank on a slight diagonal, rising from the horizon at the right of the scene to the top of the mountain at the left. Further complete losses in the background have been filled around the head of Cupid and of the two maidens on the right, above the horse's mane, between Cupid's legs and along the outside of his left thigh, and around both of his calves and feet. Abrasion in the sky is especially severe and has been liberally repainted.

Fig. 1. Fragment removed from the reverse of the *Desco da Parto with Love Bound by Maidens*, showing coat of arms

Discussion

This segmented circular (twenty-one sections once made up its now-missing original engaged frame) and formerly double-sided painting functioned as a *desco da parto*, a painted tray presented to new mothers lying in as an expensive gift, usually celebrating the birth of a male heir.[1] It portrays a Petrarchan subject of Love disarmed and bound by five maidens. Just to the left of center in the foreground of an airy and expansive landscape, Cupid (Love) stands nude, frontally, and blindfolded. Two young women, one on the left in a rose dress with gold brocade sleeves and one on the right in a white shift over a light blue dress, again with gold brocade sleeves, prevent Cupid's flight by holding his arms and the feathers of his wings. Behind the woman at the right is another, in a gold brocade dress, binding the arms of the god of love behind his back. A fourth young woman at the far left, in a yellow shift over a darkened silver dress, also reaches up to grip Cupid's wings and holds his broken bow in her right hand; his quiver and spent arrows are scattered on the ground behind him. A fifth woman, wearing a silver and vermillion dress and kneeling before the others, removes the wings at Cupid's ankles. At the far right, a mounted knight rides into the landscape, his back turned to the scene of Cupid's capture and taming. He bears a shield with the arms of the Piccolomini and Marsili families impaled. The same arms were painted on the reverse of the panel (see fig. 1). Two butterflies, a cricket or grasshopper, a stag, a hound chasing a hare, a dog, a lizard, and seven birds animate the landscape in the foreground, sky, and background.

Interpretations of the subject of this *desco*—one of the most frequently published works in the collections of the Yale University Art Gallery—have included references to Ausonius and Boccaccio, but they more often and correctly relate its imagery to the *Trionfi* of Francesco Petrarch, specifically to the triumph of Chastity over Love.[2] Illustrations of that poem were common in Florence in the fifteenth century, especially in the context of marriage cassoni, and usually took the form of Chastity riding in triumph on a processional cart, with a smaller figure of Cupid bound and kneeling at her feet. Less commonly encountered in Siena, where scenes of a metaphorical combat between Love and Chastity were preferred, the triumphal procession does appear in the background of a fresco painted by Luca Signorelli for the studiolo in the Palazzo Petrucci and now in the National Gallery, London (fig. 2). Believed to have been commissioned by Pandolfo Petrucci, the tyrant of Siena, to celebrate the marriage of his son Borghese to Vittoria Piccolomini on September 22, 1509, the fresco shows as its principle subjects the prelude to the triumph. In its middle ground, Cupid is chased and captured by a group of virtuous women, and in its foreground, the women disarm and bind the god of love. Signorelli's fresco is more dramatic and dynamic than the image portrayed on the Yale *desco* and, in some respects, more closely follows the text of Petrarch's poem, but the two scenes are evidently intended to convey an identical moral precept. Among the throng of virtuous women named by Petrarch in the company of Laura, his embodiment of Chastity, "Lucretia da man desta era la prima; L'altra Penelope. Queste gli strali avean spezato, e la pharetra a lato a quell protervo, e spennachiato l'ali" (Lucretia [on the right] and Penelope were first, / For they had broken all the shafts of Love / And torn away the quiver from his side, / And they had plucked the feathers from his wings."[3] Early editions of Petrarch also included a versicle describing Cupid's hands bound behind his back: "e legarli per forza ambe le palme dietro dal dosso."[4] It is possible, although far from certain, that like Signorelli, Benvenuto di Giovanni intended some or all of his maidens to be identifiable with the classical and biblical heroines named by Petrarch. It is similarly possible, although not demonstrable, that the mounted knight in the Yale *desco* may have been meant to portray either the virtuous Julius Caesar or Scipio Africanus, who were both said by Petrarch to have witnessed the binding of Love. Few scholars have attempted to explain this figure, other than Eugène Müntz, who thought he might be Mars and the woman furthest left holding the broken bow, Diana.[5] Cecilia De Carli also rejected a Petrarchan interpretation of the *desco*, identifying the women as nymphs of Diana punishing Cupid; this is unlikely as none of them is dressed as a huntress.[6]

Fig. 2. Luca Signorelli, *The Triumph of Chastity*, ca. 1509. Fresco. National Gallery, London, inv. no. NG910

Numerous interpretations of varying degrees of plausibility have been advanced to explain the inclusion of other details in the composition of the Yale *desco*. The butterflies were described by Ellen Callmann as emblems of Psyche, who, after many trials and dangers, married Amor in Apuleius's *Golden Ass*.[7] By extension, they are thought to represent the fragility and, due to their tragically short life cycles, impermanence of love. The stag reclining in the landscape at the left is an emblem of Diana, goddess of chastity. The vignette of a hound chasing a hare in the middle distance is similarly emblematic of the victory of chastity, as the hound is sacred to Diana, virgin goddess of the hunt, and the hare is popularly associated with Venus, goddess of love. Charles Seymour, Jr., identified the four birds painted against the sky as crows, symbols of fidelity in marriage,[8] while the other three birds—a parrot, a falcon, and a goldfinch—are less easy to interpret. The small white dog near the feet of the horse at the right is also a symbol of fidelity. The cricket was associated by Callmann with Aesop's fable of the Cricket and the Ant, apparently well known in literate circles in the fifteenth century, and would again have been emblematic of the fleeting nature or impermanence of love.[9]

Surprisingly few authors refer to the impaled coats of arms painted on the reverse of the Yale *desco* and repeated on the shield born by the retreating cavalier at the right of the composition. Osvald Sirén, who was followed by Helen Comstock and by Burton Fredericksen and Darrell Davisson, identified the sinister (bride's) arms as those of the Piccolomini family of Siena (argent, a cross azure charged with five crescent moons or) but did not recognize the dexter (groom's) arms.[10] Seymour introduced a tentative proposal that the dexter arms might be those of the Griselli, a suggestion repeated without comment or inquiry by Cecilia De Carli, Maria Cristina Bandera, and Cristelle Baskins.[11] Callmann correctly recognized the dexter arms as those of the Marsili family (gules, 6 five-pointed vine leaves, 3, 2, and 1, or) and credited Monika Butzek with specifying the marriage recorded by these arms as that of Bartolomea di Jacomo di Francesco Piccolomini and Cristofano di Biagio d'Arcangelo Marsili, contracted in 1497.[12] This date may be accepted as the earliest possible occasion for the commission of the *desco*, but it cannot be determined whether the commission was received at the time of the marriage, as an augury of marital fidelity and the production of an heir, or later, upon the birth of a male child. Too few examples of *deschi*, and even fewer records of them, survive to support an argument for which was the more likely circumstance.

Consideration of the *desco*'s authorship does not materially assist with narrowing the range of possibilities for its dating. When in the James Jackson Jarves collection, and for two decades after its acquisition by Yale, it was considered a work by Pintoricchio. William Rankin recognized the weakness of this attribution but could suggest no better alternative than "Florentine school."[13] Bernard Berenson was the first to classify it as Sienese when he listed it as a work by Benvenuto di Giovanni.[14] F. Mason Perkins instead described it (confusingly, as a "disco da porta") as among the finest works of Benvenuto's son, Girolamo di Benvenuto, and this attribution was followed by nearly all subsequent authors.[15] Even Berenson's later publications classify the *desco* as by Girolamo di Benvenuto in his father's workshop.[16] De Carli, Callmann, and Bandera returned to Berenson's initial identification as Benvenuto di Giovanni, and this is correct, although Callmann took great pains to emphasize the extensive participation of workshop assistants, none of which is anywhere in evidence in this painting.[17] The exaggerated attenuation of all the figures in the *desco*; the thin, lively highlights on the maidens' draperies; and Cupid's carefully articulated muscular and skeletal structure, still visible despite the complete loss of modeling glazes from abrasion, are entirely typical of Benvenuto's painting style. These same characteristics, as well as the facial types of all the figures, point to a date after Benvenuto's *Passion* predella of 1491 in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.[18]

Four datable work by Benvenuto survive from the last two decades or more of the artist's activity: an altarpiece of 1497 in the church of Santi Flora e Lucilla at Torrita di Siena; an altarpiece of the Assumption of the Virgin formerly in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, dated 1498; a *desco da parto* in the Giorgio Franchetti collection at the Ca d'Oro in Venice (fig. 3), recognizable by its impaled coat of arms as having been painted in 1500 or shortly after; and an altarpiece of 1509 in the church of Santa Lucia at Sinalunga.[19] Of these, the work most persistently compared to the Yale *desco* for its similarities of size, style, function, and profane subject matter has been the Franchetti *desco*, which represents Hercules at the Crossroads, choosing between vice and virtue. Both works have consistently been attributed to Girolamo di Benvenuto through a recurring litany of circular arguments, but the Franchetti *desco* was restored to Benvenuto by the present author in 1988, prompted by a wholesale reevaluation of the painter's late career.[20] A third *desco*, in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, representing the Judgment of Paris (fig. 4), is often grouped with those at Yale and in the Franchetti collection.[21] This, however, is a typical work by Girolamo di Benvenuto, employing his rounded, more self-consciously naturalistic figure types, stiffer and less imaginative poses, and more workmanlike facture. The collaboration of father and son on larger commissions, such as the two altarpieces of 1497 and 1509, renders difficult finer gradations of chronology in this period. —LK

Fig. 3. Benvenuto di Giovanni, *Desco da Parto with Hercules at the Crossroads*, ca. 1500–1505. Tempera on panel, Diam. 66 cm (26 in.). Galleria Giorgio Franchetti, Ca d'Oro, Venice

Fig. 4. Girolamo di Benvenuto, *Desco da Parto with the Judgment of Paris*, 1500–1510. Tempera and oil on panel, Diam. 71.7 cm (28 1/4 in.). Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. MI 587

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Jarves 1860, 53, no. 79; Sturgis 1868, 66–67, no. 71; Brown 1871, 22, no. 71; Rankin 1895, 145, 147, pl. 11; Berenson 1897, 134; Müntz 1899, 426–27; Toesca 1901, 135; Essling and Müntz 1902, 129, 148–49; Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1903–14, 3:115, 119n4, 5:166n1; Destrée 1903, 79; Perkins 1905, 77; Rankin 1905, 12; Rankin 1906, 288; Jacobsen 1908, 72, pl. 38, fig. 2; Rankin 1908, 381, pl. 4; Berenson 1909a, 181; Forbes 1913, 177; Mather 1914, 968; Sirén 1916a, 165–66; Weigelt 1921, 14:182; Mather 1923, 98–100, fig. 66; Schubring 1923a, 6, 334, no. 482, pl. 114; Comstock 1926, 54, 57–58; Offner 1927a, 7; "Handbook" 1931, 27; Berenson 1932a, 253; van Marle 1932, 416; Panofsky 1933, 199, fig. 7; Berenson 1936, 217; van Marle 1937, 422, 424, fig. 242; "Pagan Imagery in Renaissance Art" 1942, 2; Comstock 1946, 52, no. 12; "Picture Book Number One" 1946, fig. 24; Steegmuller 1951, 173n14; Fredericksen and Davisson 1966, 32, 35; Berenson 1968, 1:187; Seymour 1970, 194–95, no. 146; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 92, 470, 600; Vertova 1973b, 160, fig. 17; Fitzgerald 1986, 279–81; Angelini 1987, 649; Zeri 1991, 21n5; De Carli 1997, 190–92, no. 55; Bandera 1999, 194, 196, 241, no. 78; Baskins 1999, 125, 127, 223n32; Callmann 1999a, 105–16, figs. 1–3; Däubler-Hauschke 2003, 296–99

NOTES

1. For a general discussion of *deschi da parto*, see Fitzgerald 1986; and Mussacchio 1999.
2. See esp. Baskins 1999, 125, 223n32.
3. Petrarch 1962, Book 4, ll. 132–35.
4. Petrarch 1901, Book 4, ll. 94–96.

5. Müntz 1899, 427; and Essling and Müntz 1902, 148–49.

6. De Carli 1997, 190–92.

7. Callmann 1999a, 112–14.

8. Charles Seymour, Jr., curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery. Joachim von Sandrart, in Sandrart 1680, 114), ascribes the origin of this symbolism to Politian.

9. Callmann 1999a, 114–15.

10. Sirén 1916a, 165–66; Comstock 1926, 54, 57–58; Comstock 1946, 52; and Fredericksen and Davisson 1966, 32, 35.

11. De Carli 1997, 190–92; Bandera 1999, 241, no. 78; and Baskins 1999, 223n32.

12. Callmann 1999a, 105, 115n3.

13. Rankin 1895, 145, 147.

14. Berenson 1897, 134.

15. Perkins 1905, 77.

16. Berenson 1932a, 253; Berenson 1936, 217; and Berenson 1968, 1:187.

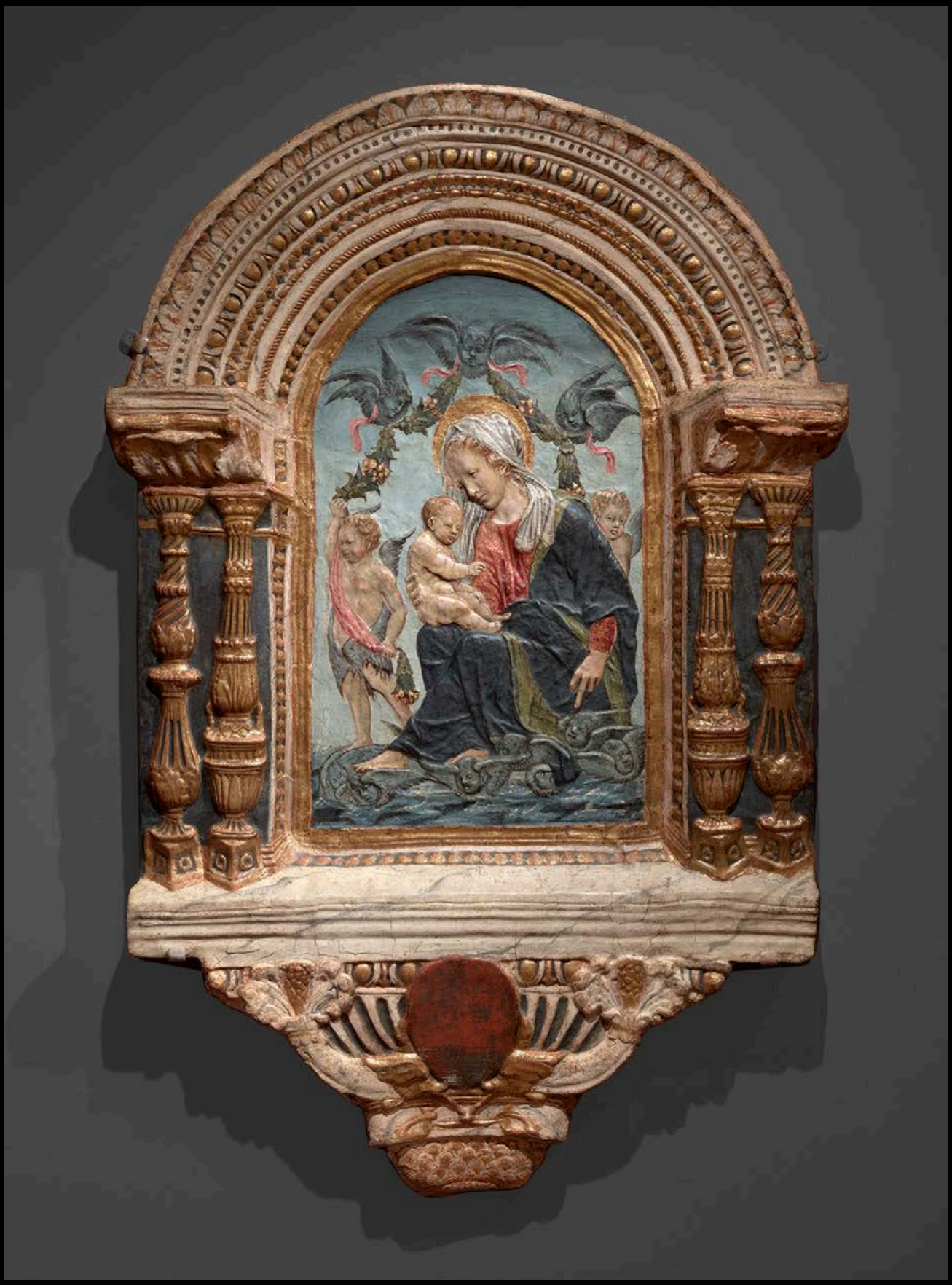
17. De Carli 1997, 190–92; Callmann 1999a, 106–10; and Bandera 1999, 196.

18. Inv. nos. 1952.5.52–.55, https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.41667.html, https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.41669.html, https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.41668.html, https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.41670.html.

19. See Bandera 1999, 241–42, 244–45.

20. Laurence Kanter, in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke 1988, 315.

21. See esp. Callmann 1999a, 108–10.



Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Virgin and Child with Angels and Cherubim*

Artist	Francesco di Giorgio Martini, Siena, 1439–1501
Title	*Virgin and Child with Angels and Cherubim*
Date	ca. 1490
Medium	Cartapesta with tempera, oil, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall 126 × 82.8 cm (49 5/8 × 32 5/8 in.); central relief: 62.0 × 38.0 cm (24 3/8 × 15 in.)
Credit Line	Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896, Fund and Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., Class of 1913, Fund
Inv. No.	2021.75.1

Provenance

Art market, Lucerne, by 1925; Jakob Goldschmidt (1882–1955), Berlin, by 1933; forced sale, Hugo Helbing, Frankfurt, June 23, 1936, lot 68; Dr. Irmgard Freiin von Lemmers Danforth (1892–1984), Wetzlar, Germany; given to the city of Wetzlar, Germany, 1963; restituted to the heirs of Jakob Goldschmidt, 2020; sale, Sotheby's, London, December 5, 2020, lot 29; Benappi Fine Art, London

Condition

The support is composed of three principal planks of poplar wood, oriented vertically and glued together. Three smaller pieces are joined to these at the bottom, filling out the silhouette of the antependium. The thickness of the main planks is approximately 3 centimeters. Beneath the area of the frame, the depth of the wood support is increased by the addition of further layers of wood, built up to accommodate the varying projections of the decoration applied to it. All the slats of wood are glued and nailed to the support, as is the cartapesta surface. The cartapesta is composed of strips of material soaked in glue. It is unclear whether the full relief is composed of sections cast separately and then joined together or whether it was pulled from a single complete mold, but the surface reveals evidence of extensive recutting as the cartapesta was drying. A subsequent coating of thin gesso and hot glue smoothed some of the irregularities of the underlying surface and provided a suitable base for painting and the application of metallic leaf.

A thick, blackened varnish covering the entire painted surface and a much-degraded strip of red velvet covering the thickness of the tabernacle along its outer perimeter were removed in conservation of the relief by Daniele Rossi in 2020–21. Lifting sections of cartapesta in some areas of the frame were consolidated, but the only significant losses were found along the upper edge of the frame to left of center. A gap between two of the planks of the wooden support at the lower left of the tabernacle (viewed from the back) was stabilized with the insertion of a screw to prevent further movement of the planks but without applying pressure to the distortions it had already provoked. Losses in the support were filled with balsa on the reverse. The picture surface was cleaned and found to be in an exceptional state of preservation: its original gilding and polychromy, including delicate oil

glazes, are intact and beautifully preserved. The coat of arms at the lower center had been effaced at an early date and scraped down to a preparatory layer of bolus with fragments of silver-leaf decoration, but virtually no other areas of pigment or gilding required reconstruction.

Discussion

In its size, complexity of conception and execution, and astonishingly complete state of preservation, this cartapesta relief is a unique surviving object from fifteenth-century Italy. The central image shows the Virgin seated in left profile on a cloud of blue cherubim, with the naked Christ Child balanced on her right knee. She wears a blue cloak lined with green over a red and gold dress; a white veil covers her blonde hair and falls forward over both her shoulders. The Child looks out of the composition toward the right and raises His right hand in the same direction in a gesture of blessing. Hovering in the naturalistic sky, which shades from deep blue at the arched top to nearly white at the bottom, are three more cherubs supporting a garland of dark green leaves and golden fruit that is tied to their wings with pink ribbons. The lower ends of the garland are held by two angels, one peeking out from behind the Virgin's shoulder at the right, the other standing, visible full length, looking dramatically away from the Virgin and out of the composition at the left. The frame is designed in illusionistic foreshortening to give the appearance of much greater depth than the actual cast, its shelf and heavy arched pediment painted to simulate white marble veined with gray. The arch is enlivened with moldings—pearl, rope, bead-and-reel, leaf-and-dart, and ovolo-and-dart—which are parcel gilt and highlighted with blue; it springs from oversized projecting corbels supported on two pair of blue and gilt candelabra. The antependium includes two stylized dolphins, painted in faux marble and parcel gilt, supporting a coat of arms (effaced), of which only the silver ground remains.

The technique of casting reliefs of the Virgin and Child that could be replicated as multiples originated in Florence in the third decade of the fifteenth century and was introduced to Siena by Donatello, one of the inventors of the process, during his sojourn there between 1457 and 1461.[1] Donatello's most astute follower in Siena was Francesco di Giorgio, who initially adapted the process, through the use of piece molds, to create elaborate sculptural decoration on wedding cassoni, a commercial specialty of the workshop that he operated jointly with Neroccio de' Landi between 1469 and 1475. This molded decoration took two essentially different forms: shield-bearing figures cast as mirror images of each other and applied at either end of a painted narrative scene on the front face of the chest,[2] or complete narrative reliefs comprising groups of two or more figures that could be reused and rearranged in different combinations on different chests.[3] This second category, which also employed molded shield-bearing figures similar or identical to those in the first category, may have evolved from an earlier type of purely decorative pastiglia cassone often associated with early quattrocento Siena.[4] Francesco di Giorgio's partner, Neroccio, adapted the casting process to create at least two compositions of the Virgin and Child as a reproducible stucco relief. One, at the Art Institute of Chicago (fig. 1), exists in a unique surviving cast; the other is known in five replicas, variously in stucco, cartapesta, or wood.[5] These replicas vary in size as well as medium, adding different painted details to the surface and, in one case, including five additional cherub heads cast from a piece mold. A cartapesta mirror frame in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (fig. 2), is also correctly attributed to Neroccio and was probably designed to be reproduced in more than one example.[6]

Fig. 1. Neroccio de' Landi, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1475–80. Polychromed stucco, 57.8 × 38.1 cm (22 3/4 × 15 in.). Art Institute of Chicago, Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson Collection, inv. no. 1933.1021

Fig. 2. Neroccio de' Landi, *Mirror Frame*, ca. 1480–90. Polychromed carapesta, 45.7 × 41.6 × 5.2 cm (18 × 16 3/8 × 2 in.). Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. 850-1884

Although he enjoyed a prolific career as a sculptor, Francesco di Giorgio was, until recently, thought to have produced only two *Virgin and Child* reliefs that could be disseminated in molded replicas. One of these, in Berlin,[7] reproduces a marble relief by Francesco, which is also now in Berlin (fig. 3), with recutting of the cast stucco for slightly greater relief effects that were then heightened by the surface polychromy.[8] The other is a stucco relief of the Virgin and Child with cherubim, again in Berlin, that is, in turn, a partial copy of the cartapesta relief now at Yale.[9] Four further attributions to Francesco di Giorgio of *Virgin and Child* reliefs advanced in recent studies include a bronze plaque in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna,[10] a polychrome terracotta-and-stucco tabernacle in the church of San Sebastiano in Vallepiata, Siena,[11] another stucco in Berlin,[12] and a terracotta in the Hyde Collection, Glens Falls, N.Y.,[13] but these reveal only a partial similarity of figure types to Francesco's work and a very different approach to modeling draperies and anatomical volumes. While most if not all of these are to be recognized as Sienese, none of them has a strong claim to being the work of Francesco di Giorgio.

Fig. 3. Francesco di Giorgio, *Virgin and Child,* ca. 1480–85. Marble, 79.5 × 59 cm (31 1/4 × 23 1/4 in.). Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 201

That the Yale relief was not conceived as a mechanical replica of a work in another medium—marble or bronze—is clear both from the subtlety of its surface effects, achieved by extensive recutting of the cartapesta after casting, and by the elaborate layered construction of the wood support, especially in the buildup of superimposed wedges to achieve the illusion of a projecting frame profile. The composition of the relief is directly inspired by Donatello, specifically by the marble relief known as the *Madonna of the Clouds* (fig. 4), now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. This resemblance, and probably a tacit assumption that all of Francesco's experiments with Virgin and Child compositions date from the first part of his career, before leaving Siena for Urbino around 1477, has led to a date close to 1475 for the Yale relief being repeated by the few authors who have referred to it. The figure style and impressionistic handling of surface detail revealed by cleaning, however, recall instead the masterful bronze reliefs Francesco di Giorgio created for the dukes Federigo and Guidobaldo da Montefeltro in Urbino in the late 1470s and the 1480s. Above all, its conception and handling resemble those of the large bronze plaquette of the Judgment of Paris in Washington, D.C. (fig. 5), assumed by consensus to be the latest of Francesco's bronze reliefs.[14] The standing angel at the left of the Yale relief, looking mysteriously and intensely out of the composition, is loosely based on the same model that Francesco devised, on a much larger scale, for the two bronze angels he cast for the high altar of Siena Cathedral around 1490. Finally, the workshop hand that aided him in pigmenting the frame and background of the relief—the painting of the Virgin and Child is clearly by Francesco himself—is unrelated to anything appearing among the workshop products for which Francesco and Neroccio can be easily recognized during the period of their partnership before 1475.

