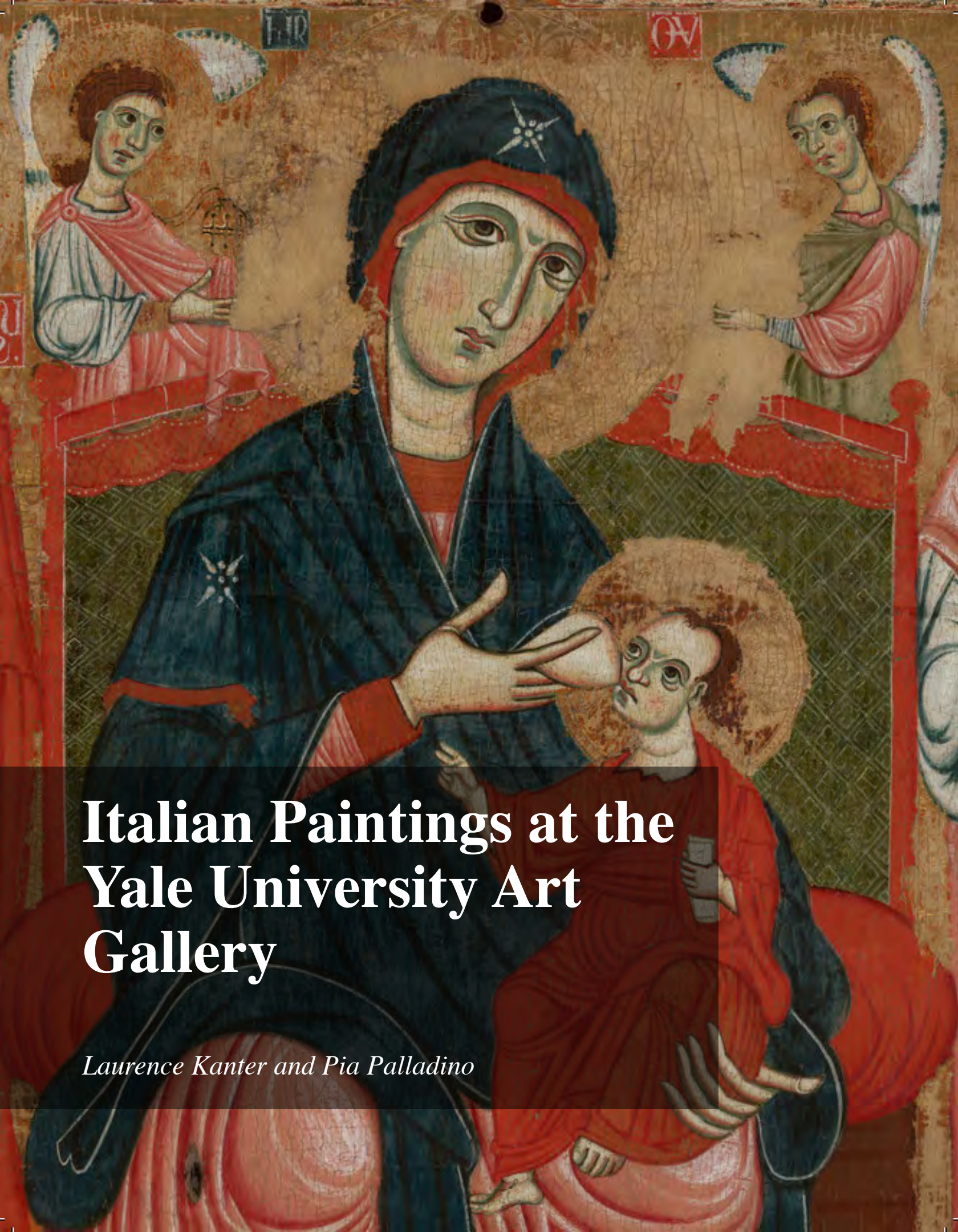

Italian Paintings at the Yale University Art Gallery

Laurence Kanter and Pia Palladino

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YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

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

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The Sienese School

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

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

Provenance

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

Condition

All three panels, of a vertical wood grain, have been cut to irregular rectangular shapes and thinned to depths ranging from 6 to 9 millimeters. The present panel, depicting the *Crucifixion*, ranges in height from 41.8 to 42.2 centimeters and in width from 36.1 to 36.4 centimeters. All three were cradled in the nineteenth century and 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. 433

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

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

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

Offner's observations were reiterated by Seymour, but most scholars have continued to emphasize the perceived Lucchese components of the Yale scenes, advancing attributions to the Berlinghieri "school" or "circle," albeit with considerable differences in dating. Evelyn Sandberg-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 Berlinghiero, Guido da Siena, and the Florentines" and active between 1270 and 1275.[7] Angelo Tartuferi subsequently attributed the tabernacle to the circle of the Master of the Oblate Cross, with a date between 1250 and 1260.[8] The author noted the iconographic relationship between the Yale *Crucifixion* and a diptych from the monastery of Santa Chiara in Lucca, now in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (fig. 3)—a work first attributed to the Oblate Master by Garrison. Miklós Boskovits, on the other hand, echoed Sandberg-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 Brandon Strehlke, such a precocious dating was questioned by Anne Derbes and Rebecca W. Corrie, who reiterated Tartuferi's association of the Yale scenes with the work of the Master of the Oblate Cross.[11] Corrie's arguments were based less on stylistic comparisons than on the iconographic relationship between the Yale *Deposition* and the corresponding scene in the Uffizi diptych, which shows the same figural arrangement and unusual Y-shaped cross. The relationship to the Uffizi diptych was also highlighted by Sara Bonini, who attributed the Accademia *Virgin and Child* and the accompanying Yale panels to an anonymous Lucchese painter active in the Berlinghieri workshop between 1240 and 1250.[12]

A comparison of the Accademia *Virgin*—a work universally attributed by early scholarship to the Florentine school—with the *Virgin and Child* in the Uffizi diptych highlights the stylistic and qualitative distinctions that separate these works from each other, notwithstanding their shared iconographic elements. Whereas the Uffizi *Virgin* is indebted to the vocabulary of Bonaventura Berlinghiero—leading some authors to attribute it to the master himself—the Accademia *Virgin* partakes of an altogether more conservative culture, reflected not only in the flat, schematic composition and rigidity of the figures but also in its close adherence to Byzantine formulas, like the half-length mourning angels in the corners and the type of the Christ Child, who is shown not as an infant but as a regal, miniature adult. In her analysis of the Accademia *Virgin*—conducted independently of the Yale panels—Luisa Marcucci convincingly rejected any association with the Berlinghieri workshop and singled out these archaisms as evidence of the painter's debt to the early Florentine school and the Bigallo Master.[13] For Marcucci, the image was representative of that particular provincial and "rustic" strain in Florentine painting that began with the Bigallo Master and culminated with the production of the Magdalen Master.[14] At the same time, while emphasizing the derivations from the culture of the Bigallo Master—later also acknowledged but deemed irrelevant by Tartuferi—Marcucci followed Garrison in proposing a more advanced date for the *Virgin*, in the 1270s, based on its perceived dependence on the example of Coppo di Marcovaldo (documented 1260–76) and on a much-discussed *Virgin and Child* formerly in the Lenbach collection, Munich, now in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne.[15] The iconographic links between the Cologne *Virgin* and the Accademia panel, however, are confined primarily to the crown on the head of both Virgins and the unusual, almost identical pattern that decorates their white veils. Otherwise, the Cologne painting is indebted to an altogether different prototype of the Virgin Hodegetria, in which the right hand of the Virgin is raised to indicate the Christ Child rather than supporting him. Stylistically, moreover, the Cologne panel reflects a distinctly more sophisticated approach, more clearly indebted to the Berlinghieri school.[16]

Fig. 4. Florentine School, *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, 2nd quarter 13th century. Tempera and gold on panel, 97 × 64.5 cm (38 1/4 × 25 3/8 in.). Museo Civico, Pescia

A more relevant iconographic comparison for the Accademia painting is the *Virgin and Child* from the church of San Jacopo a Cozzile, in the province of Pistoia, now in the Museo Civico, Pescia (fig. 4), which has been alternately viewed as Florentine or Lucchese. This image, although painted by a different hand, is an almost exact version of the Accademia panel, except for the black veil of the Virgin and the absence of the two crowns, suggesting a common derivation from the same, possibly Byzantine model. Marcucci dated this work after the Cologne *Virgin*, but more recent authors have correctly highlighted its adherence to the same conservative trends in early Florentine painting that underlie the execution of the Yale and Accademia panels. Boskovits, who placed the Cozzile *Virgin* in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, viewed it in

parallel to the oeuvre of the Bigallo Master, as an example of a painter "even more resistant to influences foreign to the local figurative traditions."[17]

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

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

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Jarves 1860, 42; Sturgis 1868, 18; Brown 1871, 11, no. 1; Sirén 1915, 273–77, fig. 2; Sirén 1916a, 3–6; Sirén 1922, 84–86, 89; van Marle 1923, 322–24, 327; Offner 1927a, 2, 9–11; Salmi 1929, 267; Sandberg-Vavalà 1929, 558–59, 714; Venturi 1931, pl. 4; Venturi 1933, pl. 5; "Picture Book Number One" 1946, fig. 1; Garrison 1949, 114, 239, nos. 79, 291, 679; Steegmuller 1951, 293; *Rediscovered Italian Paintings* 1952, 6, 12–13; Marcucci 1958, 21, 37–39; Seymour 1970, 18–22, no. 6; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 599; Angiola 1980, 82–84; Derbes 1980, 217–18, 225, 228, 233, 236, 257n56, 266n117, fig. 127; Marques 1987, 70, 241n113, 281; Tartuferi 1990, 17, 23n56, 79–80, figs. 48a–c, 49; Kenney 1992, 131; Boskovits 1993, 74–76n147, 75, fig. 45; Derbes 1996, 190n52; Rebecca W. Corrie, in Evans and Wixom 1997, 488–89, no. 322; Sara Bonini, in Boskovits and Tartuferi 2003, 234–35, fig. 116; Derbes and Neff 2004, 605nn90, 93

NOTES

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

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

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

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

Condition

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

The panel depicting the *Deposition* ranges in height from 43.0 to 43.8 centimeters and in width from 36.2 to 36.4 centimeters. Its paint surface (fig. 1) is only marginally less well preserved than the *Crucifixion*. The vertical split through the center of the panel is slightly more prominent here and has caused some flaking of paint through the figure of Joseph of Arimathea and in Christ's left shoulder. Other significant areas of loss are confined to the legs of Saint John the Evangelist near the lower-right edge of the composition, the Virgin's draperies at the level of the crook of her right arm, the folds of the loincloth above Christ's right calf, and the faces of the Magdalen and the Holy Woman, whose head is visible between the Magdalen and the Virgin. Only the last two of these have more than a minor impact on the legibility of the composition. Losses from general abrasion follow the cupped edges of the craquelure, especially in the gold ground and in areas of blue paint. The violet colors of the loincloth and of the Virgin's dress are particularly thin, whereas the reds and earth tones elsewhere are well preserved. The white of the ladder is intact at the bottom where it overlaps the painted foreground and building but is almost entirely missing above the third rung, where it overlaps the gold. The figure of the Magdalen has been defaced by numerous old scratches, all of which have been repaired.

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

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

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

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

Condition

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

The panel depicting the *Lamentation* ranges in height from 36.9 to 37.1 centimeters and in width from 35.8 to 36.1 centimeters. The least structurally sound of the group, its cradle was partially removed along the right half of the picture in 1956 by Andrew Petryn. That half of the panel was thinned further and an auxiliary support added, resulting in a pronounced convex warp to the right side. The auxiliary support was removed by Christy Cunningham in a cleaning of 1986. The paint surface of the *Lamentation* (fig. 1), is the most damaged of the three panels. It was considered too fragile to clean or exhibit in 1952 but was then reconsidered in 1956, at which time it was addressed more aggressively than the others. The center split has resulted in extensive paint loss, and movement along this split prompted another campaign of intervention in 1986. This campaign adopted a solution of visible (trateggio) inpainting to fill losses, contrasting to the invisible inpainting adopted in treating the other panels. Losses in the *Lamentation* are larger and more numerous than in the other two scenes, affecting both lower corners of the panel; the top-left margin; the tower at the left, through the cornice and left edge of its upper story and the right edge of its upper story through the halo of Joseph of Arimathea; Joseph's right shoulder and arm; and a large area beneath Saint John the Evangelist's right sleeve, extending through Christ's calves to the bottom of the panel. The right side of the panel is more abraded than the left, with a near total loss of gilding, particularly in the haloes. The greatest damage from abrasion occurs through the torso and head of Christ and the head of the Virgin.

Fig. 3. *The Lamentation*, 1957


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

Artist	Master of the Yale Dossal, Florence, active second half 13th century
Title	*Virgin and Child Enthroned between 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 Giving the Keys of the Church to Saint Peter, [illegible]; above Saint Peter Healing the Paralytic, MIRACULUM BEATI PETRI SICUT SANAVIT [. . .]; above the Martyrdoms of Saints Peter and Paul, PASSIO BEATI PETRI ET PAULI

Provenance

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

Condition

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

When it entered the Gallery's collection, the dossal had been liberally repainted and its frame provided with a completely new decorative surface (fig. 1). The repaints were removed by Andrew Petryn in a cleaning of 1954, leaving losses unretouched that exposed underpaint, gesso, linen, or wood (fig. 2). Losses were scattered throughout the panel; major losses were particularly obtrusive in the gold ground, which was partially preserved only in the areas of Saint Peter's halo and the three narrative scenes on the right side of the panel; the back of the Virgin's throne and the hands of the 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 Andrew Petryn in 1972, when fragments of surviving original decoration on the top and right moldings were exposed, and the bottom and left moldings were left untreated. The cradle was removed by Gianni Marussich in 1999, who replaced it with two battens to reinforce the planarity of the painting support.

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

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

A restoration of 2000–2001 by Irma Passeri filled the losses in the panel but completed, in tratteggio, only those that are entirely contained within a field of a single color or whose continuity across different colors could be accurately reconstructed. Profiles bridging areas of which only one could be determined with certainty, such as the back of the Virgin's throne where it meets the hands of the angel on the right and the Virgin's halo, were not completed, to avoid optically accentuating the losses around them. These instead were toned back to a neutral color, consistent with the areas of missing gold throughout the panel. The frame moldings were completed with their missing pastiglia appliqués—a floral boss in the center flanked by round bosses, one above and below on the lateral moldings and two to either side on the top and bottom moldings—following the indications of surviving original fragments. A new molding was carved for the left edge to match that on the right. The surfaces of the left and bottom moldings—no original preparatory or final layers survive on the bottom molding—were not reconstructed. Both were completed in the neutral tones matching those of the missing elements of the main pictorial surface, again to avoid lending the impression of a positive shape to adjacent losses.

Discussion

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

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

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

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

The Yale dossal was first inserted by Osvald Sirén into a group of images that he initially attributed to a follower of Margaritone d'Arezzo, responsible also for the dossal in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, depicting Mary Magdalen and scenes from her life.[8] Richard Offner, who established the Florentine context of the master's style, subsequently related the Yale panel to a portable triptych in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 4),[9] and a much-damaged *Virgin and Child* in the Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts (fig. 5), a work later recognized by Edward Garrison as the central element of a triptych that also included two wings presently in the Museo Civico Amedeo Lia, La Spezia (fig. 6).[10] According to Offner, these pictures represented the earliest phase in the career of the so-called Magdalen Master, predating the Accademia panel after which he is named. Offner's opinion was reiterated by Gertrude Coor-Achenbach in the most comprehensive discussion of the artist's development and chronology to date.[11] Coor-Achenbach placed the Yale panel at the head of a group of works—including the Harvard *Virgin and Child* and the Metropolitan Museum triptych, although the latter was regarded as a workshop product—which purportedly defined a first, "Florentine-Romanesque" phase in the Magdalen Master's development.

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

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

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

The observations of Offner and Coor-Achenbach have been unanimously embraced by modern scholarship, which lists the Yale dossal among the canonical early works of the Magdalen Master. Still open to debate, however, is the definition of this painter's artistic personality and the extent to which the not-entirely homogeneous body of works gathered under his name represents the efforts of a single hand. Whereas scholars such as Angelo Tartuferi have upheld the view of the artist as a unique personality at the head of one of the largest and most successful workshops in Florence in the second half of the thirteenth century, others, following Luisa Marcucci,[12] have used the title "Magdalen Master" as a term of convenience to indicate a common style or *compagnia* of painters working in close association. The absence of any dated paintings among those traditionally assigned to the Magdalen Master, furthermore, has resulted in a variety of opinions regarding the parameters of his activity. Offner viewed the artist's work as essentially aligned with developments in Florentine painting of the third quarter of the duecento and compared the structure of the Yale panel to those of the Vico l'Abate and Panzano dossals, now attributed, respectively, to Coppo di Marcovaldo and Meliore. Coor-Achenbach, following George Martin Richter,[13] significantly extended the length of the artist's activity to encompass four decades, between 1260 and 1300, and divided his corpus into three perceived stages of evolution, from the "Florentine-Romanesque" phase of the Yale dossal to the "Coppesque-Byzantine" period of the Poppi altarpiece and the "Cimabuesque-Gothic" period of the Accademia's *Magdalen* dossal. Giulia Sinibaldi subsequently defined the master's style more specifically in terms of a union of elements derived from the Bigallo Master, the "Master of Vico l'Abate" (now Coppo), and the Florence baptistery mosaics, while at the same time noting the affinities —already emphasized by Richter—with the work of Meliore.[14] Garrison scaled back the master's activity to a period between around 1265 and 1290 and dated the Yale dossal to about 1270, shortly after the Harvard *Virgin and Child* (ca. 1268–70) and the Metropolitan Museum triptych (ca. 1265). A date around 1270 for the Yale dossal was accepted by Charles Seymour, Jr., and Keach, who emphasized, however, the distinction between these works and others under the master's name and reiterated the notion of a *compagnia* of different artists operating between around 1250 and 1290. Tartuferi, who regards the Magdalen Master as a single personality, accepted the narrower chronological limits to the artist's career proposed by Garrison and still associated the Yale, Harvard, and Metropolitan paintings with the "Florentine-Romanesque" phase proposed by Coor-Achenbach—in the seventh decade of the thirteenth century—adducing an eclectic and not-always relevant mix of influences on these works.[15] Gaudenz Freuler,[16] followed by Daniela Parenti,[17] redirected attention to the personality of Meliore and dated both the Yale dossal and the Metropolitan Museum triptych to around 1270, based on perceived stylistic affinities with Meliore's signed and dated 1271 altarpiece in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (fig. 7).

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

The notion that the works currently gathered under the 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 figural types, between the Yale panel and the dossal in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, which shares the same compositional structure as the Yale painting and is traditionally regarded as the artist's masterpiece.[18] The Paris dossal was placed by Coor-Achenbach in the same early period of the master's activity as the Yale panel, while subsequent scholars have placed it as much as a decade or more later,[19] possibly in an effort to account for its noticeably greater sophistication and advanced spatial and formal concerns. These elements, however, appear less the result of a progressive evolution in style than the manifestation of an altogether more accomplished artist working from the same models.

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

artisanal quality that is common to the more conservative strain in Florentine painting of the seventh and eighth decades of the thirteenth century, descended from the *retardataire* culture of the Bigallo Master.

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

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

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Jarves 1860, 42–43, no. 13; Jarves 1861, pl. A (engraving), fig. 2; Sturgis 1868, 25–26, no. 12; Brown 1871, 13, no. 12; Rankin 1905, 7, no. 12; Sirén 1916a, 11–13; Sirén 1922, 272–75; van Marle 1923, 336n1, 351–53, 355, fig. 189; Offner 1927a, 2, 11–13, fig. 4E; Richter 1930, 230n13, 235; "Handbook" 1931, 25; Sandberg-Vavalà 1934, 55, no. 162, pl. 25B; *Arts of the Middle Ages* 1940, 16–17, no. 47, pl. 7; Swarzenski 1940, 2, 7; Guilia Sinibaldi, in Sinibaldi and Brunetti 1943, 221, 229, 231; "Picture Book Number One" 1946, fig. 2; Comstock 1946, 47; Coor-Achenbach 1947, 120n12, 126n38; Garrison 1949, 142, no. 366; Steegmuller 1951, 293; Kaftal 1952, 627, no. 186, fig. 723; Seymour 1970, 9–11, no. 1; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 599; Gloria Kury Keach, in Seymour et al. 1972, 9–10, no. 1, fig. 1a; Ritchie and Neilson 1972, no. 1; Tartuferi 1986, 276; Castelnuovo 1986, 2:607; Marques 1987, 288; Boskovits 1987, 284n2; Tartuferi 1990, 43, 92, fig. 142; Freuler 1991, 26; Kenney 1992, 131; Parenti 1992, 54; Mazzaro 1996, 98, 111, pl. 2; Bellosi 1998, 4; Dean 2001, 13, 16–17, no. 1; Garland 2003, 64, fig. 3.9, pl. 4; Finch 2004, 69–70, 71n27, fig. 5; Daniela Parenti, in Tartuferi and Scalini 2004, 100; Smith 2005, 333, fig. 5; Angelo Tartuferi, in Chiodo and Padovani 2014, 3:179, 182

NOTES

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

archaizing, and it is difficult to find a place for him within the general panorama of Florentine Duecento painting"; Boskovits 1993, 33.

16. Freuler 1991, 26.

17. Daniela Parenti, in Tartuferi and Scalini 2004, 100.

18. Inv. PE 76.

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

20. Offner 1927a, 12.

21. Miklós Boskovits, who most recently assigned some of the figures in the mosaics to Meliore himself, compared them to the Panzano dossal and Meliore's *Virgin and Child* in the Museo di Arte Sacra, Certaldo, with a date "around or shortly before 1270"; Boskovits 2007, 153, 156–57, pls. XXI–XXII (with previous bibliography). Based on the condition of the mosaics in the second tier and overall result of previous restorations, Anna Maria Giusti preferred to classify these images as belonging more generally to the stylistic milieu of Meliore; see Giusti 1994, 309, 521–22. The relationship of the Yale dossal to the baptistery mosaics was already noted by Gloria Kury Keach, in Seymour et al. 1972, 10.

22. Parenti 1992, 54; and Boskovits 1993, 136, pls. LXIII (1–6).

23. Bellosi 1998, 4.

24. Moreni 1794, 21. For a complete history of the church, see Botteri Landucci and Dorini 1996.

25. Richa 1755, 1–32. Tradition states that Dante and others spoke from the famous Romanesque pulpit transferred from San Pier Scheraggio to San Leonardo in Arcetri in 1782, after the suppression of San Piero.

26. Mazzaro 1996, 98.

27. For the relationship between Petrine iconography and readings for the feasts of Saint Peter, see Viscontini 2001, 478–80.


MP
ΘV

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

Artist	Follower of Meliore (Master of the Yale Dossal?), Florence, active second half 13th century
Title	*Triptych: Virgin and Child with Saints Dominic and Francis; The Crucifixion with the Penitent Magadalen; Saints Michael the Archangel, Peter Martyr, and Catherine of Alexandria*
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

Fig. 1. Reverse of the center panel

The center panel is carved with its two tiers of moldings from a single piece of poplar with a vertical grain, 2.7 centimeters thick at the spandrels and 1.7 centimeters thick at the lining arch. It is covered with linen and gesso on the front, sides, and back. The back may have been painted fictive porphyry, but only scattered traces of pigment remain on the burnished gesso (fig. 1). The center of the back has been worn through the layers of gesso and linen to expose the wood support, and numerous scattered losses in the gesso and in the wood have been filled with putty during the painting's most recent restoration, in 1998. A modern bottom molding, 1.3 centimeters wide, has been added to the front of the panel. The wings are both 9 millimeters thick. Hinge scars on their reverses have been filled with putty, as have losses at the top and two bottom corners of the left wing. As described below, the paint surface has been much restored over several historical and recent campaigns; local repairs to the gilding in the center panel and left wing may date to the early nineteenth century. The faces of all the figures, with the possible exception of Saint Michael in the right wing, have been liberally reinforced; the Virgin's blue draperies in the center panel and the dark "ground" planes in the wings are much restored, as are the white and black forms of Saint Dominic's habit. The Virgin's rose-colored dress and her hand and most of the figure of Saint Michael appear to be original.

Discussion

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

Fig. 2. Reverse of the left and right panels

In the Yale version, the central image is similarly painted within a recessed, arch-topped pictorial field, but in this case, the representation is of the half-length Virgin and Child with a Greek inscription, "M[ATE]R TH[EO]N" (Mother of God), flanked by diminutive figures of Saints Dominic and Francis. As in the Mount Sinai painting, the spandrels above the main composition are filled with mourning angels. Instead of a full-length saint, however, the left wing is occupied by a Crucifixion, with the tiny figure of Mary Magdalen kneeling in adoration at the foot of the Cross. In the upper half of the right wing is the figure of the archangel Saint Michael with spread wings and a globe in his left hand, an image much favored in Byzantine icons; he is dressed in Byzantine imperial garb and crushes a dragon underfoot with his long spear. Standing below him are a Dominican saint with a martyr's palm—presumably Saint Peter Martyr, who was canonized in 1253—and Saint Catherine of Alexandria. Following a Byzantine type, she is shown as a crowned princess holding a small cross in her right hand.[3] Painted on the

gessoed exterior of each wing are two simple crosses set against red backgrounds (fig. 2), a motif commonly found on Mount Sinai icons.[4] It may be presumed that, as in the example cited above, the center panel of the triptych originally had a projecting base that would have acted as a shelf for the wings when closed and would have allowed it to stand unsupported when open. The present lower molding of the "frame" around the Virgin and Child of the Yale triptych is, in fact, modern and may well cover damaged extensions of the Virgin's dress as well as the feet of Saints Dominic and Francis.

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

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

Fig. 3. *Triptych: Virgin and Child with Saints Dominic and Francis; The Crucifixion with the Penitent Magadalen; 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 Magadalen; Saints Michael the Archangel, Peter Martyr, and Catherine of Alexandria*, after 1960

The closest analogies for the triptych are to be found in two works on a smaller scale that have traditionally been grouped with the Yale dossal: the portable triptych with the Virgin and Child and scenes from the life of Christ in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 5), and the dismembered triptych originally comprising a much-damaged Virgin and Child in the Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts (fig. 6), as well as two wings with narrative scenes in the Museo Civico Amedeo Lia, La Spezia (fig. 7).[11] Both the Metropolitan Museum and Harvard/Museo Lia triptychs share technical details with the present work, such as the same punch marks and incised patterns in the haloes of all of the subsidiary figures, as well as compositional features and a similarly broad approach to the rendering of architectural elements. Included in the Lia wings, as in the Yale triptych, is the image of the penitent Magdalen at the foot of the Cross, a motif that is still rare in Tuscan painting at this date. Particularly relevant, however, is the close formal relationship between many of the figures in the Yale triptych and those in the narrative wings in New York and La Spezia, which are characterized by the same unmistakable physiognomic types, with large foreheads, tightly furrowed brows, wide-open, beady eyes, and pronounced fleshy noses. The head of the Yale Saint Michael—one of the best-preserved figures in this work—is virtually interchangeable, for example, with that of the seraph in the Stigmatization of Saint Francis, in

the Lia right wing. Further analogies may be drawn between the bearded faces in three-quarter profile of the Yale Saints Dominic and Peter Martyr and the Lia Saint Francis, or between the standing Virgin in the Yale Crucifixion and the nearly identical copies of the same figure in New York and La Spezia, alike in proportions, demeanor, and dress. Such tight correspondences reflect a common vision, which, like the Yale dossal, is essentially derived from the production of Meliore in the seventh decade of the thirteenth century, when the artist was most receptive to the influence of Coppo di Marcovaldo.

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

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

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

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

Nothing is known about the early provenance of the Yale triptych prior to it entering the collection of James Jackson Jarves. Evidence of a former ownership may once have been provided by a coat of arms—of an individual or institution—that was probably included on the gessoed back of the center panel, in the area where the painted surface has been deliberately scraped down to the level of the wood underneath. Based on the presence of Saint Dominic in the position of honor on the Virgin's right and the inclusion of Saint Peter Martyr in the right wing, Seymour hypothesized that a Dominican friar may have commissioned the triptych for his private devotions or travels. Cannon proposed that the addition of the smaller figure of Saint Francis, squeezed in almost as an afterthought between the Virgin and the frame, indicated the triptych was executed at a "moment of solidarity" between the two mendicant orders or that its owner was a layperson under the sway of both orders.[14] The presence of the Magdalen at the foot of the Cross, which underscores the penitential character of the image, may also point to an association with one of the lay communities of penitents and *disciplinati* that emerged in the wake of both Dominican and Franciscan preaching.[15] The motif has traditionally been viewed in terms of Franciscan piety, with the figure of the Magdalen as a replacement for that of Saint Francis before the Cross. The preaching of penance, however, was just as central to the Dominican order, which by 1297 had unofficially claimed Mary Magdalen—the "paradigmatic penitential saint"—as its patroness.[16] The central role played by the Dominicans, as much as the Franciscans, in mediating artistic exchanges between Italy and the Byzantine East would account for the intimate knowledge of Byzantine sources that is reflected in both the structural and compositional similarities of the Yale triptych to Crusader icons.[17] —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 42, no. 11; Sturgis 1868, 19, no. 3; Brown 1871, 11, no. 3; Sirén 1916a, 15, no. 4; van Marle 1923, 336n1, 355–58, fig. 192; Offner 1927a, 2, 13–14, fig. 5; Richter 1930, 230n13; Sandberg-Vavalà 1934, 37, no. 83; *Arts of the Middle Ages* 1940, 17, no. 48; Kaftal 1948, 22–25, no. 2, figs. II(1), II(2); Garrison 1949, 125, no. 330; Steegmuller 1951, 293; Kaftal 1952, col. 312, fig. b; Stubblebine 1964, 85; Seymour 1970, 11–13, no. 2; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 217; Ritchie and

Neilson 1972, no. 1; Cannon 1980, 175, 181n47, 204, 209, 256, 269, 326; Weitzmann 1984, 153, pl. 58, fig. 12; Tartuferi 1986, 274, 282n28; Tartuferi 1990, 38, 52n4, fig. 107; Kenney 1992, 131; Cook 1999, 135–36, fig. 108; Schmidt 2005, 32–33, fig. 14, 67n55; Cannon 2013, 208–12, 383n36, fig. 188

NOTES

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

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

Artist	Master of Varlungo, Florence, active last quarter 13th century
Title	*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. 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 *Virgin and Child with Saints James, John the Baptist, Peter, and Francis*)—as imbued to a far greater extent than any of the others with the plasticity and compositional conceits of Giotto's earliest works. To him, this indicated a different artistic personality rather than the logical evolution of a single pictorial imagination. Tartuferi designated this splinter group the "Pseudo-Master of Varlungo," a name of art-historical convenience that has not been adopted by later scholars. Daniela Parenti rejected the suggestion that two different painters might be involved in the Varlungo group, suggesting that the three paintings isolated by Tartuferi represent the last phase of the artist's maturation.[12] She placed the Griggs panel at a midpoint in the Master's career, more naturalistic than the name-piece in Florence but less Giottesque than the *Virgins* from Stia or Romena. Luciano Bellosi considered the Griggs and Varlungo paintings the most Cimabuesque of all the artist's works, without, however, drawing definite chronological implications from that fact.[13] Similarly, Miklós Boskovits noted the unusual gabled form of the back of the Virgin's throne in the Griggs panel but hesitated to ascribe it chronological significance.[14]

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

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

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Venturi 1931, pl. 11; Venturi 1933, pl. 12; Frankfurter 1937, 29; Sizer 1945, 2; Comstock 1946, 45, 47, no. 1; Garrison 1949, 82, no. 192; Previtali 1967, 28, 30, fig. 28; Seymour 1970, 15–17, no. 4; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Anna Maria Maetzke, in Boccia et al. 1974, 36; Bologna 1978, 130; Boskovits 1984, 16n15; Marques 1987, 214, 287, fig. 273; Tartuferi 1987, 51–52, 58–59n23; Tartuferi 1990, 64, 111, no. 229, fig. 229; Previtali 1993, 36, 38, 40, 138n47, fig. 29; Bellosi 1998, 267; Daniela Parenti, in Tartuferi and Scalini 2004, 118

NOTES

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

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

Artist	Lippo di Benivieni, Florence, documented 1296–1316
Title	*Virgin and Child with Saints James, 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

Provenance

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

Condition

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

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

While it is possible to agree with Parenti that the Master of Varlungo group reveals an essential homogeneity of imagery and technique, notwithstanding its evident development of style, it is necessary to acknowledge that Tartuferi was correct in dissociating the Yale dossal from the other paintings by that Master. The artist's command of the three-dimensional representation of forms in the present painting—in the articulation of anatomy, the twisting positions of bodies in space, and the blending of highlights into, rather than on top of, local colors—bears a more telling relation to trecento than duecento practice and has no point of contact within the Master of Varlungo group. His use of a pastel color range is radically different from the severely limited palette of other works by the Master of Varlungo (including Yale's *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels*), and his successful evocation of emotional tension is all but unparalleled in thirteenth-century Florence outside the works of Cimabue and Giotto. Only one other painting is so exactly like the Yale dossal in all these respects, and is sufficiently close to it in Morellian detail as well, that it can be unequivocally recognized as by the same hand: a small *Virgin and Child* in a private collection in Bologna (fig. 1), first published by Carlo Volpe as an early work by the Florentine artist Lippo di Benivieni.[7] The Christ Child in that painting is clad, unconventionally, in a lilac tunic that is the same surprising color as the Baptist's cloak in the Yale dossal and that reappears so conspicuously in other works by Lippo di Benivieni, such as the *Lamentation* in the Museo Civico, Pistoia. Parallels for the simple oval structure of the Virgin's head or the solid, almost blocklike construction of the Christ Child and His lively, animated pose are found in other paintings from the first half of Lippo's career, such as the triptych from the Contini Bonacossi Collection at the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, or the center panels from

the Alessandri and Bartolini Salimbeni polyptychs, both signed works.[8] Even the intensely knit brow of the Baptist in the Yale dossal may be recognized as a germinal form of the expressive saints so characteristic of Lippo di Benivieni's eccentric, mature production.

Lippo di Benivieni has been described by Miklós Boskovits as "undoubtedly one of the major personalities of Florentine Trecento painting. He represents its most refined and poetic aspect, but also one of its highest achievements in the expression of human feeling and in the observation of naturalistic detail."[9] The earliest document referring to him is dated 1296, when he accepted the letters of indenture for a pupil in his shop and may therefore be presumed to have previously been active for some time. Initial reconstructions of his oeuvre by Richard Offner and Carlo Volpe concentrated on paintings clearly executed within the first two decades of the fourteenth century. Even the small Bologna *Virgin and Child* was dated by Volpe no earlier than ca. 1300, in recognition of its primacy within a logical chronological sequence of Lippo's work but lacking any positive internal evidence to associate it with duecento Florentine style.[10] Boskovits pushed its dating back into the last decade of the thirteenth century, alongside a series of small narrative panels with scenes of the Passion, bringing the known works by the painter and their significance more closely in line with the scant available documentary information about his life.[11] Recovery of the Yale dossal as a still-earlier work, probably painted close to 1290, anchors those documents in a compelling visual record. The other end of Lippo's career has yet to be clarified in the same way. While the last certain documentary mention of his name occurs in 1316, there is some evidence that he may still have been active in 1327 or later. At that point in his career, he seems to have been prepared to absorb the influence of painters like the young Bernardo Daddi and two artists in the latter's immediate orbit: the Master of San Martino alla Palma and the so-called Maestro Daddesco. A large triptych in the Alana Collection (fig. 2),[12] Newark, Delaware, published alternatively as the work of Bernardo Daddi or the Master of San Martino alla Palma, is instead to be attributed to Lippo di Benivieni as probably his latest surviving painting, shortly postdating the exceptional *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* in the Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts.[13] Thus revealed, the full sweep of his career affords Lippo di Benivieni a stature hardly less significant than that of his slightly older Florentine contemporary, the Master of Saint Cecilia.[14] — LK

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

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

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

NOTES

1. Longhi 1948; and Garrison 1949, 161, no. 421. For more on this artist, see Master of Varlungo, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels*.
2. Seymour 1970, 16, 18.
3. Sirén 1916a, 17–18; van Marle 1923, 306–7; Venturi 1931, pl. 11; and Venturi 1933, pl. 14.
4. Tartuferi 1987, 51, 59n24; Tartuferi 1990, 64, 113, no. 233; and Tartuferi and Scalini 2004, 63, fig. 23.
5. Inv. no. 49.39, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437023.
6. Daniela Parenti, in Parenti and Ragazzini 2014, 86.
7. Volpe 1972, 9–11; and Boskovits 1984, 169, pl. 42.
8. For the Contini-Bonacossi triptych, see the *Virgin and Child between a Pope and a Bishop* at the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, Contini Bonacossi n. 31, https://www.uffizi.it/en/artworks/lippo-di-benivieni-madonna-with-child.
9. Boskovits 1984, 34.
10. Volpe 1972, 9–11.
11. Boskovits 1984, 169, pl. 42.
12. Boskovits 2001, 557–59.
13. Inv. no. 1917.195.A, https://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 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 Fuller 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.

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

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. 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 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]

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

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

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

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

NOTES

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

Jacopo del Casentino, *The Coronation of the Virgin*

Artist	Jacopo del Casentino, Florence, active ca. 1320–ca. 1349
Title	*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, England, by 1854–85; sale, Christie's, London, April 18, 1885, lot 108 (as Taddeo Gaddi); Henry Wagner (1840–1926), London; sale, Christie's, London, January 16, 1925, lot 58 (as Bernardo Daddi); with Galerie Mori, Paris; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1925

Condition

Fig. 1. Reverse of the panel

The panel support, of a vertical grain, is approximately 2 centimeters thick and exhibits a pronounced convex warp; chisel and gouge marks on the reverse (fig. 1) suggest that the thickness may be original. The reverse of the panel is beveled along all four edges. While this is unusual for fourteenth-century panels, there is no firm evidence that the beveling is the result of a later intervention. A small rectangular plug in the upper-right corner of the reverse is a modern repair. All the raised frame moldings are carved in one with the support rather than applied to it, an archaic carpentry technique more common in the thirteenth than in the fourteenth century. The moldings have all been liberally releafed over original bolus and gilding, though much original gold is still in evidence along the uppermost outer-frame molding and the top third of the lateral moldings above the spring of the interior arch; gilding on the left molding, for example, is nearly intact in this area. The new gold has been articulated with an incised craquelure. The two roundels contained within the spandrels outside the arch are modern inserts, as are the spiral colonettes supporting the arch: the capitals and bases are original and are carved out of the wood of the support, but the colonettes are nailed in place (with modern wire nails) and cover original paint surface.

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

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

Discussion

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

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

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

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

While the quality of the Griggs *Coronation* certainly justifies its classification as a wholly autograph work by Jacopo del Casentino, it also precludes the possibility of associating it with the artist's late style, as Offner proposed. The nearly square proportions and compressed, planar composition of the panel may be compared to the signed *Cagnola Triptych* by Jacopo now in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (fig. 4), considered one of the artist's earliest surviving works. An early date is further implied by the archaic structure of its carpentry, with its frame moldings carved in one with the panel support rather than applied to it as independently engaged members, and by the dragon or bird motifs stippled into the inner and outer spandrels of the panel's frame moldings: these reappear, though on a considerably larger scale, in only one other work by Jacopo, the pentaptych now divided between the Musée Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, and the Alana Collection, Newark, Delaware, correctly dated by Boskovits before 1330.[9] A related, more complex, and certainly later version of the Coronation, now in the Kunstmuseum Bern, Switzerland (fig. 5), reveals the characteristics of Jacopo's mature style. The figure types in that painting are thinner and more stiffly columnar, more restrained and solemn than those in the Griggs *Coronation*, while the vertically elongated format of its composition, the updated architecture of its throne, and the denser arrangement of saints and angels crowded around it clearly reflect the principles of design made fashionable in Florence by Bernardo Daddi

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

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

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

The precise timing of Jacopo del Casentino's early career remains much in doubt, but it has been difficult for scholars to propose credible arguments for dating any paintings by him before ca. 1320.[11] It is during the third decade of the century that his works most closely resemble those of two of his contemporaries with whom he has in the past been confused, Pacino di Bonaguida and the Master of the Dominican Effigies, and it is possible that these three artists actively collaborated at that time.[12] The conventional explanation for these areas of apparent stylistic

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

Fig. 6. Raking-light image of the panel showing the punch strike that appears along the border of the first arc of the trefoil in the frame at the left of the panel

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

It remains to be determined whether the claim that the composition of the Griggs *Coronation* depends upon that of Giotto's Baroncelli Chapel altarpiece at Santa Croce in Florence necessarily implies a *terminus post quem* for dating the former, as the Baroncelli altarpiece is generally assumed to have been conceived and executed (whether by Giotto himself or by Taddeo Gaddi working in Giotto's studio) sometime after Giotto's return to Florence from Naples in 1333 or 1334.[15] It is a convention among historians of early Italian art to mark as the beginning of an iconographic progression the best-known or most accomplished example within the trend, but there exists no documentary or even empirical evidence to support such a convention. It may be evident that a painting like Bernardo Daddi's *Coronation of the Virgin* now in the National Gallery, London, makes overt and respectful reference to Giotto's Baroncelli altarpiece;[16] it does not follow that all examples of the subject must be traced back to the same source. Duccio had in fact popularized a closely related version of the Coronation of the Virgin in his stained-glass window on the facade of the cathedral of Siena as early as the 1280s. Accepting an early date for the Griggs *Coronation*, however, does not necessarily entail positing a direct link between Jacopo del Casentino and Sienese prototypes. The diffusion of the motif throughout Tuscany and central Italy at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries must have been broader and more immediate than can be demonstrated through the rare surviving examples known today. At the same time, it may not be a coincidence that numerous scholars have remarked on Sienese sources for the compositional motifs of several *Virgin and Child* paintings by Jacopo. Furthermore, close parallels for the unusual projections at the foot of the throne in the Griggs *Coronation* are to be found among earlier Ducciesque rather than Florentine paintings, and Skaug has observed of Jacopo that he is alone among Florentine painters in the first half of the trecento in having been influenced by the Sienese style of cluster punchwork.[17]

The original purpose or function of the Griggs *Coronation* is unclear. The contention that it might have been the "upper part of a tabernacle centre"—presumably meaning one of two scenes on the center panel of a tabernacle triptych—cannot be sustained.[18] Not only are the outer-frame moldings entirely original (though regilt), but they are also, as has been said, carved in one with the panel support. The panel, therefore, has not been reduced in size nor altered in shape. There is no evidence of hinges ever having been applied at either side. The excellent state of preservation of the paint surface would argue against the panel's having been used as a pax, which its size and proportions might otherwise suggest. It is possible that it may have been designed to be inserted into a larger frame or structure, such as a marble tabernacle or precious-metal reliquary. Such an eventuality could explain the large paint losses being restricted to the center of the panel, along the line of greatest stress where the warpage of the panel would have been constrained by its inflexible surround, and it may also explain the beveled reverse of the panel, if indeed this is original. It is also unclear what function might have been served by the circular inserts in the outer spandrels of the frame.[19] These could have been filled by cabochons or *verre églomisé* roundels, or by relics sealed behind glass; surviving physical evidence is inconclusive. — LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

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

522–23; Pergam 2011, 140, 141, 188n13, 219, 312; Skaug 1994, 1:122n230

NOTES

1. Waagen 1854, 2:462.
2. Offner 1927b, 33.
3. van Marle 1931b, 17.
4. Offner 1927b, 33.
5. Offner 1930a, pl. 72.
6. Seymour 1970, 47.
7. Skaug 1994, 1:122n230.
8. Boskovits 1987, 10.
9. Boskovits 1984, 58. For the Brussels panel, see inv. no. 794; for the Alana, see inv. no. 2001.04a–d.
10. See Fehlmann and Freuler 2001, 52–57, where this painting is implausibly dated 1325–30.
11. A proposal by Emanuele Zappasodi to associate the five panels formerly ascribed to the Master of the Spinola Annunciation with the earliest career of Jacopo del Casentino, presumably between 1310 and 1320, has met with some but not universal approval; see Zappasodi 2010.
12. A case in point that deserves much closer study in this regard is the illuminated Laudario of the Compagnia di Sant'Egidio (now at the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, inv. no. B.R. 19), twelve of whose miniatures are attributed by Offner and Boskovits to the Master of the Dominican Effigies, but several of which have persistently, and perhaps correctly, been associated with Jacopo del Casentino instead; see Boskovits 1987, 326–33. While Boskovits 1987, 10, ignoring then-recent scholarship, dismisses these attributions as negligent, it is not clear that they are wholly unfounded.
13. For more on this artist, see Master of Saint Cecilia, *Virgin and Child*.
14. Skaug 1994, 2: no. 326. A photograph of this punch impression included in Frinta 1998, 166, no. Dda12, taken from Gaddi's *Virgin* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg (inv. no. 202), is even closer to the impressions on the Griggs *Coronation* due to the angle at which the tool was held during the strike; one side of the impression is incomplete. For further discussion of confusion between Taddeo Gaddi's and Jacopo del Casentino's earliest punch tools, see Skaug 1994, 1:94, 122.
15. For the association of the Yale *Coronation* with the Baroncelli Chapel altarpiece, see Ameisenowa 1939, 120.
16. Inv. no. NG6599, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/bernardo-daddi-the-coronation-of-the-virgin.
17. Skaug 1994, 1:125–26.
18. Offner 1957, 105n2.
19. The two punch tools appearing among the inscribed decoration on these roundels—a circle and a five-petaled rosette—are catalogued by Frinta in a number of early twentieth-century restorations, most of which appeared on the art market in Florence; see Frinta 1998, 443, no. Ka19dN. Two of them, the present painting and another in the National Gallery of Art, Washingon, D.C., inv. no. 1937.1.2a–c, by Grifo di Tancredi, were purchased in Paris in 1925 and 1919, respectively, and may ultimately lead to identification of the restorer's studio in which the work was done.

Jacopo del Casentino, *Virgin and Child*

Artist	Jacopo del Casentino, Florence, active ca. 1320–ca. 1349
Title	*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 Fuller Griggs's collection (fig. 1) that Richard Offner

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

Offner and Seymour, in their brief comments about the painting, implied a date for it early in Jacopo del Casentino's career, a position that cannot be maintained today. Erling Skaug has shown unequivocally that the punch tools employed in decorating the haloes and the system of their arrangement indicate a date at the extreme end of Jacopo's career, not earlier than 1342 and possibly as late as his putative death in 1349.[4] Closely related in style and gravitas are the four half-length saints in the Van Gelder collection at Uccle, near Brussels,[5] a related half-length *Saint Thomas Aquinas* in the Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon, France,[6] and the *Virgin and Child* in Santi Stefano e Caterina in Pozzolatico, near Impruneta.[7] As the Van Gelder saints have been cut slightly to their present shapes and dimensions (90 × 39 cm each), it is difficult to judge whether they might once have been associated with either the Griggs or Pozzolatico panels in a single altarpiece, though considerations of style and quality alone would make either possibility credible. The Avignon *Saint Thomas Aquinas* cannot have been associated with the Pozzolatico panel due to the differences in their arched formats. Though the simple ogival shape of the *Saint Thomas Aquinas* also does not conform to the trilobe profile of the Griggs panel, it is nevertheless not impossible that they might once have come from the same structure. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

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

NOTES

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

Bernardo Daddi, *Vision of Saint Dominic*

Artist	Bernardo Daddi, Florence, active 1312/20–1348
Title	*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 grain, has been thinned to a depth varying between 7 and 10 millimeters and exhibits a pronounced convex warp. A split running the full width of the panel on a slight diagonal rises from the bottom of the spring of the arch at left to the top of the spring of the arch at right, resulting in a near-complete loss of pigment where it crosses through the head of Saint Dominic. In 1915 Hammond Smith noted that this head had suffered flaking losses, but these were revealed in photographs to have been minor (fig. 1). He recradled the panel at that time and repainted the head of Saint Dominic (fig. 2). His restorations and cradle were removed by Andrew Petryn in 1957, and the split was glued together. In this cleaning, the gold ground was abraded to its bolus and gesso underlayers, the head of Saint Dominic was obliterated, and the beards of Saints Peter and Paul were removed. The two latter figures are otherwise reasonably well-preserved, except for the trailing end of Saint Peter's pink robe, as are the black and white of Saint Dominic's habit, including his left cuff and right hand where they pass over the split in the panel. Also removed in the 1957 cleaning was the sword that had been painted over a staff proffered by Saint Paul to Saint Dominic. Only the engraved profile of the staff remains today. The hands of all three saints retain much of their expressive character.