Fig. 4. Donatello, *The Madonna of the Clouds*, ca. 1425–30. Marble, 33.1 × 32 cm (13 1/16 × 12 5/8 in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Quincy Adams Shaw through Quincy Adams Shaw, Jr. and Mrs. Marian Shaw Haughton, inv. no. 17.1470

Fig. 5. Francesco di Giorgio, *The Judgment of Paris*, ca. 1485–90. Bronze, 13.7 × 13 cm (5 3/8 × 5 1/8 in.). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection, inv. no. 1957.14.140

Fig. 6. Francesco di Giorgio, *The Nativity*, 1475–80. Oil on panel, 203 × 198.5 cm (79 7/8 × 78 1/8 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 437

Francesco di Giorgio first experimented with trompe-l'oeil perspectival effects similar to those employed in the frame of this relief in designing the frame for his altarpiece of the Nativity painted between 1475 and 1480 for the monastery church of Monteoliveto a Porta Tufi in Siena (fig. 6), an unicum among Sienese altarpieces.[15] There is thus a strong argument that the frame on the present relief would have been designed by him as well, but alternatively it may be attributable to a woodcarver/frame maker with whom he is documented working in 1488/89: Ventura di Ser Giuliano di Tura (documented 1488–1512). Two very similar frames survive, both of carved and gilded wood. One, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 7), contains a painting of the Virgin and Child by Benvenuto di Giovanni that appears to be original to it and may be datable to the 1480s.[16] The other, in the Pieve di San Leonardo at Montefollonico, near Torrita di Siena, contains a polychrome terracotta sculpture by an unknown artist influenced by Francesco di Giorgio.[17] The latter, like the frame on the present relief, employs illusionistic foreshortening to enhance the impression of its depth, an affectation that must be attributable directly to Francesco di Giorgio. There can be no doubt, however, that the Montefollonico frame and the frame on Benvenuto di Giovanni's *Virgin and Child* were carved in the same workshop, and as there is no reason to assume that Francesco di Giorgio was actively employed designing and carving frames for other artists, Alessandro Bagnoli's arguments for associating these works with Ventura di Ser Giuliano are highly plausible.[18] —LK

Fig. 7. Benvenuto di Giovanni, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1485. Tempera on panel, overall, including frame: 70.5 × 46 cm (27 3/4 × 18 1/8 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975, inv. no. 1975.1.54a–b

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Bode 1925, 63, 66; Schottmüller 1933, 65, no. 148; Laurence Kanter, in Newbery, Bisacca, and Kanter 1990, 40–41; Koeppe 1992, 308, 481, no. SK2; Alessandro Bagnoli, in Bellosi 1993a, 410–12; Newbery 2007, 26; Amato 2018, 22, 34n25; Alessandro Angelini, in Angelini, Fattorini, and Russo 2022, 86n7

NOTES

1. For an example by Donatello, see Yale University Art Gallery, inv. no. 2006.231.2, https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/116047.

2. Examples include chests in the Museo Stibbert, Florence, inv. no. 4098; and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. W68-1925.

3. Examples include chests in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 15.119.4, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/193194; the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, inv. no. F16e21; the Museo Artistico Industriale, Rome (Schubring 1915, no. 51, pl. 9); the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (Schubring 1923a, no. 895, pl. 1); formerly the Figdor collection, Vienna (Schubring 1915, no. 63, pl. 10); Moravska Galerie, Brno, Czech Republic, inv. no. 7024; the Museo Bagatti Valsecchi, Milan, inv. no. 27; the Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza Museo Nacional, Madrid, inv. no. DEC 0034; and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. 719-1884, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O130446/cassone-front-unknown/. See Laurence Kanter, in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke 1988, 322n1; Freuler 1991, 104–5; Chiara Guerzi, in De Marchi, Guerzi, and Nunziati 2009, 26–39; and esp. Calderai and Chong 2011, 112–17. Guerzi (following Andrea De Marchi, in De Marchi, Guerzi, and Nunziati 2009, 7–8) believed this group of Sienese chests can be dated to the second quarter of the fifteenth century and therefore reflect an earlier stylistic and technical tradition than Francesco di Giorgio's.

4. Examples include Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection, inv. no. 1975.1.1938, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/459250; Museo Stefano Bardini, Florence; Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome; Grassi Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Leipzig, Germany (see Schottmüller 1928, 241, fig. 82); Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Cologne, Germany; Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. 717-1884, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O321640/cassone-panel-unknown/; Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, inv. no. F16w8, https://www.gardnermuseum.org/experience/collection/11742; Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, inv. no. 68.17, https://vmfa.museum/piction/6027262-15905120/; National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, inv. no. 23644; and elsewhere. See Koeppe et al. 2012, 195–96.

5. Stucco versions are found in the Museo d'Arte della Maremma, Grosseto, and the Museo Bardini, Florence. Cartapesta squeezes are owned by the Princeton University Art Museum, N.J., inv. no. y1962-74, and formerly by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (destroyed in 1945). A carved wood version is in the Perkins Collection at the Sacro Convento di San Francesco, Assisi.

6. See Luke Syson, in Syson 2007, 208–12. A related mirror frame, carved in wood and bearing the arms of the Cinuzzi of Siena, possibly associated with the workshop of the sculptor Giovanni di Stefano, is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection, inv. no. 1975.1.2101, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/459206; see Newbery 2007, 28–29.

7. Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 7121.

8. Two other stucco replicas of this composition—in the Salini Collection, Castello di Gallico, Asciano, and in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. no. A37-1953, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O314479/virgin-and-child-relief-martini-francesco-di/; see also Alessandro Bagnoli, in Bellosi 1993a, 196–97)—are later squeezes possibly taken not from the original mold but from another stucco example. Their surface detail is

blunt and simplified and without evident recutting in any details.

9. Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 1561. Kanter, in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke 1988, 332; and Laurence Kanter, in Newbery, Bisacca, and Kanter 1990, 40–41. The Berlin stucco was again probably squeezed not from the original mold(s) that produced the Yale relief but from a cast of an existing stucco or cartapesta squeeze. Not only does it reduce surface detail to a minimum, but also it converts the composition to a vertical rectangular format and crops the two angels on either side of the Virgin.

10. Inv. no. KK9118, https://www.khm.at/objektdb/detail/95135/; see Gianluca Amato, in Angelini, Fattorini, and Russo 2022, 92–93.

11. See Bagnoli, in Bellosi 1993a, 222–25.

12. Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 2942; see Bagnoli, in Bellosi 1993a, 222–25.

13. Inv. no. 1971.88, https://emuseum.hydecollection.org/objects/1204/madonna-and-child. Another version of this relief is in storage at the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena; see Amato 2018, 22.

14. See Francesca Fumi Cambi Gado, in Bellosi 1993a, 406–7.

15. The altarpiece was commissioned on April 12, 1475, and is usually discussed as having been painted shortly afterward. See Alessandro Angelini, in Bellosi 1993a, 314–17. Fabio Chigi, however, in 1625–26, recorded the inscription "Franciscus Georgii 1480" on the painting, and Gabriele Fattorini has recently suggested that such a date, implying a prolonged execution, could explain the predominant use of an oil technique following Francesco di Giorgio's exposure to the paintings of Justus of Ghent and Pedro Berrugquete in Urbino. See Gabriele Fattorini, in Angelini, Fattorini, and Russo 2022, 53–54.

16. See Newbery 2007, 26–27. Benvenuto di Giovanni's *Virgin and Child* is usually dated to the early part of his career, based chiefly on the putative existence of the arms of Pope Pius II Piccolomini (died 1465) on its reverse, now lost. The painting is more likely to have been made in the 1480s, close to the surviving lunette from the Bellanti altarpiece of 1483. See Benvenuto di Giovanni, *Virgin and Child with Two Saints and Two Angels*.

17. See Bagnoli, in Bellosi 1993a, 410–13. Bagnoli's dating of this relief around 1475 is based on the assumption that the two related frames were made close to that date, a circular argument. The painted background of the Montefollonico relief—which is closer in style to the landscapes of Neroccio de' Landi than to the Master of Griselda, as suggested by Bagnoli—points to a more probable date around or shortly after 1490.

18. For Ventura di Ser Giuliano, see also Martini 1990, 602–4, 621n11. The classicizing frames surviving on altarpieces by Pietro di Francesco Orioli (died 1496) all repeat the profiles, with minor variations in ornament, of the three tabernacles discussed above and might have been produced in Ventura di Ser Giuliano's workshop as well.

Other Schools

Marchigian School, *Man of Sorrows*

Artist	Marchigian School, possibly third quarter 15th century
Title	*Man of Sorrows*
Date	possibly third quarter 15th century
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 72 × 46.4 cm (28 3/8 × 18 1/4 in.); picture surface: Diam. 15.0 cm (5 7/8 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Dr. Lillian Malcove
Inv. No.	1960.71

Provenance

Paul Bottenwieser (1892–1942), Berlin; sale, Park-Bernet Galleries, New York, May 25, 1944, lot 80; Seligmann, Rey & Co., New York; Dr. Lillian Malcove (1902–1981), New York, 1950

Condition

The main panel support is 2.2 centimeters thick and of a vertical wood grain. Additional moldings, 1.5 centimeters thick, have been added to define the architectural structure of the frame, while ornamentation filling the tympanum—including the painted roundel—has been carved into the surface. The areas of Flamboyant tracery have also been carved behind to create a gap between the frame and any subjacent support surfaces, increasing the play of light and cast shadow across the intricate decorative detail. The moldings are broken at the lower right and top center but are otherwise very well preserved. The raised edges of the moldings are more worn and reveal more exposed bolus than the recessed carved areas, but the gilding overall is in good condition. The paint surface in the roundel is abraded and is interrupted by two large losses, following partial splits in the panel.

Discussion

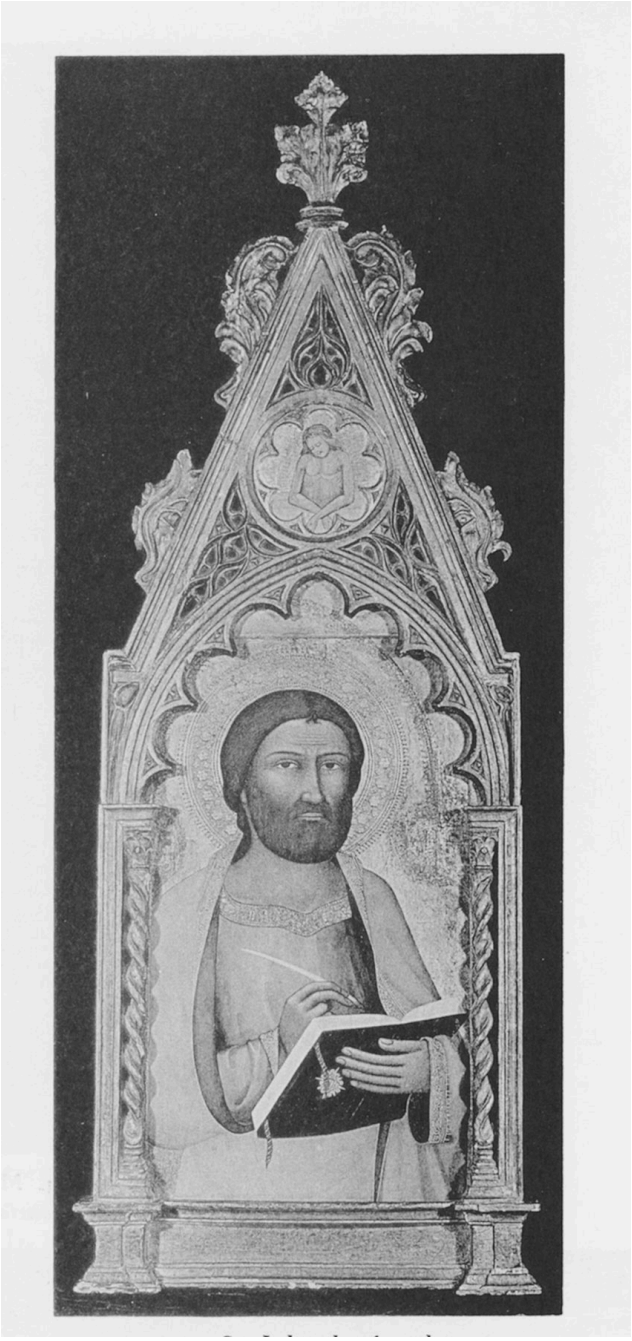


Fig. 1. Andrea Vanni, *Saint Mark* (Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass., inv. no. 1956.68), framed with the Yale *Man of Sorrows*, 1944

This remarkably intact pinnacle fragment, excised from an unidentified complex, first appeared on the art market in 1944, when it was arbitrarily placed above an unrelated image of Saint Mark by Andrea Vanni, presently in the Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts (fig. 1).[1] The reconstructed complex was acquired in 1950 by Dr. Lillian Malcove, a Canadian-born psychoanalyst and art collector, who donated the Cambridge panel to the Fogg Art Museum in 1956 and the pinnacle, by then recognized as an independent element, to the Yale University Art Gallery. In 1970 Charles Seymour, Jr., catalogued the *Man of Sorrows* as Sienese School, around 1400, although noting that it was possibly painted during the early years of the fifteenth century.[2] In 1972 the same author puzzlingly referred to the pinnacle as "an unusually well-preserved fragment of an original mid-15th century gilt framing element" but advanced a date of around 1390–1400.[3] The only other scholar to consider the work was Carl Strehlke, who suggested an attribution to the Marchigian School, around 1420.[4]

There is no doubt that the *Man of Sorrows* in the roundel set in the tympanum is an integral part of the pinnacle structure. The Flamboyant Gothic tracery around the image, derived from Northern models, precludes the possibility of a Tuscan origin. The combination of a triangular tympanum with tracery and this type of acanthus ornament closely parallels the so-called Adriatic framing elements of the monumental polyptych by Giovanni Boccati in Belforte del Chienti (fig. 2), signed and dated 1468;[5] but it is also reminiscent of an altarpiece signed by the Lombard, possibly Brescian painter Giovanni Martorelli in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna (fig. 3). The latter has been dated around 1460,[6] suggesting, perhaps, a later chronology for the Yale fragment than has hitherto been supposed. Although the size of the Yale *Man of Sorrows* and its present abraded condition make an evaluation of its stylistic components tentative at best, the expressive concerns still visible in the corrugated brow of the figure and the detailed handling of the facial features and underlying bone structure seem to support a dating around 1450 or later. The unusual dotted rays punched into the gold background and in Christ's halo, recalling a technique particularly favored by followers of Gentile da Fabriano, such as Zanino di Pietro, may point to the generation of Late Gothic painters active in the Marche in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. —PP

Fig. 2. Giovanni Boccati, *Virgin and Child Enthroned between Saints Eustace, Peter, James Major, and Venantius of Camerino* (Sant'Eustachio Polyptych), 1468. Tempera and gold on panel, 483 × 325 cm (190 1/8 × 128 in.). Church of Sant'Eustachio, Belforte del Chienti

Fig. 3. Giovanni Martorelli, *Virgin and Child Enthroned between Saint Sebastian and Thaddeus*, ca. 1460. Tempera and gold on panel, 166 × 131 cm (65 3/8 × 51 5/8 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, inv. no. 278

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Official Art Exhibition 1936, no. 451; Ziff 1957, 138, fig. 2; Seymour 1970, 93–94, 312, no. 65; Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 50–51, no. 44, fig. 44

NOTES

1. Sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, 1944, lot 80. According to the sale catalogue, this was the same work that appeared in the 1936 *California Pacific International Art Exhibition* in San Diego, where it was attributed to Lippo Vanni; see *Official Art Exhibition* 1936, no. 451. The absence of an illustration in the San Diego catalogue, however, and the fact that the work is simply described there as "Portrait of a Saint" make it difficult to determine whether the Yale pinnacle was already included in the same framing structure.

2. Seymour 1970, 93–94, no. 65.

3. Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 50.

4. Carl Strehlke, unpublished checklist of Italian paintings at Yale, 1998–2000, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.

5. For this work, executed for the parish church of Sant'Eustachio in Belforte del Chienti and still in situ, see Mauro Minardi, in De Marchi 2002b, 267–78, no. 19 (with previous bibliography).

6. Daniele Benati, in Bentini, Cammarota, and Scaglietti Kelescian 2004, 200–202, nos. 73a–b (with previous bibliography).

Francesco dei Franceschi, *The Flight of the Soldiers before Saint Mamas and the Wild Beasts*

Artist	Francesco dei Franceschi, Venice, documented 1443–56
Title	*The Flight of the Soldiers before Saint Mamas and the Wild Beasts*
Date	ca. 1450
Medium	Tempera, gold, and tin on panel
Dimensions	47.9 × 36.2 cm (18 7/8 × 14 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Louis M. Rabinowitz
Inv. No.	1946.72

For more on this painting, see Francesco dei Franceschi, *Aurelian (or Alexander?) and the Priest of Serapis; Saint Mamas Comforted by the Wild Beasts Sent to Devour Him*.

Francesco dei Franceschi, *Aurelian (or Alexander?) and the Priest of Serapis*; *Saint Mamas Comforted by the Wild Beasts Sent to Devour Him*

Artist	Francesco dei Franceschi, Venice, documented 1443–56
Title	*Aurelian (or Alexander?) and the Priest of Serapis*; *Saint Mamas Comforted by the Wild Beasts Sent to Devour Him*
Date	ca. 1450
Medium	Tempera, gold, and tin on panel
Dimensions	48.2 × 35.8 cm (19 × 14 1/8 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Louis M. Rabinowitz
Inv. No.	1946.73

Provenance

John Annan Bryce (1841–1923), London, by 1912; William Harrison Woodward (1855–1941), London, 1923;[1] M. Knoedler and Co., New York; Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz (1887–1957), Sands Point, Long Island, N.Y., by 1946

Condition

This panel and the related *Flight of the Soldiers before Saint Mamas and the Wild Beasts*, both of a vertical wood grain, have been thinned to a depth of 4 millimeters, mounted on auxiliary, horizontally grained wooden supports, and cradled. Both have been cut on all four sides; the *Aurelian (or Alexander?) and the Priest of Serapis* panel has been cut further into the picture field along the left margin than has the panel depicting the *Flight of the Soldiers*. Evidence of continuous, minor diagonal splits following the wood grain at the bottom edge of the *Flight of the Soldiers* panel and top edge of the *Aurelian* panel suggests that the *Flight* may have stood directly above *Aurelian (or Alexander?) and the Priest of Serapis* in their original configuration. Larger vertical splits in both panels appear chiefly to have been caused by flattening and cradling. The paint and gilded surfaces of both scenes are in excellent condition, having suffered primarily from flaking losses rather than abrasion. The *Flight of the Soldiers* was cleaned by Andrew Petryn between 1970 and 1972, exposing its polished gesso spandrels; minor losses in the gilding near the top, in the paint surface across the bottom, and at the level of the missing frame capitals supporting the spring of the arch; and extensive loss of the tin leaf defining the armor of the fleeing soldiers at the center (fig. 1). Except for the missing armor, these were corrected by Patricia Garland in a treatment of 2000–2001, using a tratteggio inpainting technique. The *Aurelian* panel has not been cleaned. Its spandrels are overpainted black, and it retains old repaints along a vertical split, 21 centimeters from the left edge—following the corner of the building in which the protagonists sit—and at the level of the missing capital at the right edge. Saint Mamas's halo in this panel is regilt and overpainted, and the small area of gilding visible beneath an arch at the lower right is also modern.

Fig. 1. *The Flight of the Soldiers before Saint Mamas and the Wild Beasts*, ca. 1970

Fig. 2. Francesco dei Franceschi, *The Martyrdom of Saint Mamas*, ca. 1450. Tempera and gold on panel, 52.5 × 40 cm (20 1/4 × 15 3/4 in.). Museo Correr, Venice, inv. no. 350

Discussion

The earliest record of this picture and the related *Flight of the Soldiers before Saint Mamas and the Wild Beasts* is in the 1912 exhibition of Venetian painting organized by the Burlington Fine Arts Club in London, when they were listed as the property of the Irish Member of Parliament John Annan Bryce and attributed to Jacopo Bellini or his school. In a seminal article published the same year, Roger Fry recognized that the two panels were fragments of a larger complex that included two more episodes from the life of Saint Mamas in the Museo Correr, Venice (figs. 2–3), and a representation of the enthroned saint in the Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona (fig. 4).[2] Fry's detailed examination of the work's narrative structure and its iconography, which has no known precedent in Western art, provided the starting point for all subsequent studies of these images.

Fig. 3. Francesco dei Franceschi, *The Death of Saint Mamas*, ca. 1450. Tempera and gold on panel, 52.5 × 40 cm (20 5/8 × 15 3/4 in.). Museo Correr, Venice, inv. no. 351

Fig. 4. Francesco dei Franceschi, *Saint Mamas Enthroned*, ca. 1450. Tempera and gold on panel, 61.8 × 45 cm (24 3/8 × 17 3/4 in.). Museo del Castelvecchio, Verona, inv. no. 61-1B124

Though relatively obscure to modern audiences, Saint Mamas (also known as Mama or Mammas), a young shepherd martyred in Caesarea during the reign of Emperor Aurelian (A.D. 270–75), was one of the most venerated figures in Asia Minor and the Byzantine Empire, where he was referred to as "the great martyr."[3] His cult soon spread to the West and, in particular, to France—after some of his most important relics were brought to the city of Langres—and to northern Italy. But while single images of the saint proliferated in the West, narrative cycles devoted to his life remained rare. The most comprehensive series consists of eighteen roundels illustrating single episodes from the saint's legend in a thirteenth-century stained-glass window in the cathedral of Saint-Étienne in Auxerre, France.[4] Aside from this work, the only other example is the set of eight tapestry panels designed by Jean Cousin the Elder in 1543 for Langres Cathedral.[5] While sharing individual motifs with the Yale and Correr panels (see figs. 2–3), however, neither the Auxerre roundels nor the Langres tapestry bear a compositional relationship to the present cycle, reflecting the absence of a standardized narrative for the

life of the saint.[6] Fry noted that the events illustrated by the Yale and Correr fragments seemed "to accord the best" with the *Life* of Saint Mamas by the tenth-century Byzantine hagiographer Simeon Metaphrastes,[7] although some of the episodes, as recently highlighted by Giada Petrillo,[8] suggest a conflation of the Metaphratic account with other, more ancient texts. According to Metaphrastes, Mamas was the son of patrician parents devoted to Christianity, who were denounced for their faith. After his mother died while giving birth to him in prison, Mamas was adopted by a wealthy Christian widow who passed away by the time he was fifteen, leaving him her fortune. At this time, Mamas, who had already become known for his preaching and power of conversion, was summoned before the provincial governor (*praeses*) of Caesarea, Democritus, who, having tried without success to convince him to worship at the altar of Serapis, reported him to Emperor Aurelian. The emperor tried to entice Mamas to renounce his faith with the promise of a place at his court, but when the youth turned down his entreaties, Aurelian had him tortured. From this point, the Metaphrastic *Life* describes Mamas's escape to the mountains, where he received a staff from Heaven and a Gospel book from the bowels of the earth, built a hut, preached to the wild beasts, and made cheese to distribute to the poor from the milk of the animals. Accused of magic by the new governor, Alexander, who sent soldiers to capture him, Mamas was imprisoned and finally killed with a trident after enduring numerous torments.

The Yale and Correr fragments (see figs. 2–3) illustrate the later events in Saint Mamas's life, concluding with his death and calling to Heaven. It is generally assumed that the first panel in the sequence is the *Flight of the Soldiers before Saint Mamas and the Wild Beasts*, which shows Saint Mamas dressed as a shepherd, standing before the hut where he has welcomed with bread and cheese the soldiers sent by Governor Alexander to arrest him. In the Metaphrastic account, at the sight of the female wild animals who arrived, as usual, to be milked by the saint, the soldiers, not having realized who their host was, were seized by wonder and fear. To reassure them, Mamas revealed his true identity and then sent the soldiers away with the promise that he would soon present himself to the governor and surrender of his own free will. The Yale scene, however, seems less dependent on the Metaphrastic text than on the earliest *Passio* dedicated to the saint, composed in the fourth century,[9] which relates how Mamas stopped the soldiers from fleeing by explaining to them how God's words had the power to tame the wild beasts who gathered around to hear him preach.[10] Consonant with the *Passio* is the detail of the bear, lions, and other wild animals assembled before Mamas, who is intent on reassuring the soldiers as they are about to turn back in fright toward the city behind them. The episode takes place in a wooded, rocky landscape meant to evoke the wilderness of the saint's surroundings. A table set with knives and pieces of bread or cheese is arranged in the open shed behind Mamas, who is dressed in a pink tunic and blue cape with ochre-colored boots. The modern "cleaning" of the panel has left only traces of the tin leaf used to depict the brilliant armor of the soldiers and the tips of their lances. One of the soldiers in the foreground, without a helmet, wears bright red shoes and a red vest below his armor. The ends of two swords in red scabbards emerge from the group.

The subject of the second panel at Yale, described in the past as "Saint Mamas before Aurelian," "The Trial of Saint Mamas," or "Saint Mamas Thrown (or Fed) to the Beasts," is more difficult to interpret. The composition is articulated around an elegant palace whose architecture recalls Late Gothic models in Venice and the Veneto. On the left, in the interior of an audience room with a coffered ceiling and tiled floor, two figures seated on an elaborately carved bench and a young man standing before them are engaged in lively interaction. A small page in the left corner is in attendance. The seated figure on the left, who seems to be addressing the standing youth, is identified as a royal personage by his crown and scepter, as well as his attire; he wears a pale blue, ermine-lined brocaded cloak with gold trim over a red-lake tunic, and white gloves with hanging tassels. Next to him is an older gray-bearded man dressed in priestly robes; his head is covered by a white shawl edged in gold, and he wears a lavender cloak with vermilion lining over a green tunic, both of which are also bordered in gold. The finely dressed youth, in contemporary fifteenth-century attire, wears a red-lake *giornea*, the typical outer garment trimmed with fur, over a pale blue shirt and green stockings decorated with gold dots. On the right side of the composition, standing in an open courtyard before the closed palace doors and painted larger than the figures in the left scene, is Saint Mamas looking up in prayer toward a half-length image of God the Father. Crouched at Mamas's feet, in the act of licking his boots, are a leopard, a black bear, and a lion.

Fry, who observed that the Yale composition seemed to combine "two or three similar incidents" separated in the Metaphrastic account "by months or years," thought that the interior scene, which is not accounted for by any of the *Lives*, might show the emperor Aurelian with the

priest of Serapis, at whose altar the saint refused to worship.[11] On the right, Fry supposed, was the saint after having delivered his reproof to the judges, while the figure of God the Father in the sky symbolized "the tenor of the Saint's confession," and the beasts stood for the "heads of the Saint's cattle awaiting him."[12] Petrillo, on the other hand, proposed that the narrative was centered around the final torments suffered by the saint at the hands of the new provincial governor, Alexander, as described in the Metaphrastic *Life*. According to Petrillo, the bearded figure seated next to Aurelian is not a priest, but Alexander, and the two youths in contemporary costume simply pages in attendance. The imagery on the right side of the panel would therefore refer to the miraculous taming of the three wild beasts—a bear, a leopard, and a lion—who were sent by Alexander to devour the saint but instead knelt at Mamas's feet to comfort him, "licking the sweat from his brow."[13]

While the representation of Saint Mamas clearly relates to the events described in the *Life*, the identity of the figures in the Yale interior scene is ambiguous. Petrillo's identification of the bearded elder as Alexander is inconsistent with his priestly robes and with the same character's reappearance in the Correr *Martyrdom of Saint Mamas* (see fig. 2), where he is recognizable among the crowd of courtiers witnessing the spectacle. Fry's suggestion that he might be a priest of Serapis seems more plausible, although other details still remain opaque. Since it was Governor Alexander who ordered the attack of the animals seen crouched at Mamas's feet, narrative continuity would seem to dictate that the royally attired personage is not Aurelian but Alexander. That the Yale image might reflect a conflation between the figures of emperor and governor is suggested by other comparisons with the Correr *Martyrdom*, presumed to be the next episode in the sequence. In this instance, the setting has been transposed from the amphitheater described by Metaphrastes to a crowded throne room of a palace, similar in many architectural details to the audience hall in the Yale panel. The action unfolds according to the Metaphrastic legend, which relates how Alexander, in a fit of fury at Saint Mamas—who had survived unscathed the torments alluded to in the Yale picture—suddenly instructed an armed attendant to thrust his trident into the saint's body. The crowned despot seated on his throne, holding a scepter and wearing a light blue mantle over a red tunic and white gloves, is the same imperial type who appears in the Yale panel, providing a clear visual link between the two scenes. Perhaps not coincidentally, a precedent for this conflation of characters is found in the thirteenth-century window of Auxerre Cathedral, in which the same episodes are presided over by identical figures with crown and scepter—most likely indicating a shared iconographic model.[14] In the Correr *Martyrdom*, Mamas is shown calmly awaiting his fate, hands joined in prayer, as the long trident, wielded by a simply dressed guard, pierces his stomach. The rendering of this particular motif, absent from the Auxerre window, closely adheres to Byzantine sources, as represented by a miniature of the saint's martyrdom in the so-called Menologion of Basil II (976–1025), a lavishly illuminated Greek manuscript in the Vatican Library (fig. 5).[15] Metaphrastes's account goes on to describe how the mortally struck Mamas managed to walk some distance away from the city before dying and rendering his soul to God. On the left of the Correr *Martyrdom*, viewed through a narrow archway, is the small shape of the wounded saint, headed toward his abode in the wilderness. The last panel in the sequence, also in the Correr Museum (see fig. 3), depicts Saint Mamas in his final hours, kneeling in prayer before his wattle hut, as an angel descends from the sky to collect his soul.

Fig. 5. Unknown artist, *The Martyrdom of Saint Mamas*, 976–1025. Tempera and gold on parchment, 37.5 x 32.3 cm (14 3/4 x 12 3/4 in.). Biblioteca Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1613, Menologion of Basil II, fol. 4v

In his reconstruction of the original complex, Fry posited that the scenes from the life of the saint were arranged horizontally, two on each side of the Verona *Saint Mamas* (see fig. 4), which shows the young martyr accompanied by a lion, a common attribute in Byzantine representations. The saint displays an open volume, inscribed with a version of the confession of faith he made before his torturer Alexander: "DEO / VIVO QUI / REGNAT / I[N] CELIS / SERVIO / ET NU[N]QU[AM] / ME DERELI[N] / QUET D[OMIN] US / DEUS ME / US" (I serve the living God who resides in the Heavens, and my God will never abandon me). While leaving open the possibility that the panels might have formed a predella, Fry envisioned a structure in the nature of a reredos placed over an altar dedicated to the saint.[16] Noting the essentially Venetian, Late Gothic elements of the artist's approach, combined with an awareness of the more advanced architectural vocabulary of Jacopo Bellini, Fry assigned the altarpiece to Jacopo's slightly older contemporary, Michele Giambono.

In 1924 Fry's attribution was revised by Giuseppe Fiocco, who recognized the tight correspondences between the *Saint Mamas* panels and the signed and dated 1447 polyptych by Giambono's lesser-known follower Francesco dei Franceschi in the Musei Civici, Padua, which displays virtually identical figure types and decorative elements.[17] Since then, Francesco's authorship of the series has never been questioned by scholars, who have generally dated the *Saint Mamas* panels around the middle of the fifteenth century, in close proximity to the Padua polyptych. Considerably less certainty, on the other hand, has characterized discussions of the appearance of the original complex. Fiocco accepted Fry's arrangement and referred to the fragments as a "fronte di cassa,"[18] presumably referring to the painted front of a reliquary box that also served as a dossal or antependium—a typology that had a long tradition in Venice and its outposts along the Adriatic coast, going back to the workshop of Paolo Veneziano.[19] In 1927 Evelyn Sandberg-Vavalà associated an *Angel of the Annunciation* and *Virgin Annunciate*, also in the Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona,[20] with the *Saint Mamas* and accompanying narrative scenes, and she proposed that they were fragments of an unidentified polyptych dedicated to the saint.[21] The classification of the Yale and Correr panels as elements of a large predella was embraced by subsequent authors,[22] who integrated other panels by Francesco, dispersed among various collections, in the same altarpiece, eventually arriving at the solution proposed by Andrea De Marchi in the most recent catalogue of the Museo di Castelvecchio.[23] In De Marchi's reconstruction, the Verona *Saint Mamas* (see fig. 4), which is considerably reduced from its original dimensions, was the central compartment of a monumental pentaptych that included pairs of standing saints and other half-length figures, with the Yale and Correr scenes (see figs. 2–3) below them. Doubts about the integration of all these fragments into the same structure were raised by Walter Angelelli,[24] however, and were confirmed by Petrillo, who convincingly argued, based on both technical and stylistic evidence, that they were parts of two separate and independent works.[25]

As noted by Petrillo, the large size of the Yale and Correr panels suggest a format not unlike the narrative dossal envisioned by Fiocco, with the episodes from the life of Saint Mamas arranged vertically alongside the Verona panel. Fragments of pink stone or marble visible behind *Saint Mamas* would appear to indicate that the saint was seated on a throne with the lion as an attribute behind him, instead of riding the animal as in Byzantine iconography. Given the current height of the Verona

panel, 61.8 centimeters, it is possible to calculate that, if the figure was complete, at least 30 centimeters are now missing from the lower half, excluding elements of the throne's platform or base. The original dimensions of the *Saint Mamas* would therefore accord with the combined height—at least 105 centimeters—of two narrative episodes placed one above the other, next to him. Referring to Jacobello del Fiore's cycle of eight scenes from the life of Saint Lucy in the Pinacoteca Comunale, Fermo, Petrillo hypothesized that Francesco's work may have included an additional four episodes, now lost, illustrating the earlier parts of the saint's legend, resulting in a larger complex with four panels arranged in two tiers on each side of *Saint Mamas*.[26] The vertical wood grain of the narrative fragments, however, could also argue for a more modest traditional typology, on the example of Jacobello del Fiore's altarpiece for the church of Saint John the Evangelist in Omišalj, Krk, Croatia, which has a carved central element flanked by a single column of three painted panels on each side (fig. 6).

Fig. 6. Jacobello del Fiore, *Saint John the Evangelist, Saint John the Baptist and Scenes from the Life of Saint John the Evangelist*, ca. 1410. Tempera and gold on panel. Church of Saint John the Evangelist, Omišali, Krk, Croatia

The circumstances surrounding the commission of this unique work remain unknown. A Veronese context was emphasized by De Marchi,[27] who argued that the cult of Saint Mamas was especially strong in Verona, where there was an oratory dedicated to the saint and an altarpiece painted by Giovanni Badile for the church of Sant'Anastasia showing the young saint Mamas with the attribute of a lion at his feet.[28] Based on the dating of the Verona *Saint Mamas* not long after Francesco's 1447 polyptych, De Marchi tentatively proposed that the dismembered complex might have been executed for an altar dedicated to Saint Mamas in the church of San Tommaso Apostolo in Verona. That altar appears to have been erected in 1443–44 by the cheesemakers' guild, whose members had a particular devotion to Mamas, on account of his work as a shepherd, milking the wild animals to make cheese for the poor. Other authors, however, have referred to the *Saint Mamas* altarpiece's possible provenance from Venice, pointing out that the church of Santa Maria della Fava possessed a relic of the saint.[29] Whoever the patron was, the derivations from iconic representations of Saint Mamas and the mingling of textual references in the altarpiece's iconographic program clearly signal an intimate familiarity with the saint and his legend, acquired either from firsthand experience in Byzantine centers or through access to illuminated Greek and/or French manuscript sources.[30] — PP

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NOTES

1. According to Constable 1928, 19.
2. Fry 1912, 346, 350–52.

3. For the saint and his cult, see Vauthier 1994; and Groppetti and Vauthier 2005.

4. See Vauthier 1994, 121–23, for a detailed description of the individual roundels.

5. For this commission, see Ross 1978, 28–34; and Pascal-François Bertrand and Thomas Campbell, in Campbell 2002, 477–80, no. 56.

6. For an overview of the ancient sources and the genesis of the saint's legend, see Cignitti 1967, 592–611.

7. Fry 1912, 351. For Metaphrastes's text, see Symeon Metaphrastes 1864, cols. 565–74.

8. Petrillo 2008–9, 92.

9. See Delehaye 1940, 126–41.

10. In the *Passio*, the soldiers prostrate themselves at Mamas's feet and convert to Christianity. In this version of the legend, Mamas dies peacefully after surviving numerous tortures, not as a result of the wounds inflicted upon him. The text also omits the earlier events in the saint's biography.

11. Fry 1912, 351.

12. Fry 1912, 351.

13. Symeon Metaphrastes 1864, 573–74. The image, summarizing one of the salient events in the saint's life and his profession of faith, is iconographically related to the miniature of Saint Mamas addressing the bust-length image of God the Father while a doe and two stags graze at his feet, in a twelfth-century Greek manuscript of the *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (MS Grec 550, fol. 30r, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10721518f/f40.item).

14. In the stained-glass cycle, it should be noted, the presiding figure appears as a king only in the roundels illustrating the later events, concerning Alexander. In the early episode of the meeting of Mamas and Democritus, the provincial governor is identified by a simple skullcap.

15. See https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1613 (with accompanying bibliography). The manuscript, containing remembrances to be read on the saints' feast days, was brought from Constantinople in the fifteenth century as a gift to Ludovico Sforza, duke of Milan. Based on an erased notation, it is thought that it previously belonged to a Genovese notary active in Constantinople.

16. Fry 1912, 346.

17. Inv. nos. 386–97. See Fiocco 1924–25, 451–52. Executed for the high altar of the church of San Pietro Apostolo in Padua, the altarpiece was disassembled in the nineteenth century and its original frame, bearing the date and the names of the painter and carver, Francesco Storibono, lost; see Petrillo 2008–9, 49–56 (with previous bibliography).

18. Fiocco 1924–25, 451.

19. See Cozzi 2017, 235–93; and Guarnieri 2018, 41–56 (with previous bibliography).

20. Inv. no. 62-1B2129.

21. Sandberg-Vavalà 1927, 215–16.

22. See Arslan 1948, 287–88; and Walter Angelelli, in Angelelli and De Marchi 1991, 135.

23. Andrea De Marchi, in Marini, Peretti, and Rossi 2010, 165–67.

24. Angelelli 1997, who revised his initial opinion published in Angelelli and De Marchi 1991, 135.

25. Petrillo 2008–9, 40–47, 86–87. Petrillo inserted the panels previously gathered around the Verona *Saint Mamas* into a multitiered polyptych with six standing saints flanking an unidentified central compartment and dated this work a decade earlier than the Verona *Saint Mamas*.

26. Petrillo's reconstruction was based on the assumption, then held by most authors, that the eight scenes from the life of Saint Lucy in Fermo were placed on both sides of a central image, now lost. However, Cristina Guarnieri (in Guarnieri 2018, 47) subsequently demonstrated that the Fermo panels, two of which contain upside-down images of Saints Lucy and Anthony Abbot on the reverse, were conceived as shutters of a folding reliquary altarpiece, consisting of two superimposed layers. A mechanical device allowed for the movement of one shutter over the other, revealing the reverse of the panel and exposing the caskets where the relics were stored. The most famous prototype for this type of altarpiece is Paolo Veneziano's *Pala d'oro* in San Marco, Venice. For more information, see Paolo Veneziano and Workshop, *Saint John the Baptist*, note 25.

27. De Marchi, in Marini, Peretti, and Rossi 2010, 166.

28. Giovanni Badile, *Polittico dell'Aquila*, Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona, inv. no. 152-1B373. Saint Mamas appears among the standing saints flanking the Virgin and Child.

29. Merkel 1989, 59.

30. According to documentary evidence, the scenes of Saint Mamas in the sixteenth-century Langres tapestry series were to follow "the story and description of the said Saint Mamas which had been presented to him [Cousin the Elder]" by his patron, Claude de Longwy, cardinal of Givry. It has been suggested that the program provided to Cousin most likely "melded local and historical texts, perhaps interpreted specifically for the tapestries"; Pascal-François Bertrand and Thomas P. Campbell, in Campbell 2002, 478. A similar set of circumstances could apply to Francesco's commission.

Master of the Cartellini, *Two Apostles*

Artist	Master of the Cartellini, Lombardy, active mid-15th century
Title	*Two Apostles*
Date	ca. 1450–60
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall (with later additions): 70.4 × 54.2 cm (27 3/4 × 21 3/8 in.); original painted surface: approx. 56 × 45.5 cm (22 1/8 × 17 7/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Andrew F. Petryn, B.F.A. 1943
Inv. No.	2016.99.24

Provenance

Andrew F. Petryn (1919–2013), New Haven, by 2013; Estate of Andrew F. Petryn

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, has been thinned to a depth of 8 millimeters and cradled. Its width has been supplemented by the addition of a 1.5-centimeter-wide plank of old wood at the left and a 2.1-centimeter-wide plank of new wood at the right. The brown paint covering the background is modern. Beneath this brown paint, original gesso defining an arch-shaped area, measuring approximately 56 by 45.5 centimeters, has been stripped of gilding, although some gesso with original gilding survives near the left edge, at the height of the saint's shoulder. Outside this arch-shaped area, the panel is covered by a thin layer of modern gesso, also overpainted brown. The saints' haloes were scraped off, regilt over a thin modern gesso, retooled, and then overpainted brown. Large flaking losses interrupt the paint surface to the right of the younger saint's face, through his left shoulder, and below his left sleeve. Smaller losses are scattered across his book and hands; the older saint's hands, beard, and cloak; and throughout the background. The bottom 3 centimeters of the composition may have been covered by a later frame and are mostly lost. Aside from large and small total losses, the paint surface is thinly applied but relatively unabraded.

Discussion

This previously unknown work entered the Yale University Art Gallery's collection in relatively recent times, with the 2016 bequest of Yale's longtime conservator, Andrew Petryn, who, it may be presumed, was responsible for large areas of loss and damage to the painted surface. The panel was recognized by Laurence Kanter as a work of the mysterious painter known as the Master of the Cartellini, after the artist's habit of inscribing the names of the saints depicted in his pictures on pieces of parchment glued to the panel's surface. The personality of the anonymous master was first isolated by Roberto Longhi in 1928,[1] when he gathered several works around two fragments with angels bearing the Instruments of the Passion in the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo (figs. 1–2). These works, formerly in the collection of Count Giacomo Carrara (1714–1796), had been attributed by Pietro Toesca to a Veneto-Lombard artist close to Benedetto Bembo.[2] Tentatively suggesting that they might be remnants of the same altarpiece, Longhi identified the same hand in two other fragments

from the Carrara collection, showing full-length images of Saint Peter and Saint Paul (figs. 3–4), and in a panel with half-length figures of Saints James Minor and Philip in the Pinacoteca Malaspina, Pavia (fig. 5). Longhi classified the style of these pictures as distinctly Paduan rather than Lombard and related them to the manner of Francesco Squarcione. In 1962 the same author expanded on his initial grouping and added two three-quarter-length images of Saint Ursula and Mary Magdalen in his own collection (figs. 6–7); two full-length saints, *James Major* and *John the Evangelist*, formerly in the Cini Collection, Venice;[3] and another pair of half-length apostles, identified by their attributes as Peter and Paul, then in a private collection in Florence and most recently on the art market at Sotheby's in New York (fig. 8).[4] Reiterating his earlier opinion, Longhi attributed these fragments directly to the hand of Squarcione, with a date around 1440.[5]

Fig. 1. Master of the Cartellini, *Angels with the Column of the Flagellation*, ca. 1450–60. Tempera on panel, 53.6 × 21.4 cm (21 1/8 × 8 1/2 in.). Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, inv. no. 58AC00017

Fig. 2. Master of the Cartellini, *Angels with the Cross*, ca. 1450–60. Tempera on panel, 53.6 × 21.4 cm (21 1/8 × 8 1/2 in.). Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, inv. no. 58AC00018

Fig. 3. Master of the Cartellini, *Saint Peter*, ca. 1450–60. Tempera and gold on panel, 157 × 47.5 cm (61 7/8 × 18 3/4 in.). Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, inv. no. 58AC00020

Fig. 4. Master of the Cartellini, *Saint Paul*, ca. 1450–60. Tempera and gold on panel, 157.5 × 47.8 cm (62 × 18 7/8 in.). Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, inv. no. 58AC00016

Fig. 5. Master of the Cartellini, *Saints James Minor and Philip*, ca. 1450–60. Tempera and gold on panel, 58 × 43 cm (22 7/8 × 17 in.). Pinacoteca Malaspina, Pavia, inv. no. P 160

Fig. 8. Master of the Cartellini, *Saints Peter and Paul*, ca. 1450–60. Tempera and gold on panel, 61.6 × 45.7 cm (24 1/4 × 18 in.). Location unknown

Fig. 6. Master of the Cartellini, *Saint Ursula*, ca. 1450–60. Tempera and gold on panel, 94.2 × 46 cm (37 1/8 × 18 1/8 in.). Fondazione Roberto Longhi, Florence

Fig. 7. Master of the Cartellini, *Saint Mary Magdalen*, ca. 1450–60. Tempera and gold on panel, 94.5 × 44.5 cm (37 1/4 × 17 1/2 in.). Fondazione Roberto Longhi, Florence

While accepting the homogeneity of Longhi's grouping, subsequent scholarship has been less unanimous about its stylistic connotations, with opinions oscillating between Lombardy and the Veneto, or both. Luigi Coletti advanced an attribution to Antonio Vivarini,[6] whereas other authors sought to emphasize the prevalence of Lombard components over the Veneto influence. In 1955, in her assessment of the Accademia Carrara *Angels* (see figs. 1–2), Angela Ottino Della Chiesa pointed to their provenance from Bergamo,[7] attested to by a 1796 inventory of Count Carrara's collection compiled by the painter and restorer Bartolomeo Borsetti, who stated that they were removed from an altarpiece in six compartments ("una palla [*sic*] a sei riparti") from the church of Sant'Agostino in Bergamo, which was dismantled in 1727.[8] Although labeling the panels as "Circle of Squarcione(?)," Ottino Della Chiesa registered her "honest impression" that their style pointed toward a Lombard personality, in the milieu of Bonifacio Bembo (ca. 1420–1482). The Vivarinesque elements were acknowledged by Rodolfo Pallucchini,[9] however, who subsequently added to the series a fifth panel, until then neglected, from Count Carrara's collection showing Saint

Fig. 9. Master of the Cartellini, *Saint Nicholas of Bari*, ca. 1450–60. Tempera and gold on panel, 65.6 × 29.1 cm (25 7/8 × 11/2 in.). Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, inv. no. 58AC00019

Nicholas of Bari (fig. 9) and proposed that the anonymous painter was a personality from the Lombard-Veneto region—perhaps from Brescia—active toward the middle of the fifteenth century. Miklós Boskovits also highlighted the influences from the Veneto, not out of the ordinary since Bergamo had been in Venetian hands since 1428, but he returned to Longhi's initial assessment, and while rejecting an attribution to Squarcione, he emphasized the "Paduan-Squarcionesque" derivations.[10]

The Lombard context was reiterated by Francesco Rossi in his 1979 catalogue of paintings in the Accademia Carrara.[11] On this occasion, and in subsequent studies, Rossi related the series of panels to an elaborate altarpiece for the main altar of Sant'Agostino, purportedly commissioned with funds provided by a 1458 bequest of Giacomo da Calepio, the son of a prominent Bergamasque family, who entered the Augustinian community in that year.[12] Rossi's conclusions, which led him to christen the painter "Master of 1458," were based on an account of Count Giacomo Carrara himself:

> An altarpiece consisting of various panels painted on wood, which was on the high altar of Sant'Agostino in Bergamo, was made in 1459 with money from the famous Ambrosio Calepino, and when it was dismantled I bought several pieces, i.e. two or perhaps four larger ones, with figures of standing saints, a little less than life size, and two small ones, with figures among which I seem to recall a bishop saint, and two even smaller ones each with two or three little angels holding instruments of Christ's Passion in their hands, very beautiful and well painted and designed for those times.[13]

As Count Carrara noted, his information regarding the commission of the high altarpiece was based on the recollections of the seventeenth-century local historian and Augustinian friar Donato Calvi, who specified that "the extremely rich icon in the choir of Sant'Agostino, which with its gold, its ornamentation and its carving may be said to be one of the most beautiful that shine in antiquity, was finished on this day [November 19, 1459], with the help of the bequest left to the Monastery by the famous Ambroggio Caleppino before his profession [i.e., before he joined the order]."[14] The "Master of 1458," according to Rossi, was a Lombard painter whose style, combining local, Late Gothic elements with an awareness of Paduan models, seemed to parallel the early experiments of the young Vincenzo Foppa.[15]

Rossi's proposition and the sobriquet "Master of 1458" persisted in the literature until the fundamental 2005 study of the convent of Sant'Agostino by Gianmario Petrò, who demonstrated the impossibility of associating the Bergamo fragments with the church's high altarpiece or with the date 1458.[16] Petrò's reexamination of the archival evidence and, in particular, the inventory of the convent's manuscripts compiled in the eighteenth century by the Augustinian archivist Tommaso Verani revealed two things: first, that the construction of the high altarpiece had nothing to do with Ambrogio Calepio's bequest but was already underway in 1449 with funds from the sale of land donations; and second, that the

altarpiece, destroyed in 1776 and described as a "grandiose, ancient *Macchina*," which occupied the full height and width of the choir and was decorated with many colored and gilt wooden statues and carved details, was most likely a sculpted rather than painted complex.[17] Petrò also discounted the suggestion, advanced by Rossi, that the Bergamo fragments could be identified with a mysterious "panel in various compartments" mentioned by seventeenth-century chroniclers as being in the sacristy of Sant'Agostino and thought to be by "Vivarini da Murano," since the latter were still in situ in the nineteenth century.[18]

The same sources examined by Petrò were consulted by Aldo Galli, who later published another fragment of the series with a three-quarter-length image of Saint Jerome, then in the Alana Collection, Newark, Delaware (fig. 10), and who renamed the painter "Master of the Cartellini."[19] Reconsidering the issue in light of the new findings, Galli concluded that Count Carrara's assertion regarding the panels' provenance was simply the result of misinformation or hearsay and that the panels in his possession could have come from one or more other unspecified polyptychs in Sant'Agostino. Noting that the ex-Sotheby's *Saints Peter and Paul* (see fig. 8) duplicated the full-length images of the same saints in the Accademia Carrara (see figs. 3–4), Galli posited that the ex-Sotheby's fragment belonged to a different structure, thus separating it from the Pavia *Saint James the Lesser and Philip* (see fig. 5), usually considered its pendant. While not questioning the inclusion of the Bergamo (see figs. 3–4) and ex-Cini standing *Saints* and the ex-Alana (see fig. 10) and ex-Longhi (see figs. 6–7) panels into a single complex, Galli left open the question of how the Bergamo *Angels* (see figs. 1–2) and the *Saint Nicholas of Bari* (see fig. 9) could be accommodated in the same altarpiece. For Galli, who viewed the culture of the Master of the Cartellini as "essentially Venetian," the painter was "an artist trained under the influence of both Squarcione and Antonio Vivarini's workshop and active in Bergamo, and perhaps also in Brescia, during the middle decades of the fifteenth century."[20] Emphasizing the influence of Antonio Vivarini, Galli traced the source of motifs like the polygonal bases and pseudo-perspectival background walls in the Bergamo and ex-Cini *Saints* to works executed in the Vivarini workshop in the 1440s, such as the 1441 triptych in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.[21] More persuasively, he highlighted the iconographic relationship between the Bergamo *Angels* and the putti bearing instruments of the Passion that were painted by Antonio and his collaborator Giovanni d'Alemagna beneath the throne of the 1444 *Coronation of the Virgin* in the church

Fig. 10. Master of the Cartellini, *Saint Jerome*, ca. 1450–60. Tempera and gold on panel, 90.5 × 46 cm (35 5/8 × 18 1/8 in.). Location unknown

of San Pantalon, Venice. Other features, such as the decoration of the gold ground and similar punching in the haloes, Galli proposed, further emphasized the links to the Vivarini workshop.

Galli's position on these works was independently shared by Mario Marubbi, who considered the Master of the Cartellini a Paduan painter influenced by the production of Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna in the fifth decade of the fifteenth century; adding, however, that a certain provincial quality in the simplification of the forms could denote the work of a personality such as Pietro de Mazis, a mysterious Lombard painter active in Padua but known only through documents.[22] Marubbi, like Galli, acknowledged the difficulties in associating the ex-Sotheby's panel (see fig. 8) with the Bergamo *Saint*

Peter and *Saint Paul* (see figs. 3–4), but he maintained that the Pavia *Saints James the Lesser and Philip* (see fig. 5) was certain to belong to the same complex as the Longhi (see figs. 6–7) and ex-Cini *Saints*, since all four fragments preserve the idiosyncratic piece of parchment inscribed with the figures' names. As for the Bergamo *Angels* (see figs. 1–2), Marubbi thought they might have been part of a different altarpiece, possibly surrounding an image of the Virgin and Child.