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

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

Discussion

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

According to the *Golden Legend*, around the time that Saint Dominic petitioned Pope Innocent III for approval for his Order of Preachers (ultimately granted by Pope Honorius III in 1216), "while he was praying in the church of Saint Peter for the expansion of his Order, Peter and Paul, the glorious princes of the apostles, appeared to him. Peter gave him a staff, and Paul a book, and they said: 'Go forth and preach, for God has chosen you for this ministry.'"[3] In the Yale panel, Bernardo Daddi has eliminated all reference to the interior of Old Saint Peter's in Rome, where Dominic was vouchsafed this vision, to convey more powerfully the substance of the miraculous apparition isolated against an uninterrupted gold ground in an indistinct space and imprecise time. In the state in which this panel was known to all scholars before 1957, however, Saint Peter handed a sword rather than a staff to Saint Dominic (see figs. 1–2). In the 1860 catalogue of his collection, Jarves admitted that "some authorities say it was a *staff*, not a sword, that was given. But Gaddi's [*sic*] sword is more in keeping with the founder of the Inquisition."[4] For Russel Sturgis, Jr., and Sirén, the sword and the book were "the weapons by which [Dominic] was to conquer the world."[5] Raimond van Marle noted that "the Golden Legend really mentions a book and a stick,"[6] and because of this, Richard Offner opined that "we must assume that through a misunderstanding the staff was altered into the sword by some restorer."[7] The accuracy of this contention was made evident when Charles Seymour, Jr., published a cleaned-state photograph of the painting in 1970, although he made no reference to the alteration in his brief catalogue entry and instead repeated, mistakenly, that the *Golden Legend* speaks of the gift of a sword as a symbol of the Dominicans' role in suppressing heresy.[8] Miklós Boskovits published before- and after-cleaning photographs of the panel as successive plates in his revised edition of Offner's 1930 *Corpus* volume dedicated to Bernardo Daddi,[9] and since then, not surprisingly, the painting has largely disappeared from general discussions of the art of Florence in the trecento.

Before the Yale *Vision of Saint Dominic* was firmly associated with Bernardo Daddi, Bernard Berenson recognized a companion panel to it in a scene of Saint Dominic rescuing a ship at sea formerly in the Raczynski collection in Berlin, now in the Muzeum Narodowe in Poznań (fig. 3).[10] Unaware of the connection between these two panels, Sirén called attention to a painting in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, showing Saint Peter Martyr preaching (fig. 4), that, he believed, must also have formed, with the Yale panel, "part of a predella under a picture with the two above-mentioned Dominican saints (St. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr) probably together with one or more other saints."[11] Sirén further proposed that, "although we cannot yet know how the whole picture was composed (because the principal parts are lacking), it does not seem too daring to make the supposition that it was identical with a picture which, according to a notice in the '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 der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin and showing Saint Thomas Aquinas rewarded for resisting temptation (fig. 5), tended to confirm this assumption since the painting described in the *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(?). 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(?). 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(?). Tempera and gold on panel, 38 × 33.5 cm (15 × 13 1/4 in.). Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen 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. 1340–45. Tempera and gold on panel, 188.6 × 270 cm (6 ft. 2 1/4 in. × 8 ft. 10 3/8 in.). Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, 1890, inv. no. 1890 n. 3449

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

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

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

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

The most widely accepted of these proposals seem to be the strict interpretations of Rosselli advanced by Offner and Boskovits: that no figures other than the three Dominican saints were portrayed in the Salvi altarpiece, whether it was a single panel or a triptych. Offner's reconstruction of a triptych is definitively to be rejected, however, by the recent discovery of a fifth panel from the predella showing the Miraculous Healing of Napoleone Orsini by Saint Dominic (fig. 8).[23] Three scenes from the legend of Saint Dominic clustered beneath a center panel would create an unprecedented differential of proportion to lateral panels each standing above a single predella scene with Saints Thomas Aquinas and Peter Martyr. It is equally difficult to envision the reconstruction of a single, continuous panel as proposed by Boskovits, given the complete absence of any later works of art replicating this exceptional format: the altarpiece would have represented a distinguished and significant early example of Dominican "portraiture" in the most prominent of all Dominican centers in Florence and should be expected to have engendered respectful imitations. Furthermore, the existence of additional scenes not yet recovered may be implied not only by the recent appearance of the *Miraculous Healing of Napoleone Orsini* but also by the unusual selection of episodes now known from the lives of each of the saints. Only the Vision of Saint Dominic and Miracle of Napoleone Orsini would become standard iconography in pictorial cycles of that saint's life, and when they appear in such cycles, it is invariably among the earliest events in a more extensive narrative of his legend. Two distinct possibilities for identifying the Salvi altarpiece, therefore, remain. Either it took the form of a conventional polyptych that included the Yale predella panel and its companion scenes, whether or not it or some fragment of it may be identifiable among the surviving large-scale works of Bernardo Daddi, or the Salvi altarpiece did not include the Yale and related predella panels and there survives no other physical evidence for reconstructing its form.

In the case of the first of these possibilities, there are only two candidates that might be identifiable as remnants of the Salvi altarpiece: the *Coronation of the Virgin* (see fig. 6) now in the Accademia in Florence and the ex-Loeser *Saint Dominic* (see fig. 7), both of which have either a known or plausible provenance from Santa Maria Novella. As has been noted, the Accademia *Coronation* contains images of the three Dominican saints, conforming to Rosselli's description of the Salvi altarpiece, and it is large enough (188.6 × 270 cm) to have accommodated the five known predella panels, the missing columns and framing arches that once separated them, and up to two hypothetical further scenes. It is, however, almost certainly datable between 1343 and 1345 and therefore could be identical with the Salvi altarpiece only if Rosselli misread the date in the inscription, mistaking an X (MCCCXXXXIII) for a V (MCCCXXXVIII).[24] While this is possible, it is unreasonable to advance as a working hypothesis without further evidence pointing in that direction. The ex-Loeser *Saint Dominic* has also been dated by Erling Skaug close to 1342 on 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

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

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

NOTES

1. Sirén 1908c, 188–89, 193, pl. 1, fig. 1.
2. Longhi 1959, 7.
3. de Voragine 1993, 2:47.
4. Jarves 1860, 44.
5. Sturgis 1868, 34; and, for the quote, Sirén 1916b, 208.
6. van Marle 1924b, 370n3.
7. Offner 1947, 59, 65, 66n3, 67n9.
8. Seymour 1970, 24–27, no. 9.
9. Boskovits 1989, 197–98.
10. Cited in Rankin 1905, 8.
11. Sirén 1908c, 193.
12. Sirén 1908c, 193. The citation from the *Sepoltuario Rosselli* was first published by Gaetano 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 van Marle 1924b, 373–75. The correct subject was identified by Richard Offner, cited in the 1931 catalogue of the Gemäldegalerie, and a full reconstruction of the predella was published by Offner in 1947; see Boskovits 1989, 185–205, pl. 8.
14. Boskovits 2001, 210–20, pl. 17.
15. Boskovits 2001, 255–72, pl. 22; and Paatz and Paatz 1940–54, 745, 748, 836–37n467.
16. Boskovits 2001, 183–92, pls. 13–14. For the *Virgin and Child*, see Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, inv. no. P15w26, https://www.gardnermuseum.org/experience/collection/10933.

17. Boskovits 2001, 237–54, 273–76, pls. 21, 23.

18. The ex-Loeser panel (see fig. 7) is 37.7 centimeters wide, which is more than adequate for a single predella panel (the four known predella panels average 35 centimeters in width), but the Gardner panel is only 55.6 centimeters wide, insufficient for two panels to have stood beneath it. If the ex-Loeser and Gardner panels formed part of a pentaptych, the combined width of the five panels can be estimated as approximately 208 centimeters, which would have been an appropriate width for six predella panels (about 210 centimeters). It is not, however, completely certain that the Gardner and ex-Loeser panels originally stood together in the same altarpiece, *pace* Offner. The Gardner *Virgin* bears traces of batten nails at the level of the spring of its framing arch; no impressions of batten nails are apparent anywhere on the surface of the ex-Loeser *Saint Dominic*, which has been transferred to a new wood support but retains a beautifully preserved paint surface.

19. Offner 1947, 65–69; and Boskovits 1989, 200–205.

20. Boskovits 1988, 27–28.

21. Inv. no. 8345.

22. Carl Strehlke, verbal communication with the author.

23. Sale, Artcurial, Paris, March 23, 2022, lot 30.

24. For the dating of this altarpiece, see Skaug 1994; and Tartuferi 2000.

25. Skaug 1994.

26. Cited in Boskovits 1989, 188.

27. Vasari 1878–85, 1:673.

28. Vasari 1878–85, 2:507.

Andrea di Cione, *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, until 1808; Booth Tarkington (1869–1946), Indianapolis, Indiana, 1907[1]; Silberstein & Co., New York, after 1936 and before 1945; Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz (1887–1957), Sands Point, Long Island, New York, by 1945

Condition

The painting was transferred from panel to canvas at an unknown date and subsequently mounted on a modern, soft wood (pine?) support, 1.4 centimeters thick, with a vertical grain. Two horizontal battens are inset in the support on the reverse, possibly to give it an appearance of greater age. The paint surface and gilding have been badly burned by solvents. Total losses of pigment and gesso, exposing the relining canvas, are prominent in the Virgin's blue draperies, across the Christ Child's arm and shoulder, to the right of the Virgin's halo, and along the gilt margin of the panel, especially where it was cut into an arched shape in the upper half of the composition. The flesh tones have been severely abraded. Fragments of the lavender robes and punched haloes of two flying angels are still apparent at the upper right and left, and the black outline of a crown that they place on the Virgin's head is intact. Horizontal breaks in the gold and paint surface, presumably indicating seams or splits in the original panel support, occur at 22.5 and 38.5 centimeters from the bottom edge of the panel. The painting, already extensively damaged, was harshly cleaned in 1965, revealing the extent of earlier damages and in some cases exaggerating them by cutting away the exposed canvas or excavating exposed gesso.

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

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

NOTES

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

Andrea di Cione, *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
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; with 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 is comprised of three horizontal planks with joins approximately 20 centimeters from the bottom and 16 centimeters from the top; the joins have opened in the front, resulting in modest paint loss along their length at the level of the saint's upper lip and just above the top corner of his book. A 2-centimeter-wide strip of gesso and repaint covers scattered losses along the left and top edges, and smaller irregular losses are scattered along the right and bottom edges. Two nails driven into the panel approximately on center, originally attaching a vertical batten to the back, have resulted in paint losses 21.5 centimeters from the bottom edge of the panel and 10.5 centimeters from the top edge, at the level of the saint's left eye. The gold background has been overpainted in oils to represent dark green foliage, but bolus and remnants of original gilding are preserved beneath this layer. Punch tool impressions are still apparent through the repainted background at the upper-left corner. The gilding of the halo is well-preserved, and the paint surface is exceptionally well-preserved aside from abrasions to the saint's forehead and temple, in the area of his right cheek, and at the bottom of his beard. The painting was cleaned and restored by Irma Passeri in 2008–10.

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

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

NOTES

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

Nardo di Cione, *Saint John the Evangelist*

Artist	Nardo di Cione, Florence, active by 1343/46–died 1366
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
Inv. No.	2020.75.4

Provenance

Probably Santa Maria degli Angeli, Florence, until 1808; with 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; by descent to her granddaughters; sale, Sotheby's, London, December 7, 2005, lot 33; Richard L. Feigen (1930–2021), New York, 2005

Condition

The panel has been cut on all four sides but retains its original thickness, varying from 3 to 3.4 centimeters, and exhibits a slight convex warp. It is comprised of three horizontal planks with 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 it—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.

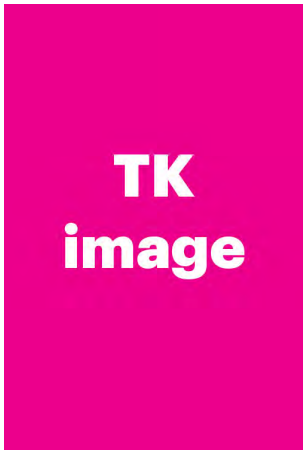


Fig. 1. *Virgin and Child*, before 1936

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

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

Fig. 4. Orcagnesque Master (Giovanni del Biondo?), *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints* (detail), ca. 1370–80. Tempera and gold on panel, dimensions unknown. Sant'Andrea at 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 panel, of *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 his 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. A fifth punch impression seems to have been inherited (or purchased?) from Giotto's studio after the latter's death in January 1337, which Skaug accepted as a *terminus post quem* for dating this altarpiece. Two of the punches are also found in a controversial altarpiece at San Giorgio a Ruballa 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*, ca. 1350–54. Tempera on panel, 97.8 × 43.5 cm (38 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

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 Richard 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 that 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 Minneapolis[19] and the frescoes from the Giochi Bastari Chapel at the Badia Fiorentina predate midcentury deserves the most serious consideration.[20] To these should be added the Whitley *Madonna* in Milwaukee (fig. 7), which was almost certainly painted earlier than the Minneapolis *Virgin and Child*, and now the Yale *Saint John the Evangelist*. The figure type of the *Saint John*, with its distinctively broad bone structure and oversize, almond-shaped eye, is consistent with Nardo's throughout his career and recurs even in such late works as the three standing saints in the National Gallery, London.[21] So, too, are the inflexible joints of Saint John's hands or the idiosyncratic "foreshortening" of his forearms, with elbows held close to the figure's body. The close relationship between the Christ Child in the Whitley *Madonna* and the Yale *Saint John the Evangelist* should establish a standard for identifying other hitherto unrecognized early works by Nardo.

The existence of no fewer than three replicas of the Yale *Virgin and Child*, two by by Giovanni del Biondo, does argue for "its importance for its period," as Seymour suggested,[22] and has led to some speculation regarding the original provenance of the altarpiece of which it formed part. The white habit worn by the saint in the left lateral panel probably indicates that the altarpiece was a Camaldolese commission and led Dillian Gordon to propose changing his identification from Saint Benedict to Saint Romuald, founder of the Camaldolese reform movement.[23] Following on the assumption that the altarpiece was commissioned to Bernardo Daddi in 1337, the present author noted that two chapels in the sacristy of Santa Maria degli Angeli, the principal house of the Camaldolese order in Florence, were endowed by the Spini family in 1336, one with a dedication to Saint Mary Magdalen and one with a dedication to Saint Lawrence.[24] Both of these would have contained altarpieces and either could have included the Yale panels if they were originally accompanied by two additional panels, one of which would have portrayed either the Magdalen or Saint Lawrence. Gordon prefers to identify another chapel in the sacristy at Santa Maria degli Angeli as the probable original site of the Yale altarpiece. Endowed in 1342 with a bequest of 60 florins by Giovanni di Lottieri Ghitti, the dedication of this chapel to Saint John the Evangelist would be appropriate on iconographic grounds for an association with the Yale altarpiece and now seems equally compelling on stylistic grounds. Also possible but entirely speculative would be a provenance from the Camaldolese monastery of San Giovanni Evangelista at Pratovecchio; no documentation exists for the commissioning of altarpieces there in the fourteenth century. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

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

NOTES

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


SANCTVS PETRVS APOSTOLVS

Nardo di Cione, *Saint Peter*

Artist	Nardo di Cione, Florence, active 1346/48–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

Both panels—the *Saint John the Baptist* shown here and the *Saint Peter* catalogued before this entry—are of a vertical grain, are 2 centimeters thick, and have been neither thinned nor cradled, although both were beveled along the front of their lateral edges to accommodate the Gothic Revival frames applied to them in the nineteenth century. The modern frame elements and any original gesso or gilding that might have remained on original moldings were stripped from the *Saint Peter* panel in a radical cleaning of 1971–72, at which time two battens that had been slotted into its back in the nineteenth century were replaced with new oak battens.[1] The nineteenth-century frame was left intact on *Saint John the Baptist*; the battens on this panel had previously been removed, probably in a cleaning of 1915, when a 13.5-centimeter-wide wooden insert running the full height of the panel was inlaid in its reverse, just left (viewed from the back) of center, to reinforce a split in the support. Both panels have 2.2-centimeter-wide horizontal channels carved in their backs, approximately 12 centimeters and 93 centimeters (on center) from their bottom edges. These were intended to receive iron strap hinges—the nails that affixed them are still preserved in the channels—which would have been recessed just below the painted surface of the reverses and gessoed and painted to continue the decorative patterns that they would otherwise have interrupted. Neither panel has been altered in width or cut at the bottom, but both have been trimmed along the profiles of their ogival arches.

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

Fig. 1. Reverse of *Saint Peter*

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

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

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

Discussion

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

The single contrary opinion in this long line of agreement appeared in a paper delivered in Milan in 2004 (and published in 2009) by the present author, who noted that while it cannot be doubted that the Jarves *Saint Peter* and *Saint John the Baptist* originated from a single complex, they were not designed or painted by the same artist.[8] Saint Peter is a massive, frontal figure. His shoulders, hands, and feet are arranged parallel to the picture plane, the tips of the toes aligned as if along a straightedge. The folds of his draperies are shallow, incisive cuts across the picture surface. Saint John the Baptist is long and gaunt and is turned decisively in three-quarter profile. The folds of his pink cape are deep and sculptural, excavating tangible volumes of space around his body. His right hand and both of his feet are not, as in the *Saint Peter*, geometric abstractions but are carefully articulated, with indications of bone, tendon, and muscle, foreshortened to establish a fully sensible recession into depth. His left hand, even more extremely foreshortened, wraps convincingly around the shaft of the cross he carries—itself set on a spatially recessive diagonal—entirely unlike the symbolic, only vaguely naturalistic grip of Saint Peter upon his keys. Infrared reflectography (figs. 4–5), furthermore, confirms that the underdrawing beneath the figures is by two different draughtsmen. The firm, regular strokes outlining the drapery folds in the *Saint Peter*, supplemented by light, parallel hatching to indicate shadows, are executed with a quill and are followed closely in the final layers of paint. The drawing beneath the *Saint John the Baptist* is radically different, comprising a loose, swirling line drawn with a brush, searching out structural forms that are sometimes ignored or corrected in the final paint layers. The more rigid, efficient drawing style of the *Saint Peter* is identical to that documented beneath Nardo di Cione's *Three Saints* altarpiece in the National Gallery, London,[9] and Saint Peter's figure type recurs in Nardo's Prague altarpiece, in the altarpiece laterals by him in Munich, and in the Goldman tabernacle in Washington.[10] Saint John the Baptist, on the other hand, does not correspond in figure type to the same saint in the London or Prague altarpieces—which are both late works—and it must be presumed either not to be by Nardo di Cione or, if by him, to have been conceived at a radically different moment in his career. The panel may instead have been painted by Nardo's brother Andrea di Cione, known as Orcagna, an argument bolstered by comparison to figures in the Strozzi Chapel altarpiece of 1357 or, ironically, to the kneeling figure of Saint Peter in the Pentecost altarpiece from Santi Apostoli in Florence, both commonly recognized as works by Orcagna.

Fig. 4. Infrared photograph of *Saint Peter*

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

The problem of collaboration within the joint workshop operated by the Cione brothers has not been adequately addressed in the literature concerning either artist, leading to Skaug's conclusion that "the widespread idea of a joint workshop between the di Cione brothers seems, on the whole, to crumble up on a closer look at the collected evidence."[11] Clearly, an extended group of other painters was also involved, including Nardo and Andrea's younger brother, Jacopo di Cione, and as-yet-unnamed artists, such as the Master of the Ashmolean Predella. These artists are assumed to have been working under Andrea's direction and are frequently credited with having intervened on paintings attributed to him; neither they nor Andrea has been identified as working on paintings attributed to Nardo, whose work is commonly regarded as monolithic in style. Nevertheless, the only parallels for the Jarves *Saint John the Baptist*—either in figure type or pictorial realization—are to be found entirely among paintings thought to be by Andrea di Cione. Their only echoes within Nardo's accepted oeuvre occur in the large altarpiece now in the Brooklyn 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's hand also rectified another misconception about it and the *Saint Peter* panel: they are not lateral panels from a dispersed altarpiece but shutters to an unusually large tabernacle triptych. The reverse of each panel (see figs. 2–3) retains physical evidence of the iron strap hinges that once affixed them to the central element of the triptych.

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

Cropping of the painted patterns on the reverses also reveals that the panels were originally much larger and conformed to the standard shape of such shutters: their present ogival arches were filled out by spandrels surmounted by a demilunette at the top. Typically, such lunettes are filled with images of the Annunciatory Angel and the Virgin Annunciate. The latter, originally standing above the *Saint Peter*, 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 close in style to Nardo di Cione, the only one that closely resembles the Jarves *Saint Peter* in style and in the punched decoration of its gold ground, as well as approximating it in size, is the *Crucifixion* now in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (fig. 7). The Uffizi *Crucifixion* incorporates within its picture field a predella of small, bust-length figures beneath a pastiglia arcade. The five saints portrayed there, significantly, do not include either John the Baptist or Peter, even though their usual companions, John the Evangelist and Paul, are present. Additionally, the upward glance of the Baptist in the left wing of the tabernacle would be logically explained by the elevated position of the crucified Christ in the Uffizi panel, whereas a conventional Virgin and Child Enthroned in the center panel would require the Baptist to be looking to the right at his own level. The engaged moldings surrounding the Uffizi *Crucifixion* are somewhat unusual for panels of this format. They do not retain evidence of the attachment of hinges, but they may have been intended to elide between the painted surface of the panel and a larger marble tabernacle frame into which it could have been inserted. It would then have been the marble surround to which the hinges on the Jarves panels would have been conjoined, possibly explaining as well the elaborate fictive-marble decoration on the backs of the Jarves panels as hypothetically completing the coloration of the marble tabernacle when the wings were closed.

The Jarves panels incorporate a coat of arms on their reverses (see figs. 1–2)—four red lozenges arranged in a cross on a white ground—that has not been successfully identified but that may relate to a confraternal or civic commission. If, as seems likely, the panels were conceived as pendants to the Uffizi *Crucifixion*, a clue to that provenance may be supplied by the presence of Saint Peter Martyr among the small-scale figures in the fictive predella in the center panel. Peter Martyr, a Dominican, is credited with founding in 1244 the Societas Sanctissimae Viriginis in Santa Maria Novella, a militant confraternity intended to promote the fight against heresy within the Florentine citizenry. This confraternity gave rise to three others, one of which, the Societas Maior Sanctae Mariae, subsequently known as the Compagnia di Santa Maria del Bigallo, splintered off only one year later. The Bigallo—whose twelve captains, or rectors, were consigned banners of a red cross (signifying the papacy) on a white field—was dedicated to administering hospitals in and around Florence, initially from a seat at San Quirico a Ruballa, near Bagno a Ripoli. The Florentine commune granted them a parcel of land within the city walls, at the corner of the present via Calzolai and Piazza Or San Michele, in 1352. They remained headquartered there until 1425, when Cosimo de' Medici, then treasurer of the Compagnia del Bigallo, effected their merger with the Compagnia della Misericordia, and they transferred to the present Loggia del Bigallo on Piazza San Giovanni.[15]

If the Jarves and Uffizi (see fig. 7) panels originally formed a triptych and if that triptych were commissioned by the rectors of the Compagnia del Bigallo, the date 1352—when the Compagnia transferred to Florence and, presumably, began construction of a residence—might be taken as a terminus a quo for its commission. It has already been noted that the two closest stylistic parallels for the Jarves *Saint John the Baptist* are considered to be relatively early works: the Giochi Bastari frescoes are usually dated before midcentury, and the Brooklyn altarpiece has come to be accepted as probably identical with a painting said to have been signed by Nardo di Cione and dated 1356.[16] Skaug's observation that the punch tools used to decorate the gold grounds in the Jarves *Saint Peter* and *Saint John the Baptist* (as well as in the Uffizi *Crucifixion*) indicate a date for them prior to 1363 is irrefutable, but he could not find any internal evidence within the decorative vocabulary of Nardo's relatively small oeuvre for finer distinctions of chronology. A date between ca. 1352 and 1356 is plausible, therefore, even if it is not ultimately demonstrable. An alternative proposal by Giovanni Giura, who accepts

the reconstruction of the Uffizi/Jarves triptych but believes it can be identified with a tabernacle removed from Santa Maria Novella in 1810, does not contradict this chronology.[17] —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

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

NOTES

1. Elsbeth Selver, in Seymour et al. 1972, 14–15, no. 6, figs. 6a–c, illustrates the *Saint Peter* during the course of the 1971–72 treatment, with the frame elements not yet removed, the lower batten missing, and the upper batten not yet replaced.
2. Jarves 1860, 45–46, no. 26, fig. 26; and Jarves 1861, no. 13, pl. D.
3. Offner 1924a, 101–3, fig. 2.
4. Offner 1960, 61–63. For Nardo's Goldman tabernacle, see National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., inv. no. 1939.1.261.a–c, https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.204932.html.
5. Gronau 1937, 59, 85n146, fig. 50; and Tartuferi 2001, 66, 70, fig. 24.
6. Inv. no. 68.41.7, https://collections.artsmia.org/art/1679/standing-madonna-with-child-nardo-di-cione; Seymour 1970, 56–58, nos. 39a–b.
7. Boskovits 1975b, 244n211; and Skaug 1994, 1:176, 2: no. 6.10.
8. Kanter 2009, 48–59.
9. Inv. no. NG581, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/nardo-di-cione-three-saints; Bomford et al. 1989, 126–39, esp. 132–34.
10. Narodni Galerie, Prague, inv. no. O.2376-2385; and Alte Pinakothek, Munich, inv. no. W.A.F.1027-1028. For the Goldman tabernacle, see note 4, above.
11. Skaug 1994, 1:179. Skaug presents an excellent review and analysis of contrasting opinions within the literature on the Cione brothers; see Skaug 1994, 1:172–75, 179–80.
12. Inv. no. 1995.2, https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/4963.
13. Meiss 1951, 168n4. The *Virgin Annunciate* was first recorded in the collection of W. B. Chamberlin, Hove, Essex; sale, Christie's, London, February 25, 1938, lot 21. It reappeared at a sale at the Galerie Charpentier, Paris, June 1, 1951, lot 8, and was subsequently owned by Schaeffer Galleries, New York. It was sold again at Sotheby's, New York, October 7, 1994, lot 17, and resurfaced on the art market in Florence, where it was purchased by its current owners. The decorative field on its reverse is painted as fictive marble, corresponding to the remains of the field on the reverse of the Jarves *Saint John the Baptist*. Presumably, the missing *Annunciatory Angel* had a fictive porphyry reverse corresponding to that on the Jarves *Saint Peter*.
14. Offner and Steinweg 1967, 91n3; see also Offner and Maginnis 1981, 36, fig. 65.
15. Saalman 1969; and Artusi and 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 Millard Meiss, was initially accepted by scholars with appropriate hesitation but has come to assume the status of historical fact; see Meiss 1951, 15, and, for example, Boskovits 2016, 314. It should be noted that the contention is based on iconography and depends upon the attribution. It is a tautology to adduce it as justification for attributions or chronologies.
17. Giovanni Giura, email to the author, 2020, in preparation for a forthcoming catalogue of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century paintings at the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence.


AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA DOMINUS TECUM BN

Nardo di Cione, *Virgin and Child*

Artist	Nardo di Cione, Florence, active by 1343/46–died 1366
Title	*Virgin and Child*
Date	ca. 1355
Medium	Tempera 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 Fuller Griggs. It was cleaned by Andrew Petryn in 1960–61 and is now in ruinous condition. The Virgin's face and left hand and the head and torso of the Christ Child are severely abraded, exposing a gray-green preparatory layer and vestiges of rose or white coloration from the original flesh tones. The Virgin's right hand and arm and the portion of her dress that would have been visible through the opening of her blue cloak at her chest have been scraped down to the gesso preparation, as have the legs of the Christ Child and the blue of the Virgin's cloak at her left shoulder. Gesso is also exposed along the exaggeratedly harsh cleaning of the open craquelure in the Virgin's face. A large section of the paint surface has been scraped down to the wooden support, removing the gesso preparation and linen underlayer, from a horizontal line beginning at the Virgin's knees extending nearly to her feet and in one section at the left extending to the lower edge of the panel. All of the paint left intact in the bottom half of the panel beneath this horizontal line is modern. The gold ground is modern leaf seemingly laid in over original bolus; the punch tooling, therefore, is also modern but may follow indications of the original patterns of punched decoration.

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

Discussion

Notwithstanding its heavily repainted condition, Richard Offner, in a lecture delivered at Maitland Fuller 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 Nardo di Cione and Bernardo Daddi were at that time recently recovered historical personalities, and Offner's opinion was, in hindsight, remarkably precocious. The few subsequent notices the painting has garnered cluster either around Berenson's association of it with Jacopo di Cione and his 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 the ruin of a once-noble composition by Nardo di Cione, not simply a typical commercial product of an anonymous Cionesque or Orcagnesque artist. The unusual bulk of the Virgin, isolated against the gold ground and elegantly framed by the punched border of the panel (to the extent that this might reflect the original decoration); the lively turn of the Child away from her and her own attentive gaze in His direction; the delicate and slowly turning line of the cloak as it descends from the Virgin's head to her chest; and the soft and somewhat elongated features and shape of the Virgin's face are all reminiscent of Nardo's Virgins, above all in the center panel of the polyptych in the National Gallery, Prague,[4] or the center panel of the Goldman triptych in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (fig. 2).[5] The gilded crown on the Virgin's brow is another feature commonly encountered in figures of the Virgin by Nardo di Cione.

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

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: 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 Yale University Art Gallery (see *Saint Peter*).[6] Mojmír Frinta catalogued this punch as his no. Fda10cN, though he measured it incorrectly.[7] Evidence of the possible attachment of battens across the back of the panel raises the question of its original format and purpose. As these were nailed in from the front, they were clearly original and not later additions. Independent devotional panels of this scale were usually braced by their heavy engaged frames secured across the grain of the supporting panel; they did not, therefore, need battens for additional structural rigidity. It is possible that this panel once served as the center of a small triptych or pentaptych rather than as an independent tabernacle. If so, it can only be speculated whether the composition once portrayed the Virgin full length, as in the Jones *Virgin and Child* now in the Minneapolis Museum of Art,[8] or seated in majesty as in the Prague polyptych. In either case, the nail presently situated at the bottom edge of the panel would probably have secured a center batten, and a third batten would have spanned the now-missing bottom edge of the panel or panels. Whether the Virgin was originally a full-length or half-length figure, as in the Goldman triptych in Washington, 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 1932b, 275; Berenson 1963, 105; Seymour 1970, 32–33, no. 16; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 101, 600; Frinta 1998, 48, 223, 384

NOTES

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

Taddeo Gaddi, *Virgin and Child Enthroned*

Artist	Taddeo Gaddi, Florence, ca. 1300–1366
Title	*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 (Florence).[1] At the time, the painting was already in fragmentary condition, cut down on all sides and inserted into a modern rectangular frame (fig. 1). Sirén's attribution of the painting to Taddeo Gaddi was accepted by all subsequent scholars with the exception of Andrew Ladis, who included it among a large group of images he overzealously assigned to the artist's workshop.[2] Most authors have concurred in situating the Yale panel among Taddeo's autograph production in the last phase of his career—from around the middle of the fourteenth century to his death in 1366—although disagreeing on a more precise relative chronology for the works. Sirén considered the Yale *Virgin and Child Enthroned* contemporary to Taddeo's signed and dated 1355 *Virgin and Child* in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, 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, inv. no. 10.97

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

Notwithstanding comparisons to the San Giovanni Fuorcivitas and Uffizi *Virgins*, the closest analogies for the Yale panel, as first intuited by Donati, are to be found rather among those paintings situated firmly in the fifth decade of the fourteenth century. Common to these images are the ponderous figural types, along with the solid architectural details that distinguish the Yale *Virgin*—whose austere, simply built throne stands in marked contrast to the decorative, insubstantial structures in both the San Giovanni Fuorcivitas and Uffizi panels. Taddeo's *Annunciation* in the Museo Bandini (see fig. 2), originally included in a larger altarpiece commissioned sometime between 1343 and 1350 for the church of the Compagnia di Santa Maria della Croce al Tempio in Florence, provides a firm point of reference for the Yale panel.[9] The two images are defined by the same ample proportions of the figures and vivid palette of warm red, orange, and yellow tones set against blue and changeant green and include almost identical details in the rendering of the Virgin's plain dress. Beyond these stylistic correspondences, the two pictures also share unusual technical details, such as the distinctive flower-and-leaf pattern that is tooled into the haloes of both the Yale Virgin and the Museo Bandini archangel. Perhaps not coincidentally, this motif appears in only

one other work by Taddeo—in the Virgin's halo in the Metropolitan Museum polyptych (see fig. 3), generally dated around 1340–45. The type of Christ Child in that painting is especially close to the one in the Yale picture. Among works on a comparable scale, however, the most intimately related to the present panel is the *Virgin and Child* formerly in the collection of Mariano Fortuny, Venice (fig. 4). Overlooked by most modern scholarship and known only through photographs, the ex-Fortuny *Virgin* was catalogued by Ladis as a product of Taddeo's shop from around 1345–50.[10] The same chronological parameters, in proximity to both the Museo Bandini *Annunciation* and the Metropolitan polyptych, but preceding the San Giovanni Fuorcivas altarpiece, apply to the Yale *Virgin*.

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

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

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

NOTES

1. Sirén 1906, 151. James Kerr-Lawson and his wife, Catherine, first arrived in Settignano in 1894 and spent the next forty years dividing their time between there and London. Among their neighbors in Settignano was Bernard Berenson, who took the financially strapped Kerr-Lawson under his wing and introduced him to the art-dealers' market. From the late 1890s to the end of his life, Kerr-Lawson spent much of his time as a private dealer and expert in Old Masters, while also working as a painter and lithographer. Most of the works he dealt in, however, can neither be identified nor located. For the most comprehensive account of his life and activity, see Lamb 1983, 9–29, esp. 19–20, 24–26.

2. Ladis 1982, 151, 222, 229, no. 56.

3. Inv. no. 3 dep.

4. Sirén 1926, 185; van Marle 1924b, 159; and Seymour 1970, 42–43, no. 25.

5. Marcucci 1965a, 2:523.

6. Donati 1966, 28.

7. Neri Lusanna 1995; and Labriola 1998.

8. Branca 2008, 16, argues for a date before Taddeo's *Virgin and Child* for the church of Santa Felicità, Florence (ca. 1354).

9. The insignia of the Compagnia di Santa Maria della Croce al Tempio in Florence, founded in 1343, are found in the upper corners of the *Annunciation* in the Museo Bandini. It has been reasonably argued that this panel was the central element of a larger complex that also included a *Saint Anthony Abbott* in private collection and a *Saint Julian* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 1997.117.1, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/438020. See, most recently, Angelo Tartuferi, in Tartuferi 2008, 120–23, no. 14 (with previous bibliography).

10. Ladis 1982, 221, no. 50. The ex-Fortuny *Virgin* was first published as a work of Taddeo by Bernard Berenson in the 1936 Italian edition of his lists, where it was cited as being in the Fortuny collection; see Berenson 1936, 185. According to a note in the Fototeca Zeri, Federico Zeri Foundation, Bologna, inv. no. 1705, it was reportedly in a private collection in Verona by 1960.

Workshop of Niccolò di Tommaso, *The Last Supper*

Artist	Workshop of Niccolò di Tommaso, Florence, documented 1346–76
Title	*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 3/16 × 10 in.). Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Ruth Blumka in memory of Leopold Blumka, 1978.26

The composition fills an unusual curved surface, the belled foot of which reveals its original purpose as the base of a tabernacle. The painted surface has a richly tooled gold ground, while the vertical front edge is silver gilt and punched. Two dowel holes drilled in the top edge of the structure once secured the tabernacle to which it was attached, which may additionally have been supported by a backing board extending down the full height of the Yale panel. The presence of this backing board may imply that the tabernacle was of greater-than-usual weight or comprised precious materials, such as would have been the case with a reliquary or *verre églomisé* plaque. Such curved and painted tabernacle bases are more frequently encountered in Siena, where they remained popular into the fifteenth century, than in Florence. A similarly shaped reliquary tabernacle painted by the Sienese artist Francesco di Vannuccio is preserved in the collection of the Monte dei Paschi di Siena, while a larger and more elaborate double-sided example dated 1347 is in the Cleveland Museum of Art (fig. 2). The latter retains, in addition to the base, the frame with reliquary cavities that it supported but lacks the painted or decorated center the frame once enclosed. The narrative subject of the Yale base may imply that it once supported a sacrament tabernacle or ostensorium, although no exact parallel examples are known that remain intact.

When it was presented to the Yale University Art Gallery in 1937, the *Last Supper* was attached to a panel of the Crucifixion obviously much later than it and now attributed to Bicci di Lorenzo.[1] 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.[2] 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.[3] 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*.[4] —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

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

NOTES

1. Inv. no. 1937.200a, https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/35495.

2. Offner 1956b, 191.

3. Skaug 1994, 1:167; 2: no. 90.

4. Skaug 1994, 1:165; 2: no. 452.

Niccolò di Tommaso, *Saint James*

Artist	Niccolò di Tommaso, Florence, documented 1346–76
Title	*Saint James*
Date	ca. 1360
Medium	Tempera on panel
Dimensions	54.1 × 34.5 cm (21 5/16 × 13 5/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.235

Provenance

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

Condition

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

Discussion

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

Exhibited in 1920 as a work by Giovanni da Milano, the Griggs *Saint James* was recognized by Richard Offner as a typical work by Niccolò di Tommaso and published by him in 1925 as especially close to the artist's frescoes in the Convento del Tau, Pistoia.[3] Offner's poetic description of the painting evocatively captured the essence of Niccolò's qualities as an artist: "The type and bearing of the figure are of an inveterate aristocracy. There is a slow, vertical swing in the movement that suggests a stalking gait, which conforms to the dreamy absorption of the head." To this should be added the remarkable originality of technique with which the artist decorated the lining of Saint James's cloak and the accomplished draftsmanship, indicated by the confident red strokes outlining the figure's hands and ears or directing the mordant-gilt decoration of the hems of his garments. Offner justified his ascription to Niccolò by enumerating points of exact correspondence with figures in the Tau frescoes. Curiously, although Raimond van Marle, who mistakenly identified the figure as Christ rather than Saint James, accepted Offner's attribution of the Griggs panel to Niccolò di Tommaso, he rejected the

reason for doing so by refusing to accept the Tau frescoes as works by Niccolò.[4] No other scholar has questioned Offner's attribution, either of the Tau frescoes or of the Griggs *Saint James*, since. Erling S. Skaug introduced sphragiological evidence to argue for dating the Griggs painting prior to 1365.[5] No companion panels or other fragments of the altarpiece from which the *Saint James* was removed have been identified.

Saint James the Greater was patron of the city of Pistoia, the site of much of Niccolò di Tommaso's activity in the later part of his career. Niccolò's frescoes at the Antonine convent (Convento del Tau), once thought to be early works, are now recognized to have been in progress as late as 1372.[6] In that same year, he received payments for repairing an altarpiece in the cathedral of Pistoia and for painting the high altarpiece of San Giovanni Fuorcivitas, replacing a work made scarcely two decades earlier by Taddeo Gaddi.[7] In publishing the documents for this last commission, Andrew Ladis advanced the hypothesis that a painting formerly with Albrighi in Florence, an altarpiece lateral featuring figures of Saints Anthony Abbott 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 Abbott 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 longstanding relationship with that city. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Fry 1920, 15; Offner 1924b, 31; van Marle 1925, 5: 478; Offner 1927b, 113; Berenson 1932a, 272; Offner 1956b, 191; Berenson 1963, 1:162; Seymour 1970, 63–64, no. 43; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; David Arnheim, in Seymour et al. 1972, 48; Boskovits 1975b, 203n108; Offner and Maginnis 1981, 90; Skaug 1994, 1:165

NOTES

1. Offner 1924b.
2. David Arnheim, in Seymour et al. 1972, 48.
3. Offner 1924b, 31.
4. van Marle 1925, 5:478.
5. Skaug 1994, 1:165.
6. Gai 1970, 75–94.
7. Ladis 1989, 2–16.
8. Skaug 2004, 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, 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, nearly 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 who was to be born. 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 the panel 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. 1. Niccolò di Tommaso, *Saint Bridget's Vision of the Nativity*, ca. 1373–75. Tempera and gold on panel, 63.5 × 77.5 cm (25 × 30 1/2 in.). Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection, inv. no. cat. 120

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

All these details, except the candle, are present in the version in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (fig. 2), which takes advantage of its more horizontal format to add a vignette of the Adoration of the Shepherds over the brow of the hill at the right. The Yale panel retains (or originates?) the vignette of the Adoration of 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 S. 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 in them of any of the punch tools that the artist shared with a number of his Florentine contemporaries. In the Yale panel, Niccolò also 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 Brandon 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 Niccolò.

Fig. 3. Niccolò di Tommaso, *Saints Anthony Abbot and John the* Baptist, ca. 1430. Tempera and gold on panel, 43.1 × 25.8 cm (17 × 10 1/8 in.). Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome, inv. no. MV.40219.0.0

Fig. 4. Niccolò di Tommaso, *Saints Julian and Lucy*, ca. 1430. Tempera and gold on panel, 42.8 × 25.4 cm (16 7/8 × 10 in.). Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome, inv. no. MV.40212.0.0

The Yale panel is—or was—painted at a level of quality and inventive originality at least equal to that of the Philadelphia panel, although the minor iconographic changes it introduces suggests that it is unlikely to have preceded the latter in ideation. It is not clear what function it might originally have been intended to serve or what its precise format might have been. It has been reduced in height and modestly in width, but it cannot be ascertained whether it was once gabled or was always rectangular. Skaug proposed, tentatively, that two panels in the Pinacoteca Vaticana representing Saints Anthony Abbot and John the Baptist (fig. 3) and Saints Julian and Lucy (fig. 4), sometimes thought to have been the wings of a triptych with the Vatican *Vision of Saint Bridget* at its center, might instead have been associated with the Yale panel.[4] This proposal was based on a loose correspondence of dimensions and on the common use within all three of the unusual rotella punch. The Yale panel, however, is exceptionally thick for the center panel of a portable triptych and shows no visible evidence of the removal of hinges at either side. Hinges might have been driven into now-missing frame moldings surrounding the image, but for no hinge scars to be in evidence on the reverse of the panel such moldings would have to have been large enough to alter the panel's proportions significantly, making association with the Vatican wings even less likely. It may be assumed that numerous images of Saint Bridget were created during the process of her canonization. In the postscript to a letter from Bridget's confessor and the prime mover of her beatification and canonization, Alfonso Pecha di Jaén, Bridget's daughter Karin Ulfsdottir stated that many images of her mother were to

be found in Italian churches and that the pope even kept one in his bedchamber.[5] In addition to more conventional hagiographic imagery, this passage might also have been meant to refer to scenes of the mystical vision of the Nativity such as this one, where a "portrait" of the kneeling Bridget is included at the right. Whatever the interpretation of Karin Ulfsdottir's postscript, the majority of the paintings she mentions must have been relatively small, as they were sent to influential patrons in various European centers. So few survive, however, that no conclusions about them as a group, who made them, when, or where, can be advanced with confidence. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

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

NOTES

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

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

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

Provenance

Rinuccini Collection {TK}, Florence(?); James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888), Florence, by 1859

Condition

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

Discussion

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

The painting was listed as a work by Giottino in inventories of the 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[8] and a private collection in New York—that were also, correctly, recognized as works by Matteo di Pacino by Boskovits.[9]

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

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

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

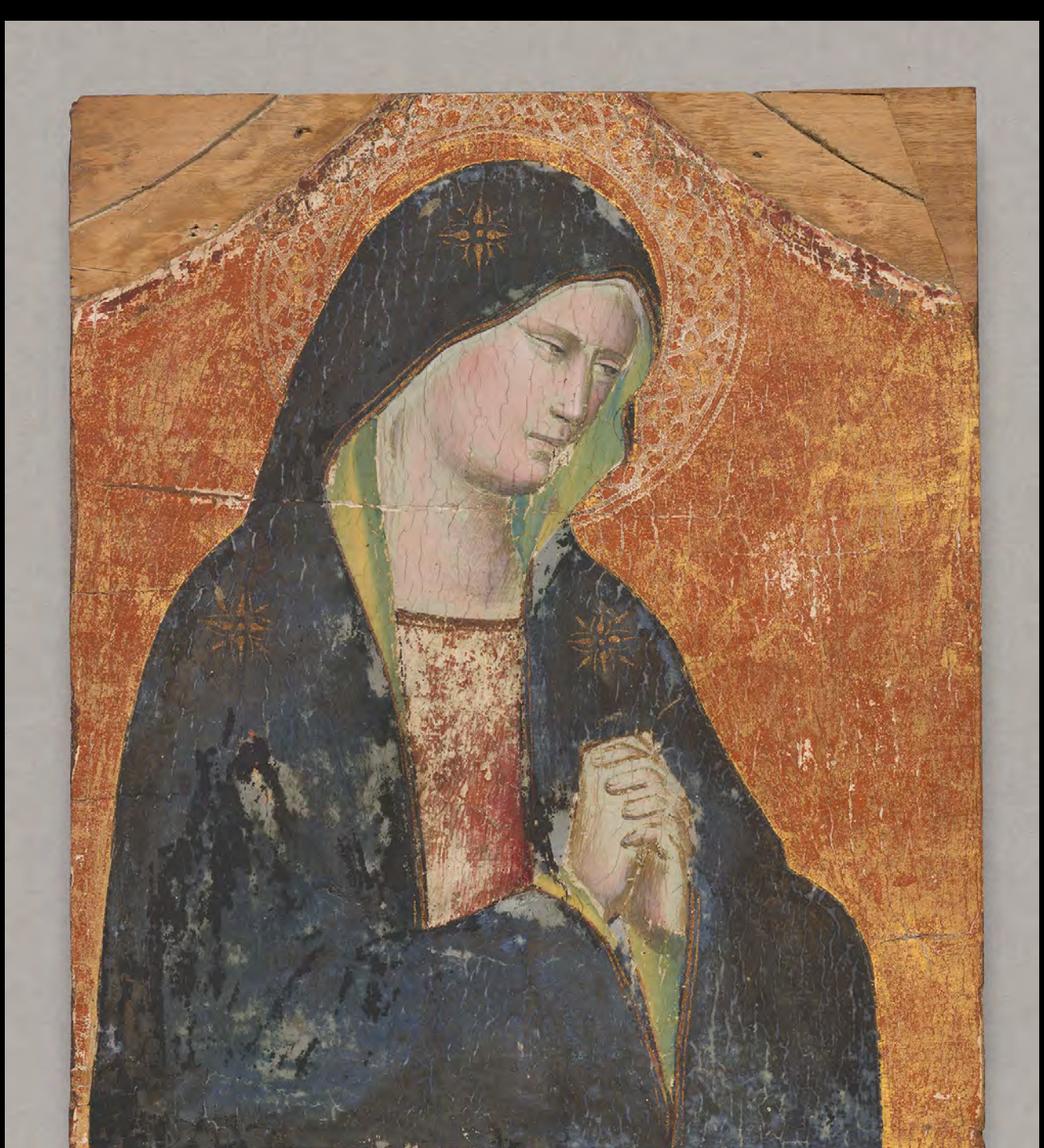
Recent studies of documents relating to Matteo di Pacino have determined that the artist probably died in or shortly after 1374, not in the 1390s as was formerly believed.[11] As the first notice reporting his name dates from 1358, it is possible that his full artistic career may have extended over less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

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

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

NOTES

1. Sirén 1914b, 330; and Sirén 1916a, 44, 45, no. 1744, 45, no. 17.
2. Offner 1927a, TK.
3. Berenson 1932b, 332; and Berenson 1963, 1:132.
4. Seymour 1970, 49, no. 32, fig. 32.
5. Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 76, 599.
6. Boskovits 1975b, 290.
7. Inv. no. 1291, https://philamuseum.org/collection/object/103588; Strehlke 2004, 92–95.
8. Lindenau-Museum, Altenburg, inv. no. 17.
9. Boskovits 1975b, 202n107.
10. Documents of payment dated August 16, October 4, and October 16, 1371; April 6, October 21, October 30, and December 11, 1372; and January 18, 1373, are transcribed in Chiodo 2011, 394–95.
11. Lenza 2005, 27–42; and Chiodo 2011, 335–90.
12. Chiodo 2011, pl. 64.



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

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

Provenance

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

Condition

The panel, of a horizontal grain, has been thinned to a depth of 6 millimeters and cradled. Engaged moldings at the upper left and right have been removed, leaving slightly excavated, arched channels along the edge of the gilded area and exposed wood outside of these. The upper-right corner has been cut and repaired with a wedge-shaped insert measuring approximately 9 by 2 centimeters. The left and right edges of the composition have been cut by an indeterminate amount, probably more on the left than on the right judging by the asymmetry of the upper molding channels. A vague indication of a barb along the lower edge may indicate that the composition is nearly complete along the bottom, although it is difficult to determine with certainty whether it was planned from the beginning to be a straight horizontal border or to mirror the reverse arches of the top edge. The paint surface and the gold ground have been harshly abraded throughout. Damage is especially evident in the Virgin's red dress and through numerous layers of repaint in her blue cloak. A split in the panel running on a slight diagonal, 14 centimeters from the top edge at the left and 17 centimeters at the right, has resulted in less paint loss than has the harsh cleaning of the surface. A knot in the panel support is visible through the paint layers in the area of the Virgin's right forearm. Three mordant-gilt stars on her shoulders and hood may not be original.