The array of issues surrounding these works and their provenance were scrutinized anew by Lorenzo Mascheretti in the 2018 catalogue of Italian paintings in the Accademia Carrara, where the author carefully reviewed the range of previous opinions on the five panels formerly in Count Carrara's collection.[23] Based on their number and format, Mascheretti conjectured that the twelve panels then gathered around the same hand made up the remains of possibly three different altarpieces from Sant'Agostino and that one of them was probably the polyptych in six compartments, dismantled in 1727, mentioned by Borsetti in his entry for the *Angels* in the 1796 inventory of the Carrara collection.[24] Noting that the date of the dismantling coincided with the changes that were made in 1727 to the Calepio Chapel in Sant'Agostino, built between 1452 and 1469 and dedicated to the Assumption, Mascheretti raised the interesting possibility that it may have contained the altarpiece described by Borsetti—a circumstance that would explain the long-standing association between the panels and the Calepio family.[25] Following Galli and Marubbi, Mascheretti isolated the ex-Sotheby's *Peter and Paul* (see fig. 8) from the Pavia *Saints James the Lesser and Philip* (see fig. 5) and the Bergamo (see figs. 3–4) and ex-Cini standing *Saints*. He also cast some doubt on the integration of the Bergamo *Angels* (see figs. 1–2), distinguished by their blue rather than gilt background, in the same structure(s) as the other fragments. The question of the artist's formation, the author concluded, remained open, although a Lombard origin seemed more probable. The Vivarinesque components of the painter's approach, Mascheretti observed, could be explained by Bergamo's geopolitical situation and the presence in the region of works like Antonio Vivarini's Saint Ursula Polyptych, executed around 1440–45 for the church of San Pietro in Oliveto, in Brescia.

The recovery of the Yale *Apostles*, identical in style to the Pavia *Saint James Minor and Philip* (see fig. 5) and the ex-Sotheby's *Saints Peter and Paul* (see fig. 8), and comparable to them in format and size, represents an important addition to the series, helping to clarify, above all, some of the issues regarding the relationship of the various fragments to one another.[26] Notwithstanding the doubts expressed in the past vis-à-vis the inclusion in the same complex of the Pavia and ex-Sotheby's panels, the addition to them of the Yale *Apostles* all but confirms that the pairs belonged together in a single structure. The identity of the Yale *Apostles* remains uncertain, given the lack of clear attributes or a label, as in the Pavia example, but they could be the young John the Evangelist and Matthew, the latter displaying the scroll of the Gospel. Both the Yale and ex-Sotheby's panels are, at present, distinguished from the Pavia *Saints James Minor and Philip* by their different tooling in the haloes, as well by the absence of the inscribed parchment. The haloes of the Yale figures, however, are a modern invention, executed when the original surface was scraped away and regilt, retooled, and finally overpainted brown. It seems safe to assume that the cartouche that undoubtedly accompanied the apostles was removed during this process, if not already missing. It may also be presumed that the ex-Sotheby's fragment, which shows an identical design in the haloes and has a regilt surface—as well as new landscape elements where the hedge would have been—underwent a similar treatment, possibly at the hands of the same restorer or dealer. Evidence of gesso preparatory layers of different thickness on the Yale panel, moreover, suggest that the original painted and gilded area was arched, consistent with other saints in the series.

Based on the panels' dimensions, it could be hypothesized that the Yale, Pavia (see fig. 5), and ex-Sotheby's (see fig. 8) pairs of saints originally stood in the upper register of a multitiered polyptych, above the ex-Alana *Saint Jerome* (see fig. 10) and the Longhi *Saint Ursula* and *Mary Magdalen* (see figs. 6–7), which share the same width.[27] The repetition of the images of Saints Peter and Paul in the Bergamo (see figs. 3–4) and ex-Cini laterals argues for their origin from the main tier of a different altarpiece. Similarly, the blue background of the Bergamo *Angels* (see figs. 1–2) and of the *Saint Nicholas of Bari* (see fig. 9) would seem to preclude their association with any of the other fragments. The identical thickness of these panels (1.7–.8 cm) may offer a clue to their inclusion together in a third complex. If the thirteen fragments gathered together thus far were indeed remnants of three separate structures, it cannot be assumed that they were all executed for Sant'Agostino. The only pieces that can be related with some certainty to the Augustinian church, based on Count Carrara's testimony, are the two Bergamo *Angels*, the *Saint Nicholas of Bari*—most likely the "bishop saint" referred to by the count—and probably the *Saint*

Peter and *Saint Paul* from his collection, together with their companions formerly in the Cini Collection. But there is no indication that the group formed by the Yale, Pavia, ex-Sotheby, ex-Alana, and Longhi panels shares the same provenance or that the dismembered altarpiece was even executed in Bergamo.[28] Whether or not the Master of the Cartellini was a local personality from Bergamo, as posited by Rossi and others, also remains open to question. The unmistakable derivations from the production of Antonio Vivarini do not necessarily imply a Venetian or Paduan formation, especially since it is difficult to find any Squarcionesque elements in these works, beyond perhaps a common debt to Donatello's models in the figures of the naked putti. The placid, doll-like faces with bland expressions and the flat rendering of forms reflect only a surface assimilation of Antonio's models and are more directly related to the courtly vocabulary of mid-fifteenth-century Lombard painters who also worked as manuscript illuminators, such as Bonifacio Bembo and Cristoforo Moretti (documented 1451–85).[29] The possibility that the Master of the Cartellini, like his more famous Lombard counterparts, might have been active as a miniaturist deserves further consideration. —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Unpublished

NOTES

1. Longhi 1928a; reprinted in Longhi 1968, 65n6.
2. Toesca 1912, 576n1.
3. See Bacchi and De Marchi 2016, 403, figs. 23–24.
4. Sale, Sotheby's, New York, June 9, 2011, lot 29.
5. Longhi 1962; reprinted in Longhi 1978, 147–48.
6. Coletti 1953, 80n42.
7. Ottino Della Chiesa 1955, 52–53.
8. Pinetti 1922, 112–13, nos. 26, 36. The date of the dismantling was given as 1527 in Pinetti's edition of Borsetti's catalogue but was recently emended to 1727 by Rosanna Paccanelli (Paccanelli 1999, 276, 277n14, no. 26).
9. Pallucchini 1961, 86.
10. Boskovits 1977, 60. Boskovits's proposal to add to the artist's oeuvre a series of predella panels in the Vatican Museum (inv. nos. 283, 285, 287, and 289), was not taken up by subsequent scholars. The ruinous condition of these works prevents proper evaluation, but they seem to have little in common with the paintings under examination.
11. Rossi 1979, 85–86.
12. Rossi 1987, 115–20.
13. Notes compiled by Giacomo Carrara in 1791–92 as an appendix to Tassi 1793; translated by Aldo Galli, in Boskovits 2009a, 92, 97n9.
14. Calvi 1677, 3:317; translated by Aldo Galli, in Boskovits 2009a, 92, 97n11.
15. Rossi 1987, 118.
16. Petrò 2005, 111–21.
17. Petrò 2005, 115. See also Luana Redaelli's observations, in Redaelli 2005, 239.
18. Petrò 2005, 121.
19. Galli, in Boskovits 2009a, 92–98n17.
20. Galli, in Boskovits 2009a, 91.
21. Inv. nos. 6816–18, www.khm.at/de/object/2638/, www.khm.at/de/object/2639/, and www.khm.at/de/object/2640/.
22. Mario Marubbi, in Zatti 2011, 279–80, no. 121. Marubbi does not seem to have been aware of Galli's entry on the ex-Alana *Saint Jerome*, which is not mentioned among the related fragments.
23. Lorenzo Mascheretti, in Valagussa 2018, 135–44, nos. 2.9–.11.
24. See note 8, above.
25. Mascheretti, in Valagussa 2018, 139.
26. The original dimensions of the Yale panel, without the later additions on the sides, are 56 by 45.5 centimeters. Those of the Pavia and ex-Sotheby's fragments are, respectively, 58 by 43 centimeters and 61.6 by 45.7 centimeters.
27. The dimensions of the ex-Alana and Longhi panels are, respectively, 90.5 by 46 centimeters, 94.2 by 46 centimeters, and 94.5 by 44.5 centimeters. The widths of the pairs of saints range from 43 to 45.7 centimeters.
28. There is no information regarding the date or circumstances of Petryn's acquisition of the Yale *Apostles*, aside from a label in English with a lot number on the back of the painting. The fact that the ex-Sotheby's panel, which underwent a similar treatment, was formerly in a private collection in Florence might suggest that both works were, at one time, on the art market in that city, perhaps along with the paintings acquired by Longhi. The panel in Pavia was formerly owned by the nineteenth-century scholar and collector Giuseppe Chiappa, professor at the University of Pavia from 1819 to 1854; see Marubbi, in Zatti 2011, 201, 279. Nothing is known of the early provenance of the ex-Alana *Saint Jerome*, prior to its appearance at auction in London in 2003; see Galli, in Boskovits 2009a, 92.
29. For the activity of these artists as manuscript illuminators, see Maggioni 2004, 82–84; and Passoni 2004, 801–7, both with previous bibliography.

Antonio Vivarini, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Angels*

Artist	Antonio Vivarini, Venice, ca. 1415–1476/84
Title	*Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Angels*
Date	ca. 1464–67
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	116.2 × 65.8 cm (45 3/4 × 25 7/8 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz
Inv. No.	1959.15.12

Provenance

Count Augusto Caccialupi (1834–1897), Macerata;[1] Rev. Dr. Robert Jenkins Nevin (1839–1906), by 1907; sale, Galleria Sangiorgi, Rome, April 22–27, 1907, lot 141; Gioacchino Ferroni (died 1909), Rome, by 1909; sale, Jandolo e Tavazzi/Galleria Sangiorgi, Rome, April 14–22, 1909, lot 72; Dan Fellows Platt (1873–1938), Englewood, N.J., 1909;[2] E. and A. Silberman Galleries, New York, by 1943–44; Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz, Sands Point, Long Island, N.Y., 1944

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, has been thinned to a depth of 1.1 centimeters and cradled. Three vertical splits originate at the top of the panel to the right of center: the shortest reaches through the Virgin's left eye; the longest extends to the right of her head through her left shoulder to a level below her knee; the third passes to the right of her halo through her left arm to about the height of her elbow. None of these splits has resulted in significant paint loss. The panel has been truncated at the top and bottom, and the upper 1.5 centimeters of paint surface were scraped away to accommodate an earlier reframing. Surface losses around the tops of the Virgin's and Child's heads indicate the attachment and removal of votive crowns in both places. X-radiographs reveal holes from nails attaching a batten at approximately 62 centimeters from the present bottom edge of the panel.

While much of the paint surface is well preserved, large areas have been entirely reconstructed. Gilding has been abraded to the bolus underlayer, except around the music-making angels; elsewhere, including in all six haloes, it is modern. The upper section of the hanging cloth above the throne is modern repaint, and both decorative garlands are modern additions. The back edge of the dais beneath the throne is modern. The Virgin's blue robe is much darkened and more heavily abraded from her knees downward, and the top of her cowl is reinforced. Her cuffs and hems have been repainted with new gold.

Discussion

The panel, once the central compartment of an altarpiece, shows the Virgin seated on a carved throne of gray stone or marble with the Christ Child standing on her lap. The baby's face is turned toward His mother, who looks down upon Him with a meditative gaze. She wears a blue mantle (now oxidized to black) with a green lining and pearl trim over a pink dress. The Child is dressed in a

metallic green tunic fastened by a striped gray, rose, and gold cummerbund, over a diaphanous white shirt. Behind the Virgin, hanging over the back of the throne and extending above it, is a gray cloth of honor, painted to look like creased watered silk. Perched astride the throne's stone entablature, next to elegant blue-and-white ceramic planters, are two music-making angels. The one on the left, with green wings and pink tunic, plays a bowed mandolin. The one on the right, painted with the same colors in reverse order—pink wings and green tunic—plays a lute; the direction of his upturned gaze suggests that he may have been contemplating an image once located in an upper tier of the original complex. Two more angels, playing the same instruments in reverse order, kneel next to the Virgin on the throne's ledge. One of them has red wings and wears a blue robe; the other has blue wings and a red robe. Although generally assumed to be part of the original composition, the fruit swags hanging from ribbons attached to the throne appear to be a later, perhaps eighteenth-century addition, painted in conscious imitation of the decorative garlands of Carlo Crivelli and his followers.

The Yale *Virgin and Child* first appeared on the art market in Rome in 1907, in the famous posthumous sale of the collection of the American clergyman and philanthropist Rev. Dr. Robert Jenkins Nevin.[3] The painting was one of only two works singled out by F. Mason Perkins in his introduction to the sale catalogue, where he referred to it as "the beautiful Madonna and Child by Bartolommeo [*sic*] Vivarini, surely one of that artist's finest creations."[4] Perkins's praise, reiterated in a 1908 article that introduced the panel to scholars,[5] established its fame as a masterpiece in the early career of Bartolomeo Vivarini (ca. 1430–1491). Bernard Berenson, who admired the workmanship and lacquerlike surface of the image, highlighted the closeness of the Virgin's face and pose of the Christ Child to the 1458 Arbe Polyptych, cosigned by Bartolomeo and his older brother, Antonio Vivarini, and concluded that the work was "very likely" one of the earliest independent works by Bartolomeo.[6] The debt, in form and type, to Antonio Vivarini's images of the Virgin and Child was also noted by Lionello Venturi, who nevertheless emphasized the "monumental plasticity" of the figures and the metallic quality of the palette, consistent with Bartolomeo's approach.[7] In his monograph on the Vivarini, Rodolfo Pallucchini, following Berenson's lead, inserted the Yale *Virgin and Child* among Bartolomeo's first independent efforts at the beginning of the 1460s, just before the 1464 *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Pinacoteca Civica, Osimo, generally regarded as the last collaboration between the two brothers.[8]

The traditional attribution of the Yale *Virgin and Child* to Bartolomeo was first questioned by Stefano Tumidei, who tentatively suggested that it might be the center of a multitiered altarpiece by Antonio Vivarini that also included two three-quarter-length images of Saint Louis of Toulouse and Saint Anthony of Padua in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours (figs. 1–2), and a *Virgin Annunciate* formerly on the art market in Munich.[9] Tumidei advanced convincing comparisons between these works and Antonio's documented production in the 1460s, as represented by the polyptych executed for the confraternity of Saint Anthony Abbot in Pesaro (fig. 3), signed and dated 1464, and by the altarpiece commissioned by the Observants of Santa Maria Vetere in Andria, formerly signed and dated 1467.[10] While universally embracing the attribution to Antonio, subsequent opinions have been less unanimous about Tumidei's reconstruction and the proposed association between the Yale *Virgin* and the Tours *Saints*. Giuliana Pascucci cautiously advanced the alternative hypothesis that the *Virgin and Child* might be the missing center of a dismembered altarpiece executed by Antonio for the church of Saints Peter and Paul in Corridonia, in the Marches, which, according to eighteenth-century sources, bore the artist's signature and the date 1462.[11] Mauro Minardi, however, correctly pointed out that such a provenance was unlikely, given the discrepancy between the ogival shape of the frame that originally enclosed the Yale picture and the trefoil arches in the surviving Corridonia panels.[12] The same author also cast some doubt on Tumidei's proposal, arguing that the Tours panels appeared possibly later in date than the *Virgin and Child*. Whereas the latter, according to Minardi, could not be much later than the 1464 Pesaro Polyptych, the Tours *Saints* appeared more closely related to the 1467 Andria Polyptych.

Fig. 1. Antonio Vivarini, *Saint Louis of Toulouse*, ca. 1464–67. Tempera and gold on panel, 63 × 42 cm (24 3/5 × 16 1/2 in.). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours, France, inv. no. 1963-2-22

Fig. 2. Antonio Vivarini, *Saint Anthony of Padua*, ca. 1464-67. Tempera and gold on panel, 60 × 42 cm (23 5/8 × 16 1/2 in.). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours, France, inv. no. 1963-2-23

Fig. 3. Antonio Vivarini, *Pesaro Polyptych*, 1464. Tempera and gold on panel, 185 × 130 cm (72 7/8 × 51 1/8 in.). Pinacoteca Vaticana, inv. no. 40303

As recently emphasized by Gianmarco Russo, the Yale panel takes its place among a number of images that mark a late chapter in Antonio's activity, beginning "roughly" around 1464, when the artist, it is generally assumed, sought to adopt the more incisive, Mantegnesque vocabulary of his younger brother Bartolomeo.[13] Characterized by a more calligraphic approach and an almost caricatural abstraction of forms, most evident in the perfect ovals of the faces, this phase of the artist's development is first documented by the Pesaro Polyptych, signed by Antonio alone, but it is already anticipated in slightly earlier works, such as the *Virgin and Child* in the Museo Davia-Bargellini, Bologna (fig. 4), thought to be part of an altarpiece painted by the two brothers in 1462 for the Vitali Chapel in San Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna.[14] Although closely related to the Davia-Bargellini painting in the rounded heads and type of Virgin and Christ Child, the Yale painting is distinguished by a more pronounced monumentality, highlighted by the architecture of the throne and the weightier presence of the figures. Details, such as the ridges of cloth adhering to the robust body of the Christ Child, as if carved in stone, denote Antonio's own response, unmediated by his brother, to the classicizing conceits of Mantegna, especially as formulated in those works generally dated to the master's Paduan period, around 1460. Antonio's debt to the Paduan environment of the 1450s and 1460s is reflected in the athletic angels or, more appropriately, Donatellian *spiritelli*, casually seated above the entablature. The motif is fully in line with the decorative tropes of contemporary Squarcionesque painters like Marco Zoppo and Antonio Schiavone, but it also recalls the early experiments of Carlo Crivelli.

Fig. 4. Antonio Vivarini, *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, ca. 1462. Tempera and gold on panel, 88 × 70 cm (34 5/8 × 27 1/2 in.). Museo Davia-Bargellini, Bologna, inv. no. 115

Notwithstanding the formal correspondence between the Yale *Virgin* and the Pesaro Polypytch, the execution of the Yale picture reflects Antonio's conscious imitation of a modern Renaissance vocabulary, whereas the Pesaro altarpiece is still beholden to an earlier, Late Gothic sensibility, most evident in the stiffly posed figures and brighter palette. Similar contrasts may be drawn with Antonio's figures in the pinnacle and right compartments of the 1464 Osimo *Coronation of the Virgin*, which reveal more slender proportions and less fully rounded heads than in the Yale *Virgin*. A date between 1464 and 1467, closer to the Andria Polytpych, which employs the same subdued metallic palette as the Yale panel, seems plausible. Some of the more loosely drawn passages and dark contours of the Yale composition, especially in the figures of the angels, may imply the intervention of Bartolomeo over Antonio's cartoon. A similar approach distinguishes the rendering of the features of the Tours *Saint Anthony of Padua* (see fig. 2) and the design of the lily in his hand, while the *Saint Louis of Toulouse* (see fig. 3) shares the tighter handling of the Yale *Virgin*. Tumidei's proposal that the Tours *Saints* could be fragments of the same altarpiece should not be dismissed. Other elements in his hypothetical reconstruction, such as the *Annunciate Virgin* formerly on the art market, to which may be added a newly discovered *Annunciatory Angel*, now also in Tours (fig. 5), are sufficiently close to the Yale panel to merit equal consideration.[15] The Tours *Annunciatory Angel* has the same rounded forms as the Yale *Virgin* and is distinguished by an identical palette; his pink dress matches the color of the Virgin's robe, and his green cloak matches the lining of her mantle as well as the green tunic of the lute-playing angel. The dimensions of the *Annunciation* panels are consistent with those of the Tours *Saints*.[16] While not a determining factor in their association, moreover, the presence of a *Virgin Annunciate* in a tier above and to the right of the Yale *Virgin* would be consistent with the upturned glance of the lute-playing angel atop the throne.

Fig. 5. Antonio Vivarini, *Annunciatory Angel*, ca. 1464–67. Tempera and gold on panel, 63 × 41.5 cm (24 3/4 × 16 3/8 in.). Musée des Beaux Arts, Tours, France, inv. no. 2023-1-1

To Tumidei's reconstruction may perhaps be added several other fragments variously attributed in the past to Bartolomeo or Antonio, beginning with a full-length

figure of Saint Francis of Assisi in the Brooklyn Museum (fig. 6). Although noting that the Tours *Saint Anthony of Padua* (see fig. 2) "could be the twin brother of the New York *Saint Francis*," Tumidei ruled out the possibility that the two works may have belonged to the same complex based on a mistaken assumption about the width of the Brooklyn panel, which is, in fact, consistent with that of the Tours *Saints*.[17] As first suggested by Carl Strehlke,[18] the Brooklyn *Saint Francis* is clearly related to two other laterals showing Saint Jerome and Saint John the Evangelist(?) in the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, which have comparable dimensions and the same lobed-arch top, as well as similar tooling in the haloes (figs. 7–8).[19] Most recently, the Bergamo panels were identified by Giovanni Valaguzza as fragments of an unknown altarpiece executed by Antonio, possibly in collaboration with Bartolomeo, between around 1465 and 1470.[20] There is little doubt that the three laterals were originally part of the same structure. While the later repaints in the Bergamo *Saint Jerome* prevent a proper comparison, the figure of the reading apostle, whose identity remains uncertain, bears close comparison to the Brooklyn *Saint Francis*, which shares the same proportions and handling of the facial features. Based on their size, as well as stylistic correspondences, it is not inconceivable that the three standing *Saints* could have flanked the Yale *Virgin and Child*, which was enclosed in the same kind of lobed arch. The height of the laterals, now between 122 and 131.5 centimeters, accords well with the original proportions of the Yale panel, which measured at least 140 centimeters when the missing 15 centimeters at the top and 8–10 centimeters at the bottom are accounted for. If this were the case, the original complex would have been a large pentaptych, with the Brooklyn and Bergamo *Saints* (see figs. 6–7) and one other unidentified figure in the main register alongside the Yale *Virgin and Child*; and above them, a central image, possibly of Christ, flanked by the missing *Virgin Annunciate* and the Tours *Annunciatory Angel*, along with the Tours *Saint Louis of Toulouse* and *Saint Anthony of Padua* (see figs. 1–2; fig. 9). The early provenance of the Yale *Virgin and Child* and the presence of Franciscan saints would appear to argue for a commission from a Franciscan establishment in the Marche, where the production of the Vivarini workshop had been in demand since the early 1460s.[21] —PP

Fig. 6. Antonio Vivarini, *Saint Francis*, ca. 1464–67. Tempera and gold on panel, 51 3/8 × 15 1/2 in. (130.5 × 39.4 cm) . Brooklyn Museum, Gift of Frank L. Babbott, inv. no. 25.56

Fig. 7. Antonio Vivarini, *Saint Jerome*, ca. 1464–67. Tempera and gold on panel, 122.1 × 40.3 cm (48 1/8 × 15 7/8 in.). Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, inv. no. 58AC00035

Fig. 8. Antonio Vivarini, *Saint John the Evangelist*(?), ca. 1464–67. Tempera and gold on panel, 122.3 × 40.5 cm (48 1/8 × 16 in.). Bergamo, Accademia Carrara, inv. no. 58AC00036

Fig. 9. Reconstruction of the altarpiece

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Venturi 1901–40, 7, pt. 3: 323, fig. 247; Galleria Sangiorgi 1907, lot 141, 10; Perkins 1908c, 145; Jandolo e Tavazzi and Gallerie Sangiorgi 1909, lot 72, 16, pl. 8; Perkins 1911b, 146; Berenson 1915, 104, fig. 1; Berenson 1916a, 14, fig. 7; *Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition* 1920, 9; Venturi 1931, pl. 267; Berenson 1932a, 601; van Marle 1936, 106–7; Venturi 1945, 35–36, pl. 15; *Exhibition of Paintings* 1955, 17, no. 5; Hess 1955, no. 89; Berenson 1957, 1:202; Seymour 1957, 12–13, fig. 5; Ritchie 1960, 54; Pallucchini 1961, 42, 117, no. 139, fig. 139; Seymour 1961, 24–25; Seymour 1970, 247–49, no. 186; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 601; Katherine B. Neilson, in Ritchie and Neilson 1972, no. 12, pl. 3; Seymour et al. 1972, 8, no. 186; Kenney 1992, 138; Stefano Tumidei, in *Italies* 1996, 91; Giuliana Pascucci, in Liberati 2003, 54n8; Steer 2003, 1:274–75; Minardi 2012, 328–31, 346n87, 347n102, z3; Mambelli 2014, fig. 8; Russo 2020a, 103, fig. 5; Russo 2020b, 55

NOTES

1. According to a note in the 1909 Ferroni sale catalogue; see Jandolo e Tavazzi and Gallerie Sangiorgi 1909, 16. This provenance is not mentioned in the Nevin sale catalogue (Galleria Sangiorgi 1907), although in his introduction to that auction, F. Mason Perkins pointed out that Nevin's acquisition of the "nucleus of the valuable Caccialupi collection, of Macerata, accounts, again, in great part, for the large number of works of the early Umbrian and March [*sic*] school to be met with in the catalogue" (n.p.). As observed by Mauro Minardi (in Minardi 2012, 346n87, 347n101), the Yale *Virgin and Child* is not listed in the 1870 catalogue of Count Caccialupi's collection compiled by Filippo Raffaelli (Raffaelli 1870), but it should be borne in mind that the latter stops short of at least another twenty years of possible acquisitions.

2. According to information provided by Dan Fellows Platt in 1923 and 1927, as recorded in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York, the painting was purchased around 1910 from Galleria Sangiorgi. However, Charles Seymour, Jr. (in Seymour et al. 1972, 8, no. 186), reports that it was inv. no. 205 in the Platt Collection and that it was purchased from Sangiorgi in 1909.

3. An avid art collector and one of the leading figures in the Anglo-American community in Rome, Nevin had been the founder and rector, for thirty-seven years, of the first Protestant church in Rome, Saint Paul's Within the Walls; see Dabell 2005, 79–85.

4. Galleria Sangiorgi 1907, n.p.

5. Perkins 1908c. Apparently unaware that it had been purchased by the Roman dealer Gioacchino Ferroni, Perkins listed the then owner of the picture as a "mister Ellis of Chicago," a mistake that was noted by Dan Fellow Platt in 1923 and 1927, according to records in the Frick Art Reference Library, but that has persisted in the modern literature. Mauro Minardi was the first author to correct Perkins's error; see Minardi 2012, 329.

6. Berenson 1915, 104.

7. Venturi 1945, 35–36.

8. Pallucchini 1961, 42, 117. The exact chronology of the Osimo altarpiece, currently missing its original inscription and formerly placed between 1460 and 1464, was established in relatively recent times by Marina Massa (in Massa 2000, 90), who cited eighteenth-century sources recording the date as 1464 and the following signature: ANTONIUS ET BARTOLOMEUS DE MURANO PINXERUNT; see Fanciulli 1769, 178n24.

9. Stefano Tumidei, in *Italies* 1996, 91. The Tours *Saints*, otherwise assigned to Bartolomeo or Alvise Vivarini, were first recognized as works of Antonio by Michele Laclotte; in Laclotte 1964, 187. The *Virgin Annunciate* last appeared at Sotheby's, Munich, June 22, 1986, lot 108.

10. For the history and reconstruction of the Andria Polyptych, disassembled sometime in the late eighteenth century and missing its central element, see Gelao 2014. The date of the polyptych is surmised from the apocryphal signature below the panel with Saint Francis (ANT: DE MURANO. 1467).

11. Giuliana Pascucci, in Liberati 2003, 48–50.

12. Minardi 2012, 330–31.

13. Russo 2020a.

14. The Davia-Bargellini panel has traditionally been associated with two laterals with Saints Petronius and James Major and Saints John the Baptist and Louis of Toulouse in the Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon, France, inv. nos. 20274 and M.I. 579. While the attribution of the Davia-Bargellini *Virgin* to Antonio (first proposed by Mauro Lucco, in Grandi 1987, 84, no. 7) is universally accepted by scholars, that of the Avignon *Saints* has shifted between Bartolomeo and Antonio or both. See Laclotte and Moench 2005, 202–3, nos. 277–78, with previous bibliography. For Russo, all three panels are unquestionably by Antonio; see Russo 2020b. The generally accepted identification of the partially reconstructed complex as that commissioned for the Vitali Chapel was reasonably questioned by Cecilia Cavalca, based on iconographic evidence; see Cavalca 2008, 41–43.

15. The *Annunciatory Angel*, previously known only to a few scholars, was acquired by the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours, France, from the Patrick Matthiesen Gallery in London, in 2023. It was first attributed to Antonio Vivarini and dated to the second half of the 1460s by Mauro Lucco, verbal communication to Patrick Matthiesen, 2014; cited in Russo 2020a, 102n2. Russo's proposal (in Russo 2020a, 103–11) to relate the *Annunciation* panels to a different altarpiece that included the standing figures of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Augustine in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice, inv. nos. 1326–27, is not convincing. Aside from the discrepancies in width (the Accademia panels are 58 cm, whereas the *Annunciation* panels are both around 41 cm), the Accademia figures are more mannered in style and appear to postdate the Andria Polyptych. They have been thought by some scholars to reveal the collaboration of Antonio's son, the

young Alvise Vivarini (ca. 1442–1505). See Bonocore 2011, 81, 87n2, with previous bibliography.

16. The dimensions of the Tours panels are 63 by 42 centimeters (*Saint Louis of Toulouse*) and 60 by 42 centimeters (*Saint Anthony of Padua*). Those of the *Annunciatory Angel* and *Annunciate Virgin* are, respectively, 63 by 41.5 centimeters and 59 by 41 centimeters. As confirmed by technical examination (see Élisabeth Ravaud, in *Italies* 1996, 90; and Tumidei, in *Italies* 1996, 90), the original gold background of the Tours *Saints* was completely scraped away and replaced by modern gilding, in the course of which the tooling of the haloes was also redone. Judging from photographs alone, the same procedure appears to have been undergone by the Tours *Angel*, making it impossible to compare the punches of these works to those of the Yale *Virgin*'s halo, which are also modern.

17. The dimensions of the Brooklyn *Saint Francis* are 130.5 by 39.4 centimeters, only 2.6 centimeters narrower than the Tours *Saints*. Following a misleading indication of Pallucchini (in Pallucchini 1961, 113), Tumidei (in *Italies* 1996, 91) assumed that the Brooklyn panel originally accompanied a lateral with Saint Bernardino of Siena by Antonio in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (inv. no. 154, https://philamuseum.org/collection/object/101892), whose narrower width (34 centimeters) would preclude an association with the Tours *Saints*. The Philadelphia painting is now generally recognized as the companion of a different *Saint Francis* with comparable dimensions in the Cagnola collection, at Gazzada, convincingly dated around 1460–64 by Giorgio Fossaluzza, in Boskovits and Fossoluzza 1998, 119–20, no. 24. Minardi's tentative proposal (in Minardi 2012, 347n102) to associate the Yale *Virgin* with the Cagnola and Philadelphia *Saints* can be ruled out on the basis of physical evidence as much as stylistic considerations. X-rays of the Philadelphia *Saint Bernardine*, in fact, show that the batten nails on that panel do not align with those of the *Virgin*, confirming that the Philadelphia *Saint*—and by extension its companion in the Cagnola collection—were the laterals of a different complex. The early provenance of the Brooklyn *Saint Francis* is unknown. It was donated to the museum in 1925 by the American merchant and collector Frank Lusk Babbott (1854–1933). Babbott was a close friend of Platt's, whom he met on his first trip to Italy in 1911. Platt would write the introduction to the short catalogue of some of the most important works in the Babbott collection, published in 1934; see *Collection of Frank Lusk Babbott* 1934, n.p. The Brooklyn *Saint Francis* is mentioned in the introduction but is not among the catalogued pictures. In more recent times, Andrea De Marchi (in Boskovits 2011, 282) proposed that the Brooklyn *Saint* was part of the same structure as a heavily repainted three-quarter-length figure of Saint Catherine of Alexandria formerly in the Alana Collection, Newark, Delaware (sale, Dorotheum, Vienna, October 22, 2024, lot 5), although he dated both works significantly later in Antonio's career, between 1470 and 1475. While the handling of the *Saint Catherine* is very close to that of the Brooklyn and Tours *Saints*, the panel's smaller proportions and dimensions preclude its inclusion in the same complex.

18. Manuscript notes, curatorial files, Brooklyn Museum.

19. The dimensions of the *Saint Jerome* and of the *Saint John the Evangelist(?)* are, respectively, 122.1 by 40.3 centimeters and 122.3 by 40.5 centimeters. Both panels appear to have been cut at the base. Their thickness, 2.4 centimeters, corresponds exactly to that of the Brooklyn *Saint Francis*.

20. Giovanni Valagussa, in Valagussa 2018, 260–64, no. 3.11. According to Valagussa, the panels were purchased by Giacomo Carrara in Bergamo in 1759. As pointed out by Valagussa, the fact that they are listed in Carrara's account books among other works bought around the same date, including some drawings, suggests that they were acquired from an unidentified antiquarian rather than from a church or private individual. Their earlier provenance is unknown.

21. See Massa 2000, 87–93.

Carlo Crivelli, *Saint Peter*

Artist	Carlo Crivelli, Venice, documented 1457–died 1494/95
Title	*Saint Peter*
Date	ca. 1482
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall 29.6 × 21.3 cm (11 5/8 × 8 3/8 in.); picture surface: 27.2 × 20.3 cm (10 3/4 × 8 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Hannah D. and Louis Rabinowitz
Inv. No.	1959.15.15

Provenance

Cardinal Pietro Gasparri (1852–1934), Rome(?); Enrico Marinucci, Rome, 1934; Alessandro Contini Bonacossi (1878–1955), Rome and Florence, 1935(?); M. Knoedler and Co., New York;[1] Hannah D. and Louis M. (1887–1957) Rabinowitz, Sands Point, Long Island, N.Y.

Condition

The panel, of a horizontal grain with a pronounced convex warp, is 2 centimeters thick and has been neither thinned nor cradled. Eight forged nails, not original to the panel or its framing, have been driven into the right edge of the panel. An engraved line defines the edge of the picture field at all sides, including the forms of missing capitals supporting the arched top of the frame. The panel has been cut on the right to just inside the scribed line below the capital and on the left 1 centimeter outside the scribed line. Gesso preparation at this side and in the spandrels above the arch has been partially scraped away, but it is intact below the scribed line to the bottom edge of the panel, which appears to be original. The gold background is abraded and two large losses—one to the left of Saint Peter's shoulder and the other to the right of his forehead—have been left as exposed bolus and toned gesso. The paint surface has been lightly abraded overall but is largely intact and generally well preserved. Minor flaking losses in the silver keys and across the knuckles of the saint's right hand have been retouched. A larger loss in the lower-right corner has been left as exposed gesso.

Discussion

The Yale *Saint Peter* is part of a group of seven predella fragments by Carlo Crivelli that have been universally recognized as elements of a single complex. The six other components, comparable in dimensions, format, and style, and with identical tooling in the haloes, comprise a *Blessing Redeemer* formerly in the Kress collection and now in the El Paso Museum of Art (29.8 × 26.2 cm) (fig. 1); a *Saint Bartholomew* (fig. 2) and *Saint John the Evangelist* (fig. 3) in the Museo d'Arte Antica at the Castello Sforzesco, Milan (28 × 19.5 cm each); a *Saint Andrew* formerly in the Proehl collection, Amsterdam (27.5 × 19.5 cm) (fig. 4);[2] a *Saint James Major* in the Andreas Pittas collection, London (27.7 × 21 cm) (fig. 5); and an unidentified *Apostle Saint* formerly in the Alana Collection, Newark, Delaware (28 × 20.7 cm) (fig. 6).[3] It is generally assumed that the El Paso *Redeemer* stood at the center of the predella, with the Yale *Saint Peter* to its left and the other apostles lined up alongside them, following the formula of Carlo Crivelli's signed and dated 1473 polyptych for the cathedral of Sant'Emidio in Ascoli

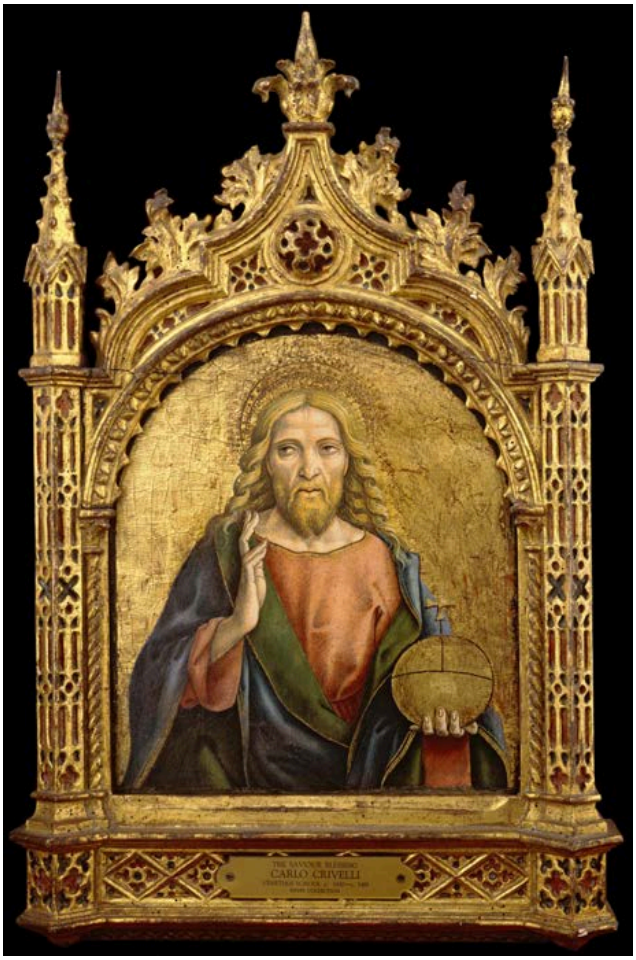

Fig. 1. Carlo Crivelli, *The Blessing Redeemer*, ca. 1482. Tempera and gold on panel, 29.8 × 26.2 cm (11 3/4 × 10 1/4 in.). El Paso Museum of Art, inv. no. 1961.1.26

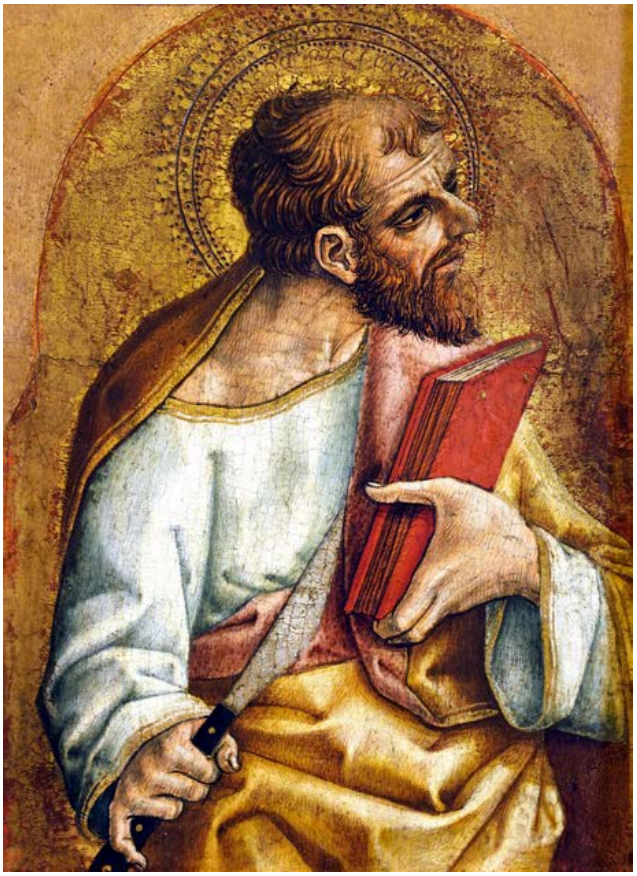

Fig. 2. Carlo Crivelli, *Saint Bartholomew*, ca. 1482. Tempera and gold on panel, 28 × 19.5 cm (11 × 7 5/8 in.). Museo d'Arte Antica, Castello Sforzesco, Milan, inv. no. 33/1

Piceno (fig. 7) and the later altarpiece executed by the artist with his brother, Vittore, for the church of San Martino in Monte San Martino (Macerata).[4] It is likely that the dismembered predella, like that of the Sant'Emidio Polyptych, included at least ten of the twelve apostles and that other panels in the series are yet to be identified.

Fig. 3. Carlo Crivelli, *Saint John the Evangelist*, ca. 1482. Tempera and gold on panel, 28 × 19.5 cm (11 × 7 5/8 in.). Museo d'Arte Antica, Castello Sforzesco, Milan, inv. no. 33/2

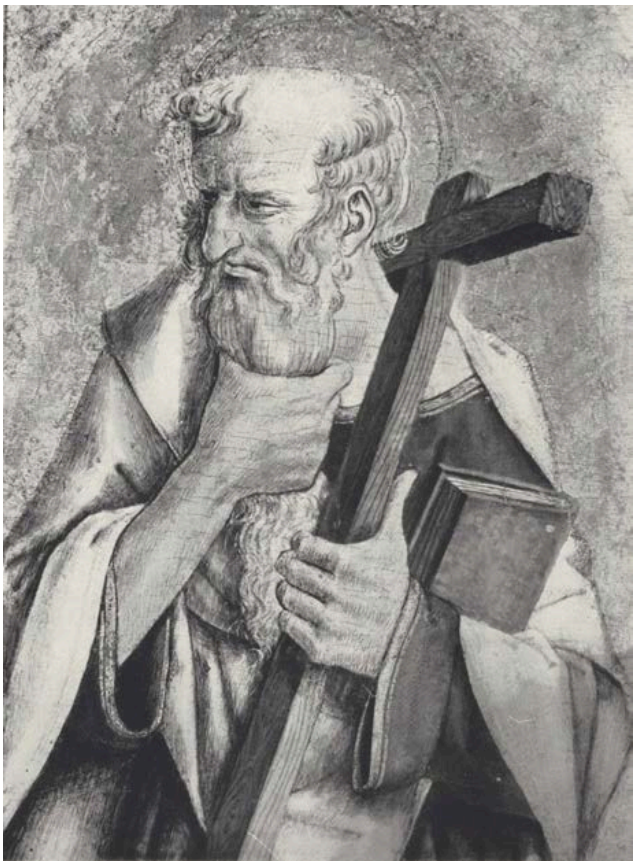

Fig. 4. Carlo Crivelli, *Saint Andrew*, ca. 1482. Tempera and gold on panel, 27.5 × 19.5 cm (10 7/8 × 7 5/8 in.). Location unknown

Fig. 5. Carlo Crivelli, *Saint James Major*, ca. 1482. Tempera and gold on panel, 27.2 × 21 cm (10 3/4 × 8 1/4 in.). Andreas Pittas collection, London

Fig. 6. Carlo Crivelli, *Apostle Saint*, ca. 1482. Tempera and gold on panel, 28 × 20.7 cm (11 × 8 1/8 in.). Location unknown

Fig. 7. Carlo Crivelli, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints and Apostles* (Sant'Emidio Polyptych), 1473. Tempera and gold on panel, 290 × 280 cm (114 1/8 × 110 1/4 in.). Cathedral of Sant'Emidio, Ascoli Piceno

The Yale *Saint Peter* and the El Paso *Blessing Redeemer* were first published by William Suida in 1934, when they were both in the collection of Enrico Marinucci in Rome.[5] Not much is known of Marinucci, although a 1936 letter from Enrico Cappiello, an agent for Marinucci, to the then director of the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery (now the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art) in Kansas City, Missouri, indicates that Marinucci had inherited at least some of the pictures in his collection from his uncle Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, who had died in 1934.[6] A Marchigian native, Gasparri had been Secretary of State to Popes Benedict XV and Pius XI and was among the most powerful members of the Vatican hierarchy.[7] Although it cannot be definitely ascertained whether the Yale and El Paso panels once belonged to the cardinal, it is known that Marinucci was actively acquiring paintings in the Marche in the 1920s, possibly on behalf of his uncle.[8]

The dating and reconstruction of the original structure from which the Yale *Saint Peter* and the six other known fragments were excised have been the subject of debate since their appearance on the art market. Beginning with Franz Drey, who wrote the first monograph on Carlo Crivelli, early authors conflated several of the panels in the present grouping with another series of half-length apostles and a *Blessing Redeemer* that once belonged to the predella of the monumental polyptych executed by the artist between around 1471 and 1473 for the church of San Francesco in Montefiore dell'Aso (Ascoli Piceno), which was dismembered in the mid-nineteenth century and dispersed among various collections.[9] A distinction between the two sets of works, however, was made by Suida, who categorically rejected any possible association between either the Yale *Saint Peter* or the El Paso *Blessing Redeemer* and the Montefiore Polyptych, arguing that the former were products of Crivelli's maturity, datable "not earlier than 1475, possibly rather later."[10] Comparing the Yale *Saint Peter* to the same figure from the Montefiore Polyptych, Suida pointedly noted that "by the side of the muscular St. Peter, in violent action, with strongly marked features, who is represented before us, the figure of the Monte Fiore [*sic*] altarpiece looks nearly tame and feeble."[11] In a much later examination of the El Paso *Redeemer*, the same author maintained his original opinion, dating that work more precisely to about 1475–80.[12]

In 1961 Federico Zeri, who added the Milan and ex-Proehl *Apostles* to the Yale and El Paso panels, reiterated Suida's distinction between this group of works and the Montefiore altarpiece but advanced a significantly earlier dating, proposing that they were elements of an as-yet-unidentified altarpiece executed around the same moment as the so-called Fesch-Erickson Polyptych (named after its former owners), another dismembered complex with, at its center, the signed and dated 1472 *Virgin and Child Enthroned* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.[13] Echoing Zeri's comparison, Pietro Zampetti went a step further and incorporated the five predella panels then known to scholars, along with a *Pietà* in the Philadelphia Museum of Art,[14] in the reconstruction of the Fesch-Erickson Polyptych.[15] Zampetti's argument was taken up, even if tentatively, by much of the subsequent scholarship, and it was most recently upheld by Stefano Casu, in his discussion of the Pittas *Saint James Major*.[16] Keith Christiansen, however, had already questioned the likelihood of Zampetti's reconstruction, based on the discrepancy between the combined width of the main panels in the Fesch-Erickson Polyptych (174.9 cm) and the considerably larger size (at least 230–35 cm) of a predella comprising the panels under consideration plus the presumed missing elements.[17]

A second hypothesis regarding the possible provenance of the present series was put forth by Anna Bovero, who cautiously suggested the fragments could have belonged to the polyptych formerly in the church of San Domenico, Ascoli Piceno, dated 1476 and currently divided between

the National Gallery, London, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.[18] The connection made by Bovero was deemed plausible by Andrea De Marchi,[19] based on both style and dimensions, but it was rejected by Mauro Minardi,[20] who argued that, in the 1476 Ascoli Polyptych, as in the Fesch-Erickson altarpiece, the light source comes from the left in every section, whereas in each of the elements of the present predella it comes from the opposite side—an inconsistency that would be out of character in an altarpiece by Crivelli, where the lighting is always unified and homogeneous throughout the various parts. Minardi concluded that the fragmentary predella, perhaps along with the Philadelphia *Pietà*, had to be associated with a hitherto unidentified altarpiece executed by the artist between around 1473 and 1476. The same conclusion was drawn by Francesco De Carolis, who followed the traditional dating in the 1470s.[21]

In the most recent consideration of the issue, Federica Coltrinari[22] returned to a suggestion of Ronald Lightbown,[23] dismissed by later critics, and associated the predella with the signed and dated 1482 *Virgin and Child with a Franciscan Friar* in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (fig. 8), whose provenance can be traced to an altarpiece executed by the artist for the church of San Francesco in Force, near Ascoli Piceno. Transferred to the Vatican Museums in 1844, the Force *Virgin and Child* was first referred to by the Marchigian nineteenth-century historian Amico Ricci, who saw it in 1828 on one of the side altars of the Collegiata of San Paolo in Force, where it had been moved after the destruction of San Francesco. Ricci noted that the picture, signed by Crivelli, formed part of a "large triptych" (*un gran trittico*) once situated on the main altar of the church of San Francesco, and that "all the panels" (*tutte le tavole*) that originally surrounded it were dispersed and lost.[24] An additional clue to the altarpiece's structure was discovered by Coltrinari in the Archivio di Stato, Rome, in the form of an 1831 report on Force's lost treasures, addressed to city officials by the local historian Giuseppe Maria Antonelli Rampazzi.[25]According to Rampazzi, the altarpiece included "two laterals as big as the Virgin and Child" (*due laterali eguali alla Vergine*) and "other [panels] smaller in size, which formed the base," but only the *Virgin* survived miraculously intact, some of the other elements having been purportedly destroyed by the monks during the church's demolition.[26] Based on these accounts, Coltrinari proposed that the altarpiece was a double-tiered structure with a predella and added to her reconstruction, in addition to the surviving *Apostles* and *Redeemer*, the badly damaged *Pietà* formerly in the Caccialupi collection in Macerata, now in the Harvard Art Museums,

Fig. 8. Carlo Crivelli, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with a Franciscan Friar* (Force Altarpiece), 1482. Tempera and gold on panel, 148 × 67 cm (58 1/4 × 28 3/8 in.). Pinacoteca Vaticana, inv. no. MV.40297.0.0

Cambridge, Massachusetts (fig. 9), proposing that it was the pinnacle of the dismembered complex.[27]

While the evidence presented by Coltrinari is not conclusive, her reconstruction of the Force altarpiece seems plausible. Previous objections to Lightbown's association between the predella fragments and the Force altarpiece had focused partly on perceived differences in style but, above all, on the assumption that the work seen by Ricci was a traditional triptych, whose width could not have accommodated a predella with ten or twelve apostles. It must be noted, however, that Ricci used exactly the same words (*un gran trittico*) to describe a large polyptych he attributed to Carlo Crivelli in the Franciscan church of San Francesco in Monte San Pietrangeli, Fermo (fig. 10),[28] indicating that he applied the term loosely or, at the very least, was referring to

Fig. 9. Carlo Crivelli, *The Dead Christ between the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist*, ca. 1482. Tempera on panel, transferred to canvas, 66.4 × 64 cm (26 1/8 × 25 1/4 in.). Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass., Gift of Arthur Sachs, inv. no. 1924.21

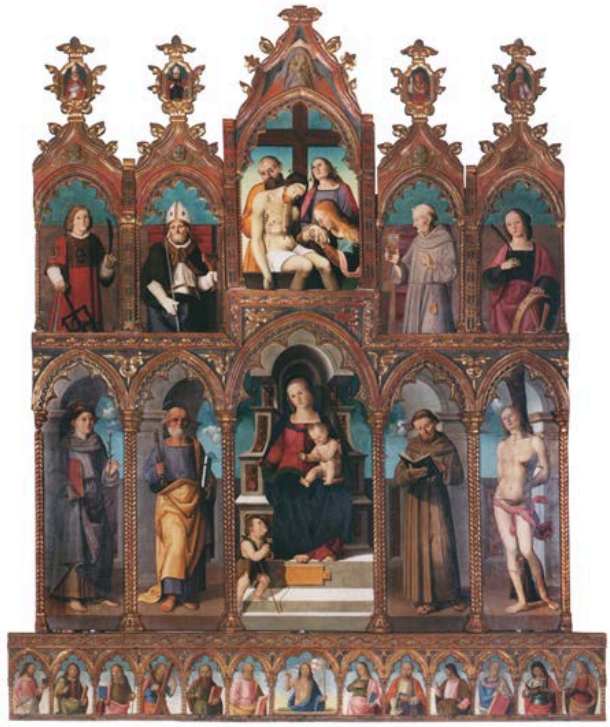

Fig. 10. Vittore Crivelli, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints and Apostles*, ca. 1502–10. Tempera and gold on panel, 325 × 278 cm (128 × 109 1/2 in.). Church of San Francesco, Monte San Pietrangeli, Fermo

comparable structures. Commissioned from Vittore Crivelli in 1501 but completed by an unidentified local workshop between around 1502 and 1510, the Monte San Pietrangeli altarpiece includes a predella with Christ and the twelve apostles and, in the main register, a *Virgin and Child* flanked by pairs of standing saints on each side, separated by slender colonnettes.[29] The *retardataire* design of the frame echoes the earlier polyptychs of Carlo and Vittore, attesting to the endurance of such models into the sixteenth century and the likelihood of a similar construction for the Force altarpiece.