Discussion

The severely abraded condition of this panel makes positive identification of its authorship difficult. It has been ignored or treated glancingly in much of the otherwise extensive literature concerned with early Italian paintings at Yale. It came into the possession of Maitland Fuller 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 Mason Perkins—associating it with the style of Bernardo Daddi and identifying it as the left terminal of a painted Crucifix. In verbal communication in 1927, Richard Offner said of it only that it was Florentine and probably painted ca. 1360. Charles Seymour, Jr., pushed its dating forward to ca. 1375 but did not clarify its stylistic character beyond agreeing that it was Florentine.[1] Seymour did propose that it may have been a fragment of a Pietà or Lamentation group rather than the terminal of a painted cross. Burton Fredericksen and Federico Zeri inventoried the painting merely as Florentine, fourteenth century.[2] Erling Skaug catalogued it among the works of Lorenzo di Niccolò, based on the presence of one punch mark (his no. 568) regularly used by that artist but also appearing in the work of at least five other painters.[3] Carl Strehlke, in a manuscript checklist of Italian paintings at Yale compiled between 1998 and 2000, assigned it to a follower of Agnolo Gaddi and dated it to the decade of 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 painting the high altarpiece for the collegiate church of Santa Maria at Impruneta in 1375 implies that his artistic career began considerably earlier. Both Luciano Bellosi and Miklós Boskovits, who were responsible for the initial reconstructions of his oeuvre, speculate that he must have begun painting close to 1360, a supposition borne out by the circumstances of the transfer of punch tools to Nelli from Puccio di Simone.[5] Accordingly, Nelli's early work is defined as those paintings revealing the persistence of influence from Bernardo Daddi, whereas his later career is presumed to have been markedly influenced by the example of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini. Skaug presented evidence supporting this schematization: that Nelli's early works are also distinguished by the use of a subset of Daddi's punches coupled with the use of small ring and asterisk punches, precisely the combination of tools present in the Yale *Mourning Virgin*. These largely disappear from his mature production. There is thus a strong presumption that the larger complex of which the Yale painting is a fragment is likely to have been painted sometime in the decade of the 1360s.

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

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

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

NOTES

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

Holy Trinity, the Virgin, Mary Magdalen,
St John the Baptist, St John the Evangelist
Follower of JACOPO DI CIONE
FLORENTINE SCHOOL, SECOND HALF OF 14 CENTURY
Jarves Catalogue No.15
Purchased by the University
1871

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 retains its original thickness of ca. 2.5 centimeters. A gesso coating on the back that may be original has been overpainted brown and is impregnated with wax. The frame moldings above the spring of the arch are original, except for a 2.5-centimeter extension at the apex. The acanthus decoration around the arch has been regilt, and the background blue has been repainted. The bottom leaves of the acanthus have been remodeled where they were truncated at the sides, and the top-center leaves have been replaced by a modern fleur-de-lis form. The lateral and base moldings of the frame appear to be modern. The outer edges of the panel have been trimmed, irregularly but only slightly along the profile of the arch, more dramatically at the sides where the composition is cropped by the added frame moldings. It is possible that 2 centimeters or more are missing at the left and right. The bottom of the panel does not appear to have been cut: the predella in its present form is modern but occupies an area that must originally have been reserved for that purpose. The paint surface is severely abraded, resulting in evenly scattered flaking losses throughout. These are most extensive in the head and chest of the Baptist and in the draperies of God the Father on the left side of the composition. The gold ground is abraded but original and largely intact.

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, 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,[1] 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. 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 B. J. 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 1366 and again with some regularity after 1375 but only rarely during the decade between those dates, when Giovanni del Biondo by preference shared the gilding and punching of his panels with a *compagnia* of other artists. The logic, however, of assuming that Jacopo di Cione had access to this tool only after 1375 seems to follow an a priori acceptance of the late date proposed by Boskovits, not the internal logic of punch-tool sharing, which might instead be better supported by a date between 1366 and 1375. The second half of that decade range better accommodates stylistic comparison to other approximately datable works by Jacopo di Cione. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

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

NOTES

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

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

Artist	Attributed to Giovanni del Biondo, Florence, documented 1356–99
Title	*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 Collection
Inv. No.	1871.30

Provenance

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

Condition

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

All the gilding on the panel, except the horse's raised hoof, is new and presumably dates from the time that the frame moldings were applied to the surface. The punch tooling is all modern or possibly reinforced over vague impressions of original tooling that might have been preserved in the gesso beneath. The paint surface is severely abraded, and all the pigments have been leached by solvents. Larger gouging losses are scattered throughout John Gualbert's 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 from the San Giovanni Gualberto altarpiece), ca. 1365–75. Tempera and gold on panel, dimensions unknown. Santa Croce, Florence

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

The general outlines of this composition correspond to two well-known fourteenth-century versions of the subject. The first of these occurs at the top left of an altarpiece triptych by Giovanni del Biondo now in the Bardi di Vernio Chapel in Santa Croce, Florence (fig. 1), but that was apparently painted for the church of San Giovanni Evangelista fuori Porta Faenza, a Florentine monastery of Vallombrosan nuns.[1] Larger and more nearly square in format than the compressed horizontality of the Yale scene, this version incorporates a more coherent sense of space and much greater detail in its architectural setting, including rendering the cross with the conventional carpentry of a trecento painted crucifix. In the Yale scene, by contrast, the cross seems to float above the altar more like a mystical vision than a physical encounter, although this may be a mistaken impression caused by the painting's deteriorated condition: engraved lines above the altar table and below the crucifix may indicate that a dossal was once included there, atop which the crucifix rested.

Details of the saint's attire are more specific in the Yale panel than in the Santa Croce altarpiece, although his pose is less energetic. His retainer leading a horse is also portrayed with finer detail in his dress, as well as in the horse's harness, and he seems to be an active participant or witness of the miracle, whereas in the altarpiece, he is little more than a genre figure. The second version of the subject, a vertical panel, probably a small altarpiece, by Niccolò di Pietro Gerini in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 2), follows closely the model of the scene in the San Giovanni Evangelista altarpiece, onto which it grafts details in common with the Yale panel. These include the red dress of Saint John Gualbert, his stately demeanor, and the greater involvement of the retainer in the scene.

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

The severe abrasion and even more severe "restoration" to which the Yale panel has been subjected continues to prevent confident recognition of its authorship. Catalogued by James Jackson Jarves as by Jacopo del Casentino, its spatial organization led Osvald Sirén to assign it an early fifteenth-century date rather than early fourteenth century.[3] Sirén accordingly proposed an attribution for it to Giovanni dal Ponte, an artist who had until then been confused anagraphically with Jacopo del Casentino. The panel is recorded in passing under the name of Giovanni dal Ponte by Adolfo Venturi, Raimond van Marle, and Lionello Venturi,[4] whereas Bernard Berenson and Burton Frederickson and Federico Zeri recognized that it was in fact a late fourteenth- rather than early fifteenth-century painting, attributing it to Agnolo Gaddi or a follower.[5] Miklós Boskovits assigned it to Niccolò Gerini and advanced its dating to ca. 1375–80, but comparison to Gerini's narrative paintings of this or any other period in his career does not bear out that attribution.[6] Erling Skaug claimed that the distinctive punch decoration of the gold ground in the Yale panel points unmistakably to the workshop of Giovanni del Biondo.[7] He did not realize, and no available cataloguing at the Yale University Art Gallery made clear, that this gilding and punch tooling are modern. Nevertheless, it may not be coincidental that all three punches appearing in the panel are relatively close variants of tools used by Giovanni del Biondo, differing modestly in size but not in design and provoking no damage to the drying gesso and bolus typical of original punch strikes.[8]

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

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

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

NOTES

1. Offner and Steinweg 1967, 11–16, pl. 1.

2. Several comparable works by Giovanni del Biondo are known, including a *Saint Jerome* in the Lindenau-Museum Altenburg, Germany, inv. no. 22; a *Saint Paul* in the collection of Stockholm University, inv. no. 220; a *Saint John the Evangelist* in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 444; and, most relevant to the present case, a *Saint Zenobius* that retains its predella in the cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence. Neither the *Saint Jerome* (Offner and Steinweg 1967, pl. 13) nor the *Saint Paul* (Offner and Steinweg 1967, pl. 12) retain their original frames or predellas. For the *Saint John the Evangelist*, see Daniela Parenti, in Boskovits and Parenti 2010, 50–55. The predella of this painting, added to it by Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, is painted on a panel with a horizontal grain, as is the predella of a similar painting showing Saint Martin by Lorenzo di Bicci (Offner and Steinweg 1967, 69–73). For the *Saint Zenobius* by Giovanni del Biondo, see Offner and Steinweg 1969, pl. 22. A fourteenth-century image of Saint John Gualbert of this format is preserved in the presbytery of San Miniato al Monte; see Padoa Rizzo 2002, 56–57. Possibly datable to 1354, it includes a predella with three rudimentary scenes: the murder of John Gualbert's brother; John Gualbert forgiving his brother's assassin; and the miraculous encounter with the crucifix. The style of this painting is not immediately recognizable, and the compositions of the predella scenes seem to have had no discernable influence on either Giovanni del Biondo or Niccolò di Pietro Gerini.

3. Sirén 1909a, 325, pl. 1, no. 3.

4. Venturi 1901–40, 7:27; van Marle 1927, 86; Venturi 1931, pl. 144; and Venturi 1933, pl. 137.

5. Berenson 1932a, 214; Berenson 1963, 1:68; and Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 76, 599.

6. Boskovits 1975b, 411.

7. Skaug 1994, 1:202–3.

8. Frinta 1998, 57, no. Ada4a; 230, no. Fda36; 482, no. L40a.

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

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

Provenance

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

Condition

The *Adoration of the Magi* is painted on a panel with a vertical grain, thinned to a depth of 1.4 centimeters but not cradled. A channel 3 centimeters wide at the bottom of the panel on the reverse has been thinned to half this depth, as if to receive a strap hinge, but there is no evidence of nails in that area and no evidence of other types of hinges at either side. The panel has been cut on all four sides, although an engraved line along the left margin may indicate the original extent of the painted scene on that side. The paint surface is relatively well-preserved but has been lightly abraded overall. The gilding, except in the haloes of the Holy Family, has been almost entirely lost. When the panel entered the 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*, *Virgin Annunciate*, and *Annunciatory Angel*, ca. 1900

This *Adoration of the Magi*, along with a roundel showing the *Virgin Annunciate* and another with an *Annunciatory Angel*, are fragments of the same unidentified complex. When they were in the Jarves collection, they were displayed in a nineteenth-century frame, with the roundels of the

Annunciation placed below the *Adoration of the Magi* as elements of a predella (fig. 3). The size and proportions of the *Adoration*, however, suggest that it was originally the left wing of a folding triptych and that the small roundels probably occupied the spandrels of the central panel or the gables of the lateral ones. The original appearance of the *Annunciatory Angel* and the *Virgin Annunciate* is difficult to ascertain in their present state, but the drawing of the figures and identical tooling and punching in the haloes confirm their association with the *Adoration of the Magi*.

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

Notwithstanding its abraded condition—and elimination of most of the gilt surfaces—the *Adoration* still manages to retain the original charming effect produced by the sheer variety of anecdotal details and figural types, which the artist has succeeded in compressing into the limited, narrow format. The composition combines elements of the Nativity and Adoration of the Magi and is organized vertically on different levels of the rocky landscape, which acts as both a backdrop and an anchor for the spatial arrangement. In the lowest zone, at the base of the panel, is a lively group of elegantly saddled horses and brightly clad attendants, one of whom struggles to restrain a frightened camel. In the middle ground is the main event, dominated by the large shed of the Nativity projecting from the facade of a Gothic building. Careful attention has been devoted to the architectural components of these two structures, as well as to the rendering of realistic details, such as the knotted cord threaded through holes in the wood by which the ass and ox are tethered to the manger. Disposed on different planes under the roof of the shed are the Virgin and Child, seated on a rocky outcrop, and Joseph, crouched alongside the animals behind the manger. Kneeling on a steep incline below the Virgin is one of the Magi, who kisses the Infant'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, 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" (fig. 4).[2]

The *Adoration of the Magi*, which entered Yale's collection with an attribution to Simone Martini, was identified as a product of the Florentine school by William Rankin, who classified it somewhat cryptically as "Spinellesque Style of Early Bicci Class," noting that it reflected the influence of "Sienese decorative and technical ideals" upon Florentine painting.[3] Osvald Sirén, who highlighted the painting's "remarkably fine" execution and naturalistically observed details, first advanced the name of Orcagna, proposing a date in close proximity to the Strozzi Altarpiece, between 1350 and 1360.[4] While acknowledging the Orcagnesque quality of the figures, Raimond van Marle subsequently inserted the panel among a group of works he ascribed to an anonymous collaborator of Andrea di Cione, christened "compagno dell'Orcagna"—otherwise identified as Nardo di Cione.[5] In his 1927 catalogue of Yale's collection, Richard Offner gave a much less enthusiastic assessment of the painting, stating that it bore "only the slenderest relation" to either Orcagna or Nardo di Cione but was more likely the effort of an anonymous imitator; he labeled the image generically as "Florentine Painter (End of the Fourteenth-Century)."[6] In subsequent references to the *Adoration*, however, Offner also referred to the panel as "Cionesque"[7] or filed it under "Yale Orcagnesque Master,"[8] without identifying any other works by the same hand. Bernard Berenson initially placed the *Adoration* in his category of "Florentine Giottesque Painters after 1350,"[9] later broadened to "Unidentified Florentines, ca. 1350–1420,"[10] in both instances qualifying its style as "between Jacopo di Cione and Antonio Veneziano." The narrative and spatial solutions of the Yale *Adoration* did not go unnoticed by Luigi Coletti, however, who cited the panel in his discussion of the Maso-Giottino problem, tentatively advancing a comparison with the *Crucifixion* in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, currently attributed to Giotto's Neapolitan workshop.[11]

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

In 1968, in a fundamental article dedicated to the then still-obscure personality of Cenni di Francesco, Miklós Boskovits first inserted the Yale *Adoration* into the artist's oeuvre, placing its execution around 1390, a chronology that he later revised to 1380–85.[12] Boskovits's study was overlooked by Charles Seymour, Jr., who catalogued the panel generically as Florentine school with a date between 1395 and 1400.[13] However, the attribution to Cenni di Francesco is convincing and has been otherwise embraced by modern scholarship. Among the works most closely related to the *Adoration* are those images formerly grouped around the *Saint Catherine Disputing and Two Donors* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 5), which is usually dated around 1380.[14] Once regarded as efforts of an anonymous Orcagnesque

painter named “Master of the Kahn Saint Catherine” (after the early owner of the Metropolitan Museum panel), these works are now generally acknowledged as products of Cenni’s earlier career, when he was still under the strong influence of Giovanni del Biondo. Typical of the artist’s approach at this moment are the rigidly posed, solid physiognomic types, with the long necks and small heads that also distinguish the Yale picture. The beautifully preserved panel of Saint Catherine, in particular, presents an almost identical decorative vocabulary and provides a hint of the coloristic brilliance and precious handling of ornamental features that must originally have characterized the *Adoration*.

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

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

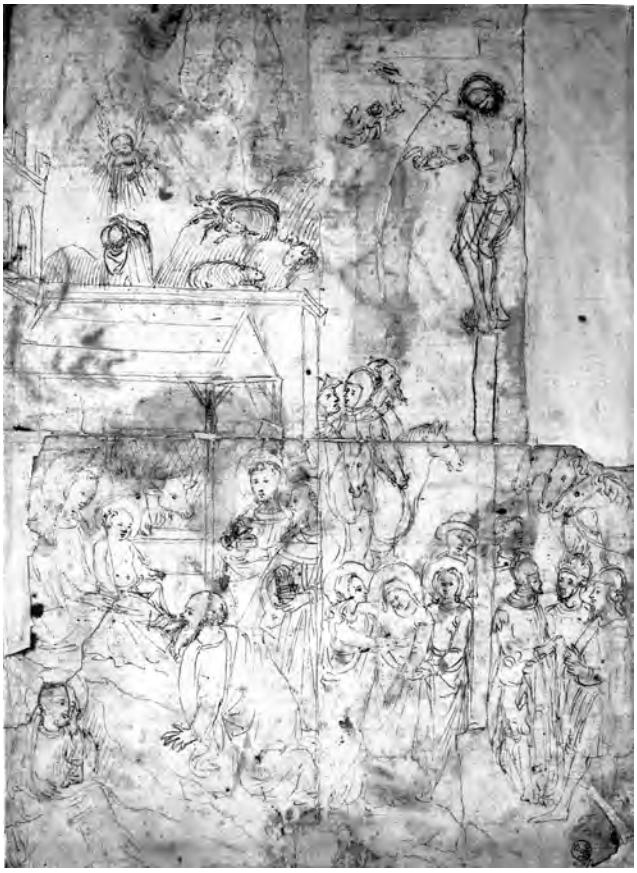


Fig. 7. Anonymous Florentine artist, *The Adoration of the Magi and Crucifixion*, ca. 1390. Pen and ink on paper. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampi degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 22E, recto

While it has not been possible to identify other elements from the same complex, a clue to the subject matter and appearance of the missing right wing of Cenni’s triptych is contained in a little-known fourteenth-century sheet of drawings in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (fig. 7). The sheet was first cited as comparison for the *Adoration of the Magi* by Jarves, who noted that the drawing for the “upper portion” of the picture was preserved “among the designs of the old master in the Florentine Gallery.”[17] Jarves’s reference, recorded in the next two catalogues of his 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 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 Christ Child in the clouds, but the two compositions are otherwise identical in most aspects. On the right half of the Uffizi sheet is a crowded representation of the Crucifixion, suggesting that a similar composition also appeared in the right wing of Cenni’s triptych, opposite the Yale *Adoration*. The scene, the vertical thrust of which provides a parallel to the Adoration, is organized around the impossibly tall Cross, which takes up the entire length of the paper, with the various figures and animals arranged on different levels in the narrow space on either side. At the base of the Cross are the swooning Virgin, supported by the Magdalen and John the Evangelist, and three soldiers arguing over Christ’s clothing. Peeking out

from behind the Cross is a curious figure wearing some sort of bowler hat. On a different plane, above the main characters, are six soldiers on horseback, symmetrically disposed into two sets of three each, on both sides of the Cross (the soldiers on the right are no longer visible due to a tear in the paper).

The Uffizi drawing, which like the Yale picture was ascribed by nineteenth-century scholars to Simone Martini, was identified by Luciano Bellosi as the product of an anonymous Florentine artist, possibly an illuminator, active toward the end of the fourteenth century.[20] The quick pen-and-ink sketches make it difficult to advance a more precise attribution, although the liveliness of the figures, as noted by Bellosi, does recall the illustrations in a codex of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, which have been recently dated around 1390.[21] It is worth speculating whether Cenni's triptych might have provided the very model for the drawing or if both works were inspired by a well-known prototype, possibly located in one of the major Florentine churches. The size of the Yale *Adoration* points to a significant structure, commissioned for either a chapel or side altar. The presence of the motif of the Christ Child in the sky, rare in images of the Adoration and perhaps derived directly from Taddeo Gaddi's example in Santa Croce, could indicate a Franciscan commission. —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

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

NOTES

1. The iconographic motif has been traced to Saint Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae* (1217–74) and the notion that Christ entered the Virgin's womb fully formed. The earliest evidence of its appearance in Florentine painting is the medallion of the Annunciation in Pacino's *Tree of Life* in the Galleria dell'Accademia, inv. no. 1890 n. 8459, executed for the Clarissan nuns of Monticelli in the second decade of the fourteenth century—a work that follows Bonaventure's text to the letter; see Robb 1936, 523–26, and, more recently, Brunori 2016, 53–61.
2. de Voragine 1993, 1:40, 80.
3. Rankin 1905, 8, no. 15.
4. Sirén 1914a, 273–74, fig. 5; Sirén 1916a, 41–42, no. 15; and Sirén 1917, 1:227–29, 2: pl. 193.
5. van Marle 1924b, 514–16.
6. Offner 1927a, 17, fig. 8.
7. Boskovits 2001, 466n1.
8. Offner and Maginnis 1981, 15.
9. Berenson 1932a, 238.
10. Berenson 1963, 1:215.
11. Inv. no. RF 1999 11, https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010067146; Coletti 1942, 470.
12. Boskovits 1968; and Boskovits 1975b, 290.
13. Seymour 1970, 35–36, no. 20a.
14. Laurence B. Kanter, in Kanter et al. 1994, 183–86, no. 19; and Keith Christiansen, "Saint Catherine Disputing and Two Donors," Metropolitan Museum of Art, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/435863.
15. Boskovits 1968, 279–89, 291n21.
16. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 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 involvement or not 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 slightly later; see Kanter, in Kanter et al. 1994, 178–83, no. 18.
17. Jarves 1860, 46, no. 36.
18. Sturgis 1868, 28–29, no. 15; and Brown 1871, no. 15.
19. Fiora Bellini, in Bellosi et al. 1978, 6–7, no. 3. Spread across the reverse of the sheet are various studies of dogs, birds, and the head of a griffin.
20. Luciano Bellosi, in Bellosi et al. 1978, xvi; and Bellini, in Bellosi et al. 1978, 6–7, no. 3.
21. Inv. no. Panciatichiano, 63; Martina Bordone, in Azzetta, Chiodo, and De Robertis 2021, 262–65, no. 42. Bordone identified two separate hands in the decoration of the volume and cautiously proposed that the more accomplished artist might be Gherardo Starnina, before his Spanish sojourn.

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

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

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

Condition

The panels depicting the *Annunciatory Angel* and the *Virgin Annunciate* are both painted on panels of a horizontal grain, 5 millimeters thick, excised from their original context as cross-shaped fragments and mounted onto later panel supports of a vertical grain, 8 millimeters thick. The *Angel* measures 13.5 by 13.6 centimeters overall, excluding a 3-millimeter-wide capping strip applied to the left edge of the panel and integrated with the paint surface. The *Virgin* measures 13.4 by 13.6 centimeters overall. The corners of the *Angel* were filled with plaster to complete a rectangular shape, and the entire spandrel area outside the roundel was painted a gray-brown color to mask these fills. The *Virgin* had been treated in the same fashion, but a cleaning in 1968 removed the plaster fills at the corners. On the reverse of the auxiliary support of the *Angel* fragment is painted in black: 143.M; a similar inscription on the reverse of the *Virgin* reads: 157.M.

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

Madonna Enthroned with St John the Baptist St Nicholas
St Dorothea and St Reparata Above: Crucifixion
Follower of NICCOLO DI PIETRO GERINI
FLORENTINE SCHOOL, ACTIVE IN AND NEAR SAN GIMIGNANO
Jarves Collection, No.16
Purchased for the University
1871.16

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

Artist	Master of the Misericordia(?), Florence, third quarter 14th century
Title	*Virgin and Child Enthroned between Saints Nicholas, Margaret of Antioch(?), Dorothy, and John the Baptist; 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 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 qualities and spatial concerns and describing its brilliant palette—since lost in subsequent interventions—as "vivid blue, cinnabar, amethyst, yellow and green." The attribution to Jacopo di Cione, reiterated in Sirén's 1916 catalogue of the Jarves pictures at Yale, was later dismissed by Richard Offner.[5] The latter devoted scarce attention to the painting, beyond stating that it was "by some follower" of Gerini, while also listing it in his files as "school of Gerini."[6] For Bernard Berenson, the Yale panel belonged to the production of Mariotto di Nardo,[7] while Seymour, echoing Sirén, tentatively ascribed it to the "shop of Jacopo di Cione," with a date around 1380.[8] Federico Zeri, on the other hand, returned to Offner's opinion and referred to the Yale panel as "shop of Gerini,"[9] while Miklós Boskovits included it in his expansive view of Gerini's oeuvre, placing it among the artist's mature efforts, between 1390 and 1395.[10] Since then, the painting has been largely ignored by modern scholarship, although expert opinion has tended to concur with Boskovits in assigning the work to Gerini.[11] The only exception is a tentative attribution to Cenni di Francesco, advanced by the present author.[12]

As in other instances outlined in this catalogue, some of the difficulties encountered in the assessment of this painting are undoubtedly the result of its current condition, unceremoniously summed up by Everett Fahy in his review of Seymour's catalogue, where he referred to the impossibility of making any conclusions based on the "wretched quality and unimposing scale of the picture."[13] To be sure, missing from the panel is not just the coloristic brilliance described by Sirén but also most of the subtleties of execution that once characterized it. Despite its compromised state, a sense of the picture's original qualities can be garnered from the sensitive treatment of the features and modulated flesh tones of the Christ Child, still visible in those areas of the painted surface left untouched by past interventions. Such passages, and the general handling of this figure as well as that of the Virgin, are what make the attribution to Gerini problematic. The slender, Orcagnesque proportions of the oval-faced Virgin and the delicate form of the Christ Child are incompatible with the strongly built, hard-edged physiognomic types with square jaws, more closely dependent on 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 of these images, it is worth considering whether the Yale picture might be included in the same grouping, among those works produced by the Master of the Misericordia around the period of his presumed partnership with Gerini.[16]

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

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

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

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

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

NOTES

1. Seymour 1970, 47–48, no. 29. Saint Reparata, a patron saint of Florence, is usually depicted as a princess martyr wearing a crown and holding the martyr's palm, but her chief attribute is a white banner with a

red cross. The cross held by the saint in the Yale painting, though a typical attribute of Margaret of Antioch, is not exclusive to her and is also included in some representations of Saints Agatha and Juliana (who also both wear crowns), making a definitive identification impossible. See Kaftal 1986, 692, fig. 4.