Independent of the proposed association with the Force altarpiece, a date for the predella fragments in the 1480s is consistent with the significant distinctions between the handling of these figures and the artist's approach in the previous decade. A considerable interval of time must undoubtedly separate the execution of the emaciated, haggard-looking apostles in the predella of the 1473 Sant'Emidio Polyptych (see fig. 7) and the robust, energetic figures of the Yale *Saint Peter* and its companions. The formal contrasts are less pronounced in the 1476 Ascoli Polyptych divided between the Metropolitan Museum and National Gallery, but even there the figures have a studied elegance that is absent from the works under consideration. The polished finish and meticulously controlled lines of the National Gallery *Saint Andrew* (fig. 11), for example, have given way in the ex-Proehl version (see fig. 4) to a markedly looser approach and an almost frenzied, forceful hatching technique used over the thinly painted surface. The result, even more evident in the similarly handled Yale *Saint Peter*, is a rough, spontaneous quality that animates the figures and increases their visual impact. Perhaps not coincidentally, a comparable technique is employed in the predella and in ancillary details of Carlo Crivelli's signed and dated 1482 altarpiece for the church of San Domenico in Fermo, now in the Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan (fig. 12).[30] With their severe expressions and unruly beards, the small figures of Saint Anthony Abbot and Saint Andrew in the Brera predella are intimately related to the ex-Proehl and Yale *Saints*, as are the small images of apostles painted on the orphrey band of the standing *Saint Peter* in one of the main compartments. A panel of the *Last Supper* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal (fig. 13), now thought to be the missing central element of the Brera predella, shares the same palette of lightly applied washes and expressive treatment of the dynamically posed figures.[31]

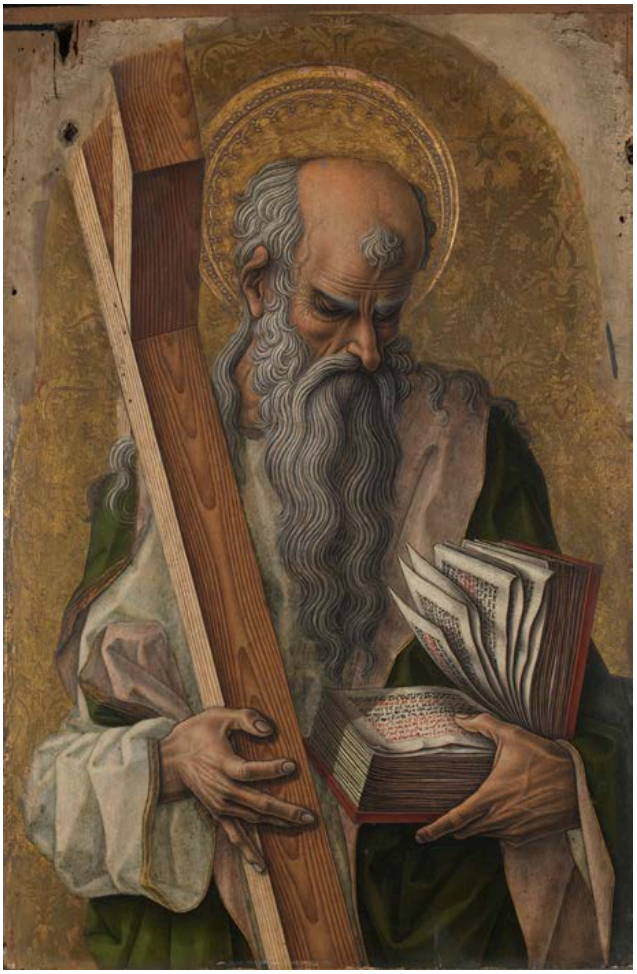

Fig. 11. Carlo Crivelli, *Saint Andrew*, 1476. Tempera and gold on panel, 61 × 40 cm (24 × 15 3/4 in.). National Gallery, London, inv. no. NG788.7

Fig. 12. Carlo Crivelli, *Saints Anthony Abbot, Jerome, and Andrew*, 1482. Tempera and gold on panel, 25 × 62 cm (9 7/8 × 24 3/8 in.). Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, inv. no. 155-350-351

Fig. 13. Carlo Crivelli, *The Last Supper*, ca. 1482. Oil and tempera on wood, 26.7 × 75.3 cm (10 1/2 × 29 5/8 in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal, Gift of Catherine J. Tudor-Hart Estate, inv. no. 1972.29

In Coltrinari's proposed reconstruction, Crivelli's Force altarpiece would have been a monumental structure befitting its position on the main altar of the Franciscan convent of San Francesco. It may be presumed that the diminutive figure in a Franciscan habit kneeling in prayer at the feet of the Vatican *Virgin* (see fig. 8) was a leading member of the community, possibly the prior who commissioned the work during his tenure. Lightbown tentatively suggested that he could be Fra Francesco da Force, a renowned master of theology and later inquisitor in Florence, who held the important office of *custode* of the Sacred Convent of San Francesco at Assisi ten times between 1466 and 1486 and became provincial minister of the Conventuals of the Marche in 1486, the same year he died.[32] —PP

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Suida 1934, 122; William E. Suida, in *Samuel H. Kress Collection Honolulu* 1952, 20; Berenson 1957, 1:70; Bovero 1961, 68, 94, pl. 67a; Seymour 1961, 26–27, 54; Zampetti 1961, 77, fig. 32; Zeri 1961b, 160, pl. 61b; Barbara Sweeny, in John G. Johnson Collection 1966, 25; Shapley 1968, 35–36; Seymour 1970, 239–41, no. 180; Zampetti 1971, 186; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 601; Elizabeth de Fenandez-Gimenez, in *European Paintings before 1500* 1974, 69; Bovero 1975, 89, no. 52, fig. 52; Keith Christiansen, in *Jack and Belle Linsky Collection* 1984, 30; Zampetti 1986, 87, 260–61, pl. 22; Gilbert 1987, 24, fig. 3; Pope-Hennessy and Kanter 1987, 224; Kenney 1992, 135; Lightbown 2004, 303–4, fig. 126; Costanza Costanzi, in Costanzi 2005, 145, no. 119, fig. 119; Virginia Brilliant, in *European Treasures* 2010, 75; Casu 2011, 34–35; Mauro Minardi, in Chiodo and Padovani 2014, 59, fig. 9b; Francesco De Carolis, in Campbell 2015, 165, 173, no. 12, fig. 12; De Carolis 2017, 12n28; Cipolletti 2019, 157; Coltrinari 2022, 30; De Luca 2023, 14, 36, 138, 142, fig. 21

NOTES

1. According to information on a reproduction in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York. No date is provided.
2. A note written by Creighton Gilbert on September 10, 1988, reports that he had just been informed in a postcard from Henck van Os that the ex-Proehl painting had recently belonged to "Mr. Lemberger in Amsterdam"; curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
3. Sale, Sotheby's, New York, February 21, 2024, lot 302.
4. For the most detailed study to date of the Sant'Emidio Polyptych, see Lightbown 2004, 143–83. For the Monte San Martino Polyptych, currently thought to be a workshop product involving other hands as well as those of the Crivelli brothers, see Delpriori 2022 (with previous bibliography). According to Alessandro Delpriori, the polyptych was begun by Carlo around 1481–82 and completed by Vittore a decade later.

5. Suida 1934, 122.

6. The letter, written from Rome on October 1, 1936, is in the curatorial files for Tanzio da Varallo's *Saint John the Baptist in the Wilderness* in the Philbrook Museum of Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma, inv. no. 1944.2. Its existence was uncovered by Nancy H. Yeide; see Yeide 2014, 268–69. The Tanzio da Varallo was among a group of ten paintings and one drawing that Marinucci was offering for sale to settle the estate of his uncle. I am grateful to the curatorial staff at the Philbrook for forwarding me a scan of the letter and attached list of works, which are described as follows: "1. Tiziano-Ritratto Senatore Veneto; 2. Tiziano-Ritratto Solimano; 3. Dosso Dossi-San Giovannino [Tulsa *Saint John the Baptist*]; 4. Ingres-Ritratto di Letizia Bonaparte; 5. Crivelli-Pietà; 6. Correggio-Madonna del Latte; 7. Beccafumi-Sacra Famiglia [now National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., inv. no. 1943.4.28, https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.12126.html]; 8. Rubens-Bozzetto Quattro Evangelisti; 9. Carpaccio-Sant'Orsola con donatore [now Lazzaro Bastiani, Portland Art Museum, Oregon, inv. no. 61.45]; 10. Antonello-Ritratto Maria Sforza Duca d . . . ; Scuola senese-Piccola Crocifissione [now Allegretto Nuzi, Birmingham Museum of Art, Alabama, inv. no. 1961.113]." Four of these pictures, including the Tanzio da Varallo, are mentioned in Suida's 1934 article on the Marinucci collection. They were purchased by the famous Florentine dealer Count Alessandro Contini Bonacossi (1878–1955), who sold them to Samuel H. Kress (1863–1955) in 1939. As noted by Yeide, it is not out of the question that Contini Bonacossi bought the entire Marinucci collection. The El Paso *Redeemer* had already been purchased by Contini Bonacossi sometime between 1934 and 1935, when it was part of an earlier group of works sold by Contini Bonacossi to Kress; see Kress Collection Digital Archive, Contini Bonacossi invoice dated July 10, 1935, https://kress.nga.gov/Detail/acquisitions/ACQ145). It was gifted to the El Paso Museum of Art in 1961; see Shapley 1968, 35–36. There are no surviving records for the Yale panel predating its entry into the Rabinowitz collection, but it seems reasonable to hypothesize that it was acquired by Contini Bonacossi along with the *Redeemer*.

7. Gasparri was born in Ussita, in the province of Macerata, and continued to have close ties to the region. According to his wishes, he was buried in the small cemetery in Ussita, where there is a museum in his name. For a contemporary portrait of the cardinal, see Littlefield 1930, 53–58.

8. In 1929 Marinucci offered to buy from the nuns of the Clarissan convent of Santa Chiara in Sanseverino Marche a fourteenth-century *Virgin of Humility* by Catarino da Venezia. See Paciaroni 2017, 16–17, where Raoul Paciaroni postulated that the final buyer of the panel (now lost) was Contini Bonacossi, who had offered a larger sum than Marinucci.

9. Drey 1927, 126–27. Drey connected the Milan and ex-Proehl *Apostles* to other panels now recognized as part of the Montefiore predella. He was followed by Raimond van Marle (in van Marle 1936, 13), who added the Yale and El Paso paintings to the same grouping. In the 1935 invoice of his sale to Kress (see note 6, above), Contini Bonacossi listed the El Paso *Redeemer*—alongside the two ex-Montefiore *Apostles* now in the Honolulu Museum of Arts, inv. nos. 2979.1, 2980.1 (https://honolulu.emuseum.com/objects/35161/an-apostle; https://honolulu.emuseum.com/objects/35162/an-apostle; and see Shapley 1968, 36)—as having been part of the same complex. For the intricate history of the dismemberment and reconstruction of the Montefiore altarpiece, see the recent monograph by Daphne De Luca; De Luca 2023 (with previous bibliography).

10. Suida 1934, 122.

11. Suida 1934, 122.

12. William E. Suida, in *Samuel H. Kress Collection Honolulu* 1952, 20.

13. Inv. no. 1982.60.5, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/436051. See Zeri 1961b, 162. The main register of that polyptych included, alongside the Metropolitan *Virgin and Child*, a *Saint Dominic* and a *Saint George*, also in the Metropolitan (inv. nos. 05.41.1–.2, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/436054; and https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/438691), a *Saint James Major* in the Brooklyn Museum (inv. no. 78.151.10, https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/4847), and a *Saint Nicholas of Bari* in the Cleveland Museum of Art (inv. no. 1952.111, https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1952.111). See Keith Christiansen, in *Jack and Belle Linsky Collection* 1984, 29–32 (with previous bibliography); and Lightbown 2004, 127–37.

14. John G. Johnson Collection, inv. no. cat. 158, https://philamuseum.org/collection/object/101897.

15. Zampetti 1961, 77; and Zampetti 1986, 260–62, nos. 20–24.

16. Casu 2011. The Pittas *Saint James* was first recognized as part of the series by Zeri; see Zeri 1976b, 75. Casu also alluded to the recent appearance on the art market (Christie's, New York, January 26, 2001, lot 8) of a seventh panel, the *Apostle* formerly in the Alana Collection, subsequently published in Mauro Minardi, in Chiodo and Padovani 2014, 59–66, no. 9.

17. Christiansen, in *Jack and Belle Linsky Collection* 1984, 30–31. As noted by Minardi (in Chiodo and Padovani 2014, 62), the combined width of a predella with ten apostles, as in the Sant'Emidio Polyptych, would have been no less than 230 to 235 centimeters, not including the carpentry. With twelve apostles, as in the Monte San Martino Polyptych, it would have been at least 270 to 280 centimeters.

18. Bovero 1961, 68. Formerly known as the Demidoff Polyptych, the altarpiece was a double-tiered polyptych, the remainders of which consist of nine panels in the National Gallery of Art, London (inv. nos. NG788.1–.9, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/carlo-crivelli-the-demidoff-altarpiece#painting-group-info), and a *Pietà* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inv. no. 13.178, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/

collection/search/436053). See Baker and Henry 1995, 160–61; and Lightbown 2004, 208–225.

19. Andrea De Marchi, written correspondence to the Sarti Gallery, cited by Minardi, in Chiodo and Padovani 2014, 60.

20. Minardi, in Chiodo and Padovani 2014, 62–63.

21. Francesco De Carolis, in Campbell 2015, 173; and De Carolis 2017, 12n28.

22. Coltrinari 2022, 28–30.

23. Lightbown 2004, 303–5.

24. "Force, Collegiata. Nella prima cappella entrando a mano sinistra rimane in luogo altissimo una tavola con la Vergine, ed il Bambino, e sotto vi si sottoscrisse *Opus Caroli* Crivelli. Questa tavola formava parte di un gran trittico che rimaneva nel maggiore altare della Chiesa di San Francesco oggi diruta. Tutte le tavole che contornavano l'attuale furono tutte disperse e smarrite." Amico Ricci, "Viaggio per i vari paesi della nostra montagna eseguito nel settembre 1828," Biblioteca Mozzi Borgetti, Macerata, Fondo Ricci, MS 1062-I, fol. 203v; and Ricci 1834, 1:209. The relevant passage of the "Viaggio" was first published by Lightbown 2004, "Appendix IV," 508. The full manuscript was later edited by Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari, with the collaboration of Elisa Barchiesi; see Ambrosini Massari and Barchiesi 2007, 513–32, esp. 527–28.

25. Coltrinari 2022, 28, 44n35.

26. Coltrinari 2022, 44n35. Rampazzi wrote that some of the panels were "sacrificed to the most vile uses and even barbarously [given] to the flames" (*sacrificati ad usi vilissimi ed anche barbaramente alle fiamme*), a fact that would appear to contradict Ricci's claim that they were all dispersed and lost.

27. Coltrinari 2022, 29–30, 132–33, no. 2. The possibility of this work having been part of the same altarpiece as the Force *Virgin and Child*, with which it shares the same source of light from the right and the same punches, was first raised by Minardi (Minardi 2012, 349–50n136). Past efforts to connect the Harvard panel to a *Virgin and Child* in the Musei Civici di Palazzo Buonaccorsi, Macerata, inv. no. 35, as noted by Coltrinari, can be dismissed on the basis of new technical studies that confirm it was originally painted on canvas; see De Luca 2022, 59–67.

28. "Ed in fine per lavoro suo [Carlo Crivelli's] ritenni un gran trittico, che appeso nel mezzo della Chiesa dei Francescani, vedesi nella terra di Monte-Sampietrangeli." Ricci 1834, 210.

29. For the latest discussion of the altarpiece, following its restoration in 2019, see Claudio Maggini, in Moriconi and Papetti 2019, 64–69.

30. For a reconstruction of the Brera altarpiece, see, most recently, Anna Jolly, in Daffra 2009, 136–49, no. 1; and Stephen J. Campbell, in Campbell 2015, 183–89, nos. 17–18.

31. The Montreal panel was first associated with the complex by Robert B. Simon, in Daffra 2009, 150–53, no. 2.

32. Lightbown 2004, 302–3. As recently argued by Stefano Papetti (in Papetti 2022, 101–3), Francesco da Force may also have commissioned the small *Pietà* by Crivelli now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. MI 489, https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010065008—a work that can plausibly be linked to the record of a "small Carlo Crivelli . . . showing the Deposed Christ" that was bought in Force by Ignazio Cantalamessa and sold in Rome in 1826–27. An incomplete citation of the same source by Giannino Gagliardi, who refers simply to an image of "Christ" (Gagliardi 1996, 5), prompted Lightbown (in Lightbown 2004, 302) to associate this work with the El Paso *Redeemer*, which clearly shows a different subject. The original document, published in full by Papetti (in Papetti 2022, 105), is a record of all the purchases made by Cantalamessa in the Marche and sold by him in Rome in 1826–27. Also listed are "ten panels" bought from "the canons in Force." Although neither the artist nor the subject matter are specified in the entry, it is worth speculating whether any of those works were fragments of the Force altarpiece's predella.

Vittore Crivelli, *Saint Peter*

Artist	Vittore Crivelli, Venice, ca. 1435/40–1501
Title	*Saint Peter*
Date	ca. 1480–85
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall 104.8 × 35.2 cm (41 1/4 × 13 7/8 in.); picture surface: 97.9 × 29.6 cm (38 1/2 × 11 5/8 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Robert Lehman, B.A. 1913
Inv. No.	1946.313

Provenance

Pietro Vallati, Rome, 1857; Paolo Paolini, Rome; Count Alessandro Contini Bonacossi (1878–1955), Rome and Florence(?);[1] Robert Lehman (1891–1969), New York, by 1932

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, is 2.3 centimeters thick and exhibits a moderate convex warp. It has been waxed but neither thinned nor cradled, and it is untrimmed on either side. A large knot in the wood at the lower right, 14 centimeters from the bottom edge of the panel, was once covered by an applied column base; a smaller knot on the left edge, 20 centimeters from the bottom of the panel, has opened a diagonal crack, visible in the pavement behind the saint. The lower 3 centimeters of the surface, formerly covered by an engaged member of the altarpiece frame, has been partly filled with later gesso. The gilding and paint surface are extremely well preserved, although covered at present by an old, discolored varnish. Stenciled glazes over the gold leaf decorating the hems of the saint's cloak are abraded and partly missing.

Discussion

This panel, in an exceptional state of preservation, was one of the laterals of an unidentified altarpiece. Notable for the profusely gilt surfaces and elaborate tooling, it shows Saint Peter dressed in sumptuous pontifical robes, holding a Bible and the keys of the Church in one hand and a processional cross in the other. The concern for precious details is evident in the execution of the magnificent gold-and-red damask cope, lined in green velvet and ornamented by intricately incised gold bands accented by rows of white pearls; in the silver embossed Bible and tiny gems on the white liturgical gloves; and in the elaborately punched gold crowns of the papal tiara. The saint is shown standing on a marbleized gray platform before a low red parapet against a gold background. The direction of his gaze and stance indicate that he stood to the left of the central compartment of the dismembered structure.

A painted inscription on the reverse of the Yale panel (see fig. 4) reveals that it was in the collection of the artist and dealer Pietro Vallati in Rome, in 1857. According to Federico Zeri, it was with the dealer Paolo Paolini in Rome before being purchased at an unknown date by Robert Lehman.[2] The earliest mention of the painting in the literature is in Bernard Berenson's 1932 lists, where it

appears under Vittore Crivelli's name and is already recorded as being in the Lehman collection.[3] Berenson's attribution has never been questioned by subsequent authors, although discussions of the work have been scarce and confined primarily to the observations of Sandra Di Provvido, who included the Yale *Saint Peter* in her monograph on Vittore and in her later studies of the artist.[4] For Di Provvido, the refined execution of the Yale panel pointed to a date in the first half of the 1480s, in proximity to the commissions awarded to the painter upon his arrival in the Marchigian city of Fermo and, in particular, to the polyptychs he executed for the Augustinian church of Torre di Palme (fig. 1) and for Ludovico Eufredduci's family chapel in the church of San Francesco.[5] Di Provvido tentatively associated the Yale panel with a little-known *Virgin and Child* by Vittore at Saint John's University in Queens, New York (fig. 2),[6] and proposed that both works might be fragments of a triptych commissioned between around 1480–83 by Giovanni di Ser Leonardo di Ser Antonio of Fermo for the altar of Saint Peter in the church of Santa Maria della Carità in Fermo.

Fig. 1. Vittore Crivelli, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, and Augustine* (Torre di Palme Polyptych), ca. 1480–85. Tempera and gold on panel. Sant'Agostino, Torre di Palme

Fig. 2. Vittore Crivelli, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1485–90. Tempera and gold on panel, 122 × 63.5 cm (48 × 25 in.). Saint John's University, Queens, New York

A dating for the Yale *Saint Peter* in the early 1480s seems consistent with the subtleties of execution that distinguish this panel, beyond its decorative concerns. In tracing the evolution of Vittore's development, recent scholarship has emphasized the qualitative levels attained by the artist in those images painted between around 1479, when he signed and dated the *Virgin Adoring the Christ Child* in Falerone (Fermo), and about 1484/85, when he completed the Eufreducci Polyptych.[7] After this period, the artist's approach, already defined by a prosaic, vernacular interpretation of the models of his more talented brother,

Carlo Crivelli, became increasingly formulaic and stiff, and more artisanal in quality. The concern for three-dimensional effects and sensitive handling of passages in the Yale painting, such as the foreshortened view of the book and the hand holding it and the realistic rendering of the heavy folds of fabric, as well as the nuanced modeling of the hair and facial features, clearly situate the panel among Vittore's most accomplished early efforts. The incised lines still visible around the Yale *Saint* suggest a framing structure with polylobed arches similar to those enclosing the figures in the Torre di Palme, Sanseverino Marche, and Sant'Elpidio al Mare polyptychs, which Francesca Coltrinari dated in successive order over a period between 1479 and 1485.[8] The figure of Saint Augustine in the Torre di Palme altarpiece (see fig. 1), clearly based on the same physiognomic type as the Yale Saint Peter, shows a similar handling of the facial features and of details like the hanging sleeves of the liturgical gloves and the identical folds of cloth gathered at the feet. These elements seem to suggest a closer proximity to that work, regarded by both Di Provvido and Coltrinari as Vittore's first commission in Marchigian territory.

No other surviving lateral fragments of altarpieces by Vittore Crivelli can be associated with the Yale panel on the basis of style as well as dimensions and framing elements. Di Provvido's identification of the Queens *Virgin and Child* (see fig. 2) as the central compartment of the same structure is plausible based on its dimensions, but the vicissitudes suffered by that panel make any proper judgment difficult; the classicizing throne of the Virgin, moreover, seems to point to a later moment in the artist's career, closer to around 1490. Based on its provenance and early date, another possible candidate is the *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels and a Donor* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 3), which is recorded in the collection of Pietro Vallati in 1858 and may have been acquired at the same time as the Yale *Saint Peter*.[9] While this provenance alone does not guarantee that the two works belonged to the same structure, the Metropolitan *Virgin and Child*, at one time believed to be a work of Carlo Crivelli, shares the same delicate handling and subtleties of execution as the Yale picture. Dated by Zeri and Di Provvido between 1480 and 1485,[10] the Metropolitan painting is virtually contemporary to the *Saint Peter* but is larger in scale than would be expected, considering the relative sizes of the panels in Vittore's other altarpieces. Issues of reconstruction aside, Di Provvido's suggestion that the Yale fragment might belong to the triptych painted by the artist for the altar of Saint Peter in the church of Santa Maria della Carità in Fermo remains valid.

Fig. 3. Vittore Crivelli, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels and a Donor*, ca. 1480–85. Tempera and gold on panel, 137.2 × 65.4 cm (54 × 25 3/4 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 41.100.32

An architectural sketch on the back of the Yale panel showing a triangular pediment with two balls resting on the ends of the entablature (fig. 4), seemingly anticipating the classicizing Renaissance forms of some of Vittore's later triptychs,[11] raises the issue of the artist's role in the design of his frames. It also calls to mind a 1472 document recording Vittore's activity as an architect during his residence in Zadar, Croatia, when he was asked by the erudite archbishop and humanist Maffeo Vallaresso to provide drawings for the new facade of the collegiate church of Saint Mary Major.[12] —PP

Fig. 4. Infrared photograph of the reverse of *Saint Peter*, showing architectural sketch

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Berenson 1932a, 164; van Marle 1936, 84; Berenson 1957, 1:72; Seymour 1970, 241–42, no. 181; Zampetti 1971, 186; Di Provvido 1972, 120–21, 134, pl. 28; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 60, 601; Kenney 1992, 136; Sandra Di Provvido, in De Vecchi 1997, 99, 127; Sandra Di Provvido, in Papetti 1997, 208–9, 113, 263, nos. 13–14, pl. 16

NOTES

1. The Paolini provenance is recorded in the Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna, where there is also an old photograph of the picture in a pseudo-Gothic nineteenth-century frame (inv. no. 53294). According to a note in Zeri's handwriting, the photo had been given to him by "S. Contini," leaving open the possibility that the painting may have passed through Contini Bonacossi's hands. For the Roman art dealer Paolo Paolini, who seems to have been active in the art world from the mid-1890s through the early 1920s but about whom there is scant information, see Provo 2017, 281–85. The *Saint Peter* does not appear in the 1924 New York sale of Paolini's collection: American Art Association, New York, December 10–11, 1924.
2. See note 1, above.
3. Berenson 1932a, 164.
4. Di Provvido 1972, 120–21, 134; Sandra Di Provvido, in De Vecchi 1997, 99, 127; and Di Provvido, in Papetti 1997, 113, 208–9, 263, nos. 13–14.
5. Di Provvido 1972, 120–21; and Di Provvido, in Papetti 1997, 208–9. The Torre di Palme Polyptych is still located in the church of Sant'Agostino, Fermo. All the surviving fragments of the Eufreducci Polyptych are now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art; inv. no. W1896-1-11a-e, https://philamuseum.org/collection/object/104378.
6. First published in Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 60.
7. Coltrinari 2011, 61.
8. See Coltrinari 2011, 58–62, where the author discusses the collaboration of the painter with local frame makers.
9. The painting was described by Otto Mündler in a journal entry dated May 9–10, 1858, when he went to visit Pietro Vallati in Rome "to examine his, lately purchased, pictures by Carlo Crivelli"; see Dowd 1985, 233, fol. 80r. Possibly between the end of 1857 and the beginning of 1858, Vallati had acquired all of the fragments of Carlo Crivelli's polyptych from Montefiore dell'Aso, near Fermo, which he was anxious to sell to his English clients; see De Luca 2023, 53. Although Mündler appears to have been shown the Metropolitan *Virgin and Child* as one of Carlo's works, he recognized it as a product of Vittore's hand. The next reference to the panel is in the 1873 sale of the collection of the Marquis du Blaisel, in Paris (Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 9, 1873, lot 13), where it was listed with an attribution to Carlo Crivelli and was said to be the center of a triptych that included two wings in the National Gallery, London, and the Musée Royaux des Beaux Arts de Belgique, Brussels. That assertion, however, was most likely the result of a confusion between this work and the Montefiore dell'Aso fragments—two of which were acquired by the Brussels museum from Vallati in 1862 and the rest by the National Gallery, London, and other English collectors; see De Luca 2023, 52–54. The Metropolitan *Virgin and Child* was first published as a work of Vittore by Rubinstein-Bloch 1926, pl. 42.
10. Zeri 1961a, 235; and Di Provvido, in Papetti 1997, 207, no. 12. The painting was associated by Di Provvido with the commission for an altarpiece supposedly painted by Vittore Crivelli in the early 1480s for the church of the Annunziata in Fermo, but that identification was questioned by Coltrinari on circumstantial grounds; see Coltrinari 2011, 57.
11. One thinks, in particular, of the two-tiered triptych executed by Vittore in 1489 for the church of San Martino in Monte San Martino. For this work, see Alessandro Delpriori, in Coltrinari and Delpriori 2011, 186–87, no. 43.
12. For this document and a discussion of Vittore's architectural expertise, see Coltrinari 2011, 54; Coltrinari and Delpriori 2011, 193, doc. 69; and Gaudelj 2011, 39–40.

Lorenzo d'Alessandro da Sanseverino, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Peter Martyr and Vincent Ferrer(?) and Adoring Angels*

Artist	Lorenzo d'Alessandro da Sanseverino, Sanseverino Marche, ca. 1445–1501
Title	*Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Peter Martyr and Vincent Ferrer(?) and Adoring Angels*
Date	ca. 1485–90
Medium	Tempera, gold, and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall 38.0 × 31.1 cm (15 × 12 1/4 in.); picture surface: 32.5 × 26.0 cm (12 3/4 × 10 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Edwin Austin Abbey Memorial Collection
Inv. No.	1937.341

Provenance

Edwin Austin Abbey (1852–1911), London, by 1911;[1]
Estate of Edwin Austin Abbey, by 1931

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, retains what appears to be its original thickness of only 9 millimeters and has not been cradled. An old but not original wooden stretcher glued and nailed to the reverse was removed during treatment at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, in 1999–2000, and four partial splits, 11.5, 12.5, 16.5, and 25.5 centimeters from the left edge (seen from the front), were repaired by Gianni Marussich at that time. The frame moldings applied to all four sides of the panel appear to be original but are regilt, and only the bottom molding appears not to have been disturbed: the bottom edge of the panel shows no evidence of having been cut, and a barb of gesso eliding the picture surface to the frame molding along the bottom is unbroken. Both side moldings appear to have been removed from the panel at some point, the panel cut by approximately 12 to 15 millimeters on each side and the moldings reapplied. X-radiographs (fig. 1) show that the paint surface continues beneath the reengaged frame along the sides and that the original nails securing the 1.5-centimeter-wide capping strips of the frame were removed and repositioned. There is no barb of gesso or paint at either lateral edge of the picture surface, and the gilding along the top edge has been shaved well shy of the present position of the frame there. The back edge of the capping strips along all four edges have been cut flush with back of the panel. Two holes drilled through the top edge of the frame and back of the panel to accommodate a hanging strap date from the repositioning of the frame moldings.

The gilding and paint surfaces have been heavily abraded and extensively repaired. Large patches of new gold and smaller local retouches with shell gold were applied by Elizabeth Mention during the cleaning of 1999–2000, but the overall continuity of the gold ground contrasted with the much-deteriorated state of the Virgin's halo suggests that the ground may have been releafed at an early date, possibly when the panel was reduced in size and the frame regilt. If so, it may be assumed that the wings and

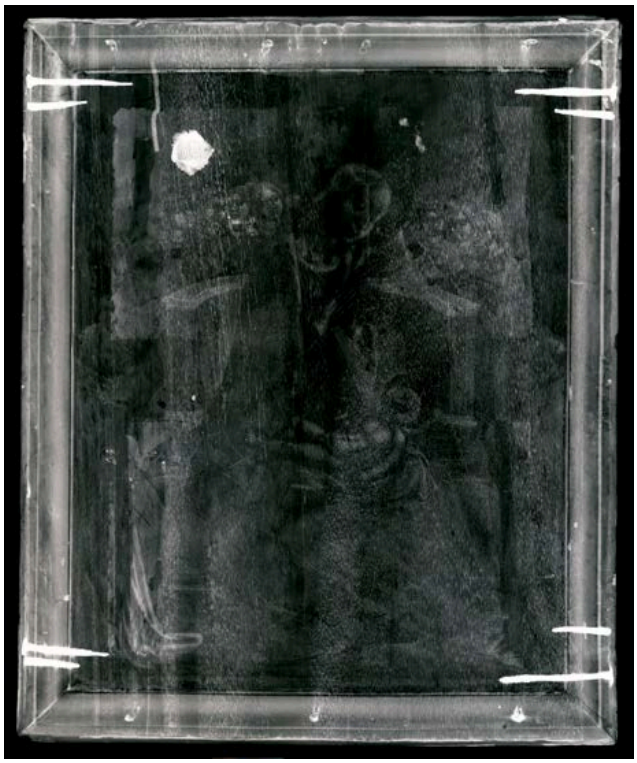

Fig. 1. X-radiograph of *Virgin and Child with Saints Peter Martyr and Vincent Ferrer(?) and Adoring Angels*

coarse, stippled haloes of the angels are later additions. Paint and gilding losses along the four splits in the panel have been repaired, as have extensive local losses of paint, especially in the draperies of the first angel at the left and the first and third angels at the right; in the draperies and head of the Virgin; and in the body of the Christ Child. The faces of all the angels have been repainted, and many of the hands, of all the figures, are reinvented, though not necessarily in modern times.

Discussion

Attributed by Charles Seymour, Jr., to an unidentified Florentine painter[2] and then assigned to Niccolò Alunno (active ca. 1456–1502),[3] the Yale *Virgin and Child with Saints Peter Martyr and Vincent Ferrer(?) and Adoring Angels* was first recognized by Creighton Gilbert as the work of Lorenzo d'Alessandro da Sanseverino[4]—a personality described by Bernard Berenson as "the best known artist, after Gentile da Fabriano, in the Marches"[5] but overlooked by modern scholarship until relatively recent times.[6] Despite the losses and the abrasions of the original surface, the small panel still manages to convey the charming qualities and delicate handling that prompted Berenson's appreciative judgment of the painter. The composition, as noted by past scholars, is indebted to the models of Niccolò Alunno and especially

Fig. 2. Luca di Paolo da Matelica, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1470–75. Tempera and gold on panel, 93 × 53.5 cm (36 5/8 × 21 1/8 in.). Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia, inv. no. 2/789

to the so-called *Madonna dei Consoli* in the Pinacoteca Comunale, Deruta, but also, and in more profound ways, to the example of Lorenzo's older contemporary Luca di Paolo da Matelica (ca. 1435–1490), with whom the artist collaborated in the 1470s.[7] The *Virgin and Child* in Luca di Paolo's double-sided banner in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia (fig. 2), dated by recent studies between 1470 and 1475,[8] provides the closest precedent for the Yale panel in both the type of Madonna and structure of the throne. The Late Gothic sensibility of Luca di Paolo, however, has been replaced in the Yale *Virgin and Child* by a more rational approach and spatial concerns that denote a fully developed Renaissance vision.

As in earlier examples, the Yale image is organized around the Virgin's semicircular throne, but in the present instance, the monumental solidity of the classically inspired architectural components adds spatial depth and breadth to the composition. Still discernible are the fluting in the white marble of the throne's back and the interstices of the black cornice, as well as the carved rectangular sections on the front of the seat, all of which emphasize the three-dimensionality of the structure. The Virgin is seated at an angle, her body turned slightly to the left and casting a light shadow on the curvature of the throne behind her. Her hands crossed in prayer, she is shown meditating on the future fate of the naked Christ Child lying on a white shroud over her lap—a motif that anticipates the iconography of the Pietà and Lamentation. Sensitively applied highlights define the delicate folds and fringed ends of the ceremonial cloth. The Virgin wears a blue mantle over a lavender tunic. In highlighted sections of the dress, the lavender paint is broken through by small parallel incisions to reveal the layer of silver leaf applied below it (now darkened to black)—a technique first found in the work of Gentile da Fabriano and intended to achieve different luminous and textural effects.[9] Inscribed on the Virgin's halo are the beginning words of the Marian hymn "AVE MARI[S] STELLA" (Hail, star of the sea).

Kneeling in adoration before the Virgin and Child are two saints wearing the Dominican habit. On the left is Saint Peter Martyr, recognizable by the traditional attribute of a knife in his head. The saint on the right, thought by Seymour to be Saint Antoninus, was identified by Luisa Vertova as Saint Vincent Ferrer, a celebrated Spanish theologian and Dominican preacher who became an object of popular devotion soon after his death in 1419 and who was canonized in 1455.[10] Known for his fiery sermons on the Apocalypse, the saint is traditionally represented according to the iconographic type codified at his process of canonization, holding a book open to verse 14:7 from the book of Revelations: "TIME / TE. D / EUM / ET.D / ATE / ILLI. / ONO / REM / QUIA / VENI[T]" (Fear God and give him honor for [the hour of judgment] has come).[11] X-radiographs of the Yale painting, however, reveal that the book held by the saint is a later, perhaps even modern, addition and that the figure originally had one arm extended upward (see fig. 1).[12] If this is indeed Vincent Ferrer, it is possible that the depiction followed an iconographic variant, with the saint shown pointing up to a small image of Christ as the Last Judge while holding a book in his other hand. In images where the Revelations text is included, the figure of Christ is sometimes omitted, as in Niccolò Alunno's dynamically posed version of the preacher, with extended arm and open book, among the pilaster saints of the Montelparo Polyptych, now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana.[13] In still other instances, both Christ and the book are absent, and the saint simply points up to a banderole inscribed with the biblical verses associated with him.[14] It is impossible to determine what formula was originally followed in the present picture or to dismiss the uncertainties about the saint's identity. Nevertheless, the apocalyptic message of Vincent Ferrer would seem to be reinforced by the twelve angels (counting the inscribed haloes of those whose heads are not visible) standing against the gold background behind the Virgin's throne—possibly a reference to the twelve angels that guarded God's kingdom in the book of Revelations (21:12).

Gilbert's attribution of the Yale painting to Lorenzo d'Alessandro was based on its stylistic relationship to the signed *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* in the National Gallery, London (fig. 3), executed for the church of San Domenico in Fabriano and generally considered one of the crowning achievements of the artist's career. A *terminus post quem* for the execution of that work is given by the presence of the Blessed Costanzo da Fabriano, who died in 1481 and is shown kneeling in adoration to the right of the Virgin.[15] Based on perceived affinities with Signorelli's 1484 altarpiece for the duomo in Perugia, the *Mystic Marriage* has been dated between 1481 and 1484 by some authors,[16] but a later chronology in the second half of the decade is more likely.[17] The animated gestures and postures of the London figures, as well as the metallic handling of the draperies, denote a new expressive approach, consistent with a more advanced moment in the artist's career, influenced by the late works of Carlo Crivelli.

Fig. 3. Lorenzo d'Alessandro, *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*, ca. 1490. Tempera and oil on panel, 144.8 × 145.4 cm (57 × 57 1/4 in.). National Gallery, London, inv. no. NG249

Although distinguished by a less agitated atmosphere, the Yale *Virgin and Child* shares many of the same formal elements of the London painting, especially in the nuanced handling of the Virgin's features and those of the angels in the background of the composition, but the abraded condition of the Yale panel and its modern alterations prevent more detailed comparisons. Mauro Minardi, who dated the Yale picture between 1480 and 1485,[18] preferred to highlight its relationship to the much-admired 1483 frescoes in the church of Santa Maria di Piazza Alta in Sarnano, but the correspondences between these two works are confined primarily to shared compositional elements. Stylistically, the frescoes are distinguished by a less nuanced modeling technique and a greater linear emphasis that is especially evident in some of the figure types, like the Virgin and Saint Sebastian, which are directly descended from the models of the previous decade. A date for the Yale *Virgin and Child* sometime after the Sarnano frescoes and before the London *Mystic Marriage*, around the middle of the decade or slightly later, seems more accurate.

Although classified by past authors as an object for private devotion, the size and format of the Yale painting and the thinness of its panel support argue for the possibility that it could have been one face of a double-sided processional standard. Its dimensions are consistent with those of a standard by Lorenzo d'Alessandro in the Brooklyn Museum, New York (figs. 4–5), showing Christ on the Cross with Saints Thomas Aquinas and Catherine of Siena on one side and Saint Dominic protecting the female members of a confraternity on the other. Datable to the 1490s, the Brooklyn panel, similarly trimmed on all sides and presently inserted into a modern frame, was originally thought by Gilbert to be a pendant to the Yale *Virgin and Child*, possibly executed at a later date for the same Dominican institution.[19] Based on archival and iconographic evidence, Raoul Paciaroni hypothesized that the Brooklyn picture was painted for a confraternity of Dominican tertiaries dedicated to the Rosary and located in the church of San Domenico in Sanseverino, for which the artist had completed at least two other commissions.[20] As pointed out in recent studies, the Brooklyn standard belongs to a typology, characterized by a rectangular shape and smaller dimensions, that seems particular to the Sanseverino area.[21] Another example, also painted by Lorenzo d'Alessandro, is in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore and was probably executed for a confraternity in Matelica, near Sanseverino.[22] Three others were executed by Bernardino di Mariotto (1478–1566) around the beginning of the sixteenth century, for confraternities in Sanseverino proper. Two of these are presently divided between the Pinacoteca Vaticana, and the Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Cà d'Oro, Venice;[23] and between the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini, Rome, and the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo.[24] A third example, which shares the dimensions of Lorenzo d'Alessandro *Virgin and Child*, is in the Yale University Art Gallery.[25]

Fig. 4. Lorenzo d'Alessandro, *The Crucifixion with Saints Thomas Aquinas and Catherine of Siena*, ca. 1490. Tempera and gold on panel, 43.5 × 32.4 cm (17 1/8 × 12 3/4 in.). Brooklyn Museum, Gift of Mrs. Felix M. Warburg in memory of her husband, inv. no. 41.894a

Fig. 5. Lorenzo d'Alessandro, *Saint Dominic Protecting the Female Members of a Confraternity*, ca. 1490. Tempera and gold on panel, 43.5 × 32.4 cm (17 1/8 × 12 3/4 in.). Brooklyn Museum, Gift of Mrs. Felix M. Warburg in memory of her husband, inv. no. 41.894b

There are no records of the Yale *Virgin and Child* prior to its entering the collection of Edwin Austin Abbey, in London. Paciaroni proposed that, like the Brooklyn standard, it might also have been executed for the church of San Domenico in Sanseverino, where there was a private altar dedicated to Saint Peter Martyr and a chapel commissioned by the friars in 1459 in honor of Saint Vincent Ferrer.[26] Notwithstanding the doubts regarding the identity of the saint presumed until now to be Vincent Ferrer, Paciaroni's hypothesis should not be dismissed. If the Yale panel was part of a processional standard—a suggestion that remains tentative at present—it could have been executed for a different confraternity in San Domenico or for another Dominican establishment in the same territory. —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Seymour 1970, 138–39, 314, no. 97; Vertova 1973a, 160, fig. 16; Vertova 1977, 1:455–61, 2:157, fig. 1; Gilbert 1987, 20–25, fig. 1; Donnini 2001, 48; Paciaroni 2001, 56n34, 115–16; Chui 2005, 50, 54, 55n1; Mauro Minardi, in Costanzi 2005, 192, no. 255, pl. 129; Minardi 2005, 22n23; Calvé Mascarell 2016, 2:848, fig. 193

NOTES

1. On the back of the panel is an inventory number, "77," in red paint. Applied over this is an unidentified red wax seal with the letters "C.M / D.G" inside a rectangle. As pointed out by Emanuele Zappasodi (in an email dated November 11, 2010, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery), the same seal appears on the reverse of Giovanni Baronzio's *Execution of Saint John the Baptist* panel in the Robert Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inv. no. 1975.1.103, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/459045). A second seal on that painting bears the arms of the Conti Agnelli di Malerbi of Lugo (Ravenna). There was also another seal on the back of the Yale panel, but it has been scraped away.
2. Seymour 1970, 138–39.
3. Vertova 1977, 1:455–61, 2:157, fig. 1.
4. Gilbert 1987, 20–25, fig. 1.
5. Berenson 1913, 77.
6. Raoul Paciaroni's 2001 volume was the first monographic study of the painter; see Paciaroni 2001.
7. On Luca di Paolo, an artist formerly confused with the elusive Francesco di Gentile da Fabriano, see Mazzalupi 2015, 35–46 (with previous bibliography). The contacts between Luca di Paolo and Lorenzo d'Alessandro are documented by their business interactions between 1471 and 1476, although the exact nature of their relationship remains unclear. Following an intuition of Mauro Minardi (in Minardi 2005, 12–14), Alessandro Delpriori identified a triptych with the *Crucifixion* in the Museo Piersanti in Matelica as a product of their collaboration and as possible proof that Lorenzo trained in the older artist's workshop; see Delpriori 2011, 25. For the Matelica triptych, now generally attributed to Luca di Paolo with the assistance of Lorenzo d'Alessandro, see, most recently, Spina 2020, 27–42 (with a summary of documents and previous opinions). Spina dates the triptych between 1470 and 1475.
8. Delpriori 2011, 106–7, no. 2; and Garibaldi 2015, 479–81, no. 180.
9. See, for example, Yale University Art Gallery, inv. no. 1871.66, https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/327. For an analysis of Lorenzo d'Alessandro's painting technique, see Chui 2005, 48–54.
10. Vertova 1977, 1:455–58.
11. For the development of this iconography, see, most recently, Calvé Mascarell 2016, 1:349–429, 2:433–44.
12. This discovery undermines Vertova's hypothesis, based on a reading of the date "1440" in the saint's book, that this is the earliest known work by Niccolò Alunno; see Vertova 1977, 1:455–61.
13. Inv. no. 40307, https://catalogo.museivaticani.va/index.php/Detail/objects/MV.40307.0.0.
14. For all the possible variants, see the near-exhaustive repertory of images in Calvé Mascarell 2016, 2:697–872.
15. Davies 1961, 314–15, no. 249.
16. See Donnini 2001, 162–63, no. 22; and Romina Vitali, in Costanzi 2005, 116, no. 37.
17. Antonio Paolucci first proposed a date after 1490 (in Paolucci 1974, 43–44), which seems too late, while other scholars have opted for a very broad time frame in the last twenty years of the artist's activity, between 1481 and around 1500. See Baker and Henry 1995, 390; Paciaroni 2001, 106; and Federico Zeri, in Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna, inv. no. 18139. There is no reason to assume, as is posited by Giampiero Donnini (in Donnini 2001, 162), that the altarpiece must have been commissioned shortly after the Blessed Costanzo's death.
18. Mauro Minardi, in Costanzi 2005, 192, no. 255, pl. 129.
19. Gilbert 1987, 24–25.
20. Paciaroni 2001, 116.
21. Maria Rosaria Valazzi, in Sgarbi and Papetti 2001, 200; and Chui 2005, 47.
22. Inv. no. 37.496, https://art.thewalters.org/detail/40438/the-crucifixion-saint-michael/. See Paciaroni 2001, 110–11; and Maria Rosaria Valazzi, in Sgarbi and Papetti 2001, 148–51 (with previous bibliography). The Baltimore and Brooklyn standards

were the subject of technical comparisons by Sue Ann Chui, in Chui 2005, 41–56.

23. Inv. no. 40328, https://catalogo.museivaticani.va/index.php/Detail/objects/MV.40328.0.0; and inv. no. 113, respectively.

24. Inv. no. 1654, https://barberinicorsini.org/artwork/?id=WE4364; and inv. no. 948, respectively.

25. Inv. no. MO2003.10. On these works, see the recent compilation of Marchigian processional standards on panel in Schmidt 2020, 92–93, 95, 101–3, 117, nos. Ta10, Ta17/Ta18, Ta27 (with previous bibliography). Unlike most processional standards, the Bernardino di Mariotto example at Yale was not originally painted on both sides of a single panel (later sawn in half) but on two separate panels, each having the same thickness as Lorenzo's *Virgin and Child.* These were mounted back-to-back around some kind of armature, no longer extant, presumably secured by their frame, to which the carrying pole was attached. Like Bernardino's panels, the reverse of the present *Virgin and Child* shows no evidence of having been thinned nor of having been attached to any other wood surfaces, but its frame moldings along both vertical edges were clearly trimmed in depth. They could originally have extended back to enframe another panel of the same dimensions, oriented in the opposite direction.

26. Paciaroni 2001, 116.

Volume 3: 1490–1600

Other Tuscan Schools

Other Tuscan Schools

Bernardino Fungai, *Virgin and Child*

Artist	Bernardino Fungai, Siena, 1460–ca. 1516
Title	*Virgin and Child*
Date	ca. 1480–82
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	overall 46.3 × 36.4 cm (18 1/4 × 14 3/8 in.); picture surface: 40.7 × 30.8 cm (16 × 12 1/8 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Angela Jane Weisl in memory of Edwin L. Weisl, B.A. 1951
Inv. No.	2009.97.1

Provenance

Galleria Pradelli, Florence; John R. Van Derlip (1860–1935), Minneapolis, 1922–35; Minneapolis Institute of Arts, to 1957; Julius H. Weitzner (1895–1986), New York; Edwin L. Weisl, Jr. (1929–2005), New York, before 1978; Angela Jane Weisl, New York, 2005; sale, Christie's, New York, April 6, 2006, lot 34 (bought in)

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, has been thinned to a depth of 8 millimeters and cradled. The engaged frame moldings, 12 millimeters deep, are original, but those at the top and bottom have been detached, repaired, and reattached to the panel by screws through the back. Splits in both these moldings and the miters at their corners have been regilt, as has much of the engaged molding on the left edge of the panel. The gold ground is worn overall and locally repaired. The paint surface is very well preserved, although at present it is covered by a dull, opaque varnish. Minor retouching is confined to small losses in the face of the Virgin, in her blue cloak and red dress, and along several partial splits provoked by the cradle.

Discussion

This delicate panel has been considered a work by Benvenuto di Giovanni throughout the brief literature referring to it, with the exception of Bernard Berenson, who thought it a collaboration with the artist's son, Girolamo di Benvenuto.[1] Maria Cristina Bandera initially said of it only that it showed no evidence of intervention by Girolamo,[2] adding subsequently that it is likely to be one of Benvenuto's earliest surviving works, datable between 1466 and 1470.[3] This assessment may have been based, in part, on the evident spatial ambitions of the painting, coupled with their incompletely successful realization. The cushion on which the Child is seated, for example, rests convincingly on a faux-marble ledge in front of the Virgin but does not continue beyond the Child's right leg, nor indeed is the Child's left leg anywhere in evidence. The ledge itself appears as a varicolored band at the right of the composition rather than a convincing architectural device, the Child's left arm disappears inexplicably behind His mother's head, and His right foot and the hands of both figures are inexpressive and flat. Such indecisive details, paired with the great delicacy of the Virgin's face, may have led the scholar to conclude that the artist's talents at this stage in his career were immature. If so, the assessment was accurate but the attribution incorrect. The work by

Benvenuto di Giovanni most closely related to this panel is the fresco of the Virgin of the Misericordia in the Sala della Torre of the seat of the Monte dei Paschi di Siena, the Rocca Salimbeni, dated by inscription to 1481. This, too, is a work entirely executed by an assistant, and there is reason to believe that the assistant in question was Bernardino Fungai, who is documented as working alongside Benvenuto the following year, in 1482, on a commission to decorate the drum of the cupola in Siena Cathedral with frescoes of forty-two Old Testament patriarchs and prophets.