2. Jarves 1860, 46, no. 38; Sturgis 1868, 39, no. 31; Brown 1871, 16, no. 31; and Rankin 1905, 9, no. 31.

3. Sirén 1908c, 193–94, pl. 3 (left).

4. Sirén 1914b, 330, fig. 4.

5. Sirén 1916a, 43–44, no. 16, fig. 16; and Offner 1927a, 17–18.

6. Offner and Maginnis 1981, 76.

7. Berenson 1932a, 332; and Berenson 1963, 1:132.

8. Seymour 1970, 47–48, no. 29, fig. 29.

9. Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 81, 599.

10. Boskovits 1975a, 411.

11. Everett Fahy, Luciano Bellosi, and Carl Strehlke, departmental files, Yale University Art Gallery; and Chiodo 2011, 82n236.

12. Departmental files, Yale University Art Gallery, January 12, 2004.

13. Fahy 1974, 283.

14. The possibility of a *compagnia* between the two painters was first advanced by Miklós Boskovits based on his identification of both hands in the execution of a triptych in the church of Sant'Andrea a Montespertoli in Florence, datable on circumstantial and iconographic evidence to after 1378; see Boskovits 1975a, 102–3. Boskovits's hypothesis was accepted and elaborated upon by Sonia Chiodo in her study of the Master of the Misericordia, in which she identified a tabernacle in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, inv. no. 230, as another collaborative effort, executed between 1375 and 1380; see Chiodo 2011, 58–66.

15. Chiodo 2011, 81, 304–11, pls. 50–52. For a more in-depth discussion of the panel in the Accademia, inv. no. 1890 n. 9805, see also Chiodo, in Boskovits and Parenti 2010, 92–94, no. 16.

16. Technical considerations, the differences among the uniform tooling of these works, and the unusual freehand design in the haloes of the Yale saints—which recurs in the Arte della Lana *Coronation*—do not preclude the possibility that Gerini may have completed a work left unfinished by the Master of the Misericordia. The Yale panel is also distinguished by an unusual star-shaped punch in the decorative band that—as in the Hampton Court and Accademia versions—separates the main scene from the Crucifixion. This motif reportedly appears in only a handful of devotional works from the Cione workshop, as well as in the main panels of Jacopo di Cione's 1383 polyptych in the church of Santi Apostoli in Florence—which includes a predella scene by Gerini—and in Gerini's *Burial of the Virgin* in the Galleria Nazionale, Parma, inv. no. GN431, datable to ca. 1370–75. See Skaug 1994, 2: no. 8.3 (603); and Frinta 1998, 529, no. Lb28.


I·N·R·I

Lorenzo Monaco, *The Crucifixion*

Artist	Lorenzo Monaco, Florence, ca. 1370–1424/25
Title	*The Crucifixion*
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 *terraverde* preparation. The Virgin's blue draperies and Saint John's red draperies have been heavily reinforced with thin glazes of pigment. Total losses of paint and gilding along the wide split through Christ's head and right leg have been fully reintegrated.

Discussion

"Had this little picture not suffered by a crack running through the whole panel, from the top to the bottom, it would be one of the most refined examples of Lorenzo Monaco's art."[1] So wrote Osvald Sirén when cataloguing the *Crucifixion* in 1916, an accurate assessment of the elevated quality of a great but damaged work of art from the scholar who had first systematically isolated and synthesized the personality of the artist. Prior to the publication in 1905 of Sirén's monograph on Lorenzo Monaco, where the Jarves *Crucifixion* first appeared with its correct attribution, it had been catalogued by James Jackson Jarves and others as the work of Giotto;[2] by William Rankin with the unhelpful clarification "later than Giotto";[3] and by Frederick 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's inexplicable assignment to an independent follower of Lorenzo Monaco.[5]

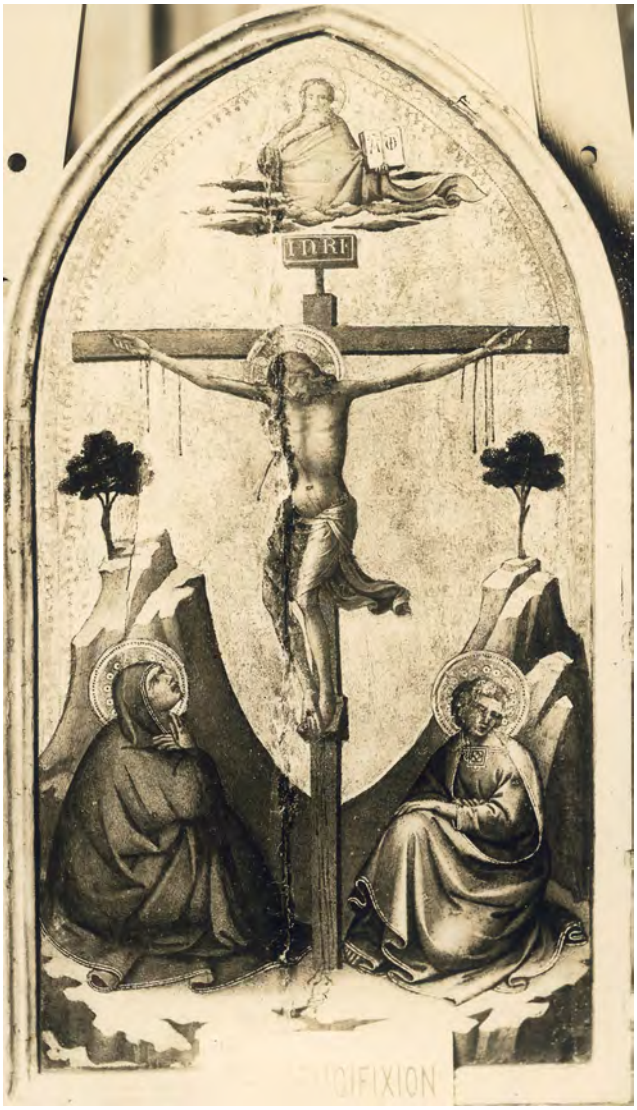


Fig. 1. *The Crucifixion*, ca. 1901

All these scholars have known the painting in different states of preservation but not so widely varying that they should have materially influenced judgments of attribution. A ca. 1901 photograph (fig. 1) shows the painting with the split in the panel repainted in poorly matched colors, with losses and retouching in the head of Saint John the Evangelist, and with reinforcements in the draperies of the Virgin, but otherwise fully legible as a mature work by Lorenzo Monaco. A cleaning by Hammond Smith in 1915 corrected the discoloration of the retouching (fig. 2), resulting in a more homogeneous picture surface but much greater confusion in the restored areas. The head of Christ became fuller, rounder, and less easy to recognize as characteristic of any fourteenth- or fifteenth-century Florentine painter; Saint John the Evangelist became a softer and less expressive figure; and the draperies along God the Father's right arm and Christ's right leg became formless. A drastic cleaning by Andrew Petryn in 1966–68 reduced the painting to a study-collection object (fig. 3), while in the most recent conservation campaign (1998–99), Mark Leonard filled the splits and losses left exposed thirty years earlier and attempted once again to unify the picture surface, less opaquely than it had been in 1915 but with the same conceptual goal of making it appear to be undamaged other than by light overall abrasion.

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

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

There is a near consensus among scholars in dating the Jarves *Crucifixion* to the last third of Lorenzo Monaco's career, with only Miklós Boskovits propounding an early date of ca. 1400–1405.[6] Erling Skaug's systematic survey of the punch tools used by Lorenzo Monaco throughout his career tends to support such a view.[7] The arcade punch decorating the margins of the gold ground in the Yale panel recurs in the *Madonna of Humility* at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., dated by an inscription on the panel to 1413,[8] and in the miniaturist diptych of the Madonna of Humility at the Thorvaldsen Museum, Copenhagen,[9] and Saint Jerome in His Study at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam,[10] universally considered among the artist's last works. It is unrecorded by Skaug in any work prior to the Monteoliveto altarpiece of 1410. Precise dating within this final decade of Lorenzo Monaco's activity is problematic as no securely documented works later than 1415 survive and as two major commissions—for the fresco decoration and *Annunciation* altarpiece in the Bartolini Salimbeni Chapel in Santa Trinita and for the altarpiece of the *Deposition* (only the frame of which was ultimately painted by Lorenzo Monaco) now in the Museo di San Marco but also intended for the church of Santa Trinita—are often thought on anecdotal grounds to be the artist's very last works, although they may have been painted somewhat earlier.

Among all the works reasonably grouped in this final decade, the Jarves *Crucifixion* most closely resembles, in its figure types, emotional tenor, and drawing style, these two major commissions for Santa Trinita, especially the narrative scenes in the predella to the *Annunciation* altarpiece in the Bartolini Salimbeni Chapel. It does not share the greater exaggeration of forms, colors, or lighting effects (to the extent that these are still fully legible in the Yale panel) in such paintings from the very end of Lorenzo Monaco's career as the *Adoration of the Magi* altarpiece in the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence,[11] or the Copenhagen/Amsterdam diptych, which may be assumed to date from some time in the 1420s. The Bartolini Salimbeni frescoes and altarpiece have recently been dated by Luciano Bellosi to shortly before 1420.[12] Similarly, although the pinnacles and predella from the frame of the Strozzi *Deposition* are still frequently discussed as Lorenzo Monaco's last work, left incomplete by the artist at his death,[13] they have also and more persuasively been dated between 1418 and 1421, on the assumption that this commission was not left incomplete but rather was assigned to Fra Angelico for revision around 1430 in order to introduce a change in the iconography of the main panel.[14] A broadly inclusive date for the Jarves *Crucifixion* between 1415 and 1420, as had in any event been proposed by Pudelko and Eisenberg, might therefore seem prudent, with the understanding that an execution close to the end of that time span, around or after 1418, is most likely.

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

It remains to be determined what function the Jarves *Crucifixion* might originally have fulfilled, as it is in many respects anomalous. In the majority of his depictions of the Crucifixion, Lorenzo Monaco included only the three figures portrayed here and, as in this example, he generally showed the Virgin and Saint John seated on the ground. As such, the paintings are not a reference to the historical event of the Crucifixion nor are they typical of devotional images of this subject in that some of them do not include any of the standard repertory of symbols alluding to the significance of Christ's sacrifice, such as the pelican in her piety atop the Cross, the skull of Adam at the foot of the Cross, or angels collecting the blood dripping from Christ's wounds. In two examples, furthermore—the Yale painting and a similar though much earlier composition in the Robert Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 4)—the Virgin and Saint John are considerably larger in scale than Christ, further abstracting the scene and casting it almost as a private meditation on the Passion shared by the viewer with the two sacred

figures in the foreground. The Metropolitan Museum painting appears to have been conceived as the central pinnacle to an altarpiece, but it is unlikely that the Yale panel was designed for a similar purpose. None of Lorenzo Monaco's altarpiece fragments have fully decorated margins to their gold grounds, and few retain no evidence whatsoever of the presence of architectural frame elements, such as side pilasters or corbels supporting the ogival pediment.

Only two other works by Lorenzo Monaco share with the Yale panel its elongated vertical proportions and its uninterrupted linear profile fully decorated by continuous punch tooling: the *Madonna of Humility* of 1413 in the National Gallery of Art and another *Madonna of Humility* in the center panel of a triptych in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena.[15] In the latter, a very early work by Lorenzo Monaco, the engaged frame moldings do not follow the continuous punched margin of the central picture field but rather create an architectural form typical of folding tabernacle triptychs of around 1400. In a slightly later (1408) folding triptych, however, comprising a *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* in the National Gallery, Prague,[16] and the *Agony in the Garden* and *Three Maries 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, no. 18; Perkins 1905, 76; Rankin 1905, 8, no. 18; Sirén 1905, 91, 102, 142, 189, pl. 34; Berenson 1909, 153; Sirén 1909a, 325, pl. 1, no. 1; Venturi 1901–40, 7:14–15; Sirén 1916a, 67–69, no. 24; van Marle 1927, 145–48; Offner 1927a, 5, 21–22, fig. 12; Suida 1929, 23:392; Venturi 1931, pl. 42; Berenson 1932a, 300; Venturi 1933, pl. 135; Pudelko 1938, 248n35; *Landscape* 1945, 13, no. 1; Berenson 1963, 1:120; Seymour 1970, 161–64, no. 116; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 111, 599; Boskovits 1975b, 350; Eisenberg 1989, 79, 127, 143, 149, fig. 174; Laurence Kanter, in Kanter et al. 1994, 252; Skaug 1994, 1:285, 2: no. 8.13; Dean 2001, 26–27, no. 6; Skaug 2006, 54

NOTES

1. Sirén 1916a, 68.
2. For the work as Giotto, see Jarves 1860, 43, no. 17; Sturgis 1868, 33, no. 18; and Brown 1871, 14, no. 18. For Sirén's attribution, see Sirén 1905, 91, 102, 142, 189, pl. 34.
3. Rankin 1895, 140, no. 18.
4. Perkins 1905, 76.
5. Pudelko 1938, 248n35; Eisenberg 1989, 79, 127, 143, 149, fig. 174; and Seymour 1970, 161–64, no. 116.
6. Boskovits 1975a, 350.
7. Skaug 2006, 54.
8. Inv. no. 1943.4.13, https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.12111.html.
9. Inv. no. 1.
10. Inv. no. SK-A-3976, https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/SK-A-3976.
11. Inv. no. 466.
12. The present author proposed a date between 1415 and 1417, but Luciano Bellosi's slightly later dating now seems more likely to be correct. See Laurence Kanter, in Kanter et al. 1994, 252; and Bellosi 2006, 47.
13. See Magnolia Scudieri, in Tartuferi and Parenti 2006, 232–36, with a summary of related opinions.
14. Carl Strehlke, cited in Kanter and Palladino 2005, 87n10.
15. Inv. no. 157. For the National Gallery of Art painting, see note 8, above. The original function of that painting is unknown. Miklós Boskovits speculates that it might have been the center panel of an altarpiece, but this seems unlikely; see Boskovits 2016, 235–41.
16. Inv. no. 428.
17. Inv. no. RF 965, https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010062623.
18. Seymour 1970, 164.

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

Discussion

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

The Yale *Scenes from the Legend of Saints Cosmas and Damian* was catalogued in the Jarves collection as the work of Lorenzo di Bicci and as a fragment probably of an ex-voto.[1] 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.[2] The vertical wood grain of the panel support implies that it probably did not form part of a conventional altarpiece predella, as almost invariably these are painted on a long horizontal plank appended beneath the main tier of the structure. It is more likely that the Yale "predella" formed the lower portion of a single, large ex-voto panel, either representing Saints Cosmas and Damian or in some other fashion dedicated to them.

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

Only one painting among the surviving works of Mariotto di Nardo is known that might present itself as a candidate for this ex-voto: a *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Donors* (fig. 1) in the Mason Perkins Collection at the Sacro Convento di San Francesco at Assisi.[3] 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 James 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,[4] and more recently by Sonia Chiodo,[5] 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 whether this correspondence might be 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 by testamentary bequest from Maestro Giovanni di Maestro Jacopo da San Miniato in 1384 of a chapel dedicated to Saints John the Baptist, James, and Lucy. The bequest, apparently, was received in 1401, and a later commentator in the *chroniche* recorded the existence in the chapel, constructed with the proceeds of the bequest, of an altarpiece that included these three patron saints and that bore an inscription: *fecit fieri Magister Johannes Magistri Jacobi pro rimedio animae suae MCCCCIIII*.[6] Chiodo quite reasonably concluded that the Perkins panel by Mariotto di Nardo, the inscription beneath which corresponds almost exactly with this one, must have been the center panel of this altarpiece. If this were so, it is unlikely, for the reasons stated above, that the chapel was provided in the first instance with a conventional altarpiece and probable instead that the Perkins panel was adapted later by the addition of flanking saints matching the chapel's dedication.[7] 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.[8] That painting, showing Saint Jerome in his study, by Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, is now in the Museo d'Arte Sacra, San Miniato. Such speculative possibilities, however, would be moot but for the physical evidence linking the Yale and Perkins panels, and there is as yet no certainty that this evidence is consequential rather than coincidental. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

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

NOTES

1. Jarves 1860, 45, no. 33; Sturgis 1868, 41, no. 36; Rankin 1895, 142, no. 36; and Rankin 1905, 9, no. 36.
2. Sirén 1909a, 325, pl. 1, no. 2; and Sirén 1916a, 75–76, no. 29, fig. 29.
3. Zeri 1988, 26–27, no. 5.
4. Zeri 1988, 26–27, no. 5.
5. Chiodo 2008, 81–94.
6. Chiodo 2008, 81–94. See also Belinda Bitossi, in Ciardi et al. 2013, 90–91.
7. A fragmentary predella with scenes from the life of the Baptist by Mariotto di Nardo, still in the church of Santi Jacopo e Lucia, may have come from a different chapel; see Bitossi in Ciardi et al. 2013, 102–3.
8. Daniela Risso, in Ciardi et al. 2013, 90.

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

Artist	Lippo d'Andrea, Florence, ca. 1370–before 1451
Title	*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 panel, see *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 mitre, and on the binding of his book is largely intact, though it has flaked irregularly. The mordant gilding of the crown at his feet is nearly obliterated. Scars from six nails align across the top of the panel approximately 6 centimeters from the top edge, and seven nail scars align across the bottom of the panel approximately 13 centimeters from the bottom edge. These nails secured iron strap hinges, 15 millimeters wide, across the back of the panel. Two channels are cut into the surface of the back of the panel to receive these hinges, but only 7 centimeters of the length of the bottom hinge, secured by two nails, are preserved. The hinge nails provoked three partial splits in the panel at the top and two at the bottom that have each resulted in minor paint loss. The back of the panel (fig. 1) is painted with a *faux marbre* pattern, bordered by a black band. This band is missing at the top, indicating that the panel has been truncated and has been reduced in width by 8 to 14 millimeters at the left (the right edge viewed from the front). The bottom has been trimmed by approximately 8 millimeters. The right edge (the left edge from the front) is original and preserves a recessed flange of wood 2 centimeters wide that originally rested beneath a corresponding flange on the other shutter, indicating that this wing closed first. A handle, covering an area of approximately 16 by 3 centimeters, was attached to the back by two nails and situated 6 centimeters from the right edge (from the back) and 22 centimeters from the bottom edge.

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

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

Provenance

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

Condition

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

The panel, of a vertical wood grain and 2.0 centimeters thick, was left uncleaned in the 1962–63 cleaning that the related *Saints Louis of Toulouse and Clare*] underwent and survives in nearly perfect condition: the hands, faces, and haloes are virtually unabraded and the draperies and background are marred only by minor scattered losses from nicks and scratches. Only two nail scars are visible at the bottom of the panel and five at the top. The bottom and right edge (from the front) are intact, except that the flange extension that would have rested atop the corresponding flange of the other shutter when closed is missing. The 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, this panel and its companion, depicting Saints Louis of Toulouse and Clare, 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. 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 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.[3] Either possibility is conceivable in the present instance, since these panels feature exclusively Franciscan saints.

Following a convention of Tuscan triptychs in this period, the central panel over which the Griggs panels once folded—which may be estimated to have measured about 56 centimeters in width and perhaps 90 to 96 centimeters in height—undoubtedly contained a representation of the Virgin and Child Enthroned, possibly attended by angels and perhaps by two additional saints. The presence in the wings of four of the principal saints of the Franciscan order—Clare, patron of the second order of Saint Francis; Louis of Toulouse and Elizabeth of Hungary, patrons of the third order of Saint Francis; and Anthony of Padua, the Thaumaturge—but not of Saint Francis himself argues that the latter was almost certainly included in the company of the Virgin and Child in the missing central panel. He would probably have been paired there with an onomastic saint, indicating either the name of the institution for which the tabernacle was commissioned or the patron who financed it. Although this panel has not yet been identified, an example of its format may be gleaned from a *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints John the Baptist, Francis, and Two Angels* by Lippo d'Andrea offered for sale at Sotheby's, New York, in 2017.[4] 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*, places 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.[5] 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.[6] 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.[7] A large inventory number, "29," painted in black on the reverse of *Saints Elizabeth of Hungary and Anthony of Padua* may ultimately provide a further clue to the panels' provenance, though it has not yet yielded a concrete identification with property from the suppressed religious institutions in Florence during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

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

NOTES

1. Lecture notes recorded at 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. Parenti 2006, 70, fig. 6.
4. Sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 26, 2017, lot 110.
5. Inv. no. Dep. n. 18; , 89–95.
6. On these works, see Pisani 2001, 1–36.
7. Parenti 2014, 66–79; and Daniela Parenti, in Hollberg, Tartuferi, and Parenti 2020, 89–95.

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

Artist	Lippo d'Andrea, Florence, ca. 1370–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 centimeters, cradled, and impregnated with wax. A barb along all four edges of the picture surface indicates that it has not been reduced significantly in any dimension. Pre-1960 photographs (fig. 1) show the panel in the heavily overpainted state in which it has been known to most scholars. Cleaning in 1960 reduced the paint film to a network of lacunae, particularly extensive through areas of dark color and earth tones. Very little of the narrative is more than imperfectly legible. It remains unclear how much overpaint was left on the panel, despite the radical damage from solvents and scraping: there is some evidence that the child in the left scene may once have had a halo, and many of the rocky fissures into which the demons are cast in the right scene appear to be built up with layers of later paint.

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

Discussion

Initially thought to be by Spinello 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 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 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 (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.

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

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*. Jarves identified the scene as a "Vision of Constantine," although Sirén confessed to be unable to see any reason for such an identification. 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."[8] Possibly it represents a local legend of Saint Michael not included in the *Golden Legend* or in other written sources.

Only one attempt has so far been made to reconstruct the original context of the Jarves *Legend of Saint Michael*. In 1950 Gronau proposed reuniting three dispersed predella panels all showing different episodes from the legend of Saint Michael with a fragmentary altarpiece by Agnolo Gaddi in which the Archangel appears alongside Saints Julian and James in one of the lateral panels. Three of the five panels included by Gronau in this reconstruction are, by coincidence, in the collection of the Yale University Art Gallery: the just-mentioned lateral panel showing *Saints Julian, James, and Michael* (inv. no. 1871.20), a predella panel showing the Apparition of Saint Michael at Mont-Saint-Michel and the Miracle of the Bull at Monte Gargano (inv. no. 1943.213), and the present panel. This reconstruction has been correctly rejected by most authors: the two predella panels at Yale are by different artists and from different dates, while the third predella panel—showing the Apparition of Saint Michael above the Castel Sant'Angelo and now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana[9]—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.[10] 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.[11] 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.[12] In that altarpiece, the center panel of the predella is approximately the same width as either of the side panels, and each of the latter is divided into two scenes drawn from the legends of the saints portrayed in the main register above them. In the case of the Yale panel, it is difficult to know whether the two scenes refer to different saints or whether both are intended to commemorate miracles of Saint Michael. If they relate the stories of different saints, it is reasonable to suppose that the other lateral panel from the predella mirrored it in format and also contained narratives from two different saintly legends. If they both celebrate Saint Michael, then the other lateral predella panel is likely to have shown either additional scenes from the legend of Saint Michael, as Gronau supposed, or two scenes (possibly one long scene) from the legend of another saint. Such a panel could have resembled the *Martyrdom of Saint Acacius and the Theban Legion* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon (fig. 4). Close in style to the *Adoration of the Magi* and the Yale *Scenes from the Legend of Saint Michael*, this panel also corresponds to them in height (30 centimeters); it is only 43.1 centimeters long but has clearly been cropped at both sides.

No altarpieces or fragments of altarpieces by Lippo d'Andrea are known that portray either Saint Michael or Saint Acacius.

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

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

Dating the Yale panel and its possibly related companion panels is, given their compromised state and the relative paucity of comparative material, largely intuitive. The compression of the narrative of the Fall of the Rebel Angels into a nearly square format relative to the more expansive composition in the San Miniato predella, as well as the looser handling of both scenes in the Yale panel, suggests that it follows rather than precedes the San Miniato example. The latter has been dated shortly after 1413, on the basis of a donation of land to the Dominicans in San Miniato to endow a chapel of Saint Michael in the church of Santi Jacopo e Lucia, the first mention of such a dedication in the historical record.[13] The Yale panel is even closer in style to the scenes in the predella of the Accademia altarpiece, which is dated 1430 by inscription, although whether it might have preceded or followed that work is unclear. The dating proposed here, ca. 1430, must therefore be understood as both approximate and tentative, pending verification of other fragments of the same structure and a better understanding of the development of Lippo d'Andrea's style over the second half of his career. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

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

NOTES

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


Ι ΧΣ

“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

Inscriptions

on cross, IC. XC.

Provenance

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

Condition

The panel was thinned and cradled in 1930 and cleaned in 1954. It is constructed of two horizontally grained boards. The top and vertical sides have been cropped. The barb along each of the inclined sides indicates that the painting originally had an engaged frame. Most of the paint layer and raised mordant gilding are in excellent condition. The gold background is also original and well-preserved. There are three empty pastiglia wells in Christ’s halo, where stones or cut glass were once set.