The identification of Bernardino Fungai as an artist proceeds from a single signed and dated (1512) painting, an altarpiece of the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Sebastian, Jerome, Nicholas of Bari, and Anthony of Padua (fig. 1), formerly in San Niccolò al Carmine in Siena and now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale there. Securely attributed and firmly datable works advance the beginnings of his career only as far as 1496–97—the altarpiece of the Stigmatization of Saint Catherine of Siena (fig. 2) in the Oratorio di Santa Caterina in Fontebranda—and 1498–1501—the majestic *Coronation of the Virgin* (fig. 3) on the high altar in Santa Maria dei Servi in Siena. A number of private devotional works, chiefly small panels of the Virgin and Child with saints or angels, undoubtedly predate these but offer no fixed points for reconstructing a chronological development. Earlier still is a small group of Virgin and Child compositions that is widely understood to have been painted either by Benvenuto di Giovanni or Girolamo di Benvenuto but that must instead have been executed by Fungai in Benvenuto's shop, probably over Benvenuto's designs and possibly with the intention of passing for his work. These include, in addition to the present panel, a *Virgin and Child with Saints John the Evangelist and James Major* in San Sebastiano in Valle Piatta, Siena; a *Virgin and Child* in San Paolo fuori le Mura, Rome; and a *Virgin and Child with Saints Jerome and Bernardino* in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.[4] This opening phase of Fungai's career includes other paintings confused with Benvenuto's studio output, such as the two small panels, probably pilaster bases from an altarpiece, showing Saints Dominic, Sebastian, Anthony Abbott, and the Blessed Ambrogio Sansedoni in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena (fig. 4). Determining the full extent of this phase, either in quantity of works or in the span of time they cover, and whether it unfolded under the aegis of Benvenuto's studio or as Fungai's initial efforts as an independent master, depends on a clearly defined catalogue and sequence of the artist's subsequent work, from the mid-1480s through the mid-1490s. Such a project has not yet been undertaken. —LK

Fig. 1. Bernardino Fungai, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Sebastian, Jerome, Nicholas of Bari, and Anthony of Padua*, 1512. Tempera, oil and gold on panel, 315 × 208 cm (124 × 81 7/8 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 431

Fig. 2. Bernardino Fungai, *The Stigmatization of Saint Catherine of Siena*, 1496–97. Tempera, oil, and gold on panel. Oratorio di Santa Caterina in Fontebranda, Siena

Fig. 3. Bernardino Fungai, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, 1498–1501. Tempera, oil, and gold on panel. Santa Maria dei Servi, Siena

Fig. 4. Bernardino Fungai, *Saints Dominic and Sebastian*; *Saint Anthony Abbott and the Blessed Ambrogio Sansedoni*, ca. 1480–85. Tempera and gold on panel, overall 34 × 38 cm (13 3/8 × 15 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 370

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

"A Group of Sienese Paintings" 1935, 139; Coor-Achenbach 1961b, 119; Berenson 1968, 1:40; Bandera 1977, 312; Gunther 1994, 192; Bandera 1999, 51–52, 218–19, no. 13.

NOTES

1. Berenson 1968, 1:40.
2. Bandera 1977, 312.
3. Bandera 1999, 52.
4. Inv. no. 1942.9.3; Laurence Kanter, cited by Miklós Boskovits, in Boskovits and Brown 2003, 112, 114n21. The more linear style of the Washington, D.C., painting suggested a different attribution to Andrea De Marchi (as cited by Boskovits in the same publication), an unnamed artist still in the immediate orbit of Bernardino Fungai. This may be correct, but the panels in San Paolo fuori le Mura and San Sebastiano in Valle Piatta, as well as the Yale panel, fit more comfortably with Fungai's autograph production.

Bernardino Fungai, *Annunciatory Angel* and *Virgin Annunciate*

Artist	Bernardino Fungai, Siena, 1460–ca. 1516
Title	*Annunciatory Angel* and *Virgin Annunciate*
Date	ca. 1495–1500
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	*Annunciatory Angel*: overall 32.5 × 20.9 cm (12 3/4 × 8 1/4 in.); picture surface: 28.8 × 17.0 cm (11 3/8 × 6 3/4 in.); *Virgin Annunciate*: overall 32.2 × 21.0 cm (12 5/8 × 8 1/4 in.); picture surface: 28.9 × 17.1 cm (11 3/8 × 6 3/4 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.257.a–b

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

Provenance

Art market, Paris, before 1924; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1924

Condition

The panel support of the *Annunciatory Angel* is walnut, of a vertical wood grain, and 2.0 centimeters thick. It has neither been thinned nor trimmed at left or right; a slight barb is visible at the edge of the gilded border on both the top and bottom. The gilding and paint surface have been moderately abraded, most recently during an aggressive cleaning by Andrew Petryn in 1966. Minor flaking losses were inpainted during a later treatment by Anne O'Connor in 2003, as were larger losses near the angel's back foot at the lower left and in the gold margin at the bottom center.

The panel support of the *Virgin Annunciate* is poplar, of a horizontal wood grain, and 2.0 centimeters thick. It has neither been thinned nor trimmed at left or right; a slight barb is visible along the top edge only of the gilded border. A wooden dowel inserted front to back at the lower-right corner of the composition has been partially excavated and left exposed. A nail inserted front to back approximately in the center of the composition, 14 centimeters from the bottom edge, has been trimmed flush with the back of the panel. Its head is covered by a plug visible at the Virgin's left breast. The gilding and paint surfaces have been moderately abraded, most recently during a cleaning by Petryn in 1968. Losses along a horizontal split 6 centimeters from the bottom, caused by a knot in the wood at the left edge, were repaired by Anne O'Connor during a treatment of 2003, as were losses to the gold draperies at the Virgin's waist and to the wood of her lectern.

Discussion

These two panels bore a generic attribution to the school of Verona when they were purchased by Maitland Griggs in Paris in 1924, but it appears that by 1926, he had been informed of their correct attribution to Bernardino Fungai.[1] The source of this identification is not recorded, but many of the attributions Griggs received at that time came from Richard Offner. The panels were listed by Bernard Berenson in 1932 as works by Guidoccio Cozzarelli, but Raimond van Marle in 1937 corrected this to Fungai.[2] The few subsequent notices they have

garnered repeat the attribution to Fungai, except for Charles Seymour, Jr., who felt that "since the recent cleaning of both panels, the style emerges as one most likely to belong to a weak studio follower of Fungai in Siena, or possibly even that of a more provincial imitator."[3] It is impossible to imagine what points of comparison Seymour meant to adduce: although conventional lists of works by Fungai are cluttered with paintings by other Sienese and provincial Tuscan painters, few paintings are as solidly typical of his style and technique at the turn of the fifteenth century as these two panels. Both Everett Fahy and Carl Strehlke concurred with the attribution to Fungai,[4] and it is, indeed, indisputable. The works to which they relate most closely are a tabernacle of the Virgin and Child with Saints John the Baptist and Mary Magdalen in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Siena (fig. 1); four predella panels recounting episodes from the legend of Saint Clement divided between the City Art Gallery, York, England (fig. 2), and the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg, France, which, together with a *Man of Sorrows* now also in York, were painted for the high altar of Santa Maria dei Servi in Siena;[5] and the predella added by Fungai to the Tancredi altarpiece in the church of San Domenico, Siena.[6] The last two are documented works of 1498–1501 and 1498–1505, respectively, providing a reasonable approximation of the likely date of the Yale *Annunciation*. A predella panel with the Annunciation in the Berenson Collection at Villa I Tatti, Settignano (fig. 3) is a slightly later work by Fungai and yet another confirmation of the accuracy of the attribution.[7]

Fig. 1. Bernardino Fungai, *Virgin and Child with Saints John the Baptist and Mary Magdalen*, ca. 1505. Tempera, oil, and gold on panel, 72.5 × 49 cm (28 1/2 × 19 3/8 in.). Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 375

Fig. 2. Bernardino Fungai, *The Martyrdom of Saint Clement*, 1488–1501. Tempera, oil, and gold on panel, 44 × 65 cm (17 3/8 × 25 5/8 in.). City Art Gallery, York, England

Fig. 3. Bernardino Fungai, *The Annunciation*, ca. 1505. Tempera, oil, and gold on panel, 38.5 × 53.3 cm (15 1/8 × 21 in.). Villa I Tatti, Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Settignano, Berenson Collection

The size and format of the Yale *Annunciation* panels suggest that they may have functioned as pilaster bases or impost blocks at the sides of an altarpiece, even though images of the Annunciation are not commonly encountered in those positions in Sienese structures. When the Annunciation appears in the frame of a Sienese altarpiece, it is often at the top of the lateral framing pilasters, as in examples by Pietro Orioli in the National Gallery, London,[8] or Bernardino Fungai in the cathedral at Chiusi. The fact that the Yale panels are painted on two different kinds of wood with the grain running in opposite directions makes such a placement for them impossible. The *Virgin* retains evidence of having been attached to a surface behind it, as would have been the case with a projecting pilaster base, but if the *Angel* ever had such evidence, it must have been confined to the area underlying an engaged frame at the top and bottom that has been cut away from both panels. Two early panels by Fungai of four standing saints in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena (see Bernardino Fungai, *Virgin and Child*, fig. 4), of a size and shape almost identical to those of the Yale panels, are commonly thought to have been fragments of a predella, but their vertical wood grain argues for a placement instead in the bases of framing pilasters. That position is usually reserved in late fifteenth-century Sienese altarpieces for display of the patrons' coats of arms, but in a predella by Pietro di Francesco degli Orioli in the Siena Pinacoteca the projecting pilaster bases are filled with images of Saint Michael with Saint Cosmas on one side and Saint Raphael with Tobias and Saint Damian on the other (fig. 4). A nearly contemporary pair of panels by an artist probably from Volterra known as the Maestro dei Putti Bizzarri portrays the Annunciation (fig. 5) in a format similar to the two panels at Yale.[9] The Volterra panels functioned as the wings of a folding triptych housing a reliquary embedded in its central panel, but as they are double-sided, with images of Saints Peter and Paul painted on the reverse, they are unlikely to provide a meaningful parallel for the original situation of the Yale *Annunciation*. —LK

Fig. 4. Pietro di Francesco degli Orioli, *Saint Raphael with Tobias and Saint Damian* (detail of a predella), ca. 1490. Tempera, oil, and gold on panel. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, inv. no. 421

Fig. 5. Maestro dei Putti Bizzarri, *Annunciatory Angel* and *Virgin Annunciate*, ca. 1490–95. Tempera, oil, and gold on panel, each 29.1 × 16 cm (11 1/2 × 6 1/4 in.). Museo Diocesano, Volterra

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Berenson 1932a, 158; van Marle 1937, 467; Berenson 1968, 1:151; Seymour 1970, 192–94, no. 145a; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600

NOTES

1. Frick Art Reference Library, New York.
2. Berenson 1932a, 158; and van Marle 1937, 467.
3. Seymour 1970, 194.
4. Manuscript opinions, ca. 1998, curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
5. Laurence Kanter, in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke 1988, 353–58. The center panel of the predella, whose whereabouts were unknown in 1988, was subsequently acquired by the York City Art Gallery; inv. no. 1455, https://www.yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/collections/search/item/?id=20000201. The Servi altarpiece was executed between April 1488 and September 1501.
6. Marcella Parisi, in Bellosi 1993a, 482–85.
7. Dóra Sallay, in Strehlke and Israëls 2015, 273–78. Sallay dates this work 1500–1505; the end of that range seems more likely than the beginning.
8. Inv. nos. 1849.1–.2, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/pietro-orioli-the-nativity-with-saints-altarpiece.
9. Alessandro Angelini, in Bellosi 1993a, 430–33.

Girolamo di Benvenuto, *The Nativity*

Artist	Girolamo di Benvenuto, Siena, 1470–1524
Title	*The Nativity*
Date	ca. 1495–1500
Medium	Tempera and oil on panel
Dimensions	overall 59.8 × 45.3 cm (23 1/2 × 17 7/8 in.); picture surface: 52.7 × 38.7 cm (20 3/4 × 15 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.259

Provenance

Sale, Christie's, London, July 4, 1924, lot 78; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1924

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, retains its original thickness of 3 centimeters, with an additional 1.2 centimeters of engaged frame moldings affixed around its entire perimeter. It is comprised of three planks: a central panel approximately 36 centimeters wide with narrower boards, each approximately 4.5 centimeters wide, nailed and glued to it on either side. The seam between the left and center panels is intact, but the seam between the center and right panels has opened. Remnants of an original painted coating and gesso drips are visible along the top and side edges but not along the bottom edge. The back of the panel retains a discolored original gesso coating, slightly water damaged right of center. An original hole for a hanging loop is drilled through the top edge of the panel at the back. The bottom molding of the engaged frame is lifting at the corners and split at the center above a burn mark in the panel. The engaged frame at the top of the panel has a minor split to the left of center and at the right, at the level of the shepherd's head. Gilding on the frame is original but worn and has been partly lost on the bottom molding. The paint surface has been severely abraded through most of its lower portion, while the landscape background is largely intact. The most extreme losses effect the face and hands of the Virgin, Saint Joseph's head and chest, the ox and ass, the Christ Child, and the Virgin's blue robe.

Discussion

This unfortunately damaged painting was purchased by Maitland Griggs at auction in London in 1924, where it was offered as a work by Bernardino Fungai. Most of the few scholars who have discussed or mentioned it, however, have considered it by or close to Girolamo di Benvenuto, with dissension arising only over whether it is actually by that artist or by an assistant, follower, or imitator. Raimond van Marle described it as an early work by Girolamo;[1] Burton Fredericksen and Darrell Davisson, who also thought it a work by Girolamo, dated it "probably after 1510."[2] Luisa Vertova tentatively proposed including it—with the caveat that its condition made firm judgments of attribution difficult—among a group of works that she isolated as by an artist close to Girolamo di Benvenuto and Bernardino Fungai, christened by her the "Master of the Bagatti Valsecchi Altarpiece."[3] Charles Seymour, Jr., making no reference to Vertova's theory, considered it the work of an imitator of

Girolamo di Benvenuto, while Federico Zeri preferred to see all the works in Vertova's group as the late career of Girolamo.[4] Only Everett Fahy, in an unelaborated comment sent to the curator of the collection in 1998, called it "certainly by Bernardino Fungai."[5] By this, it is doubtful that he meant to return to its original 1924 attribution so much as to propose a new definition of the emergence of Fungai from the workshop shared by Girolamo di Benvenuto and his father, Benvenuto di Giovanni. It now seems possible to identify a different and unrelated group of works as evidence of Fungai in Benvenuto di Giovanni's workshop in the 1480s (see Bernardino Fungai, *Virgin and Child*). The difficulty of charting the emergence of Girolamo di Benvenuto in a similar fashion is due to the extent of collaboration between father and son over a period of at least twenty years. Nevertheless, the Griggs *Nativity* sits comfortably within the parameters of style commonly recognized as indicating the personality of Girolamo di Benvenuto.

Thirteen loosely related compositions of the Nativity are generally associated with Girolamo di Benvenuto. All of them feature the Christ Child lying on the ground with the Virgin kneeling in adoration; some show only Saint Joseph in attendance, some include one or more shepherds or anachronistic saints forming a larger company. Four of these were included by Vertova in her construction of a Master of the Bagatti Valsecchi Altarpiece: the present work; a closely related composition at the Museo Civico in Montalcino, probably painted close to 1508, that omits the shepherd and includes the dove of the Holy Spirit and three cherub heads at the top; a version in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, probably painted close to 1508 as well (fig. 1), that also omits the shepherd and includes a false predella with Saints Francis, Jerome, and Bernardino; and a more complicated composition formerly in the collection of Mrs. A. E. Goodhart in New York and now in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut (fig. 2), which includes six saints crowded around the Holy Family. Two others—in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena,[6] and in the Museo Civico e Pinacoteca Crociani, Montepulciano (fig. 3)—appear not to be by Girolamo di Benvenuto but instead are late works by Benvenuto di Giovanni, the latter datable ca. 1490–95 and the former ca. 1510–15. Another three—in the Musée Magnin, Dijon, France (with Saints Jerome and Francis),[7] the Philbrook Museum of Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma (with Saint Jerome),[8] and an altarpiece formerly in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles[9]—are collaborations of Girolamo and his father. Of the remaining four, one that appeared at Hampel Auctions on July 2, 2020, is probably by a follower

Fig. 1. Girolamo di Benvenuto, *The Nativity*; *Saints Francis, Jerome, and Bernardino*, ca. 1508. Tempera and oil on panel, 46 × 33.2 cm (18 1/8 × 13 1/8 in.). Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Acquired by Henry Walters with the Massarenti Collection, 1902, inv. no. 37.743

of Benvenuto di Giovanni around 1515, while the others are typical works of Girolamo di Benvenuto's maturity: formerly art market, Bologna, 1990 (with two kneeling angels and a shepherd carrying a lamb over his shoulders);[10] Palazzo Chigi-Saracini, Siena (with the infant Saint John the Baptist);[11] and formerly collection of J. Roberts.[12] The latter is a particularly lively and accomplished painting, as much influenced by the late style of Pietro Orioli as by that of Benvenuto di Giovanni; it may reveal the intervention of an artist of a younger generation, such as Pietro di Domenico.

The Griggs *Nativity* may be the first in chronological sequence of these compositions, with the possible exception of the Montepulciano version, which shows no traces of Girolamo's hand in its design or execution and may be the model by Benvenuto from which all the others are descended. Following his father's example in the Griggs painting more closely than in the others, Girolamo has pulled his figures closer to the viewer and opened out their postures in a less friezelike orientation. He has also

Fig. 2. Girolamo di Benvenuto, *The Nativity*, ca. 1510–15. Tempera and oil on panel, 77.5 × 58.5 cm (30 1/2 × 23 in.). Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford, Conn., inv. no. 1971.23

introduced a low wall or parapet separating the Holy Family from the adoring shepherd, a device that does not occur in any of the other versions. The figure types in the Griggs painting compare closely to those in Girolamo's dated *Assumption of the Virgin* altarpiece in Montalcino of 1498, and it is reasonable to conclude that both were painted in the last decade of the fifteenth century. One other painting included by Vertova in her Master of the Bagatti Valsecchi Altarpiece group, a *Coronation of the Virgin* formerly in the Sterbini collection, Rome, shares all these features with the Griggs *Nativity* and must be nearly contemporary to it.[13] It is presently impossible to say if

Fig. 3. Benvenuto di Giovanni, *The Nativity*, ca. 1490–95. Tempera on panel, 175 × 102.5 cm (68 7/8 × 40 3/8 in.). Museo Civico e Pinacoteca Crociani, Montepulciano, inv. no. 123/1971

these represent Girolamo's earliest assays as an independent artist, but they are certainly among the earliest works attributable to him that reveal him to be a distinctive personality within the Sienese tradition. —LK

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van Marle 1937, 421; Fredericksen and Davisson 1966, 33, 35, fig. 31; Vertova 1969, 8, fig. 16; Seymour 1970, 195, 197, no. 147; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 92, 600; Vertova 1973b, 162; Zeri 1976b, 1:133; Bandera 1999, 141–42n212

NOTES

1. van Marle 1937, 421.
2. Fredericksen and Davisson 1966, 33, 35.
3. Vertova 1969, 8.
4. Seymour 1970, 195, 197; and Zeri 1976b, 1:133.
5. Curatorial files, Department of European Art, Yale University Art Gallery.
6. Inv. no. 342.
7. Inv. no. 1980.54.
8. Inv. no. 1961.9.27, https://philbrook.emuseum.com/objects/3623/adoration-of-the-child-with-saint-jerome?ctx=3ecb378e43a0e0fcdea97568535c76d94fadeb89&idx=0.
9. Sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 27, 2011.
10. Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna, inv. no. 17455.
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Benedetto di Bindo(?), *Bust of a Deacon Saint*

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Giuntesque Painter, *Saint Mary Magdalen*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Fig. 2: By permission of the Minister of Culture—National Picture Gallery of Siena

Fig. 3: Jimlop collection/Alamy Stock Photo

Master of Saints Flora and Lucilla, *Saint Lucilla*

Fig. 1: Musei Civici Fiorentini

Fig. 2: © Archivio fotografico del Sacro Convento di S. Francesco in Assisi, Italy

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Fig. 5: © Alinari Archive/Photo: Fratelli Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.

Pisan or Ligurian(?), *Saint Nicholas of Bari; Saint Anthony of Padua*

Fig. 1: From: Robert Paolo Ciardi, *Il polittico di Agnano: Cecco di Pietro e la pittura pisana del'300* (Pisa: Pacini, 1986), 119

Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani, *Saint Lucy Enthroned with Six Angels*

Fig. 6: The Alana Collection, Delaware, USA

Fig. 7: Federico Zeri Foundation Photo Archive

Giuliano di Simone, *Two Deacon Saints*

Fig. 1: Frick Art Reference Library Photoarchive

Fig. 2: Mario Bonotto/Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Elemosina di Forte and Marino di Elemosina, *Double-Sided Processional Cross*

Fig. 1: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, N.Y.

Fig. 2: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, N.Y.

Fig. 3: Museo Civico Palazzo dei Consoli, Gubbio

Fig. 4: Courtesy Biblioteca Augusta, Perugia

Fig. 5: Courtesy Biblioteca Augusta, Perugia

Fig. 6: © Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice

Paolo Veneziano, *Saint John the Baptist*

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Follower of Pietro da Rimini, *Scenes from the Lives of Christ and Saint John the Baptist*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

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Fig. 4: Courtesy Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami

Giovanni Baronzio, *The Coronation of the Virgin*

Fig. 1: Photo © Electa/Bridgeman Images

Fig. 2: Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Pseudo-Dalmasio, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Angels*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

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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*

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Barnaba da Modena, *Mourning Virgin*

Fig. 2: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Fra Angelico, *Predella: Two Scenes from the Legend of Saint Michael*

Fig. 1: From: Gronau 1950a, pl. 23/fig. 1. By permission of the Ministry of Culture.

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Fig. 3: MS Typ 1001, Houghton Library, Harvard University

Fig. 4: From: Chiostrini and Maugeri 2023, 79, no. 5

Fra Angelico, *The Annunciation*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Fig. 2: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Fig. 6: Städel Musuem, Frankfurt

Fra Angelico, *The Vision of Pope Innocent III; Saints Peter and Paul Appearing to Saint Dominic*

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Zanobi di Benedetto di Carroccio degli Strozzi, *Saints Zenobius, Francis, and Anthony of Padua*

Fig. 1: The Hyde Collection Trust

Fig. 2: Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum/Photo: Pavel Demidov, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets, Vladimir Terebenin

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Zanobi di Migliore(?), *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels*

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Fig. 9: bpk Bildagentur/Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden. Photo: Hans-Peter Klut/Art Resource, N.Y.

Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino and Desiderio da Settignano, *Virgin and Child*

Fig. 1: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Fig. 2: Skulpturensammlung und Museum für byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

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Pseudo-Pier Francesco Fiorentino, *Virgin and Child with Saint Catherine and Four Angels*

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Fig. 4: bpl Bildagentur/Bayerische Staatsgemäldegalerie, Munich/Art Resource, N.Y.

Neri di Bicci, *The Charity of Saint Nicholas of Bari*

Fig. 1: Frick Art Reference Library Photoarchive

Fig. 2: Frick Art Reference Library Photoarchive

Fig. 3: Courtesy Philadelphia Museum of Art

Neri di Bicci, *Virgin and Child*

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Fig. 2: From: Bellandi 2016, 193, no. 16

Fig. 3: Bridgeman Images

Fig. 4: From: Cavazzini and De Marchi 2021, 111, no.17

Fig. 5: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Photo Archive, inv. no. DPA 3221582

Fig. 6: Anabel Thomas, The Painter's Practice in Renaissance Tuscany (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pl. 6

Zanobi di Jacopo Machiavelli, *Virgin and Child with Two Angels*

Fig. 1: From: Zeri 1959, no. 290

Fig. 2: Photo: George Tatge

Fig. 3: René-Gabriel Ojéda

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Biagio d'Antonio, *The Crucifixion*

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Fig. 4: From: Bartoli 1999, 87, no. 90

Stefano di Giovanni, called Sassetta, *Virgin Annunciate*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

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Master of the Osservanza, *Saint Anthony Abbot Tempted by the Devil in the Guise of a Woman*

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Sano di Pietro, *Saint Anthony Abbot Tormented by Demons*

Fig. 1: Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Fig. 7: ART Collection 2/Alamy Stock Photo

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Sano di Pietro, *The Martyrdom of Saint Donatus*

Fig. 1: Courtesy Sotheby's

Fig. 2: © Foto LENSINI Siena

Fig. 3: Italy Mondador Portfolio/Archivio Lensini/Fabio e Andrea Lensini/Bridgeman Images

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Workshop of Sano di Pietro, *Virgin and Child with Four Saints and Four Angels*

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Sano di Pietro, *The Coronation of the Virgin with Eighteen Saints and Fourteen Angels*

Fig. 1: Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Fig. 3: Archivio fotografico Musei Nazionali di Siena

Fig. 4: Archivio fotografico Musei Nazionali di Siena

Master 185, *Triptych: Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Peter and Jerome, Two Angels, and God the Father; Saints Francis and Ansanus with the Annunciatory Angel; Saints Bernardino and a Bishop Saint with the Virgin Annunciate*

Fig. 1: Archivio fotografico Musei Nazionali di Siena

Fig. 2: Städel Musuem, Frankfurt

Giovanni di Paolo, *Virgin Annunciate*

Fig. 1: © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, N.Y. Photo: René-Gabriel Ojéda

Fig. 3: Federico Zeri Foundation Photo Archive

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Fig. 6: From: Seidel, Caglioti, Carrara, et al. 2010, 199, no. 8

Fig. 7: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, N.Y.

Giovanni di Paolo, *Virgin and Child with Saints Bartholomew and Jerome*

Fig. 1: Archivio fotografico Musei Nazionali di Siena

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Fig. 3: Frick Art & Historical Center, Pittsburgh

Giovanni di Paolo, *Saint Clare Blessing the Bread before Pope Innocent IV*

Fig. 1: bpk Bildagentur/Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin/Art Resource, N.Y.

Fig. 2: bpk Bildagentur/Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin/Art Resource, N.Y.

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Matteo di Giovanni, *Hercules and Antaeus*

Fig. 1: From: van Os and Prakken 1974, no. 61

Fig. 2: From: van Os and Prakken 1974, no. 60

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Benvenuto di Giovanni, *Saint Peter Martyr*

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Benvenuto di Giovanni, *Virgin and Child with Saints Jerome and Leonard and Two Angels*

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Benvenuto di Giovanni, *Virgin and Child with Two Angels*

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Benvenuto di Giovanni, *Desco da Parto with Love Bound by Maidens*

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Fig. 4: © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, N.Y. Photo: Gérard Blot

Bernardino Fungai, *Virgin and Child*

Fig. 1: Archivio fotografico Musei Nazionali di Siena

Fig. 2: Alinari Archives, Florence. Photo: Brogi

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Bernardino Fungai, *Annunciatory Angel* and *Virgin Annunciate*

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Fig. 5: Photo courtesy Scala, Florence

Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Virgin and Child with Angels and Cherubim*

Fig. 1: The Art Institute of Chicago/Art Resource, N.Y.

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Girolamo di Benvenuto, *The Nativity*

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Master of the Cartellini, *Two Apostles*

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Fig. 6: From: Boskovits 2009a, 97, no. 17b

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Antonio Vivarini, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Angels*

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Carlo Crivelli, *Saint Peter*

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Fig. 6: From: Chiodo and Padovani 2014, 61, no. 9

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Fig. 4: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Lorenzo d'Alessandro da Sanseverino, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Peter Martyr and Vincent Ferrer(?) and Adoring Angels*

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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.