Discussion

This beautifully preserved panel, described as a “little masterpiece” by Richard Offner, was probably the pediment above a large altarpiece or reliquary cupboard.[1] Occupying the full height of the composition is the Crucified Christ, whose sharply curved body is set against a brilliant blue Cross inscribed with His name in Greek letters. The deep folds of His ochre loincloth are highlighted by delicate gold striations. Kneeling in adoration below the Cross, her arms wrapped around its base, is the diminutive figure of the penitent Mary Magdalen, clad in a scarlet robe also highlighted in gold. Arranged symmetrically around the Crucified Christ are two groups of figures whose size and placement follow the slope of the panel. Standing on the left is the full-length figure of the mourning Virgin followed by Mary Cleophas and Mary Salome, each shown in a different attitude of distress. On the opposite side is the mourning Saint John the Evangelist, behind whom is a lively group of soldiers in various dynamic poses. A centurion, shown with a Jewish headdress, directs attention toward the Cross in a gesture of declamation, proclaiming to his companions that “truly this was the son of God” (Matthew 27:54). Two of the soldiers behind him look up in awe, while a third recoils in fear.

The panel entered the Yale collection with an attribution to Giunta Pisano proposed by James Jackson Jarves, who stated that it “formerly filled the head of a doorway in a church near Siena, for which it was painted.”[2] Since then, modern scholarship has concurred in identifying the work as a product of the Sienese school in the third or final quarter of the thirteenth century, although the specific attribution has gone back and forth between Guido da Siena, and “shop of Guido da Siena.” First published as a work of Guido by Osvald Sirén,[3] it was assigned to the artist’s shop by virtually all subsequent scholarship, including in James Stubblebine’s monograph on the artist and in Charles Seymour’s catalogue of the Yale collection.[4] In 1991, however, Luciano Bellosi proposed a radical revision of Guido’s corpus and reinstated the Yale panel among the artist’s autograph production. 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.[5]

As was noted by Offner, who wrote that the Yale *Crucifixion* “involves all the difficulties . . . on which attributions to Guido repose,”[6] 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"[7] and view these works as the product of a large, typically medieval workshop, made up of distinct personalities employing the same models, and those who have embraced the reassessment of the artist proposed by Bellosi. The latter argued that Guido was just one of several minor painters active in Siena in the 1270s and 1280s and distributed many of the works formerly gathered under his name among equally accomplished but lesser-known personalities, such as Dietisalvi di Speme, Rinaldo da Siena, and Guido di Graziano.

While Bellosi's study was instrumental in expanding the panorama of Sienese duecento painting beyond Guido's name, his reconstruction of the artist's oeuvre is not entirely convincing. Significantly, of the thirteen works in Bellosi's list, only one has been universally attributed to the same hand that painted the San Domenico *Virgin*: the dossal dated 1270 from the church of San Francesco in Colle Val d'Elsa, now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, known as "Dossal no. 7." This work, which is entirely consistent with the intact portions of the San Domenico *Virgin* —namely, the Redeemer and angels in the gable—was rightly viewed by Offner as fundamental for assessing Guido's personality and anchoring his activity. Yet, among the remaining panels assigned by Bellosi to Guido, only a handful appear to reflect a sufficient proximity to that work to warrant the attribution. Others, including the Yale *Crucifixion*, seem to be the product of several distinct and independent personalities.[8]

Fig. 1. "Pseudo Dietisalvi di Speme," *The Last Judgment*, ca. 1270–80. Tempera and gold on panel, 141 × 99 cm (55 1/2 × 39 in.). Museo Archeologico e d'Arte della Maremma, Grosseto

It has often been remarked that, in contrast to the dry technique and tight, meticulous execution that characterizes Dossal no. 7, the Yale *Crucifixion* is distinguished by a markedly more pronounced chiaroscuro and rounding of forms as well as by a more fluid and denser application of paint. Whereas previous authors had interpreted these elements as indicative of a different hand, Bellosi, followed by Silvia Giorgi,[9] 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"
credit:, another work otherwise attributed to the artist's workshop. There is no question that the Yale *Crucifixion* and the Grosseto *Last Judgment* are the product of the same hand, as evidenced by a comparison between the standing angels around the seated Christ and the female figures in the Yale panel, or between the heads of the small figures in the narrative scenes below Christ and those of the soldiers in the *Crucifixion*. Yet, it is difficult to explain the qualitative differences between these two works and Dossal no. 7 in terms of a coherent stylistic evolution, as suggested by Bellosi. The expressive liveliness of the figures as much as the fluid modeling of the draperies and broader handling of the forms, appears incompatible with the rigid, abstract idiom of Guido's dossal and denotes an altogether different artistic sensibility.

Both the Yale *Crucifixion* and the Grosseto *Last Judgment* seem to overlap, to varying degrees, with some of the production currently

gathered—in the wake of Bellosi's research—under the name of Guido's contemporary Dietisalvi di Speme: the exterior scenes of the *Saint Clare* reliquary shutters and *Beato Andrea Gallerani* reliquary shutters in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena[10]; the frescoes in the crypt of Siena Cathedral[11]; and the series of panels from the Badia Ardenga formerly included in the *Madonna del Voto* altarpiece for the duomo.[12] 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.[13] The division of hands proposed by Bellosi, however, is not persuasive, nor is there evidence of Guido's participation in any parts of this complex. As noted by Barbara John, the various panels reflect a single, unified pictorial vision,[14] notwithstanding the possible intervention of assistants in the execution. Undoubtedly related to the Yale *Crucifixion* is the scene of the Flagellation now in the Lindenau-Museum, Altenburg, Germany (fig. 2), where the stance and bodily proportions as well as the gesture of the flagellant on the left provide a virtually identical counterpart to the figure of the pointing centurion below the Cross.

Fig. 2. Pseudo Dietisalvi di Speme, *The Flagellation of Christ*, ca. 1270–80. Tempera and gold on panel, 33.9 × 45.8 cm (13 3/8 × 18 in.). Lindenau-Museum, Altenburg, Germany, inv. no. 8

Although these works betray the style of a distinct personality, the identification with Dietisalvi di Speme, an artist who seems to have specialized primarily in the decoration of *biccherna* covers, is problematic. According to documents, Dietisalvi was responsible for painting no fewer than fifty-six *biccherne* in the period between 1259 and 1288, yet just four of them 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,[15] 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.[16]

Recognizing some of the above issues, John preferred to attribute the *Madonna del Voto* altarpiece to a so-called Master of the Madonna del Voto. That pseudonym might be misleading, however, given previous gatherings under the same name of other images unrelated to the present grouping. For now, a tentative label of "Pseudo Dietisalvi di Speme" seems the most prudent way of isolating the hand of this painter from that of Guido da Siena and other anonymous contemporaries.

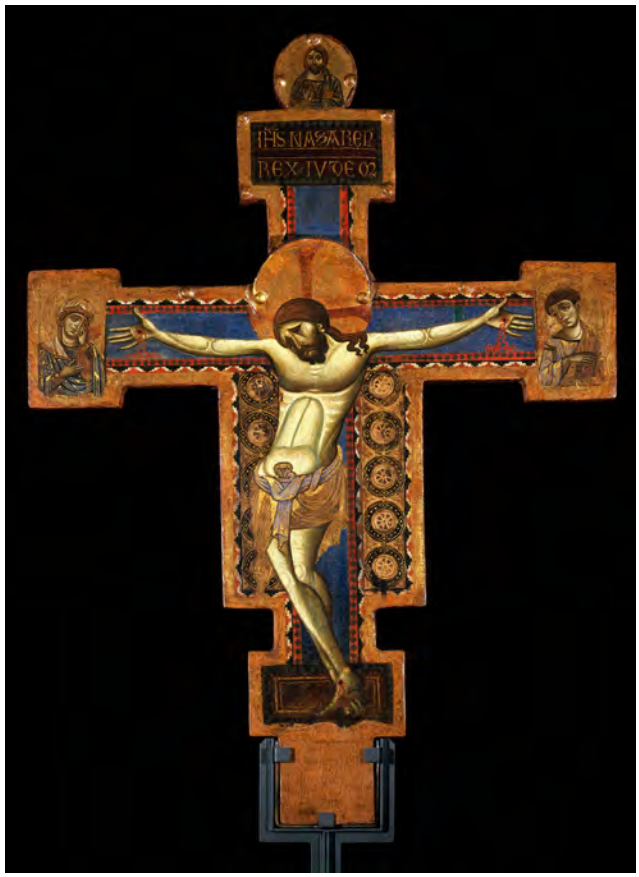


Fig. 3. Attributed to Giunta Pisano, *Processional Cross*, ca. 1250. Tempera and gold on panel, 133 × 83 cm (52 3/8 × 32 5/8 in.). Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, inv. no. 2325

Based primarily on iconographic grounds, most authors have concurred in dating the Yale *Crucifixion* to the decade between 1270 and 1280. Curt Weigelt was the first author to point out that the unusual detail of the crouching soldier in the Yale panel derives from Nicola Pisano's *Crucifixion* on the pulpit for Siena Cathedral, completed in 1268.[17] 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.[18] 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[19] 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."[20] Generally dated around the middle of the thirteenth

century or slightly later, the San Benedetto cross represents an iconographic unicum in Giuntesque production in its depiction of Christ's crossed legs and feet, which mirrors the present work, suggesting that just such an image may have provided the model for our artist. The example of Giunta, whose lost crucifix for the Upper Church of Assisi provided the archetype for all subsequent representations of Saint Francis kneeling at the foot of the Cross,[21] may also have inspired the motif—still rare in Italian painting at this date—of the penitent Magdalen embracing the Cross in the Yale *Crucifixion*. Other elements from the same structure, already dismembered by the time Jarves saw this fragment hanging above a doorway, are yet to be identified. —PP

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Jarves 1860, 42, no. 12; Jarves 1861, 114, pl. A, fig. 3; Sturgis 1868, 24–25, no. 11; Brown 1871, 12, fig. 11; Rankin 1905, 7, no. 11; Sirén 1915, 277–79, fig. 1; Sirén 1916a, 7–9, no. 2, fig. 2; Sirén and Brockwell 1917, 110; van Marle 1920, 270; Weigelt 1922, 15:284; Offner 1927a, 2, 37, fig. 26; Berenson 1932a, 268; Edgell 1932, 33; Berenson 1936, 231; Garrison 1949, 116, no. 298; Meiss 1951, 150n80; Steegmuller 1951, 293; Coor-Achenbach 1953, 257–58; Stubblebine 1964, 16, 91–92, 102, no. 18, fig. 52; Berenson 1968, 1:205; Seymour 1970, 13–15, no. 3; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 599; Seymour et al. 1972, 12, no. 3; Offner and Maginnis 1981, 2, 37, fig. 26; Sullivan 1985, 41, 43n25, fig. 19; Derbes 1989, 195, 197, 202n29, fig. 14; Bellosi 1991, 7–8, 58, 67, fig. 8; Kenney 1992, 131; Maginnis 2002, 472, 485n1; Villers and Lehner 2002, 295n22, 297, 298–99n27; Silvia Giorgi, in Bagnoli et al. 2003, 61; Bellosi 2003, 39; Dean 2001, 18–19, no. 2; Foskolou 2011–12, 274n16; Benay and Rafanelli 2015, 64, fig. 2.2; Bohde 2019, 8n9, fig. 5

NOTES

1. Offner 1927a, 37.
2. Jarves 1860, 42, no. 12.
3. Sirén 1915, 277–79, fig. 1.
4. Stubblebine 1964, 16, 91–92, 102, no. 18, fig. 52; and Seymour 1970, 13–15, no. 3.
5. Bohde 2019, 8n9, fig. 5.
6. Offner 1927a, 37.
7. Offner 1927a, 37.
8. Above all, the present author agrees with most previous scholars in noting that the relationship between Dossal no. 7 and the more weakly executed Dossal no. 6 in the Siena Pinacoteca is purely iconographic. As noted by James H. Stubblebine, the latter was most likely painted by the same anonymous personality responsible for the *Virgin and Child* in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence (inv. no. 435); see Stubblebine 1964, 16, 91–92, 102, no. 18, fig. 52. Equally unconvincing is Bellosi's attribution to Guido of the *Virgin and Child* in the Princeton University Art Museum (inv. no. y1962-48, https://artmuseum.princeton.edu/collections/objects/28816)—another panel generally referred to the artist's workshop.
9. Silvia Giorgi, in Bagnoli et al. 2003, 61.
10. Inv. nos. 4–5.
11. For the division of hands in these frescoes, attributed to a team of painters including Dietisalvi di Speme, see Bagnoli 2003, 107–47.
12. The present author finds it difficult to regard the Galli Dunn *Virgin* and the San Bernardino *Virgin* as products of the same hand that painted the *Madonna del Voto*. These works appear to instead reflect the effort of three distinct and separate personalities.
13. The 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, New Jersey; 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 Caroline Villers and Astrid Lehner (in Villers and Lehner 2002), was questioned by Silvia Giorgi (in Giorgi 2003) [**TK** Giorgi 2003 not in biblio]. However, it was later reconfirmed by Norman E. Muller based on unassailable technical evidence; see Muller 2004, 28–39.
14. Barbara John, "Die Geschichte des Sieneser Hauptaltarbildes nach 1260 und seiner Rekonstruktion," in John, Manzke, and Penndorf 2001, 107.
15. Maginnis 2002, 472, 485n1.
16. Anna Maria Giusti, in Dini 1982, 37–30, no. 1, [**TK** Dini 1982 is not in the bibliography] 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 choirbooks 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, Berlin, inv. no. M 580), first attributed to the artist by Giusti; see Giusti 1974, 275–78.
17. Weigelt 1922, 15:284.
18. Maria Laura Testi Cristiani highlights the connection between this representation and the Crucifixions in the famous sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt (1225–1235); see Testi Cristiani 1987, 248.
19. Dean 2001, 18.
20. Tartuferi 1991, 18–19, 74–76, no. 7. For the attribution to Giunta, first proposed by Peleo Bacci but rejected by Miklós Boskovits and Tartuferi, see most recently, Lorenzo Carletti, in Burresi and Caleca 2005, 120–21, no. 12.
21. 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.

Luca di Tommé, *Predella: Saint Francis, the Mourning Virgin Mary, Christ on the Cross, the Mourning Saint John the Evangelist, and Saint Dominic*

Artist	Luca di Tommé, Sienese, documented 1356–89
Title	*Predella: Saint Francis, the Mourning Virgin Mary, Christ on the Cross, the Mourning Saint John the Evangelist, and Saint Dominic*
Date	ca. 1350–55
Medium	Tempera on panel
Dimensions	overall 23.5 × 197.3 cm (9 1/4 × 77 5/8 in.); picture surface: 20 × 193.1 cm (7 7/8 × 76 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, B.A. 1896
Inv. No.	1943.246

Provenance

Ercole Canessa (1868–1929), Paris; sale, American Art Galleries, New York, January 25–26, 1924, lot 152 (as school of Simone Martini); Maitland F. 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 was 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. The frame was removed in a radical cleaning at Yale in 1969.

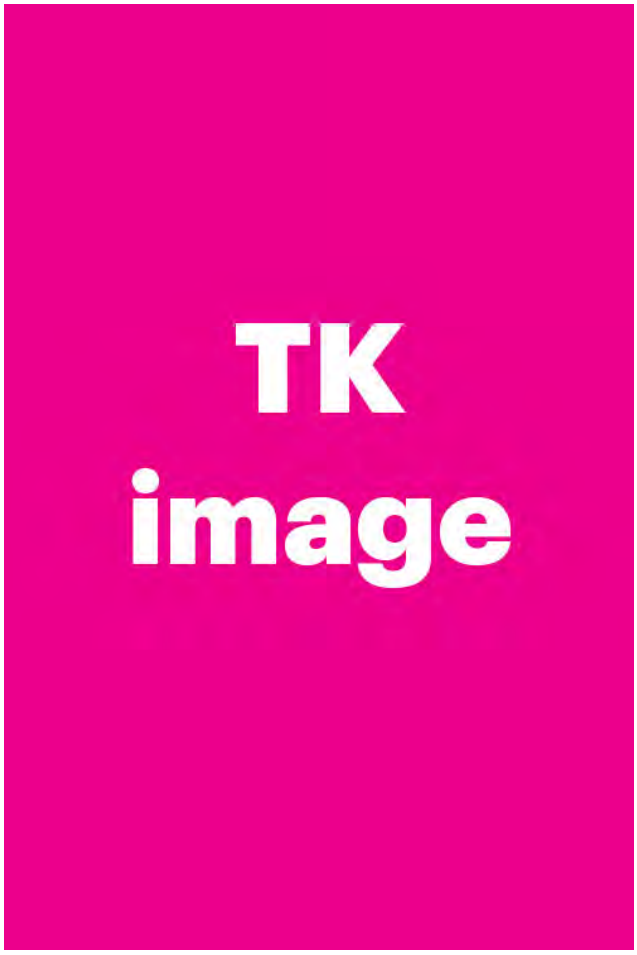


Fig. 1. *Predella: Saint Francis, the Mourning Virgin Mary, Christ on the Cross, the Mourning Saint John the Evangelist, and Saint Dominic*, before treatment in 1999

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 later gilding.

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. An expertise written by Richard Offner for Maitland Griggs in February 1924 described the "course of grave and noble mourners of Christ [that] has the hush about it of great tragic moments" and offered comparison to a signed and dated (1367) polyptych by Luca di Tommè in the Pinacoteca in Siena, "if one should require the unnecessary proof that this predella is an absolutely unquestionable work of the master." The few authors who have troubled to consider its dating are divided in their opinions between those who find it an early, "Lorenzettian" work[1] and those who prefer to place it in the artist's maturity.[2]

In 1978 Federico Zeri wrote to Andrea Norris, then assistant to the director at the 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." 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 (fig. 2), formerly in the Chalandon collection[3]; Saint Michael (fig. 3), in the Alana Collection, Newark, Delaware; Saint John the Baptist (fig. 4), in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles; and Saint Bernard degli Uberti (fig. 5), formerly in the Chalandon collection,[4] reading left to right according the reconstruction proposed by Gaudenz Freuler.[5] Among the pinnacles, Zeri identified a panel showing two apostles (fig. 6), in the Fondazione Roberto Longhi, Florence, and a Blessing Redeemer (fig. 7), in the Kress Collection at the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh. To these has since been added a third pinnacle panel, showing Saints Peter and Paul, that appeared at auction in 1989.[6]

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, Delaware, inv. no. 2009.13

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, dimensions 101.5 × 49.5 cm (40 × 19 1/2 in.). Location unknown

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, inv. no. TK

Fig. 7. Luca di Tommè, *Blessing Redeemer*, ca. 1350–55. Tempera and gold on panel, 58.1 × 33.7 cm (22 7/8 × 13 1/4 in.). North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, inv. no. GL.60.17.5

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. S. D'Argenio, writing in the catalogue of the Fondazione Longhi collection,[7] accepted both Zeri's reconstruction and the attribution for all the panels to Luca di Tommè, as did Giulietta Chelazzi Dini.[8] Gaudenz Freuler, investigating a likely provenance from the Vallombrosan church of San Michele in Siena for this reconstructed altarpiece, 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.[9] He proposed instead identifying four narrative panels—a *Nativity* now in the Alana Collection, an *Adoration of the Magi* in the Thyssen Collection in Madrid, a *Crucifixion* in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 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.[10] 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 seven and ten centimeters narrower.

While Palladino also considered the association of the Yale predella with the Vallombrosan altarpiece unconvincing "on both stylistic and technical grounds," it must be admitted that the stylistic evidence available at the time was compromised by the drastically abraded state in which the predella was then to be found. Technical evidence, in the form of punch

tooling, had also been misrepresented. Erling Skaug described the punch tools decorating gilded haloes and borders in the Yale predella, which he acknowledged knowing only through photographs provided to him by Norman Muller, as an unicum within the career of Luca di Tommè.[11] Mojmir 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.[12] 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) or two saints and the mourning Evangelist (right) in the predella, while the missing central panel, almost certainly portraying the Virgin and Child, occupied exactly the same width as the Crucified Christ and its two decorative end panels in the predella, 58.5 centimeters. As Federico Zeri observed, the dentilated molding closing off the predella at the top is identical to that preserved in three of the four panels from the main register as well as in the Fondazione Longhi pinnacle, 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

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Catalogue of the Ercole Canessa Collection 1924, no. 152; Perkins 1924, 15n; Comstock 1928, 58–59 [**TK** Comstock a or b?]; Perkins 1929, TKVol.:427; van Marle 1931a, 170, pl. 5; Berenson 1932b, 313 {**TK Please check if Berenson 1932b is correct. I added the b.**}; Berenson 1936, 269; Frankfurter 1937, 156; Berenson 1968, 1:225; Seymour 1970, 81, no. 54; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Vertova 1973, 159–60; Fehm 1973a' %}, 15, 31n31; Muller 1973, 16, 18, 21n33, fig. 8; De Benedictis 1979, 88; Chelazzi Dini 1982, 278; Fehm 1986, 95–96, no. 20; Skaug 1994, 244; Palladino 1997, 76n72; Freuler 1997, 24; Frinta 1998, 449; Leonard 2003, 164, 225–32

NOTES

1. van Marle 1931a, 170, pl. 5; Frankfurter 1937, 156; Fehm 1973a, 15, 31n31; Fehm 1986, 95–96, no. 20; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; and Chelazzi Dini 1982, 278.
2. Perkins 1924, 15n; Perkins 1929, TKVol.:427; and Seymour 1970, 81, no. 54.
3. Sale, Sotheby's, London, July 8, 2009, lot 22.
4. Sale, Sotheby's, London, July 8, 2009, lot 21.
5. Freuler 1997, 24.
6. Sale, Finarte, Milan, December 13, 1989, lot 137.
7. D'Argenio 1980, 242.
8. Chelazzi Dini 1982, 278.
9. Freuler 1997, 24.
10. Palladino 1997, 76n72.
11. Skaug 1994, 244.
12. Frinta 1998, 449. Frinta listed four other paintings employing the same punch tools in restorations, including the *Adoration of the Shepherds* altarpiece fragment by Bartolomeo Bulgarini at the Fogg Art Museum (not the Museum of Fine Arts (MFA), Boston, as he recorded), a *Virgin and Child* attributed to Lippo Memmi at the MFA (inv. no. 36.114), and a full-length *Saint Lucy* now recognized as the work of Jacopo del Casentino (sale, Christie's, New York, April 15, 2008, lot 4). The painting at the MFA has been identified by Gianni Mazzoni (Mazzoni 2001, 308–12) as the work of Icilio Federico Ioni. It is unclear whether the painting is entirely an invention of Ioni or one of the many severely damaged early paintings extensively "restored" by him, but it might be possible to conclude that Ioni was responsible for regilding all the paintings in the group listed by Frinta, including the Yale predella.

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

Artist	Luca di Tommè, Sienese, documented 1356–89
Title	*Virgin and Child with a Goldfinch*
Date	ca. 1365–70
Medium	Tempera and gold on panel
Dimensions	65.6 x 46.3 cm (25 7/8 x 18 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Gift of Richard L. Feigen, B.A. 1952
Inv. No.	2020.75.9

Provenance

Sale, Sotheby's, London, March 16, 1966, lot 27; "Salocchi"; with Vittore Frascione, Florence, 1968–69; private collection, Italy, and by descent; sale, Bonham's London, July 3, 2013, lot 55; Richard L. Feigen (1930–2021), New York

Condition

Fig. 1. Reverse of *Virgin and Child with a Goldfinch*

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain and a depth of TK cm, retains its original thickness but has been cut on all four sides. It comprises one large plank, 42.7 centimeters wide, with a smaller 4.6-centimeters-wide

strip added to it at the right (fig. 1). At some point, presumably when the panel was cut to a half-length format, the upper edge was also cut to form a rounded arch: the present upper-left and upper-right corners of the panel are modern inserts to return it to a rectangular shape. The main plank of the support features a large knot near its upper-right edge, provoking an unusually pronounced swirl to the wood grain around it. Scribed marks for a horizontal batten, 6.7 centimeters wide and 11 centimeters below the present top edge of the panel, are clearly visible on the reverse. Two iron nails driven through the center of this batten, 4.3 and 31.4 centimeters from the present left edge of the panel, are still visible, while a hole that may have housed a third nail, 44.5 centimeters from the left edge, is now empty.

Fig. 2. Stripped state of *Virgin and Child with a Goldfinch*

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. A 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

The few scholars to have considered this painting appear to have known it in photograph only, and none of them was fully aware of its compromised condition. In its present reduced format, it is presented as an object of private devotion, but the indications of a batten on its reverse (see fig. 1) reveal that it was designed as the center panel of an altarpiece polyptych. The placement of this batten must coincide with the height at which the gables of the lateral panels met that of the center panel, slightly above the spring of its framing arch. The presence of one batten alone, however, cannot reveal whether the original format of the altarpiece included three-quarter-length figures, as in polyptych no. 586 in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, 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 does she appear directly against a gold ground. It is possible that the regilding of the ground outside the haloes in the Yale panel was intended to mask a fragmentary throne and cloth of honor, completing the illusion of its revised function as a private devotional work. The presence of red paint or glaze and what appears to be sgraffito granulation simulating a textile pattern atop gilding and bolus in the small triangular patch above the Virgin's left shoulder, below the two overlapping haloes, tends to support the reconstruction of the composition as a Virgin and Child Enthroned.

If any other fragments survive from the altarpiece of which this panel formed part, the most likely candidates would be the full-length figures of Saints Peter and Paul now displayed in the chapel at Exeter College, Oxford (fig. 3–4).[1] The rounded and heavily shaded features of the two apostles are an exact stylistic match for the Yale *Virgin and Child*, the haloes of all four figures are similarly decorated, and the three panels are compatible in scale, to the extent that the original format of the Yale panel can be approximately reconstructed. Two deformations of the gilded surface in the Exeter *Saint Paul*, just within the framing arch at roughly the level of the saint's ears, may indicate nails securing a horizontal batten; the corresponding area in the Exeter *Saint Peter* has been damaged and repaired. It has not been possible to inspect the reverse of these panels to determine if scribed lines are preserved indicating the batten's placement and, accordingly, if it corresponds in width to that on the reverse of the Yale *Virgin and Child*.

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

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

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 A. Fehm, Jr., 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 Bonham's sale of July 2013, suggested a date of ca. 1380 for the panel now at Yale, it, along with the Exeter *Saints*, is likely to have been painted around the time of the 1367 altarpiece of the Sant'Anna Meterza in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena,[3] probably not later than Luca's Rieti altarpiece of 1370. Two of the punch tools used in the Yale *Virgin and Child*—Erling S. Skaug's no. 547 and one punch not catalogued by Skaug, no. La123 in Mojmír S. Frinta's catalogue (which is also found in the Exeter *Saints*)—recur in the Rieti altarpiece. The third tool in the Yale panel, Skaug no. 609, was shared by Bartolomeo Bulgarini and Niccolò di Ser Sozzo. Luca di Tommè signed an altarpiece jointly with Niccolò di Ser Sozzo in 1362, one year before the latter's death, which might be taken as a hypothetical *terminus post quem* for Luca's acquisition of Niccolò's punch tools.

Two further panels might tentatively be considered candidates to complete a reconstruction with the Yale and Exeter panels: full-length figures of Saint John the Baptist and Saint John the Evangelist last recorded in the Lanckoronski collection in Vienna in 1935.[4] 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.[5] While that reconstruction is not overtly implausible, neither is it especially compelling, whereas old photographs of the Lanckoronski panels suggest a strong stylistic link to the two saints at Exeter College. Barring retrieval of these panels, this question can be nothing more than a conjectural proposition.

The motif of the Christ Child holding a goldfinch tied to a string refers to the symbolism of a bird escaping a snare (Psalm 124:7) as a metaphor for the freedom of the human soul. In medieval lore, the goldfinch was said to have acquired the red spot on his breast after pulling a thorn from Christ's crown on the way to Calvary and being splashed by a drop of the holy blood. In the Yale *Virgin and Child*, the finch nips at the Christ Child's thumb with his beak, evoking the splash of blood. The finch was also a commonly accepted symbol of the Virgin's foreknowledge of her Son's Passion, due to its habit of feeding off the seeds of thistles. Captive goldfinches were reputedly a favorite pet of children in wealthy or aristocratic families. Luca di Tommè has successfully alluded to his patrons' likely familiarity with the bird by showing it straining against the string tied to its foot and wound twice around the Child's finger to prevent its escape. —LK

PUBLISHED REFERENCES

Gregori 1969, 112; Fehm 1976, 348; De Benedictis 1979, 38, 66, 89; Fehm 1986, 165, no. 64

NOTES

1. Both panels have been truncated at the bottom. See Fehm 1986, 104–5.
2. Fehm 1973b, 463–64.
3. Inv. no. 109.
4. Fehm 1986, 116–17. The panels are not included in Skubiszewska and Kuczman 2010.
5. Inv. no. 594; Fehm 1986, 114–15. Torriti 1977, 435, lists these paintings as "lost" ("non rintracciato"). Photographs of them published by Fehm leave an attribution to Luca di Tommè doubtful.

Master of Panzano (with Luca di Tommè?), *Virgin and Child with Saints Ansanus and Victor*

Artist	Master of Panzano, Siena, active last quarter fourteenth century
Title	*Virgin and Child with Saints Ansanus and Victor*
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 × 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 with Saints Ansanus and Victor*, before 1958

The paint surface is unevenly preserved. It is in exceptionally good condition in most of the hands, draperies, and above all in the brocaded cloth of honor behind the Virgin, executed in a refined sgraffito technique

with applied shadows in a green (now brown) oil glaze to indicate lines of tension where it is pulled taut by the angels. The faces of all the figures and the blue of the Virgin's mantle were severely abraded in a 1958 cleaning; pre-cleaning 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 attributing it 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. TK artist, *Virgin and Child*, TK date. TK dimensions. 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.

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 Bernard 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/Acton fragments of an altarpiece are particularly close in style and may simply be early independent commissions to the Master of Panzano rather than delegated work from Luca di Tommè. The eccentricities common to works by the Master of Panzano are more subdued in the Yale panel, but even there it is possible to recognize the same bony, tapering fingers of the Virgin and the saints, the flat projection of the feet of the Christ Child, or the close-set eyes and pursed mouths of all the figures as appear in any number of paintings by the Panzano Master. Particularly close are a pair of triptych wings in the Pinacoteca Vaticana representing Saints Anthony Abbot, Francis, Paul, and Nicholas of Bari,[12] and a similar pair in the collection of the San Diego Museum of Art, representing Saints James the Greater, Anthony Abbot, Francis, and Ansanus (fig. 3). Conspicuously unlike any other painting by the Panzano Master is the technically expert use in the Yale panel of tooled gold leaf to indicate the hems and collars of the draperies of all the figures, a procedure that seems to have required the local application of small strips of gold rather than a more traditional overall gilding and sgraffito execution. It is likely that this refined detail may have been due to Luca di Tommè's direct intervention in some stage of the panel's genesis.

Fig. 3. Panzano Master, *Saints James, Anthony Abbot, Francis, and Ansanus*, ca. 1385–90. Tempera and gold on panel, 37.4 × 32.4 cm (14 3/4 × 12 3/4 in.). San Diego Museum of Art, Gift of Anne R. and Amy Putnam, inv. no. 1946.19

In her discussion of the San Diego triptych wings, Pia Palladino pointed out that the grisaille figures of Saints Anthony Abbott and Christopher painted on their reverses seem to be by a different artist, probably Niccolò di Buonaccorso.[13] The same observation could be extended to a triptych by the Panzano Master in the Hearst Collection at San Simeon, where the figures of Saints Anthony Abbot and Catherine of Alexandria on the wings appear to be the work of Niccolò di Buonaccorso. The repeated evidence of contact between these two painters led Palladino to advance the tentative but highly intriguing suggestion that the Master of Panzano might be identifiable with the artist Paolo di Buonaccorso di Pace, presumably a brother of Niccolò di Buonaccorso, who is named in a document of 1374 as an assistant of Luca di Tommè.[14] Although based entirely on circumstantial evidence, this suggestion is altogether plausible. If it were possible to demonstrate the identification, it could provide a useful terminus a quo for dating the Yale panel around 1374, a date that is, in any event, not contradicted by any other stylistic evidence.

The original format and function of the Yale panel remain difficult to define. Its proportions and subject are typical of the center panel of folding triptychs, although in this case such a triptych would be considerably larger than usual and both the evidence of battens having been secured across its back and the absence of any signs of hinges along its sides make such a proposition doubtful. Furthermore, the sides of the panel show no evidence of having been in prolonged contact with other wooden surfaces, so the purpose of the battens is unclear unless they

were intended to secure the panel in place within a large frame or architectural structure, such as a marble tabernacle. The possibility that the panel had indeed been enclosed within a larger marble frame could explain several anomalies. Among these is the fact that the engaged moldings, which are original and unaltered, are incomplete in profile: they ought to extend further in width or wrap around the outer edges of the panel support, unless they were intended as transitional moldings to a larger profile outside them. Also, the selection of Saints Ansanus and Victor to accompany the Virgin and Child implies a civic rather than private commission, and if such a commission had been placed by a prominent governmental agency or intended for a prominent public location, the unusually lavish use of gold decoration in this panel might be explained. The panel's exceptional state of preservation does indicate that it must have been protected, presumably by shutters that closed over it, and the loss of its lower quarter (Charles Seymour, Jr., estimated the original height of the complete panel to be 79 centimeters, based on the assumption that the battens on the reverse were set at regular 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 1924, 15n; Comstock 1928b, 60, 62; Perkins 1929, 427; *Exhibition of Italian Primitive Paintings* 1930, no. 20; Venturi 1931, TKvol: pl. 71; Brandi 1932, 234nl; Berenson 1936, 269; Klesse 1967, 406, no. 393f; Berenson 1968, 1:225; Seymour 1970, 81–82, no. 55; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 50, no. 43, figs. 43a–c; Vertova 1973, 159–60; Muller 1973, 16–18, 21n31, fig. 6; De Benedictis 1979, 88; Fehm 1986, 154, no. 55; Frinta 1998, 231, 374

NOTES

1. Frederick Mason Perkins (1924) described the painting, already in the Griggs collection, as having come to his attention after he had completed his article in March 1924; Perkins 1924, TK. Manuscript opinions of 1923 by Osvald Sirén (August) and Tancred Borenius (October) may have been written while the painting was on the market rather than after Maitland Griggs had acquired it; see note 2 below.
2. Manuscript opinions on the reverse of photographs preserved in the Gallery's files. It is unclear whether these opinions were written for Maitland Griggs or for the (unknown) dealer from whom he bought the painting. As neither Sirén nor Borenius were regular correspondents of Griggs's, it may be that their opinions were solicited by the dealer and, moreover, that the dealer was British rather than Italian. This is, however, entirely conjecture.
3. Bernard Berenson's opinion is recorded in a letter from Mary Berenson to Maitland Griggs dated January 2, 1925, YUAG archives; Offner's opinion, dated January 15, 1925, is recorded at the Frick Art Reference Library, New York.
4. Berenson 1936, 269; Berenson 1968, 1:225; Fehm 1986, 154, no. 55; and Seymour 1970, 81–82, no. 55 .
5. Fehm 1986, 71, no. 10.
6. Formerly Archbishop Downey collection, Liverpool; Fehm 1986, 139, no. 45.
7. Fehm 1986, 141, no. 46.
8. Fehm 1986, 147, no. 49.
9. Berenson 1930–31, 52ff.
10. Fehm 1976, 333–50.
11. Boucher de Lapparent 1978, 165–74.
12. Inv. nos. 146, 151.
13. Palladino 1997, 69–72.
14. Palladino 1997, 72. The document is transcribed in Fehm 1986, 199.
15. 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 VIRGO CONCIPIET E PARIET FILIUM ET VO[CABITUR NOMEN EIUS EMMANUEL] (Isaiah 7:14: "Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son [and his name shall be called Emmanuel]")

Provenance

Charles Butler (1821–1910), Warren Wood, Hatfield, England (not Mass., as asserted in Seymour 1970); Robert Langton Douglas (1864–1951), London, by 1912; Dan Fellows Platt (1873–1937), Englewood, N.J.; Edward Hutton (1875–1969), London, by 1923; Maitland Fuller Griggs (1872–1943), New York, 1923

Condition

The panel support, of a vertical wood grain, retains its original thickness of 2.5 centimeters. The beveled lateral frame moldings were originally silver gilt, but at some modern date, they and most of the other frame moldings and crockets were covered with a gold paint that was not removed in the radical cleaning of 1958. The reverse of the panel had at one point been reinforced by having glued onto it a square oak support of two vertical and three horizontal slats; the uppermost horizontal slat remains attached. Tension from this support may have been responsible for a small vertical split in the panel passing through the nose and left eye of the Virgin; this has generated very little paint loss. A larger split, running from her throat through her right hand and the cuff of her left wrist, was provoked by two nails that originally secured a vertical batten on the reverse. The clinched ends of these nails are visible where they have caused areas of total loss directly beneath the Virgin's right hand and in the folds of the blue robe beneath her left wrist. The flesh tones of the Virgin's face and hands have been abraded to the *terraverde* underpaint in areas of shadow but retain their highlights of pink and white; the drawing of the features is unimpaired. Extensive flaking losses and abrasion interrupt the blue of the Virgin's robe, most notably in the area of her left shoulder and along her left arm, while her red dress is disfigured by deeper gouges and abrasion along the cupped edges of the (predominantly horizontal) craquelure. The book held in the Virgin's left hand with the inscription is largely undamaged. The gold ground is irregularly abraded, exposing broad areas of bolus preparation, and three large gouges at the left edge have removed everything above the gesso layer. At present, the paint surface is coated with an opaque synthetic varnish, further dulling the palette and exaggerating the effects of solvent damage.

Discussion

Fig. 1. Bartolo di Fredi, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1374. Tempera and gold on panel, 175.6 × 114.6 cm (69 1/8 × 45 1/8 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Cloisters Collection, 1925, inv. no. 25.120.288

Although the first recorded reference to the *Virgin Annunciate* as a work by Bartolo di Fredi appears to be Richard Offner's manuscript opinion of 1924 (preserved in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York), the painting had been sold the preceding year by Edward Hutton to Maitland Fuller 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 Frederick Mason Perkins—the then-acknowledged experts on Sienese painting—as either would likely demand a commission from Hutton for their opinion. Bernard Berenson listed the painting as by Paolo di Giovanni Fei and as in the Platt collection, in Englewood, New Jersey, even though it had by then belonged to Griggs for nearly a decade.[1] Surprisingly, the first published identification of the painting as by Bartolo di Fredi occurs in Berenson's Central Italian lists of 1968.[2] Charles Seymour, Jr., inexplicably qualified the painting as "attributed to Bartolo di Fredi" and equally inexplicably suggested it could have been the right wing of a diptych, notwithstanding its original, engaged chamfered moldings and the evidence of two nails securing a vertical batten to its reverse.[3] He revised this assessment in 1972 on the advice of his former students, Michael Mallory and Gordon Moran, who that same year published the painting as a lateral pinnacle from an altarpiece but also as probably executed with workshop assistance.[4] Discussion of the painting since then has focused entirely on differing proposals for identifying the altarpiece of which it might have formed part. For Keith Christiansen, followed by Patricia Harpring and, apparently, Wolfgang Loseries, this would have been the altarpiece of which the *Adoration of the Shepherds* now in the Cloisters Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 1), once formed the center panel.[5] For Mallory and Moran, it would more likely have been the triptych by Bartolo di Fredi currently in the Museo Civico in Lucignano (fig. 2). Gaudenz Freuler, in his comprehensive monograph on the artist, rejected both of these suggestions—without, however, proposing an alternative.[6]

Fig. 2. Bartolo di Fredi, *Cacciati Triptych*, ca. 1380. Tempera and gold on panel, 143 × 147 cm (56 1/4 × 57 7/8 in.). Museo Civico, Lucignano

A consensus of scholars identifies the Cloisters *Adoration of the Shepherds* with an altarpiece recorded by Ettore Romagnoli (ca. 1835) in the church of San Domenico at San Gimignano bearing the signature of Bartolo di Fredi and the date 1374. Romagnoli described the painting as accompanied by figures of the four Evangelists, the Annunciation, the Baptism of Christ, and the Coronation of the Virgin. Several authors, as has been mentioned, assumed that the Yale *Annunciate* could be one of these ancillary panels. Freuler proposed identifying two of the lateral full-length standing saints with panels of Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist now in the Alana Collection, Newark, Delaware, neither of which is large enough, however, to have accommodated the Yale panel as a pinnacle above it. Freuler's reconstruction is questionable on a number of counts. First, although Romagnoli did mention a *Baptism of Christ*, he did not mention a figure of the Baptist, referring instead to the four Evangelists. Second, the pastiglia moldings and punched borders of the Alana panels imply a system of framing incompatible with that partially preserved on the Cloisters panel. And third, the Alana panels are to be attributed to Andrea di Bartolo and recognized as works of a considerably later date. It may therefore be said that there is no physical impediment to accepting Christiansen's proposal for associating the Yale *Annunciate*

with the Cloisters *Adoration*, but several arguments incline to preferring the reconstruction offered by Mallory and Moran. These writers pointed out that the punched decoration along the margins of the Yale *Annunciate* is identical to that in the Lucignano triptych (see fig. 2)—which shows the Virgin and Child with Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist—and that the width of the former is compatible with the upper portion of the Lucignano laterals. Freuler contested this observation, reporting that the present frame on the Lucignano triptych is modern but that the width of the top of the two lateral panels is 27 centimeters. This is more than adequate to support the Yale *Annunciate*, whose painted surface measures 26.4 centimeters wide.

Following the inscription preserved on the riser of the Virgin's throne in the Lucignano triptych—"DNA [LI]NA FILIA OLI[M] PETRI CE[IA]TI JAKOB OLI[M] D[OMINI] GRIFFI FECIT FIERI I[N] CAPEELLA PER ANIMA SUA" (Dona Lina, daughter of Pietro Cacciati, deceased, [and widow of] Don Jacopo 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 WL-Museum für Kunst und Kultur (formerly the Westfälisches Landesmuseum), Münster, Germany,[10] as the probable pinnacle completing the missing panel of Saint Peter at the extreme left of the altarpiece, also cannot be verified on physical or stylistic grounds. Although it is similar in style to the Yale *Annunciate* and vaguely comparable in size—the Magdalen has been cut laterally and at the top, it currently measures 38 by 25.5 centimeters—it differs considerably in the system of punch tooling visible along its intact right margin, where the cusping of the picture surface begins only at the midpoint of the saint's halo rather than at the level of her shoulder, as in the Yale panel. There is little likelihood that these two pinnacles originated from the same altarpiece. Which of them, if either, might have been part of the triptych in Lucignano cannot be established with confidence.

Opinions expressed on the dating of the Yale *Annunciate* have varied widely but necessarily follow from arguments for reconstructing its original context. Christiansen assumed the panel should be dated close to 1374. Freuler accepted this general dating, objecting to Christiansen's reconstruction only on the grounds that the Yale panel is too large to have accompanied the lateral panels he wished to include with the 1374 *Adoration* altarpiece. Mallory and Moran believed the Yale panel could be dated between 1382 and 1385. If anything, the harshly cleaned condition of the Yale pinnacle leaves the impression that it is all but contemporary to two other Franciscan altarpieces painted by Bartolo di Fredi in Montalcino: the Beato Filippo Ciardelli altarpiece of 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

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Berenson 1932a, 183; Berenson 1968, 1:30; Seymour 1970, 71, no. 48; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, 600; Mallory and Moran 1972, 10–15; Charles Seymour, Jr., in Seymour et al. 1972, 52, no. 45, fig. 45a; De Benedictis 1979, 81; Sutton 1979, 382, figs. 28–29; Christiansen 1982, 38, fig. 35; Freuler 1985, 156, 165n41, fig. 9; Harpring 1993, 151, no. 8; Freuler 1994, 141, 446–47, no. 17, fig. 363; Frinta 1998, 98, 330, 482; Loseries 2012, 60, 63n23

NOTES

1. Berenson 1932a, 183.
2. Berenson 1968, 1:30.
3. Seymour 1970, 71, no. 48.
4. Mallory and Moran 1972, 10–15.
5. Christiansen 1982, 38, fig. 35; Harpring 1993, 151, no. 8; and Loseries 2012, 60, 63n23.
6. Freuler 1994, 141, 446–47, no. 17, fig. 363.
7. Although Freuler, in Freuler 1985, interpreted the abbreviation before "Capeella" as "in," it might better be read as "istud" (this) and as referring to the foundation and endowment of the entire chapel, not just the provision of the altarpiece.
8. Inv. no. 103.
9. Kanter 1986, 28n14.
10. Inv. no. 911 BM.
11. Museo Civico Montalcino, inv. nos. 25, 31, 41.

12. Museo Civico Montalcino, inv. nos. 37, 40; Museo Diocesano d'Arte Sacra, Montalcino.

Martino di Bartolomeo, *Saint Mary Magdalen*

Artist	Martino di Bartolomeo, Sienese, ca. 1365–1435
Title	*Saint Mary Magdalen*
Date	ca. 1405
Medium	Tempera and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall 22.5 × 18.1 cm (8 7/8 × 7 1/8 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Andrew F. Petryn
Inv. No.	2016.99.20

For more on this panel, see *Saint Francis*.

Martino di Bartolomeo, *Saint Francis*

Artist	Martino di Bartolomeo, Sienese, ca. 1365–1435
Title	*Saint Francis*
Date	ca. 1405
Medium	Tempera and silver on panel
Dimensions	overall 22.8 × 18.3 cm (9 × 7 1/4 in.)
Credit Line	Bequest of Andrew F. Petryn
Inv. No.	2016.99.21

Provenance

Unknown

Condition

This panel and the related one of *Saint Mary Magdalen*, both of a horizontal wood grain and both reduced to a thickness of TK millimeters, 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 included as shop works and misidentified as Saints Francis and Catherine.[1] Although very little can be read of the painting style of the two figures, it is clear that they have nothing in common with the work of Luca di Tommè. Their reattribution here to Martino di Bartolomeo is based on the occurrence of a punch tool—Mojmír Frinta's no. L48—among the impressions of the original decoration of the silver ground still visible in the gesso layer around the edges of the picture fields, a punch used repeatedly by that artist in paintings made both for 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 present panels are fragments of a predella and not removed from the gables or other framing elements of an altarpiece may be inferred from the horizontal wood grain of their supports and by the punched horizontal decorative bands cropped at the top and bottom edges of *Saint Mary Magdalen.* 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

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Fehm 1986, 161

NOTES

1. Fehm 1986, 161.

2. Frinta 1998, 484.

Volume 2: 1420–1500

Coming soon

“Volume 2: 1420–1500” to be released soon

Volume 3: 1500–1800

Coming soon

“Volume 3: 1500–1800” to be released soon

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

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

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

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

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Follower of Meliore, *Triptych*

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

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

Fig. 1: Fig. 1: From: Richard Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting: The Fourteenth Century*. Sec. 3, vol. 9, The Painters of the Miniaturist Tendency, ed. Miklós Boskovits (Florence: Giunti, 1984), pl. 42.

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Master of Saint Cecilia, *Virgin and Child*

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Jacopo del Casentino, *The Coronation of the Virgin*

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Jacopo del Casentino, *Virgin and Child*

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Bernardo Daddi, *Vision of Saint Dominic*

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Nardo di Cione, *Saint John the Evangelist*

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

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Nardo di Cione, *Virgin and Child*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Taddeo Gaddi, *Virgin and Child Enthroned*

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

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

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

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

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Fig. 6: Information to come

Fig. 7: Information to come

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

Fig. 1: From: Sonia Chiodo, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting*. Sec. 4, vol. 9, *Painters in Florence after the "Black Death": The Master of the Misericordia and Matteo di Pacino*, ed. Miklós Boskovits (Florence: Giunti, 2011), 309, pl. lii

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Lorenzo Monaco, *The Crucifixion*

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

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Luisa Ricciarini/Bridgeman Images

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

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Fig. 2: Information to come

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

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Fig. 3: From: Mariagiulia Burresi and Antonino Caleca, ed., *Cimabue a Pisa: La pittura pisana del duecento da Giunta a Giotto*, exh. cat. (Pisa: Pacini, 2005), no. 12. Photo courtesy Scala/Ministero per i

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Predella: Saint Francis, the Mourning Virgin Mary, Christ on the Cross, the Mourning Saint John the Evangelist, and Saint Dominic

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Fig. 8: Information to come

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

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Fig. 4: Photo courtesy the Rector and Scholars of Exeter College, Oxford

Master of Panzano (with Luca di Tommè?), *Virgin and Child with Saints Ansanus and Victor*

Fig. 1: Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery Archives

Bartolo di Fredi, *Virgin Annunciate*

Fig. 2: Information to come

Contributors

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Laurence Kanter is Chief Curator and the Lionel Goldfrank III Curator of European Art at the Yale University Art Gallery; he was formerly Assistant Curator of European Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and Curator-in-Charge of the Robert Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. He is the author of the catalogue of Italian paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1994), and coauthor of *Luca Signorelli* (2001) and of numerous exhibition catalogues, including *Painting in Renaissance Siena, 1420–1500* (1988), *Italian Renaissance Frames* (1990), *Painting and Illumination in Early Renaissance Florence, 1300–1450* (1994), *Botticelli's Witness* (1997), *The Treasury of Saint Francis of Assisi* (1999), *Fra Angelico* (2005), *Italian Paintings from the Richard L. Feigen Collection* (2010), and most recently, *Leonardo: Discoveries from Verrocchio's Studio, Early Paintings and New Attributions* (2018).

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.